

THE STANDARD

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"THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE PEOPLE DO CARE."—Yielding to persistent, organized pressure, the Michigan Legislature passed a bill appropriating \$30,000 to defray the expense of entertaining delegates attending the annual national meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic at Detroit, next August. Similar pressure was brought to bear on Governor Winans to induce him to let the bill become a law, but the Governor refused and vetoed the measure in a message that is a notable sign of the great change now taking place in public sentiment. He bases his objection on the broad ground of "public policy and justice to the taxpayers." The bill proposes, he says, "to take money earned by the hard hand of labor and saved by the economy of patient wives and mothers, and use it for a social entertainment and a general good time, in which not one in a hundred of those forced to contribute to the expense will participate." This is true, but the real argument against the measure is found in the Governor's further declaration that "no public purpose is to be subserved by the expenditure." This is a fatal objection, no matter who might participate in the "good time;" for the moneys raised by taxation constitute a trust fund to be expended for public purposes, and no other, and the diversion of such a fund to such a purpose as that proposed is misappropriation and betrayal of trust.

Governor Winans understands fully that this simple principle has for a long time been forgotten. He says:

In this State taxation has steadily increased year by year, and always the specious plea was urged for new expenditures that it was only a cent or five cents for each individual and it will not be felt or the people will not care. But the time has come when the people do care, and we, their servants, should heed their just demands that the State Treasury shall not be used for private gain or individual pleasure.

It does not matter much to the rest of the country whether the State of Michigan saves or throws away \$30,000. The important thing is that, somewhere, a man has been found in official place having the good sense and the courage that enable him to cry "halt." This was impossible so long as politics was a mere trial of strength between men divided by prejudices rising out of the civil war. No Republican Governor in Michigan would have dreamed of taking such action as that of Governor Winans. No Democratic Governor elected under the old conditions would have dared do so brave a thing. Governor Winans, however, understands that he owes his election to new ideas and new forces in politics. So long as the people were deluded into the belief that Federal revenues raised by tariff taxation came from some other source than the pockets of the taxpayers, they bore with comparative equanimity the steady increase in State taxation. The great tariff debate waked them up, however, to consciousness of the fact that the whole frightful load caused by reckless public expenditure rests on their shoulders. Hence, as Governor Winans says, "the time has come when the people do care" about such matters, and their servants must recognize this fact or cease to serve.

To this popular reawakening many things have contributed. The Single Tax movement, which has caused little groups of men in every State to go down to the very roots of the question of taxation, has had more to do with shaping the general inquiry into existing systems than is apparent on the surface. Our friends have not always, nor perhaps in most instances, made con-

verts, but they have shown men that the whole question is an open one, and that the existing system is radically bad. The Farmers' Alliance has reached a much larger body of people with its cry of alarm and discontent. Despite the disposition of leaders to put the currency question to the front, that of taxation can no longer be ignored, and with marvellous rapidity the former Protectionists in the order are becoming absolute Free Traders. They see that the tariff is not only a tax, but a specially hateful and distressing tax to them, and they denounce it accordingly. Their attention turns naturally from this to an entirely new consideration of the whole question of taxation, National, State and local, and at last the time has come when they do care, and care very much indeed, about a vital matter that they have greatly neglected. They will care more, the more they think, and the time is probably already here when such a message as that of Governor Winans will win more votes than would the approval of any measure giving away the money of the people to anybody, be they men or angels—or even members of the Grand Army of the Republic. It is a wholesome and hopeful outward sign of a political inward grace that contains within it the hope of social and economic salvation.

FARMERS AND PERSONAL PROPERTY

TAXES.—Taxes on personal property tend to discourage industry and enterprise, and thereby to restrict production. This is obvious to anyone who will really think on the subject; and, though history demonstrates the truth of the assertion, historical proof is not needed to convince men of a fact so perfectly apparent. It is useful, however, in showing another fact, which is, that no tax on personal property has ever been equitably assessed or collected. Neither ingenious oaths nor savage penalties have been sufficient to compel men possessed of concealable wealth to report its existence to the tax gatherer; while they have promoted lying and perjury to an extent that may some day, if the process be continued, so debauch the popular conscience that courts of justice will utterly fail in their primary purpose. Putting aside, then, the chief argument against the taxation of personal property, the utter failure of the system to accomplish the objects sought by its promoters and defenders is of itself sufficient to condemn it. In fact, this consideration is the one on which opposition to the taxation of personal property is usually based. It is unfortunate that this should be so, because it necessitates an appeal to historical knowledge, which few men possess, instead of to common sense, which most men possess—using the phrase as describing that sense which is common to all sane minds.

The line of debate cannot, however, be suddenly changed; and hence, under existing circumstances, the opponents of taxing personal property run against an unreasoning conviction that the taxation of personal property is not only just but practicable. The people holding this idea have never studied the facts, but as Thomas G. Shearman puts it, they base their belief upon the simple assumption that "it must be so." Many of them go further and swear by all that is good or bad that it shall be so. This is notably true of farmers as a class. They feel keenly the burdens to

which they are subjected by the existing system. They see the wealth of the country concentrating itself in cities, and they propose that those holding such wealth shall pay more taxes, in order that the farmer may pay less. The wealth held by these city men is largely what is called personal property, and the farmers believe that, somehow, it can be discovered and taxed, thus relieving land from the burden now laid upon it. They imagine that they are the only land owners, and they are utterly oblivious of the fact that the concentration of wealth in cities necessarily increases city land values, and that owing to this fact nearly the whole increase in land values that has come about in the older States during the past twenty years has been in city and town lots, while the value of farm land has stood still or fallen off. The Assessors of New York State have demonstrated this fact, and it is apparent everywhere to those who will really consider the matter. Some of the illustrations of the fact are startling. In Sullivan County, in this State, unimproved, timberless land is to-day worth from \$1 to \$3 per acre. Within a year a lot of practically bare land (from which a building had at considerable cost to be removed) sold at the rate of *fourteen million dollars an acre*. Yet we presume that a serious proposal to make land values the sole basis of taxation in New York State would be dencunced by Sullivan County farmers as a proposal to increase their burden of taxation.

The utter folly of the views on this subject commonly held by farmers was demonstrated by the address of Thomas G. Shearman before the Joint Committee on Taxation of the Ohio Legislature, in January, 1889. This address (a report of which constitutes No. 5 of our Single Tax Library) covers the whole question, and appeals not merely to conscience and common sense but to the historical proof of the failure of all attempts to tax personal property generally or equally. Mr. Shearman, as is his wont, studied the subject thoroughly and presented figures that produced a profound impression. One table showed that in the Ohio counties containing the cities of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo personal property value constituted but 26 1-4 per cent. of the whole assessment, whereas in the rural counties of Geauga, Noble, Carroll, and Monroe such value made up 32 1-2 per cent of the whole. Comparing the city counties with the remainder of the State, he found the proportion substantially the same. Comparing Hamilton County (which contains Cincinnati) with Medina, a typical rural county, he found that in Hamilton county personal property was valued at 24 1-2 per cent. of the total assessment, whereas in Medina it was 37 1-2 per cent. Further tables were given showing that the assessment on moneys and credits, and even on watches and pleasure carriages, were proportionately higher in the rural counties; while the one thing in which the cities were invariably assessed proportionately higher than the rural districts, was real estate—that is, land and buildings. He further showed that if land alone were made the basis of assessment, the farmer would be still further relieved, since a farm house costing \$1,500 usually stands on land that exclusive of improvements would not sell for \$15, whereas in cities the land is usually worth half as much as the building, and frequently more. Mr. Shearman could safely have made this statement stronger if he had been speaking of New York. We doubt if there are twenty buildings in lower New York that are worth more than the land they actually cover, or five hundred that are worth half what the bare land under them would sell for at auction.

Mr. Shearman explained the surprising contrasts he

found in Ohio very simply. A farmer's property is not easily concealed, and his affairs are pretty well known to his neighbors. Hence his personal property is discovered and to a considerable extent assessed. In the cities, where personal property is easily concealed and men know practically nothing of their neighbor's affairs, Assessors cannot test the accuracy of reports made to them, and shrewd men escape from a fair assessment, leaving widows and orphans, trustees and a few others, as the only ones actually caught. If these facts had been systematically put before the people of Ohio, the eyes of the farmers there might possibly have been opened, and any prejudice they have against the Single Tax would have speedily vanished. Now, when the farmers are getting excited over politics might be a good time for calling their attention once more to this subject.

JOHN SHERMAN.—The new farmers' party in Ohio has shown a disposition to drive Senator John Sherman and ex-Congressman McKinley out of public life. They say that both of them have been too long in office, and that both have pecuniarily profited by their official positions. Furthermore, they say that Mr. Sherman is too closely allied with "the moneyed interests of Wall street." Commenting on this, the New York Times says:

We need not say that we should regard Mr. Sherman's withdrawal from the Senate, whether forced or voluntary, as a national misfortune. Not that we approve without qualification the course that he has pursued or the principles by which he has been guided. On the contrary, we believe that his standard of conduct in public life has been much below what it should have been, and many of his acts we regard as not only mischievous, but as consciously determined by unworthy motives.

The Times bases its astonishing expression of a desire for the retention of such a man in office on the ground that despite much vacillation he has been sound on the currency question, and is certain, if defeated, to be succeeded by an inferior man. We do not propose at this time to attempt any review of John Sherman's political career, nor to inquire into the truth of the numerous stories of the way in which he has used public positions for his own enrichment. These matters will doubtless be fully discussed if he is a candidate for re-election. The supreme fact concerning Mr. Sherman, so far as his continuance in the Senate is concerned, is that he has sustained his party in all the measures by which it has promoted extravagance and burdened the people with taxes in response to the demands of the protected monopolists who contributed the money with which Wannamaker, Quay, & Co. bought the Presidency for Mr. Harrison. Mr. Sherman voted for the McKinley bill in the Senate, and eagerly supported every measure sent to that body in the name of the House of Representatives by the late Czar Reed. He went even further than Edmunds, and favored the application by revolutionary methods of Reid's gag law to the Senate.

How any newspaper that criticises the performances of the Billion Dollar Congress and opposes the Protectionist policy of the Republican party, can do other than rejoice at the forced retirement of such a man from public life it is difficult to imagine. Certainly such an utterance is utterly inconsistent with any line of action or general declaration of principle on which the people can be asked to dismiss Mr. Sherman's party from power in 1892. No paper capable of such an utterance should be trusted by Free Traders or by Democrats. It is more dangerous as an ally than it could be as an opponent.

The fact that the Times does profess to speak with some authority for some Democrats makes such utterances at the present time maladroit to the last degree. It is an undeniable fact that the Democrats of the country, while united on the tariff issue, differ considerably on other questions; and it is the object of every sensible

party man, as well as of every intelligent Free Trader, to leave other questions in abeyance and make the tariff the supreme issue. Yet here comes the New York Times declaring, because of its sympathy with him on another question, that it would be a "national misfortune" to have one of the craftiest and most unscrupulous Protectionists in the Senate succeeded by a Democrat as United States Senator from Ohio! No Democrat can afford to accept the remotest responsibility for any utterances of such a journal, and no Free Trader can trust it.

THE STANDARD AND "LABOR."—The Knights of Labor Journal is not pleased with the comments of **THE STANDARD** on the recent conviction of Joseph Barondess. It stigmatizes the editorial in question as "a trimming article, evidently intended to cater to the prejudices of" **THE STANDARD'S** "'respectable' and capitalistic readers," and as "certainly not calculated to favorably impress labor reformers." It gives us a specimen of the kind of language that it regards as likely "to favorably impress labor reformers," when it declares that Barondess "was convicted of extortion on a flimsy pretext and sentenced by that perjured scoundrel, Judge Van Brunt, to one year and nine months imprisonment." The Journal is even more unfavorably impressed by our disclaimer of all sympathy with Barondess and his methods. It calls him "a whole-souled, courageous leader in labor's battle for enfranchisement," and says:

Foreigner as he is, Barondess has shown a far truer appreciation of the principles of industrial freedom than the majority who pride themselves upon their American birth and ancestry. If all Americans were equally active, zealous and self-sacrificing as the leader of the New York cloak-makers, the labor problem would be a problem no longer.

We pass by without comment the imputations of unworthy motives contained in the Journal's comments. Widely as we differ from the organ of the Knights of Labor, we see no reason for quarrelling with it. **THE STANDARD** believes that all of its readers are "respectable," and it sees no reason for regretting that many of them are "capitalists." It surely cannot do any harm to "the cause of labor" to have "capitalists" read such a paper as **THE STANDARD**, which protests against the discrimination between workingmen and employers in the administration of the conspiracy laws. Our failure to meet the Journal's expectations by denouncing Judge Van Brunt as a "perjured scoundrel" was not due to deference to "capitalists," but because we have no reason for believing that he is either "perjured" or a "scoundrel." He followed in his charge the law as laid down by Judge Barrett, whose decision has not yet been considered by the Court of Appeals, and we plainly indicated our own opinion that Judge Barrett's decision and all others based on it are unsound and unjust.

We should not consider the Journal's criticism as calling for this much comment, but for the fact that it affords an excellent opportunity for considering just such comments made from time to time by other "labor papers." They appear to think that **THE STANDARD** is under some kind of obligation to approve every scheme put forth in the name of "labor." We absolutely repudiate and disclaim any such obligation. **THE STANDARD** is the advocate of a definite policy, based on clearly enunciated principles, which aims at the eradication of evils that injure everybody, but which bear with especial hardship on working men and farmers. These conditions, it believes, are not inherent in the nature of things, but are due to certain laws enacted in the name of the people, and maintained with their tacit consent. We seek to secure the repeal of such laws, not with a view to establishing others based on the idea that it is the duty of the State to take care of its citizens, but with a view to remov-

ing artificial restrictions that impede industry and rob both labor and capital of their just reward. We demand for all equal access to natural opportunities, and for each the full right to the possession of what he produces and absolute freedom to exchange that which is his own for anything else that he desires. Under such conditions we believe that government should cease absolutely to interfere (except by its police powers) with any business that can be conducted by private individuals without the loan to such individuals of governmental powers for the conduct of their business.

Workingmen, and particularly unskilled laborers, the poorest paid workingmen, are the chief sufferers under the economic system against which **THE STANDARD** is battling, and against the effects of which they struggle in vain. Their battle is therefore our battle, but their methods are childish and inadequate, and persistence in them after their failure has been demonstrated is not to their credit or to the credit of those who essay to lead them. Trades unions are, as business organizations, of use to skilled tradesmen, but they can at best but retard the downward tendency of wages, and dependence on them to solve the labor question is simply stupid. The Knights of Labor recognized this and insisted on educating its members into a study of the causes of existing evils. There are in the order thousands of men who agree with **THE STANDARD**, both as to cause and remedy; but the organ of the order does not accept the plan we advocate, but on the contrary, advocates Socialism.

It has a perfect right to do this, but it has no right to seek to stir up class prejudice against **THE STANDARD**, because we adhere to the policy and belief to which this paper has always been committed. We do not believe that the solution of the labor problem is to be found in bullying or scaring employers into paying better wages. History, it seems to us, proves that plan a failure. We do believe that to destroy monopoly, and give every man opportunity to employ himself will enable each workman to refuse or accept less wages than he can earn by working for himself, and to do this without even stopping to think about any trade union. We believe that it is entirely practicable to bring about this condition of affairs through peaceful political methods. The foreign Socialists and Anarchists do not believe this; and but few of them have ever seriously considered the question. Joseph Barondess is one of the worst of this type, and we regard him as a noisy nuisance, who stands in the way of any true solution of the labor problem. We have no sympathy with him, but we nevertheless insist that neither Barondess, or any other man, shall be put in jail, or be otherwise punished, through any strained construction or partial administration of law. That, however, is merely in the general interest. We have no use for Barondess, and we think the Journal of the Knights of Labor shows itself a very bad adviser when it holds this Polish jawsmith up as a hero and national leader.

A BREAD FAMINE IN GERMANY.—A Berlin dispatch, dated May 29th, says the Reichstag will soon reassemble in extraordinary session to consider the existing tariff duties on grain. The dispatch reads:

Great distress exists in North Germany owing to the excessive duty on corn, which has forced the price of bread to such a high standard as to put it quite out of the reach of the bulk of the population. In some of the poorer fishing villages of Prussia the inhabitants offer a large sackful of fish for a single small loaf of bread.

This situation is simple enough to be easily understood. It requires considerable labor to obtain a large sack full of fish; and the product of that labor would, under natural conditions, easily command a number of loaves of bread. Under Free Trade, unhampered by

governmental interference, bread would be promptly offered in fair exchange for fish or other products of labor; and the protective system of Bismarck is responsible for the utterly unnecessary distress of these poor people. The German Government has not yet been brought to see this; and the dispatch indicates that, instead of ceasing its pestilent interference with trade, it will propose a reduction of fifteen marks per ton.

The same dispatch goes on to say that "the South Germans, however, who live on rich land, are violently opposed to any reduction whatever." We have no doubt of it. A perfect willingness to starve other people to death, in order to put money in his own pocket, is the distinguishing characteristic of a protected monopolist the world over.

NIEDRINGHAUS.—This name is not easy to spell or pronounce by English-speaking people, but it is possible that it may become as common as that of Captain Boycott. Mr. Niedringhaus pretends that he is a manufacturer of tin plates at St. Louis. On May 22 the Evening Post, of New York, telegraphed him: "If your representative will call at our office, full particulars of an offer to purchase six thousand boxes of American tin plates will be given him." One would suppose this would have waked up any real tin manufacturer, but it only elicited from Mr. Niedringhaus the following reply:

Your telegram asking price for six thousand boxes American tin plates received. I know that newspaper men don't deal in tin plates, but if you are willing to publish an article of information regarding the manufacture of American tin plates under the McKinley bill for the enlightenment of your readers, I will gladly prepare and send it to you.

The surprising thing about this is that so stupid an attempt at evasion should have been publicly made by a business man who was until recently a member of Congress. But even this silly excuse will no longer serve him. The St. Louis Republic says that the firm authorizing the Evening Post to make its offer was N. L. Cort & Co., of New York, solvent, well known, and reputable dealers in tin plate. Will Mr. Niedringhaus offer them a manuscript in lieu of six thousand boxes of tin plates?

The truth is that Mr. Niedringhaus is a peculiarly blatant specimen of the class to which he belongs. He has been conspicuously caught and thus made a somewhat notorious representative of his tribe. Polite people do not like to repeat unnecessarily the phrase, "the tariff liar," and hence there will be a tendency to call each individual of the species, "a Niedringhaus."

A STRAIGHT ANSWER.—The Secretary of the Home Market Club, of Boston, can hardly felicitate himself on the outcome of some correspondence on which he recently entered with Mr. A. B. Farquhar, of York, Pa. Mr. Albert Clarke, the secretary in question, found floating around in the papers a statement to the effect that Mr. Farquhar had said that he was selling agricultural implements in South America and South Africa at prices from five to ten per cent. lower than he obtained in this country. Mr. Farquhar was further reported as saying that "the manufacturer who is able to export his goods can have no use for Protection except to enable him to extort more money from home producers than he is able to get from those abroad." Mr. Clarke asked him if he had been correctly reported and followed this up with numerous other questions. Mr. Farquhar did not beat about the bush in answering the queries. He said that he had been correctly reported, and that he thought his statement about manufacturers who demand protection so obviously true that it was self evident. In response to the other queries, he said that his firm sells about half of its total product

abroad; that it does not get as good prices as at home, because it has to compete with other manufacturers who get their raw material unburdened by tariff taxes. Mr. Farquhar further assured Mr. Clarke that he "would unhesitatingly favor a repeal of the duty on all the manufactured goods" that he makes. If there is any comfort in that for the Home Market Club it is a queer Protectionist organization. It is now in order to say that Mr. Farquhar's concern is subsidized by British gold. We can think of nothing else that will meet the case.

