

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

THE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

PARIS, June 22.—The international congress on the land question was made up of a striking personnel. Other congresses at Paris this summer may have more members, but none will bring together faces more interesting to study than those which gathered about the banquet-table in the Hotel Continental on the evening of June 11. The guests comprised the active part of the congress, and a description of the banqueters would give an account of the leading spirits of the congress.

The table was long and straight, and around it were seated 100 ladies and gentlemen. The presiding chair was held by Henry George in name, but was really occupied by M. Charles Longuet of the city council of Paris, as his knowledge of the English language forced him to take up again the roll of interpreter, which he had carried out so successfully as president of the congress. M. Longuet was one of the most striking figures of the convention. Very tall and thin, with spectacles and a scraggly beard, he had a little the appearance of Abraham Lincoln. He spoke with rapidity and more than the usual French earnestness. He amused the English portion of the congress very much when he tried to crack a joke in the strange language. He almost always forgot the pivotal word and his jokes missed fire. He, with eight others, represents the socialists in the city council. In the late cabmen's strike he was one of the go-between. In all his talks, formal and informal, during the congress he was profuse in his praise of Henry George and "Progress and Poverty." Somebody asked him how, as a socialist, he could do this. "Why," said he, giving a brief resume of the various ideas he had hugged and then thrown away, "here I am with all my ideas probed and bottomless. Now, I am but a plain seeker after the truth. That's why I am here." It would have been better for the question of the land if more of the would-be philosophers in the congress had been as honest as M. Longuet. At the same time he is widely read, and having spent some years in England understands pretty well the drift of English thought. M. Longuet loves precision and maybe there is the reason of his high appreciation of "Progress and Poverty." Had he not been in the chair but on the floor to take part in the debate probably the ambiguity of the resolutions might not have existed. It will be a happy day for France and the single tax the world over when M. Longuet urges for Paris what Mr. Saunders is doing for London.

Mr. Saunders? Yes; he's at the banquet, just two chairs away from the tall Frenchman, with only Mr. George between them. A sturdy English figure, above medium height, a John Bright head and face, framed with gray whiskers,

hair getting thin and white—such is the noted member of the London county council. A lady to whom he was pointed out exclaimed: "Is that William Saunders, the awful radical of Trafalgar square! How could any policeman, even the most tory, have the heart to knock the hat off such a benevolent head. And such kind eyes. Why, they are serious enough to be sad."

He is rising to speak now, called to his feet by the German looking gentleman across the table, who has just spoken of him as the man, single handed and alone, once fought the whole police force of England. "Yes," says Mr. Saunders, sketching, in a few burning words, the struggles of Trafalgar square, "we did face the police force of London, and we would be doing so now if we were not sure that it is but the tool of a moribund government, that would be swept out of power at a general election."

Mr. Saunders always pleased the Frenchmen during the congress. After his speech of the morning the French delegates said they had heard a piece of typical British oratory, serious, reflective and powerful.

The German looking gentleman across the way is Herr Michael Flurscheim, Germany's representative at the congress. He is about the height of Mr. George, but lacks the robustness of physique. He has an iron gray, drooping mustache and a large patch of baldness is showing through his vanishing, grayish hair. Herr Flurscheim always carries with him a good sized smile, which is often on duty during conversation and speech making; when the smile possesses his face his eyes almost disappear. He has a way, when speaking to an audience, of pausing now and then and letting his eyes half close. Then a side view of his face strongly reminds one of General Ben Butler before he got so fleshy. Herr Flurscheim speaks English with a strong German accent and does the same with his French, but he has a good vocabulary in the two languages and always makes himself easily understood. Once in a while, though, the Frenchmen wince when he uses a German *p* for a *b*. But an international audience forgives almost anything in a man who can speak in two languages. All the English speakers preface their toasts with a sad allusion to the unlucky advent of the tower of Babel, but Herr Flurscheim fires off a sentence at the English end of the table, for the Anglo-Saxons have grouped themselves near the head of the "festal board," then turns toward the Frenchmen and gives them the benefit of it in French. He tells how he fell upon "Progress and Poverty" and the London Democrat five or six years ago, and the smile leaves his face as he relates how he suddenly found what life really is and that it is indeed worth living.

Besides the rather assertive personality of Germany's delegate, Belgium's representative makes quite a contrast. Mr. Agathon de Potter is a gentleman of slight frame, a little under middle height. His hair is quite gray, almost white, as is his beard. Both are well kept, and the latter is closely trimmed. A pair of very mild blue eyes look out through his spectacles. Altogether his make-up is that of a retiring professor who does not want to meddle with anybody's ideas, and wants the same respect shown his own. If Mr. de Potter looks it, he is not of that kind. He is never happier than when he is in some controversy. But these controversies must be with pen and ink. His thin, small voice would make him an easy prey for a sturdy debater. Mr. Agathon de Potter is remarkable for having attacked "Progress and Poverty" in 1880, and for not having changed his ideas since. He is an exponent of the Colins school. Nine years ago he found Henry George in

error because "Progress and Poverty" treats of the "planet" before the appearance of humanity (sic)."

He does not see that the value of improvements can be estimated, and so he wants the "appropriable things" to be divided into "movables" and "immovables." It is also in Mr. de Potter's programme to endow every man when he arrives at maturity with enough to give him a start.

Of the same school, but of a totally different physique, is Dr. A. Regnard, author of "l'Etat." He has an immense head of iron gray hair, parted in the middle, that falls upon his shoulders. He is tall, robust and sometimes fierce looking and then again takes on the air of a musician. He was the most picturesque figure in the congress.

The single taxites of France had a representative in the person of M. Albert Toubeau, author of a work on the "Impot metrique." He was one of the most genial men of the congress. Of middle age, with beard showing a little white, he is as enthusiastic as any single tax man in the states. His idea is to abolish all taxes but those on land, levied in proportion to public expenses borne. He is very pleased when he relates how his book on the single tax on the metric plan came out about the same time as "Progress and Poverty." His house is always open to single taxites in Paris. He has a round full face, pleasant eyes and when he talks he brings all his body into action. He has got the landlords of France "down to a science."

M. Eugene Simon, author of the "Chinese City," is of the Toubeau coterie. He is a large, solid, florid looking gentleman with a close cropped white mustache and spectacles. He is slow in speech except when excited.

A patriarchal gentleman arises and proposes in a passionless manner a toast to the "physiocrat." He speaks in a low voice and rambles in his discourse. This is M. Auguste Desmoulin, who is one of the Toubeau school. He is getting well along in life now as his long white hair and beard indicate. Mme. Desmoulin, a large woman with a strong face, sits near her husband and enjoys all the speeches.

Jan Stoffel of Holland has nothing to say at the banquet, but he had his say during the congress. He is a youngish looking man, smooth face, almost boyish, medium stature, and an all pervasive smile. He is known always and everywhere by his smile. His friends say he couldn't live without it. Beside Jan Stoffel in conversation Michael Flurscheim looks serious.

M. Daumas, municipal councillor, known among economists as the author of the "cubic tax," sits across the table from smiling Jan Stoffel. He has almost as picturesque a head as Dr. Regnard—a mass of iron gray hair parted in the middle, and a high forehead. M. Daumas is a pushing, driving business man. The library thinkers such as Messrs. Toubeau, Simon, etc., say M. Daumas is not a theorist but a practical reformer. However he was practical enough not to intrude his ideas upon the congress. He begins to see there is something wrong in his figures. He wishes to tax land in proportion to the size, cubic size, of the houses upon it, believing that the size of a house generally corresponds to the value of the land it stands on.

Among these elderly gentlemen, a thoughtful looking slender young man of probably thirty-five, arises to speak. It is Mr. Milleraud, member of the chamber of deputies for the Seine department. He wears glasses, and a black mustache. He has the critical, almost cynical air of a true Parisian. His toast is to Henry George, and he is to represent his congressional colleagues. "Is he one of us?"

asks Delegate John J. Hopper of the Harlem single tax club of New York, in his choicest French. "No," replies a Frenchman at his elbow, "but he is coming our way." Deputy Milleraud at first feels a little out of place in such a gathering of thinking men. He acknowledged as much afterwards. Accustomed to make political speeches of the most popular sort, he holds himself down with difficulty. But he makes a genuine French speech. It contains a hidden throb that the French language can hide in words without giving vent to it. The orator never once pauses for breath or words. The expressions fall from his tongue in musical succession. His principal idea is the flag in the midst of the banner bearer of the principle, the land for the people. Gracefully adapting the figure of the flag to the phases of personal and national progress, he congratulated the Frenchmen that the "drapeau" of the new idea has been set in the rich soil of the new world. He is glad it has been planted there, he says, by such vigorous hands as those of Henry George. "The sacred hands of our forefathers," says the French orator, "helped give to the new world a flag of liberty. Now that world sends to us a man who is planting in our beloved country the banner of a deeper, wider and more glorious liberty." All this is said with such a subdued passion, such a musical thrill that some of the French delegates are almost standing up when the orator ceases.

Mr. George's response was strong and moving and it seemed as if some of the Frenchman's graceful enthusiasm had come to him across the barrier of language.

Dr. Clarke, the Scotch land fighter cannot well keep his seat, and it is good that he arises, for in speaking of the wrongs of his country his personality is well defined. His physique is fine. Taller than the average man and solidly built, he presents a good picture of the sturdy Scotchman. An auburn beard closely trimmed and waving auburn hair give a refined dignity to his face. His features, especially his well cut nose, suggest the facial lines of Roscoe Conkling. He has a musical voice and a splendid delivery. He cannot speak long of Scotland's wrongs without showing how deeply he is in the cause of the single tax. The veins stand out like cords, his utterance becomes rapid and his open hand changes to a clenched fist. Such appears Scotland's delegate as he declares his country "as much as I love her to be the lowest in the world in the matter of suffering from land monopoly."

Let me tell the readers of THE STANDARD how "Progress and Poverty" influences the thought of Europe. There are many who think probably that the book has not made much headway in France. This may be true as regards the masses, for the book, selling at nine francs, is quite beyond the reach of the common people, but it is nevertheless true that it has conquered a place for itself in the minds of the deep thinkers of France. I found myself the other evening at the house of M. Eugene Simon, a writer and thinker. He has just published an interesting book on China, the result of many years' personal observation in that country. In that house I found M. Toubeau and M. Recluz, who on the invitation of M. Simon came to hear Henry George. These were men who had grown gray in the study of the land question, men who for nearly a score of years before "Progress and Poverty" was born, had looked forward to land nationalization. One of them, M. Toubeau, as has been seen, has a single tax scheme of his own. But before the author of "Progress and Poverty," they were content to sit down as

little children and learn. That is the way it seemed to me and I caught a very good idea of their views as I made the translations between them and Mr. George. M. Toubeau made a presentation of his idea in the French language, which was translated to Mr. George. A brief explanation of this idea may be interesting. It is the single tax based on the public expenses sustained by a community, in the belief that the value of land is nearly always in proportion to the public expenditures. The tax would be levied by means of arbitrarily drawn divisions corresponding to the expenses paid.

Sweeping all details aside, Mr. George got them to admit inside of an hour's talk that the expenses paid by a community do not always indicate the value of the land; that there is a value created by the mere presence of population without any reference to improvements or public expenditures. Taking a pencil and paper he drew the outlines of a primitive community of settlers where the man in the middle, on the account of his central position, would find his land possessing a value greater than that of those farther away on the edges. This value that came to the "man in the middle" the Frenchmen could not deny. From that moment on "the cat" kept pushing herself more and more into view. When the idea of appropriating the entire land value was outlined by Mr. George, the usual questions came up about the widow and her little cottage, Dives outbidding Lazarus for a piece of ground, a phase of the orange grove difficulty—questions which seem to exist about the same in every country. But there was one obstacle left which demanded explanation. Both M. Toubeau and M. Simon insisted that they could never agree to any plan that would permit the intervention of the government in the private affairs of the citizens. "I do not want my house or your house entered by the assessor to find what is the value of my land," exclaimed M. Toubeau. It was not long before he was enabled to see that land is something that is not ordinarily kept in the house. They were not much troubled about the separation of the value of the bare ground from the labor value given to the ground. This seemed to them a very easy matter. These men had studied land too long to think that the value of improvements could not be distinguished.

The breaking-up time arrived in a curious way. M. Simon supposed a case and put it to Mr. George. While the translation was being made, M. Toubeau attacked the position taken by M. Simon, and quite spared Mr. George the need of replying. This was clear enough evidence that the cat was climbing into M. Toubeau's lap about as fast as necessary, and that he would soon be carrying on a personal propaganda. These gentlemen will constitute the center of the work in Paris. That they are now almost where they see the importance of taking the full land value I cannot doubt, after a conversation I had with them the day after the departure of Mr. George for Amsterdam. They were unable, they said, to express their delight at meeting with the author of "Progress and Poverty."

"Ah," said M. Toubeau, "M. Simon, M. Desmoulins and I have been almost alone in fighting for a single tax on land for ten years now. We have made some converts of course, but it has seemed to us as if we were not really going ahead, but now everything is changed since the arrival of Mr. George. His presence here alone has been enough to quicken wonderfully the public mind. Not deeply I admit as yet, but the talks, the newspaper interviews and reports have attracted toward the subject such an attention that active discussion on our lines must soon commence."

All these workers regret exceedingly that they had not met Mr. George before the congress and got a clearer idea of his position. They are all eager to have him return to Paris before his departure for America. W. E. HICKS.

SIMON CAMERON.

The death of Simon Cameron at the age of ninety closed a long career marked by almost unflinching success and crowded with such honors as should only fall to the ablest, the purest and most patriotic citizens of a free republic. Rich in worldly goods, powerful in turn in the counsels of both great parties, several times a United States senator, secretary of war under Lincoln and subsequently minister to Russia, he held for years the even more exalted position of "boss" and ruled by autocratic power a populous and wealthy state. His whole career was one of achieved ambitions, and looking at it from a merely material standpoint, the proudest father of the brightest son might well point to Simon Cameron as his boy's best exemplar and guide.

And yet the ninety years of this man's life were marked by no high purpose and no act of his will be remembered by future generations as an inspiration to brave deeds or noble thoughts. Though a factor in public affairs through half our history as a nation, no great measure of wisdom or justice is associated with his name. Craft was the one quality to which he owed his success and no moral consideration ever was permitted to stand for a moment between him and his purpose. He was a notorious corrupter of men and no one doubts that he once bought his way into the United States senate and almost succeeded in doing so a second time. The absolute baseness of Pennsylvania politics is the true measure of his greatness and the chief monument to his power.

The merely formal pages of history record the fact that he was Lincoln's first secretary of war; that he resigned that place to accept the high office of minister to Russia, and that after his return he was re-elected to the United States senate, where, through an intrigue intended to gratify Grant's hatred of the man who defeated the San Domingo job, Simon Cameron became the successor of Charles Sumner at the head of the committee on foreign affairs. The truth of history, however, is that at the supreme crisis of our country's affairs, Cameron made the war department the center of such dishonest jobbery that Lincoln was forced to remove him, though he subsequently thought it wise to break his secretary's fall by giving him the Russian mission, lest his unquestioned power in a great state should be used against the administration, on which he had been forced by a wretched intrigue in the convention that nominated Lincoln. Thus an opportunity to achieve true greatness such as only comes to a man in the course of ages was sacrificed by Simon Cameron to the sordid greed that dominated his unworthy life.

While that crowned charlatan, Louis Napoleon, still sat on the improvised throne of his rotten empire, a patriotic Frenchman declared that patriotism and public virtue in France could not survive the spectacle of the man's peaceful death in full possession of the power and title of emperor. It would be useless thereafter, this critic declared, to tell ambitious young men that fraud, force, chicanery and shameless dishonesty were not the true roads to honor and greatness. They would point to Louis Napoleon's career as a sufficient answer to such antiquated and impracticable sentiments. The death of Simon Cameron, full of years and honors, after a life whose true story is like unto the sinuous trail of a serpent over nearly a century of our country's history, cannot fail of some such effect as the Frenchman feared that Louis Napoleon's peaceful death on the throne would have on the young men of France.

Such a spectacle outweighs sermons and homilies and degrades the ideals of the people. If we are ever to have good and pure government; if free institutions are to endure, we must find a remedy for the evils that make dishonest craft and selfish greed the shortest paths to honor and power, and that remedy will undoubtedly be found in changed economic conditions rather than in appeals to men

to be "good" while to be "bad" is manifestly the easiest way to success. Pennsylvania, though rich enough to give to each of its industrious inhabitants wealth that would banish the fear of want and gradually lift its possessors beyond the possibility of bribery, is to-day the most conspicuous exemplar of the evil system that shuts starving people out from unused natural opportunities and oppresses those who can find work by taxing the products of their labor and restricting their right to freely exchange such products for the products of the labor of others. So long as such conditions continue, money will buy the highest places in the state, an easily corrupted people will be bribed to confess their own degradation, and exalt the unworthy to high places, and the unscrupulous craft and unblushing corruption that marked the career of Simon Cameron will continue to be the easiest avenues to wealth and honor while public virtue and private conscience will remain effectual barriers to conspicuous success.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

How it Grows in Popular Favor.

Milwaukee Daily News.

The cordial reception given in Great Britain to the apostle of the single tax doctrine and the gathering of great audiences to hear this doctrine expounded, indicate the interest that is awakened abroad on the land question. Mr. George has spoken from the platform nearly every night since he reached England, and on Sundays from the pulpit. His audiences are not limited to any class, nor to cranks. Great landed proprietors seem to be as eager to hear what he has to say as are the working people and the land reformers. He has converted some of the land holders. Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth Reeve, a rich English gentleman, has given £2,000 to the single tax cause and called upon Mr. George to ask him how it could be best used. Last year Mr. Reeve gave £1,000 to provide an annual prize for essays upon subjects that are concerned in making the world a better place for other than rich men to live in. His first impulse was given in this direction by reading Henry George's "Social Problems."

The press has treated Mr. George with great fairness and courtesy. His lectures are reported in full, as well as the discussions which follow. Clergymen have given him countenance and support, and the hospitalities of the country have been extended to him in the most felicitous manner. He has given the stimulus to many clubs and organizations that are agitating the land reform. An English journal, writing of the great awakening in reference to land, says that "premonition of the questions that will be practically dealt with are to be found in the action taken by the county council of London," that body being desirous to apply in some way to land in the metropolis, the doctrine in relation to the "unearned increment" in the value of land, as set forth by John Stuart Mill, and it is impossible to see why landed property, the value of which is enhanced by the gathering of a vast population around it, and by the improvements which that population carries out and pays for, should not be made in some way to contribute to the public burdens. These words contain the gist of the Henry George doctrine, and the world is asking, why unimproved land whose value is increased by the increase of a population whose labor creates this increased value should be less burdened by taxation than are the productions of such labor? The question will have a practical answer in the adoption of the single land tax, and the indications are that this will take place before as many years have elapsed as it has taken Henry George's land doctrine to grow in public favor.

Henry George is now in Paris attending a conference of the single tax advocates. The chiefs of the different schools of land reformers of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium and other continental countries are in attendance, besides the representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States and Australia.

The Value of Experience Meetings.

PARIS, June 22.—I have a suggestion to make to single tax clubs. It is to hold experience meetings, or as the Methodists call them "testimony" meetings. Let the members tell how, when and where they were struck by the light, for it seems to me that a good part of the Anglo-Saxon world is going through now what Paul experienced when on his way to Damascus, a "great light" shone around him. He was glad the rest of his days to tell how the light struck him. Had he a greater message to tell than we who seek justice for all? Paul told the world that the kingdom of joy and peace ought to begin here below; we tell the world how to begin that kingdom.

Some of us had a little experience meeting the night before the international congress. The convention was thrown open, and the delegates fell upon one another in that pe-

culiar fraternal manner that only single tax people have. Of course we swapped experiences. One of them is worth relating. It was told to a little group of which Delegate John J. Hopper of New York and myself made part by Lieutenant Simms of the United States navy.

"I was lying sick and alone in South America some years ago," said he, "when 'Progress and Poverty' fell into my hands. The cover was off, the name of the author had disappeared, and it was really a queer looking book. But I began to read it. I had never seen any newspaper reviews of it, and went at it a stranger. I read it, a few pages a day, for I was too weak to read more, during six months, and since that time I have been a single tax man."

I related this incident to a French friend, who was caught by the dramatic character of this faraway conversion and he borrowed my French copy of "Progress and Poverty." He has just finished it and I think he is in a fair way to become as enthusiastic as the tall naval officer that gave that little testimony. The power of the strongest engine can be computed, but the power of a word never can be.

Experience meetings could take a very wide range. How certain converts were made, what were the leading objections of this and that one, how they were briefly met, what tracts proved valuable, what short argument was the weightiest—all such points clearly and pointedly brought out would have great effect upon any lukewarm listener. W. E. HICKS.

IN CHICAGO.

Ex-Judge Mark Bangs Joins the Ranks—To Celebrate Henry George's Return from Abroad with a Banquet at the Grand Pacific.

CHICAGO, June 28.—At the meeting of the Chicago single tax club last night, Judge Mark Bangs, a prominent lawyer and an anti-slavery man, spoke enthusiastically in favor of the new economy. He has been a single tax man for two or three years, but this was time he ever attended one of our meetings. He was elected a member and his speech was warmly applauded.

The question of celebrating Mr. George's return from abroad was discussed at some length. It was finally determined to give a banquet in honor of the event and the following committee was named to arrange the details: T. W. Wittler, Clinton Farbish, J. T. Ripley, Robert H. Cowdrey, Mr. Doney and W. W. Bailey. It is the design of the committee to have the banquet at the Grand Pacific and not fewer than one hundred covers will be laid. A greater number should be required, but that many, at the least, we deem necessary to assure success. The committee believes that success is certain, and it is to be hoped that single tax men in Chicago, without exception, will join in making the occasion so notable that the press will be influenced and public attention aroused. The cost per plate will not exceed \$1. There will be a number of prominent speakers.

W. W. BAILEY.

A Very Unusual Compliment

The New York World said on June 29: Henry George has received the very unusual compliment of an invitation to address the Northumberland miners at their annual meeting. There is some significance in this. Every year the miners choose by ballot some prominent man to address them at this meeting. John Morley and Lord Randolph Churchill have been among those most recently honored. Another significant note in connection with George's visit is that the Walworth and Newington branch of the Hearts of Oak benefit society has adopted a resolution that "the investment of the society's funds in ground rents and mortgages is inadvisable in view of the prospective taxation of ground values." The society is a large and prosperous one, with funds amounting to many thousands of pounds.

Truth is Truth, and Will Prevail.

Rochester Times.

Henry George is trying to talk the French to death. It was in New York that he was nearly voted to death.—(Buffalo Times).

Yes; and by the most corrupt methods that ever prevailed in New York politics. However, he polled 68,000 votes in New York city, that hot-bed of political corruption, and was deliberately counted out of the mayoralty to which he was honestly elected. Mr. George's views may not always meet with approval, but truth is truth, and should be told even about our political enemies.

The Object is, Probably, to Protect the Illinois Miners Who are on Strike.

New York World.

Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt some years ago had his portrait painted by Bonnat of Paris. He brought it to this country and paid duty on it. Recently the picture was sent to Paris to be varnished and touched up by the artist. The treasury department has decided that the returned picture must again pay a duty of thirty per cent ad valorem. Another beautiful lesson in the science of American protection.

A Land Hunter.

Aberdeen, Dak., Pioneer.

A Dakota farmer who went to Southern California last fall in quest of better land, indicated his feelings when he wrote, "Offer a premium for the biggest fool in Dakota at the fair next fall, and I will try to be there and compete for it."

