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MR. CLEVELAND'S SPEECH AT THE THURMAN BANQUET.

EDITORIAL.

The dinner to Judge Thurman on his seventy-seventh birthday was not merely a fitting tribute to a man whose whole public career has been such as to entitle him to the highest honors, but it turned out to be equally an ovation to ex-President Cleveland. This was all the more significant because it could not have been anticipated. The arrangements for the dinner were made before the recent election, and Mr. Cleveland was merely the most conspicuous of many prominent men invited to the dinner. That he would be received with applause in any democratic gathering could be taken for granted, but there was something more than the customary enthusiasm in the greeting given by those present to the ex-president. There was in it, manifestly, that touch of passion which marks the special enthusiasm with which the American people greet only those whom they have chosen as their candidates and leaders in a coming political battle. No observing person was failed to notice this peculiarity. We are glad to honor our statesmen and public officials, but in ordinary times our applause, if not perfunctory, is sober and well considered. It is only for our chosen leaders on the eve of a fight that we raise the shout that has in it the touch of the old time mad devotion with which our forefathers saluted the warrior chiefs who led them to battle. Yet two years in advance of the next presidential election this note was clearly manifest in the tumultuous enthusiasm with which Grover Cleveland was greeted at the Thurman dinner.

It is easy to see why this was so. The recognition that the overwhelming victory at the polls a few days before was a Cleveland victory was instinctive and universal. It was Cleveland alone who had forced the tariff question into politics. It was Cleveland who had been bitterly blamed by all mere partisans for raising an issue that had defeated not only himself, but his party. The answer made in his behalf was that he had, at the expense of a mere reverse, lifted the democratic party to a higher plane of action and made it the acknowledged exponent of a great principle that would bring it speedy victory and the assurance of prolonged power when the people were once brought to understand the issue. The elections of November 4 made good this prophecy. The issue raised by Mr. Cleveland's tariff message was the only issue. The republican party, temporarily restored to power, had boldly accepted the challenge contained in that message. The battle was fought, and such an overwhelming victory as it never before had known was won by the democratic party, on the issue raised by Grover Cleveland and confessedly more thoroughly represented by him than by any other living American. The logic of events makes him again the leader. This fact was obvious to all not willfully blind. Men of conviction hailed with delight the triumph of principle. Men of expediency saw that the new issue was a winning one, and that was enough for them. Grover Cleveland was renominated as soon as the returns of the late elections were in. The protest of such papers as the Sun is like the hissing of a snake against a hurricane. The schemes of Hill and his coterie are of as little account as would have been houses

of cardboard before the rushing waters of the Johnstown flood. Grover Cleveland is already renominated for 1892. The guests at the Thurman dinner instinctively recognized their candidate and leader. The convention of 1892 will meet to second the choice already made, to make a platform declaring war on the protective superstition, to nominate a vice-president and to rejoice in the certainty of a victory that will equal in extent and significance that which buried federalism out of sight forever.

Because we intend to take land values in annual taxation, Mr. Forsyth of Yonkers disapproves the proposal by the single tax men of Quincy, Ill., that their new waterworks shall be paid for by a special assessment on the land values of the city. We do not agree with Mr. Forsyth. It is true that we intend as soon as possible to take land values annually by taxation, but the people of Quincy want their waterworks now, and they cannot postpone their construction until the single tax is established. If they raise the money under the existing system of taxation the whole people will pay the expense, and the landlords will thenceforth, through increased rents, tax the people annually for the very advantages that the people have already paid for. This is an imminent injustice that the people concerned desire to prevent, and it is no fault of the single taxers that they have to seek to attain this undesirable end through a rough and tumble, unscientific method instead of in the right way.

We are ready to grant that if the single tax were to come into operation shortly that the land owners who had been mulcted under the assessment plan might be subjected to double taxation. We think, however, that it is altogether likely that during the period that will probably elapse between the building of the Quincy waterworks and the complete establishment of the single tax the landlords will be able to recoup themselves. If this does not prove to be the case, and they can show that they have not received back from the tenants the amount contributed toward the erection of the works, then the enterprising people of Quincy ought to take up a collection to help the poor fellows out. So long as existing conditions continue, however, it seems to us that single taxers need waste no sympathy on landlords, who can safely be trusted to take good care of themselves under any system of taxation that leaves in their hands a considerable share of the revenue created by the competitive demand for building sites in a thriving and progressive city.

The Indianapolis Sentinel is not the only paper published in that city which speaks out openly and boldly for the truth in discussing the tariff question. The Indianapolis News, in commenting on the recent election, says:

It was the revolt of the people against the plutocrats. The McKinley bill, with the unheard-of doctrine that protection was a thing in and of itself to be maintained for itself as the permanent economic policy of this country instead of a temporary tax for the purpose of fostering infant industries to be withdrawn when these were established; this monstrous doctrine sprung upon the people like the swindle of a three card monte game, was assaulted with every weapon that lay within the reach of a free people. The determination to protest against the tyranny of taxing one man for the benefit of another man found voice here, and it will grow and

strengthen. It is not a question of per cents but principle; is not a theory but a moral truth that a man has a right to be free of taxation except for public purposes. The assault on the proposition that any man has a right to fine another if he buys certain goods has begun. Protection must justify itself. Free trade is a truth. It is not in dispute any more than any freedom is. If one proposes to interfere with that freedom and put a penalty on it, fining a man for indulging in it, he must show that it is for public purposes, not for private benefit. Then it may be submitted to as any tax is, but only for as little and for as little time as the public needs require. The battle for freedom has begun.

This is plain enough for the wayfaring man of Scripture to understand. The question, as the News says, is not one of per cents but of principles, and it will never be finally settled until the democratic party has gotten rid of all of the influences that hold it back and declared for principles as radical as those enunciated in the News.

The October number of the Masonic Review, printed at Cincinnati, has an article by Telford Groesbeck entitled "Revenues from Taxation Upon Lands." It is thoroughly commonplace and immature, and the writer thinks he has disposed of the proposal to levy all taxes on land values. It would be a waste of space to discuss such an article in THE STANDARD, but there must be numerous single tax men inside the Masonic fraternity who are easily able to answer Mr. Groesbeck effectively in the pages of the Masonic Review.

The Cleveland World, which throughout the late campaign savagely attacked Hon. Tom L. Johnson on the ground that he is a single tax man, republishes THE STANDARD's biography of Mr. Johnson in full, and also quotes Mr. George's reference to his election. It triumphantly quotes these things as evidence of the truth of its charge that Mr. Johnson is a single tax man. Since Mr. Johnson never pretended that he is not a single tax man it is somewhat difficult to see wherein the Cleveland World finds such cause for triumph.

Mr. William Saul of Jersey City has in the last number of the Journal of the Knights of Labor an excellent article defending the single tax theory from an assault made on it in the same journal by Mr. George C. Ward. THE STANDARD readers know Mr. Saul so well that we hardly need assure them that he makes good his case and presents the single tax doctrine in a very effective way to the large body of readers of the Journal.

In the New York Family Story Paper a novel is now running entitled "Eileen Asthore," by John De Morgan. The scene is laid in Ireland and deals with the question of eviction. In stating his trouble to the heroine the hero thus describes how he came into possession of the home from which he is about to be driven:

My grandfather took the piece of land and built a mud cabin on it. My father was born there. But when grandfather died the land was valuable, and the agent made father pay a fine of a hundred pounds, and an increased rent. But the dear old dad paid it, and built a nice stone house. Last month the agent called me and said: "Bryan, I am thinking of renting your house to an English family who will pay me twenty pounds a year for it." "Renting my house," I said; "how can you?" "Easy enough," he answered. "Your father never got a title to it, and I want a change. Of course, if you like to pay the rent, I might consider the matter, but I should want a fine of one hundred pounds."

In another part of the story a meeting

addressed by Dillon and O'Brien is described, and the following quotation from the actual speech by the latter, the one that caused his arrest, is given:

The fact is, the Irish people throughout the world are sick of appeals for alms for men who will slavishly hand over those alms to the pockets of the landlords in the shape of rents. But the Irish people are not tired of spending, if necessary, their last dollar, and to shed their last drop of blood to support the fight of men like yourselves, because that battle goes down to the root of the matter, and you recognize that what is the matter in Ireland is not the potato blight, but the landlord blight and the Dublin castle blight. Your battle is a battle to the death against that whole infernal system of landlordism and castle rule, that has been worse ten thousand times than the potato blight to keep hunger and famine haunting this fertile land of ours.

Mr. De Morgan has chosen an effective way of educating a large body of readers into a better understanding of the land question.

THE KNIGHTS TO DISCUSS FREE TRADE.

Master Workman Powderly's annual address, delivered to the general assembly of Knights of Labor at Denver on November 11, was, of course, largely occupied with the discussion of the affairs of his order, but one paragraph in it gives encouraging indications that an organization, the primary object of which has always been the education of its members, is no longer to close its gatherings to the discussion of the most vital question now affecting men. Mr. Powderly says:

We never advance in education by closing our ears to what is passing on around us, merely because we do not believe in ideas advanced or principles agitated. For years the most important of a series of questions that has agitated the people of all nations is that of tariff or free trade. We have not, as an order, adopted a tariff or anti-tariff clause in our preamble, and I do not advise such a thing now. We should, however, throw open the doors of our assemblies for the discussion of this great problem, so that our members may become educated in the basic principles of protection and free trade. While we do not allow the question inside of our sanctuaries, our members are asked every four years in the United States and every five years or oftener in Canada to register their votes either in favor of or against protection. We must take either side when the time to vote rolls around, but will not tolerate the discussion of the very question itself where we could get that light which would enable us to vote intelligently. We should be ashamed to admit that we do not understand the issue when it is presented to us, and we should blush when we admit that through our prejudices we cannot allow a calm, deliberate discussion of the question before our members.