THANKS.—A request sent out from THE STANDARD for lists of members of Legislature and other officials in various States has been responded to with great promptitude by most of those to whom it was forwarded. We thank our friends for this favor, and urge any who have not yet procured the lists to send them in as promptly as possible.

THAT EXTRAORDINARY OFFER.—The extraordinary offer made on the first page is for yearly subscribers only. We are determined to have 5,000 new annual subscribers to THE STANDARD. We find that offers must be made to subscribers rather than to canvassers, since zeal for the cause, and not the hope of reward, animates nearly all those working for the extension of the paper's circulation. The offer is intended to promote work and give an impetus to the effort, and it will be withdrawn August 1st.

"PLENTY OF WORK."—The Evening Post has seized eagerly on a statement made by the Concord (N. H.) Monitor to the effect that the demand for labor exceeds the supply in that city, and that contractors are seeking in vain for men who want employment at good wages. The chances are ten to one that there is a strike or some other labor trouble back of all this, but the Post unhesitatingly draws from it the inference that there is plenty of good work at good wages everywhere, and says: "The real 'labor problem' in too many cases to-day is not how to give a man a chance to work, but how to get him to work when he is given a chance." This drawing of prejudiced general conclusions from an unauthenticated statement of an alleged single instance is precisely the method by which the Protectionists attempt to meet all arguments based on general facts and sound principles. We suppose it is this similarity that prompted a regular reader of the Post who sends its articles to us to write on the margin: "The labor liar bids fair to outshine the tariff liar."

PERCENTAGES.

Many good people, including both Protectionists and Free Traders, are very much puzzled by percentages. They learn from all political histories that protective tariffs, increasing rates of duty previously imposed, were adopted in 1824, 1828, 1842, 1861, 1864, etc., and yet, when they look at the tables showing the average percentage of duty levied under these tariffs, they do not always find that it increased as much as would be expected. They also find that the average rate of duties on imports is sometimes higher under a revenue tariff than under a protective tariff. This puzzles them immensely.

Yet it is in reality a very simple thing. The object of a protective tariff is to prevent goods, which come into competition with domestic manufactures, from coming into the country at all. When it is successful in this, as it is in many classes of cotton goods, some kinds of woolen goods, many kinds of metal manufactures, etc., no duty is collected, and therefore, the general average rate is less than it would be if the tariff were not so high and the goods were allowed to come in. Thus, no wire nails are allowed to enter at all, and therefore the average rate of duty actually collected on nails, generally, is comparatively low. The average rate of duty on buttons will also appear to be very low, because the tax of 200 per cent. on the cheapest buttons will keep them out altogether. Then a protective tariff must admit a vast quantity of

goods entirely free of duty, in order to enable Protectionists to put heavy rates upon those things which they do not want to come in; while on some other things which do not compete with domestic production some duty is imposed, but comparatively little. The result is that the average rate of duties on all imports seems very small, because half of them are not taxed at all, and the average rate, even upon dutiable articles, may be lower than it would be under a purely revenue tariff.

Let us illustrate. A highly protective tariff might be framed so as to shut out almost entirely everything which domestic manufacturers do not want to let in, by imposing duties of at least 100 per cent. Let us suppose that only \$10,000,000 of such articles were imported under such enormous duties, that \$90,000,000 worth were imported under 20 per cent. duties, \$100,000,000 under 7 per cent. duties and \$200,000,000 entirely free of duty. Now, let us suppose that a strictly revenue tariff should be adopted in place of this, intended to raise exactly the same amount of income, but that it should be done by reducing the high protective duties to 40 per cent., taxing a sufficient number of articles at 20 per cent. to an amount of just enough to bring in the same revenue as before, and making everything else free. See how this would work out.

DUTIES UNDER A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Imports.	Duties.	Collections.
\$10,000,000	100 per cent.	\$10,000,000
90,000,000	20 " "	18,000,000
100,000,000	7 " "	7,000,000
\$200,000,000		\$35,000,000

Under this highly protective system, the average rates of duty collected by the Government would be only 17½ per cent. from the amount of imports, and yet the actual taxes levied for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer would exceed 100 per cent. Now compare this with the working of a revenue tariff.

COLLECTIONS UNDER REVENUE TARIFF.

Imports.	Duties.	Collections.
\$50,000,000	40 per cent.	\$20,000,000
75,000,000	20 " "	15,000,000
\$125,000,000		\$35,000,000

Average duty on actual imports under revenue tariff, 28 per cent.

Thus, in a mere table of percentages, it would appear that duties had been enormously increased; whereas the fact would be that they had been enormously reduced, even on dutiable articles, besides admitting more than \$100,000,000 worth of goods free of duty, which had previously been taxed.

For this reason, if there were no other, comparisons of the average rates of duty actually collected, under different tariffs, are of almost no use. But there are other reasons. In 1866 and 1890 alterations were made in the mode of levying the duties which, while nominally not increasing the rate, did greatly increase it in fact, because the law required that duties should be assessed on the materials used in packing goods, which were previously exempt, for the good reason that they constituted no part of the real value of the goods. Thus, a barrel, while very useful to hold flour, is no part of the flour, and when it has done its work it is thrown away. So the box in which buttons are packed is worthless when it is once opened and the buttons are taken out. But it is now taxed 200 per cent. on its cost, just the same as the buttons. This is, in reality, an addition to the tax on buttons; but it nowhere appears in the table of percentages. By this ingenious device the real rate of duty has been made 70 per cent. upon crockery, while nominally remaining at 60, and on some other articles 150, while nominally 75.

Changes take place, too, in the classes of goods imported, for natural reasons, which greatly change the average duty collected without any change in the tariff. Thus there used to be a great difference between the duties on iron and the duties on steel. If no change had been made in that tariff the average duty would have greatly decreased, because iron is going out of use, being supplanted by steel in a vast number of cases. It was in great part for such reasons that the average rates of duty collected declined between 1879 and 1883 from 45 per cent. to 42½ per cent., without any change in the tariff.

Statistics are not as easy to understand as many people imagine. All the facts underlying them must be taken into account before they can be handled safely.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

THE TARIFF AS A NUISANCE.

The following will illustrate what a hindrance the tariff is to small transactions: Some time ago I ordered \$5 worth of medicines from London. About a month after my order was sent I received a notification from the New York Post Office Department that these articles were liable to forfeiture because they had been sent through the mails, and that "any request for relief should be addressed to the New York Custom House."

In response to my letter to the Custom House, I was notified that I could get the medicines upon the payment of 50 cents duty (25

cents on each package, there being two), but that it would be necessary to have the money paid over their counter in cash, as they do not accept post office orders or checks. They suggested that it would be proper to employ an express company to attend to the matter for me. I thereupon delivered this notification to an express company here with the request that it pay these duties and send me the medicine. It charged me 25 cents for forwarding this request to the office of the express company in New York. The express company in New York City paid the tariff on these packages through a broker, who charged 50 cents a package as his commission, in addition to the 25 cents duty, after which the packages were sent to me by express, costing 25 cents each additional.

When it is considered that the merchant in England had placed upon the package stamps sufficient to bring it to me, it will be seen that in order that the United States Government could get 25 cents a package, or 50 cents in all, it was necessary for me to pay out the following sums:

Stamps on letter.....	\$0.02
Expressage to New York.....	0.25
Brokerage charge.....	1.00
Return express.....	50
	\$1.77

These medicines therefore cost me \$2.27 more than they would have cost had it not been for the tariff. Fifty cents of this went to the Government, which doubtless spent that much in clerical hire to collect it, and \$1.77 was absolutely thrown away. Not only does this suggest thoughts to the Free Trader that do not bear printing; but, it seems to me, that it should suggest, even to those who favor a tariff similar to the one we now have, the possibility of improving our law in one respect. Why could it not be with such small packages as it is with books which come to the post office of delivery, where the tariff is collected by the postmaster?

Memphis, Tenn.

BOLTON SMITH.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

It is the misfortune of my poor little scheme of governmental machinery that two such clever and influential Single Taxers as Messrs. Cooley and White happen to have been so thoroughly committed to the far more famous (and now almost venerable though still unadopted) plan of Mr. Hare, that they—hardly in the spirit of open-mindedness which so distinguished Mill—seem eager to pick flaws in, to *seare up* objections to, the modification, I advocate. As Mr. White tells us, Mill welcomed and praised Hare's scheme. *It was the only one before him*, looking to a fair representation, and he no more rejected the plan I now propose (of which he never heard) than he rejected the Single Tax or Henry George's argument against Malthusianism. The fact that to the day of his death Mill was a devout upholder of the Malthusian dogma, and opposed to a secret ballot, may be, in the paper founded by Henry George, a sufficient answer to Mr. White's citation of Mill's mere *ipse dixit* in favor of Hare's scheme, as if it were an argument against an amendment which Mill never considered.

Mr. White's first formal point against me is, that, as compared with mine, Hare's "system seems to reduce waste"—i. e., the unrepresented residuum of voters—"to the minimum consistent with the maintenance of equality and liberty among the members of legislative bodies."

Before following him into his rather singular "specification" under this head, let me first try to explain what the issue is. Before Hare's time, the nearest proposed approach to equality in political representation was simply the marking out of electoral "districts" of about the same population, it being assumed that each member would "represent" all the inhabitants of his district. Hare protested against the injustice and absurdity of this assumption, and proposed his much fairer plan of electoral "quotas," under which every group of voters numerous enough to rank as an *electing proportion* of the total body, might (without regard to districts) unite on one candidate and secure him for their representative. This still assumed that as a matter of course the legislators must be allowed to cast each *one vote* and *one vote only*, in the action of the House: and that they being thus equal in "voting power," their *constituencies* must be made as nearly equal as might be, to afford to all equality of representation. What some of us now say is this: That it is not at all a matter of course that legislators should have each one single vote; that on the contrary, inasmuch as the exact number of votes received by each has to be officially recorded anyhow, each can be allowed to cast *precisely as many votes as he has principals or constituents behind him* (just as in stockholders' meetings each "proxy" casts one vote for every "share" he represents); that by this obvious and natural method of proportioning the voting-power of each delegate to the actual size of his natural (and *unanimous*) constituency—instead of (*nominally*) proportioning constituencies to the arbitrarily-equalized voting-power of the delegates—the desiderated proportionality of representation can be at once more simply and more efficiently promoted: More

simply, inasmuch as it involves only the present simple canvassing of the votes, each voter's ballot naming only one candidate for the given office, whereas the "quota" plan intrusts the canvassers with the duty of crediting each given ballot to some one out of a number of candidates named thereon, according to "preferences" shown, qualified by the "needs" of one or another candidate as to the obtaining of the "quota" (and "nothing but" the quota, etc.): More efficiently, because, as I have said already in answering Mr. Cooley, "you certainly do not as fully as possible utilize the representing capacity of the seats, by arbitrarily declining to let the more popular of the incumbents condense, each into one seat, the entire body of his natural supporters, instead of arbitrarily forcing some of those supporters to overflow into, and so far exclusively and wastefully take up a second one" (perhaps more) "of the places, which are too few at best. Only a politico-arithmetical 'Toots' could treat as of 'no consequence' the 'element of waste in unfilled quotas'"—indefinitely large, according to the "quota"—"which this perverse arrangement wantonly increases instead of 'reducing to a minimum.'"—(STANDARD, Dec. 17, 1890.)

This charge it is—barring "perverse" and "wantonly"—to which Mr. White's first point seems to be a plea of "confession and avoidance." Presumably acting on his maxim that "self-evident facts cannot be discussed," he seems to admit the fuller representing capacity of the proxy plan, but insists that the scheme to which he was wedded before he met this "fairer" one, is at least as fair as is "consistent with the maintenance of equality and liberty among the members of legislative bodies."

Mr. White specifies: "It is certain that some will receive many times the number of votes cast for others. If Congress were so constituted, the interference of powerful members with executive appointments as the price of their support in certain pet measures, would make the present state of our civil service appear like spotless purity in comparison, while the 'small' Congressman would discover that his vote was valued at about two country post offices, at the hands of his greater colleague. At the Executive Department he would be too small to consider. Thus"—(sic)—"the condition of EQUALITY being impaired, LIBERTY will vanish in like degree." Figs—in the name of the PROPHET! This, then, is the portentous bug-a-boo of our "Young Man Afraid-of-his-Horses." The sacred (and purely imaginary) "equality" of Congressmen must be "maintained" (even at the expense of an unnecessary inequality of citizens, in representation), lest Congressmen should differ greatly in "influence" upon executive appointments! Out of all imaginable aspects of the "inequality" he prophesies and dreads, Mr. White picks out this one as the typical aspect; it is his choice, not mine. I have just two things to say about it: In the first place, as a Civil Service Reformer of twenty years' standing, and as one who has had much opportunity, official and other, to look into the subject, I feel quite safe in saying that equality of voting power does not prevent even the greatest inequalities of "influence," as Senators Gorman and Quay, and other "leaders," could testify. Nor (except, perhaps, by dogmatically labeling it "a self-evident fact," much in the style of "the sun do move" colored clergyman in Charleston) can our alarmist prophet probably establish his singular assumption that the total "influence" of Congress upon executive appointments could be increased in quantity, or made more corrupting in kind, by a redistribution of the same total "voting power" according to constituencies instead of according to rank in the hierarchy of bosses and caucus "leaders." The "civil service" evil consists of the mutual bribery of voters, legislators, and appointing officers, by bartering, for one another, elections, legislation and appointments. This cannot be prevented by either plan. As Mr. White tells us as to the Australian ballot and "the evils of the primary," "another measure is needed to accomplish that end." But—in the second place—Mr. White, in his zeal of advocacy, largely exaggerates the degree of inequality in voting-power which our scheme "involves." The fact that no candidate, however popular, could represent, or vote on behalf of, voters not of his own State, is one qualification. Another, possibly more directly adapted to soothe Mr. White's alarm, is this, that the "seven Congressmen from each State," while in one aspect "representatives" of population, and as such differing in voting power according to "constituencies," would, in another aspect, be the "Senators" of their State, and, as such, count one each in the final action upon all measures. It is an essential feature of the scheme that no measure is deemed "passed," unless it has both received a majority of all the votes controlled by the Congressmen, and also had the support of a majority of the Congressmen themselves, considered simply as persons. Both kinds of majority must concur (just as now both "Senate" and "House" must unite to legislate). Surely, as one of a body of Congressmen, of whom (as persons) an absolute majority is needed for legislation, even he who, in point of constituents, should be the "smallest," need not fear to have his bribe reduced to "two country post offices," or (still less) to be deemed, "in the Executive Department," not worth bribing at all!

Mr. White's second objection is one which, as he is far above the

suspicion of conscious quibbling, I can attribute only to his prejudiced desire to find fault. To give to those whose first choice among candidates should fail to be one of the seven Congressmen elected, an opportunity to give their voting power to their first choice among those seven, I have proposed that, after the seven have been elected, a second balloting be had, the results of which shall determine the number of each Congressman's actual constituents, and his consequent "voting power." The first election would be the regular legal election, conducted under legal sanctions on the "Australian" system, participated in by all parties alike, and, above all, conclusive as to the personnel of the State's delegation to Congress. (As Mr. White himself says, afterwards, it would be "binding.") But I happened, in view of the new feature of a second voting for the one purpose named, to call this (the regular election) a "primary or nominating election"; and Mr. White, like the merest punster, seizes on this expression as an excuse for solemnly rehearsing the familiar statements as to "primaries" being so ill attended that "machine politicians and their friends usually succeed in running them to their own satisfaction." After having, in order to discredit my proposal, talked of my ELECTION as if it were the sort of "primary" of which alone his remarks are true, Mr. White suddenly brings out, as an additional ground for condemnation, a fact which he knew all along, and which of itself proves the absurd irrelevancy of all his "primary" platitudes—the fact, namely, that my so-called primary is, absolutely above all question, the "election" that ELECTS. By calmly ignoring this all-important distinction, he first brands the regular election as a "primary" of the usual irresponsible, fraudulent, "voluntary," partisan machine sort; and then, at last, remembers the omitted feature, only to stand aghast at my folly in proposing (as I have not done), to make so unreliable an institution "binding," and "a necessary basis for a reform scheme." It is as true of my first election as of Hare's single one, that "the number of votes necessary to elect being approximately known, voluntary organization on the part of the necessary quota insures success."

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

STREET RAILWAY FRANCHISES.

Franchise values, says Mr. Buell in THE STANDARD of May 13, are not similar to land values. He contends that "land values are natural and will always stay with us," while "franchise values are artificial and grow out of a legal permission, direct or indirect, to charge more for a service than that service is worth."

From this I dissent, and, I think, with reason.

A street railway franchise is the exclusive privilege of running cars on certain streets, and the value of the franchise is not the amount of the profits derived from operating the cars, but only that portion of such profits which is due to the exclusive nature of the privilege—to the monopoly.

This is, indeed, measured by the amount charged in excess of the actual value of the service rendered, and it is the possession of the monopoly that enables the company to exact this excessive charge; but the value of the privilege does not arise from the mere "legal permission." The value of a monopoly is never due to the mere fact of its existence. I might secure a monopoly of all the land within a radius of one hundred miles from the North Pole, or be "legally permitted" the exclusive privilege of running electric cars across the Sahara, but neither would be likely to yield me any considerable revenue.

Contrast the value of the exclusive privilege of running cars on the streets of a sparsely-settled suburb with that of a similar privilege applying to the streets of the central portion of a great city, and is it not at once manifest that the value of the franchise arises from the density of the population?

And are not urban land values due to the same cause—density of population?

And, therefore, are not franchise values of the same nature as land values?

Both are due and proportioned to the growth of population; and franchise values are no more artificial than land values, nor are land values any more likely to "always stay with" any particular community than franchise values; they are equally dependent upon fluctuations of population.

It is true that, as Mr. Buell says, "a street railway company collects all the wealth it gets from those who ride," and it is equally true that the owner of improved real estate collects all the revenue he draws from it from those who occupy the buildings on "his" land; but just as in the latter case a portion of the amount paid to the landlord is for service rendered, i. e., the use of the building, and the balance is exacted by him by virtue of his monopoly of the land, so is a portion of the amount collected by the street railway company payment for the ride, while the balance is exacted by virtue of its exclusive privilege. This latter portion is the franchise value, and just as ground rents belong rightfully to the community, so should franchise values be turned into the public treasury.

Furthermore, just as taxation of land values is superior to Stat

ownership and rental of land, as a means of securing to the community the values created by the people as a whole; so is taxation of franchises superior to municipal ownership and rental of street railroad tracks, as a means of accomplishing the same desirable end. All that is necessary in the one case, as in the other, is to see that the tax absorbs the entire monopoly value.

Oakland, Cal.

J. H. BARBER.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

LONDON, May 23.—I ran on to Liverpool on the 20th, to meet Tom L. Johnson as he landed from the City of New York. A small tender brought the passengers from the steamship, which arrived at the bar of the Mersey at low water, up to the great landing stage, a third of a mile long. In the waiting crowd stood three other Single Tax men, W. S. Callie, Secretary of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, and editor of the Financial Reformer and the Almanac; F. L. Crilly, lecturer for the same association, and Edward McHugh, Secretary of the National Union of Dock Laborers, the man who, with our friend Richard McGhee, of Glasgow, tied up the big Liverpool liners last year until they increased their men's wages.