EFFECTS OF THE FIRE IN SEATTLE.

A Proposition to Tax Landlords for Rebuilding—The City Attorney Approves It.

SEATTLE, June 18.—After the great fire that occurred here on the 7th the mayor by proclamation closed all the saloons and wholesale liquor houses in the city until further notice. The prohibitionists are now circulating a petition asking the "city fathers" to keep these places closed for at least three months. The Daily Times in a column editorial on the question points to the fact that the city receives for licenses \$63,000, and also to the fact that the majority of these licenses expire in July. It then pertinently shows that the city will in justice be compelled to give a rebate to the persons holding licenses in proportion to the time their places of business are closed. It sums up the case as follows:

The city will be without the revenue derivable from expected license renewals to the amount of \$52,000, and, in addition, will be compelled to pay out from cash already received the further sum of \$5,700, making a total direct loss to, or depletion of, city revenue of \$57,700.

This is no fancy picture. The hard fact stares this people in the face that this money is needed and must be raised to conduct the city government and pay its bills. The amount of work to be done by this municipality during the next year is simply enormous and somebody must pay the bills. Had the signers of the petition referred to, accompanied their petition with a coin equivalent, to the amount, even of the shortage which their proposition involves, the argument would have been far more potent and convincing. At this critical time—and it is more than critical financially to a great many people—any project looking to the depletion of revenue obtained, not by taxation, but indirectly and from a floating population, ought to be accompanied by a full money equivalent. Taxes will bear upon this people far harder this year than ever before. We are not in the best possible condition to meet them. No city is made richer by a loss of ten or fifteen millions of dollars and it certainly seems the part of wisdom not to eliminate, at this critical time, a very large percentage of needed revenue.

"The amount of work to be done by this municipality during the next year is simply enormous, and somebody must pay the bills," says the Times. Of course somebody must pay the bills, and that somebody is the producers of all wealth—the people who work with head and hand, aided by capital—who else can pay? Is there any wealth produced without labor? If not, then the question is simply one of direct or indirect taxation; whether it is best to have the taxes collected by the saloon keepers indirectly, or that the people should pay their taxes directly and without the intervention of saloon keepers, or must people be intoxicated before they will pay taxes.

"Any project looking to the depletion of revenue obtained, not by taxation, but indirectly and from a floating population, ought to be accompanied by a money equivalent." Will the Times explain how revenue is obtained if not by taxation. What is a tax? Is it not the amount taken by the government from the individual for public purposes? The Times admits that it is when it deprecates the loss of revenue to the city through the closing of the saloons—revenue required by the city for public purposes.

Perhaps the Times means to say however that the city when it issues a license merely sells a privilege to steal from a "floating population" and that it would be very wrong to steal even legally from citizens who don't float. "Taxes will bear upon this people far harder this year than ever before," The Times is very solicitous about the poor tax payer.

The city council has determined to improve the city by widening and straightening the principal streets in the burnt district and have passed an ordinance to that effect, they have also passed an ordinance making the city one assessment district to pay for the land condemned for public purposes although the landlord's land will be more valuable than it was before. The streets will be much wider and also the sidewalks. Vehicles of all kinds and descriptions can travel easier and safer and pedestrians can travel without crowding and pushing. What the landlords lose in land they will be more than compensated for in the increased value of what is left, but the poor landlords don't want to be taxed even to pay for what under our system can only benefit landlords.

The city attorney, assisted by other able counsel, has stated as his legal opinion that land only may be taxed to pay for public improvements such as stated, and the ordinance reads "lands, lots and fractions of lots to be assessed according to their full value." I was in the council chamber when he gave the opinion. He said that land owners were the people who would benefit most by these public improvements and it was only just that they should foot the bills. This is the principal reason the Times is so anxious about the tax payers. It would like to see the saloons running again to help the poor landlords out.

The following from the Times "Note and Comment" column is very instructive appearing as it did in the same issue:

"The capitalists who suffered least of all in the fire were the heavy land holders; their land could not be destroyed, the value of it remains the same. On the industrial portion of the community, on the owner of buildings

constructed on leased ground, the merchant whose capital was a stock of goods, the clerk whose capital was his ability to sell those goods, the manufacturer whose capital consisted of complicated and expensive machinery, the mechanic who manipulated such machinery; all those who do most toward creating the wealth of, and building up the city, bore the heavy burden of the loss. And it is by them and through them that the destroyed wealth shall be replaced; that the city will raise up its head prouder, grander, nobler than before. When they ask the land holder to assist them in this, they are not asking too much; they are asking only what is right and just; what is his duty, and what should be done.

I was in court to-day. A murder trial was going on, the prisoner an educated, sober, industrious citizen, a student of Shakespeare and Collier, an old soldier 57 years of age, a native of Virginia who had sprung to arms at the call of the martyr president Lincoln and thinking only of country and right, risked life and limb for the cause of freedom—a man who helped to sweep back the tide of rebel victory at Gettysburg and save the union. Think of it! An educated, law-abiding citizen if there ever was one, driven by keen necessity to work for ten dollars a month in a laundry, and then could not collect even that paltry sum. Time and again did he plead for what he had earned, until, absolutely starved into desperation, he shot and killed the swindler whom he was compelled to work for twelve hours a day for ten dollars a month and no further west to go to. And this is the country where every man is supposed to be free!

The fire is called a calamity, yet 99 out of every 100 men say it is the greatest blessing that could have befallen us at this time. Previous to the fire we had a land boom we also had hundreds of idle men—the fire has put the men all at work and they are truly grateful—in fact many of them firmly believe that when times get dull the only cure is a good big, destructive fire. What a commentary on our education and civilization when we are content to live under a system that teaches laborers that a destruction of property is a good thing.

ALEXANDER WALLS.

Mr. Shearman's Success in Portland.

PORTLAND, Ore., June 22.—Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has been with us during the last week and has treated us to two of the finest lectures we ever listened to. On Sunday night, the 16th inst., Mr. Shearman lectured in the Unitarian church on the moral aspect of the single tax. The address was listened to by a crowded house composing the leading intellectual people of Portland. On the following evening he lectured in Masonic hall, also to a crowded house—somewhat to the committee's surprise as there were strong counterattractions. Mr. Shearman's address was on "The single tax from an economic standpoint," a verbatim report of which will appear in the Oregonian within a day or two. Mr. Shearman made many converts and set many to thinking. If the cause we hold so dear had a few more missionaries like Thomas G. Shearman, the day of industrial emancipation would not be far away.

Our single tax club is growing very satisfactorily and we can feel and see interest in the movement growing every day. We hope during the coming fall and winter to have the pleasure of listening to some of the other prominent men in the cause, for lectures such as we have been treated to by Mr. Shearman. S. B. RIGGEN, Sec. Portland ballot reform and S. T. club.

The Single Tax in Pennsylvania.

NEW CASTLE, PA., June 25.—The light seems to be breaking in this section. Some three months ago I was invited to read a paper before the Lawrence county farmer's institute on "Farmers and Taxation." I made it as hot as I could on the line of the single tax, with the idea that they should get the truth for once. To my surprise at least one-half of those present expressed themselves highly pleased with the position taken. I heard nothing more of the matter and supposed the whole thing had passed out of mind, but when not looking for it there came to me an invitation to read the same paper at the farmer's picnic on the Fourth of July. Of course the invitation was accepted. The farmers here feel that they are falling back rather than becoming more prosperous, and the spirit of inquiry as to causes is abroad.

Why not have a single tax excursion to Chautauqua this summer? That is the center of culture, the source of inspiration for thousands of students from all parts of the land. I know of nothing that would be a better advertisement for our cause than an excursion of representative single tax men there early in August. I throw out the hint in the hope that it may bear fruit. C. M. MORSE.

Michigan Adopts a Compromise Ballot Reform Bill.

LANSING, July 1.—The Michigan legislature has passed a new general election law. It is a modification of the Australian system. The political parties are required to send to the secretary of the state a party heading for their tickets, and he prints the tickets, all to be of uniform size, color and texture. In front of the polling place a railing is to be placed, with an exit and entrance gate and a gate keeper. Only one voter is to be allowed within the railing at a time. One or more booths are to be provided at each precinct, so the voter may prepare his ballot in secrecy. WRIGHT.

THE SINGLE TAX IN BALTIMORE.

Our Friends Co-Operating with the Crescent Club in Free Trade.

The Crescent club of Baltimore is a strong organization opposed to the Gorman machine and insisting that the democratic party shall take steps toward free trade and the support of Jeffersonian principles. Hon. Chauncey F. Black of Pennsylvania addressed it shortly after the late election, and Henry George was invited to do so, but could not accept because of his visit to England. The invitation has been renewed, and Mr. George will address the club after his return to this country.

The Crescent club is not a single tax organization, but Mr. Morrison, its president, sees clearly that the single tax men are his natural allies in the contest forced upon him by the machine, as is clearly shown by the enclosed letter:

To the Editor of the Standard: Owing to the condition of local politics in this state it has been deemed expedient by a number of our single tax friends to co-operate with the Crescent democratic society of this city. Overtures were made by us to Mr. J. F. Morrison, president of the Crescent democratic society, by which we obtain full facilities for spreading single tax and genuine free trade doctrines. A bureau for the distribution of single tax free trade literature will be in full operation shortly. A large supply of tracts is now on hand which will be distributed as soon as the bureau is organized.

The Crescent society, under the leadership of Mr. Morrison, has taken a most advanced attitude in favor of unrestricted commercial intercourse and ballot reform. It is without question the most progressive democratic society in Maryland. The following statements from the lips of the president of the Crescent are the representative expressions of the sentiments of its members: Said Mr. Morrison: "If the single tax men can stand the Crescent society, the Crescent can stand the single tax. Any good man can join this society provided his views are democratic, and I regard you single tax men as truly democratic."

On another occasion Mr. Morrison from the rostrum of the society enunciated the doctrine that "no protectionist can be a democrat." What more could any single tax man expect at the present time? Association with a number of the leading members of the Crescent society has convinced the writer that Mr. Morrison in making use of these expressions has but publicly reflected sentiments of the membership of the society.

The following is a partial list of names of active single tax workers who propose to take part in the work of the proposed bureau:

Wm. T. Johns, 10 S. Exeter st.; Chas. Becker, 2211 E. Fayette st.; Wm. J. Ogden, 1835 W. Saratoga; John Salmon, 415 N. Rutaw; Max Kahse, 10 S. Exeter st.; Jesse Keene, 425 S. Broadway; J. J. MacNamara, 421 N. Gilmer; Chas. Buchi, 4 Irving place; Dr. E. B. Britton, 124 S. Broadway; Chas. Watson, 1111 Greenmount av. The names of others are withheld for the present at their own request as they prefer for a time to remain incog. It is extremely desirable that all single tax men with whom I have been unable to personally communicate should at once send their names and addresses to me if they wish to avail themselves of this glorious opportunity to extend the knowledge of our principles among men.

WM. N. HILL, M.D.

1435 E. Baltimore st., June 20, 1889.

Mr. W. J. Ogden, 1835 W. Saratoga street, writes us in similar strain and says: "The success of our cause is brought nearer by our association with this powerful society, which promises us enlarged opportunities for pressing free trade to the front."

Discussing Socialism in Cleveland.

CLEVELAND, O., June 20.—Last Sunday night W. F. Bien gave a lecture on "Georgeism versus Socialism," carefully reviewing the points held in common and the points of fundamental difference. We invited a number of socialists to be present to defend their principles, and show wherein they were better than ours, but none appeared. We have thoroughly discussed the claims of socialists in the line of the state owning the means of production and looking to distribution, and nearly all of us prefer to be our own socialists—that is, to co-operate if we choose, and share equally if we choose, but having government keep its finger out of the pie. It is surprising what a number of people there are who incline to socialism and yet at heart utterly repudiate the idea of government taking care of them.

CENTRAL SINGLE TAX CLUB.

A Good Suggestion.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24.—While ways and means for spreading the light of the single tax are being considered, I would offer the following suggestion: Many people from lack of time or knowledge are unable to analyze and understand the theories of the different economic schools. For them the political kindergarten is peculiarly fitted. Many object lessons but little theory. Let single tax clubs in farming districts address Farmer Jones in this wise: Your farm is assessed at \$—; your tax for state and county purposes amount to \$—; other state and county taxes should be counted in, if any; then the probable amounts of clothing, groceries and iron implements with the tariff on each. Then show him that a tax of one per cent on the value of his land, \$10 per \$1,000, would be his entire share of federal

taxation, counting \$20,000,000,000 land values and \$300,000,000 government expenses. Mechanics, miners, etc., should each receive a statement suitable to their case. If it provoked denial or discussion, as it doubtless would, it would be just what single tax men want. On all vacant lots and all grounds held for speculation, wherever bill posting would be possible, a specific statement should be posted, giving assessed and market value of land, with a comparison of the taxes paid by the adjacent improved property. Where posting was prohibited the more flagrant cases should be specifically stated and inserted in newspapers, or put in shape for easy distribution. It is not necessary to have all or half such cases. One case well written up would afford discussion for a whole community. We want the single tax discussed, and the point I wish to make is that that will come more quickly and easily when we take a specific case than if we argue the theory as a whole. EDWIN GLADMON.

Brooklyn, E. D., Men Stirring.

On Thursday evening, the 27th inst., the Eastern district single tax club met the Bush literary union at the latter's parlors, 380 Bedford avenue, to discuss the single tax question. Joseph McGuinness, for the single tax club, opened the discussion with an address on "The Single Tax—as a needed measure of justice." He pointed out the absurdity and injustice involved in private property in land. He read extracts from the daily papers showing that the whole country was alive to the importance of the land question; but that through prejudice or ignorance the press and people were still groping—unable to see its true solution. In conclusion, he offered the single tax as a remedy, claiming that, after all, it was but a means to an end—the establishment of equal proprietary rights of all in the soil of their country. E. J. Deverall followed, treating "the single tax as a fiscal policy." He contrasted it with all other methods of raising public revenue now in vogue, and showed its justice and efficiency.

After adjournment the members of both organizations fraternized, discussing the question pro and con for an hour.

Carnegie's "Protected" Workmen.

PITTSBURGH, July 1.—Carnegie & Co.'s Homestead steel works refusing to sign the amalgamated scale, a mass meeting of the employees has been held and 2,000 men will not return to work. The men refuse to sign the Carnegie scale. The superintendent of the works agreed to pay amalgamated rates to the mechanics who would work on repairs, it being agreed that they make the necessary repairs, which will keep them employed about six weeks. The workers regard this as a concession on the part of the firm, as the mechanics also suffered a reduction under the Carnegie scale. The manager of the mill says that no conference will be held with their men until they make up their minds to sign the firm's scale. He declined to state whether the firm would import men to take the strikers' places.

Election of Officers in the Eastern District, Brooklyn, Club.

At the regular meeting of the Eastern district Single tax club Wednesday, June 26, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: President, John Britton; first vice-president, F. J. Deverall; second vice-president, Frank Norris; corresponding secretary, Joseph McGuinness; recording secretary, Frank Arnold; treasurer, George L. Titus; executive committee, R. A. Lindsay, Horatio Camps, Morris Cohen, Charles Matallene, Charles Heinemann, John Nicoll and John New. The members are pleased with the outlook, and are hopeful of the club accomplishing some material good for the cause. The co-operation and assistance of all single tax men within the district is solicited. Our meetings take place every Wednesday evening at 380 Bedford avenue. JOSEPH M. GUINNESS, Cor. Sec., 215 Ross street, Brooklyn.

The Grove Meeting in Jersey City.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., July 1.—Our grove meeting Sunday afternoons at Salter's Woodbine park, Carrie's woods, are growing in numbers and enthusiasm. Last Sunday Mr. John De Morgan, the distinguished Irish nationalist, drew a parallel between evictions in Ireland and in this country. His picture of the treatment of Irish tenants at the hands of a typical Irish landlord was compared with the similar treatment of American tenants by the same landlord—Scully. His speech was in parts eloquent and pathetic. At the conclusion questions were put by invitation of the speakers. A Mr. Abbott, who declared himself a landlord who would forcibly evict his tenants on their refusal to pay rent, put a number of questions. He is desirous of solving the problem, for he declared that what we ought to do is to compel the landlords to pay into the treasury the "unearned increment." It may be that his interests as a landlord will not stand in the way of honest conviction when he learns precisely what the "unearned increment" of land is. Mr. Abarbanell and the corresponding secretary also spoke.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Corresponding secretary.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, July 3.

During the past three weeks the clerical force of the committee has sent out the following letter to each person on the list of enrolled workers:

Dear Sir—I inclose herewith the names of those who have, through sending in petitions or otherwise, shown their activity in the cause of the single tax in your locality. The number of these workers in the United States at this date is about two thousand, a body sufficiently large to assure efficient propaganda work among the large number of people whose names appear on our enrollment list.

A sufficient organization to bring about a common understanding and concert of action can now be formed in most of the states and territories. I suggest the following plan:

1. Wherever there is a single tax club in existence let any of its members, on receipt of this, bring the matter before the club, which thereupon can issue a call for a meeting of these "workers" at the club room to consider the best means of promoting the good work. Such a meeting might pave the way for an increase of membership through the use of the enrollment.

2. Where there is no club, and there are a dozen or more workers, there ought to be no hesitation about organizing one, so that its officers may be empowered to obtain the enrolled names and begin propaganda work.

3. Where the number of "workers" is too small to warrant the formation of a club, three or more can at least form themselves into a single tax committee and appoint the most active of their number secretary.

The single tax enrollment committee has voluntarily undertaken a work that will naturally come to a close with the presentation of the petition to congress. Of course it hopes to largely increase the number of signatures before that time (probably January, 1890), but the chief objects it sought have already been accomplished. We now know, for the first time, where active workers for the single tax are to be found in all parts of the country. We have already nearly 60,000 names of people who have signed the petition and received tracts, and who are, therefore likely to pay attention to calls for meetings and to oral or printed summons.

During the next six months the opportunity for effective local organization thus prepared should be fully utilized. Local clubs or committees once established will pave the way for appointing a representative committee to take the place of our voluntary committee when the latter shall have completed its work. Please fill up the inclosed blank if a club already exists in your place, and, if not, do so as soon as a club or committee is formed, and write promptly after the receipt of this circular, letting me know what progress you are making.

Yours truly,
WM. T. CROSDALE, Chairman.

Accompanying the circular is a blank containing spaces for the names of clubs, their place of meeting, the names of their officers, etc. Responses have already begun to come in, and a number of letters have been received promising the organization of clubs or committees where none now exist. The response has not, however, thus far been so general and prompt as was hoped. It is highly important that these returns shall come in, as nothing is more needed at present than a directory of single tax clubs.

Accompanying each letter is a list of all the workers in the city or town to which such letter is addressed. This enables existing clubs to gain new members, and paves the way for the formation of new clubs. In some cases complaints are received that the list of workers does not include all the active single tax men in a town. This is not the committee's fault. All who have returned petitions and made the fact known are enrolled on the list of workers, and of course the hundreds who have sent in petitions without giving any indication who sent them are necessarily left off. The committee earnestly desires that the list shall be complete, but it must have the co-operation of our friends to make it so.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 58,096
Received during week ending July 5. 682

Total 58,778

Contributions received during the past week, have been as follows:

George Gilbert, Brooklyn, N. Y. . .	\$1 00
Anonymous, Pittsford, N. Y. . . .	1 00
Pat Earlight, Chicago, Ill.	1 00
James S. Paton, Douglas, Wash. Ter. .	1 00
Richard Welcome, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. .	1 00
W. G. Sellers, San Francisco, Cal. . .	5 00
John H. Grady, San Francisco, Cal. . .	5 00
J. W. Hedges, Madison, N. J.	50
W. W. Child, Jackson, Mich.	2 00
L. Diamant, San Francisco, Cal. . . .	1 00
Single Tax Men, Passaic, N. J. . . .	1 00
Victor Burnett, Massillon, Ohio . . .	30
Sundry stamps,	75
	\$20 55

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD \$1,535 64

Total \$1,546 19
WM. T. CROSDALE, Chairman.

The following are some extracts from letters received by the committee:

A. R. Wynn, Toledo, Ohio.—If all our friends could see the good that has been done in the way of educational work by the enrollment committee they would take hold and push the petition.

W. W. Child, Jackson, Mich.—I must confess that I have been rather lax in working for the petition, but I am a business man and my time is fully occupied. When I have read from time to time what single tax men are doing in different parts of the country, my conscience has pricked me and I have made a vow that the next day would find me at work. I finally started out and was most agreeably surprised to find so little trouble in getting signatures. Since last November our single tax club has ceased to meet, but we will now try and reorganize. On the 26th instant, Mr. A. H. Ford was laid to rest in his last earthly home. Single tax men in this vicinity will miss his kindly face. He was a most active worker in the cause. He traveled for the Standard oil company, that king of monopolies, but his heart was in the right place and he never allowed a chance to slip to put in a good word for the single tax.

W. A. Farrar, Milltown, Me.—I have received the names of those active in behalf of the single tax in Maine. They will serve me a good turn in future. I was lonesome here for lack of sympathy, but these names give me better courage to work. We have no active organization here yet, but a few men who read THE STANDARD are helping the cause and doing considerable good by loaning their papers and books to others, thus calling attention to our ideas. I am striving to spread an understanding of our principles among those whom I meet in business or social life. I am pleased to know that in some instances my efforts have been successful.

Dr. William N. Hill, Baltimore, Md.—Thirteen of our friends joined the Crescent club to-night, June 28. Others will follow shortly. The editorial in this week's STANDARD, entitled "Our Duty Now," was a great help to me. Dr. Edward Friedenber, 2,021 Fifth avenue, New York, has written me calling my attention to an item in the New York Medical Record referring to the single tax. I have written to the editor on the subject. The medical readers of THE STANDARD should do likewise. I am sending out a circular to the Baltimore physicians accompanied by Post's tract on the Australian system and Mr. George's "Canons of Taxation." Every facility for the distribution of literature is afforded me by the president of the Crescent democratic society. Such connections as we have made with this society should be made elsewhere by single tax men. We ought to be the leaders of public opinion, and will be, if we can act with sense and do not deal in idealisms. Do not let us put ourselves in a hole. If we do, we will shortly pull the hole in after us and there will be nothing left except a few enthusiasts to form a little mutual admiration society. Single tax men in entering the Crescent society do not surrender any of their convictions. There is nothing in the arrangement to be hidden from the public. Mr. Morrison, president of the society, repudiates all secret dickering, and we are equally opposed to it. We simply propose helping those that go our way and they propose accepting our help so long as we can work together. If this course should be taken generally, we may hope, before the next presidential election, to place the democratic party, which embraces over half the people, squarely on a free trade basis. The democrats need us and we need them.

S. G. Mullins, Corsicana, Texas.—The work still goes on in Texas despite some pretty strong opposition from those who do not understand it.

W. G. Sellers, San Francisco, Cal.—I send a money order for \$10—\$5 from myself and \$5 from John H. Grady. Mr. Grady is one of Mr. Shearman's converts. Although a reader of THE STANDARD for some months, he could not see through the thing until he heard Mr. Shearman. We have taken two small rooms for permanent headquarters. We are not quite dead here, neither are we setting this end of the world afire exactly.

Dr. Henry S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—I sent to North and South Dakota yesterday four hundred packages of three tracts each to each of the delegates to the constitutional convention and to Methodist ministers and county superintendents of schools. I also forwarded about three hundred petitions.