For many years our members were divided on the question of governmental control of railroads, and it was kept out of our preamble on that account. When the matter was taken up for discussion it was easily understood, and to-day no Knight of Labor can say that he does not understand that a government of the people should not be subordinate to any of its creatures, and that it has the right to control all corporations within its jurisdiction. My recommendation is that on and after the first day of January, 1891, it shall be permissible for local assemblies to discuss the question of high tariff and free trade. By putting the question in this shape, "Which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number—high tariff or free trade?" we do not commit the order to either school, and yet allow our members to take up for discussion and agitation that vital issue. Our Canadian brothers have already learned in many places throughout the dominion to meet each other in friendly debate on this question. If we fear that this question will cause dissension, we must admit that those who cannot agree to discuss great issues for educational purposes without anger or indulging in personalities are not capable of self-government. Many believe that this is a question which belongs to political parties. Nothing is further from the truth. It is an economic question, and there is not a household in the civilized world into which its shadow does not intrude itself. Let us ask our members to discuss this question in a friendly way, and, if education is worth anything, we will not have to depend upon what interested persons tell us in political campaigns.

We are glad to see that Mr. Powderly proposes a discussion of principles and not one of mere percentages. He says that the tariff question is not a political issue but an economic problem, and that the men who fear to discuss it are not capable of self-government. This is true,

in part, but it is a fact that this economic question has become a political issue and is likely to remain one for some time. That fact ought not to preclude its careful discussion in any assemblage of Americans. Our form of government requires the people to decide such questions, and we certainly cannot decide them intelligently if we are to shirk the discussion, between political campaigns, of every question that seems likely to become a partisan issue in elections. In fact, if the Knights of Labor are to heed Mr. Powderly's advice and work in close relations with the Farmers' alliance, they must prepare themselves for the consideration of the tariff question, because it is an unquestionable fact that the drift of sentiment among farmers is strongly toward free trade, and is bound to become more so as the discussion brings out clearly the fact that under no conceivable theory can the farmer derive any benefit from the protective system. Wage earners must also eventually arrive at the conclusion that it is not in the nature of things that a tax on commodities can increase wages, and such being the case, it is probable that identity of opinion on the tariff question will be the real bond of union between the farmers and the workmen.

There are now in the Knights of Labor, and in all organizations of workmen, a considerable number of lesser leaders who are governed entirely by prejudice in the discussion of such questions. They will doubtless criticize Mr. Powderly's recommendation, and in doing so they will confess that they are governed by prejudice rather than by reason. If they believe in protection they ought to be more than willing to meet its opponents in the Knights of Labor assemblies and try to make good their arguments. They instinctively feel that they cannot do this, and therefore try to stifle debate. They have been successful in this policy hitherto, but if the general assembly of the knights adopts Mr. Powderly's recommendation, the free traders in the order will have official sanction for forcing the fight, and the result will be that, whether it becomes a free trade organization or not, it will be an organization consisting chiefly of free traders.

THE CHURCH AND POVERTY.

"My church bells ring on Sunday. If the people do not come in it is not my fault." Such is a remark that Archdeacon Mackay Smith of this city declares a New York rector made when appealed to for aid in bringing the gospel to the people. It shows a remarkable departure from the spirit that has animated Christian preachers at all times when their religion was making progress and the church was displaying the zeal that entitled it to be called a church militant. Archdeacon Smith went on to declare that the metropolitan clergy, owing to lethargy, selfishness and narrowness of view, have no conception of the conditions existing in New York and other great cities, and no appreciation of the heathenism that is found in the rural districts of New York, Vermont and other states.

We have no doubt that Archdeacon Smith is right in his estimate of the failure of the clergy generally to appreciate the strength of the circumstances that are dragging the poor down to misery, sin and crime. This is an ignorance, however, that they share in common with most of those constituting the comfortable class, and the comfort of that class is largely due to its ability to maintain in such ignorance. Its position is somewhat like that of the old English lady, recently mentioned in the London Speaker, who, speaking of the Darwinian theory, said that she did not believe it was

true, and that if it were true it ought to be hushed up. Unfortunately for the self-complacency of such people, the truth concerning the social situation cannot be hushed up, and there are numerous men differing widely in opinion inside of the Episcopal church who are determined that it shall not be ignored. Archdeacon Smith, Father Huntington of this city, Bishop Huntington of Syracuse and numerous others that might readily be named, however divided on other questions, are united in insisting that the church must take cognizance of the great question—Why is it that the poor are being dragged down from year to year into deeper poverty and subjected to surroundings that constantly tend to lower their moral standard?

It will doubtless be a long time before so conservative a body as the Episcopal church can be brought, as a body, to grapple with this problem; but the fact that it is impossible to hold a church congress, like that recently sitting in Philadelphia, without having such questions forced into consideration is a sign that the indifference of the well-to-do can no longer be maintained, and it promises, in the end, the triumph of those preachers who believe that it is the duty of Christians to do something toward the removal of conditions that are dragging men and women down to misery and degradation and closing their ears to a gospel that only offers them joy in heaven without the hope of amelioration of their condition on earth.

THE REFORM CLUB AND THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORIES.

Among the many agencies that contributed largely to the great anti-protection triumph of November 4 was one that, thus far, has apparently obtained but little recognition from the newspapers that have undertaken to philosophize concerning the results of the congressional elections. That agency is the Reform club of this city, which, by the way, is THE REFORM CLUB, and not the Tariff reform league, the Tariff reform club or anything else except the Reform club.

This organization has during the past year, and, in fact, ever since the presidential election of 1888, been engaged in a systematic educational campaign, aiming at just such a result as was accomplished in the late election. In the state of New York, the sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jason Hinman, has done a work the magnitude and importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. Outside the big cities of the state, where such work is impracticable, a complete canvass of voters has been made in nearly every county, and the few counties thus far omitted are now being canvassed. The lists sent in by the canvassers not only give the politics of each voter, but, far as possible, his opinions on the tariff and his occupation. To every voter whose name is thus received the club has sent documents applying directly to his own case, and there is every evidence that these documents thus carefully selected have been eagerly received and carefully read. This work has been supplemented by a systematic speaking campaign in rural counties. This, in turn, was followed by the joint debates at the county fairs, which have already been described and commented upon in THE STANDARD. That such work should bear good fruit was naturally to be expected, and when we remember that the democratic machine in this state a short time ago was apparently indifferent to the fate of democratic congressional candidates, it is but fair and reasonable to attribute the remarkable democratic gains in congressmen in New York almost exclusively to the admirable work of the Reform club.

The Committee on Other States, under

the chairmanship of Mr. Henry De F. Baldwin, has done similar, though of course less thorough, work elsewhere. The various states were divided among the individual members of the committee, who sought and carried on correspondence with tariff reformers in those states and did their best to supply documents to all who sought them. Notably good work was done by this committee in the states of Iowa and Illinois. A thorough canvass of every congressional district in Iowa was made on the blanks furnished by the Reform club and under the direction of the Committee on Other States. The great gain in the congressional delegation is doubtless due to this work. In Illinois, thanks to a special contribution for the purpose, the Reform club was able to apply its system of canvass to one of the districts of that state with a view to commending it to the Illinois tariff reform league if it should appear to them to work well. Mr. Robert Baker was sent from New York to the Fourteenth Illinois district to make a canvass of it, and that canvass, when completed, indicated the certain election of the democratic candidate, Mr. Owen Scott, over Mr. Rowell, the republican candidate. Mr. Rowell was not only the sitting member, but the chairman of the house committee on elections, who had gained for himself the title of "Executioner" by the rapidity with which he ousted democrats from the seats to which they had been elected. This canvass was sent to Mr. Scott for use in his district, the member of the committee sending it merely venturing to express a hope that its indication of the result would be verified. The election returns confirm completely the prophecy of the canvass, and show Mr. Scott's election by a handsome majority. The plan of the Reform club was applied in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland and several other states, and in every case admirable results followed.

The committee on the city of New York, the press committee, the literature committee and the various other committees into which the general committee on tariff reform is divided, have all done similar educational work, particularly during the past year, and the perfect harmony and co-operation among all these sub-committees has been largely due to the intelligence and efficiency of the chairman of the general committee, Hon. John DeWitt Warner. Of course, all of this work has cost money, which the republicans say was paid by the Cobden club, but which, as a matter of fact, was raised through the remarkable liberality of the members of the Reform club, who have contributed between thirty and forty thousand dollars for the special purpose of carrying on this work, and who propose to continue this activity until the wretched and fraudulent protective system is finally demolished. This liberality is all the more remarkable because during the past year the club has undergone the heavy expense of purchasing a new club house and building a large addition thereto at a total cost of considerably over \$300,000.

The Reform club has, in the course of three years, reached a position of influence unparalleled in the history of political clubs in the United States. It has practically become a national institution, with out of town members in nearly every state where any active work in behalf of tariff reform has been carried on. Its membership is constantly increasing, and it ought to continue to increase with even greater rapidity, since the work that the club must undertake during the coming two years is even more arduous and important than that which it has accomplished during the past two years. One of the sources of its success has been its entire freedom from the narrow preju-

dices that so frequently have prevented the co-operation of numerous forces working in the same direction. As an organization it is simply committed to tariff reform, but it has freely welcomed absolute free traders and single tax men to membership, given them places of importance on its committees and availed itself to the utmost of their energy and services. The result has been a vigor and harmony of action among all of the forces opposed to the protective humbug such as never before have been witnessed in any political organization in the country.

NOT BLAINE AGAIN.

The fact that James G. Blaine was wise enough to foresee the consequences of the McKinley bill, and to warn his party leaders that it would bring disaster, causes many people to jump to the conclusion that Mr. Blaine will necessarily be the candidate against Mr. Cleveland in 1892. We doubt this prediction. Mr. Blaine having been wise enough to foresee the results of such legislation, is likely to be shrewd enough to understand that any attempt by the republican party to reverse its policy will deprive that party of the money support on which it has depended entirely for success during the past twelve or sixteen years, and, as he is not likely to be eager to taste anew the pangs of defeat, the so-called statesman from Maine will be chary of accepting a nomination that will be practically worthless.

There is another reason why Mr. Blaine might not find it easy to obtain a nomination, even if he were willing to accept it. Though he was shrewd enough to anticipate the probable effect of the McKinley legislation on public opinion, his utter lack of moral sense prevented him from foreseeing the popular condemnation of Quay in Pennsylvania. Therefore, while maintaining a comparatively rational position on the general question—which, however, he appears to have forgotten in his speech for McKinley—Mr. Blaine committed the monumental blunder of linking his name and his political fortunes with the criminal boss of Pennsylvania republicanism just as that boss was about to be hurled from power through the disgust of its own partisans with his infamous career. Men have short political memories, apparently, but those who have studied the details of politics know that The Tattooed Man of 1884 had earned the evil reputation that then cost him his defeat, and if he should ever again become a candidate for the presidency he will figure in the cartoons of 1892 as The Tattooed Man with the dead body of Matt. Quay bound to him after the old Jewish fashion, uttering as he moves forward the disparaging cry, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

No; Mr. Blaine will never again be a candidate for the presidency.