The Hon. Tom L. came down the gangplank with a smile as broad as his face. He said he had left everything booming, and that he hadn't been a bit sick, though there were two days of hard blowing and high seas. He was just getting into an interesting conversation when one of those Free-Trade-England-Custom-House-Officials swooped down on his baggage and wanted "everything opened."

We took a special night train to London, made up of sleeping and dining-cars, the latter modeled after the American idea, save that the doors were on the sides. Mr. Johnson thought it very strange when we all got out at one of the stations to go into the dining-car in the same train, and then at our being compelled to remain there until we came to another station and got a chance to change back. Congressman Sanford, of New York, a Republican and Protectionist, who voted in the last Congress for the McKinley bill, was in the car, and before the train arrived at Euston Station at 2 o'clock in the morning, he had listened to a first-rate Single Tax and Free Trade speech from the lips of the member from Ohio.

Mr. Johnson and his party went to the Hotel Metropole, Trafalgar square, where it is likely he will remain until after the conference of the Land Restoration League, next Tuesday.

Coming down on that Liverpool train I heard a nice little land-grabbing story about United States Senator Sanders, of Montana. It was this: Senator Sanders, long before he was Senator, was attorney for the Northern Pacific Railroad, which runs through Montana. A certain vacant piece of land, a mile square, lay very near the centre of the City of Helena, and though it was very valuable, none of the people about attempted to use it, as it was commonly supposed to belong to the Northern Pacific Railroad. But it appears that it didn't belong to the railroad company and that its ownership to anybody else could be disputed. But only Senator Sanders knew this. One fine morning four tents were pitched close together near the centre of the tract and homestead claims for 160 acres were made by four different members of the Senator's family.

This week the annual conference of the United Property Owners' Association of Great Britain was held in Manchester. These "property owners" are owners for the most part of improvements on leased land, and the meeting was chiefly remarkable for the strong and unanimous ground it took in taxing land values. A splendid paper was read by one of the delegates, after which the following resolution was carried without a dissenting vote:

That we, at the Conference of the United Property Owners' Association, held in Manchester on the 21st day of May, 1891, desire to express our sense of the great anomalies in our system of land taxation, that arise from the entire exemption of the ground landlords from any liability towards the relief of the poor and local taxation; and we consider that the time has fully arrived when all ground or chief rents, and other ground values, should contribute their equitable share towards the financial burden of the community.

I visited at his home at Wandsworth, a suburb of London, the other day, our friend Thomas Briggs, the anti-corn law veteran, who has of late been confined by a touch of the grip and by bad weather. Mr. Briggs's motto is "Universal Free Trade, the first condition of universal peace." I found him in capital spirits, and learned that he reads THE STANDARD through every week with extreme interest, for he says it shows to him better than anything else the lines of similarity of the present Single Tax movement to that anti-tariff tax movement which Cobden led. "I feel sanguine of the success of our Single Tax movement," said he, "but I do not think the adoption of the idea will come as soon with us here in England as with you over the sea, because we have much stronger vested interests. Your last election proves that your people are fast getting educated. Our people are much slower. The activity of the Socialists is, moreover, an immense obstacle to our moving. However, we have made a great advance of late. When Cobden began his work we were the greatest Protectionists, as a nation, in the world. At that time the people were going about starving. Little work was to be

had. Few purchasers came to buy and the warehouses were stocked to overflowing. Cobden saw that the landlords had a monopoly of the production of the people's food, or to put it in another way, that the people were taxed on their food to pay the landlord's big rents, and he struck at that particular monopoly in raising the anti-corn law standard. He did not see the cat, for he did not advocate the abolition of land monopoly. He simply struck at the monopoly of the products of land. But he was a full Free Trader. John Bright, in a speech at Covent Garden, London, early in the agitation, said: 'We ask that the whole world be our workshop and the wide world our market.' It is interesting to note that at one of the meetings in the Manchester Free Trade Hall Mr. Cobden arose and said: 'Gentlemen wishing to subscribe to this movement will please send up their names and the amount,' and no less than £60,000 (\$300,000), was given and promised that night. Another interesting point was that big as were many of the subscriptions to that movement, the small ones of a pound and less—the contributions of working men—were greater in the aggregate.

"As soon as we got the corn laws repealed," continued Mr. Briggs, "there was great prosperity. Everybody could find work, and everybody could do well. In fact, we did so well that we did not look behind us until the American civil war broke out. Then we had another starvation time of it. Three million men were thrown out of work for want of raw material that had been coming from the United States—principally cotton. I was a poor-law guardian at the time, and had to see to putting men who had been working in factories to tilling the land. They didn't get any wages—only their meals and a sleeping place. After the war things picked up again, but now we have come back to the old place.

"All the profits of industry have been absorbed in rents—the robber that takes all that is left after labor and capital get a bare subsistence. The landlord class that was so much frightened and fought us so bitterly reaped the harvest of the general prosperity very early. It was estimated a short time after the passage of the repeal act that their land had increased in value to the extent of twenty-two million pounds sterling.

"It should be observed," concluded Mr. Briggs, "that though we talk of having established Free Trade, we are really collecting by a tariff a revenue of £46,000,000, or \$230,000,000 per annum. When we got the corn laws and some other things abolished there were still about a dozen things of common use subjected to a tariff tax, and the revenue obtained from them was wonderfully increased by the enormous demand for them springing from the great prosperity into which we leaped. Strange though it may seem, a serious obstacle in the way of the establishment of absolute Free Trade in England is the Cobden Club. The distinction between Cobden and the Cobden Club lies in this, that Cobden wished the extinction of all tariffs—protective tariffs and revenue tariffs—whereas the Cobden Club is satisfied with having abolished the protective tariff. The principal business of the Cobden Club now is eating dinners."

One of the land purchase schemes following close on the heels of the Irish bill, is that proposed by Dr. Hunter, M. P. He proposes to buy out the owners of the Scottish deer forests. These vast tracts of land he would make "pleasure grounds and farms for the people." The country would thus be opened "to the enterprise of the people," and "a happy and prosperous little Switzerland" would succeed to the "misery and desolation which now prevail." However, it is evident that Dr. Hunter does not hope to get a special grant from the Government for this purchase, since he must appreciate the utter and complete ruin the attempt to grant it would bring on any Government. He proposes to get the purchase money indirectly, that is, by appropriating part of the million dollars which the Government proposes this year to devote out of the surplus revenue to the remission of school charges in Scotland. That this money would not go far is apparent from the fact that the estimated yearly rents of these deer heaths amount to \$450,000. But even if there were much more school money to divert into this channel the Government would not dare take the step. The proposal, nevertheless, serves to show how the wind blows.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

APPEALANCHE.

The Memphis Appeal-Avalanche is a good paper. It has sense, courage, and conscience. It has not the "big head," in the ordinary sense of the phrase, but it has too much head, all the same. It may be an Appeal for justice and righteousness, or an Avalanche coming down on hypocrisy and wrong doing. But let it be one or the other. Fifty years ago, when straddling was regarded as statesmanship, an easy solution of this difficulty could have been found. They would have called the paper the Appealanche, and been proud of the fact that the word had no meaning. Happily, we have gotten beyond that kind of "compromise."

STORY OF THE WEEK

ENDING SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1891.

SENATORIAL ELECTION IN FLORIDA.—The Democratic caucus, after ninety ballots, votes forty-nine to forty-seven to adjourn sine die. The failure of the caucus to nominate was caused by its adoption of the two-thirds rule. When the two Houses assembled in joint convention for the purpose of electing a United States Senator, the anti-Call Senators did not appear, and the Call members of the House refused to answer to their names; but fifty-four of both Houses were present, and as this was a majority of all the members elected to both Houses, the ballot was taken and the incumbent, Wilkinson Call, was re-elected.

FARMERS IN OHIO POLITICS.—The State Farmers' Union of Ohio meet at Columbus and discuss the question of independent political action. About two hundred delegates, representing every farmers' organization in the State, were in attendance. A platform was adopted which declares in favor, first, of an equal and fair distribution of the burdens of taxation on all forms of wealth to be listed at actual value, less actual indebtedness; second, of a system of school books at actual cost; third, of prohibition of the liquor traffic; fourth, of the suppression of railroad passes and other favors from corporations to public officials; fifth, of the issue of not less than \$50 per capita of full legal tender money, to consist of gold and silver on a parity with each other, and of paper; sixth, of the nomination and support of no man who will not stand squarely on this platform; and seventh, of an invitation to all laboring and legitimate business men to co-operate. The Sub-Treasury scheme, with its proposition to have the Government lend money at 2 per cent., is decisively defeated. A resolution to call a convention to nominate a third party ticket is voted down, sixty-three to sixty-four.

ACQUITTAL OF PLENTY HORSES.—The second trial of Plenty Horses, whose first trial was reported in THE STANDARD of May 6, under title, "The Indians," occurs at Sioux Falls, S. D. At the close of the testimony the Court directs the jury to acquit the prisoner on the ground that the homicide of which he was charged was committed in time of actual war upon the person of an enemy engaged in an act of hostility.

ANOTHER "ORIGINAL PACKAGE" DECISION.—Not long ago the Supreme Court of the United States overrode the Prohibition laws of State Legislatures, so far as they applied to the sale of liquors introduced from other States and sold in original packages, on the theory that this raised a question of commerce between the States, over which Congress alone has jurisdiction. Congress then passed an act giving vitality to State Prohibitory laws, and the point was raised that no State law could be made valid in that way, but must be re-enacted after the passage of the act of Congress. The Supreme Court, in a case brought up from the Prohibition State of Kansas, now holds against this view, and to the effect that the act of Congress, as soon as passed, gave vitality to all existing State laws.

DECLINE OF EX-PRESIDENT HAYES.—Ex-President Hayes is afflicted with loss of the power of recollection, due to a severe attack of grip which he suffered last Winter.

MILITARY CENSORSHIP AT WASHINGTON.—A Knights of Labor committee appears before the Secretary of War, and charges Brigadier General Albert Ordway, of the militia of the District of Columbia, with using treasonable and incendiary language in a lecture to the officers of the militia. It is represented that his language was calculated to create in the minds of his officers a sense of their superiority to the law, and a bitter hatred and blood-thirstiness toward such people as they may be called upon to restrain. He is also charged with having gone beyond his functions when, after giving instruction in the tactics to be used in the suppression of civil disorder, he proceeded to condemn certain social, political, and economic doctrines. The Secretary of War promises to give proper consideration to the charges.

THE WEEKLY TREASURY STATEMENT.—The United States Treasurer, in the five business days of the week, received from customs \$2,272,408, from internal revenue \$2,803,588, and from miscellaneous sources \$398,186; total from all, \$5,474,182, against \$6,320,002 in the preceding full week. The weekly statement shows an increase of \$2,461,843 in net cash in vaults and a decrease of \$269,861 in the deposits in National banks. By the statement, accordingly, the net cash in banks and vaults was increased by \$2,191,982. Another slight reduction in the amount of outstanding silver notes issued in payment of silver bullion does not greatly affect the volume of money in circulation. The tendencies of the precious metals, which have been a conspicuous feature of the statements recently, are exhibited in the latest one. The principal changes in

the vault balances were made up at follows: A loss in the gold balance of \$1,957,865 by a loss of \$3,724,059 coin and bullion less a reduction of \$1,766,194 in outstanding certificates, and a gain in the silver balance of \$4,291,739 by an accumulation of \$3,890,222 coin and bullion with a decline of \$401,517 in the amount of outstanding certificates. The changes in the legal-tender and National bank note balances were insignificant gains.

Subjoined is Friday's statement.

Gold coin and bullion, less certificates and \$100,000,000 reserve.....	\$33,558,448
U. S. notes less certificates.....	1,698,720
National bank notes.....	4,952,398
Silver dollars and bullion, less certificates.....	22,999,767

Cash in Treasury.....	\$63,209,333
Deposits in National banks.....	28,621,667

Total balance ..	\$91,831,000
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INAUGURATION IN RHODE ISLAND.—There having been no majority for the Democratic candidate for Governor of Rhode Island at the late election, but only a plurality, the two Houses assemble in Grand Committee and select the Republican candidate who is immediately inaugurated.

FRANCHISES IN RHODE ISLAND.—A bill has passed the lower House in this State permitting the cities of the State to assess upon any franchise granted for twenty-five years for the use of the public streets, such as for telegraph, telephone, gas, water and street railway purposes, a special tax not exceeding 3 per cent. of the gross earnings of the company.

MISSISSIPPI JOINT DEBATE.—Senator George and ex-Congressman Barksdale have been carrying on a joint discussion before the people of their State regarding the Sub-Treasury scheme. Barksdale defended the scheme and George opposed it. They have now united in a published card, in which they say that experience teaches them that such a debate will not promote an impartial and dispassionate consideration of the question, but will unduly excite public feeling and perhaps tend to disturb the harmony of the Democratic party, which they both deem essential to the prosperity and welfare of the people. They therefore determine to discontinue their joint discussions.

RESIGNATION OF PROF. PERRY.—Prof. Perry, for many years professor of political economy and English history at Williams College, and author of a well-known text book on political economy, has resigned.

GOVERNOR TILLMAN'S POLITICS.—Governor Tillman, of South Carolina, in an interview with the organ of the Alliance of that State, opposes the nomination of Mr. Cleveland because of his opposition to the free coinage of silver, and his "sympathy with Wall street." Governor Tillman also opposes the Sub-Treasury scheme in its details, and thinks the people will not support it after it has been properly presented; but if a majority of his party in the State continues to support it, he will fall in line. He sees no necessity for the organization of a third party.

SECEDING SWITCHMEN.—The grand officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen have received notice from the Switchmen's Union, of the latter's withdrawal from the Supreme Council of Federated Railway Employees. This secession is a result of the refusal of the trainmen to support the switchmen in the recent Northwestern lockout, reported in THE STANDARD of May 20, under title "Switchmen's Strike."

DEFEAT OF AN EIGHT HOUR BILL.—The lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature, by ninety to sixty-two, rejects a bill for making eight hours a day's work in the public employment of laborers.

COKE REGION BLACKLIST.—The blacklist, adopted by the coke operators in retaliation for the strike reported in THE STANDARD of April 29, and May 13 and 27, under title, "Coke Region Strike," is so perfect that the region is filling up with old miners who can get no employment. While the strike continued, the men were given credit at the stores; but since it has become apparent that there is an effective and extensive blacklist, men out of work are denied credit, and are being reduced to the condition of tramps.

PROFESSOR BRIGGS'S HERESY.—Last Sunday, the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, of New York, defended Professor Briggs, whose case is reported in THE STANDARD of April 22, May 13, 20 and 27, under this title, in a sermon to his congregation from the text: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." It caused a sensation throughout the Presbyterian communion, and Mr. Parkhurst went at once to Detroit to follow his sermon with a defence of the Professor on the floor of the General Assembly. His efforts, however, were unavailing.

Dr. Patton, as chairman of the committee in charge of the Briggs controversy, introduced resolutions in the Assembly disapproving the appointment of Professor Briggs to the Edward Robinson Professorship of Biblical Theology, in the Union Theological Seminary, by transfer from another chair. The resolution also provided for the appointment of a committee to confer with the directors of the seminary in regard to its relations to the General Assembly, the committee to report to the next Assembly. These resolutions were adopted by a vote of 440 to 59.

PHILLIPS BROOKS.—Much of the opposition to the consecration of Phillips Brooks, reported under this title May 6 and 27, is attributed to an anonymous circular ostensibly in the interest of the High Church policy, but in reality a covert attack upon Mr. Brooks. The circular has been sent to the standing committees of the various dioceses. Notwithstanding the opposition, however, twenty-two dioceses have recommended the consecration. This is within five of the number necessary to carry the question to the House of Bishops, and twenty-two have not yet voted. Eight have voted in the negative.

DEATH OF DR. FORDYCE BARKER.—Fordyce Barker, M. D., born at Wilton, Me., May 2, 1818, died at New York, May 30, 1891.

DEATH OF JUDGE BRECKINRIDGE.—At the close of his speech in favor of the committee report against Professor Briggs in the Presbyterian General Assembly, reported this week under title "Professor Briggs's Heresy," Judge S. M. Breckinridge, of St. Louis, a member of the committee, said: "I feel that I have discharged my duty faithfully, and I ask you to excuse me from further work." In an instant he had fallen upon the platform; and within five minutes he was dead.

DEATH OF DR. VANDYKE.—The Rev. Dr. Henry J. VanDyke, one of the most prominent American clergymen of the Presbyterian Church, born in Abington, Pa., March 2, 1822, died at Brooklyn, N. Y., May 25, 1891. He was an authority upon theology and ecclesiastical law, and at the time of his death was professor-elect of systematic theology in the Union Theological Seminary at New York. Until a few days prior to his death, he had been for thirty-eight years pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn.

DISSOLUTION OF THE RUBBER TRUST.—At a secret meeting at Trenton, N. J., the Central Rubber Trust was dissolved by the voluntary action of its constituent companies.

FORMATION OF THE PLAID MILL TRUST.—One mill in Alabama, five in Georgia, twenty-seven in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, and one in Tennessee, have formed a stock company for the purpose of concentrating their business, which comprises seventy-five per cent. of the entire Southern product of plaid. The feature of the plan is to establish at New York a joint selling agency for the purpose of preventing competition in prices; and it is expected that the advantage of a reduction of twenty-five per cent. in duties, allowed in the reciprocity treaty by Brazil to American manufacturers, will open a large market, which this trust aims to control.

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE.—The first public meeting of the Social Science Institute was held at Horticultural Hall, Boston, Colonel T. W. Higginson presiding. The object of the Institute is to unite all reform elements in an educational work for the purpose of making clearer the issues of debate, the relation of reforms to each other, and the principles of law or unity underlying them all. Regular discussions of social questions are to be held weekly.

BALLOT REFORM IN PENNSYLVANIA.—The Pennsylvania House refuses to concur in the Senate amendments to the Baker ballot bill, which were calculated to destroy its efficiency. A Conference Committee of the two Houses is then raised, and upon its report the essential features of the House bill are adopted.

BEHRING SEA CONTROVERSY.—Regarding this controversy, reported in THE STANDARD of May 13, under this title, Goschen gave notice in the Commons that the Government would introduce a bill prohibiting British subjects from catching seals in Behring Sea. His notice was soon followed by the bill, introduced by William Henry Smith, First Lord of the Treasury. It enables the Queen, by an order in Council, to prohibit the catching of seals in Behring Sea by British subjects, during a period to be named in the order. This is a preliminary step on the part of the British Government, in the direction of a temporary arrangement with the United States for a closed season.

The Federal Government had already telegraphed orders to the Bear and the Rush, revenue vessels at San Francisco, to proceed to the Pribiloff Islands and to warn vessels from catching seals within the three mile limit, but not to molest any found elsewhere.