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—I send herewith two signatures, making 1,086 to date. One of them is that of our family physician, whom I have been a little skittish about approaching. I am pleased to say that, so far as it is possible to do so in an hour's conversation, I have made a complete convert of him, and he has promised to go to work for the cause. Oh that I had a thousand mouths! New York state at least would be all right. It is becoming more and more apparent to me that the adoption of our principles would be only a question of time if our friends would persistently present the petition to intelligent men and utilize the opportunity thus offered for arguing in behalf of our principles.

Geo. W. Kreer, Wilmington, Del.—Your letter to workers is received. About two years ago, Mr. Willey, a shoemaker in this city, handed me a copy of THE STANDARD. Up to that time I had been an ardent repub-

lican, but, following up the inquiry that a perusal of the paper had started, I saw the far reaching and beneficent results of the single tax. I at once advertised in the local papers for a meeting of those interested to be held at my house. Shortly after that meeting we met in a large and comfortable hall and our membership ran up to about 30. Owing to the stand taken by THE STANDARD against running a third party in the presidential contest then opening, and other causes, a majority of our members relaxed their interest in the movement, expressing a belief that for the single taxers to coalesce with either of the old parties was simply to court oblivion. I partly shared this belief and our organization went to pieces. Subsequent events have proven the wisdom of the course taken by THE STANDARD, and I have felt for some time that there should be a reorganization of the forces here for more effective propaganda work than can be accomplished by individuals. I hope to be able to report a club of forty or fifty in a short time.

Percy Roberts, Chicago, Ill.—We are having good meetings in Chicago and are discussing the drainage bill and its relation to the single tax.

W. L. Crosman, Boston, Mass.—I have secured nearly 100 signers and am not satisfied with my work. I have been refused but once and that was by a dyed-in-the-wool republican. He said he wished to read up on the matter before signing, but if we wait for that event we can rest assured that some future generation will be using the ground over our graves for public highways before he gets time to read up.

P. W. Monahan, Montrose, Col.—As to organizing a club, I think it is possible we shall be able to do so after the Fourth of July. I got a lawyer here to read "Progress and Poverty." He is a democrat and said he would help me to get up a club, but I want him to take the lead, as he is well known and likely to have more influence and weight than I possibly can have.

John T. Schimpf, Sacramento, Cal.—Mr. Shearman spoke to us on Friday evening, June 14th. The meeting was quite well attended, and one of our papers published the speech in full. The Sacramento single tax society will hold its first meeting on Friday night, June 21st.

A HIGH TARIFF DIARY.

Partial List of Business Troubles and Strikes Since the Beginning of the Late Presidential Campaign.

New York Evening Post, June 27.

June 21, 1888.—Republican platform declared: "The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country."

September 11, 1888.—Harrison's letter of acceptance: "We believe it to be one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation to preserve the American market for the American producers and to maintain the American scale of wages by adequate discriminating duties upon foreign competing products. Less work and lower wages must be accepted as the inevitable result of the increased offering of foreign goods in our markets."

November 6, 1888.—Defeat of Grover Cleveland, tariff reform candidate for president.

November 15.—Strike of street car employees in Brooklyn.

January 4, 1889.—Strike of dock laborers at Duluth and of miners in Missouri.

January 7.—Failure of the Keefer Mining Company of Covington, Ky.

January 9.—Strike of Higgins's carpet workers.

January 29.—Great strike of street car employees in this city and Brooklyn resulting in their defeat.

February 2.—Failure of Jacob Bossert, builder Brooklyn; liabilities, \$139,000.

February 6.—Failure of The J. J. Burns Company (limited), Battle Creek, Mich.; liabilities, \$821,031.

February 8.—Failure of the Pacific Guano Company and Gilden G. Curtis, Boston; liabilities, about \$1,000,000.

February 9.—Failure of the Ohio and Western Coal and Iron Company.

March 1.—Assignment of H. A. Gould, Boston, dyestuffs, rubber, etc.; liabilities, about \$1,000,000.

Assignment of G. Morley, Detroit, lumber; liabilities, \$100,000.

March 4, 1889.—Inauguration of Benjamin Harrison, high protectionist, as president.

March 5, 1889.—Failure of the Reading iron works; liabilities of about \$2,000,000; 2,000 men thrown out of employment.

March 6, 1889.—Failure of the Excelsior pottery at Trenton, N. J., employing 300 hands. The Warwick manufacturing company, Cleveland, Ohio, closed its doors in consequence of depressed business.

Colton & Mulvey, shoe dealers, Providence, R. I., assigned.

The McLewee & Knapp manufacturing company, lamps, No. 28 Barclay street, New York, sold out by the sheriff.

Joshua Henderson, carpenter and builder, South Boston, Mass., failed.

March 7.—The Keystone rolling mill of Read-

ing, and the rolling mills at Naomi and Gibraltar, Pa., shut down, throwing over 600 men out of employment.

March 8.—Assignment of the Findlay (Ohio iron and steel company, with the principal rolling mill in that manufacturing center liabilities of over \$100,000.

Bufford Sons lithographic company, Boston, suspended payment. Liabilities estimated at \$100,000.

L. O. Desforages & Co. (New Orleans and Pittsburg, Pa.), assigned; liabilities, \$144,230.

S. Hood & Co., cigar manufacturers at No. 189 East Seventy-sixth street, New York, failed.

The Blackmur iron works, No. 28 Court street, Brooklyn, called a meeting of creditors.

Thomas C. Cooper, wholesale flour and provisions, Albany, N. Y., assigned; liabilities, \$100,000.

March 11.—Great strike of Fall River weavers, resulting in their return to work on the old terms.

March 25.—The dry goods store of Schedler & McWatters, Cleveland, O., closed by the sheriff on judgments aggregating \$60,000.

Frank W. Adams, proprietor of the Glendale woolen mills, Glendale, Mass., made an assignment.

Reese & Whiting, the oldest dry goods firm in Berlin, Wis., assigned.

March 30.—Strike of street car men in Rochester.

April 1.—Strike of 200 men in the Dithridge company glass works, New Brighton, Pa.

April 2.—Strike of Erie switchmen at Buffalo.

Strike of carpenters and painters at Buffalo.

M. Block & Co., general merchants, Pocatontos, Va., assigned.

April 5.—Downs & Finch, shirt manufacturers, at Nos. 43 and 45 Leonard street, assigned; liabilities, \$450,000.

April 9.—Reduction of wages in the Clark thread works, Newark, N. J.

A. W. Keeney, paper mill, Rockford, Ill., assigned.

Strike of St. Louis carpenters.

Strike over reduced wages in Clark's thread works, Newark, N. J.

April 11.—Shut down of the Susquehanna iron works.

April 13.—Failure of the Plymouth rolling mill, company, of Conshohocken, Pa.

April 15.—Assignment of the Conshohocken (Pa.) worsted mills company.

April 17.—Assignment of T. F. Scanlan, piano manufacturer; liabilities, \$200,000.

Return of St. Paul car drivers to work at reduced wages.

May 3.—Announcement that the Warren furnace, at Hackettstown, N. J., is to be blown out on account of the dull state of the iron market. The company has 30,000 tons of iron on hand, and no market for it. The furnace at Stanhope, N. J., is also to go out for a similar reason.

Failure of C. L. & L. T. Frye, shoe manufacturers, Marlboro, Mass. The factory, which furnished employment to 200 people, closed. Liabilities about \$50,000.

May 7.—A reduction of 25 per cent in the wages of the boot cutters at the Meyer rubber works, Milltown, N. J.

Notification to the Glass Blowers' assembly, Knights of Labor, Pittsburg, of a material reduction in wages for the next blast which will begin on September 1.

May 10.—Scranton, Pa. Notices posted of a reduction of 10 per cent in the wages of all the employees of the Dickson manufacturing company. The reduction affects about 900 men.

May 18.—Reduction of from 20 to 50 per cent in wages at Carnegie's Homestead steel plant.

The delegates from fifteen of the principal block coal mines of Indiana, representing over 2,000 men, met in Brazil, Ind., rejected the operators' demand for 20 cents reduction, and declared a strike by a two-thirds vote. The reduction is from 90 cents to 70, the largest demanded in the history of the coal trade west.

Failure of the Almy manufacturing company, manufacturers of ladies' fine cloths. The company's mills are among the largest in the Kensington (Philadelphia) district, and employ about 400 hands.

So many iron workers in Pennsylvania are out of employment that the Allegheny Bessemer mills at Duquesne have had no trouble filling the places of strikers with non-union men, and the strike is practically a failure.

Receiver appointed for the West End mining company, owning iron mines in Hunterdon county, N. J., and Pennsylvania.

Assignment of Cupples & Hurd, book sellers, and the Algonquin Press, publishers, Boston.

June 21.—Stories of terrible suffering among the striking miners at Braidwood, Ill.

Big strike of boot and shoe workers at North Adams, Mass.

June 26.—Assignment of the firm of S. Robbins & Son, carrying on business as the "Philadelphia rolling mills and blast furnace, manufacturers of pig iron, plates, skelp, bands and bar iron, Kensington, Philadelphia," employing 800 men.

FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES.

First six months after Cleveland's election (as per Bradstreet's), \$3,397

First six months after Harrison's, \$7,111

JOSEPH AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Did Pharaoh's Prime Minister Institute the Single Tax in Egypt?

In a recent number of the Boston Knights of Labor Advocate there appeared a communication signed "Pro Bono Publico," in which the writer declares that so far as he can understand it, the single tax is neither a solution of the labor problem nor the problem of righteous taxation. The writer thereupon offers what he regards as "a better way than that of Mr. George," which, he says, he quotes from an article written by Judge T. Wharton Collins of New Orleans. Before giving this better way "Pro Bono Publico" says:

In applying the principle here set forth, I believe in the townshipization of the land, or that the fee simple should vest in the town; in the inalienable leasehold of every citizen to such portion as he uses; in there being no tax but that levied by the town, mortgages being unknown and the county, state and nation drawing their portion from the town, and in the tax being a fixed proportion of every kind of product collected in cash. Thus in good years the government would get more and in bad years less. As to foreign importations, they should certainly be taxed as heavily as our own products. But the principle of a fixed proportion of all products to be taken by the government seems to me the perfect right, as the rental value levied on the land seems to me quite otherwise.

It is difficult to tell whether "Pro Bono Publico" really means what he says or whether his real object was to manage to get single tax ideas into the Advocate under the guise of an eulogy on Joseph the son of Jacob. The article attributed to Judge Wharton is here given with occasional notices calling attention to its close approximation to single tax ideas:

Joseph was a great statesman and reformer, as the manner in which he saved Egypt from the famine of seven years' drought shows. The measures taken by him to prevent the famine, and to secure the people of Egypt from a similar event in the future, were thorough-going, firm, and at first sight may seem oppressive.

In order to appreciate Joseph, we must consider his position and limitations. He was not the monarch, was not invested with absolute power, and all that we could expect of him is, that he should have done the best for the people the circumstances permitted. He was the prime minister and favorite of a great king, and though he might have desired to benefit the people far more than he actually did, he would have defeated himself, and have prevented the partial service he did render, had he attempted to impair the king's sovereignty, prerogatives, and revenues in a direct manner. If he had bluntly proposed, for instance, to restrict the king's power of imposing taxes, doubtless he would have been immediately dismissed as insane, or possibly been hung as a traitor. This was the fate of the butler, whose case is a fair illustration of the government of Egypt, the subjection of her inhabitants and the arbitrary power of the king.

Joseph took things as they were, used address, and made the very despotic power itself an instrument to accomplish his philanthropic designs. One of these designs was to establish the first constitution, the first bill of rights, that was ever given to the people. He used also the only means then available to effect a great labor reform.

The initial step was to levy a tax in kind, of one-fifth, on the crop of grain of every farmer in the land of Egypt. (Gen. xii.) Viewed simply as a tax, it was less in amount than is sometimes paid on the produce of labor to governments in modern times, yes, even in our boasted republican country. Let any farmer in the United States calculate first the direct taxes he pays on almost everything he consumes; and he will find that it considerably exceeds Joseph's fifth. In Louisiana and South Carolina the direct tax alone is nearly equal to the whole surplus of wealth produced each year, to say nothing of duties on import imposed by the general government. Consider further that Joseph's tax was levied during years of abundance; and therefore was paid easily and without causing distress.

In the ordinary course of the conduct of kings and republics, the revenue derived from taxation is squandered in every imaginable way, in "grabs" disguised under all sorts of false pretenses and frauds; but Joseph predicted the seven years' famine and contrived to persuade Pharaoh to economy and self-denial during the seven years of abundance. This was a great achievement; for, according to the usage of the world at that time, all the revenues of the land belonged to the king in absolute ownership; and he had the right to spend them as kings generally do, in enriching favorites, keeping concubines, building palaces, giving feasts, displaying pageantry, indulging in luxury, or any other way he pleased. But this time the taxes were saved and treasured up, and were in the granaries when the years of sterility came.

[Here is a clear suggestion as to the possibility of the use of the money obtained by a tax on land, provided the fund belonged to the people in common instead of to a despotic king who was to all intents and purposes a landlord.]

Then Joseph took his second step. He sold the grain back to those who had paid it as a tax to the government. From a christian point of view, charity would have prompted the king to order the corn to be distributed among the people gratuitously; but it was undoubtedly his lawful property; it was in existence through a systematic course of self-

denial on his part; he knew not charity; and it would have been vain for Joseph to affront the ideas of justice and ownership which prevailed in that age, and which Christianity has not yet succeeded in overcoming. Nevertheless, Joseph's wisdom was equal to the occasion, and he managed virtually to give back the corn to the Egyptians for nothing.

Mark the process. After the Egyptians had conveyed all their lands to the king for corn, the question arose, as doubtless Joseph had foreseen, what was to be done with it. There were but three possible answers. One was to establish the system which prevails in these modern times, and which we inherited from Rome and the feudalism of the barbarians. In this case the king would have given away or sold the land, in fee simple, to private owners, who, being few in number, would have become a landed aristocracy, like the present one. These monopolists would have leased the fields to the poor at variable rates, the highest they could possibly extort, or hired laborers, at the lowest possible wages, to till the ground for them. The present condition of the English peasantry gives an idea of the practical operations of this system. In due time, as public lands become scarcer, we shall feel its worst effects in this country.

[We have here a distinct and intelligent arraignment of the existing system of land tenure such as might have been offered by any single tax man.]

Another answer would have been to annul the conveyance that had been made to the king, and restore the lands unconditionally; but this, as we have seen, was not to be thought of, as it would have called for the giving up of the king's title without any consideration.

The third possible answer was that which Joseph gave. It was to rent the lands to the former owners. By doing this Joseph avoided giving any shock or umbrage to the vanity or prejudice of the king; while at the same time the terms which he persuaded him to grant were, in effect, better for the people than if the ownership of the land had been given back to them, and the king had retained his former unlimited power of taxation.

[The writer sees clearly that the taking of the rental value of land by the king was vastly less burdensome to even a purely agricultural people than the resumption of his former custom of arbitrarily levying taxes on the products of labor; that is, personal property.]

He made a solemn contract with the cultivators to lease them the land for one-fifth of the corn harvested each year. "And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's." (Gen. xlvii. 26.)

The effect of this contract was that the king could not tax the land, for by doing so, he would be taxing his own property, and committing the absurdity of charging himself with a tax to himself. He could only tax the yearly product. But the amount of this tax was limited by a compact with his people, which could not be violated without a breach of the royal word, and which, in fact, was not infringed for centuries. This compact really amounted to a constitution; and to some extent changed the government from an absolute despotism to a limited and constitutional monarchy.

[This last paragraph proves that if the writer really understood the meaning of the term single tax he would favor it. The rent for the use of the bare land exacted by Pharaoh was precisely the tribute that we call the single tax, only instead of permitting some individual called a monarch, or a number of individuals called landlords to levy and collect it for their own benefit, we insist that it shall be taken by the people to be spent for the satisfaction of their public or common needs. In our case, however, it need not be limited by compact. Its amount would be regulated by natural law.]

One of the great benefits of this plan was that the lessees were comparatively safe from eviction; for since the king owned all the land, and it was for his interest that the whole should be as highly productive as possible, he would then rather seek by a system of discipline to secure the industry of all, than to cast out any and to make them vagabond idlers. The only changes he would be likely to make would be to promote the industrious citizens of superior skill, who happened to be on poor pieces of land, to better ones, making them change places with inferior persons. But it is doubtful if he could effect even such an exchange; for the inference from the whole account is, that the leases were made to each individual in perpetuity, and so descended in the family. If so, the tenants could not be lawfully disturbed, unless they neglected to cultivate the land or failed to pay the lawful tax.

[Here is another clear recognition of the incidental advantages of the single tax, only when such a tax is imposed by a democratic government, no kingly supervision will be needed. The operation of the law of competition under conditions of freedom would promote the most industrious to the most highly productive places while leaving none without opportunity to produce according to their willingness and ability. See, too, how clearly the foolish objection that the single tax would prevent fixity of tenure is met.]

Moreover, the rent being fixed in amount, even if the king chose to give away his landlord right to a favorite, or sell it to a corn

dealer, that would make no difference to the tenant. Also this rent, or tax, being proportioned to the product, would never be oppressive; for the landlord would have to bear his share of the loss by poor crops, whatever the cause.

[This has in view agricultural land only, but in a larger sense it is true of the annual value, whether the crops be grain, houses or ores. The single tax can never exceed the annual value of the opportunity, and hence can never be oppressive.]

What a difference between the practical working of this system and that of the present day. By abolishing the principle of taxation on the land itself, and substituting the relation of landlord and tenant on a perpetual rent tax proportional to the actual product, all the abuses and hardships inflicted by governments nowadays on farmers were rendered impossible. Capricious and disproportionate assessments and arbitrary rates could not be imposed. What is better, the buying up of vacant lands by individuals was not to be thought of: for it would be not only contrary to the charter, but against the direct interest of the government, to allow non-cultivators to monopolize vacant lands and keep them idle, holding them for a rise, until fortuitous exigency should enable them to compel those who would become bona fide cultivators of the soil to pay into their pockets exorbitant prices for the right to do so.

On the contrary, these were thoroughly protected; for when a man wanted more land to cultivate than his right of inheritance provided, he had not to submit to the extortion of speculators and monopolists; but had only to ask of the state, as his right, for what he needed, and had nothing to pay but a yearly tax proportioned to the product, and fixed by law; and this tax was less than what the sum total of taxes generally is. Moreover, he would need no capital beyond that necessary to buy implements and provisions for the first year; and his occupancy would be safer and more advantageous than if he owned the land in fee simple.

[If the writer had only understood that what he calls a rent tax is precisely what we call the single tax, he would have seen that it will accomplish the very results that he desires, and permit any man who needed more land to obtain it practically without paying more than the value of the improvements on it, or if unimproved for nothing.]

A remarkable effect of such a system is, that the occupant of the land could not sell his lease without the consent of the state, which right it would be very difficult to obtain; nor could he mortgage the land itself, since he was not its owner. Thus the abuses, usuries and undue profits arising from absolute ownership were prevented, the occupant was restrained from jeopardizing the tenure of his homestead, and to a large degree from imprudent ventures, or other forms of wastefulness; while the duration of his lease being perpetual, he would be just as encouraged to make improvements as if he owned it in fee simple.

From these facts it appears that Joseph, as a reformer and benefactor of his kind, was one of the greatest statesmen and prime ministers mentioned in history.

[No consent of government to the sale of the right to occupancy would be needed under a system that by taking the annual rental value for public use rendered it impossible for any man to make a profit by mere landholding, but the system would unquestionably render the mortgaging of land impossible.]

If Judge Wharton is not a single tax man he would surely become one if he were to merely take the trouble to understand what the single tax is.]

The Single Tax in Brooklyn.

On Sunday night William T. Crossdale delivered the regular weekly lecture, before the Brooklyn single tax club. His subject was, "What single tax men believe and what they ought to do." Mr. Crossdale made an elaborate historical review of the truth that the land belongs to all the people in common, and showed that it was recognized in all ages. But this great moral truth has everywhere and at all times been confronted by the economic truth that civilization depends upon private possession of land. These conflicting truths were never reconciled until Henry George proposed a method by way of the single tax. This method at once secures perpetual tenure to the individual and common values to the public. It is not enough, to constitute a man a believer in the single tax, that he should believe in the common ownership of land. He must believe in the method, no less than the object. Whoever believes in removing taxes from industry, and placing them on land values, however timid he may be, however slight the change he agrees to, aids the single tax cause; while he who obstructs legislation in that direction is an enemy of the single tax cause, no matter how earnestly he advocates the doctrine that the land belongs to all in common.

To Single Tax Men of Wilmington, Del.

WILMINGTON, Del.—There will be a meeting in the Wilmington college of Music hall (Crosby and Hill building), 605 Market street, on Thursday evening, July 11, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of forming a single tax club. Let every man interested attend. Speakers from Philadelphia and Chester will be present.

Geo. W. Kneen,
1908 Claymont street.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECEPTION.

A Steamer to be Chartered to go Down the Bay on August 4—A Public Meeting on the Evening of August 5—Preparations for an Informal Conference.

The joint committee having in charge preparations for a reception to Henry George on his return home and for the holding of an informal conference of single tax men, met in the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, 36 Clinton place, Saturday evening, June 29.

The chairman, Mr. Crossdale, reported that he had received word from Mr. George to the effect that the sickness of Miss George in Paris had disarranged many plans and that the exact date of return was yet uncertain. Miss George was taken down on June 10 with a slight attack of scarlet fever. She quickly passed out of danger, but the French quarantine, which lasts for six weeks, would doubtless make it inconvenient for Mr. George to sail before Saturday, July 27. Should he leave Liverpool by a fast steamer on that date it was calculated that he would reach New York harbor sometime during Sunday, August 4, and it was therefore unanimously resolved: "That the committee on transportation provide for the excursion to take place on August 4, if practicable, or if otherwise, then on the first subsequent day that can be arranged for."

Messrs. Abarbanell and Doblin were added to this committee, which was further instructed to make all of the arrangements in relation to the excursion.

It was also resolved:

That the clubs to participate in the proposed reception and informal conference be requested to notify the secretary of the joint committee as soon as possible of the number of delegates they will probably send, so that proper arrangements may be made.

Pursuant to a resolution, the chairman appointed Messrs. McClean, Abarbanell and Doblin a committee on speakers.

On motion the chairman of the joint committee was designated chairman of the committee on speakers and that committee was instructed to invite Mr. Tom L. Johnson to preside and Hon. James G. Maguire of San Francisco and Hon. Frank T. Reid of Nashville to speak at the public meeting on Aug. 5, which will be a formal reception to Mr. George.

Messrs. Steers, Hollis and Rand were appointed a committee on finance.

Messrs. Everett, Steers and Doblin were appointed a committee on entertainment. All who expect to attend the conference and who desire lodging or board should communicate with the committee at the Manhattan club, 36 Clinton place, New York city, as early as possible.

Pursuant to resolution, Messrs. Curley, Levenson and Altman were appointed a committee on the address, which will be issued by the joint committee.

The committee adjourned to meet in the parlors of the Central single tax club of Brooklyn, 50 Livingston street, on Thursday evening, July 11. EDWIN A. CURLEY, Secretary.

Manhattan Single Tax Club.

At the semi-annual election last week the following were chosen as officers for the coming term:

President, William H. Faulhaber; first vice-president, Joseph McDonough; second vice-president, J. P. Rogers; recording secretary, Alphonso J. Steers; financial secretary, Paul Boesig; treasurer, William E. Spahr; managing board, E. D. Brinkerhoff, Benjamin Doblin, G. W. Everett, William Gartner, William Gerner, E. M. Klein, M. K. Levenson, William McCabe, Louis Morris, Jerome O'Neill, W. G. Schurr, A. Seelbach, Joseph Silbernik, Morris Van Veen, W. D. Williams, A. J. Wolf, E. F. Zimmerman.