THE CLERGY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The September number of the Century contains what purports to be a joint "report" of Bishop Potter and Professor Charles W. Shields, D. D., upon "The Social Problem of Church Unity." The report is addressed in the first instance to "The Sociological Group," whose contributions form the series of "Present Day Papers," now running in that magazine, and of which the essay referred to forms a part. Although the article is apparently from the pen of Professor Shields, its open avowal of collaboration permits us to receive it as the joint pronouncement of the pulpit and the rostrum on the attitude of the ecclesiastical body toward the problems of social development. The church, or at least a considerable sect, is speaking in her double capacity as a religious corporation and an educational agency. It is the platform of the hierarchy and the faculty. The title of the article is scarcely appropriate to the subject matter. It would indicate

that the writer intended to discuss the social conditions which make church unity advisable or inadvisable, easy or difficult, as the case may be. His purpose, however, is far different. He has in view, not social conditions, but social theories, and his aim is to define the position of the church upon the principal heads of social doctrine, and to urge the necessity of closer organization among the various ecclesiastical bodies of the United States, to the end that the clerical solution may gain the advantage of a numerous and consolidated clergypersonship. The comprehensive nature of this report, and the high source from which it emanates, make it worthy of the attention of thoughtful men who are interested in social subjects and are mindful of the tremendous influence exerted by the clergy over the popular mind upon all those dual questions which involve at once the moral and material interests of humanity.

That the great body of the American clergy can ever be brought to the support of the platform outlined in this report, I do not believe. Our ministers, as a class, are modest and unassuming men, intent on doing good rather than upon controlling legislation and dictating the course of social development. They are in touch with the people and grounded in democratic principles. It is the glory of the American clergy that they are more apostolic and less clerical than any other ecclesiastical body in Christendom. But that they should be absolutely free from the instinct of domination is not to be expected, when we consider their position as recognized moral leaders and ensamples, as expounders of a system of absolute truth which the hearers reject at the peril of their souls, and, until quite recently, as the sole dispensers of higher education. That the clergy have profoundly influenced and still influence American manners and habits of thought is apparent to the most superficial observer. To say that this influence has always been wisely directed, or has never been abused, would be to suppose the clergy entirely free from the vices peculiar to their class. It is not, therefore, surprising that there should be among them restless and ambitious spirits bent on the creation of a consolidated organization which may be massed and guided like a disciplined army in the work of propagandism and thrown with resistless force against all disturbers of the established order. This has been the clerical ideal in all ages and countries of the world. It was the ideal of Loyola, of Laud of the Scottish kirk, of the theocracy of Massachusetts bay, and it is the ideal of Bishop Potter and Professor Shields. The report which these eminent ecclesiastics have produced reads like a circular letter from the college of the propaganda. It is the ultramontane programme in Protestant dress. The article, however, is, for the most part, gentle and courteous in tone, as it is charming in literary finish. The arrogance is in the position, not in the presentation.

In one point, however, the new programme is an advance on the old. "It may have been utopian," says the report, "to look for a dogmatic agreement of different denominations, * * * but it is no longer utopian to look for an ecclesiastical unity which shall embrace dogmatic differences and allow them due scope and action." In other words, the faith must be subordinated to the organization.

Professor Shields apparently is profoundly penetrated with a healthy sense of the triviality of many of the disputes which divide the Protestant sects. In this conviction it ought not to be difficult for him to find many sympathizers. But it has been usual in this country to consider the diversity of sects as a source of strength, an opportunity for nobler, freer individual development and a great gain for the moral and religious life of the nation. Such, however, is not the mind of Bishop Potter and Professor Shields. To them "the situation of the Christian denominations in modern society is not unlike that of a wrangling army among

invading foes. * * * The contending factions have become so absorbed that they do not even see the hosts mustering around them and the ranks closing in upon them. Worst of all, they have neither organization nor leadership in their hour of peril."

What that peril is we will see later on.

Why is this organization and leadership so imperatively necessary and what is to be its guiding purpose when securely established? Let the reporter speak. "The writer would be no alarmist in his view of the social necessities for church unity. But surely, if social ills are fast coming to a crisis, it is folly to ignore them; and if organized Christianity is their only perfect remedy it is madness to withhold that remedy. * * * To instruct and preserve society is at least one design, if not the chief design of the Christian religion as organized in the church. Whatever other great purposes it may serve as a training school of individuals for heaven, it has also this high social mission here upon earth. And with this social mission of Christianity, we, in our collective capacity, have mainly to do."

The nature of the instruction which the professor conceives it to be the mission of the church in her collective capacity to impart we shall consider in a few moments.

Observe however that it is not Christianity which is the remedy for social ills; not the great moral and social principles enunciated by the Founder of the church left to their free play upon the minds and consciences of men. The remedy is "organized Christianity." And observe further, that the chief mission of this organized Christianity, the one with which "we in our collective capacity have mainly to do," is "to instruct and preserve society." The chief mission is no longer to reclaim the erring, relieve the suffering, comfort the broken-hearted and bring to the faint in spirit the consolation of an inspiring hope, but to preserve the social order and to instruct that they may preserve. Could anything be plainer or more direct? And did the society of Jesus ever aim at anything more? In the face of this frank avowal, shall we be in error if we infer that the "leadership" so devoutly desired means clerical leadership? Now if there is one thing more than another which the experience of centuries has taught mankind to regard with suspicion and distrust, it is a class or corporation which considers itself charged with the duty of instructing and preserving society. The "saviors of society" have always made the alleged rescue an excuse for oppressing the liberties of their fellows, and concern for the "safety of society" rarely means anything else in its last analysis than anxiety for some class interest or system of special privilege. A careful perusal of the "report" will convince any candid reader that the present case is no exception to the rule.

"It should be remembered," Professor Shields says, "that our social troubles are not wholly economic or political in their nature. The problems of marriage, temperance, education, property, involve moral elements. Even the so-called conflict between labor and capital is no mere play of impersonal forces, but also a fierce struggle of human passions and prejudices. * * * It is becoming plain that they are not to be solved by divorce statutes, prohibitory amendments, conspiracy laws against strikes, much less by improved police systems and new barricade tactics." So far I fancy the majority of thinking men will agree with him.

"If solved at all," he continues, "the solution must be largely moral and even religious, striking at the roots of social corruption in ignorance and vice; imparting integrity to all classes, binding together laborer and capitalist in bonds of charity as well as interest; and ever nobly diffusing culture with wealth, virtue with intelligence, religion with knowledge, Christianity with civilization."

There is in this platform a seeming elevation combined with a certain re-

sonance and vagueness which is especially captivating to a certain class of minds. We can, however, afford to defer the critical examination of the programme until its proposers have brought it beyond the nebulous stage.

After stating the "solution," the report passes at once to the consideration of "socialism," which, we are told, "originated in Christianity. It was born in the golden age of the church on the day of Pentecost when the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common." * * * That brief, brilliant dream of social perfection has lingered ever since in the Christian consciousness as an ideal of prayer and effort." But for all this, Professor Shields has a poor opinion of socialism, a term, by the way, which, without any regard to its accepted meaning, he uses as a designation of every sort of plan or aspiration for change in economic or social conditions. And he proceeds to enumerate the various kinds of socialism which he says "confront the American churches, and with which they must soon come to an understanding." First, anti-Christian socialism—by which he means the dynamite and assassination variety, and which he properly dismisses with the remark that it is "not formidable in numbers or influence."

Second, "a spurious Christian socialism which," he declares with curious assurance, "falsely claims for itself religious doctrines and motives. * * * A remarkable form of it has been imported among us in the writings of the Russian, Count Tolstoi. * * * Its assumption is that Christ as a workingman himself founded industrial socialism; that he came to abolish poverty and other class distinctions." This, however, the professor believes to be a "caricature and perversion of evangelical truth." The catalogue of socialistic heresies is interrupted here to make way for a statement of the "Christian doctrine of social distinctions," the "Christian doctrine of poverty" and the "Christian doctrine of property."

As to the "Christian doctrine of social distinctions," Professor Shields declares that it is "thoughtless and mischievous to dwell upon the incidents that our Savior was the son of a carpenter, that some of his apostles were fishermen, and his disciples were taken largely from the common people, and then throw his glorious doctrine into the opposite scale as a mere makeweight for the want of social culture. * * * No marvel if it be accepted as the homage of envy. Beside, it is not founded on facts. * * * Christianity is of no class or condition, and may as little become a boast of ignorance and vulgarity as a haughty claim of rank and culture. * * * The truth is that many of the distinctions of modern society did not exist among the ancient Hebrews. The prejudice against manual labor was little known, and avocations which are now simply respectable were then even honorable, associated with rank and learning." Now there can be but one inference from all this, and that is that if Jesus had lived in a society such as ours He would have been more select in the choice of His associates. But this is not all. "Even that divine Son of a carpenter himself came of a lineage older than the Pharaohs or the Caesars and purer than Castilian or Norman blood." This will be cheering news to the "rank and culture" of present day congregations.

This element has long had a distaste for the popular notion of Christ. And how gratified they will be to learn that they may look upon the lowly Nazarene as a real patrician after all. Professor Shields has found a new stay to their faith, he has bound them to the visible church by a new and tender tie. He has found a way to flatter the sensibilities of "rank," and were it possible he would doubtless invoke the sacred writings to aid him in the task of reassuring uneasy and suspicious "wealth." Unfortunately the record is against him there, for the

Master said that more homeless than the foxes and the birds of the air, he had nowhere to lay his head.

The "Christian doctrine of poverty" and the "Christian doctrine of property" need not detain us long. Upon these points Professor Shields informs us "the voice of divine wisdom speaks with no uncertain sound;" the same, however, can not be safely predicated of this joint "report."

Upon the first head Professor Shields has nothing further to tell us than that "no virtue or grace is ever attributed to simple poverty itself," while "mere wealth is never stigmatized as a sin or a crime," propositions, as the song has it "which nobody can deny." Even Proud'hon, who declared "*la propriété, c'est le vol*," never attributed virtue to poverty or stigmatized wealth as a crime.