CANADIAN RAILROAD SUBSIDY.—Sir John A. MacDonald gives notice in the Dominion Parliament that he will move a resolution reciting that it is expedient, in order to enable the Winnipeg & Hudson's Bay Railway Company to construct a railway from Winnipeg to some point on the Saskatchewan, to enter into a contract with that company for the transportation of men, supplies, materials, and mails for twenty years, and to pay for such service \$80,000 a year from the date of the completion of the road. The object is to promote the opening of a new route to England from the Canadian Northwest, by rail from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD DYING.—The Canadian Premier lies at the point of death at Ottawa.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The French Admiral appeared with a fleet of warships in St. George's Bay and proclaimed his authority over it, forbidding Newfoundland fishermen to do any fishing there. By his command a patrol has taken up the local fishermen's nets, seines, and traps, and put them all ashore. He has also driven off Colonial fishermen who were catching bait for American fishing schooners. These schooners claimed their rights under the treaty of 1818, between Great Britain and the United States, by which the former conferred upon the latter the same right of fishing along the west coast of Newfoundland that she had previously granted to France. France has done nothing until now to indicate that this treaty is in conflict with treaties between herself and Great Britain; but the French Admiral announces that he does not recognize the treaty of 1818. He claims that the contents of the waters of St. George's Bay belong exclusively to France, and declares that he will allow no traffic between Americans and Newfoundland fishermen in bait taken from the waters of that bay. This means that the people of St. George, who live by supplying bait, must starve. There are no French fishermen there. The Admiral stands solely on the proposition that everything in the bay is French property, that the Anglo-American treaty is void, and that he is authorized to enforce French rights, as construed by France, against both the Newfoundlanders and the Americans. After these proceedings he retired with his fleet from the bay.

This is another phase of the difficulties between Newfoundland and the mother country, regarding French treaty rights in the colony, reported May 6, 13, 20 and 27, under this title. These particular difficulties are now temporarily adjusted. The Colonial bill passed its second reading in the Lower House of the Legislature with only three dissenting votes; and, after a brief delay, in obedience to a request cabled by the delegates in London it was enacted by both Houses. It legalizes the *modus vivendi* and the proposed arbitration, and enforces the French treaties with Great Britain. The law expires in 1893 by its own limitation.

By this means the support of the Liberals in the British House of Commons was secured, and the Government was forced to suspend further action on the Knutsford bill. At first, the Government proposed that the Knutsford bill be read a second time without opposition, agreeing to postpone the next stage for three weeks, and promising, if the Colonial Legislature passed the temporary bill recommended by the delegates, to withdraw the Knutsford bill; but after debate, in which the Liberals opposed the second reading, a motion was passed which, after reciting that the Commons had been informed that the Colonial Legislature had passed a satisfactory act, resolved that there was no necessity to proceed with the second reading of the Knutsford bill. This is regarded as a triumph for the colony. The Colonial Legislature was prorogued on the 30th, after the longest session in the history of the colony.

BRAZIL.—The increase of exchange on London has forced from the Government a rescission of the decree, reported under this title last week, which required customs duties to be paid in gold.

OUR RELATIONS WITH CHILI.—The supercargo of the Robert and Minnie, referred to in THE STANDARD of May 13, under title, "Escape of the Insurgent Chilean Transport," and May 20 and 27, under title "The Fugitive Itata," has been indicted by the United States Grand Jury at Los Angeles for breach of the neutrality laws. So has the captain. The former has given bail; the latter is still in jail. The crew were not indicted. They are held as witnesses, as are two deserters from the Itata.

Senator Trumbull, of Chili, was also indicted by the Grand Jury at Los Angeles. He has pleaded not guilty, and will be tried at an early day.

The Charleston has been heard from at Callao, Peru. She had not sighted the Itata. The Charleston, it was said, would join the American squadron in Chilean waters; and it was expected that upon her arrival the Itata would be peaceably surrendered for trial by our courts for breach of the neutrality laws. But a later report from Acapulco, Mexico, states that officers of the Esmeralda, which coaled there, say that the Itata, after transferring her arms and ammunition purchased in the United States to the Esmeralda on the high seas, on April 15, sailed direct to Melbourne, Australia.

CHILIAN REVOLUTION.—The Congressional party to the Chilean revolution, reported in THE STANDARD of April 29 and May 6 under this title, and May 13, 20 and 27 under title "Chili," announce through the provisional junta that it has concluded a treaty of friendship with Bolivia.

A full translation of the agreement signed last January by the insurgent members of Congress upon beginning the armed revolt, and also of the address by Balmaceda made last April, have just appeared in this country.

The agreement recites that Balmaceda had made himself responsible for numerous crimes against the popular will, had used his official powers to provoke criminal attacks upon public order through paid mobs, and had undertaken to usurp powers of Congress by prohibiting the rights of petition and meeting; that he had misused public funds by employing them for purposes not stated in the budget; that he had ignored and violated the right of Congress to audit expenditures, and had attempted to change the time-honored form of government by retaining a cabinet which had been censured by both branches of Congress; that by closing Congress he had failed to comply with his promise to sanction proposed laws necessary to guarantee to members the rights conferred on them by voters, and that he had misappropriated public funds in order to enable him to maintain at will land and sea forces without the authorization of Congress. That these acts, together with official declarations, had revealed an intention to undermine the republic in order to raise upon the ruins of the people's sovereignty an absolute power. And that, as this conduct had placed him in open revolution against constitutional order, and made him a traitor to his country, beyond the pale of the law, he was incapable of holding office. His deposition is, therefore, decreed; and since, for participation in his offences, none of his state councillors or ministers could succeed him, Judge Monttis is appointed to assist Congress in re-establishing the sway of the constitution. The agreement is signed by a majority of the members of the two Houses.

Balmaceda, in his address, says that on the 7th of January the naval officers took up arms against the Government. That they endeavored to incite the regular army and the people to join in a conflict produced by the ambition of the chiefs of the political groups, but failed. That upon the failure of his own efforts to unify the Liberal party, he had closed Congress to give the malcontents opportunity for reflection; and that when the revolt broke out, he had been compelled to assume all the powers necessary to suppress it. In doing this, he was obliged to bring together the elements necessary to defend and make triumphant those principles of authority in Chili without which nothing solid or durable can exist in the future, and these circumstances imposed on him the painful duty of reducing the chiefs and promoters of the revolt to impotence by arresting them or driving them away from the scene of their activity.

HAYTI.—It is announced at the Haytian Legation in Paris, that a revolution has broken out in Hayti, and that Port-au-Prince, the capital, has been proclaimed in a state of siege. This tends to verify the predictions of the opposition papers, reported under this title in THE STANDARD of May 20.

STAGE DRIVERS' STRIKE IN PARIS.—The stage drivers of Paris strike for a twelve hour work day, for the reinstatement of drivers who had been discharged for belonging to the union, and for 3 per cent. interest on their security deposits.

The work day had been 14, 16 and even 18 hours, and the pay from 60 cents to \$1, less fines. The company had also exacted \$40 security, retaining for itself the income from the investment of this sum, from which source its profits had aggregated \$40,000 since its establishment.

The strike caused great excitement, enormous crowds in sympathy with the strikers surrounding the depots, which were guarded by police and detachments of troops. The company made an effort, assisted by the police, to run several stages, but the crowds interfered even to the extent of pulling new drivers from their seats. The stage company then asked M. de Freycinet, President of the Council and Minister of War, to allow soldiers to drive the stages for them; this, however, was refused. On Tuesday M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, gave audience to delegates from both the strikers and the company, the result of which was an agreement ending the strike. By this agreement, which was signed late Tuesday night, the company recognized the union, reinstated dismissed union men, and adopted the twelve hour system.

FRENCH PROTECTIONISM.—In the Chamber of Deputies, the tariff debate reported in THE STANDARD of May 6 and 18, under this title, proceeds. The duty on wheat is reduced to three francs, and that on flour to six, per hectolitre (nearly three bushels). The Protectionists endeavor to fix the duty on pork at 35 francs, "to prevent the poisoning of the French by American pork." The Free Traders try to keep the duty down to the old figure of 8½ francs, arguing that "the fear of trichinosis is

only a pretext to exclude American meat." The Chamber accepts the committee tariff of 12 francs.

GLADSTONE WINS AGAIN.—The by-election in North Buckinghamshire, to fill the seat of Captain Verney, who was recently expelled from the Commons for immoral conduct, results in the election of the Gladstonian candidate by a majority of 381. As Verney, a Liberal, had been elected by a majority of only 208, the Gladstone Liberals gain 173. The Conservatives poll 15, and the Gladstonians 158, more votes than at the previous election, held in 1889. In 1887 the Conservatives had a majority of 71. Verney's successor is H. S. Leon, son of the Hebrew clockmaker, who, by daring operations in American railroad securities, has amassed a fortune of \$15,000,000.

PARNELL vs. McCARTHY.—A law suit has been commenced in Brooklyn, N. Y., to restrain Eugene Kelly from paying over to Justin McCarthy or his supporters, in accordance with the resolutions reported last week under this title, any of the money raised as a result of Dillon and O'Brien's visit to this country last Fall.

LONDON LOCKOUT.—Over fifteen thousand men are thrown out of employment by a lockout of carpenters in London.

QUESTIONING THE TORY EDUCATION SCHEME.—On the second reading of the Budget bill, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, who was Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer, attacked the free education plans, reported in THE STANDARD of April 22, under title "England," as subversive of English principles of public finance. The plans contemplate an expense of £1,000,000, but the House is not informed as to the method by which the money is to be applied. This, said Harcourt, strikes at the root of the principle of taxation that money should not be voted until the House is thoroughly informed as to the manner in which the money is to be used. He announced that he would not oppose the appropriation, but he wanted the opinion of the House as to the manner of expenditure.

BRITISH AND PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA.—The British Company sends a report to London to the effect that the fight reported last week under title "Fighting in South Africa," occurred because the Portuguese were marching to Fort Salisbury from Umtassa's Kraal, where they were massed. It explains that when the Portuguese came within twenty yards, the British South African Company's police fired upon them, killing seven and wounding twenty. It was feared that the Portuguese intended to capture Fort Salisbury.

From Lisbon, it is reported that the Portuguese were within their own lines at Massikesse, and seven hundred yards from the depot of the Mozambique company, when they were fired upon. Public opinion in Portugal makes this occurrence the basis of charges that the British South African Company persistently endeavors to prevent an understanding between Great Britain and Portugal.

A later fight having taken place between the British and the Portuguese, in which the latter were defeated, the Governor of Mozambique, a Portuguese colony, and the British admiral, arrange, by way of avoiding further encounters, to lay out a provisional boundary between the British possessions at Massikesse and those of the Portuguese.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.—A treaty between Portugal and the Congo Free State, whereby Portugal receives fresh territory on the west coast of Africa, has been signed.

ITALY.—The trials of members of the Mala Vita, an Italian assassination society, have resulted in the conviction of 165 men, who have been sentenced to from eight to fifteen years imprisonment each.

PERSECUTION OF HEBREWS.—The Chief of the Holy Synod of the Greek Church, at St. Petersburg, submits to the council of the empire an ordinance forbidding Hebrews to observe the Hebrew Sabbath by closing their stores or otherwise suspending work, and compelling them to observe Sunday as the Sabbath, and to celebrate the other sacred days of the orthodox Greek Church. This is part of the system of persecution reported under this title in STANDARD of May 6th, 13th, 20th and 27th. It is also announced from St. Petersburg that Hebrew army doctors will soon be compelled to join the orthodox Greek Church, or resign their places; and that hereafter no Hebrew doctors will be admitted to the service of the State.

Baron Hirsch, when interviewed on the subject of the Russian measures against the Hebrews, said that they were equivalent to a wholesale expulsion from the empire. In his opinion, Russia regards the presence of Hebrews as a desecration of the soil of the country. He does not regard this as altogether a misfortune, since the worst thing that can happen to them is a continuance of their wretched existence without hope of improvement. He attributes the Russian antipathy not alone to race prejudice, but also to religious belief, and has no confidence in any endeavors to moderate the Russian

regulations. He recognizes but two methods of relief. One is to acquaint the Czar of the cruelties that are perpetrated in his name, and appeal to his sense of justice and humanity; the other is to establish order and method in the expatriation. If the Czar will fix a period, say twenty years, says the Baron, within which all Jews must leave Russia, a certain number to leave annually, Hebrews who are interested in the exiles will provide all funds necessary to convey the annual batch to countries where they can find new homes.

The Greeks who assaulted the Jews at Corfu are on trial. Several policemen have been found guilty of inciting to the assault, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

RUSSIAN CLEMENCY.—In celebration of a visit the Czarowitch is about to make to Siberia, an imperial decree has been issued authorizing the remission, by two thirds, of the sentences of hard labor convicts, whose behavior has been good. Convicts undergoing imprisonment for life will have their sentences reduced to twenty years, with the civil rights of exiled settlers after ten years of servitude.

EXPULSION OF QUEEN NATALIE.—The Prefect of Belgrade and an Inspector have been placed on the retired list, owing to the disapproval by the Government of the manner of Natalie's expulsion, as reported last week under this title.

POSTAL CONGRESS.—The Australian delegates to the Congress reported last week under this title, announce that the Australian colonies will join the International Postal Union in October.

CONTINENTAL RECIPROCITY.—It is reported in Berlin that Austria and Germany have notified Switzerland, Italy, Servia and Roumania, that they must conclude commercial treaties jointly with Germany and Austria, or renounce the separate treaties they now have with those two countries.

CHINA.—The report in THE STANDARD of May 20, under this title, that Christian missions near Nanking had been pillaged, is confirmed. The inmates escaped. All European women and children have left Nanking. The Methodist girls' school was set on fire and looted. Chinese troops have been sent to the scene of the trouble, and a British cruiser has been ordered there to investigate.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

AVARICE.—In the North American Review for June, Gen. Rush C. Hawkins argues that brutality and avarice are triumphant in American life, and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll replies.

Gen. Hawkins recalls the dishonest contractors and their notorious and enormous frauds, during the period of the civil war. Of the plundering land grants, resulting in the gift to corrupt private corporations of a territory larger than the whole of France, he says that "only one of the railroads assisted was a national necessity, and that ought to have been built, owned, and managed by the Government." Supplementary to the grants he cites the loans of Government credit for the benefit of a little cabal of promoters. He points also, to another favorite American industry—railroad wrecking—which has enriched a set of individuals "whose presence would adorn penal institutions." Land and lumber stealing from the Government are additional witnesses to the triumph of avarice. The Star Route steal is another, and stock watering another. He refers to the first notorious act of stock watering as having been committed by the directors of a great railway corporation when, in 1868, they doubled the stock in the face both of their charter and of the general railroad law of the State, and later employed a lobby to legalize their unlawful act. Trusts, "corporation and contractors' stores," sham buildings, destruction of game, the brutality of the slaughter-house, the oppression of the Indian, are also marshalled with the other proofs of triumphant greed.

The point General Hawkins endeavors to establish by his long array of witnesses, is that these misdeeds are perpetrated in the open light of day, and go on year after year without protest from any considerable portion of the people, and that they indicate as one of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals, that "Successful wrong is right."

General Hawkins is a social doctor who contents himself with making a catalogue of some of the boils that afflict the body of society, without undertaking to diagnose the disease of which they are manifestations; but Col. Ingersoll takes up the congenial task of defending and sometimes apotheosizing the boils.

Congress may have been extravagant in land subsidies to railroads; but the policy was wise, for it gave to civilization vast territories that otherwise would have remained substantially useless to the world. It is true that some railroads have been wrecked; but this was due to competition, in which the powerful combine against the weak, and only the strong survive. The Star Route defendants were acquitted. The taking of timber from public lands was a

necessity, and to call it stealing is like saying that the settlers' "cattle stole the Government's grass, and possibly drank the Government's water." Trusts have been formed, but it is natural for corporations to defend themselves; and in the end trusts may prove a public benefit, for, when the large corporations have taken possession of the little ones, "it may be that the Government will take possession of them—the Government being the largest corporation of them all." Etcetera. The superficial character of Colonel Ingersoll's reply may be best seen from one plausible point that he makes. To him, stock watering is an innocent affair. Here, he says, is a railroad worth \$3,000,000; if represented by one share of stock, that share would be worth \$3,000,000; but if represented by three million shares, each would be worth one dollar; therefore the amount of stock issued has nothing to do with the thing represented by the stock. This is very true; and the inference, that to increase or diminish the stock affects no rights, is obvious, when facts which Colonel Ingersoll ignores, and to which General Hawkins refers, are not considered. The act is expressly condemned by law. Nor is this law unreasonable. Railroad corporations are endowed with special privileges, in consideration of which the law justly imposes a limitation on the income they may be allowed to earn. If this income be limited to 10 per cent., a road making \$600,000 a year on a capitalization of \$3,000,000, would plainly be receiving an income 10 per cent. greater than it is entitled to; but by watering the stock, so as to give to it a capitalization of \$6,000,000, stockholders are enabled to effect a public steal of the extra 10 per cent., while appearing to keep within the legal limit of profit.

It is not strange, perhaps, that Colonel Ingersoll should overlook this, when we consider that he can be guilty of such an exploitation of "mud patriotism," as it has been aptly called, as in the sentence, with which he concludes his paper. "No American should ever write a line," he says, "that can be sneeringly quoted by an enemy of the great Republic." After that, the familiar Ingersollian prayer, "Let us be honest!" has a disagreeable sound.

THE ARENA.—This magazine for June contains a paper on "The New Columbus," by Julian Hawthorne; an illustrated article on "Society's Exiles," by the editor, B. O. Flower, whose portrait also accompanies the number; an unfinished contribution on "Revolutionary Measures and Neglected Crimes," by Professor Joseph Rhodes Buchanan; a comparison of "Evolution and Christianity," by Professor James T. Bixby; and an interesting variety of other matter, of both a lighter and a more serious cast.

Mr. Hawthorne's new Columbus is he who is yet to discover unexplored worlds in the realms of science, and his most promising voyage is to be in the direction of the transformation of matter. Vibration is the law of existence. If we could control vibrations we could create substances, either directly from the etheric base or mediately by inducing the atoms of any given substance so to modify their characteristic vibrations as to produce another substance. This done, labor for daily bread would be a thing of the past, for the race for wealth will cease when every one is equally able to command all the resources of the globe.

Were the discoveries of the coming Columbus limited to the material plane, a new kind of barbarism would appear; but the material transubstantiation will be merely a corollary or accompaniment of a spontaneous and joyful realization, by the soul, of its vital relations with the Creator, and the attitude of men toward one another will change. Competition will not be abolished, for that is a wholesome and vital law. But its direction will be altered. Human energy and love of production, no longer necessary to produce a livelihood, will not cease; it will persist, and find new channels in the making of life more lovely, not alone for self but also for others.

It may well appear to Mr. Hawthorne that "when bread may be made out of stones by the mere setting up of a particular vibration," labor for daily bread will be a thing of the past; but if the vibrator, then as now, is obliged to divide his bread with another as a condition of procuring stones, stones will be so much more valuable than vibratory skill as to make the task of procuring daily bread quite as worrisome and wearisome as it is to-day.

Mr. Flower's report on "Society's Exiles" is prefaced with a brief presentation of the causes of the abject poverty of the slums. He regards them as numerous and complex. The most apparent are immigration; the glamor of city life; the growth of the saloon; monopoly of labor-saving inventions; special privileges and protective measures, granted by legislation; the power of concentrated wealth; the fever of speculation; desire for luxurious indulgence; defective education, which has developed the brain but shriveled the soul; and "last, but by no means least," land speculation, which has resulted in keeping large tracts of land idle that otherwise would have blossomed with happy homes.

The report itself describes scenes that came under the observation of the writer in an afternoon's tour through the slums of the North End of Boston; and for remedy he proposes the erection of model tenement houses. In doing this, he recognizes the objection that

palliative measures tend to retard the great radical reformatory movements which are now taking hold of the public mind; but he urges that there is no way in which comfortable people can be so thoroughly aroused to the necessity of radical economic changes as by bringing them into such intimate relations with the submerged millions that they hear the throbbing of misery's heart. In conclusion, however, he notes that so long as speculation continues in "that great gift of God to man, land," the problem will be unsettled.