As the Fourth of July falls on Thursday the regular business meeting will be deferred a week.

Physicians for a Sick Party.

The Democratic reform association of physicians and dentists of Baltimore is sending out a circular to the doctors and dentists of Maryland that reads as follows:

Believing that the exigency of the democratic party in this state is now of such a character as to call for active participation of all honest and intelligent democrats in the work of its reconstruction; We, the undersigned committee, address an earnest appeal to you to favor us with a pledge to join an association composed exclusively of physicians and dentists, having for its objects:

First—The propagation and adoption of the economic and political principles asserted by President Cleveland in his messages to congress and other public acts.

Second—Such reforms of our election laws as will give every citizen an opportunity to express his opinions at the ballot box free from any possible bribery or intimidation.

Third—The selection of a certain number of the members of this association to act on the proposed committee of reorganization of the democratic party.

If this proposition meets with your approval, please communicate with the undersigned at once; by so doing you will not become obligated for any expense, as it is proposed to maintain the organization entirely from voluntary contributions.

NOTEBOOK JOTTINGS.

"I am a protectionist," said a merchant tailor to me this week, "but my ideas had reason to change a little—just a little—to-day. Protection won't work in every case, of course. I went to measure a man of fashion for several suits. He showed me what he had on, and said he wanted that kind of clothes. It was fine English goods. I had none in stock, and as a matter of fact there isn't much of it to be had in the country. You can find it, but it costs money, on account of the tariff. Now, although he finally consented to take some of what I could give him, that man was 'stuck' on goods I could not easily or cheaply get. He and his class of people want that goods. If I could get the cloth cheap, I could give him a superior American cut at figures pretty nearly the same as those of an English tailor. That kind of trade would furnish more work for me, my cutters, tailors and sewing women."

The Metropolis of June 24 contained a concise and well written article on the single tax from the pen of J. R. Abarbanell. While from its literary merits it well deserved its position as the leading article on the first page of the paper, the fact that the editor placed it there indicates the progress the subject is making in the public mind. Well does Mr. Abarbanell say: "Let what is understood to be the single tax be fairly and fully imposed and collected, and, as if with a magician's wand, the nether world will vanish; and in its stead will arise a world wherein involuntary poverty will be unknown, inhabited by a well clad, well fed, well housed, happy, virtuous and temperate people—an earthly paradise."

A local bricklayers' union passed a resolution at a meeting last week, denouncing any of its members making claims of ability to deliver the votes of the members of the union to any political party, and informing state and city officials that it discountenanced any attempt to use the name of the union in procuring political positions for any of its members. These resolutions describe the sentiments commonly held by genuine unions toward political parties. Membership in a union is one thing. Citizenship is another.

Will Governor Hill permit me to give him a "pointer"? It is this: It is doubtful whether the distribution of the small offices he has made among workingmen has brought him any votes from the labor organizations excepting the few that might come with the small personal influence of the appointees among their immediate friends. What has brought him votes from this source, however, has been his readiness to sign "labor" bills.

The piers along the river front answer as public parks to many thousands of the poor. Of a summer evening all that are accessible to the public are crowded with people from the tenement houses. But it seems that while they are seeking fresh air these crowds are really being exposed to the germs of infectious disease. The board of health has just requested the dock department to do a deal of repairing and dredging in the interest of the public health, in consequence of the foul condition of the river beds. The drainage from sewers is the main source of the evil. The resolutions of the board of health are not pleasant reading for those whose sole escape from the tenement houses lies in spending an hour in the open air on the docks. By the way, what has become of Mayor Grant's idea of actually converting some of the piers into public parks?

A gentleman visiting one of the city prisons recently, asked the inmate of a cell what he had been arrested for. "Homicide," said the man. "How long have you been awaiting trial?" "Two years." "What a shame!" exclaimed the visitor. "I shall call on the district attorney and ask him to give you a trial. That is your unquestionable right." "For heaven's sake, don't," pleaded the man. "If I am only let alone for another two years, I am in hopes all the witnesses against me will be dead."

A correspondent writes me that a western journal, which pretends to its readers that it is permitting a controversy to be carried on in its columns over the single tax, is really running it to suit itself. The letters of the single taxers are not only cut down to such an extent as to

omit some of their important points, but their terminology is altered to suit their opponents. On the other hand, in the letters of these opponents terms are used not recognized by the single taxers, and which convey ideas wholly different from the terms they do use. The day of judgment awaits the editor of that paper—the day when his readers find that he has been fooling them.

In a letter in the Marlboro Times, S. H. Howes deals with "the farmer's case" in relation to the single tax. He says: "Of forty farmers in Southboro taken in the order in which their names appear on the assessors' books, thirty-four would have their taxes lowered by the adoption of the single tax." In Southboro, 31 per cent of the valuation is land, and in Marlboro 36 per cent. "How many acres of farming land," says Mr. Howes, "would it take to be worth an acre of land on Main street?" This is putting the land question directly under the noses of the readers of the Times.

The Real Estate Record and Guide thinks the city should erect sanitary buildings for the people its improvements displace. For instance, the proposed parks to be opened up in the overcrowded districts will necessitate the tearing down of a large number of tenement houses. The Mulberry street park will cover 2.73 acres, and to make room for it ninety-three buildings, of which eighty-six are tenements, will be razed. What, the problem will be, will become of the 6,000 or 7,000 people now living in these houses? They are of that class of poor who, not able to pay car fares, must live close to their work. The creation of the parks will render building land down town more scarce than ever. The Record and Guide declares that all the results of the proposed improvements should be recognized, and steps taken by the city to provide dwellings for the displaced population. It says the public lodging houses and tenements in most European cities have bettered the condition of the people and reduced taxation. It closes with the words: "So far we have addressed ourselves to only one side of the matter." What does it mean to say next? Is it paving the way to come out for the single tax?

Five years ago, before I had decided to stick to the advocacy of the single tax, whatever I might think of other reforms, I urged in John Swinton's Paper the erection of municipal buildings for the accommodation of the very poor. It was criticised as an extreme socialistic proposition.

The press is taking a great deal of notice of the question of new pavements. The commissioner of public works, Mr. Gilroy, is reported as having said, in an interview, that there is no question that the main thoroughfares of New York should be provided with capacious tunnels beneath the pavements. If the newspapers would only push this idea, they might help the public officials along to the solution of the pavement problem.

Mr. Charles Booth, who has been closely investigating the condition of the poorest classes in the east end of London, comes forward with the contradiction of a popular impression. He says that poor men's families are not more numerous than rich men's. He backs up his statement with an exhaustive inquiry and copious statistics. In the lowest class of the population of London—criminals, loafers, and occasional laborers—there was less than one child to each man; in the class above this—casual wage earners, intermittent wage earners, and small regular earners—the number was not quite two to each man; in the artisan class, above all these, the number was only nearly three.

Is this a quotation from a red-hot trades union paper: "Why should workingmen go to the expense of organizing unless they can make their organization a constant menace to the employer who would unjustly reduce their wages? It may be sound policy to strike as little as possible, but to say that under no circumstances should a strike be sanctioned amounts to the statement that trades unions have no use for being. It is true that they have been in the habit of doing a charitable work also, but unless they provided some protection for the employee against the employer, they never could have gained the popularity they have gained. A strike is not useless because it fails. It

teaches employers to avoid giving cause for discontent in the future." No. It is the Record and Guide rebuking Chief Arthur for saying (as is reported): "Under no circumstances of which I can conceive shall I ever sanction another strike."

W. E. Brokaw, of Bristol, Dak., has written half-column essays on "Rent," "Value," "Taxation," and kindred single tax subjects, and, what is more, has had them printed in a number of newspapers. It would be an aid to writers of letters for the single tax to newspapers were a printed sheet of such articles at their command. It would give them an opportunity to prepare with the least effort the brief and concise letters usually wanted by editors opening their columns to a discussion of the question. If any of our friends have such articles on hand I shall try to find use for them, if they will send them to me.

A prominent citizen writes to Mayor Grant, suggesting a salt water supply department. He believes standing pipes might be erected along the rivers, which could be supplied at high tide by pumping engines. The streets could then be washed daily, the dust and mud swept by the water into the sewers, and sewer gas destroyed. In winter light snows could be thus carried away. It is pleasant to read of such suggestions. They are the forerunners of the practical thought which in time will make New York a clean, well paved, well sewered town.

A gentleman well acquainted with the Italian population of New York tells me that those from the country near Genoa and Pisa are to be found living near the City hall, the Neapolitans are in the neighborhood of Crosby and Mulberry streets, while several other "settlements" in the city are each made up of people from some other part of Italy. He also says they are an honest race of people. They pay their taxes to this country after they have earned the money here, with good interest to the men who make the advances. They pay higher rents than the poor of other nationalities, but they run property down very quickly. They are driving away many of the old residents of the lower wards of the city. One of the churches which a few years ago had exclusively an Irish-American congregation has now an attendance more than half Italian.

The Wheeling, W. Va., Glass Packer, noting the address of the trades council of Dundee to Henry George, says: "For some time we have been of the same opinion as the council, that the labor problem can only be solved by the economic reforms proposed by Mr. George."

The Saturday Globe, which recently published a notice of Henry George's success in England, has been set right by a correspondent, whose letter is published in its issue of June 27. His argument is that if a tax be laid on red haired or black-eyed men only, they will leave the state. Therefore, "if you lay it exclusively on the land, one of two things must happen: either rents in all forms will go up, or the land holders will get rid of the land." The correspondent works out his proof in something more than a column. His case is commended to some of our single tax controversialists. Doubtless the Globe will accord them space in which to reply.

At its recent session in Denver, the International typographical union decided that in future amendments to its constitution should be submitted to the popular vote in local unions. In a small way this is the introduction of the *referendum*. There is little doubt that the system will grow in favor with the craft. It is capable of extension so as to be applied to many if not most of the acts of legislative bodies. Modifications of the Australian method of balloting are already followed in a number of the typographical unions. The printers are ahead.

"Come over my way if you want to take a look at one phase of the land question," said a citizen of Brooklyn the other day. "I live on the edge of the city—that is, on one of the further edges; it has half a dozen. There is a long hill near by, and from the summit you can see miles in every direction. And what do you see? Stretches of bare land held on speculation, with here and there a row of houses standing away off from any of the others. These houses, high, narrow, and

with small rooms, tell how scarce land is when men want to buy it. Little bits of lots are selling for thousands of dollars. What fools men are to keep such a land system going. I am willing to take a walk every Sunday with somebody to the top of that hill, just to teach men something about the evils of the system."

Last Monday's Sun contained dispatches from five western mining camps, describing their business and prospects. In three of them were complaints of the injury done the camps by gamblers—gamblers legitimately, men who are betting on the value of mines, and who won't let other men go to work until the ante is raised high enough to satisfy them. From Deadwood the word is: "The tendency here seems to be to buy property for speculative purposes rather than to develop it." From Silver City, N. M., the correspondent writes: "Some of the best properties are tied up in litigation, and others are bonded and lying idle pending negotiations for sale." Idaho City sends this story: "A company represented by G. W. Taylor, who is now at Zanesville, Ohio, has been hammering at congress for a charter granting it all the vacant ground in More and Elk creeks. This company now has twenty-four twenty-acre claims regularly located under the mining laws, with which placer miners who secure their ground by the very hardest kind of work are obliged to be satisfied. If the mining laws of the United States and territory of Idaho are good and liberal enough for us, we are willing for those Zanesville speculators to stay away if they want more privileges than are accorded to the hard-working miners." A return to the spirit of the early mining laws would help these western towns amazingly.

Conditions have altered so much since the days of hand presses in newspaper press rooms, that I cannot see how comparisons can be made having in view simply the question whether the introduction of steam presses has resulted in increasing the number of pressmen employed. The inquiry, I think, cannot be narrowed down to that point. There have been many other changes during the same time—in education, population, business methods, and in all sorts of machinery. One improvement works in with another. The increase in the amount of printing would not have been possible without the development of the railroad, the telegraph and the post office, to say nothing of other labor savers. I made the comparison with a pressman of twenty years ago, to show that perfected machinery (that is, machinery doing all the work in the shortest time in turning out an article from a given stage of its manufacture), plainly cut away employment from those who perhaps may have been in part given work by what was only improved machinery.

GRIFFIE.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Private ownership in land creates a monopoly in the one element of life without which existence is impossible, and just so far as the land is owned by the few, all others are dependents on these few for their very life—they are virtually as much slaves as were the negroes in the south before the war. —[J. R. Abarbanell in New York Metropolis.

Henry George has a wonderful success in Paris and has made the single tax idea popular, but Paris is not France in spite of the proverb, and when Henry gets out into the provinces among the peasant proprietors difficulties will present themselves which were not to be met in Paris or in landlord ridden England. The man who owns a home does not care to give it to the state. —[Akron, Ohio, Times.

Whether the single tax men are correct or not, their agitation of the tax question will undoubtedly be of benefit to the nation. The evils of land monopoly and the widening of the gulf between the rich and the poor, as vigorously pointed out by the single tax advocates, will do much toward arousing the people to a defense of their rights whatever method they may adopt for such defense. —[Portland, Ore., Express.

Under the present system of taxation, which assesses everything that labor produces and taxes it as long as it remains above ground, we pass land values by, and while we tax the small farmer and the mechanic, and business man on the full value of the their labor's product, we enable the large land owner and land speculator to hold town lots and valuable lands idle, waiting for these other useful elements to create a demand for it and thus increase the price. —[Clinton, Ind., Argus.

What About "Democrat" Dana?
New York World.

As it looks to the rough-and-ready politicians of the wild west, the only democrat who is not "together" is Samuel J. Raudell.

THE RISE OF THE SQUALOR LINE.

An old New Yorker talked with me the other day about the New York of our fathers and the New York in which we now live.

"I can remember the city," said he, "as it was when it had not a single tenement house, when Fourteenth street was far uptown, and when its people were nearly all Americans. Its growth has been to me a never-ending marvel. I have watched it stretching northward, first on the east side, next far over toward the North river, later along Fifth avenue, and then further up, embracing the new Central Park and Yorkville, leaping to Harlem, and finally reaching out over into Westchester county. I have witnessed the gradual transformation that has taken place in the character of its people, the growth of its millionaires, the multiplication of its poor, and the obliteration of many features that distinguished old New York. No change, however, has been more striking to me than the rise of the squalor line.

"Let me explain what I mean. When I was a boy the lowest of our people lived in those parts of the city where foreign sailors spent their time while ashore. By the rest of New Yorkers, the ragged, the drunken, and the miserable who were crowded there were spoken of as living in squalor. In dress and deportment, the grown people were the inferiors of those in other neighborhoods, and the numerous children were rough, dirty and altogether unlike the other children of the city. The houses were old and battered, and the streets, in which scenes of disorder were frequent, were usually littered up with all sorts of dirt. Now, with the growth of New York, the marks of squalor and the characteristics of those who live in squalor have spread into almost every quarter. The sailor-quarter population has been succeeded by a heterogeneous swarm composed of all nationalities, whose mode of living render a quiet life impossible, respectability difficult, and privacy unthought of, save among the wealthy.

"When my father built the house in which I yet live it was quite out of town. Now it is rather down town. The block was a handsome one, quiet and clean. The neighborhood was pervaded with public spirit. There were trees in front of every door. Our girls used to sweep not only the sidewalks, but the street in front to the middle line. The occupant of any house would have been ashamed to annoy a neighbor or mar the beauty of the block. Look at it now. Fine old houses have given way to what are called flats, but what are really tenement houses, inflicting on the neighborhood the nuisances of tenement houses—dirt, noise, exhibitions of unseemly conduct, publicity in respects wherein decency would suggest privacy. Old residents have moved away, not because they desired to live in more fashionable neighborhoods, but because they wished to shun the people they were here obliged to elbow against day by day.

"I am not describing what is peculiar to a run-down neighborhood. Go to the very newest parts of the city, where so-called apartment houses are being opened for their first tenants. Is there not often about the people living in them an air quite different from that which one would desire to see in those among whom he would pass his life? Is the locality one for which an affection, a sentiment, could be entertained?

"In our old squalid districts, people seemed to lead a dog-and-cat life. They fought their way through the world. The men were ruffians—rowdies, we called them. I now sometimes think, however, that perhaps they might not have been so bad as we believed them to be. They were low through comparison with a high average. Courtesy and kindness being the rule, infringements of it in those days were noticeable. Nowadays, on the other hand, we are taken aback, not with unexpected exhibitions of impoliteness in the street, but unlooked-for politeness. Quarrelsomeness, a show of selfishness, a disposition to stand on one's rights when in contact with strangers—these we once looked for only from people who lived quite beyond the pale of society. Is it so now?

"The police officer in old New York was on friendly terms with nearly everybody living on his beat. His place in the public eye was not what it is now. Nobody feared him, excepting the sailor-quarter population. He was a citizen and neighbor, living on equal terms with the rest

of the community, and in no sense representative of a power to be held in dread by peaceable citizens. The members of the police force of to-day are not accountable for the change of the relations between them and the people. The masses have changed, and the police have had to change with them. Just as our old police used to keep in subjection the unruly of our low neighborhoods, so now are the police holding the club over the bulk of the people.

"With respect to medical treatment, the majority of the people of New York are now paupers. In old times the asking at a dispensary or a hospital for gratuitous care or medicine would have evoked comment, even in the case of a poorly paid mechanic. If you would know something of the prevalence of this custom now, any physician to whom you may speak on the subject will impart information that will surprise you.

"The squalor line has passed up over the heads of many Americans whose parents, though not rich, lived as independently as the Astors. People not only of middle life, but all classes of artisans, dwelt in comfort and cleanliness when I was young, and the refinements of life were possible to the daughters of even the humblest workmen. I now know the grandchildren of some of the poor I knew then. These youngsters of to-day are, in few respects, as well educated as their grandparents. They are less thoughtful and more disposed to trifle time away. In one point especially do I observe a difference. The men and women of the older generation saw no reason why, if they were poor, they were not as good as the best, and the standard of their conduct was high. The poor of to-day look on the gulf between them and the rich as natural, on dependence as their fate, on poverty as a reason for despairing of a developed manhood or womanhood. Many of them are hard, reckless, without noble ambitions, content with the base or the light pleasures of the hour.

"I know the manager of a great hotel. He tells me that, however much he would assist the servants in his various departments, or promote along the line upward the brighter of the young men or women among the other classes of employees, he receives from them no encouragement—absolutely none. The hall boys are tricky, not as we expect boys to be, but as sharpers are. The women must be watched constantly or their chamber-work is slighted. The cook's assistants and the waiters, with their compacts and tacit understandings, reduce to an art the bleeding of the guests. The ruling sentiment among them all is the false one of loyalty to one another, the influence of the worst among them being the most potent. Class feeling and the prejudices of the low-born and low-lived govern their actions alike toward employers and those whom they serve. They would make life intolerable to one of their kind who would depart from their traditions.

"Whether the description of this hotel-keeper's trials are heightened or not, whether he has exaggerated the characteristics of his hired people or not, it is true that such service as we formerly expected from our help, whom we regarded quite as our equals, is not to be had. As to unskilled employees in business, one class, the boys, stand as a type. The hall boy, the elevator boy, the messenger boy, the office boy—they are indifferent to their duties, they are impudent to a degree fast becoming proverbial, and they rarely have a disposition to learn anything save what is bad or smart. Dismissal they take lightly. Rebuke they refuse to take at all. They accept a place with no show of any intent to attach themselves to it, and at their first huff they leave it without a word of regret. I see in all this a submergence below the squalor line of most of the class from which such boys are recruited.

"It is hard to get away from this squalor line. Rents do not come down as old neighborhoods are invaded by flat houses and two rowdy children play in the block where one who was well behaved played before. The compensation of skilled laborers and that of men on salaries is, considering necessary expenses, relatively lower than it was forty or fifty years ago. Such men pay double what was paid then for habitations, but their abodes are not homes, as they were then. A man doing the work of a skilled mechanic could then find a small house within his means. A young married clerk could take his wife to a roomy second floor, the front looking out on a pleasant street, the rear on neat-

ly kept yards. Now, if they remain in New York at all, men so placed in life seek a flat. There they have the annoying publicity of a hotel and surroundings that would have been intolerable to people of their class two generations ago. I have a young friend who lives in a flat and who pays a rent that would have sufficed for a whole house in his grandfather's time. He has six rooms. In them he packs away himself, his wife, three children and a servant girl. The exterior of the house is imposing enough, but of his six rooms two are without light and ventilation save from a narrow shaft, and one is entirely without either. The members of that family cannot escape from one another. They are jailed together. They cannot go from front to rear unless they pass through several rooms. In old times only our sailor-quarter population was crowded in that way. Permanency of residence in one house was also a characteristic of our people. We used sometimes to say, 'Mr. So-and-so's corner,' instead of naming the intersecting streets. Now, three-quarters of our population is nomadic.

"From time to time a great deal is said about philanthropy and improved tenement houses. Men of wealth are to erect tenements better than those of the ordinary type, expecting but a low profit on the investment. Will the poor find places in them? No, not the poor who are reduced almost to beggary and who cannot but exhibit their poverty in their attire as they walk the streets. The better-to-do poor, those who must live economically and who strive to live respectably, crowd into such houses.

"As I look upon these conditions, so regrettable to a believer in democracy and one who has faith in the power of a free people to elevate themselves, I see plainly that freedom is what our citizen do not enjoy. New York is a huge prison pen. The squalor line is rising in it as surely and mercilessly as the tide rises in the rivers that surround it. I only hope a way may be found by which it may be forced to recede."