When the reporters come "to distinguish and re-assert the true Christian doctrine of property" they have nothing to say, except that it "charges them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded nor trust in uncertain riches, and warns them that by the passion for money-getting some have erred from the faith and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. It teaches the millionaire that his wealth is not absolute property, but a sacred trust from the Sovereign Creator for the good of his fellow creatures, and that if that trust be neglected or perverted the unfaithful steward shall lose even that which he seemeth to have." This we all recognize at once as the comfortable and approved formula for a vespers discourse or a Friday evening lecture. But where shall we find in it any guiding line for the solution of the real question of the hour, whether existing social conditions do or do not make the struggle for existence with the great mass of mankind unduly hard; whether the prevailing conception of property is or is not in harmony with the best intelligence, the noblest moral instincts and the highest interests of the race.

The works of Mr. Henry George and Mr. Edward Bellamy the report describes as "non-Christian socialism, secular in its spirit and wholly economic in its aims." * * * We may say that it has at least a lack of Christian elements, and consequently that such moral elements as it retains are somewhat perverted or defective. This distress at the alleged "lack of Christian elements" ought not to be so poignant when we consider, as Professor Shields himself reminds us, that both these writers maintain that their respective plans are but logical outgrowths of the Christian ideal. That their economic reasonings lack the special "Christian elements" which we have seen Professor Shields put forward as the suggestions of Divine wisdom will, I fancy, be considered by men accustomed to habits of clear thinking, a great gain for their respective systems.

Mr. George, says Professor Shields, has advanced "ethical teachings which the Christian conscience cannot accept." The trouble seems to be that Mr. George proposes to confiscate rent without compensating the existing owners. Whether or not rent should be confiscated is, as Professor Shields says, primarily "an economic measure," which is "at least debatable." The economic measure we need not discuss, as the report passes it by in silence. But the position taken in the report upon the supposed moral obligation to compensate existing owners in case confiscation be decreed, is instructive as indicating the probable value of the moral "instruction," which Professor Shields's "organized Christianity" will impart, while engaged in the work of "preserving society." If it be proper for the state to confiscate rent at all, it can only be because the present legal privilege of the land owner to demand toll of his fellow men before they are allowed access to natural opportunities is a wrong against society. If the system does not rob the landless man of his birthright, confiscation cannot be defended at all. If it does, compensation, though it may become politically expedient, is morally absurd. What principle of ethics is it which tells us that when a social evil is

abolished, those who have profited by it must be compensated for their present and future loss, while those who have suffered need not be indemnified for their past deprivation. Not only is Mr. George's proposition one which the Christian conscience need find no difficulty in accepting, but the principle upon which he defends his plan from the charge of moral obliquity is part of the law of the land in which we live. We can hardly expect a theologian to be familiar with the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, but Professor Shields cannot be ignorant of the answer given by that tribunal to the brewers, whose business was suddenly ruined by prohibitory legislation, when they invoked in their defense the constitutional provision protecting vested rights. There is in law no such thing as a vested interest in an institution which the state, acting according to the best light which it has at the time, abolishes as a social evil. The principle is the same as that applied when the law compels the innocent purchaser of stolen goods to restore them to their rightful owner without a return of the price.

The trouble with Mr. Bellamy, on the other hand, is that he depicts his perfect commonwealth "as having been achieved under the natural laws of social progress through mere industrial and political expedients, not only without miraculous or providential agencies, but without the moral and religious means of social regeneration." Here, then, we have the real "peril" which "organization and leadership" are to combat. To state the proposition more succinctly, though not more clearly, society must never be permitted to improve itself, except in due subordination to clerical guidance. We shall all readily agree with Professor Shields in his confession of the great difficulties which his "organization" is likely to encounter in carrying out this programme "consistently with our traditional theory of an absolute separation of church and state." We can only hope for his own peace of mind that he has no secret designs on this the corner stone of American liberty.

The assurance and recklessness with which Professor Shields accuses Mr. George and Mr. Bellamy of a want of moral earnestness is not calculated to inspire us with confidence in the sobriety of his judgment. If there be two men in this republic whose works fairly glow with moral enthusiasm, they are the men. And the impulse which has set them to work with a common purpose, though on different lines, is a lively sense of a social fact which Professor Shields admits to be true; for he says himself that "while it may be true that capital and labor are not antagonistic, yet labor is not now getting its full share of their joint product, owing to changed industrial conditions." This great fact which the authors of the joint report recognize with benevolent regret, and the knowledge of which pushes them forward to gentle expostulation and to dreamy and decorous exertions to "bind together laborer and capitalist in bonds of charity as well as interest," has affected Mr. George and Mr. Bellamy differently. It has set them to work investigating what the rights of labor are and how they are to be secured. To the accomplishment of their task, as they have respectively conceived it, they have each brought high intellectual endowment, great power of analysis, masterful eloquence and a generous ennobling love for liberty, justice and humanity. Men differ as to the relative merits and positive practicability of the remedies which they respectively propose; but in their aims and in their methods, they have the sympathy of the enlightened and liberal minded of every race and country, a sympathy in no wise diminished by the circumstance that they have launched out on their undertaking without calling on the "miraculous or providential agencies" which the authors of the joint report presumably have at command. To Professor Shields the democratic movement, in whose ranks these men are for the time being intellectual leaders, is nothing but

the envious hostility of vulgarity to culture, of fanaticism to wealth. Whereas in truth it is but the voice of the common people calling for a just share of the wealth and an opportunity to acquire the culture.

Foolish ambition, says Professor Shields, because "the great mass must remain hewers of wood and drawers of water as effectually as if they were serfs and bondmen." You may be right, gentlemen. Human destiny is, after all, a great mystery, and we poor lay reformers can not pretend to that familiarity with "the whole counsel of God" which is the special prerogative of your order. But you must not be surprised if at this stage of the world's development we refuse to accept without debate, on the authority of bishop, priest or council, the proposition that the Almighty has chosen a small company to the joy and glory of this life, and fore-ordained the vast majority of his creatures to social and economic serfdom and bondage. To your minds there is nothing repugnant in this conception of the natural social order. Your sympathies and your sense of justice are fully satisfied when the "serfs and the bondmen" are made "truly the objects of Christian kindness and care." Any attempt to bring about a different condition you say that you regard as an effort "to make the pyramid of society revolve from its apex to its base."

In the comfortable conviction that "the material interests of society must ever be subordinate to its spiritual interests," your report charges us "not to confound political with social equality," and reminds us "how futile any war on such classes. And how dismal life would be without them." Do you really think, gentlemen, that the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" will be plunged into gloom and despair by the prospect of a change. There are minds, reverend sirs, to whom universal suffrage is not the final step in the march of man's progression, whose benevolence and sense of justice are not satisfied by the scheme of social precedence and subordination which has such charms for you, even though the favored minority be refined in manners, cultivated in the arts and sciences and chastened by religion. There are minds to whom it seems a high and holy mission to open to the great mass of mankind an ampler opportunity than present conditions allow. To paraphrase Mr. Webster's eloquent antithesis, their aim is not, as you erroneously assume, "to pull the angels down," but "to raise," as far as human effort may do it, "mortals to the skies."

And these are the men and this is the movement which you tell us it will be the mission of your "organized Christianity" to combat. This, in the language of your closing subdivision, is the "army of invaders and traitors" whom your priestly levies are to overthrow.

It is safe to say that the ministers of the United States can never be rallied for such a crusade. They will never adopt your re-statement of the Romish doctrine, that "the church includes, while it transcends, the state in its scope." They will not repeat the error of the church in by-gone ages and in other lands. They will not depart from the American tradition which has been their glory and our salvation hitherto. They will never seek to be more than simple American citizens, charged with a message of present consolation and eternal hope. They will never be persuaded to separate themselves as a class from the mass of their fellow countrymen, in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of society and lift up the human race. Your openly expressed chagrin at the advance the new doctrines are making among them but confirms our faith that they will prove to be in the future, what they have been in the past, the faithful friends of liberty, equality and progress. And their aid will be grateful, for it will be mighty. But you should understand, reverend sirs, that if by a process of amalgamation between ecclesiastical bodies, a time shall ever come when the American people, in their work of politi-

cal and social improvement shall find themselves confronted by an organized and consolidated priesthood, bent on projects of control and guidance, then the American spirit will declare its will in tones of thunder that the stone which the builders rejected shall not again be made the head of the corner.

DWIGHT M. LOWREN.

Philadelphia, November 12.

SINGLE TAX AND SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS.

Ira Copeland, in your issue of November 6, has criticised those of us who have endeavored to extend in our respective localities the policy of special assessments for local improvements. His argument is of course an obvious one, which was considered and weighed by us before we began our work.

It is that when the single tax is established and the annual rental value of the land is taken as "a tax," we shall destroy the selling value of land, a part of which selling value may in fact be the result of the improvement which the landlord has already been involuntarily compelled to pay for. Or, to put it in another way, we shall go on taking year by year in piecemeal that which we have taken once in a lump.

Undoubtedly Mr. Copeland is right in saying that the special assessment theory is inconsistent with the complete application of the single tax. If we were taking now for all the purposes of municipal government the annual economic rent of land and exempting from taxation, direct or indirect, all personal property and improvements; or if we believed that in the immediate future our great reform would be brought about in its fullness, we should not turn our energies when occasion offered to securing the adoption of special assessment rather than general taxation methods of defraying the cost of improvements. It may, perhaps, be called a makeshift and a temporary expedient that we are advocating when we press it. But there are several practical considerations to be borne in mind. In the first place, if the theory of the special assessment for betterments does not consort perfectly with the theory of the "single tax unlimited," it certainly goes very well with the doctrine of the "single tax limited."

It is the landlord who is benefited by the improvement; it is he who should pay for it once, Mr. Copeland admits.

Now, by as much as necessary and desirable improvements are made and paid for by him now, by so much will the "necessities of the municipal government economically administered" be diminished in the future; and if when the single tax comes, it comes first in the "limited" form, the landlord's tax will not include, so long as the amount raised is measured by the needs of the government and not by the amount of the economic rent, any portion of the amount which he has already paid in his special assessment. And this brings us fairly to the consideration that the single tax is not now in operation, and that it cannot be expected to fully become so for many years to come. In the meantime the landlord will despoil the rest of the people as he has been doing in the past.