Professor Bixby, in "Evolution and Christianity," reconciles the theory of evolution with the conception of an intelligent creator, who starts its processes and endows its atoms with their peculiar properties.

In "Revolutionary Measures and Neglected Crimes," Professor Buchanan points out criminal ostentation as something standing ever in the way of man's progress to a higher condition. The abnegation of selfishness, by limiting personal expenditure to the amount really necessary to comfort, and dedicating the rest to humanity, is the central idea of his article. It declares that no man is fit to be entrusted with any more than he needs for his own comfortable existence; and, though not finished in this number, it seems to point to Socialism as the remedy for the prevailing condition of unlimited wealth and unlimited poverty which the writer deplures.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

AMERICAN TEACHERS' CONVENTION.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: The annual convention of the American Teachers' Association will be held in Toronto next July. It is expected that about fifteen thousand members will be in attendance, and elaborate preparations are being made for their reception and entertainment.

Among so many intelligent people, there will doubtless be a large number of believers in the Single Tax, and we think the opportunity should not be lost of holding a large Single Tax meeting during the sitting of the convention.

In order that we may have an idea of the number of Single Tax men and women who will visit the city at that time, we will be glad if all who purpose doing so will send a post card to my address.

J. L. DAWKINS,

Secretary Toronto Single Tax Association.

269 Wellesley street, Toronto.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WORK.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: How strangely men differ in their view of things is well illustrated in Mr. A. J. Wolf's letter in your last issue, entitled "Opportunities for Work." Mr. Wolf thinks that it is difficult to unite Single Tax men in organizations of a social nature. Our experience in the Brooklyn Club has been that Single Tax men are just as much social animals as any other class of men; in fact, it might be set down as a rule that the men who do the most for the Single Tax cause are those whose dispositions are social. The reason for this is easily explained—the social man's character is attractive, and he puts himself in sympathy with his fellow-men; the unsocial man's character is repellent, and he can do but little for any movement, Single Tax or other, in which he may be interested.

As to opportunities for work, there is no need of seeking them. They are at every man's elbow. It is foolish to wish for a large field in which to work, and to ignore the one in which your lot is cast. I was for years a member of the Knights of Labor. I have been for years a trades-unionist. And in neither organization could I find as good opportunities for work as I can find at my own door. I do not mean by this that Single Taxers should not join trade or labor organizations, and propagate our principles therein; but I do mean that, if they suppose such ground to be well cultivated and ready for the dropping of the seed (as is so frequently asserted), they will be disappointed. My groceryman, my butcher, my shoemaker, my hatter, my druggist, *et al.*, are all Single Taxers. Why cannot others in a short time say the same?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

EDWARD FERGUSON.

LAND ANIMALS.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Does the argument of Mr. E. J. Phelps, in Harper's Magazine for April, concerning the Behring Sea controversy, seem in one of its propositions as familiar to other readers of THE STANDARD, I wonder, as it does to me?

It is a very good argument for the American position. At least, so it seems to me, and it is based upon this fundamental theorem: "A colony of SEALS, which make their home upon American soil and" (being essentially land animals) "are unable to exist without a home upon some soil, BELONG" (*ex necessitate*) "TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THAT SOIL, and are a part of their property, and do not lose this quality by passing" (or being allowed to pass) "from one part of the territory to another in migrations necessary to their life."

Have we not all somewhere read or heard something of this sort, when the subject under discussion was another kind of land animal?

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

ONE PINCH MADE THESE WORKERS FREE TRADERS.

The employees of a certain type foundry of this city are not only in a state of mind, but they have become a unit on the tariff question. Ever since the coming to the front of that question these employees have been as divided on the subject as were the two owners of the foundry, one of whom is a lifelong Democrat, and ever since the issuance of Cleveland's celebrated message has been an advocate of tariff reform, while the other is a stalwart Republican and Protectionist. There has never been any particular feeling among the employees because of political differences, and for years past it has been the habit among them, after an election, for those who had voted with the winning side to pleasantly guy the voters of the losing side. Very little of the widespread discussion opened up in the press, pulpit, and rostrum, and participated in by a large class of our citizens as a result of Mr. Cleveland's message, found its way into this type foundry. The proprietors, though differing in politics, agreed in making everything pleasant for their workmen; and, as things go, the men had good jobs—better, perhaps, than they could have found in any other foundry. Once in a while a man—sometimes a workman, sometimes a visitor—would in the course of conversation with the men express himself on the tariff question, either on the tariff reform or Protection side. He would be listened to pleasantly and patiently, but the men's opinions would remain the same. Occasionally a Free Trader would give his views in their presence, but he would always meet with a cold reception. There were no Free Traders in that foundry—only tariff reformers and Protectionists. The whole question of the tariff was to these employees a huge joke. No one had ever been able to interest them in it. Moral suasion had gone for naught.

But it is a joke no longer. Three weeks ago, a rumor got to the ears of the employees of this foundry that made them straighten up; and now they are very much interested in the tariff question. Their own investigations in that time have done more to convince them of the importance of the question than all the arguments that were launched at them in the past four years. And, singular to say, while there is not now a Protectionist in the foundry, excepting the Republican proprietor, neither is there a tariff reformer; they have all become absolute Free Traders. It came about in this way:

A number of British capitalists, with a surplus of wealth on hand which they wanted to invest, conceived the idea of buying up all the large type foundries in this country; and they have organized a syndicate for that purpose. The agent of this syndicate had been negotiating with the principal type founding houses with encouraging results, and had begun work on foundries of the second grade. In this category comes the foundry of which we have been speaking. The Republican partner is in favor of selling out, while the Democrat is not; and so the matter stands. The whole programme of the syndicate has been explained to these partners as follows: When enough of the large foundries have agreed to sell out, a trust will be formed. This trust will maintain four foundries—two in the East and two in the West. All the other foundries belonging to the trust will be dismantled. Such foundries as attempt to do business on an independent basis will be stamped out. Then, when the trust has control of the business of the country, it will be able to regulate prices and the demand for its goods.

Now, the men would not have been particularly interested had a trust bought this particular foundry, with a view to making it one of the two to be continued in operation in the East when the new order should come about; but such was not the purpose. If the foundry is sold to the trust, it will be among those marked for dismantling; and, therefore, the men are very much interested, for they know that in that event they will all find themselves out of work.

It happened, just after the news of the probable change had reached the men, that a Free Trader with Single Tax proclivities, called in at the office of the firm and left a memorandum of a list of articles needed for a new printing office, on which he wanted an estimate. He handed the list to the chief bookkeeper, who promised to fill it out and return it by mail on the following day. Two days passed, and the estimate did not come to the Free Trader. He went to the foundry, but nobody in authority was in. He left a note calling attention to the neglect, and waited two days longer. Still no estimate. On the fifth day he again went to the foundry office, and this time caught the Democratic partner in; but as he knew nothing about the estimate, the Free Trader sat down and waited. Finally, the chief bookkeeper put in an appearance, whereupon the Free Trader rather sharply asked the reason for the delay in receiving his estimate. The bookkeeper, with a worried look, said he had neglected it, but would prepare it immediately. While engaged in doing so, he remarked that there was a great deal of trouble in the place.

"Is the firm in trouble?" asked the Free Trader.

"Oh, no," answered the bookkeeper; "the firm is all right. It's the workmen and the rest of us that are in trouble." Then he went on and told the story which we have narrated above; and he wound up by saying: "It will be a shame if the firm sells out to the trust, for it will throw on the streets about three hundred men, most of whom have been in their employ ever since they were boys."

"Does the syndicate offer a fair price for the foundry?" asked the Free Trader.

"Oh, yes," answered the bookkeeper; "they have offered a big price. One partner" (naming the Republican) "wants to take it, but ——" (the Democratic partner) "has refused so far, on account of the employees, to whom he is personally attached. He does not want to see them thrown out of work."

"Then," said the Free Trader, "—— is a very foolish man. This is a commercial age, Billy, and men, women or children must not be taken into account in business."

The bookkeeper turned and looked on the Free Trader, with amazement and anger depicted on his face. "You say this?" said he; "you who have always been known as a man fighting for the advancement of your fellow man? I'm astonished at you!"

"Well, you needn't be. I have known you and most of the people in this foundry for many years. I have often talked with you all about what your duty was toward your 'fellow men,' as you now call them, but none of you ever took the slightest interest in the matter. And you wouldn't now, only you see very clearly that a change in the ownership of this foundry will throw you all out of a job. If this is a commercial age in which human beings don't count, it is the fault of such people as you. The trouble with you, Billy, is that you have all of a sudden been kicked into recognizing the general condition of things by a threatened calamity to yourself, and you want the whole world to step into the breach to save what you, for the moment, believe to be your 'fellow men,' while in reality it is yourself and the men in this foundry. If this change of ownership does nothing else, it will, for a time at least, arouse such men as you to a consideration of things as they are, and perhaps make you look about for some method that will at least improve them."

The bookkeeper, apparently was not listening; his head was bent low over the paper on which he was making out the estimate. The Republican partner came into the office, and, after greeting everybody pleasantly, went to his desk and sat down, at the same time inviting the Free Trader to take a chair by the desk. The bookkeeper soon after went up-stairs, leaving the Republican partner and the Free Trader chatting together, and they were just beginning to talk about the tariff, when the bookkeeper called down the stairs to ask the Free Trader if he would come up for a moment. The Free Trader arose to go, and the Republican partner said he would go, too. The bookkeeper asked the Free Trader to look at certain materials to see if they would suit, and on being told that they would he made a memorandum and started on his way down-stairs. A glance around the workroom convinced the Free Trader that the bookkeeper had told the men of the talk which had been held down-stairs; for even those who acknowledged his greeting did so with the manner of men who are angry; but there was no help for it. The Free Trader stood on the floor talking with the Republican partner, on the subject begun just before they had come up-stairs, when suddenly it struck him to ask the present price of what is known in printers' parlance as "long primer type."

"Forty-six cents a pound," answered the partner.

"Why," said the Free Trader, "I paid only forty-two cents for the last long primer I bought of you."

"Yes, that is so," said the partner; "but that was two years ago. Since then the price of the materials of which we make type have increased in price, and as a result the cost of the type has increased."

"What has caused the increased cost of materials?" asked the Free Trader.

"Oh, I don't know," answered the partner. Then, with a laugh, "I suppose it would suit you to death for me to get off that old chestnut of yours and say 'The McKinley bill.'"

"No, it would not, unless it is so," retorted the Free Trader. "But really, now, isn't the increased cost due to the thing you call an 'old chestnut'?"

"I don't know whether it is or not, and I don't care," answered the partner rather sharply.

The manner in which the answer was given nettled the Free Trader somewhat, and in order to get even with the partner, and at the same time strike at the men—for what he had said, and the manner in which he had said it, seemed to please the workmen about the room, who could hear all—he remarked, with perhaps a sarcastic tinge in his words:

"And I suppose that another consideration which led you to increase the price of your long primer is that you have increased the wages of your men? That, I believe, was the principal blessing promised us by the advocates of the new tariff, and of course you,

as a good Republican, have made good the promise of your party so far as your establishment is concerned."

"There you go again," answered the partner, testily. "Ever since I have known you—never mind what the argument was about—you have always lugged in the wages question. Do drop on yourself."

"Well," answered the Free Trader, "I have only asked a simple question, which you, as an employer of labor, can answer. Now, have the wages of your men been increased since the new tariff law went into effect and the price of metals went up?"

"No, they haven't," answered the partner angrily, "and you know they haven't. You know just as well as I do that the tariff has nothing to do with raising wages."

The men working at the benches looked up from their work, their looks showing that the answer to the Free Trader's question had surprised them. The Free Trader noticing this saw his advantage, and he said, quietly:

"But you told me in 1888 that the success of the Republican party in the National election meant better times and higher wages, didn't you?"

"Perhaps I did. I don't remember whether I did or not; but I do know now that the tariff has nothing to do with raising wages."

The Free Trader didn't care to press that point any further, as he could see that the repetition of the partner's declaration concerning wages and the tariff had had an effect; so he turned the conversation by asking, "How's business?"

"Bad, very bad," answered the partner; "so bad that I am thinking of getting out of business. We have a good offer for the business from an English syndicate; and if —— agrees, we will sell out."

"Isn't that syndicate trying to form a trust?" asked the Free Trader.

"Yes, I believe that's their idea," answered the partner.

"Well," continued the Free Trader, looking over the shop out of one corner of his eye, "suppose the trust buys up all the foundries, and shuts up all but four or five of them, will they lower the price of their goods then?"

"No, I don't think they will," answered the partner. "On the contrary, they will, as they will have a monopoly, increase prices if they are sensible business men; for, you see, the increased tariff under the McKinley law will keep out all foreign type and materials, so they can charge way-up prices."

"Do you think," asked the Free Trader, "that when the trust is in control of the business, and has raised the price of things, it will raise wages?"

"No, I don't think so. I think, on the contrary, that wages will fall; because, you see, there will be so many type workers thrown out of work by the reduction in the number of foundries, that they, applying in droves for a chance to labor, will of course make wages drop."

This pleasant bit of information made more than one of the workmen stare; and while it is cruel to say so, it tickled the Free Trader to see them squirm. But he wanted to ask one more question, which he hoped would drive a thought into the thick heads of the workmen about him; so he said to the partner:

"Say, suppose you didn't have to pay the duty in addition to the cost of the metals you use in making type, how cheap could you make type?"

"Oh, for about one-half or two-thirds the present price," was the answer.

"Then, if type was cheaper, couldn't you sell more?"

"Oh, yes, considerable."

"Then, if you sold 'considerable' more, wouldn't you need more men to make it?"

"Certainly."

"That would lessen and not increase—as in the case of the trust—the number of men seeking for employment, wouldn't it?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Then wouldn't the tendency be toward an increase of wages if we had no tariff on the metals you use?"

"There you go," exploded the partner, "back on your 'wages' again. I'm done; I'll talk with you no more," and he started for the stairs; but the Free Trader called to him in a loud voice:

"Do you think this proposed trust could monopolize the type business in this country if the tariff on type materials was taken off?"

"Hang you and the tariff!" yelled the partner, as he disappeared down the stairs.

The Free Trader looked around at the men who had heard all that was said; and then he went down-stairs, too, convinced that he had left behind him a hard nut for them to crack.

A day or so after, the Free Trader met the bookkeeper, who told him that the answers given by the Republican partner to questions put to him had made Free Traders of every man on the workroom floor.

FUNNY HOW THEY AVERAGE.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

Hungry Higgins—"Say, boss, I haven't had a bite to eat for four days." Mudge (hurry by)—"And I have had to decline seven invitations to dinner in the same period of time. Funny how things average up, isn't it?"

SAND AND CLAY MONOPOLIZED.

The seizure of natural opportunities in and about this city and the investing of them to private profit extends even to the clay from which bricks are made and to the sands of the sea. It is said that, on the whole, bricks are higher in price now in this region than they were thirty years ago, although the profits of capital have been considerably reduced in that time, and the efficiency of labor in brickmaking, by reason of improved processes and machinery, has been at least trebled. Many persons say that the increase in brickmakers' wages sufficiently accounts for the increased price of bricks, but when it is known that the best brick yards at Haverstraw are leased on royalties averaging \$1 per one thousand bricks produced, and that, too, when bricks range in price at only from \$5 to \$6 per thousand, one is led to suspect that monopoly has a good deal to do with the advance in price. The best brick yards at Haverstraw are not worked by the owners, but are leased. The owners find it safer and more satisfactory to draw rent as landlords than to embark their capital and energies in the business of making bricks. Mr. Calvin Tompkins called attention to this in an article read two or three years ago before the Society of Engineers. He added, further, that when the West Shore Railroad was buying the right of way along the Hudson it was found necessary in one instance to pay for sand and clay at the rate of four cents per square yard, although the property lay nearly a mile from the river and was used as farming land.

One might suppose that sand, if anything, would be cheap and plentiful in New York, but as a matter of fact all the sand used in this city is obtained only after a handsome royalty has been paid to the owners. The Vanderbilts have warned off the sand diggers from their water front on the south shore of Staten Island, and the only beach on the island from which sand is now dug is that bordering a bit of marsh opposite Red Bank. Even this has been bought by a speculator of late, and the royalty has been increased within two months from \$3 per schooner load of seventy or eighty cubic yards to \$4. The sand schooners are forbidden to-day on the Coney Island shore, and as a consequence of the high rentals and prohibitive orders here and elsewhere to the eastward, nearly all the sand used in New York is obtained from Nanhasset or Cow Bay, and one adjoining inlet on the Long Island shore, about sixteen miles up the Sound. Farmers here have either sold their land at high prices or leased it on royalty. In one instance a farmer demanded and received \$3,000 before the sand dealers were permitted to begin operations. The usual royalty is about eight cents per cubic yard, and farmers stipulate that at least 20,000 cubic yards per annum shall be removed. Nearly 800,000 cubic yards are annually brought to the city, and more than one Long Island farmer has obtained enough from a single sand-hill to raise the mortgage on his farm.

But if the conditions upon which sand and clay are obtained are hard, the status of the gravel trade is worse. Dr. O. L. Jones, of this city, owns or controls every gravel deposit within easy reach of the city. He obtained this control after much litigation and a large outlay of money. The consequence is that only one considerable deposit is worked, and Dr. Jones levies tribute upon every user of gravel. He controls the gravel for roofing, the gravel for paving, the gravel for stone cutting, and even the so-called silver gravel used in filters and for canary birds.

TO RAISE REVNEUE WITHOUT CRIPPLING INDUSTRY.

Houston is handicapped by the largest debt of any city in Texas—\$1,700,000—which has been spent in public improvements, and it has become a problem with the citizens of that city how to raise the money necessary to carry on the Government and pay interest on the indebtedness without crippling industry. The discussion of the question has brought our friend, H. F. Ring, to the front once more, and on that account we are almost glad that things are as they are in Houston, for he has been too long silent. He wrote a letter on the subject matter to the Houston Post some weeks ago, which brought an answer from George L. Porter, and it has resulted in a discussion that has without doubt created great interest in Texas.

Mr. Ring's first letter was a review of the situation. The tax rate would be high. How could it be lowered? How could the revenues of the city be increased? Why, by so adjusting tax assessments that they would not interfere in the slightest degree with the growth and prosperity of the town. How would he do this? Simply by adopting a uniform policy of placing the assessed valuation of stocks of goods, manufacturing plants, banking capital and buildings low and making up the deficiency by increasing the assessed valuation of the land regardless of improvements on it. "The land is here," said Mr. Ring; "it cannot be carried away; not so, however, as to products of human labor. We may increase the assessed valuation of land, exclusive of improvements, as high as we please without affecting in the least degree the prosperity of the town, without checking or handicapping in any manner whatever any enterprise giving employment to labor and of real value to the business and industrial interests of the place; but increase the assessed valuation of banks, and much of the banking capital already

here will go elsewhere; increase the assessed valuation of stocks of goods and wholesale merchants will look elsewhere for a city in which a less excessive fine is levied on their enterprise; increase the assessed valuation of manufacturing plants and manufacturers already here will struggle along as best as they can, but no more will come; increase the assessed valuation of buildings and the owners of vacant lots will fear to build upon them. A tax on any product of labor is a fine on industry, enterprise and thrift," declared Mr. Ring; "a tax on land exclusive of improvements is but a fine upon the dog in the manger who sits upon his vacant lots, driving off the capitalist and the laborer, who would utilize them and make them conduce to the welfare of the town." In conclusion Mr. Ring asked:

Will our boards of appraisement attempt to secure the increase by raising the fine which, under the present system, is levied on all who make land useful to mankind, or will they obtain it by fining the fossils and land grabbers who sit in idleness, waiting for the industry and enterprise of others to make their vacant lots still more valuable? The boards of appraisement have it in their power either to make or break the town. Which course will they pursue?