HAGAN DWEN.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas R Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Koshert, 23 Third avenue; or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter—Mrs Josephine Spahr.
Albion, Pa.—C. L. Ishler, pres; D. L. Munro, recording secretary Single tax club.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T Granstam.
Ashtabula, Ohio—A. D. Strong.
Athens, Pa.—Arthur L. Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—A. S. Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sabin.
Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 143 E Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.
Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, Newell place.
Bristol, Ark.—W. E. Brookaw.
Binghamton, N. Y.—E. W. Dundon, 33 Malden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 238 Main street; Charleston, J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain; John L. Davis, 13 Leonard street; Harrison square.
Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
Buffalo, N. Y.—H. B. Baddenberg, pres. Tax reform club, 824 Clinton st; C. C. Whittemore, sec, 385 Washington street.
Burlington, Iowa—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.
Canon City, Colo.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harriott, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May City—Wm Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa—Irving W Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wittler, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee ave; Warren Worth Bailey, pres S. T. club, 125 5th av.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Joseph's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters single tax club, 612 1/2 building, S. corner Fourth and Sycamore.
Clanton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex G. Dake.
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Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
Colorado, N. Y.—S. Crana.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
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Detroit, Mich.—J. K. Finehart, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 279 Third street, secretary Tax reform as location; S. G. Howe, 534 14th av.
Eldorado Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—A. Cross.
Punkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.
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East Orange, N. J.—Edw C. Alphonse, 333 Main st.
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Hartington, Neb.—John H. Felber.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornesville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Holtan, Kan.—J. J. Avery.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.
Hosack Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Molecom, M. D.
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Indianapolis, Ind.—L. P. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel. Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Von hegan's hardware store, E Washington street.
Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Jannet, N. J.—S. B. Walsh.
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Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quigley.
Kelltsburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romoyne.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McManis, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, R. I.—Dr L. F. Garvin.
Lewiston, Me.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Brown.
London, England—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. V. Vuetta, P. O. station F. Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kilder street.
Lytle, Minn.—C. F. Wenham.
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Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
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Mt Pleasant, Iowa—A. O. Fletcher, M. D.
Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. B. Luthberg.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Cannan, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Rev Hugh O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R. Whitmore, secretary Merrimack assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—William D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S. Watters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass.—William M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; E. S. Mearns, P. O. box 357.
North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.
Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw B. Haskell.
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres. Single tax association.
Olympia, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embler, 322 Virginia avenue; Percy Popson, pres single tax club, 1512 S 5th street; C. F. Beckett, sec, n. w. cor 27th and blondo streets.
Orway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
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Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
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Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. R. S. Mearns, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
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Portland, Ore.—S. B. Riggen, 48 Stark street, R. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Grievie, 32 Sutton street; Dr Wm Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S. Pitzer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N 6th street.
Reynolds, Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—M. Kitchin, 913 South A street; J. E. Huff, 136 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—J. C. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles A. Vail, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Read Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Diego, Cal.—A. Harvey, 139 1/2 Hill street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M. Milne.
Seattle, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Wall.
Benecke Falls, N. Y.—Wm H. Adams, P. O. box 56.
Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Postwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
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Spirit Lake, Iowa—J. W. Schrimp, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McGee, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 421 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Jurnum, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax league, 2763 Bacon street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 919 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
Stoneham, Mass.—Dr W. Symington Brown.
Sutro, Ill.—George G. Guntter.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 55 Greene street.
Swack, Wash. Ter.—F. F. Harman.
Toledo, O.—J. P. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 1308 K st.
Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Mathews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. J. Maris.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
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Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, F. and N. R. R. Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and Opera block.
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Warefield, R. I.—David Harrower.
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Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Steward.
Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Frank, 237 East street.
Whitcomb, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
Whitman, Mass.—J. P. John, cigar store; Thos Douglass, president Single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Cumins.
Worcester, Mass.—F. K. Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O.—J. H. Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio—W. H. Longway, 77 Van Buren street.
O. A. Potwin, pres. single tax club.

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The little combination that masqueraded in this city last fall as the united labor party, is about to resume operations on a business basis. It is to be called the progressive reform party of the United States, and proposes, instead of nominating candidates of its own, to hold the balance of power between the two principal parties of the country. For non-partisans who represent real political principles, to promote their views and guide legislation, by holding a balance of power in favor of the leading party that will do most in promotion of their principles, is the best kind of practical politics; but judging from the history of the obsequies of the so-called united labor party, its assignee and successor is likely to be influenced, in the matter of balancing power, by something other than political principle.

The conspiracy of the democratic machine of the east to foist Governor Hill upon the party as its next presidential candidate, takes the line of an appeal to the party to go back to the platform of 1884, which, on the tariff question, was unsound and dishonest. An instance of dishonesty bred of that dishonesty is afforded by the Atlanta Constitution, which refers the success of 1884 to the platform of that year, and attributes Cleveland's defeat in 1888 to the tariff plank of the later platform. The Constitution places great reliance on the short memory or the idiocy of the democratic party. As everyone knows, Cleveland was elected in 1884 because of half a dozen republican defections in the state of New York, none having any relation to the tariff, and any one being sufficient to change the result. And, as every one knows equally well, he was defeated in 1888, not because of popular antagonism to tariff reduction, but because one of the states which he lost by a small majority against him, accomplished by the political rascality of Governor Hill's supporters, had a controlling electoral vote. In 1884 Cleveland's popular majority was about 60,000, and in 1888, when he was defeated by the electoral college, his popular majority was over 100,000. Under our system of electing presidents it is not success but the popular vote that determines the popularity of a policy at issue; and by the popular vote the platform of 1888 was approved. We do not favor the platform of 1888. We hope to see one that will drive out of the party every protectionist in it and make room for better men, whose accession will encourage the organization to aim higher and strike harder. But as between the platform of 1884 and that of 1888, only a secret enemy of the principles that, in the main, have guided the party, could prefer the former.

The editor of the Missouri World has given the single tax system more thought, and thinks he understands it now. This is his understanding of it: A and B live in the same street, directly opposite each

other, in the suburbs. A has a house worth \$50,000, occupying two lots; B has two lots, also, but he is a poor man, and his house is the usual six-room frame dwelling, worth about \$1,000. The single tax men propose to exempt both buildings and tax the lots only, and tax them equally. So understanding the single tax, the editor of the Missouri World does not think it fair. Single tax readers will recognize this illustration as the same that Mayor Hewitt invented when he imagined the palace of a nabob and the shop of a blacksmith on adjoining lots of equal value, an argument against the single tax that was "called in" along with spring hats of the year it was invented. When it is explained why the occupant of a \$10,000 lot, who wears a \$6 stovepipe hat, should be taxed more than the occupant of a \$10,000 lot, who wears a 50-cent straw, the illustration may be allowed to have some force. It is of the essence of the single tax that men should be taxed, not according to what they do, but according to the value of the common benefits which they appropriate. To make the illustration simple, let us suppose that one man by his own labor builds a \$50,000 house on his lot, and another, on an equally valuable lot, builds one worth only \$1,000. Is it not plain that to tax the first more than the second is unjust as a matter of morals, and as a matter of expediency, impolitic in that it discourages industry? What gives the Missouri World's illustration its apparent force, is the fact that men do not build \$50,000 houses exclusively by their own labor. In some occult way they force poorer men to build for them, and the Missouri World would like to get even by taxing what it regards as plunder. Of course it must regard it as plunder, for it would never think of taxing away any man's honestly earned savings, however large. It is true that rich men get their fortunes by the sweat of other men's brows, but this is a result of the very conditions which the single tax would abolish. Mr. B. in the Missouri World's illustration puts up a \$1,000 house, and as \$50,000 houses are built all around him, his land rises in value. He can keep it almost vacant, because while it is almost vacant his tax is much lower than that of his neighbors; and when he has held it thus comparatively useless for some years, to the obstruction of the industry that would build upon it an appropriate structure, he is able to go into the labor market and compel workmen to build him a \$50,000 house, for which he returns no other equivalent than the privilege of using part of the earth's surface. So far as the justice of the transaction is concerned, it would be the same if he gave the privilege of fishing in the Atlantic ocean. The Mr. B. of the Missouri World's illustration, in his capacity of lot owner, is simply a land miser.

The New York Sun is authority for the statement that Canada has proposed to the United States a reciprocal arrangement by which the duty on lumber shall be removed. This is good as far as it goes. Every duty reduced or removed is a step toward free trade; and this modification, small as it is, will largely promote the exportation of our agricultural implements by permitting the importation of Canadian lumber in exchange.

Henry W. Grady in his eloquent address at the University of Virginia, after describing the dangers of plutocracy, offered as his remedy that the citizen should be exalted. "Teach him," he said, "that his home is his castle, and his sovereignty rests beneath his hat. Make him self-respecting, self-reliant and responsible. Let him stand upright and fearless—a free man, born of freemen—building his altar in the midst of his household gods and shrining in his own heart the uttermost temple of his liberty." All of which is beautiful and sound to the core. That is the remedy, just as the remedy for the sick man is to get well. Make the blind to see and the deaf to hear, and we shall have neither blind nor deaf. But how to do it? that is the question. How

shall we teach the homeless man that his home is his castle? How make the beggar for work at beggarly pay, a self-respecting, self-reliant and responsible man? How shall the starving man be made fearless or the slave be taught to believe that he is free?

Mr. Grady is talking of what ought to be. He is talking of what might be. But he is talking of what under the conditions of land tenure that make men dependent on their fellow men for the right to live, is as impossible of realization as a journey to Mars.

The Albany Press and Knickerbocker in recommending a special session of the legislature, speaks of an honest ballot law as one of the important subjects for consideration. "Now that Governor Hill has declared," it says, "that if the legislature had laid before him such a bill as the Connecticut legislature passed and the governor signed, he would have signed it, the people feel that the opportunity is presented of securing honest elections." The Press and Knickerbocker is deceived. As at first announced it appeared that the Connecticut law did secure secret voting; but now it seems that it is so drawn as to make bribers more certain than ever that they are getting what they pay for. Even if the Connecticut bill did secure secrecy it would be insufficient in this state, where in the large centers, the domination of the machines is as important a factor as bribery in the corruption of politics. The policy of ballot reformers in New York state now is to wait until after the Australian law shall have been tried in the several states which have adopted it. Of its success those who know its history in other countries can entertain no doubt. Governor Hill has no doubt, and would be glad to sign an inferior bill in the hope of putting the agitation at rest. He should not have the opportunity.

Michigan is the latest state to adopt a ballot reform law. It is a modification of the Australian law, and embodies the two vital features of an official ballot and secret voting.

If, as now appears to be the case, the Crescent democratic association of Baltimore intends to make a straightforward and continuous fight against protection and for ballot reform, our single tax friends in that city cannot do a wiser thing than help on that fight with all the vigor and enthusiasm that they can command. Nowhere is there more need of such a struggle. Senator Gorman probably has no strong convictions on questions of political economy, as such, but he has interests and associations that bind him closely to the protectionists. He is the cousin of ex-Senator Henry G. Davis of West Virginia, who is, in turn, the father-in-law of Stephen B. Elkins. All of these men, and James G. Blaine, are closely associated in business as owners of extensive coal lands in West Virginia, and they look on the existing tariff on bituminous coal as essential to the success of their speculations. Furthermore, Mr. Gorman is probably the most perfect master of political machine methods in the democratic party, and ballot reform would break his power in Maryland and weaken his pernicious influence in the national councils of his party. Tariff reform and honest elections prepare the way for the single tax, and our friends should neglect no opportunity to help them who are working for either, so long as they can do so without abandoning or abjuring their own principles. Furthermore, if they prove that they are useful allies in advancing the minor reforms nearest at heart, they will deserve and receive more respectful consideration when they urge others to go on to the great ultimate reform of liberating natural opportunities from the grasp of monopoly.

Public interest in questions of taxation is becoming more thoroughly aroused from day to day, and the newspapers that are trying to direct attention away from it to dead issues are sure to be disappointed. A meeting to consider the sub-

ject of unjust discrimination in taxation was held at the hall of the Knights of Labor in Jackson, Mich., on the evening of June 27, at which Mr. Loennecker, the mayor of the city, made an address abounding in figures, going to show that the railroad companies and other corporations of Michigan shirked their fair share of the public burdens. Other speakers followed in the same vein, but Messrs. George Diamond and John R. Reynolds went more deeply into the subject, and discussed free trade and the single tax, to the evident gratification of a considerable portion of the audience. It is thus that opportunities are constantly opening for the presentation of our ideas, and happily single tax men are generally on hand ready and able to utilize such opportunities when they are opened. Never before since the theory of the single tax was first propounded were so many minds hospitably open to its presentation, and never before were its advocates so united in principle and policy. The coming conference will not lack causes for congratulation when it meets.

The Press assures its readers that there are a thousand and one things that we make in this country for which a market could be found in the South American republics. No doubt of it; but that is not the point. If these goods are sent to South America they will be paid for with goods produced abroad. In that way work will be taken from our laborers. At least this is the protection notion of it.

James Grove of Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand, is another of those men who, seeing the remedy for involuntary poverty, cannot rest until they have made it known to the uttermost limits of their influence, and done all in their power to bring about its adoption. Being a large land owner, the accusation cannot be brought against him that he is moved by a spirit of envy, as it is sometimes brought against less fortunate men by a class of people who assume that every one is governed by the motives that govern them. Mr. Grove advocates the single tax because he believes it is right, and his only selfish motive, if it can be called selfish, is that the measure would open a clearer and better future for his children. He says he finds much difficulty in introducing the subject into the newspapers, although he has succeeded to some extent. "I have found a few," he says, "who see the light, but are too timid to say anything or support me in any way. I believe there is a single tax club in Auckland, and I am trying to get the address of some of its members in order to correspond with them. Sir George Grey broke the ice in what he said some years ago about the unearned increment, and our present premier of New Zealand, Sir Harry Atkinson, and a few other prominent men, are charged with being disciples of Henry George. So the thing is started, and it only wants you or William Lloyd Garrison, or some other of your able and good men to come and lecture here, to make the doctrine spread as I am pleased to know it is spreading in America."

One of the lessons that a great many single tax men have to learn is the importance to the single tax movement itself of taking part more generally in other matters of public concern. We cannot promote our objects by retiring into a cave and waving our hands deprecatingly whenever asked to help reforms of general interest which do not seem to be a part of our reform. The single tax man who by his public spirit acquires a reputation for common sense has an influence in the community which arms him thrice for the struggle for a single tax. He will make converts by the score, when the time is ripe, while the cave-dweller only repels.

In this respect Dr. Walter Mendelson has set an example. The appointment of Charles G. Wilson, a man totally unfamiliar with sanitary science, as president of the board of health, aroused an opposition in the academy of medicine which

Dr. Mendelson lead most successfully. At the last meeting of the academy he offered a resolution in which the mayor was urged to reconsider the appointment and make one better suited to the important nature of the department. The resolution was a surprise to the other members of the academy, but it was adopted, with only one voice in opposition. On being interviewed by the World Mr. Mendelson said he offered the resolution because he did not believe a stock broker having no knowledge pertaining to the public health should hold such a position. The law unwisely does not permit the appointment of a physician as president of the board, but that fact hardly justified the mayor in supposing that absolute ignorance of sanitary science was a prime qualification for the office.

There is some democratic sense in the police department after all. Captain Gunner having suggested that the police should be drilled in rifle practice so as to be available as militia in case of riots, the superintendent declared that peace officers and soldiers are two entirely different kinds of functionaries, and that guns would be out of place in the hands of policemen. It is quite plain that the drilling and arming of the police, except with pistols for their personal protection in extreme emergencies would amount to the maintenance of a standing army.

The Astoria (Oregon) Daily Register has been making some impudent comparisons between the actual value of lands owned by some residents of Astoria and the value at which they are assessed for taxation. Such impudence might be advantageously imitated in other parts of the country, and we tabulate the results in Astoria by way of suggestion:

Owner.	Value.	Assessment.
M. Nolan,	\$ 11,000	\$ 1,880
do	12,000	3,100
do	5,000	950
do	5,500	1,400
do	3,500	525
Moses Rodgers,	5,000	728
do	30,000	7,258
J. M. Shiveley,	50,000	14,405
Truckee Lumber Co.	25,000	7,050
Jas. W. Welch,	20,000	7,020
do	2,500	970
Nancy Welch,	50,000	18,810
Hiram Brown,	100,000	37,230
Columbia Water Co.	200,000	40,600
H. W. Corbett,	60,000	14,150
Ben Young,	20,000	4,510

This system of under valuing property for purposes of taxation is a universal vice. Under it the poorer tax payer is compelled to bear a greater proportionate burden than he would be if property were uniformly taxed at its full value and a lower rate of taxation imposed, for small properties are invariably valued higher proportionately than large ones. But the wrong is greater yet when unused land is valued, as it is every where, at less than that which is in use. The small property owner uses his land as a rule, and is taxed on a valuation much nearer the true value than is the large owner who as a rule has a considerable quantity of land not in use. This is illustrated by the Astoria Register in the figures we tabulate above. Mr. Nolan's \$11,000 land, unimproved, is assessed at one-sixth of its value and his \$3,500 land, vacant lots, is assessed at one-seventh; while his \$12,000 land, partly improved, is assessed at one-fourth. Mr. Rodgers's \$5,000 land, unimproved, is assessed at one-seventh, while his \$30,000 land, partly improved, is assessed at one-fourth. On this plan every little house holder is taxed on double the valuation with which the large owner of vacant land is favored. The plea on which this is done is that the owner of vacant land gets no income from it, and therefore should not be taxed so heavily as the owner of land that yields an income. But it is not a question of actual, but of potential incomes. If the owner of vacant land gets no income, it is because he expects to make a greater profit in future by keeping his land out of present use. To offer him a premium for this, by way of exemption from taxation, is to encourage land grabbing and to discour-

age industry and enterprise. Any community ought to be able to judge which is better for it.

FARMERS AND KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

A dispatch from Lockport to the daily papers announces that a number of farmers in the western part of this state will hold a meeting at Rochester on July 3 to arrange for a state convention to advocate the increase of taxation on personal property and the shifting of taxes from land. They will invite the Knights of Labor to join them in the movement. L. J. McParlin, a single tax man and a Knight of Labor, who was the candidate for state treasurer on the united labor ticket in 1887, by invitation addressed a meeting of farmers for Niagara county held last week to choose delegates to the preliminary meeting at Rochester. In an interview Mr. McParlin expresses a belief that the farmers and Knights will unite, not for the purpose contemplated by the promoters of the Rochester gathering, but in behalf of the single tax, which he thinks the farmers would favor if they once understood it.

Mr. McParlin deserves the thanks of single tax men generally for his promptitude in trying to guide a blind but earnest movement in the right direction. If the farmers of this state could really be made to understand the single tax they would undoubtedly favor it. The most hasty comparison of relative land values during the past thirty years would indubitably prove to them that if all taxes had been levied on such values the farmer's share of the public burdens would have steadily diminished, because agricultural land values have stood still or gone backward, while city land values have enormously increased.

If this simple fact were once made perfectly clear to them they would see where their own advantage lies, and then they would be in a frame of mind for listening with interest to the clear exposition given in Mr. Shearman's address before the Ohio legislature of the inevitable failure of all attempts to levy a just tax on personal property. Whether the farmers can be made to see this at once or not, it is a gratifying thing that they have determined on action that will force a discussion of the question of land taxation and thus open the way for a presentation of the only fair and just solution of the problem.

FARMERS AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Several weeks ago we commented on an article against the single tax which appeared in the Indiana Farmer, and in a later issue of that journal the editor replies to our criticism. With a candor that is as unusual in journalism as it is commendable, the Farmer confesses that our article and a perusal of some chapters of "Progress and Poverty" have given it "new and somewhat different ideas regarding the character of the revolution in taxation proposed to be made by the single tax league." It also admits that the subject is new to its editor who had not read up very thoroughly upon it, because he thought the single tax idea could never become popular, but he finds "it is taking among the laboring classes in the cities where it is regarded as destined to bring great relief, and hence will doubtless figure to a considerable extent in politics." With the same candor that characterizes these admissions, the Farmer makes an editorial condensation of our criticism, in which the substance of what we wrote is fairly presented to its readers.

Nevertheless the editor of the Farmer is not yet prepared to admit that the single tax would reduce the burdens of farmers, nor would we have him make such an admission until he is convinced. All we ask is, that he read up on the subject and be as candid in spreading the further light he may receive as he has been in spreading that he has already obtained.

He reasons now that as "the farm lands of the country far outvalue all the city and town lots," farmers would have the bulk of taxes to pay. There are several

answers to this. On moral grounds, the answer is, that if the aggregate land value of farms exceeds the aggregate land value of city and town lots, the owners of farms ought to pay more taxes in the aggregate than the owners of city and town lots, since they enjoy in the aggregate, greater natural advantages. On arithmetical grounds, the answer is that if farmers as a class paid more taxes than owners of city lots, it would not follow that they would pay more as individuals, for there are a great many more of them. On the question of equality of burdens it may be answered that even if farmers as a body would pay more under a land value tax than the owners of city and town lots, they pay more as a class now, and their proportion would then be reduced because their land interests as a body are less in proportion to their individual interests than are those of the owners of city and town lots. On the question of fact it may be admitted that the aggregate land value of farms is greater than the aggregate land value of city and town lots, without admitting that they are greater than the aggregate land value of mines, city and town lots, and all valuable lands other than farms. When the editor of the Farmer considers the subject with greater care he will appreciate these answers and discover many others equally or even more conclusive.

But while unconvinced of the benefits of taxing nothing but land values, the editor of the Farmer concedes the justice of so much of the single tax scheme as "contemplates imposing equal taxes upon unproductive lands and those under cultivation of the same average fertility," and thinks it will be popular with farmers in the newer states especially. This does not actually express what the single tax contemplates with reference to speculation in land, though there is probably no real dispute between the editor of the Farmer and ourselves at this point, but only verbal inaccuracy on his part.

It is not unproductive but unused lands to which we refer; nor do we propose to tax unused lands equally with cultivated lands of the same average fertility, but of the same value. Fertility is a factor in fixing values, but it is not the only nor the most important factor. Location regulates value in greater degree than fertility. By taxing land according to its value, irrespective of whether it is used or not, we accomplish what the Farmer approves. It is clearly the only fair way of taxing land. To tax it on any other basis than equally according to its value, irrespective of what it is used for or whether it is used at all, is unjust and impolitic. But the single tax involves more than an equalization of land taxation as the basis of land values; it involves the abolition of all other taxes. This is founded on both expediency and justice. It is expedient because land value taxes are burdens only upon the rent of opportunities for industry and enterprise, while taxes on products are burdens upon industry and enterprise. It is just, because no individual produces rent, and therefore has no natural right of private property in rent; while individuals do produce other kinds of property and therefore have a natural right of private property in all they produce, even to the uttermost penny.

When land is equally taxed according to its value and irrespective of the use to which it is put, and products of labor are exempt from taxation, the single tax as a fiscal policy is complete. But if then there should be a considerable margin of land value over taxation the same principle of justice that led to the adoption of the single tax as a fiscal policy would lead to its extension as a moral and economic policy, until but little rent was left to the land owner beyond enough to induce him to collect and pay over the tax. It is to this that the Farmer particularly objects, saying that the single tax "tends to take away the right of property in land." As a practical matter, this is a question of the future. When we get the single tax as a mode of

raising revenue, it will be time enough to split upon the question of extending it solely for the purpose of equalizing the natural rights of all to the value of our common heritage, the earth upon which we live and from which we draw our supplies. The practical question before us now, is whether we shall draw our revenues from taxation upon the value of land, which arises as and only as communities grow and society improves, and can be easily ascertained and fairly taxed, and which under low taxation is fostered to the prejudice of industry; or, from taxation upon products of industry which are the fruits of individual labor, are difficult to fairly tax, and the production of which is discouraged by high taxation. The only plausible objection to this fiscal policy raised by the Farmer is that it is unjust "to release the capital of the banker, the merchant prince, the railroad millionaire or the manufacturer, and throw the entire burden of maintaining the government on the capital of the farmer." The fallacy here is the supposition that by taxing the capital of the banker, the merchant prince, the railroad millionaire or the manufacturer, we tax them. So far as the tax on land values is concerned, it would fall more heavily on these men than on the farmer, for they own more land values than the farmer owns. But if it were otherwise, they could not be taxed by taxing their capital, for taxes on capital (of course land is not capital; it is only an opportunity for the use of capital) are shifted. A producer of capital must get the cost of production, the cost of exchange, the value of time consumed in making or awaiting exchange, and the tax imposed and interest on the tax, or he cannot keep up production. To tax the capital of a banker, a merchant or a manufacturer (the tax on his land values excepted) is not to tax him but his customers. Until the farmer learns this simple fundamental law of taxation he will keep on taxing himself upon the supposition that he is taxing some one else, and the editor of the Indiana Farmer owes it to his readers to make himself familiar with the incidence of taxation and enlighten the farming community in which his journal circulates. When he once understands that taxes on labor products are shifted to the consumer, with profits added, no matter who pays them originally, and considers that the farmer's land value is very small in proportion to the value of his improvements, stock and labor, he will conclude that the easiest of all taxes for the farmer is the single tax.