Does Mr. Copeland think, especially in view of the fact that the original cost of most municipal improvements is not an expenditure which, made once for all, secures the benefit of the improvement for many future years (the annual cost of sustainment being fully as important a factor), that absolute injustice will be done to the landlord by any danger that he will be called upon to pay for the particular improvement twice? I do not.

If in any particular case that I have known of, he were called on to pay for the improvement ten times over I should not fear that it would equal the amount that in years to come (to say nothing of what he has got in the past) he will take unjustly from all the people.

Economic rent, even in cities, will not depend principally upon the municipal improvements; it will be a matter of natural location of the city and the lot.

But the advantages of the system of

special assessment, so long as the single tax is not in force, are obvious.

It checks the abominable tendency to incur municipal bonded indebtedness, a thing which will be much more difficult to deal with justly when the single tax is established than will be any fancied injustice in making the landlord pay twice over for municipal improvements.

It is of immense educational advantage in furnishing a means of pointing out how all municipal improvements and all the services of a good municipal government add to the value of land, thus paving the way for the establishment of the single tax. And finally, in its immediate and practical effect, it, under present conditions, does something to relieve the industrious poor by placing burdens, which otherwise would fall upon them, upon the people who reap the benefits of the expenditure. Let us not, as a witty single taxer once said in my hearing, neglect to put out a fire in our houses in order that we may extinguish the aurora borealis. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. I yield to none in my devotion to the principle pure and simple of the single tax unlimited. And if I believed that its establishment would be delayed, or that any actual injustice would be done by the present extension of the special assessment theory, I would not advocate it.

I welcome the well meant criticism of Mr. Copeland, and I hope that the subject will be thoroughly discussed in the columns of THE STANDARD.

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

Chicago, November 14.

GRAINS OF SAND.

The hayseed and the sandmote in their survey of the political land frequently come to words of dissension when they compare their respective measurements. Not that they are not in perfect harmony as regards the end, but though starting from the single base of equal rights they figure themselves out on a data of conflicting angles.

Hayseed, who is just now being very benignly regarded from the platforms of both parties, is looking at the results of the late elections with a profoundly speculative eye.

"Tall depends," he says, "on the honesty of the men we've helped to put in. They've promised fair enough, but—they've done that before. The'st just one thing that all this row amounts to—nothin' else worth namin'—an' that's the equalization of taxes—the equalization of taxes—dy'e see?"

"Certainly," observes the sandmote, "and that is what you will have when you come over in a body to the single tax platform."

"Single tax —," the hayseed nearly forgot in the excitement of feeling that he was a church pillar.

"That single tax business is the most stu-pen-jus ho-ax ever hatched up in this world," he declares.

"Some of us who have investigated its principles believe it had its origin in a better world than this," suggests the sandmote.

"Sh—h! Look 't what injustice to the poor strugglin' farmer! Ain't he taxed now till he can't hold his head up? The bare idea of putting all the tax on land!! It's ag-re-jus!"

"Who talks of putting tax on land? The tax is on land values—land values, man," returned the sandmote, whose explanation a thousand times repeated begins to seem "a chestnut." "Ship your farm off to New York, or any place where the value of one square foot would far exceed the selling price of an acre which your cattle find hardly worth grazing, and you would get a true idea of the equalization of taxes by which your neighbors down here would be benefited."

Hayseed, seeing the dim outlines of the cat, sniffs a little at the depreciation of his acres in their present slow environment. For there is only one man to whom he will admit the low value of his possessions, that is the assessor.

"And wouldn't it be a relief to you," continues the sandmote, "to have the whole business of taxation reduced to a single point—the local value of your

land? No prying assessor looking after your domestic improvements, and forcing you to take oath on the spare dollar you have pinched and saved for a rainy day—"

"That is a pesky, mean, sneakin' hand that government is taking in our affairs," says the hayseed with feeling. "The law jest grips a man by th' throat, like a bloody highwayman, an' it's yer money or yer life! S' few 'nough of us poor fellers though, that 'll have more'n the tax c'lector gobbles."

"P'raps there's somethin' in your single tax notion. I'll look into it, I b'lieve. But, declare for 't, th's so much lyin' now days, 'n honest man don't know who to tack on to. Never found it so hard to vote in my life as did this year. Grand ole party seems all broke up. Alwis made a pint of votin' the straight ticket, but—well, I skipt the rope this year. Things are dreadful mixed up. I don't know where I be." [The sandmote laughs hopefully.]

"Ye see," goes on the hayseed, mournfully, "there's so much cussid lyin' an' slanderin' done among the politicians. A man don't know what's which, an' as for the newspapers—great guns! they're every one of 'em bigger slaves to the masters that own 'em than ever the niggers was!"

What a judgment this, on the high and mighty molders of public thought? But where after all is the outcry against common wrongs and injustices that should come from these wardens on the high watch towers of civilization? Day after day the record of events is made without remark or suggestion of the deep, underlying causes of the tragedies and crimes which are published from sea to sea with shameless, pitiless judgment of the atom, and with covert defense or glorification of the powers that have evolved the monstrosity which we must all contribute our mite to punish "according to the law." We scarcely pick up a newspaper in which the eye does not light on some startling heading like this:

"A mother's terrible deed. Cuts the throats of two of her children, and then her own—"

If we have heart to read further we note this paragraph:

"Mrs. — was the mother of seven children, and her husband is a worker in the — company's shop at —. He is a hard working man, but his salary is not large, and it was found difficult to make both ends meet. This trouble worried Mrs. —, and she constantly brooded over the future of her little ones. This—it is thought—affected the woman's mind, and she probably decided to give up the struggle, and to prevent her youngest children from being buffeted about by the world she determined to kill them."

And then she took her own life and generously saved the public the expense of arrest, trial, newspaper reporting and final judgment on her crime. But the grim facts are recorded as helplessly, as unresistingly as though such a state of affairs was as irremediable as the law which judges and passes sentence on the victims of the guilty. And we all prostrate ourselves before the car of Jugger-naut as though it were the symbol and representative of the Almighty, not presuming to protest or resist when the grinding wheels go crushing over the necks of those whose labors and sacrifices have fed the power of the golden god that rules us.

All this will sound like the ranting of an emotional mind gone mad over the horror of the deed just recorded, and which will have faded from public memory before these words are in print. "Faded?" That is not the proper term. The vision of the murdered infants will have been blotted out by the record of later crimes, perhaps even more horrible.

For while the sentimentalist is wiping a tear-flushed eye over fancifully wrought-out wrongs and sufferings of the heroes and heroines of modern fiction, these living tragedies of the common people are going on unmarked with meaning, except by here and there a realistic artist like Hamlin Garland, who has given in his drama, "Under the Wheel," a series of

photographs caught with such unblemished lines of truth from the stage of actual life that we seem to have met, if we have not shaken hands, with the entire dramatis personæ. Work like this will take a vigorous hold on popular thought, and serve a use of which the brilliant orator, the speculative editor, the sermonizing moralist, and the unread poet too often fail.

Mark it with a sand grain, too, that if the single tax school does not aim to develop women of the Alice Edwards type, it will miss one of its most important functions.

Speaking of women, what do the sand readers think about this paragraph clipped from a recent journal of reform:

"Enlist the women in the cause by all means; they are a wonderful power, and when once aroused will make more sacrifices and manage far better in the way of raising funds than the men. I almost believe, which is saying a great deal, that a woman once imbued with the immensity of the issue, would sacrifice her new bonnet for the cause. Therefore, don't despise their help. They would make capital canvassers."

Is that the kind of valuation and the sort of use which is expected to make woman a power in reform?

Ah! misguided brother. There is sand in your eyes.

A. L. M.

HE DID NOT SAY IT.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD—Sir: In an editorial in THE STANDARD of November 12 I find myself credited with the misconception that the single tax was practically tried in France under Turgot, and that this misconception is to be found in an article of mine in the Forum. I never wrote an article for the Forum. I did write an article on the single tax in its relations to agriculture for the Popular Science Monthly (February, 1890), but made no such statement as the one ascribed to me, nor anything resembling it. If I had made such an error I trust that I should be as ready as Mr. Atkinson is to acknowledge it.

HORACE WHITE.
51 East Fifty-fifth street, New York,
Nov. 13.

[Of course the substitution of The Forum for the Popular Science Monthly was a slip of the pen. We find that we were mistaken in our supposition that Mr. White had fallen into Mr. Atkinson's erroneous opinion that the single tax had been tried in France under Turgot. His error, as we think Mr. Post demonstrated, was in assuming an identity between the theory of the physiocrats and that of the single tax. We apologize for our mistake.—ED. OF STANDARD.]

THE SWEEP IN MICHIGAN.

ADRIAN, Mich., Nov. 12, 1890.—The official canvass of the votes in this state shows the election of the entire democratic state ticket for the first time since 1873. Both houses of the legislature are democratic—another undreamed-of revolution; and third, and most important of all, eight of the eleven congressmen are democrats—a gain of six. The seat of Julius Caesar Burrows will be contested by the Hon. George L. Yapple, who cut down the usual 4,000 majority to less than 400, with McKinley, Reed and Burrows in the field against him. In this (Second) district, E. P. Allen, republican, was defeated by 2,000. Two years ago he was elected over one of the strongest men in the district by 1,600. This was the first election under the new law, and it gave such good general satisfaction that there is not the slightest doubt but the next legislature will give us the Australian system complete. The booths have come to stay in Michigan, and ward workers, strikers and ticket peddlers are a thing of the past. Under the new law the process of counting consumed on the average more time than the voting. In Hudson, the largest township in the county, outside this city, 904 votes were cast in ten hours. The counting consumed just thirty-one hours. For some county offices the contest was so close that the result could not be known until Hudson was heard from, and the delay caused the most vigorous kicking

on all sides. Such cases were quite general throughout the state, and there is much room for improvement in that respect.

Two papers in Lenawee county are now regularly printing single tax matter, and another will soon follow. I received a marked copy of Building and Realty today, published in Grand Rapids, which contains a very good article on the single tax, and a letter from the editor of that journal, inquiring as to the strength of our movement in this state.