Mr. Porter responded that it must certainly strike the "thinking taxpayer" as a little strange "that the City Attorney, who is a lawyer, should recommend a method of assessing property that is absolutely contrary to law. Whatever his peculiar views may be or theory advocated concerning the best policy to pursue, he certainly must take the law as he finds it. No man, under our law," said Mr. Porter, "can advocate any practice that will discriminate in favor or against any class of taxpayers. The average citizen in this country has been educated to believe that the basis of our Government is equal taxation and equal representation—that is, that every citizen should contribute to the support of the Government in proportion to his financial ability. If Mr. Ring and his associates in their advocacy of the Single Tax theory would direct their abilities and energies in the direction of making good laws or enforcing those already in existence, which would compel every species of property to be taxed its fair value, then the burden of taxation would be lightened." Mr. Porter held that the Single Tax theory was, "fortunately," utterly impracticable, "for the reason that a very large per cent. of citizens of this country who have power and influence are land owners, and they will not consent to a species of class legislation that will fix the burden of taxation upon their property only." Mr. Porter thought that "good sound judgment" would recommend a careful assessment of all the values within the corporate limits of every character whatsoever, fixing the appraisement at a fair and equitable proportion, "excepting nothing." He also recommended the extension of the city limits, so that in about two years there would be more property to tax."

Of course Mr. Ring replied. As to Mr. Porter's first point, that the proposed method of assessing goods, manufacturing plants, etc., low and land high, was contrary to law. Mr. Ring said that that made little difference, as the law in this regard had always been violated anyhow, in that while the law required all property to be listed for taxation at its market value, it had become a recognized custom to assess property for taxation at two-thirds of its value; and, continued Mr. Ring: "Since public opinion in this, as in many other matters, is stronger than the law, why should it seem strange for me to advocate a policy no more in violation of law than that which already prevails and one much more conducive to the prosperity of the city?" Continuing, Mr. Ring said:

Mr. Porter advises us to urge the enactment of laws by which the taxation at its fair value of every species of property can be enforced, yet he tacitly admits that it is impracticable to do it. By the employment of an army of officials, and at an expense probably of 15 or 20 per cent. of the amount collected, it might be possible to collect with some show of uniformity a tax on that kind of personal property which is open to observation. But this sort of personal property bears but a small proportion to the sum total of all personal property. We can tax the cows, horses and wagons of the small farmer because we can see them. We can tax to the full extent the merchant's stock of goods, although he may owe on it all it is worth, because he cannot hide it. We can fine people for improving vacant land, beautifying their homes and for giving employment to labor in factories and shops, because these evidences of enterprise and public spirit are open to observation and afford shining marks for our tax assessors to pounce upon. But the ingenuity of legislators has been, and ever will be, hopelessly baffled in attempts to tax that species of personal property constituting probably four-fifths of the whole, which is represented by stocks and bonds, mortgages and other evidences of indebtedness. Why attempt it at all? If we could do it the borrower or user would in the end foot the bill by paying an increased rate of interest. Does Mr. Porter seriously advocate the taxing of stocks of goods, manufacturing plants and banking capital in Houston at the full market value of the same? Our city, county and State taxes are nearly 3 per cent. I am informed that there are a number of concerns here carrying \$200,000 stocks of goods and upwards. Tax them on this valuation and then make them pay \$6,000 a year apiece and upwards for the privilege of doing business in Houston and how long would they stay here? There are a number of banks having a paid up capital of \$500,000; make them pay \$15,000 a year each for the privilege of helping to build up Houston and how long would it be before many of our merchants, in the absence of some of these institutions, would be paying curb stone brokers 2 per cent. a month for accommodations? Tax the manufacturers 8 per cent. of the real value of their plants and the town would be

killed beyond the power of all the land boomers to revive it. Yet this would be the inevitable result of a determined effort on the part of our tax assessors to assess improvements and all personal property in sight at the full value. If such a course were pursued what would land in a short time be worth in and around Houston? Does not this land get its value from the fact that we have buildings, banks, wholesale houses and manufacturing establishments here? Will not a greater number of them make it more valuable? Is it not then a short sighted policy for even our land speculators to advocate a system of taxation which tends to drive these enterprises away—which tends to send them to Dallas, Fort Worth and San Antonio, where there is no fear of a \$1,700,000 debt?

In concluding his second letter, Mr. King said:

There is one way, and but one way, by which we can place ourselves on an equality with the cities above named in the matter of taxation, and that, as shown in my former article, is by so adjusting our tax assessments that the tax levied in Houston on a building, on a manufacturing plant, on a stock of goods, on a bank, will be no more here than there. We can do this by adopting a uniform plan of accepting at low valuation assessments on capital thus actively used to the benefit of every man, woman and child in the city. Who will be permanently injured by it? No one. Not even those who become rich by freezing on to vacant land until it is made valuable through the enterprise of others. The general prosperity of the town resulting from this liberal policy toward the owners of capital activity used in Houston in giving employment to labor, will result in a more rapid enhancement in the value of land than the suicidal policy which it seems to me Mr. Porter advocates—a policy to my mind as absurd as that which killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

Mr. Porter, having been completely routed, loftily concluded to close the discussion, but in doing so he put his foot in it by saying that it had not been his purpose to "discuss the Single Tax theory advocated by Mr. Ring." However, he could not resist flinging a stone or two at his opponent as he ran away. He repeated the declaration that Mr. Ring's suggestion as to taxation was contrary to law, and said that it was very easy for a man of even fair ability "to make a good showing of argument on the wrong side of any subject," which, by the way, was not proven in Mr. Porter's own case. "The cool-headed thinking men of this country" (probably including Mr. Porter), considered the theory advocated by "Mr. Ring and Mr. George" as a "species of claptrap, unworthy of serious attention and directly opposed to the proposed best interests of the Government and all the people;" and with an "I am holier than thou" toss of his head, Mr. Porter asked Mr. Ring to observe that he "was not a candidate for office." In closing this letter, Mr. Porter said he would be glad to hear from Mr. Ring and Mr. George "again after they had gained the consent of the farmers and the great majority of sensible people in this country to the passing of laws fixing all the local taxes on land."

Mr. Ring didn't wait that long. He let Mr. Porter to "hear from" him almost immediately.

He told Mr. Porter that his purpose in writing the first letter to the Post was to suggest a plan within the law by which the revenue at present necessary could be raised without crippling the interests of the town; that if the Single Tax theory had been brought into the discussion, Mr. Porter and not Mr. Ring was responsible; that he (Mr. Ring) failed to see how Mr. Porter had strengthened his case by sneering at the City Attorney because he was a Single Taxer, or by indirection saying that at the bottom of Mr. Ring's suggestions lay the fact that he was a candidate for re-election. Then Mr. Ring reviewed the presentments of Mr. Porter and himself, and made a most eloquent plea for his own, strengthening it by quoting from the letter of H. C. Leah, of Philadelphia, to the Legislature of Pennsylvania [printed at the time in THE STANDARD]—his reasons why personal property should be exempt from taxation and all taxes laid upon land values. Incidentally in closing his last letter, Mr. Ring told Mr. Porter that he had taken the liberty of ordering THE STANDARD sent to the latter's address on trial, "so that he might, if he chose, inform himself as to what the Single Tax really is."

LORD HOBHOUSE ON TAXING LAND VALUES.

At the annual meeting of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, held at the National Liberal Club on March 5, Lord Hobhouse offered the following resolution:

"That in view of the approach of a general election and of the election of a new County Council for London, this meeting earnestly commends the educational work of the United Committee to the support of all who desire to put an end to the unjust privileges which have so long been enjoyed by the owners of ground rents and values at the expense of the rest of the community."

In supporting his resolution Lord Hobhouse spoke as follows:

Having regard both to the terms of the resolution and to my own position as an old stager who has witnessed the earliest throbbings of this movement, it is fitting that, instead of attempting to expound the question, or some portion of it (nobody can expound the whole in a speech), I should invite you to take a retrospective view of the ground we have traversed, from which it will be understood more clearly at what point we stand.

Just three years ago I sat down to write a little essay on the matter, which was published in one of the reviews; and besides stating the case for reform, I took the pains to sketch out a plan for amended taxation, and to work it out with figures, so as to show how it would affect owners and occupiers, and to discuss various objections to it. Well, I dare say it was a dull, wearisome affair,

but I hardly think that was the only reason why it fell rather flat. It was, so far as I know, the first attempt made to treat the subject in that fashion, and, notwithstanding its demerits, I feel sure that it would have provoked comment if there had been as much interest in the subject as there now is. Five years ago a committee of the House of Commons was deputed to inquire into this matter, and another important one, viz., the enfranchisement of leaseholds. Four years they sat, and hardly touched the question of land taxation. On the fifth year, 1890, they addressed their minds to it, and having lately read through the whole of their proceedings, I can affirm that the questions put by most of them (not all, for some of them, Mr. Lawson, for instance, knew what they were about), show an amount of ignorance which fully accounts for their apathy and inaction in former years. They know more now, as their later questions show. But that is chiefly due to the exertions of Sir Thomas Farrer, who spent two days or more, I think, in giving them instructions, beginning with the very rudiments of the subject. I am not blaming them—they were only like the rest of the world; but there you have the fact that a number of gentlemen, selected to advise the Legislature on the question of local taxation as between owner and occupier, showed, in the fifth year of their sitting, and within the last twelve months, that they had to learn about it from the foundation.

Not that the subject was new. Twenty-four years ago a strong committee of the House of Commons, among whom were Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Mill, called attention to the mischief, and to the appropriate remedy. Twenty years ago another committee, of whom Mr. Goschen was chairman, was appointed specially to consider the matter, and they again stated the case and propounded a plan of reform. But nothing was done, as always happens when against reform there are strong interests, and for it there is no popular force, because there is no widespread knowledge.

Again, during the eight years persistent agitation for a Government of London, some members of the Municipal Reform League were in the habit of bringing this topic before public meetings, though of course it was only one among many illustrations of the anarchic and impotent conditions of Londoners. Some of them who were vestrymen, took opportunities of mooting it in their vestries. The people heard them gladly enough, but nothing ensued except that which always ensues from the utterance and repetition of truth, viz., that the more active minds work it and digest it, and become prepared to act on it when occasion arises. So long, however, as they are scattered and unorganized they can effect nothing.

Now that was the inert, flaccid, nerveless condition of Londoners in this matter a short time, say three or four years ago. But who will say they are inert and nerveless now? The thing is in the air. The London City Council bubbles over with it, sometimes very inconveniently. Even those superior persons who write in superior newspapers, and sometimes condescend to tell us, of course in their own superior way, what we ought to do and to abstain from, are forced to notice this odious and vulgar topic. I doubt whether there is any candidate, whether for the Council or for Parliament, who will stand up on his legs and look the London electors fairly in the face and say that the taxation of London is such that no reform is needed. And from the rank and file the principle has passed on to the leaders. We were all rejoiced the other day when Mr. Gladstone went somewhat out of his way to utter the words which had been embodied in this resolution. What has happened to effect this great change? For one thing, this committee has happened. Few in numbers, very weak in purse, they still formed a body of men with their exertions concentrated on a single object. They discussed the matter all round. They propounded and compared plans. They cleared their own heads, preparatory to clearing those of others. They diffused literature, among other things that most valuable pamphlet of Mr. Moulton's which has been referred to. And when the Council elections came on they sent out members to 100 platforms, who never let the meeting disperse without driving home to their minds that the owners of London lands were escaping their fair share of London taxation.

And for another thing the London Council has happened. Londoners have got a voice now, a common meeting-place, and the means of combined action. They are no longer a fortuitous concourse of atoms such as they used to be. The atoms are moving with conscious life, and combining into an organized whole, as the Latin poet said: *Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet*. The different parts of London meet face to face, they put mind to mind, they learn one another's views and feelings, and not a month passes but they become more aware how great their common interests are, and how strong they are when united. And on this point there is a very large amount of union, such as, in many instances, to break down the lines of party national politics. Not that we are united on a specific plan of reform. Even the United Committee is not united on that. Why should they be? That is not the way in which reforms in matters of great magnitude and complexity are carried. This is a great matter, requiring much knowledge, involving many considerations, and touching at points on national taxation as well as local. Nobody can properly frame a plan fit to pass through Parliament except a minister with all the resources that a minister can command. It is no doubt useful to such a minister to have a plan or plans, rival plans if you like, any number of reasonable plans, well discussed beforehand. But it is for him to choose that which he thinks best adapted to remedy the mischief, and to propound it for acceptance. Our main business is to put such pressure on the Ministry that they shall find reform to be necessary, and to supply the popular force, without which no reform, opposed by strong interests in addition to the regular factious opposition of party, can be carried.

PERSONAL.

William Porter has a long letter in the Cape May Star on a proposition shortly to be submitted to the people of Cape May as to whether or not they will favor an increase of the bonded debt for the purpose of improving the beach and extending the beach drive. Mr. Porter maintains that it is not necessary to increase the debt. He suggests instead that the Assessor be instructed to assess all the unimproved and idle land within the city limits at its full value. Then, he says, all the money necessary for the proposed improvements will be raised and justice meted out to all.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, June 2, 1891. }

The National Committee is circulating a petition asking the United States House of Representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a Single Tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and Single Tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee, and is now engaged in circularizing newspapers in every State, calling their attention to the wide-spread interest now shown in the subject of the Single Tax, and urging that they call on the press companies supplying their ready prints and plates for Single Tax matter.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work remain as reported last week, viz., \$1,678.40.

Cash contributions for week ending June 2, are as follows:

H. J. Dingardner, New York City.....	\$1 00
J. W. Wright, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1 00

Contributions previously acknowledged.....	1,534 67
Total.....	\$1,536 67

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week.....	103,855
Signatures received since last report.....	394
Total.....	106,249

For news budget, see roll of States.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

There is a vigorous effort being made, not only by the 35,000 Alliance lecturers, but by nearly all farmers' papers, to convince the farmers that the money question is most important, and that the tariff question is only a device of the hack politicians of both parties to obscure the real issue. This may be seen in every report of all recent farmers' meetings and conventions, and makes it absolutely necessary for us to use our utmost efforts to show the real importance of the tariff question to all Americans. The endeavors of the timid trimmers and traders who are Democrats in name only, to confine all discussion of the tariff to a mere question of percentages, greatly assists the Sub-Treasury and free silver men in their efforts to make the tariff question a side issue. Hence we should heartily support all papers and public men who appreciate the full importance of Free Trade, and should lose no opportunity to show our approval as publicly as possible. In writing to the papers named below, Thomas G. Shearman's tract, "Free Silver and Free Trade," recently issued as a STANDARD extra, would be a useful enclosure.

Farmers' Voice, 328 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., is radical and liberal. May 23, had vigorous editorials in denouncing the action of the Northwestern Railroad in summarily discharging all its switchmen without an hour's notice, and the policy of stationing a large force of regular soldiers at the newly erected Fort Sheridan, near Chicago. There are also many radical articles from farmers and others. Brief letters on the Single Tax would probably be published.

The Rural Workman, Little Rock, Arkansas, is the Farmers' Alliance organ for Arkansas, and recently printed over a column of warm commendations of the cheap edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" urging all Alliance men to buy it.

Sentinel, Indianapolis, Ind. In the course of a recent editorial notice of the "Protection or Free Trade?" edition, said: "Whatever may be thought of Henry George's views upon economic questions, his rank as an original and vigorous thinker, and as a strong and effective writer is too well established to be questioned by any one. The friends of the Free Trade movement, and all who are anxious for a full discussion of the most important public question of the day, should use their utmost efforts to promote the circulation of this handy and inexpensive edition of a real classic in political economy."

42 University Place, N. Y.

W. J. ATKINSON.

A CHURCH ASSOCIATION'S ENDORSEMENT.

At the fourth annual meeting of the Church Association for the advancement of the interests of labor, held Friday evening, May 22, in the City of New York, the following resolutions were recommended for adoption by the association, after considerable discussion, clause by clause. A copy of the resolutions must now be sent to each member, and a written vote as to their adoption sent to the secretary:

Whereas, God is the Father of all men. And,

Whereas, He has created the earth for His children. And,

Whereas, The land of these United States belongs to all the members of this American nation,

Resolved, That the present monopolization by a few persons of all the valuable land, mines, water power, landing places, quarries, and forests, is contrary to the Will of God:

Resolved, That we, members of the C. A. I. L., recognize it as our duty to destroy that monopoly, and to open to all our brothers and sisters the way to honest labor, and so secure to them the fruit of their toil.

Resolved, That while we recognize that in the ordering of His Jewish nation God provided against the wrong of land monopoly by distributing the land to each family as an inalienable heritage, such a partition of land would be in our complex civilization impossible and useless.

Resolved, Therefore, that as a substitute we recommend the taking for

public use of that value which attaches to bare land irrespective of improvements in consequence of the growth of population and the advance of civilization; and as a means to this end we recommend the abolition of all taxes on labor or its products and the substitution therefor of a Single Tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements.

BILLY RADCLIFFE ABROAD IN BUCKEYE.

Coshocton, Ohio, May 31.—I have been out on the road three weeks, but as yet have not made much Single Tax headway.

The first week I worked around Steubenville, saving my Single Tax and Free Trade talk for Saturday night, when I expected to have a "full house," but my house being in the open air and the weather getting in shape to McKinleyize the fruit, with a frost, I found the people scarce. So after finishing up my regular business I was glad to get to the hotel fire.

The second week I worked around Dennison and Uhrichsville, saving my talk for Uhrichsville, but before I got to the black board exercise rain came down and I got wet. Having finished my regular business there, I moved on to New Philadelphia and Canal Dover, which by the way are two live Ohio towns three miles apart, but brought close together by our Hon. Tom L. Johnson's Electric Line.

Well, rain held me there the rest of the week without a chance to do anything. So I went home over Sunday and started out fresh Monday morning, and Wednesday night I gave them my first good talk this season at New Philadelphia and sold thirty copies of "Protection or Free Trade?"—all I had with me—but I forgot to put out any tracts. Then I came on to New Comerstown, but as my crowd was small and I had no books—"Protection or Free Trade?"—I saved my wind for this place, Coshocton, and got at them in good shape till 11 o'clock Saturday night. Sold twenty-eight books—"Protection or Free Trade?"—and put out a lot of tracts. I must say that I find the Protectionists very quiet and tame. I can't get them to ask questions like they used to. I am using parts of McKinley's speeches to prove up the points I make, and I guess that chokes them. I find Single Taxers all along the line waiting for the battle in this State to open up, and when it does I think the McKinleyites will find more Free Traders than they expect. I keep as quiet as I can on the tariff until I get upon the street, for fear that I might scare some of the Protectionists away, and I advise my Single Tax friends to say nothing about the talk, but get the people there to hear the songs, etc., then I don't let them get away when the black board talks. I expect better weather from now on, and will be able to get in about three talks a week. Letters or books sent to Youngstown, O., will be forwarded to me.

Yours in the fight for freedom,

BILLY RADCLIFFE, S. T.

BROKAW AND BETSY IN IOWA.