Although the right of private property in land is not the present practical question in connection with the single tax, it is involved, and should be understood by all who undertake to promote or to antagonize the movement. The Indiana Farmer does not understand it. It says that "all men ought to own land;" that "land is the prime source of prosperity, health and contentment, and to deprive one of the right to possess and improve and beautify a portion of it is like defrauding him of his birthright." If it were not for the error of treating ownership and possession as synonymous, intelligent single tax men would hail this declaration with delight. They, too, believe, strange as it may appear to the Indiana Farmer, that land is the prime source—even more, they believe it is the only source—of prosperity, health, contentment and life. They believe, that to deprive one—even one—of the right to possess, improve and beautify a portion of it, is like defrauding him of his birthright; indeed, is defrauding him of his birthright. Therefore they believe that all men ought to possess land. But they do not believe that any man ought to own land, because they know that to allow that is to bring about a condition in which some men will not be allowed to possess, improve and beautify any land.

About the same time that the Indiana Farmer published the article reviewed above, the Marlboro, Mass., Times published one, by J. H. Howes, which un-

consciously answers that of the Farmer, but does it so completely that we quote from it literally. It says:

The farmer has the most to get and the least to lose by the adoption of the single tax. He is now taxed for all he has. The assessor has no trouble in finding out his property. His buildings and his stock are all where the assessor can see them, and even his land in most cases consists rather of improvements which would not be taxed than of location or site values.

There are many farms throughout New England that have no site value; consequently would have no taxes.

There are other farms situated within reach of a railroad station, or near a good market, without any superior quality of soil it may be, which have a distinct site value, but which are not near enough to a business center to be desired for building lots or for mercantile or manufacturing purposes. Taxes on these farms would probably be somewhat less than they now are.

There are other farms situated near the center, on land which is desirable for houses or business blocks. These farms are very few, and you will usually find that the person who holds them is more a land speculator than a farmer. This man's taxes would be likely to become so burdensome that he would be inclined to use the land or to sell it to some one who would put it to its best use. After selling those desirable lots, he would be very likely to have almost as much land to cultivate as before. He would be benefited by an increased market for his produce, though not as much financially, as he would under our present system, by holding his land out of its best use, and appropriating to his private purse those values which are created by the growth which the enterprise, labor and public spirit of others has caused. Of forty farmers in Southboro taken in the order in which they appear on the assessors' book, thirty-four would have their taxes lowered by the adoption of the single tax.

Our present system allows mining lands which are unworked to escape their proper share of taxation, they being taxed as agricultural lands. If those lands were taxed to their full rental value, the increase in taxable property would lower the rate of taxation, and the owners of this land would be obliged to use it, or sell to some one who would. At present seven corporations control 472 square miles of coal land in the state of Pennsylvania, in which is an inexhaustible supply of this necessary of life, and are enabled to charge an exorbitant price for this mineral, which nature has placed in the earth for the use of all. There is a tract of coal land in Plymouth township, Luzerne county, Penn., for the control of which the owner has been offered sixty cents per ton for every ton of coal mined therefrom, and yet the owner will not even consider the matter. There are over 340 acres in the tract, and the deposits have not yet been touched with a drill. There is considerable strife among those who are desirous of developing the property. The plot is worth over \$1,000,000. Think of the immense revenue a tract of land like that would yield.

The taxation to their full rental value of the franchise of railroads, and all other corporations which use land would be another enormous source of revenue, of a larger part of which we are at present deprived. Our tariff taxes fall with great weight on the farmer. All who have given the subject thought will admit that "the consumer pays all taxes," and the farmer is a large consumer. He not only buys food and clothing, like the mechanic and the laborer, but he must also buy many expensive implements, the cost of which are greatly increased by tariff taxes, also pay freights made high on railroads by monopoly, such as the single tax would prevent, and on steamers by the tariff on materials for their construction, and the fact that he has to pay the cost of running the ship both ways, large return freights being prevented by our high tariffs on foreign goods. He is taxed on everything he buys, and cannot be protected on anything he has to sell.

A NOTABLE DINNER.

The celebration of the birthday of Richard Cobden by the Cleveland, O., free trade club, on June 3d, was one of those wisely audacious acts by which men of conviction sometimes compel mere clamor and prejudice to attempt to justify their existence. For years, now, the names of Cobden and the Cobden club have been used by the protectionists as words of evil omen, and the harmless and somewhat conservative organization that perpetuates the name but not the spirit of Cobden has been described as a body of English conspirators constantly engaged in seeking to entice Americans with "British gold" to betray their own country's interests. This has gone on until the name of the great English free trader is heard only with derision and hatred by thousands of our fellow countrymen, who have been taught to believe that in a land that boasts of freedom in all things else, it is little short

of treason to propose that trade shall be free. So long as this delusion retains its hold on men's minds all progress toward tariff reduction is sure to be hampered, and hence the men who have organized the Cleveland free trade club and celebrated the birthday of Cobden have done not merely a brave but a wise act.

The club is precisely what its name implies, and no more, but, as is entirely natural, there are a goodly number of single tax men in its ranks, and many others who, while not yet accepting our doctrine, have come to treat the proposal to transfer all taxation to land values with profound respect. One of the speakers at the recent banquet, Mr. L. A. Russell, in answering the declaration frequently made that we must always have custom houses to raise a government revenue exclaimed: "On what compulsion must we? Tell me that! Where is the land?" The enthusiastic applause that greeted this showed that the single tax men were well represented at the banquet.

All the speeches were in full accord with the occasion and the purpose of the club. The president, Mr. Kerruish, alluded to the fact that one of the members of this once derided club (Tom L. Johnson) had, as a democratic candidate for congress, carried the so-called "protectionist" city of Cleveland, and he declared that there "are significant echoes—echoes near and distant—of that straightforward, gallant fight in the air just now." Mr. Johnson was to have spoken, but he was called away by the Johnstown disaster. Judge Blandin paid an eloquent tribute to the character and work of Cobden. Donn Piatt (who can't understand the "one tax," as he calls it) showed that he fully understands free trade and seeks to put an end to custom house taxation. S. D. Dodge, secretary of the club; A. E. Buell, Maley Tello, W. K. Field and others all declared for absolute free trade, and a "tariff for revenue" seemed to have no friends at the feast.

All the letters read by the secretary, with one exception, were animated by the same idea. Ex-Governor Hoadly declared that he was "glad to see that there are people in Ohio who are not afraid of the words free trade." Prof. Sumner declared that "the issue must come out in its full dimensions and significance before we can muster the strength which is necessary to overthrow the protective system." Francis Lynde Stetson (ex-President Cleveland's law partner) said that though the course may prove longer than some wish, "whatever its length, it leads away from protection and toward free trade." Thomas G. Shearman wrote eulogizing Cobden as "England's noblest citizen, America's most unselfish friend." David A. Wells, William Lloyd Garrison, William T. Crossdale, W. P. Southworth and J. T. Brooks wrote expressing full sympathy with the purposes of the club. Charles C. Burnett of Cleveland, though disclaiming full sympathy with the club's idea, declared that free trade is no longer "a specter to alight, but a potent living factor of progress and power in this country, the spirit of which is being daily more and more injected into our institutions."

Considering the fact that less than a year ago Cleveland was regarded by the local democratic managers as a city where it would be fatal to permit any attack on protection, this dinner, given in the banquet hall of the Union club, and fully reported in the local papers, was a most significant event, and it is singular that it should have been so completely ignored by the pretended free trade papers of the east. It demonstrates the rapidity of the onward march toward freedom, and is worthy of the serious consideration of the mere time servers in politics. They should heed the warning offered by President Kerruish when, in speaking of those who, though free traders at heart, hold aloof for prudential reasons, he said: "Beware, lest when the rural brethren get to understanding things, as they will in the end, beware lest there be a scarcity of front seats." Politicians may laugh at this warning now, but those of them who so far disregard it as to accept the reactionary advice of Samuel J. Randall and the New York Sun, will find ere long that they have blundered to their own destruction.

MEN AND THINGS.

The tax commissioners have completed the assessment rolls of New York city for the coming year, and turned them over to the aldermen for ratification. They show some interesting figures. The total valuation of real estate is stated at \$1,331,578,291, an increase over last year of \$28,759,412. The total valuation of personal property is \$272,260,822, or \$21,637,270 more than that of 1888. The apparently disproportionate increase of personal property is accounted for by the fact that nearly 2,000 acres of new park lands have been lifted from the tax roll; and by the further fact that, in Commissioner Coleman's words, "the building interest, in which there has been a halt, was overdone in 1886 and 1887." Mr. Coleman is particular to say that there is not, and has not been, any depression in real estate. This will naturally be a great satisfaction to the people of New York, most of whom are rent-payers, and especially to the many thousands who depend for their living upon the building trades.

The tax rate for the year will be, as nearly as possible, two per cent. At this rate, New Yorkers will be called upon to pay upon their personal property \$5,459,216, and upon their real estate \$26,631,565. The tax upon real estate—houses and lands—is nearly five times that levied upon property of every other description.

It is a crime that wealth of any kind should be taxed—that men should be punished by a fine for producing things, as though production were an offense against society. But how much greater is the crime, when the form of wealth production specially selected for punishment is the very one most needed for the physical and moral comfort and improvement of the people. New Yorkers need houses as they need nothing else. The want of homes—of decent, comfortable places to live in—is doing more to injure society in this city than anything else. Yet the building of houses is specially discouraged; and while men and women are gasping in tenement pens, a tax commissioner coolly tells us that building has been overdone, but there is no depression in real estate.

In theory, and according to the constitution, the people of the state of New York are the joint owners of all the land of the state of New York. They own it, as children own gold dollars—it is their very own, but they mustn't touch it. In their collective capacity, they sometimes claim the right to compel the people who really do own it to sell them the privilege of using it. But let any individual citizen attempt to assert his constitutional right by applying his labor to some piece of land that no one else is using, and he will mighty soon find out that a thing may be altogether true in theory, and yet be altogether false in practice.

And yet, within the limits of the state of New York, there really is a little land that the people do own. That is to say, the government owns it for them. There is some such land in the Adirondacks, there is some in the western part of the state, and there is some in Lake George. Some of the most beautiful islands in that lake are still public property. And in regard to these islands a curious state of affairs seems somehow to have come to pass.

The islands being public property, of course it was necessary that some one should take care of them for the public by preventing the public from using them. So quite a number of people were appointed by the commissioner of the land office to be "custodians" of the various islands. And curiously enough, though of course quite by accident, these "custodians" were people of wealth and cultivated taste, who in most cases built handsome villas on the islands they were appointed to guard, thus at the same time beautifying the public domain, and preserving it from being desecrated by the intrusion of the vulgar public to whom it belonged.

But of late evil days have come upon these "custodians." The commissioners of the land office have been superseded, as to the control of these islands, by the commissioners of forests. And the commissioners of forests, for some reason best known to themselves, have decided that the "custodians" must go. In fact they so decided quite some time back, and have been trying ever since to make the "custodians" do it. And all other means having been tried in vain, the

commissioners have at last decided to "freeze out" the "custodians" by the simple process of throwing the islands open to the public for use as camping grounds. And so, besides stationing a man upon one of the islands, for the express purpose of giving information, the commissioners have issued a sort of proclamation, inviting parties who want to go camping on any of the Lake George islands to communicate with them at their office in Albany. The theory of the commissioners is said to be, that when the "custodians" find the sweet seclusion of their summer retreats invaded by a lot of vulgar campers, and every individual camper asserting a perfect parity of rights with themselves, they will, so to speak, become tired and move away. Whether they will be allowed to take their villas with them we are not informed.

The instructive thing about all this is, that here are a lot of commissioners who have been trying unsuccessfully to assert a public right, and have been set at defiance by a few impudent interlopers who insist upon gobbling, for their private use and benefit, a lot of natural opportunities, to the use of which the whole community has an equal right. And the only practicable mode of action that the commissioners have been able to discover is just simply to tell the individual members of the community to go up there and assert their own rights, every man for himself. I think there is a lesson in this for anyone who cares to take the trouble to study it out.

The pork packers have been making some queer confessions to the interstate commerce commission. One Mr. Haightly, a Chicago packer, acknowledges that he and eighteen other packers formed an agreement in 1886 for the purpose of keeping down the price of hogs, and keeping up the price of pork. Under this agreement the nineteen houses have met together and settled just what the total product of packed pork should be for each successive season. Of this total, it is agreed that each packing house shall have the right to produce a certain definite proportion, and no more. If any packing house produces more than its proportion, it pays a bonus or fine to the general pool of so much—Mr. Haightly says the average has been \$4.25—per hog. And on the other hand, if any packing house turns out less than its allotted product, it is entitled to claim a similar bonus from the general funds of the pool. Mr. Haightly further confesses that the pool is still in existence, and will not be dissolved until November of the present year. It has paid out in bonuses, up to date, about \$300,000. And Mr. Haightly himself, within ten months after the formation of the pool, stopped killing hogs altogether, and has ever since, week by week, been drawing the bonuses for the hogs he might have killed, had he had a mind to. It is almost needless to say, that the men who were thrown out of work when Mr. Haightly closed his packing house received no share of the money Mr. Haightly has earned by doing nothing.

Of course, a single combination of this kind, even though embracing nineteen large establishments, would be powerless to control the market very long. If Chicago packing houses are compelled to earn, under penalty of bankruptcy, not only wages and interest, but also a bonus, or speculative rent, to be paid to certain men in return for nothing more than abstaining from competition, the normal effect must evidently be, to discourage the business of pork packing in Chicago, and to encourage it in other places. But the case is different, when similar combinations exist at all the large centers of the provision trade. The discouragement, in that case, falls directly upon the men who produce the raw material of the pork packers' business—upon the farmers who are raising hogs. They are forced to take less money for their animals. Strictly speaking, it is out of their pockets, and not out of the pockets of consumers, that the money comes with which to reward Mr. Haightly and others for their idleness.

Well, the interstate commerce commission is to be asked to make some sort of a ruling which shall render it impossible for Mr. Haightly and his fellow conspirators to carry on any more such little games as this. And I have no doubt that the commissioners will, as certainly they ought to, lay down the law in such fashion as

to prevent the railways from giving any sets or combinations of pork packers any advantage over others. But when this shall have been done their power will be exhausted, and I do not believe their action will have any greater effect than merely to enlarge the combinations, and make, perhaps, some changes in the individuality of the persons composing them. Mr. Haightly's combination may be broken up, and Mr. Haightly himself may be driven out of business. But some other packer will take Mr. Haightly's place, and some other combination will come to the front. The root of the trouble is beyond the reach of any remedy the interstate commerce commission can apply. It must be sought in that great fundamental injustice which denies to men the right to go to work.

Do you believe Mr. Haightly doesn't want to keep his packing house busy? I don't. I think he would rather run it full time, all the year round, than have it standing idle. He knows, just as well as you or I do, that his business is in a mighty unwholesome condition, when the only way he can make money out of it is by being bribed by other men not to carry it on. He knows, even better than you or I do, that such a state of things cannot last—that sooner or later, the combination of which he is a member will become top-heavy and tumble over. His combination keeps up the price of pork by preventing men from earning wages at producing it. The men thus thrown out of work must buy less of the things that other men are producing, simply because they are not earning wages with to pay for them. This means throwing other men out of work. And throwing other men out of work means still less demand for pork, and still more money to be paid to packers for not producing any pork. The end of it all will be a smash. Bless you! Mr. Haightly understands all that quite as well as we do. His trouble is that he can't help himself. He doesn't keep his packing house closed because he wants to, but because he has to. It's about the only thing he can do.

I wish Mr. Haightly, and the other men who are with him in this conspiracy, could be made to see the way out of their trouble, as clearly as I am sure they must see the trouble itself. They know perfectly well that what they need is a market for their product. They would rejoice over a war in Europe, over an epidemic of hog cholera in Great Britain or in Germany, not because they are anxious that men should kill one another, nor because they hate Englishmen and Germans, but simply because out of such dire misfortunes as these would come the thing they long for with a longing that is wholly natural and praiseworthy—a market for their product. They understand quite well that the market would be but a temporary one—that a period of unnaturally stimulated demand must inevitably be followed by a period of greater depression than ever. But they thrust all such anticipations aside, simply because they dare not indulge in them. They are like men in a burning building, who leap from the windows though they know the risk of being dashed to pieces on the pavement. Their present need is so overwhelmingly urgent, that the fear of future danger is blotted from their minds.

Yet if Mr. Haightly and his fellows would but think, they would see that the way out of their difficulty is not by forcing men to buy their product, but by enabling them to do so. Is isn't as though men didn't want to buy pork. They want to buy it badly enough—quite as badly as Mr. Haightly wants to sell it to them. Their trouble is that they can't afford to buy it. And the thing to be done is to make them able to afford to buy it. Mr. Haightly knows what that thing is just as well as you and I do. If men have work they can earn wages. If they earn wages they can afford to buy pork. The thing to be done is to enable men to go to work. If the interstate commerce commission could do that, they might put an end to Mr. Haightly's combination in a single day. If Mr. Haightly himself could do it, he could, as I have no doubt he gladly would, cut adrift from the pork packers' combination to-morrow and earn his living by honest work, instead of by uneasy idleness.

Why can't men go to work? Is that what Mr. Haightly asks? Oh, come now,

Mr. Haightly, you know the reason just as well as I do—or you would know it, if you would sit down in your idle packing house for an hour or so, and study the thing out. You know, just as well as I do, that all man's labor can accomplish is to move the raw materials of nature about so as to combine them into different forms of wealth. You know that shoemakers can't make shoes unless they have the use of land to make them on, and unless other men can furnish them with leather. You know that men can't make leather unless they have the use of land to make it on, and unless other men can furnish them with hides. You know that men can't produce hides unless they are allowed to apply their labor to land for the purpose of raising cattle. Follow any other industry to its source, and you will find it running through the same channel. Land, land, land, is the one all important thing that men need for wealth production, whether their business be packing pork, or making watch springs. You have the use of land, and so you can produce pork. Give other men the use of land, and they can buy your pork. But force other men to stand idle until they can buy the privilege of using land from the individuals who control it, and let the taxgatherer levy toll on what little wealth they do manage to produce, by permission of the landlords, and you mustn't be surprised to see them standing hungrily round your idle packing house, wishing that they could afford to buy the pork that you are so eagerly anxious to sell them. If you want business, Mr. Haightly, you can get it by making freemen of your customers. For freemen can afford to buy; but slaves must steal or go without.

T. L. MCCREADY.

TARIFF NOTES.

The sugar trust has cut off all export of refined sugar, which has reached \$15,000,000 in a year and has advanced the price of sugar three cents a pound higher than it is in England. This enabled it to take in a profit of \$14,000,000 last year. The tariff gives it immunity from foreign competition, and enables it to impose its own figures upon American consumers. The first five months of this year the trust's profits were \$8,230,000. There is nothing like being protected.—[St. Paul Globe.

A trust for the manufacture and sale of paper has been formed in England, its purpose being to control the market. This it may do to a limited extent, but the English consumers of paper are not particularly alarmed at the situation. They point to the fact that there is not in Great Britain, as there is in the United States, a tariff on paper to strengthen the trust. There is a beautiful moral here for the people in this country who have to buy things at trust prices sustained by a high protective duty.—[New York World.

The sugar trust made over eight millions clear in the first five months of this year—at the rate of nearly twenty millions a year. Protection has a very sweet tooth.—[New York Telegram.

In answering the United question club's tariff queries, Hon. John E. Russell, of Massachusetts, who made such bright tariff reform speeches in the last congress, describes the American farmer as "the victim of those who cut straps out of the hides of the poor to make stirrup leathers for the rich."—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

This paper has been an ardent upholder of the doctrine of protection because it honestly believed that it was best for the workingmen; but if labor is to be denied its share of the profits arising from this economic system, and monopoly is to use it merely as a campaign cry, to be forgotten as soon as the votes are counted, we will have no scruples about denouncing it at the very first opportunity when denunciation can be made effective.—[Scranton Truth.

Just now would be a good time for the protection orators to go over among the steel works' strikers of Pennsylvania and elucidate the beauties of high protection which protects them against the pauper labor of Europe; they having just been bounced from their employment and their places filled with cheaper labor from abroad. Their own condition might cause them to see the fallacy in this once popular song.—[Middletown, Ohio, Signal.

Five thousand coal miners and their families are starving at Streator and Spring Valley, Illinois, owing to a reduction of wages lockout by the mine owners. And yet there is a duty of 50 per cent on coal to "protect American labor."—[Topeka, Kan., Jeffersonian.

When Cleveland was president the farmer could get five pounds of sugar for one pound of wool. Now he gets three pounds of sugar for one pound of wool. The Harrison plutocracy, having consumed the substance of the laboring men of the country, have now commenced on the farmers.—[Canton, Ohio, Democrat.

The Single Tax in Utica.

UTICA, N. Y., June 23.—In order to bring our ideas more before the public we intend to deposit \$50 in a bank to be paid to any person who will suggest a better system of taxation than that which we advocate. D. M. B.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Vignal's Air-Ship Propeller.

NEW YORK, June 26, 1889.—I notice in your issue of April 20, 1889, that a congressional committee has recommended the appropriation of \$125,000 for the experimental building of an air ship on plans furnished by Dr. De Bausset, and that Dr. Bausset has obtained from the patent office a patent for a metal holder from which the air is to be exhausted by air pumps, for the purpose of air navigation, which, it can be proved, was invented by Francis Lana, a Jesuit, in the year 1670.

The driving power for moving in Dr. Bausset's invention shall be furnished by a screw.

The true and first inventor of the screw for balloon propulsion is myself, Carl Vignal, to whom the patent office some years ago refused to grant a patent, although my invention fulfills my claims and gives powerful backward and forward horizontal pressure, and nothing of the kind was known before September 29, 1874. My invention was described in the middle of July, 1875, in the New York Staats-Zeitung, and on the 1st of June, 1876, was advertised by Mr. Peduey of Brooklyn, the balloonist, who proposed to make an ascension with it. We could not, however, agree on the price between ourselves, and so this plan fell through.

So, to the inventor a patent is refused, but into the lap of the user \$125,000 of the people's money is thrown, and in addition a patent is granted for what was already, at hand. Herewith you will find the proofs of my assertions, and I should be obliged if you would print the same in your paper, so that the people and the world generally shall have the full truth.

In the before mentioned article of the 20th April, 1889, a large, long and broad above mentioned metal box or sphere, exhausted of air, is advocated, whereas our old scientists and inventors laid the same aside as impracticable, as is plainly shown in the scientific work of Professor Joseph Wise, the well known aeronaut.

Incidentally then it is remarked by Dr. De Bausset in the article in your paper that the new air ship shall be propelled by screws.

Now this propelling machine, that is the screw, is the principal thing, for the lifting power has already long been known and was always used. The steam, electricity or air pressure to set the above mentioned screw in motion are likewise at hand, but no inventor before me and my clear and comprehensive description in the Staats-Zeitung of July, 1875, ever discovered one thing, that is, the screw which makes a direct horizontal pressure forward and backward and rightly constructed for the air. Theory, technique and arithmetic are very fine and useful things up to a certain point, but in practical accomplishment one generally finds that he has reckoned without his host and, as experience teaches, either the metal box is too heavy or the air-pressure too great.

For my invention \$3,000 is necessary, but Uncle Sam has of course so much money that they are embarrassed at Washington to know how to place it properly. And whoever does not ask on a large enough scale gets no consideration, as it does not pay for the trouble for a great rich country to bother with trifles.