I would like to add, for the information of my conference friends, that a "rank free trader" at the head of the democratic county committee in this county frightened no one. The democrats elected eight of eleven county officers, the greatest county victory in thirty years. The candidate for state senator, a single taxer, was defeated by 41—a democratic gain of about 700 in two years. L. W. HOCH.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

INTEREST IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS—MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ENGLAND—THE SOCIAL PROBLEM AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, Nov. 8.—You will not be surprised to learn that, interesting as our own affairs have been during the past month, we have been much more interested in what has been going on in your country. The elections in America are viewed on this side less with regard to their immediate effect than with regard to what they signify as to the future. It is very remarkable that only a few days before the elections Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Dundee, declared that the McKinley bill, though it would certainly not be without injurious effects in this country, would be much more disadvantageous to America. The effect, so far as England was concerned, he said, would be to direct the attention of the British manufacturer toward the production of the finer classes of goods, because these bore the least intolerable protective rates. But the right honorable gentleman also made it clear that he believed the good sense of America would quickly enable it to discover the real truth about this McKinley bill. The value of Mr. Gladstone's insight is wonderfully shown in the results which have come to hand.

While your elections have been proceeding, we have been engaged in re-electing our municipal authorities. Every year about one-third of the members of our city corporations go out of office, and as these elections are generally fought upon political lines, they form a rough sort of test of the state of parties in the country. Generally, the liberals may be said to have scored. For the first time the labor party, which is as yet in a very embryonic condition, has made a definite stand. It has been fairly successful here and there in securing the election of labor candidates, but on the whole it must be admitted that it has had more kicks than ha'pence. This is largely due to the fact that the party is not at present a serious party. It is mainly at the mercy of adventurers on the make. Trade union officials in England have in some cases made a good thing out of their position in recent years, and there is much itching to occupy a prominent place in the public eye on the part of many who desire to be on the make, and who think themselves as qualified for the work as those who are already on the make. It is a pity to see such barefaced place hunting going on, but happily public life in England is becoming rapidly much more a matter of capacity than anything else.

Mr. Balfour has been making a somewhat rapid tour through the distressed districts in Ireland, and has placed himself in contact with leading inhabitants of all sections of politics and all creeds. Plainly, this is the way to get a real grasp of the situation. How completely the spirit of the country has declined under the rule of the National league as compared with the Land league is shown by the fact that the chief secretary has everywhere been treated with courtesy. In the old days he would have been well howled at. Perhaps it is as well, how-

ever, that the right honorable gentleman should have been received in a courteous manner. He may be the better disposed to push forward his remedial measures.

As the opening of parliament approaches, we find the leaders of parties firing speeches at each other from all parts of the country. But comparatively few people read what they say. Everybody is apparently awaiting the issue of events. It is anticipated that the coming session will be a stormy one. It is not worth while to speculate as to what will be attempted by the government. We are so near the time when they must reveal their hand that it is better to suspend any criticism of their imagined schemes until we have their veritable proposals before us.

The London county council has taken the decisive step of determining that it will clear out a large portion of Bethnalgreen, in the east end of London, at the public expense. This vast improvement has not been named, you may be sure, without the opportunity being seized upon to raise afresh the questions of the responsibility of landlords and the taxation of ground values. And in the further development of the scheme we shall hear a great deal more on the subject. Our friend, William Saunders, who works far more in secret than in public, will not let the matter rest.

There is a good deal of talk in the inner circles of political life about the return of Lord Randolph Churchill to the government councils. It is thought that a complete change of Irish policy is in contemplation, and that Mr. Balfour will retire and make way for Lord Randolph. I can only say that if any such change were really undertaken the present chief secretary might have spared himself the very arduous duty which he has just discharged. Traveling on Irish jaunting cars along the rocky roads of the distressed areas in Ireland is no easy job. No! I am of the same opinion still. The government mean to pursue a policy which they think will largely save the Irish landlords both in pocket and position, and command the support of the moderates, both tory and liberal, throughout Great Britain. Then if they are harassed to death in parliament and are driven to appeal to the country, they will go to the country with the cry that they have made a really genuine effort to deal with the really serious troubles of the country, but are being prevented from realizing their desires by factious opposition. They will raise the cry of no surrender to the mere political revolutionists and trust to luck. They will, I think, be well beaten, but there's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip, and if they can hold on long enough the distraction of the liberal party upon the social question will be their opportunity. The possibility is that they may be beaten, but command a very powerful minority. That there is plenty of room for Mr. Balfour to reveal himself as a constructive statesman the following pithy extract from a letter of a Times special commissioner, who is "doing" the distressed districts in Ireland, will show:

I visited one cabin two or three miles from Belmullet, which may be taken as typical. There was no chimney, but only a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape by, the consequence being that everything in the house was blackened by it, and it was some time before one could see anything. The tenant was a fine, strapping young man with a good countenance, and his wife was a hearty-looking woman, with a family of five little children, the eldest of whom was six years old. The youngest was being rocked in a cradle by an old woman, who could speak only Irish, and sat crooning over it. The other children were sitting on the floor round a bright turf fire, all clad in smoke-colored garments, and without shoes or stockings. There was a basket full of small potatoes on the table, and the old woman ejaculated in Irish that if they were all as good they would not complain. There was a bed by the fireplace for the father and mother, and a bedroom beyond for the children and servant or other inmates, this being the usual arrangement. Two calves were installed in the kitchen and living room, and the grunting of pigs was heard from behind some woodwork, while a few hens were perched among the rafters.

That the distraction of the liberal party is proceeding may be seen in the renewed

protest which Mr. John Morley and others are making against the legislative eight hours bill proposed in the main by the socialists. The socialists so far have the pull of the liberals because the latter have not proposed the single tax. It may be—I will not venture to prophesy that it will be—but I will content myself with saying that it may be that the liberal party will go to pieces upon the social question. If it does it can only come together again upon the same question by making a really serious effort to deal with the land question on our lines. Meanwhile the socialists are making the best of the running. They are young, able, alert, determined, and full of self-sacrificing zeal. The Roman hand of the Fabian society is to be seen in every direction. The housing of the poor is urged in one direction, the payment of trade union rates of wages in municipal contracts is urged in another. In still a third direction we find attacks being made upon the poor law and improved methods recommended. The man who furnishes the bulk of the shot which is discharged every week from the Fabian arsenal—Mr. Sidney Wehle—I am sorry to say lies ill at this moment from an attack of scarlet fever, but I have every hope that it will not be long before he is well again. The socialist propaganda would be sadly at a loss without his fertile brain.

In Ireland things do not look well. At Cork the other day—rebel Cork—a public meeting called in aid of the plan of campaign fund was a disastrous failure, and in New Tipperary it has been found that breaches have been made in the solidarity of the tenants, many of whom have paid their rents on the sly.

HAROLD RYLETT.

FROM MEXICO.

THE TARIFF AND LAND LAWS THERE—THE RICH AND THE POOR.

MEXICO CITY, Mexico, Oct. 27. — A reader of THE STANDARD since its first number, I have been here for the last year and a half the only one, as far as I know, to receive it through the local dealer of this city. I need not say with what deep concern I have been watching Mr. George's triumphant tour at the antipodes, and also have read of the success of the first single tax convention.

Education and moral evolution are getting in their work, slowly but surely. We, who have caught a glimpse of the light, wonder sometimes how slow are others to see the truth, but we would not if we remembered how thick is the veil of tradition and accepted ideas.

Still truth, as it did eighteen centuries ago, is once more rapping at men's hearts; it will not be the fault of our modern civilization if it is not given admittance. History repeats itself. Roman civilization, or rather Roman rottenness, prepared the Roman world for a return to natural laws preached by the humble carpenter.

I have been following the Mexican press, but have not as yet discovered any allusion to the single tax, an omission I hope to correct before long. The Mexican government is on the whole well meaning. There has been in this country less class legislation than in countries that boast of a higher civilization. We have a tariff for revenue only, it is true, but its intricacies are such as to give a decided advantage to large importing houses. No man with small means can hope to scale the Chinese wall without leaving some of his wool. There are, however, I am told, a good many free traders among Mexican congressmen, but all their economic rules are laid down on the old accepted lines.

Two-thirds of the people here are very poor, and have been so for generations past. They are used to it, or rather think that it can not be otherwise. The causes are the same as everywhere, the concentration of natural opportunities in few hands. Immense tracts of land have fallen into the hands of a few families by Spanish grants.

Every day foreign capitalists buy up large areas of soil—the mines and other natural opportunities. The government applauds this with both hands, mistaking

it for a sign of interest other nations show in Mexican progress. When will the landless millions discover what ails them?

ERAUDE VELDE.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

THE REPUBLICAN SITUATION AT THE CAPITAL—MR. BLAINE'S POSITION—RECIPROCITY—A TALK WITH CONGRESSMAN SPRINGER—SOME INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS ON THE ELECTIONS—THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS—THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT ENLISTED IN THE TARIFF FIGHT—A SINGLE TAX MAN'S EXPLANATION OF ONE OF THE CAUSES IN WISCONSIN—THE DUNNELL REAPPORTIONMENT BILL—MASSING OF POPULATION IN CITIES—TROUBLES ABOUT THE REVENUE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 17.—It is not thought probable that the tariff will be changed by the present congress, and yet there cannot be a continuance of the course which has proved so disastrous. In the moment of dismay and confusion Mr. Harrison's secretary of state advances to the front to show his party the way out of the difficulty. It is apparent that he sees that protection is doomed, but without directly discrediting it, he may, through his "reciprocity" scheme, advance free trade in certain directions, thus forcing the democrats from their favorable position; unless, indeed, they take advanced ground and come out squarely against the principle of all tariffs. "We have lived," says Secretary Blaine, "side by side with several republics in South America for over sixty years. We have acted toward them like an indulgent father. We have been taking their coffee, sugar and other things, and have never asked them to let us in. We have let in, nearly free, \$36,000,000 a year in coffee, etc., and we say to them, 'That is a great favor to you. We have let you put sugar in this country free, the same as a farmer in Indiana can carry his products to Chicago. Now let's play fair. If we let your sugar in free you must let our flour into your country.' This seems like a very sensible proceeding. I wonder that we did not think of it before."