Sioux City, May 29.—Saturday afternoon, May 23, I drove to town and after some difficulty obtained the use of the G. A. R. hall. I began talking to about fifteen men and about as many more came in during my talk. A representative of the Sioux City Tribune was present part of the time and asked quite a number of questions, but by the time he got through the crowd had nearly all gone and I had to pay for the hall without getting a collection. I sold a few books on the street and then drove to the Hon. Mike White's (member of the last Legislature) and stopped with him over Sunday. Sunday afternoon quite a number of neighbors visited him and before they got away I got one of them into a discussion that gave me a chance to answer most of the stock objections, and which resulted in two of them buying copies of "Protection or Free Trade?"

Monday afternoon I drove about thirty miles and stopped for the night with J. W. Skepper. Two weeks before he had subscribed for THE STANDARD and he had just received the last copy, the first I had seen for two weeks. I count him the best recruit I have won this year, for he is full of energy, is studious, and lacks only the opportunity to become the most active worker in the State. I wish his financial circumstances were such that he could take hold of the work in South Dakota, for I know of no one else whose experience has so well fitted them for "rusling" against all discouragements.

Tuesday I drove to Sioux City, Iowa, stopping a few hours at Elk Point on business. Wednesday I spent in writing and attending to other business. Thursday I distributed copies of tract No. 36 extra and got into several discussions, and at night addressed a small audience in labor hall on the "True Solution of the Labor Problem," at the close of which I sold a few of Henry George's, Henry J. O'Neill's, and "Pa" Chase's books. To-day (Friday) I obtained a few signatures and got into several lively discussions. Will have things in shape to start for Des Moines to-morrow morning with "Betsy."

Enclosed find twenty-five petitions. No. 1 is an assessor; 2, 3 and 4 are doctors; 5 is a City Councilman. You will observe that 6 qualifies his signature by writing across the blank, "I am unqualifiedly opposed to the Single Tax idea, but am willing that an investigation should be had." I had a big discussion with him. He claims to have read "Progress and Poverty;" I wrote, "I am only in favor of an investigation," which is entirely superfluous; 8 and 9 are Protectionists, but the former thinks that a tax on land values would be better for the farmers; 10 is a State Master Workman of the K. of L. He heard the debate between Henry George and John Jarrett and greatly admires the former. He said he did not believe in land speculation.

W. E. BROKAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

The Agitation Committee of the Manhattan Single Tax Club has arranged to start a class for the study of political economy. The class will meet on Wednesday evenings as soon as a certain number of scholars have signified their willingness to attend. There will be no charge for the expenses of conducting the class, as its sessions will be held in the rooms of the club, 73 Lexington avenue. The opportunity to join is open to all persons, regardless of age, sex, creed, or political affiliation. Mr. Louis F. Post will conduct the class, and, as occasion warrants, other competent teachers will be invited to elucidate special phases of the studies. All who desire

to become members will be placed on the roll on application to or by addressing Benj. Doblin, Chairman of the Agitation Committee, Manhattan Single Tax Club rooms, 73 Lexington avenue.

The managing board of the club met last Friday evening and transacted routine business. The regular meeting of the club takes place to-morrow (Thursday) evening, and a full attendance is requested, as several important matters bearing on the future of the organization will be brought up for discussion and consideration.

Fred C. Keller.—At the next meeting of the Metropolitan Single Tax Association, Saturday, June 6, 8 P. M., Mr. Joseph Silbernuk will deliver an address. Subject: "Our Mission."

L. J. Wingardner, Harlem.—Twenty-five petitions. Also one dollar for the propaganda, and have about fifty signed petitions on hand, which I will send you next week.

NEW YORK STATE.

Allona A. Chapman, Liberty.—I am spending a few days in this little mountain village, where I formerly owned property, and am well known. I am preaching Sing'e Tax, and circulating the petition among old acquaintances, as opportunity offers. I send you the first fruits of my efforts, seven of which have been obtained here, while one was secured in Brooklyn just before I left. The next instalment of names, which I hope soon to be able to send you, will probably complete the second hundred.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Anna J. Post, Philadelphia.—Five petitions. Three are from Mr. J. G. Robbins, who is a good student of the Single Tax, and the others are of persons boarding here. A mite to add, but it all counts.

|| "Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr.—Fourteen petitions. No. 1 does "not see anything the matter with that." Two is convinced of the justice of it. Three is a printer, who, although a Single Taxer, had not heard of the petition before. Four is a typist. Five is an editor of a local paper who is "somewhat of a Free Trader myself." Six is a printer who signed because he "didn't know any better." Seven is a life insurance agent who claims to be a Single Taxer, but who says he believes "in Protection, too."

MARYLAND.

S. T., Baltimore.—Thomas Turner (address, Covenant Hall, Lexington street, this city) has issued a little pamphlet entitled "Man and Other Monkeys," which contains what he calls "Questions for fools and philosophers on the conditions and contradictions of social life." From beginning to end it is a continuous string of leading questions, which the most obtuse can answer as he reads. "Why don't you marry?" is the first question Mr. Turner asks, and he follows it up with other questions in the same line until one is compelled to answer that poverty is the reason. Then he asks, "Why do you work so many hours a day?" and other questions come, and you are compelled to answer "Poverty." "Why don't you wear better clothes?" "Why don't you eat better food?" "Why don't you take a trip to Europe in the hot weather?" etc., and still the answer is the same. Then he strikes another key by asking, "Why do you and others find it so difficult to earn an honest, comfortable living?" and then, "Do you think the earth is crowded with people?" "Do you know who made the earth and who makes it fruitful?" which questions, with others, lead the mind to thinking of the Single Tax. There are many other questions, but those quoted are sufficient to show Mr. Turner's idea when he wrote his excellent pamphlet. One series of questions is worth printing in full, as follows:

Do you know L stands for Landlord, O for Owner or occupier, and T for Tax Collector? Do you know L owns a lot and invites some one to put four walls on and a roof over it? Do you know O, the owner of the building, pays a large part of his earnings to L, the landlord? Do you know that L, the landlord, makes O, the owner, intimately acquainted with T, the tax collector? Do you know that if O, the owner, complains of taxation to T, the tax collector, he tells him to go to L, the landlord? Do you now see why L, O, T, spell Lot.

Mr. Turner concludes his pamphlet by saying that the questions he asks will be answered in another pamphlet, soon to be published by him, on the "Crime of Christendom." If the answers are as sharply put as the questions have been, it will be most interesting reading.

John W. Jones, Baltimore.—The Single Tax League of Maryland has had 100,000 cards printed for general distribution, showing how a proper method of levying taxes would yield a revenue sufficient to take the place of all present city and State taxes on real and personal property, trade licenses and water rents, besides providing for the paving of all streets with either asphalt or Belgian blocks. It is the Single Tax idea. The League has arranged with parties to put one in every door of the city of Baltimore. This will be followed up with newspaper advertisements at regular intervals, thus placing the question before the whole people at once.

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, May 29.—There was a large attendance at the club last night, drawn out by the announcement that John Gibbons, LL.D., would speak on "The Farmers' Movement;" but at the last moment the distinguished gentleman sent word that he could not fill his engagement, owing to an unexpected professional call, which required him to leave the city immediately. However, we managed to have a rather hilarious time, Professor O. M. Babcock, of Philadelphia, being present, and consenting to speak on the subject of "The Future of North America," which he professes to forecast with the unerring certainty of scientific prevision. He has a very profound theory, which he bases upon the physical conformation of North America, that the Mississippi Valley is destined to become the seat of the world's power. Chicago must inevitably become the metropolis of the earth, outstripping New York and London, and throwing poor old St. Louis so far into the shade, that it will scarcely be visible to posterity. His arguments afforded undisguised amusement to the audience, but the professor was so profoundly in earnest, so glowingly enthusiastic, that no one had the heart to treat his ludicrous effort at scientific prophecy otherwise than seriously, although most of his auditors had some difficulty in restraining the smiles that were provoked by his isother-

mal lines and principal and secondary axes, all of which, besides mountains and rivers and prevailing winds, were brought in to prove the fact that right here, on the west shore of Lake Michigan, is the focus of the universe, the one place of all others where it is absolutely safe to invest in corner lots. Such eminent authorities as Mr. Lyman J. Gage, Professor Swing, ex-Mayor Roche, and Thomas B. Bryan have pronounced Professor Babcock's lecture to be thoughtful and patriotic, especially patriotic, and indeed it does glorify this particular portion of the Lord's vineyard, and shows what is very comforting to a certain class of statesmen and reformers that there is a natural antagonism, an irrepressible conflict, between the East and the West, the North and the South. Its patriotism breathed loudly also in the reassuring prophecies of multiplying millions who are surging hither under the imperative command of natural forces to boom Chicago lots and Chicago acres skyward, and I was not surprised that such lovers of their country as Mr. Depew and Mr. Carnegie should have felt inspired by the prophetic voice of this amiable Quaker City philosopher. Yet, after all his right angle triangles and his main and minor axes, there was this residuum of common sense, namely, that civilization, like the lightnings of heaven, or a feather falling from a bird's wing, follows the line of least resistance. He might have learned this long ago from "Progress and Poverty," but if he ever learned anything from that book, which gives form and meaning to the theory that has overpowered the professor and left him afloat in a very small boat, he failed to show it, for he did not betray the remotest conception of the real meaning of his supposed "discovery," and it is doubtful if he got any light into his mind from the luminous questions and the discussion that followed. But while the lamp holds out to burn the ablest professor may return to reason, hopeless as that may seem to those who read the economic discussions which the professors so industriously and so successfully befog. Among those who joined in the discussion of Prof. Babcock's remarkable effort were Messrs. Place, Bartholomew, Beck and White, the whole being quite entertaining. The professor was tendered a vote of thanks.

Under the administration of Mr. Cregier the precedent was set and firmly established that no municipal franchise should be granted free. Mr. Cregier held to this principle tenaciously, and it was because he did so that he was defeated for re-election, the outcry against him as the ally of the gamblers having been raised and vociferously kept up by the franchise grabbers, and their poor dupes, who longed for a "good" man in the Mayor's chair, who would not have heelers around him, and who would purge the city of all uncleanness. I regret to say that some trustful Single Tax men were taken in by this stop thief and holier than thou cry, and now they have their reward in wide-open saloons and in the prospect of wide-open special privilege. Mayor Washburne having recently announced that he would not maintain the "blackmail" system of the previous administration, which made those who got franchises pay for them. This reactionary policy is just what might have been anticipated, but it may after all prove salutary by forcing the Democrats to a still more radical stand in favor of equal rights to all and special privileges to none. If they had made the franchise question the issue of the late campaign, asking the re-election of Mr. Cregier on the basis of his record on that question, they would have surely won. But with a blundering stupidity, perfectly characteristic of the party, they chose a minor and a wholly uninspiring issue and went down with it, in spite of the tremendous influence of General Palmer, fresh from his great Senatorial victory. It is possible that the party may learn something from this defeat, and it will certainly profit by the reckless favoritism which the Republicans seem bent on reviving, for when the matter gets squarely before them the people will not hesitate to express their feelings in regard to the gift of the public streets to corporations.

Announcements: June 4, Stoughton Cooley on "Proportional Representation;" June 11, Miss Isabella Hudson, "A Woman's Thoughts on the Single Tax;" June 18, Clarence Moeller; June 25, open; July 2, H. E. Bartholomew. Mr. C. J. Buell, of Minneapolis writes me that he expects to pay us a visit soon. He will receive a warm welcome if he comes.

Charles F. Owen, Chicago.—Six petitions. No. 6 called this morning to see my neighbor living in the flat above me. Not finding him, he called at my door to make inquiry about him. Casually he inquired what rents this location demanded. I told him, but added that no one knew where they would go to before the World's Fair was over, and I also ventured to remark that the aforesaid fair was one of those dazzling but iniquitous schemes by which landlordism inflated land values and most effectually hoodwinked the toilers who had to pay for it. I also deposed further that the adoption of the Australian ballot system in one ward of Chicago was of more avail as a factor towards a more honest civilization than a dozen parrot-and-monkey show exhibitions. He replied: "I am a large property holder. I derive my income from rents; nevertheless, I now and always did look upon it as an utter abomination that any other of God's creatures should pay me for the opportunity of living on this earth, that God has made for all."

This gentleman explained to me, after I had made a break on the Single Tax, that he knew little, if anything, of that movement, for he had suffered from nervous prostration and was not able to apply himself to anything requiring mental effort. His decided views on the subject came from his own sense of justice. He said that in a conversation with one of the leading ministers of an Eastern city, the minister regretted that the Church did not reach the workingman, and admitted that the Church had no place for him; and he said that in a recent conversation with a young lady, who is a daughter of a minister over one of the large and "tony" congregations of this city, he asked her whether there were any workingmen in her father's congregation. She replied that there were not, and practically added, in a roundabout sort of way, that they didn't want them there, either. To close with, No. 6 asked me whether, if the opportunity were open to me to marry the daughter of a millionaire and get her money, I would not gladly do it and then forget the cause for which I now struggled. I replied that I would not swear that I would not, but I could point with

pride to Mr. Shearman, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Moxham, and others, of whom there could be no doubt that they were Single Taxers, because they were seekers after righteousness. No. 6 said that he had long desired to read "Progress and Poverty," and would do so when mental effort was again possible.

MINNESOTA.

Minneapolis, Minn., May 28.—At the last meeting of our league the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the Minneapolis Single Tax League favors the holding of an international Single Tax conference at Chicago during the World's Fair; and

Resolved, That we recommend to the consideration of the Single Tax people of the United States the advisability of making some exhibit at the World's Fair which will illustrate the condition of society under the Single Tax, as compared with the present conditions; and

Resolved, That we call for an expression of opinion on these propositions through the columns of THE STANDARD.

Our last meeting closed the most successful season's work our league has yet accomplished. We have had a list of good speakers and well-attended meetings all winter. Rev. S. W. Sample was our last speaker, and delivered an address in which he reviewed Rev. M. D. Shutter's criticism of the Single Tax. Our room was packed and running over, and the members of the league were so delighted that a motion was passed to have Rev. Shutter's address and Dr. Sample's reply published in one tract and distributed for propaganda purposes.

There is some talk among members of carrying on a cart-tail campaign during the summer, but nothing definite has been determined yet. The active members are all loaded with copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" and circulating them where they will do good. Last evening I addressed a meeting of carpenters in South Minneapolis, and I put eleven copies under my arm before starting, thinking there might be some mechanics at the meeting who would like copies, and to my surprise I disposed of the whole lot and took orders for more.

This is the busy time of the year for most of the Single Taxers in Minneapolis, and we can not make as good a showing as we would like to; but we are on the lookout for victims that stray in our way, and do not despise the day of small things. Mayor Winston promised us an address, but he has not been able to make connections, and we will have to wait for his contribution until next winter.

OLIVER T. ERICKSON.

C. J. Buell, St. Anthony's Park.—The Minneapolis Single Tax League had a rich treat last Tuesday evening, May 12. Rev. S. W. Sample delivered an address in reply to the criticism of Rev. M. D. Shutter, who had given two addresses in opposition to the Single Tax. The room was packed with an intelligent audience, and as Mr. Sample took up Shutter's objections one after another, and answered them in his vigorous and forcible manner, the audience responded with such applause as only a Single Tax audience can give. It was the general impression that there was very little left of the reverend objector. We shall have Sample's address published for general distribution.

Mayor Winston is showing himself to be the best chief executive our city ever had. He has a clear head and a stiff backbone. Unlike many professed Democrats, he recognizes democracy when he sees it. "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none" is his political creed. Two little incidents of recent occurrence have served to forcibly illustrate this point. The grocers didn't like the competition of the peddlers. In true protective fashion they worked through the Council a bill putting peddlers' licenses as high as to be prohibitory. Everything was lovely for the grocers until Winston came down on their scheme with his veto. Then there was wailing in the camp of the local grocers, but their tears were in vain. Another case: the bicycle riders wanted an act of the Council permitting them to use the sidewalks in certain parts of the city. The Mayor put his foot on that, too, but gave them to understand that at proper times and places he would not interfere to prevent their using the walks. Here was a nice point. What difference whether they were allowed by act of the Council to use the walks with their wheels or permitted by the Mayor to do so? All the difference in the world. In one case the law would be with them and against the pedestrians. In the other case the foot passenger has the right of way, and the wheelman must be held responsible. Nice point; but it is just in seeing these nice points that a man demonstrates his ability to serve the people.

Jarrie Neal Erickson, Minneapolis.—Eight petitions, which I have lately secured; seven of them were signed as a personal favor to me and not because the signers were convinced of the justice of the Single Tax. They are interested in the question, however, and may in time see the cat.

MISSOURI.

L. P. Custer, St. Louis.—My new neighbor has proved to be something more than I looked for when I made up my mind to open fire on him. He is a man past the meridian of life, with grown children, and an ex-farmer, who has retired from active agricultural pursuits and taken up his residence in St. Louis with a married son and his family. He very recently came from South Dakota, where he owns a valuable farm, now in the hands of a tenant. Formerly he was a resident of Belleville, Ill. I had had one or two desultory conversations with the old gentleman since he came to the next door, and I came to the conclusion that he had no more idea of political economics than a crow. My experience with him yesterday has convinced me that appearances are deceptive, and that more people are acquainted with political economy, and especially of that variety that hinges directly or indirectly on the new species that we are propagating, than any one has conceived of. Mr. Slane (that is his name), is a Protectionist, and he draws his inspiration as well as his information, such as it is, from the Globe Democrat, the chief Republican exponent of this city; and, seeing him engaged conning the columns of his paper, I concluded to offer him something else to mentally feed upon, and therefore selected "Pa" Chase's book as being the most likely to receive preliminary attention without a disclosure of its actual character. I was approaching the old gentle-

man like a horse trainer would approach a strange horse. I wanted to learn his points before I proceeded to essay the role of teacher. The presentation of the book, of course, led to a discussion, and I soon learned that he knew more about the social question than I had anticipated, and I also learned that he and I agreed to a nicety with regard to the Socialistic schemes advanced by those who have just met in Cincinnati and formed a new party with forty different ideas as a basis; and one thing led up to another until we got into the question of taxation, and he gave me such a clear presentation of our doctrine from the farmer's standpoint that I was greatly surprised as well as gratified. I then of course told him that he was making an argument for the doctrine I and the author of the book I had given him believed in, and he said that it was the ideas advanced by "that man there in New York, let me see" (scratching his head); "oh, that man George." He had nearly forgotten the name, because, as he told me, George, in his opinion, had turned his back on the doctrine he first brought out and had taken up with something entirely different and which was a menace to the prosperity of our country, meaning the Free Trade question. I told him I knew what he had reference to, and that we had now come to the point wherein we must disagree. This launched us into a discussion on the Tariff question, and we had it up and down for some time. While talking, the mail man came along and handed me a bunch of THE STANDARD extra containing Thomas G. Shearman's recent articles in THE STANDARD on Free Coinage vs. Free Trade, and I gave him one and he said he would read it carefully, but was inclined to think the tract was paid for by the Cobden Club. He said he used to be a Democrat and voted the last time with that party for Tilden, but had gone over to the Republican party when the Democrats began to agitate for Free Trade. To make a long story short, he said he would like to read "Protection or Free Trade?" and, perhaps, might change his mind on the tariff question when he had made a study of it from the Free Trade standpoint. So the cause goes marching on.

E. F. Meyer, St. Louis.—Five petitions, these being my quota up to 200, and I think it is about time that every Single Taxer or Free Trader got to work and furnished his or her share to make at least a half a million in December, when Congress meets.

G. W. Eadington, Lexington.—Nine petitions, some of which I have had on hand for some time, thinking to get more. I got a signer to-day and thought it time to send them in. I have a few blanks yet, having left several with parties for signatures.