It is worth considering what would happen in such a great metal colossus swimming in the air (if it were really possible to make an ascension) in case anything should get out of order, as constantly occurs. How would Dr. De Bausset ascend higher? If he throws his ballast out, how will he descend? It is easily imagined he might answer, "I will let air in." And if he wishes to ascend once more to higher regions? Well, he pumps air out again! Bravo! Well roared, lion! Beautiful theories! Only the pumping out does not go so fast and there is much to look out for in a journey at the same time. The movements of the air are as swift as the flight of a bird, on which account the aeronaut has no time for consideration in critical moments, and, quickly moving, must work quickly; letting in the air may succeed only too well, but something in the valve arrangement breaks and then everything is lost, for it is not as in an ordinary balloon, since in the case of the ripping of a balloon it comes to earth much slower, and in most cases serves as a parachute. But in the case of this new ship what of the passengers? If in the rapid fall they are not suffocated or do not break their necks, they will be absolutely crushed by the heavy metal sphere or box, as it will fall quite vertically; and not only the passengers, but the people below and their houses and animals are not safe beneath such a monster in the air.

In addition to this the air is very elastic and does not resist like the compact, heavy mass of the water, and it is consequently almost impossible that such a colossal weight as is required for the passengers, ballast, car, and in addition, for the balloon itself, utensils, etc., could be moved by screws, and every practical balloonist strives to build everything tough, but as light as possible; for the thinnest silk is an obstruction in the air.

CARL VIGNAL.

Following is a translation of the article mentioned in Mr. Vignal's letter and which appeared in the New York Staats-Zeitung in July, 1875.

NEW BALLOON PROPELLER.

Carl Vignal of Westheim Wurtemberg, Germany, invented last year the above machine, and, although he does not expect like

others to circumnavigate half the earth in a few days, yet he is fully convinced that he is able to offer a powerful horizontal force working both forward and backward, a thing which no one has yet succeeded in producing, as the experiments of Major Beaumont in Woolwich arsenal (England), July 25, 1874, proved clearly.

The machines with broad wings inclined obliquely outwards, as in windmills, have also accomplished nothing, inasmuch as these throw the wind to the side, offer a smooth surface to the wind, intercept the wind when going forward, break down easily and hinder the flight.

The great side wings of the propeller constructed in Baltimore by Mr. F. W. Schroeder are highly dangerous, as these, offering too great surface to the wind and air currents, could come to grief.

Vignal's machine consists of a screw formed by the joining of three wings of the same shape as those of a bird; the broad part of these wings, near the axle, is hollow inside, in order to press the air column either forward or backward, and so get a firm hold. The end of the wing is bent outward, so as to throw the wind to the opposite side, in order thereby to prevent the balloon from turning round its own axis. The skeleton of the wing is of steel and the filling in is of copper or tin. The rudder or air-cutter is placed in front, and can be turned in all directions. At both sides are fan-like sails, or side wings, to open and shut as desired, and which can be turned to all sides. This whole propeller is between the basket and the ring (i. e., between the car and the supporting balloon), light and strong, gives a horizontal force both forward and backward, by means of which the balloon can be brought to a standstill, like a steamship, and requires the least possible amount of power for turning the axle. The wind has, because of the above described rounding and curving, absolutely no influence upon it. The length of the wings is the one sixth part of the average height of the balloon when filled, and their breadth is two-fifths of their length. The air-cutter and side sails have a height of two-thirds the length of the wings, and are very easily controlled. Moreover, the air-cutter and side sails can be entirely laid aside if the circumstances require it.

Mr. Vignal, who is of French Huguenot descent but was brought up in Germany, was seen by a STANDARD reporter at his home at No. 28 Second avenue last week. He has made many inventions, among them an ice cream refrigerator now in use, for which he received a medal and diploma from the centennial commission. In the course of conversation, Mr. Vignal said that the reason for his not getting a patent for the balloon propeller was that he had not enough money to push the claim, but that it had been examined by aeronauts such as Donaldson, Peduey and one of the Wise family and pronounced admirable. Donaldson, who was P. T. Barnum's balloonist, was making arrangements to try Vignal's propeller when he met his death in a balloon ascent. Barnum had agreed to pay for the construction and all expenses. One of the Wises wrote Vignal that he would try it if Vignal would pay for the balloon, but this he was unable to do. Mr. Vignal has a small model of the propeller which certainly produces, as he claims, an absolutely horizontal air current forward or backward, according as the wings are revolved in one direction or the other.

Mr. Vignal said: "When you are in a balloon swimming in the air, even in the strongest current or a windstorm, with the exception of a whirlwind, you will not feel the least draft, for, like the clouds, both the balloon and yourself will seem to be a part of the air, and neither sail nor rudder will have any effect. Now if you have such a propeller as mine, when the machine commences to work will you feel the draft, and through the pressure of the machine the power is given to the steering apparatus placed in front and to the side sails, of accomplishing their work, since through the forward pressure of the machine this apparatus gets a hold on the air in front and so the balloon can be directed to the right or the left, or in a circle. That the air is a resisting body anyone can prove swinging a flat rule through the air, when he will perceive the power of resistance of the air."

"The above explanation from the Staats-Zeitung describes the most important part of my invention, namely a screw with horizontal propelling power forward and backward. The side sails and steering apparatus, by means of which I am able to tack against a head wind, as in a ship, are subordinate inventions."

The Third Party Trick.

Cleveland, Ohio, Examiner.

Mr. Beaumont says he is "in favor of an independent political party." We can assure him that any effort in that line will be treated with the contempt it deserves, because experience has proved that independent action in the past has simply been a scheme of the republican party to keep them in power. The existence of an independent party in this city demonstrated that fact last fall in the defeat of Mr. Tom L. Johnson, the workingmen's friend, while the labor crushers are now using their power to further cut down the wages of their men. Mr. Beaumont with the aid of republicans may try this independent scheme again, but the cloven foot has been too plainly seen to make that move again a success.

Much More Accurate.

Boston Globe.

We might forgive the compositor who would kindly drop an "o" in place of the "u" when we refer to the "rubber" trust—it would describe it so much more accurately, you know.

THE BIRTH OF A SUN.

New York Sun.

It was a hot night, and the air in the dome of the observatory was stifling. Wearied with long gazing into the immeasurable sun-deeps of that wonderful region of the Milky Way around Sagittarius, I leaned back in the observing chair and fell to meditating on the momentum of the universe. I recalled the various calculations and demonstrations of Helmholtz, Thompson, Croll and others. I was thrilled by the thought of the awful power stored up in those crowds of stars at which I had just been looking. I knew that, motionless as they appeared, they were all speeding with tremendous velocity in many directions, and that an astronomer who, a million years hence, should look for these star swarms would either not find them, or would see them scattered over other regions and grouped into new constellations. Then I thought of the innumerable dark bodies which modern investigations have led us to believe must people space; extinguished suns, or, it may be, huge primal masses, still spinning with the original impulse imparted by the hand of the Creator, and not yet fired by the heat of impact into sun and world and life-generating nebulae. I reflected on the inevitable consequences of a collision occurring between two such masses, and the flash of a meteor just then darting past the opening in the dome and lighting up for an instant the polished tube of the telescope, reminded me how the earth has thousands of collisions every day with minute bodies that it encounters in space, but which, thanks to its airy shield, do no harm even to the frail beings that swarm upon its surface.

"There would be a very different story told," I said half aloud, "if the earth should ever happen to run against a chunk of creation as big as itself or the moon instead of these insignificant nodules of iron and nickel."

As I thought this I glanced down a deep and singular-looking valley, at the head of which I was standing. I have never seen anything so splendid in the way of human achievement as that which now met my eyes. The valley began as a narrow gorge, overhung by dark trees, at the foot of the rock under my feet. It sloped steeply and widened rapidly, and half a mile below it became a broad plain, edged by sunlit hills. This plain and the slopes of the hills were covered with a city. Gold, silver and polished marble in domes, spires, facades, battlements and lattices without number glittered and glowed in the sunshine. A man stood at my side, seven feet tall, magnificently formed, dressed most richly in a kind of wine-colored velvet, with a round cap of the same ornamented with diamond buttons. He had large round eyes and a curiously inquiring countenance that reminded me of a picture I had seen of Diogenes with his lantern.

"It's the city of the Great Ellipse," he said. "This is the sunshine of Aldebaran. You notice how rich is its tone, not really red, yet almost a rose tint. You don't get that kind of a light from your sun."

"No," I replied, with an indescribable feeling of being obliged to make a humiliating confession, "in the pale white beams of our sun that great dome yonder plated with gold would merely appear dazzling and gaudy, but look at it here."

The play of the light on it was wonderful; manifestly a golden reflection, yet rich and strange beyond description.

"Are you not surprised to see gold here?" my companion asked.

"Not at all," I said. "The spectroscopic satisfied us long ago that we should meet familiar substances throughout the universe."

We began to go down into the city. Every step was a revelation of fresh magnificence. The streets and buildings and the dress of the inhabitants in the smallest detail were entirely worthy of the splendor of the city as it had appeared from a distance. The spoils of all the empires of the earth would not have furnished out the decorations of this wonderful town. And enveloping and beautifying everything was the rich light of Aldebaran, which produced the extraordinary impression of being streaked with rose tints, as if the whole atmosphere were filled with etherialized apple blossoms. I noticed that the inhabitants, who smiled and bowed at us on all hands, took a constant delight in this sunshine, and their eyes opened wide in it like the nostrils of one who catches a faint perfume.

"The precious metals must be exceed-

ingly common in your hills," I remarked.

"No," was the reply, "we have got to go far and mine deep for them."

"And sometimes fight for them," I suggested.

"No," answered my companion, with a smile. "We have no war. The whole planet is occupied by a single race, constituting one nation. Our only rivalries are in the study of nature and the enrichment of our surroundings. Our chief intellectual pleasure is in the development of the sciences. Our ruler is our greatest mathematician. Upon his death another is elected, the sole qualification being that he shall have excelled all other men in mathematical achievement. Our present ruler has immortalized his name by inventing a perfectly general solution of the Problem of Three Bodies. Oh, it is beautiful! In a hundred days I could give you an inkling of it."

"I wonder if Newton and Laplace and Lagrange will soon find this planet?" I said to myself. "I wish they could."

My companion continued: "This is called the City of the Ellipse because many thousands of years ago, when our race was just emerging from barbarism, a mathematical genius, whose name is now inscribed on every temple of science on the planet, discovered the properties of that wonderful figure, and its relation to the motions of celestial bodies. With hewn stones, a marvelous work for his time, he constructed on the summit of the hill yonder an ellipse whose major axis is half a mile in length. The great figure has been carefully preserved to this day, and the stones composing it have been plated thick with gold. All the space within the curve is paved with lapis-lazuli and each focus is marked with an immense diamond. The huge, white marble building that you see stands at the intersection of the transverse and conjugate axes, and contains the College of the Mathematics."

We visited the college. In one of the rooms a microscope was shown to me, and I was informed that with it the ultimate atoms of matter could be seen. I looked at them, and was wonder-struck by their maze of ceaseless motion. At night they directed me to place my eye to a great telescope that was pointed upon a faint star, and I instantly recognized our own solar system. Jupiter with his belts, Saturn with his rings, were familiar friends to my eyes. I saw the earth attended by the moon, oh! so far off; the sense of their remoteness was oppressive, and yet I could not mistake them. They changed the eye piece, and then I saw the bare object glass of my own telescope glimmering dimly in the starlight through the narrow opening in the observatory dome where I had left it pointed at the sky. A curious passage in that remarkable little book, "The Stars and the Earth," occurred to me:

The rays of sight diverge from the eye so that a very small body close to it fills up the interval between two such rays, while at a greater distance a much larger body is necessary to fill up the proportionately increased space between them. If we hold up a shilling at arm's length before our eyes we may completely conceal the sun with it. If, on the contrary, an organ of vision was constructed in such a manner that the rays proceeded in parallel lines every object would appear in proportion to every other, and of its own proper size without reference to the distance between it and the eye. We certainly should not see distant bodies entire, but only such small portions of them as are proportionate to the size of the organ of vision constructed after this fashion; but this little portion would be visible with equal clearness at every distance, and a blade of grass upon the most distant star could not escape our sight, provided the atmosphere was clear.

Yet I could by no means understand how a similar effect had been produced with this telescope, and I felt instinctively that it would be hopeless to inquire.

"In all our researches amid the universe of worlds," said my companion, as we were walking again in the town, "we have never been able to find any indication that there exists a mortal race equal to our own in science. We have traced with absolute certainty the history of the evolution of the planetary system of which our splendid sun is the center. We have calculated according to the laws of probability that the chance of our being destroyed by a collision between Aldebaran and one of the dark bodies of space is almost infinitesimally small, and yet we know with mathematical certainty that that chance exists, and in some mysterious way that knowledge has produced a most profound spiritual impression upon the race. Have you not noticed a certain underlying sadness in us all? It is the shadow of the Last Catastrophe that lies upon our souls, do what we will to banish it. I sometimes think

there is a fate in it that defies the laws of chance. Do you see that symbol, a licking flame, shaped in gold, surmounting the dome of the great College? Well, look around you; it is everywhere reproduced in the ornaments of windows and doors and columns. The very children," he cried with sudden excitement clasping his hands, "make figures of the Destroying Flame in their play!"

I shuddered when my attention was thus called to the universal presence of this awful symbol. It stared at me now from a thousand places where I had not recognized it before. The ruddy sunshine which had before seemed so productive of unspeakable beauty, now appeared to me fierce and ominous. The omnipresent Symbol quickly became a torrent to my nerves. I could not escape it, with its polished gold tongues flashing blood-red reflections, and I could not endure it. Oh! to get away from this doomed world!

I turred in a fever of terror to ask my companion what I should do. But, with a sudden exclamation of "The Signal!" he had vanished from my side. We had been walking in a broad street that led up the hill to the Ellipse, and presently I saw him running at the top toward the College. With trembling knees I struggled up the ascent. The weight of Fate seemed bearing me down. I hated the gorgeous town, and trembled at the sight of it. Aldebaran followed me with hot and malevolent beams.

When I had stumbled to the brow of the hill I saw my friend's face in the door of the marble college. It was as white as paper, and his great eyes stared out of it like two circles of charcoal. He beckoned to me, and with a desperate bound I was at his side and sheltered in the shadow of the doorway.

"It is coming!" he gasped. "See here," and he pulled me into a room where several very grave looking, gray haired men were leaning over a table on which was spread a large sheet of paper filled with mathematical diagrams. They looked up as we entered and, parting, made room for us beside the table.

"Let the stranger look," said one of the old men. He pointed to a diagram representing the orbit of a planet, and surrounded with figures which I perceived must be geometrical representations of calculations involving the perturbing influence of a number of attracting bodies.

"Our refined methods of analysis," said the aged mathematician, "enable us to calculate with the utmost accuracy the motions of all the bodies constituting our planetary system. We can tell the absolute place of any one of those bodies within the thousandth part of a second of arc. For many centuries the most acute observer has been unable to detect the slightest variation from our tables. Quite recently, however, startling evidences of variation have manifested themselves. Our own planet was found to be the twentieth part of a second in advance of its calculated place in its orbit. It was conclusively proved that the tables could not be in error, and further observations demonstrated that the disturbing force which had introduced these beginnings of disorder in the system was becoming greater.

"No doubt now remained that some body of great mass was approaching out of the abyss of space. It was easy to find its position in the sky which is shown upon this diagram. But its mass, distance, velocity and direction of motion were not so easily ascertained. We closely approximated to them, but anxiously awaited the moment when the body should have approached sufficiently near to become visible by the reflected light of our sun in order to make the observations needed to give us more exact information. A signal was arranged to be displayed from the college as soon as the discovery should be made. That event occurred a little before daybreak this morning, and the preconcerted signal has brought all the most celebrated mathematicians and astronomers here in hot haste as fast as it has caught their eyes."

"But the most startling thing," broke in my friend, "is that the single hour during which the body was seen this morning sufficed to show that it is moving directly toward Aldebaran, and with frightful velocity. The Catastrophe is upon us!"

Events now shaped themselves rapidly amid a whirl of excitement. When the truth was known the great city roared like a stricken beast. Choked with ever-increasing multitudes, its long glittering streets hung upon the flanks of the hills

were in ceaseless motion, like the arms of some wounded monster vainly striving to crawl away. Blazing under the red orb of day, glimmering in the starlight, I saw days and nights pass over the doomed town as swiftly as the checkers of sunshine and shadow fly over a meadow.

Later observations brought out a most startling fact, which the astronomers had at first overlooked. The gigantic meteor was moving straight toward Aldebaran, but the planet we were on was swinging in its orbit with a velocity and in a direction which would certainly place in exactly in the path of that Juggernaut of space. It would run down the planet before it met the sun and involved the whole system in a common ruin. Its weight, the mathematicians ascertained, was an octillion of tons, 500,000 times as heavy as the doomed planet. Its velocity, owing to the enormous initial impulse, would be nearly 400 miles a second at the instant that it struck us. I undertook to calculate for myself the amount and intensity of the heat that would be developed by the shock, but sick at heart, I dropped my pencil. It was enough to know that we should all vanish in a whiff of smoke. It would be the torment of hell, but only for a second.

In the mean time the astronomers coolly studied the approaching body with their telescopes. I myself felt the liveliest curiosity concerning this mysterious non-luminous, monstrous mass which, it was perfectly certain, from the velocity with which it moved, possessed an impulse that could never have been derived from the ordinary effects of gravitation. Here, perhaps, was one of those primal bodies, about which we have speculated on the earth, containing locked up in its simple energy of motion all the potencies of solar and planetary development. Who could guess how many millions of years it had been flying on its unerring course, seeking some giant mate that by their fiery union its imprisoned forces might be set free? And, now, at last, its supreme crisis was at hand, and the birth of this new star was to involve the destruction of a system of worlds and the extinguishment of a whole race of intellectual beings.

For a day or two before the end it was evident that our planet had been dragged completely out of its orbit by the tremendous attraction of the meteor, and was rapidly plunging toward the latter as if hastening to meet its doom. Gradually the vast hulk, which glowed in the midnight sky with a lurid reflection of the light of Aldebaran, producing a ghastly illumination of the landscape, began to manifest in its appearance the effects of its approach to a solar center. Phenomena resembling those displayed by a comet on nearing the sun were exhibited, but on a prodigious scale. We could see that a monstrous tail streamed out into space behind the body, but as it extended nearly straight away from us it was barely visible through foreshortening. The meteor, though still forty or fifty million miles distant, covered a space on the sky many times larger than the full moon, and a more frightful object the imagination could not conceive. Its color was fiery red, and its light blotted out the stars. It was surrounded by great flames and fiery streamers that were blown back on all sides as if by a mighty wind. The planet, though torn from its orbit, still continued to rotate upon its axis, and so the awful specter rose and set opposite to the sun, and every succeeding night the immense increase in its apparent size demonstrated the fearful rapidity of its approach. It expanded from hour to hour before the eyes of the horrified spectators. It seemed to swallow up the heavens. When half a million miles away it filled the whole sky, blood-red, smoking, blazing with the fury of electricity and caloric. We knew we had but twenty minutes more. I could feel the great frame of the planet tremble as it madly leaped to the embrace. The heat was insufferable. The fearful attraction was sucking the atmosphere away, and we gasped for breath. Lightning fell in sheets and streams. Gigantic whirlwinds arose, and great areas of the marble and golden city were swept up and scattered like leaves on the bosom of the storm. But oh, the noise! The roar and howl and shriek of the tormented elements! It split my very brain, and yet above or through it all I could hear the wail of a million tongues, the last, despairing, awful cry of a whole race perishing at one stroke.

While I stood stupefied there came a

universal crash as if the dome of the firmament had fallen, and instantly there burst withering through all the air a blast of heat before which the smoking hills melted like snow, and whirled into blazing clouds of mineral vapor. Seared with torture I was caught up like a cinder in a whirlwind of fire, and then the mouth of hell seemed opening under me. Down I dropped through the spot where the city had stood, through the smoke of the vanished planet, and instantly emerging beheld afar off the earth beaming in the quiet starlight. "I shall fall home," I thought, but glancing back I saw the mighty meteor, aflame with its fearful spoil, thundering after me. In a second it was upon me again. "Help! Help! Oh, my God!" I shrieked, and all consciousness left me.

I opened my eyes as a little breeze breathed through the dome, and saw the Milk Dipper glowing softly in the radiance of the galaxy.

"Bless my soul," I exclaimed, rousing myself. "If I fall to dreaming like this I shall have to give up astronomy."

Jones's Cows.

A Texas Tract.

Jones is a farmer and stock raiser. He is a good man, and takes delight in the comfort and welfare of everything under his control. He has about a hundred head of cattle, and during the summer is careful to provide a large quantity of good feed, amply sufficient for their sustenance during the winter.

Along in the fall, a pack of large, savage dogs comes down the road, and crawling through the fence, each one selects a stack of hay, climbs up on it and lies down.

Soon the frost kills the grass in the pasture, and Jones throws down the bars leading to the stack yard, giving the cows free access the feed he has prepared, and goes away, fully persuaded that his cattle are amply provided for.

Driven by hunger, the cattle soon make for the hay. As they survey the ample stacks, inviting to plenty and peace, want seems driven far away, and hunger an unknowable element.

But the beasts approach the stack, only to be driven off by the dogs! They go around to one fine stack after another, but everywhere it is the same experience. A surly dog rises up to say: "Move on; this is mine. This is my property! Go to work and make your stake by honest toil—like we did."

Finally, the poor hungry cows are compelled to go back to the pasture, and pick a "living" off the nourishment, frost bitten grass, being compelled to endure the storms without shelter, and afterwards paw away the snow to get their food, such as it is.

After a while Jones takes a look at his cows. Imagine his astonishment as he sees their condition. "What! Haven't I provided for them an abundance of every good thing?"

At this juncture, a phenomenal genius (!!) named Melthus comes along; and after looking over the fence a few minutes, says: "Jones, you have got too many cattle. Don't you see they are starving. There are too many of them. That is the trouble."

But with a thousand tons of good food untouched. Jones knows better!

Rent the School Lands.

Minneapolis Star.

The constitution and enabling act of the two Dakotas provide that none of the school lands shall be sold for less than \$10 per acre. But there are many who argue that the lands should not be sold at all, but rented, and the states receive the benefit of the increase in value. In this connection the fact is cited that portions of the original school section in Chicago have been sold at a price equivalent to \$8,000,000 per acre. If Chicago had retained the whole school section of 640 acres instead of selling off most of it when the city was young, it would now be worth, at that rate, over five billions of dollars, and the income from that sum, at four per cent, would be \$200,000,000 per annum. Of course there is no reason to suppose that any of Dakota's school lands will ever be worth \$8,000,000 an acre; but there is a certainty that some of the sections in or near growing cities will some day be worth several hundreds or even several thousands of dollars per acre. If it is possible for the new states to rent the school lands and retain the title to them, the Evening Star believes it will be good policy. Although the income from the rents may at first be small, the rapid growth of the new states in population will cause this income to increase with marvelous rapidity. Now is the time to adopt the policy while laying the foundations of the states. After a few years it will be too late.

An Earthly Paradise.

J. R. Abrahams in New York Metropolis.

The single tax is constitutional; it is just; it is simple. Let the legislature declare it. Let the revenues raised thereby—the amount for New York city alone would be \$100,000,000 annually—be spent in public improvements. Let the landlords be forced to pay this tax as a condition of holding vast sections of valuable land unimproved and vacant, or to give up the land to those who will improve it and employ labor in doing so. Let the railroads be taxed for the land value of their road beds, the mine owners for the market value of the natural opportunities of their mines. In a word, let what is understood to be the single tax be fairly and fully imposed and collected, and, as if with a magician's wand, the wretched world will vanish, and in its stead will arise a world wherein involuntary poverty will be unknown, inhabited by a well clad, well fed, well housed, happy, virtuous and temperate people—an earthly paradise.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Professor Richard T. Ely of John Hopkins university, thinks the government ought to purchase and operate the telegraph lines of the United States, and gives the reasons for his opinion in the July issue of the North American Review.