So says the secretary; and the president, by the popular rejection of the high protection policy which he strongly and confidently approved, is compelled to accept those words and to adopt the Blaine plan, which, for a long time past, he has treated contemptuously. The new Spanish minister, Senor Miguel Suarez Guanes, on being presented to the president during the week, said that the exchange of the productions and manufactures of the people of the United States and Spain was "surely one of the necessary laws that are based on the instincts and universal needs of the present day; and the greater the difference between their customs, disposition and the productions of their labor, so much the more necessary is it for nations to come closer together and to increase their exchanges." To this the president replied, that "inspired by like sentiments," he counted on Senor Guanes's "promised aid in developing the larger relations and the closer ties of amity and commerce which both nations desire for their reciprocal advantage." These words might at another time have passed over as merely figures of diplomatic language, but in face of the general and enthusiastic movement in Cuba for reciprocity with this country, the urgent petition sent to Madrid to further its establishment, and of recent events here, they have a real importance.

Once accepted and set in operation with a single country this policy of reciprocity can be extended to others whenever political exigency require; and thus, if the democrats do not make a radical advance, unless they take their stand on a clear cut principle, the difference between them and their opponents must to most minds become indistinguishable, and they are certain to lose all they have gained. Roger Q. Mills sees the wisdom of this in his straightout declaration for free trade.

There are other eminent democrats who see this. "This fight against the tariff is going to be intensified," said Congressman William M. Springer of Illinois to me. "It is not entered into lightly, but has in it the earnest thought and conviction

of the majority of the people. There can be no end to the discussion until the question is settled once and for all. The people are against protection." Mr. Springer said he would like to draw attention to a very striking thing in the campaign, but more particularly the election itself, and that was the quietness prevailing everywhere. In some places, he said, there was an almost ominous silence, and at times he felt somewhat fearful of the result. Indeed, so quiet was everything that the republicans rested in satisfied security. But the people were thinking. They would come to the meetings wherever he made addresses, quietly listen and almost as quietly go away. The only two districts where there was excitement were McKinley's and Cannon's, and in both of them the fight was personal. In most places there was no chance for side issues; the audiences wanted to hear only about the tariff, and they listened to both sides and to everybody. And in this way they learned deeply and well, so that when they went to vote they needed no excitement or noise, but having reasoned the thing out and being convinced that protection was a bad thing, they voted against it. And this rooted conviction Mr. Springer says will carry the agitation on and on.

Toward the close of the campaign Mr. Springer says he dined with a dozen or so gentlemen of the Reform club of New York. He had just delivered a number of speeches through the state under the club's auspices. He asked them why they did not try to carry the legislature, send Governor Hill to the United States senate and give the state to Cleveland for 1892. They answered that there was no chance for the democrats to get the legislature. Mr. Springer told them he was sure they were mistaken, that all through the state wherever he had gone he had found such a deep conviction among the farmers that they were being robbed that it was only necessary to show them how it was being done to have them rise up, ripe for a revolution.

Speaking of his own state he said the result had come there as quietly as elsewhere. Fourteen out of the twenty congressmen had been elected as against seven in the present congress. Against a majority of seven hold-over senators; against the worst kind of a gerrymander in 1880, and against an immense amount of money, the state legislature had been carried, insuring the election of General Palmer to the United States senate. All over the state the people discussed the McKinley act as an economic question. "We had an educational campaign for once," said Mr. Springer. "All efforts to wave the bloody shirt were unavailing." There were two notable instances of the way feeling ran. Mr. Rowell and Mr. Payson, more particularly the latter, were very powerful republicans in strong republican districts, and against them it was deemed useless to put up democratic candidates. Nevertheless, for the sake of a candidate, the democrats nominated Owen Scott, a young man of good character but of no brilliancy as a speaker. He had edited a local democratic paper, but was otherwise little known. Mr. Scott went all through his district addressing little meetings, in school houses for the most part, and talking the common sense of the tariff question to the people he met there, and showing the absurdities of protection. But there was no noise or commotion, and Mr. Rowell did not even get scared. He thought everything was as safe as it had always been. When the votes were counted, it was found that Scott had a majority of 1200 and had carried every election district but one, and that one had been very badly gerrymandered. Against Mr. Payson the democrats had nominated a banker named Snow. It was a forlorn hope, as the democrats conceded Payson's election; but early in the canvass Mr. Snow started out among the people of the district with a carpet sack filled with samples of dry goods and other things with tags attached, giving the price of the goods at that time and the price the goods would sell at if the McKinley bill passed. These

he handed about his audiences in the school houses. At first they didn't pay so much attention, but after a while the bill passed and they began to see prices go up, and saw the truth of what Snow had been saying. Payson had a few meetings that seemed to be satisfactory, the same old faces being present. On election night the papers announced that Payson had been elected by 2,000 majority, and Snow accepted it, but a few days afterward he counted up his vote and found he was elected. Payson carried only two small counties. "In both of these districts," said Mr. Springer, "there were no side issues. It was a clean fight on the tariff."

Mr. Springer relates a significant incident that occurred in the Cairo district. Against the republican candidate, Smith, the democrats had nominated a man named Morris, who had been a republican, had been a state senator, and who two years ago had turned mugwump and voted for Grover Cleveland. Morris one day set out in a carriage with a friend for a meeting of a Farmers' mutual benevolent association, which was a short distance out of town. At a cross roads they found a school house and a church, and another building or two, and before the church were some carriages hitched up. But there was not a man around. Morris and his friend thought they would venture into the church, which they did, and found a lot of people assembled. But all were silent, so silent that his friend whispered to Morris that they had probably got into the wrong place and they'd better get out. But Morris said he'd wait and see. Presently a man went up to the pulpit and called the meeting to order, after which he called on one of the brothers to deliver a prayer. It was a very devout prayer, asking divine providence for guidance and blessings, but at the end the brother pleaded that they might all be delivered from the evils of the McKinley bill if it should become a law, to which there were many fervent Amens from all parts of the church. Morris knew then that he was in the right place. After the prayer the congregation sang a hymn, and then Mr. Morris was introduced to talk on the tariff. After he had finished his address there was another hymn and a benediction, and with many Amens the congregation disbursed. Morris came within 300 votes of election, and he will contest the seat. "The people all through southern and central Illinois," remarked Congressman Springer, "are a very religious people, and they have carried this religious spirit into this discussion and they will carry it on to the end."

A single tax man, returning from Wisconsin where he had gone to vote, says the McKinley act had a most powerful effect in turning that state, which has hitherto given at least 16,000 republican majority, by about that figure the other way. There was considerable discord over the religious and school questions, but the tariff was the main question with the farmers. For instance, it appears that Wisconsin is a potato exporting state, and the farmer usually gets twenty-five or thirty cents a bushel by the carload. But this season the potato crop was a failure, and instead of selling potatoes the farmers have had to buy what they needed for their own consumption. Most of these potatoes were imported from Canada, which, owing to the heavy duty imposed by the McKinley act, made them cost \$1.10 a bushel. It is estimated that the duty on potatoes paid by the city of Milwaukee alone cannot be far from \$50,000. This potato fact shook the farmers up considerably and started them on an investigation until they found that for hardware, for common china, and in short wherever the duties had been raised, increased prices were demanded. That determined them, and they voted against protection, tradition, sentiment and the grand old party to the contrary notwithstanding.

For a number of weeks past the whole available force at the census bureau here has been concentrated on the population schedules, presumably to make ready for a reapportionment of representatives in

congress in the coming session. Even that division inquiring into farm mortgages, the reports from which were beginning to show a most terrible and widespread poverty, particularly in those new states which took a leading part in the just witnessed political revolution, has been turned to the population figures to facilitate the work. Exactly what will be the plan of apportionment it is hard to say. On the 10th of last September Mr. Dunnell, chairman of the house committee on the Eleventh census, presented a bill which increased the membership of the house from 332, as at present, to 354. "I sought in the bill to avoid a too large increase in the membership of the house," wrote Mr. Dunnell over his signature a few days afterward in the Washington republican paper, the Politician. "The general opinion of its members, as far as I could learn it, favored an increase to some number not far from 350. It was found on trial, that using 180,000 as the basis of apportionment, or as the number of population entitled to one member, and providing that a major fraction, as in previous apportionment bills, should be allowed an additional member, the house would be composed of 354 members." Mr. Dunnell by his bill accorded to New York and the six New England states no more members than at present, and from Virginia and Ohio he took a member, but to Alabama he gave a member; Arkansas, 2; California, 1; Colorado, 1; Illinois, 2; Kansas, 2; Michigan, 1; Minnesota, 3; Missouri, 1; Nebraska, 3; New Jersey, 1; Pennsylvania, 2; Oregon, 1; Texas, 1; Washington, 1, and Wisconsin, 1. This would give increased representation in what, at the time the bill was introduced, were accounted republican states, and it is more than likely that the gentlemen undertaking this reapportionment business will, in view of the recent political avalanche, report a new plan; but they should consider what Mr. Dunnell said when he introduced his bill:

It will be discovered that the additions to the Fifty-third congress will be largely from republican states. This would have been reasonably anticipated by the entire country. Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana and Oregon, republican states, have almost brought about this result, a result which cannot fail to be gratifying to republicans and against which democrats cannot with any reason find fault.

Returning to the census, I am credibly informed that the report will show that in only one state in the Union, namely, Nebraska, has suburban population kept pace relatively with urban. Superintendent Porter, making a statement on this subject, said:

The most surprising fact which the forthcoming census will establish is the stupendous growth of urban population—the migration of the agricultural population to the cities. During the past decade this gain has been no less than sixty per cent. Speaking roundly, it may be said that in 1790 one-third of the population was found in cities of more than 8,000 population; in 1800, one-twenty-fifth; in 1810 and also in 1820, one-twentieth; in 1830, one-sixteenth; in 1840, one-twelfth; in 1850, one-eighth; in 1860, one-sixth; in 1870, more than one-fifth; 1880, half way between one-fifth and one-quarter, and in 1890, nearly three-tenths. The eleventh census will show that in the state of Massachusetts fully seventy-five per cent of the population reside in cities.

Mr. Porter does not or will not see in this massing of population an ominous sign of how modern civilization may decline. He treats it rather as a natural concomitant of modern civilization. His eyes are shut to the seven millions of farm mortgages which his own bureau reports for the decade—mortgages which investigations of the same bureau show mean in the vast majority of cases foreclosure and ruin, and, in too many instances, eviction. "The individual often sinks his own will," says Mr. Porter, "his own property, his own happiness, present and prospective, in the tenement house of the city, when he might have been an independent man with a fair competence had he been content with a rural life."

The pre-eminent success of the few in the vast commercial enterprises, in manufactures, in public affairs, tempts those in scattered homes to the centers of population, and hopefulness keeps them there till many of them cannot get away. The growth of cit-

ies has undoubtedly decreased the rate of increase in our population, as the birth rate in our cities is notoriously low.