John H. Hatfield, St. Louis.—Being home Saturday night from a trip I dropped into Comfort Cottage as I am wont to do, and was delighted to meet so many good Single Taxers present. Among the new comers was Professor Hitchcock, of Washington University and director of Shaw's Botanical Gardens, present, I learn, for the second time. He expressed great interest in the chapter on "Land," read from "Questions of the Day," and will come next Saturday night to hear the chapter on "Taxation." Then, after that the club promises him some straight "Progress and Poverty." Many very interesting letters were read from various parts of the country commending "Pa" Chase's book, but the one that gave us the greatest satisfaction and pleasure was the following one from Henry George himself.

I take this clipping from one of our local papers, as the original is in the hands of Dr. Chase and he will not part with it for any consideration:

New York, May 15, 1891.—MY DEAR DR. CHASE: I have just finished reading your "Questions of the Day," which you so kindly sent me. Let me thank you and congratulate you. There are some few points raised on which I would differ from your view, but they are very few and of comparatively little moment.

As to the great body of the book—and you have covered in it a very wide field—it seems to me a most admirable application of the principles of justice and freedom to the questions of the day, and the brief, clear and readable way in which you have made this presentation must make it of great use. I hope it will have a large circulation not only among farmers, but among all classes, and not only among the sons, to whom you have especially dedicated it, but among their fathers, for I do not like to think that men lose their ability to accept new truths when they come to middle age; and that grey hairs are not inconsistent with mental activity, you, yourself, furnish conspicuous proof. Heartily congratulating you on the production of a work that will set many to thinking and help in the advance of all that is good and noble, and wishing for you the health and strength that will enable you to be still further useful before you are called from your labors, I am, my dear "Pa" Chase, yours very sincerely, HENRY GEORGE.

Thomas Lodge, Gunter.—I hasten to acknowledge the reception by to-day's mail of a package of nine copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" and a set (ten) of Mr. Shearman's admirable "Free Coinage or Free Trade?" Also same mail brought wife (M. S. Lodge), my eldest girl (Ethel J. Lodge) and myself each copies of the same. I also got from Thomas J. Hudson, of Indianapolis, the April No. of "The Tariff," so I feel good all over just now. I'll do the best I can with them, but you have no idea of the pig-headedness of the folks hereabouts. I hear (for I was not at the post office myself to-day) that the mail contained many similar or duplicate tracts as those to me, my wife and daughter. To-morrow morning I walk in to spend a day or two by appointment with my young friend, J. F. Armstrong, the Prosecuting Attorney, of Linn Creek, and I will do all I can to secure him as a subscriber to THE STANDARD. On the 9th inst. I had written him a long, most earnest note, urging him to study the copy of "Progress and Poverty" I had left with him two months ago. I also then mailed him a copy of each of the tracts you sent to me.

O. H. Schramm, S. T., Kansas City.—One hundred and fifty petitions. This brings my number up to 240. I started out thinking that twenty-five would be about as many as I could get, but found them much easier to get than I expected, and kept on adding to the list. Nearly all that I have asked signed readily after an explanation of the Single Tax. I think that all of us ought to give the petition as much attention as possible. We ought to get at least enough signers to make the list 200,000 before Congress meets again. I will do all that I can to this end, and encourage the other Single Taxers of this vicinity to do the same.

KANSAS.

E. T. Shelly, Atchison.—Enclosed please find two more recruit subscriptions for THE STANDARD. One name is that of ex-Governor Glick, Kansas

only Democratic Governor, and the other of one of the most prominent attorneys of this city.

The results of the deliberations of the Cincinnati Convention again demonstrated very conclusively the correctness of the position heretofore assumed by THE STANDARD in relation to "third" parties. The platform adopted, aside from its demand for governmental pawn shops, is made up chiefly of a number of unoffending, vote-catching platitudes such as might very appropriately emanate from any ordinary, unsanctified political gathering not presided over by a God-imploping rant with beckoning breezes from the White House "blowing through his whiskers." Certain it is that no one with any real regard for justice and equity can seriously entertain the thought of following the lead of such an aggregation of impracticables, or worse, whose declared objects mean nothing else than partial rights to some and special privileges to farmers. Even timid "Tariff Reform" is a far more worthy thing to contend for than junk-shopism.

TEXAS.

Will M. Buell, Fort Worth.—Five petitions. No. 1 is a Baptist preacher and a thinking man; send him some reading matter. No. 2 is a cattle man from the Nations, and will do us some good up there. No. 3 is a mechanic, well read up to the times, a Free Trader, and only needs a little reading matter to make him an enthusiast. I send a recruit subscription for him. I have only been here a few days, but find a good many people looking our way.

C. W. Bell, Providence, Vanzandt County.—I find, after talking a little to the boys, that the "cat" can be made to do some good scratching against the cormorant grabbers of the land given to man. Idle land in large quantities can be found in every direction, but it is held at such high prices that the industrious farmers who want land to cultivate cannot get it. Such of them as have land are taxed high, while the owners of idle land are taxed at a nominal figure. But the workers are beginning to see, and many of them are even now ready to welcome the "kitty."

A. H. McCarty, Plano.—Nineteen petitions, which have been obtained at odd times when I had time to talk Single Tax. Among the signers are two merchants, one broker, one jeweler, one insurance agent, one liveryman, one constable, one owner of one thousand acres of fine land and several railroad men. Nearly all railway employees of my acquaintance are in favor of governmental ownership of railways.

Will M. Buell, Baird.—Five petitions, which I picked up in the Fort. All indications seem favorable, and ballot reform is getting ahead of my most favorable expectations. In looking over my letters that came during my absence from home, I find one from James A. Randle, of Detroit, Mich., acknowledging a letter containing Single Tax platform and blank petition, which, he says, he signed and forwarded. So much for letter writing. His letter indicates that he is a pretty good Single Tax man. You will remember an article from Detroit, speaking of the raising of assessments on vacant land, and how some were kicking, and how other wealthy men were willing to pay the increase. I wrote to all the parties whose names appeared, whether favorable or unfavorable, and Mr. Randle's letter is one in answer.

J. J. Malcolm, Snow, Leon County.—Twenty petitions, the result of three days' riding in the wilderness.

TENNESSEE.

A. M. Segin, Memphis.—Two petitions. The first, Charles Kiohry, does not quite understand the Single Tax, but I have no doubt that with time he will understand it, and then I think he will make a pretty fair worker. The other one, Mr. Hanstein, is a Pole, about four years in America. He does not understand anything of the Single Tax; he simply signed to please me.

MICHIGAN.

S. T., Lansing.—Henry A. Robinson, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Michigan, has sent a circular to the Supervisors of each township of his State, asking them to answer the following questions:

1. What is the aggregate assessed value of the lands in your township, less the improvements?
 2. What is the aggregate assessed value of the improvements on such lands?
 3. What is the assessed value of the personal property in your township?
- A. What is unimproved land worth, i. e., land from which the timber has been cut, but which is not under cultivation?
- B. What is the value of land on which the timber is standing?

The Commissioner tells the Supervisors that by "improvements he means fences, buildings of all kinds, including barns, granaries, corn cribs, etc., orchards, wells, drainage and all constructions or improvements attached to and a part of the land, the result of labor. He also tells them that in order to gather the information desired by the bureau, it will be necessary to assess the value of the land, also the improvements and personal property, each separately. Mr. Robinson impresses upon the Supervisors that he deems such information very important, and hopes they will give, in hunting it up, the time and care it deserves. If the response from the Supervisors is not satisfactory, Mr. Robinson intends to make a thorough canvass of some one county, and the result he will embody in his next report to the Legislature. Single Tax men will watch the outcome with much interest.

Ferdinand Amos, West Detroit.—Inclosed find some petitions, signed by people who have made progress on the question of taxation.

OREGON.

Wallace Yates, Portland.—Fifty-two petitions. Single Tax clubs are not accomplishing much, but somehow the light is spreading fast.

WASHINGTON.

A. W. Lobach, New Kamille.—Twenty-eight petitions. I had less trouble than I expected. No one to whom I have presented a blank refused to sign, though several held off pretty strongly for a time. No. 1 was pretty strongly restrained by consideration for the poor man, who will be taxed as much for his lot as the rich man who owns a lot joining it, with a palace built on it. But he is almost a Single Taxer. No. 2 believes in the justice of the Single Tax, though he owns \$4,000 worth of land. No. 3 has "always

been against Free Trade," but thinks Protectionists "are running things into the ground." No. 4 owns \$5,000 or \$6,000 worth of land. No. 5 asked for some explanation as to the operation of the Single Tax. When it was given, he said: "Well, I believe in that, and I'm going to sign. The Single Tax ought to be running now if that's the way it's going to work." There are several camps within a radius of five or six miles, and on getting more blanks I will go at work again.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Mrs. Frances M. Milne, San Luis Obispo, Cal.—You are making THE STANDARD an indispensable power in the light, and my heart swells with gratitude and sympathy as I read its intelligent and able pages. The Story of the Week is a magnificent addition, invaluable to all thinking people, whether men or women, and your proposal to add to it a weekly review of literature is to me specially delightful, as I see so few books here that a good review is a feast indeed.

Frank S. Crosman, Raton, New Mexico.—I enclose herewith draft for \$20, to be applied as follows: \$10 to be used in payment for 100 copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" to be sent to my address, the balance to be applied in payment for the following subscriptions to THE STANDARD.

B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh, Mich.—Enclosed please find \$2, for which send STANDARD to following names for four months. Wm. Gaston requested me to send the last name to you for him. I am on a still hunt for subscribers. I saw Mr. ——— to-day, to whom I sent a recruit subscription. His first words were, "THE STANDARD is a mighty good paper."

Jas. S. Paton, Douglass, Washington.—I have talked with four persons recently, who say that they will become subscribers.

Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.—THE STANDARD is a great paper, "a high class journal," as the Philadelphia Evening Telegram has said of it. Single Tax men have every reason to be proud of it, and to work to increase its circulation. I enclose \$5, for which please send me a recruit subscription book.

Charles Stevenson, Omaha, Neb.—I saw ———, of Council Bluffs, on the 23d. He said he was pleased with THE STANDARD and would send \$1 for four months' subscription. I enclose you another recruit subscription which I filled out on the promise of Mr. ——— that if the paper was up to my recommendation he would take it for at least four months.

Chas. Monaghan, Denver, Col.—Enclosed please find \$7 for as many four months' subscriptions. I have another name but I cannot remember the address at present. I send you names of Single Tax men to whom you can appeal to go to work and obtain more subscribers.

A. H. McCarthy, Plano, Tex.—Enclosed please find renewal of my subscription. I value my STANDARD more highly than any paper I read, and obtain more real information from the Story of the Week than I get from the daily papers. I hope to send you some substantial encouragement soon in the way of a few new subscribers.

Sol. F. Clark, Little Rock, Ark.—I have sent recruit subscriptions to thirty-five intelligent and reading citizens of our State, and I herewith send you names of the Democratic State Central Committee. To most of these, however, I have sent recruit subscriptions.

David Harrower, Wakefield, R. I.—THE STANDARD grows more and more valuable. The leaders are first class always, and those of this week are eminently so. I read nothing of the kind like them.

HAND TO HAND CLUB EDITION OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

O. L. Howe, Newton, N. C.—Find enclosed twenty-five cents for a copy of "Protection or Free Trade?" Send price per hundred, and per thousand. Am much interested in the furtherance of the Democratic idea of Free Trade, and may be able to distribute a good many.

M. T. Peebles, Marbleton, Tenn.—Now is the time to educate the voters for 1892. If delayed until the nominations are made very little can be accomplished. The campaign liar starts out promptly with the nominating convention, and both money and labor are lost.

J. A. Brown, Peacedale, R. I.—Enclosed is J. N. Hazard's subscription for 500 copies with check for \$50. Send them where you think best.

D. Webster Groh, Boston, Mass.—Yesterday on Boston Common we gave as premiums to associate members paying ten cents initiation fee, about fifty copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" and the Boston Question Club has ordered fifty more for next Sunday. Enclosed is \$1 for ten copies more.

A. H. Blain, Seattle, Wash.—Have secured one subscription for fifty copies from a K. of L. Assembly and will get more from similar sources. I want more subscription blanks to use among booksellers; left my last one with the Secretary Democratic Central Committee yesterday, and will see him again in a few days. There will be a convention of workingmen and hayseeds to consider the formation of a new party about July 19th. The Seattle K. of L. delegation will all be Single Tax men.

The mixed assemblies hear it almost every meeting. Hope shortly to have a lecture bureau established by the combined labor unions.

THE LUBURG MANUFACTURING COMPANY'S NEW HOME.

We notice the completion of a magnificent building just erected by the Luburg Manufacturing Company at 321, 323 and 325 North Eighth street, Philadelphia, Pa. This mammoth building had become a necessity created by the rapidly increasing business of this enterprising company. In addition to their baby coaches, of which they make a specialty, they make the Luburg Chair (with its many changes from easy chair to cozy couch), refrigerators, rattan rockers, rolling chairs and appliances of all kinds for the comfort and convenience of invalids, folding-beds, office and library desks, safety bicycles, tricycles, velocipedes, etc. In addition to their enormous home trade, this company ship goods to thousands of individuals in all parts of the United States who order from the descriptive, illustrated catalogues that are sent out to all applicants who mention what articles they need.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Levens, Secretary of the National Committee, at No. 42 University place, New York.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., S. Byron Welcome, 523 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hodgkins.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society, room 9, 341 Market street. Pres., L. M. Manzer; cor. sec., Thomas Watson, 341 Market street.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Single tax club. Headquarters 303 16th st. Pres., Geo. H. Phelps; sec. James Crosby, P. O. Box 257, Highlands.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. Regular meetings fourth Friday of each month at office of B. D. V. Reeve, corner Union av. and Main st. Pres., B. D. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger.

CONNECTICUT.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Meets first and third Mondays of each month at 8 p.m. Pres., Geo. W. Kroer; sec., Frank L. Beardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 150 A st. n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newburgh, 61 Defrees st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Geddes, 1719 G st., n. w.

Washington single tax league. Executive Committee meets at the residence of President H. J. Schulteis, 923 H st., n. w.; Wm. Geddes, M.D., sec., 1719 G st., n. w.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Reath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 206 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 336 Hudson av.; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 733.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; sec., Robt. Aitchison, box K. K., South Chicago.

BRACEVILLE.—Braceville single tax committee. Pres., John Mainwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

PEORIA.—Peoria single tax club. Meetings Thursday evenings in Court House. Pres., Jas. W. Hill, 310 North st.; sec., Jas. W. Avery.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 5th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec. Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Thos. J. Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Krause. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m. Mansur Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts, room 12.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South 3d st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 305 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur, Mosena, 220 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

CEDAR RAPIDS.—Single tax club. L. G. Booth, pres.; J. T. Kennedy, sec.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolf; sec., W. W. Daniel, 303 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunlap; sec., W. G. Andrews, P. O. Box 703.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m. in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; sec. sec., J. W. Hazel, 28 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1436 E. Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 522 Columbia st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m., at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec. Emily T. Turner 5 Cambridge st.

BROOKLYN.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. McElmish; sec., A. R. Bernard, 54 Belmont st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

HAVERTHILL.—Haverhill single tax league. Meets every Thursday evening, at 73 Merrimac st. Pres., Geo. W. Pettengill; cor. sec., Edward K. Collum, 4 Green st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood at court, Neponset.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac single tax assembly. Pres., Andrew R. Curtis; sec., Wm. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac street.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 30 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 959 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Bucil, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., Oliver, T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

ST. PAUL.—Single tax club. Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 339 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman; sec., Percy Pepon, 3507 Easton av, St. L.

HERMANS.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Herman Hermalink; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307½ Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Public meetings first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's Hall, 11th and Locust sts. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble st.

Benton School of Social Science. Meets every Saturday evening at 6839 Waldemar avenue. Pres., Henry S. Chase; sec., W. C. Little.

NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hamm; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Felton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Federal sts. Pres., Aaron Hand; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 520 Line st.

JANVIER.—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney B. Walsh.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 642 Newark av. Pres., Jas. McGregor; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 223 Grand st.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., John L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 160 Market st.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business Meeting first Thursday of each month at 8 p. m. Club rooms, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres. Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings; club house, 198 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Cor. sec. G. W. Thompson, 9 St. Marks av.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays, 198 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres. Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Miss Venie B. Havens, 219 DeKalb av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 408 Evergreen av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Public meeting on first Tuesday in each month, held at Euroka Hall, 378 Bedford avenue. Business meeting first and third Mondays at 94 South Third street. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 253 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pettenkofer, 253 Evergreen av.

ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday, 7:30 p. m., Beaver-Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres., F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

BUFFALO.—Tax Reform Club. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., T. M. Crowe, 777 Elk st.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minehaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwabensberg's

hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

TRUY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martha, 576 River st.

WEST NEW BRUNSWICK.—Richmond County single tax club. Sec., A. B. Stoddard.

NORTH DAKOTA.

HAYTON.—Hayton single tax reform club. Pres., A. S. Foralid; sec., T. E. Nelson; treas., M. F. Hegge.

OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Court, 227 Main st. (near P. O.). Pres., Jos. L. Schraer; sec., Dr. David De Beck, 139 W. 9th st.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 303 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Stemon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec. W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. C. Snay, 103 South Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

HEMLOCK.—Single tax club. Pres., D. P. Sweeney; sec. James G. Hayden.

MIAMIURG.—Miamiburg single tax club. Pres., H. M. Scott; sec., J. T. Beals.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 13 Public sq.

ZANESVILLE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. H. Longhee; sec., Wm. Quigley.

OREGON.

PORTLAND.—Single tax club. Meets first Monday in each month at Free Library Hall, 171 Second st. Pres. T. D. Warwick; sec., Wallace Yates, 193 Sixth st., Portland, Ore.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club. Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3:30 p. m.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec. E. D. Burleigh, 13 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesday of each month.

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec. Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

POTTSTOWN.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weitzenkorn's hall, Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Chas. S. Frizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring road and Clymer st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.—Pawtucket single tax association. Pres. John McCaffrey; sec., Matthew Curran, 64 Main st.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten, Watertown.

BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres. T. T. Vrenne; sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres. Jno. B. Hanten; sec. L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S. Menken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

TEXAS.

EL PASO.—Single tax club. Meetings second and fourth Monday nights, 200½ El Paso st. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec. and treas., M. W. Stanton; cor. sec., G. H. Higgins.

HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7:30, Franklin st. Pres., E. A. Alsbury; sec., E. W. Brown.

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURG.—Parkersburg single tax league. Headquarters, 506 Market st. Pres., W. H. Curry; sec. W. F. Thayer.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—Milwaukee single tax league. Pres., L. B. Benton; sec. treas., Martin Johnson.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

PORT ADELAIDE.—Single tax league. Pres., M. Bicks; hon. sec., E. LeMessoliner.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and mu-

municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or on a half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

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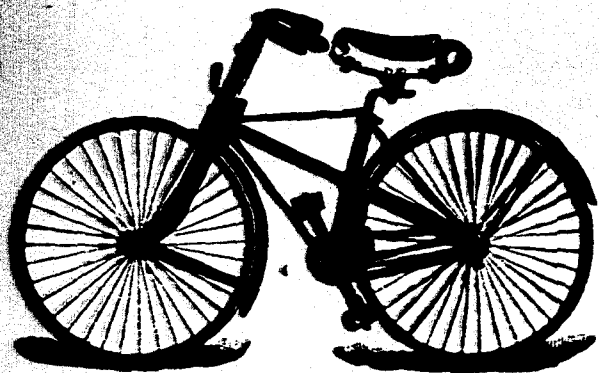
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