Professor Ely begins his argument with the assertion that "there is a certain class of pursuits for which there is no escape from monopoly." These he calls "natural monopolies." And by way of defining them more clearly, he accepts Mr. Farver's statement of their characteristics, as given in his work, "The State in Relation to Trade?"

First—What they supply is necessary.

Second—They occupy peculiarly favored spots or lines of land.

Third—The article or convenience they supply is used at the place where and in connection with the plant or machinery by which it is supplied.

Fourth—This article or convenience can, in general, be largely, if not indefinitely, increased without proportionate increase in plant and capital.

Fifth—Certainty and harmonious arrangements, which can only be attained by unity, are paramount considerations.

Now, in regard to these natural monopolies, Professor Ely goes on to tell us, "we have a choice between two alternatives, and there is no middle ground between them." We can have private monopoly, or we can have public monopoly, just as we may happen to choose. But one or the other we must have. And so the only question to be considered is whether the public or private form of monopoly will be most to the advantage of the community; or, what is, of course, the same thing, most to the advantage of every one of the individuals who compose the community. Professor Ely makes no use of this explanatory clause, but it is important that it should be borne in mind. A thing may be highly advantageous to the majority of a community and yet be altogether disadvantageous to the community. If it does not advantage every member of the community equally, it must inevitably be, in the last analysis, a tax levied upon some members of the community for the benefit of others; and to tax some men for the benefit of others—in other words, to make some men work for others without pay—can never be a good thing for any community.

Professor Ely is altogether in favor of public monopoly. His argument could not well be presented in briefer language than that which he himself employs:

Private monopolies are contrary alike to the spirit of English law and American institutions, and must be pronounced odious. There is no place for them among a liberty loving people, and the attempt to reconcile us to them is as difficult as to fit a square pin into a round hole. One thing has been decided beyond all doubt: private monopolies cannot be left unregulated and uncontrolled. The attempt to do that has been definitely abandoned in the United States; but it cannot be said that regulation and control have worked satisfactorily. Regulation and control mean interference of government in private affairs—a bad thing, complicating government and opening the flood gates of corruption. Private monopolies are, at this moment, the cause of that perpetual interference of the government which we witness all about us, and are the most fruitful cause of corruption in public life; incomparably more so than the government management and ownership of public business. To deny this seems to me simply a confession, of profound ignorance of what is passing about us and among us daily. A bill is brought into the legislature to regulate the price of gas supplied by a private company, and this at once brings about a conflict between the public interest and a powerful private interest. It involves, in its very nature, a strong and often irresistible temptation to bribery and corruption, and that in two ways. On the one hand, monopolies attempt to prevent unjust legislation by abundant use of money, and, indirectly, by the bestowal of special favors and privileges, such as passes on railways, opportunities to buy stock or presents of stock, freight rebates, telegraph franchises given to members of congress, and so forth. On the other hand, unscrupulous legislators bring in bills attacking corporations, purposely to be bought off, so that otherwise upright men are almost forced to use money improperly to protect themselves and those whom they represent. Between the two currents political life becomes demoralized, as is well known, and the chief cause is the private monopoly. Corruption inheres in its very nature, in its very essence. It is a bad thing and must remain such. Why dwell on this? Does not one of the most powerful, and in some respects one of the most admirable, corporations of the United States maintain, as a regular part of its business, a corruption bureau to manipulate and purchase legislatures? Do not street car and gas companies perpetually interfere in politics? Is there not a prominent city in our west in which both republican and democratic members of the council are nominated by a private street car company? Do not lobbies supported by corporations steal bills from house and senate files? After a bill regulating the price of gas had been stolen from the senate files in Maryland, was it not necessary

for Governor Jackson to go to the state house and watch a new bill pass with his own eyes and sign it then and there, lest it should be stolen?

The public monopoly is, at any rate, the lesser of the two evils. Doubtless that is not an ideal thing; doubtless we shall not for a long time find perfection. What we want is simplification in public business, and this is promoted every time a private monopoly is abolished by the substitution of a public monopoly. How simple the post office business! How few opportunities comparatively it offers for fraud! How complex, how intricate, how passing ordinary understanding, the relations between our governments and our railway corporations!

It is on account of these reasons that I desire government monopoly of the telegraph business.

Professor Ely has little patience with the men who raise the cry of paternalism. He says the word paternalism has become a bogey with which to frighten the unthinking. "The state," he tells us, "is not something above us, doing something for us. It is one kind of co-operation. It shows greater self-reliance to provide a telegraph service for ourselves than to say that 'we are so dishonest and inefficient in government methods that we dare not trust ourselves. Will not some rich men kindly provide us with a good telegraph system, and please give us cheap rates?' It has always seemed to me that those who call government enterprise paternalism have never become real Americans. It is beginning to be seen that such designation is unscientific. The English economist, Professor Sidgwick of Cambridge, styles public enterprises, like the telegraph and municipal gas works, an extension of the principle of individualism, and not socialism at all."

And then Professor Ely points out that there is absolutely no ground for the fear that the demand for government ownership of the telegraph may indicate a tendency toward socialism. He says:

It is, however, urged that public ownership of telegraphs is a step toward socialism. Why does not government bake bread for us as well as send telegrams? Questions like this are asked. Manifestly the two functions are not analogous. The one is a natural monopoly; the other not. The tendency to absorb natural monopolies shows no tendency to absorb all business.

We live in a time of expanding industry, and government business has grown, as has all other business; but there is no cause for alarm. While there has been an absolute growth in government business, such statistics as we have tend to show that, as compared with the amount of private business, there has been a relative decrease.

The rest of Professor Ely's article is devoted to showing that it would be better for the government to purchase the existing telegraph lines, than to build competing systems. He says that if the government permitted competition, it would have to charge higher rates than would be necessary if it enjoyed a monopoly. "Why," he asks, "can government carry a letter three thousand miles for two cents? Because it has a monopoly."

Again, any private company would certainly resort to corrupt measures either to ward off government competition or to moderate it. Can any one fail to see the hand of private express companies in many of our post office laws and regulations? Why does our federal government send newspapers for publishers for a cent a pound and require sixteen cents a pound for merchandise? Why does it add to excessive charges for that business which competes with the express companies, annoying and absurd regulations? Such things are unknown where powerful express companies do not exist.

Professor Ely sees nothing to be afraid of in the immense increase of official patronage that would result from government ownership and operation of the telegraphs. On the contrary, he thinks the purchase would remove the exciting cause for much of the legislative corruption that now exists, while "the simplification of government business would more than counterbalance the evils of increased patronage." He has great confidence, too, in civil service reform, which he expects will at least keep pace with the growth of patronage. He claims—and supports his claim with statistics—that the government ownership and operation of telegraphs has proved a signal success in Europe, that it has materially stimulated invention and diminished cost, and as a final argument he urges that "if we, in this country, buy the private lines, and establish a public service, a world telegraph union will soon be formed, and that will be another of those bonds which unite nations and make international peace."

What is noticeable in Professor Ely's article is the singularly brief and confident manner in which he disposes of the question whether the government ought

to own and operate the telegraph. A few brief paragraphs, a quotation from an English political economist, and the thing is done. "The public monopoly is at any rate the lesser of the two evils," therefore public monopoly it must be. All that remains to be considered is whether it is possible to so govern the government that it can be trusted not to steal the plant or the money paid for messages.

The question of the rightfulness of government administration of such productive enterprises as railroads and telegraphs is one of too much importance to be settled in a few brief paragraphs. I shall not attempt to discuss it now. But I cannot refrain from pointing out that Professor Ely's argument for the nationalization of telegraphs would apply with equal force to the nationalization of almost any other industry. Professor Ely may insist to his heart's content that the government ownership of telegraphs would not be a step toward socialism; but if the arguments he give us are the arguments by which the measure he proposes is to be justified, I am quite certain the believers in socialism will welcome him as their unconscious friend and ally.

If it is our duty to nationalize the telegraph because it is a natural monopoly, then clearly it must be our duty to nationalize all other natural monopolies. Now the professor tells us how we may recognize a natural monopoly when we see it. He gives a list of its characteristics. And I invite his attention to the fact that if the possessing of these characteristics suffices to place a business within the category of natural monopolies, then John Wanamaker's great bazar in Philadelphia is as much a natural monopoly as the Western Union telegraph company. The things it supplies are necessary. It occupies a peculiarly favorable piece of land. It delivers the articles it supplies at the places where they are to be used. It can enormously increase its business without proportionately increasing its plant or capital. And certainty and harmonious arrangement, which can only be attained by unity, are paramount considerations for its success.

I would be loth to say that there are not many and strong arguments in favor of the nationalization of the telegraph. But I feel constrained to say that professor Ely has not presented them in his article in the North American Review. And I think, too, that when he gives his voice for public monopoly as being the lesser of two evils, he does an unscientific thing. The student of principles has no right to advise a choice between two evils. His duty is to search out and announce that which is altogether good. T. L. McCREADY.

Father Damien.

Peace hath her martyrdoms which far surpass
The glory of the battle, even as his—
True servant of thy Master, rise and pass;
Thou didst not in thy wisdom choose amiss.
For who shall weigh the satisfaction keen,
And that contentment from the consciousness
That death, which all men fear, whose shape
Was seen
Came to thee, in the leper's guise, to bless—
And lives, deep in dark prisons, lit again
The lamps of love for thee Pere Damien.
Who scorns him, hath not heard the song of life,
He hath not read the human heart aright.
He hath not scanned the meaning of the strife,
Which self doth wage with soul, darkness
with light.
He knoweth not the victory, nor the scope
Of such heroic aspiration—far
The music of such action singeth hope,
And is to some world mariner a star.
Thou makest for the future ages when
Mankind shall rise to thee, Pere Damien.
I say it fearless—caring not at all
If death be newer life, or lasting sleep;
If in the arms of mother earth we fall,
And nothing break our slumber, long and deep.
Or if for those who do a martyr's task
At this world's portal waiting angels greet,
And there the names of all the faithful ask,
And give the crown for cross—still, I repeat,
Which ever thing be true, both now and then,
Thine was the better part, Pere Damien.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

Mr. Perry's Good Work.

Quincy, Ill., Journal.

A large number of our prominent manufacturers, members of the bar and leading merchants are signing the single tax petition which is being circulated by Judge Perry. A meeting of those who take an active interest in this important reform will probably be called in the near future for the purpose of debating the best way for the single taxers of Quincy to do their part in this national work.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Is the Value of Farming Land Declining?

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—I have before me a copy of the report of the state board of equalization in which I find that all property in the state of Illinois, both real and personal, was valued by the assessors in the year 1873 at \$1,210,108,863, while for the year 1888 it was assessed at but \$709,304,596, a decline in assessed value of \$500,804,357.

Also in this county (Sangamon) I find that while in 1873 all property was valued at \$33,688,771, in 1888 it was but \$17,092,931.

Improved lands, average assessed value per acre, for 1888, in Sangamon county, was \$17.37. Unimproved lands, average value per acre, \$6.35; averaged assessed value for both improved and unimproved lands was \$17.07. For the whole state the average assessed value per acre for improved lands was \$11.97; for unimproved lands \$3.66; for both \$10.24. The custom here is to assess property at one-third its value, which would make improved lands in this county worth on the average \$52.11 per acre. This I consider a fair overage, leaving out the value of coal and other minerals, which are not considered when the assessor is around.

Now, the figures quoted above give perhaps a fair reflection of the decline in agricultural land values in fifteen years in this state; but at any rate there has been a positive decline in land values, measured in dollars, yet farming lands rent for more per acre now than then, either in cash or on shares.

Land which could then be rented for from \$3 to \$4 per acre now brings from \$4 to \$5. The renter who then gave a third of his crop now gives one-half. Three-fifths to the landlord is not uncommon here. I should like to have it explained now it is that with a decline in land values rent has risen. A friend suggests that the reason for it is to be found in the fact that while the need to use land for farming purposes is greater the ability to buy is less.

HENRY WALKER.

You say the custom here "is" to assess at one-third the real value. But what "was" the custom in 1873? Perhaps to assess at two-thirds. In any case it is quite impossible that if lands as a whole rent for 20 or 25 per cent more in 1888 than in 1873 that their real selling value should have fallen five-twelfths; unless, indeed, the former date was in a great speculative era when land was held for future sale rather than for renting. It is like the personal property valuations in New York state; in 1872 personal property in this state was valued for taxation at \$447,000,000; in 1888 it was valued at \$346,000,000. Suppose, now, we should ask how it is that personal property has disappeared from New York state at the rate of \$100,000,000 in sixteen years? The answer would be: It hasn't. The assessment is a lie.

One thing to take into consideration in a case like that you speak of is the tax rate. It must be remembered that if the rate is, say three per cent, then the valuation need be only one-half as great in order to raise sufficient revenue as it would if the rate were 1½ per cent. W. B. S.

"Rental Values Single Tax Limited"

ALLEGHENY CITY, Pa.—I think the question herein involved is of great importance to the cause, and I therefore hope you will discuss the subject farther. Of course, when I discuss a question in political economy I use the term rent in its economic sense. You will see, by reference, that I did not say that the revenue should be restricted any more than I said that it should be expanded to needs of the government. Neither did I say nor mean that if we can get along without doing so we should not take the full rental value of land. What I expressed did not warrant this assumption, and you will find that my clear declaration is not consistent with your assumption, and as a logical conclusion you assert that "my position—that of the single tax limited—seems to you illogical. Now, surely I am not logically bound to be consistent with your unwarranted assumption, but only to be consistent with myself. This was the obvious way for you to construe my meaning. The government should be economically administered, surely, and without prejudice to the principle of man's natural right to the free use of land. Your single tax is limited by the rent line, which has no necessary relation as you present it to the needs of government. My single tax will dominate rent and be commensurate with the needs of government; it will abolish rent and price of land totally (for the landlord), and give to labor the free use of land. This is the end and object of it, and therefore it cannot be called "The single tax limited."

JAS. D. McLEADE.

In your previous query you said that the tax should be commensurate with the needs of government, etc. I took that to mean, and would again take it to mean, that you thought government could be administered for less than the full economic rental of land, and proposed therefore not to take the full rental, but only as much as was necessary. You cannot tax land for more than its full rental value. Any extra tax will be a tax on improvements, not on land. Now, you say that your single tax will be commensurate with the needs of government and will "dominate rent;" that is, if I do not again misunderstand you, you believe in a tax that bears no necessary relation to the

rental value of land and may be greater than that value or less than it, according as government needs more or less. What "dominating rent" is I don't understand. Rent cannot be fixed by any law; it is a natural growth. By permitting the withholding of some land from use, rent on the rest can be somewhat raised. But otherwise rent is determined and dominated by the natural growth and improvement of the community. Your tax would indeed be "tax" if it exceeded the rental value of land and was levied on something else; ours would not be a tax at all in the true meaning of the term. It would be the giving to the whole community the value of the common domain.

W. B. S.

The Government.

In the event of a national bank going into liquidation, and notes of the bank being lost, who reaps the benefit, the government or the bank?

C. REEVES.

Margin of Production Is the Better Term.

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 21—I object to the term "margin of cultivation." I think it gives the land question, in the minds of many, a sort of three acres and a cow aspect. What's the matter with "margin of use?"

C. REEVES.

MANUAL TRAINING IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL.

A public school for boys in a narrow street down town, near the City Hall, is called Grammar school No. 23. Its scholars, classified in eight grades, range in age from about nine years to about fourteen years. Until the middle of last January these boys were being taught under the old method of cram. Since then they have had the monotony of that system broken by the introduction in the school of the rudiments of manual training.

On last Saturday and the following Monday an exhibit was made on the third floor of the school of things the boys had been making during the past five months. Most of the articles were spread out on boards laid over the scholars' desks, the visitors filing through the narrow aisles to inspect them. What was seen were a good many specimens of modeling in clay, a number of frames and forms in wood, and a great variety of mathematical figures—square, triangular, hexagonal, octagonal, conical, multiconical, etc.—each cut from a single piece of white paper and pasted neatly in form. To each piece of work was attached a tag bearing the name of the boy who made it. On the walls were hung numerous maps and designs of tools and machinery drawn by the boys. On these the authors had written their names in fancy writing.

In the fabrication of the paper forms, much ingenuity was shown. As a rule, the older the boys the harder the work. The small boys of the eighth or lowest grade believed they did well in turning out accurately made cubes, bricks reduced over half from the regular size, and single truncated cones. From the table where these lay, the visitors moved along viewing the figures, which became more and more complex with the advancing ages of the boys in the successive classes. The upper grade boys reached the dizzy height of mastering the composition of a figure bristling with twenty cones or of creating an imitation winding staircase, its obstacles being re-entering angles and alternating acute and obtuse angles. Each specimen out of one bit of paper, it is to be remembered. The clay modeling had gone no further than the working out of pretty leaf patterns and more or less faithful heads of animals, excepting in one case, where a boy had given to the world a girl's head, the face wearing a smile. The wood work was mostly a repetition of the forms already done in paper. Each boy had had about two hours' work a week the past session in the carpenter shop, which is a small class room on the top floor, where there are seven carpenter's benches and fourteen sets of tools. The carpenters' union is not yet in danger from this source.

The maps were testimony to the later mode of teaching geography. The boys are no longer asked to commit to memory long lists of "principal cities and rivers," to "bound" states and counties, or "name" peaks and promontories. They are simply put to map making. In studying history, they are required to draw the map of a country as it was at the date of the events they are called on to rehearse. The supreme height to which the map-makers rise is to draw maps in detail from memory.

Both boys and teachers seemed interested in the exhibit. If a boy had his tag on a piece of hard work among the paper forms,

or his name written on a particularly nice map, he was not far away when somebody asked who did it. When the teachers were plied with questions about a specimen of work or with regard to the new system, answers were apt to be lengthened into explanations which served to show that the teacher liked the new ideas, and that he was as proud of his (or her) boys as the boys were of their work. All the teaching in manual training, by the way, is done by the regular class teachers, excepting that there is a new professor to teach working in wood.

The teachers said that the whole idea of manual training was to teach the boys to use their hands and eyes, to study and to think. Industrial training was not the aim. The boy who could draw the figure of a steam engine would not soon forget how it was made. Practice in perspective and foreshortening sharpened his eyes, and through them brought him new ideas. Drawing lines with accuracy gave him command of his arms, and hands, and fingers. Map making taught him spelling, geography, history and drawing all at once. Modeling in clay imparted to the scholar some notion of art forms, and in not a few cases drew forth latent talent. Never had the schoolboys been seen thinking so profoundly as since the introduction of mathematical figure making. What lines were to be traced on a plane surface of paper so as to result in a figure of a prescribed shape when the paper should be cut on the lines and folded? That was a fascinating problem. The boys never seemed to tire of the succession of puzzles offered by the series of more and more intricate figures. To work them out they applied themselves to thinking oftener and more closely than they had ever done before in their lives. When a boy had finished a figure he had also completed an intellectual task. He had reflected and achieved. He was ready to take a step further. Faculties had been awakened in him which had been dormant in the old days of learning everything by rote.

Nearly every boy in Grammar School No. 23 has a foreign name. Sometimes the surname begins with "Mac" or "O," but more frequently it ends with "sky" or "nik." There are also Andreas, Pietros, and Giorgios. The scholars are ordinarily dark little fellows, and their physiognomies are not common in the private schools of New York. Their parents, most likely, never drew memory maps of Australia, or rubbed up much against the plastic arts.

Since the starting up of the new system, the schoolboys have shown some new traits. They evince an interest in one another's studies, they bring to school ideas from the outside world, and they occasionally remain in the class rooms at voluntary study after school hours. The teachers relate stories of little surprises the boys have given them. The youngsters invent figure combinations not set down in the books, and then exhibit them, pleased at a teacher's word of praise and triumphant if they find other boys trying to imitate their work. The coloring of the maps is left to the taste of the scholars. Usually, the beginnings are in what the advanced boys term the barber pole style of coloring. In these there are not many tints, but what are used are vivid. But the higher grade boys know how to shade their boundary lines artistically. Advances in the art are made almost, but not quite, simultaneously by a whole class. The reason for this is that the boys have no copyright laws among them, and they appropriate one another's ideas without compensation. Or, rather, compensation is found in general liberty of appropriation. In modeling in clay the boys may, if they wish, supply their own designs. To obtain these, some of the pioneers of art among them lie away to the stores of dealers in fashionable oil-cloths, look at the latest dreams of the pattern makers there, and then run off to school to copy them from memory.

There is not a boy in Grammar school No. 23 who will not say he prefers object learning to name learning, the making of things and of the pictures of things to reading and reciting descriptions of things. A boy quickly learns all about the thing he makes—size, form, dimensions, and the technical terms.

This knowledge gained, he can think clearly when such things are in question. In his mind's-eye he can see every line he has drawn in map making, every curve he has described in mechanical draughting, every shape he has followed in clay molding. How different from straining to recollect print—lessons that had little meaning—from striving to get by heart words, words, words.

Nature has distributed much talent in that down town school. With it she has conferred virtues—industry, good will, aspiration. She has given to those boys an equal start with the boys in the finest school up town. Her part, one must declare on a visit to this exhibit, has been well done. It is not until they quit school that the boys will really discover the handicap they carry. Man has not been so kind to them as nature. They will not be able to win prizes of life as they did those of the school. Nobody reaps the harvest of their sowing as they work at study. The day they leave school and begin to work for bread, they will find that some men have the power to hold them off from labor and some to take away a good part of the fruits of their labor. Promotions will come slowly then.

The Rise in Price Will Probably Prevent Waste by Consumers.

New York Sun, June 27.

The sales agents of coal producing companies met yesterday at the office of Treasurer Hartt of the Delaware and Hudson canal company, and decided to advance prices on July 1, as follows: Grate, 5 cents, to \$3.90; egg, 15 cents, to \$4.15; stove, 10 cents, to \$4.40; chestnut, 15 cents, to \$4.15. In 1888 the prices ranged slightly under these until July 16, when they were advanced to \$3.85 for grate, \$4.15 for egg, \$4.50 for stove, and \$4.50 for chestnut.

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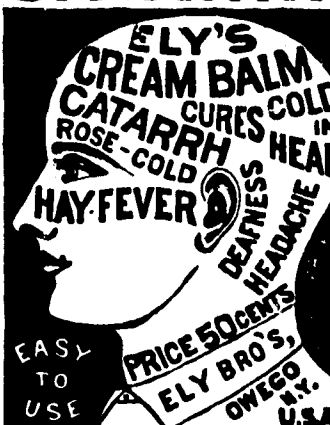
Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary, the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections; also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Accrued to this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing or using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Towner's block, Rochester, N. Y.

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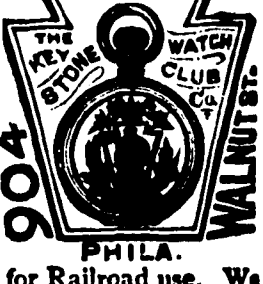
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Rev. James B. Wasson in *North American Review*.

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All this seems to show that the democrats are less divided than formerly—are more nearly unanimous on the tariff issue than they were six years ago. The News says: "If President Cleveland had dodged the tariff issue, the democratic party would not only have lost the control of the government in November on the sectional issue, but would be hopelessly divided to-day, and without a principle to reunite them for the next contest or to command the support of the people of any northern state. As it was, the democratic candidate received a majority of the popular vote at the last election, and the

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