All the while immigration is pouring in to help swarm the cities:

Few seem to realize that the total during the last decade has been larger than ever before. The character of the immigration has entirely changed in the last ten years. The immigration from the United Kingdom, from Germany and Scandinavia, with their large families and love of comfortable homes, has remained stationary. Immigration from Italy, Hungary and Poland has doubled. Many of this class of immigrants save money for a return to their homes. Others come in gangs and establish no homes, as the former immigrants have done. The effect of this on the addition to our population no one knows.

Thomas Jefferson once said in a letter to James Madison from Paris: "When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there." How true were his words!

It is reported that the secretary of the treasury is having a good deal of difficulty in making his estimates for the coming session of congress, chiefly owing to the McKinley act, which, permitting goods imported and placed in bond before the 6th of October, when the act went into operation, to be withdrawn at any time up to the 1st of February at the old rate of duty, has made it very uncertain what the revenue from customs will be. However, one thing seems to be demonstrated, namely, that there will be a large deficiency to meet. Mr. Cannon, chairman of the house committee on appropriations, early last September reported to the house a very satisfactory condition of the finances, but Mr. Sayers of Texas, making the minority report from the same committee, declared that on a conservative estimate there would be a deficiency of over \$46,000,000, \$40,000,000 of which would have to go to paying pensions under the new "disability" and "totally helpless" laws, for which there had been no appropriations whatever. It appears now that there is a very much greater increase of pensions than was expected, and that the extra expenditure will not be far from, even if it does not exceed, \$75,000,000. More than this, as Mr. Sayers stated in his speech:

They have, without appropriating one dollar therefor, authorized contracts to be made for the manufacture of heavy ordnance to the extent of \$3,775,000; they have also authorized the construction of war vessels which, together with their armor and armament, will cost \$24,225,000, and have only appropriated an undefined portion of \$5,475,000 for the purpose; they have further authorized contracts for the improvement of certain water ways and harbors for as much as \$14,923,970, toward which they have appropriated but \$2,000,000; and, finally, they have authorized the construction of forty-one public buildings to cost not exceeding \$7,116,633.51, but for which they have appropriated only \$2,375,000.

And all this, in addition to the regular appropriations, has to be met with a revenue reduced by the McKinley bill.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

FATHER REILLY ON OUR SIDE.

THE TREASURER OF THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE BELIEVES IN THE SINGLE TAX—HE THINKS THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EVICTIONS IN IRELAND AND HERE.

Detroit Journal.

A little while ago a family of women, children and sick men was evicted from a wretched hovel in Close's alley. They were thrust out into the cold and rain. They lay there day and night for a week without shelter. Nothing in Ireland could have been much worse. The case excited comment.

"What have Reilly and Atkinson and the other Irish agitators to say to this?" wrote a correspondent to the Journal. "Wherein are American laws superior to English laws in this regard?"

The Journal saw Dr. Reilly, treasurer of the Irish national league. "Is there any real resemblance between the Irish evictions and those in Detroit?" he was asked.

"The odious associations connected with evictions have their origin in circumstances which are entirely different from those surrounding us in this country," said Father Reilly. "The power of eviction is after all the only guarantee to ownership in soil and improvements. What other redress has the honest proprietor from unbearable imposition? The cases the Journal has been writing up are exceptionally hard ones on the tenants, but at the most they are instances of avariciousness and inhumanity. They only constitute a moral breach of justice on the hypothesis that the tenants' necessities

were taken undue advantage of to extort a disproportionate rent. This itself is hard to understand, for the competition in renting is sharp and the means of gaining a livelihood are so diversified.

"In Ireland the case is very different, for in nearly every instance the eviction includes a confiscation of the tenants' interest in his holding. In America a man has presumably built the house from which he is evicted. In Ireland it is the man who built the house and made every improvement on the property who is turned out to die; for the law recognizes a joint ownership in the land in Ireland, and this the landlord evades purely by his superior means for sustaining costly litigation.

"The tenants' contention in Ireland is first against the landlord's right to exact rent upon his undivided share of the premises which he, the landlord, confiscates when he evicts him. In this country the law would divide such an interest in issue where it could be divided, or award compensation when it could not; but not so in Ireland. The Irish tenant in arrears of rent forfeits improvements which he and his fathers have made, the value of which has been accruing to him for generations.

"Then, too, the circumstances after eviction are entirely different. Here the means of sustaining life are diversified; there, there is only the land to live on, so that eviction is, as Gladstone properly termed it, a virtual execution. In this country it is laudable to rescue the victim; there it is positively criminal. Anyone harboring an evicted tenant in Ireland can be prosecuted under the crimes act for conspiracy.

"In Ireland there is no humane provision in the law against evicting the sick. There is little sentiment among the upper classes to protect the unfortunate; no feeling is enlisted in their behalf. Their indigence is a crime against the established order, and considered so much more menacing as it is more prevalent. In the United States that is all different. As soon as the Journal told of those cases of destitution money flowed in to care for the evicted people.

"But I don't know that we would do any better if we were in the landlords' places," continued Dr. Reilly. "It's the system that is wrong. I grant that civil society is based upon the right of property. The landlords have a legal right to the land which they hold, although it was formerly stolen from the Irish people. I believe and hold, with Rousseau, that the man who invented civil society was the man who first put a fence around a field and said it was his. But there is a difference between securing ownership by putting a fence around a field and improving it, and going out with a surveyor's chain or grabbing a geographical description. In the latter way the owners let some one else put up the fences and make improvements and then charge rent on what the tenant has produced. The owner of the land in that way owns the life of the people, and is like an octopus in the way he can stretch out. He can even tax the affections of the people. Why, the landlords of Ireland are glad to see the children of tenants emigrate, and not long ago I learned the reason. I was making one of my large annual remittances to Ireland for use in fighting the landlords, when Mr. M. W. O'Brien, the banker, told me that what I sent was an infinitesimal part only of American money that flowed to Ireland. He gave me proof of it in the bank.

Boyle O'Reilly is authority for the statement that Irish people in America send \$50,000,000 annually to parents and friends in Ireland, and it surely finds its way into the pockets of the landlords. I have learned that the agents keep a sharp lookout for such sources of rent extraction and gauge their demands accordingly.

"Such a system is not right. It defeats the ends of providence when the world was made. Under the fee simple system Noah and his three sons, when they came out of the ark, might have owned the whole earth, as a few men now own Ireland. A man should own only so much ground as he renders productive. He has the right to that much and no more."

Dr. Reilly was asked what he thought would be the course of Irish land legislation should Ireland secure home rule and a legislature of her own. He replied that he hoped the English parliament would solve the question before home rule was granted; for the permanent adjustment of the relations of landlord and tenant is a great question, before which even trained legislators might well quail. As for himself, he believes that the right principle upon which to base land reform is that of improvement. Let each man call his whatever land his labor or capital rendered productive. This, he thinks, can be most easily and justly done by the Henry George single tax system, which in spirit is in accord with the old Irish communal land tenure system.

HOW DIFFERENT FROM DANA!

New York Sun.

Good health and many years to Allen Granberry Thurman! He was born a democrat, and has never changed.

THAT IS THE QUESTION.

Minneapolis Labor Union.

The real struggle involved in the rent question, is to decide to whom it is that rent rightfully belongs, and who should get it, the landlord or community?

HENRY GEORGE IN MEMPHIS.

HE DELIVERS TWO ADDRESSES, ONE ON FREE TRADE AND ONE ON THE SINGLE TAX, BEFORE LARGE AUDIENCES—HOW THE RACE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED.

On Friday, November 7, Henry George reached Memphis, where he was advertised to speak that evening on free trade. He was met at the Louisville railroad depot by Messrs. Bolton Smith, R. G. Brown, Ben Hirsch, John S. Watters, Andrew Russell and a contingent of single tax farmers from Randolph, Tenn., who had come to Memphis especially to see and hear the author of "Progress and Poverty." After greeting the friends he knew personally, and being introduced to the others, Mr. George was put into a hack and driven off to the Conway school for young ladies, where he was received by the pupils. Being introduced to them by the principal, Miss Conway, Mr. George addressed them briefly. From the school Mr. George was taken to a cotton compress, where he watched with manifest interest the work of reducing the size of cotton bales. After visiting the post office, the custom house and other points of interest, Mr. George was taken to the Peabody house, where he received visitors until it was time to go to the hall where he was to lecture.

The large audience at Hebrew hall was called to order by Mr. J. S. Menken, who announced that the speaker of the evening would be introduced by Colonel Josiah Patterson, congressman-elect. In introducing Mr. George, Colonel Patterson said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—As an advancing army camps upon the ground which was occupied on the previous night by the outpost, so a government of the people, in the progress of its development toward a higher and better civilization, frequently incorporates into its policy measures advocated at a former period by the reformer and the philanthropist. We are a part of the army, while our distinguished visitor is the captain of the outpost. We are citizens of a common country to which the world looks for the highest development of civilization, and he is, perhaps, the most courageous sentinel who stands on the picket line of human progress. Standing, as I do, in the ranks of the national democracy—a great political organization which is necessarily conservative in its methods and policies—I am not prepared to say that I endorse all the doctrines taught by our guest. I am, however, prepared to say that I regard him as one of the first thinkers of his time and a disinterested reformer and benefactor who has already accomplished much for his countrymen. His exposure of the inequalities and injustice of the protective tariff would alone entitle him to their gratitude. He is one of the few men who has arrested the attention of English speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic, and caused them to think of the tendencies of this age of material development. Such a man may be accepted as a guide by the rising generation, and will command the respect and attention of his contemporaries. We have extended to him the hospitality of Memphis, and in return will enjoy the rare entertainment of listening to him this evening. It is with no ordinary pleasure that I introduce to this thoughtful audience of representative citizens Mr. Henry George.

Mr. George spoke for two hours against the protective tariff, and in favor of absolute free trade. The Memphis Appeal-Avalanche says he delivered his address in "a most entertaining and instructive manner and received frequent and well-merited applause." He then answered a number of questions propounded by protectionists in the audience "in a manner," says the Appeal, "that was remarkable for its rapidity, lucidity and ingenueness."

The following day (Saturday) was a busy one for Mr. George, his whole time being occupied with speeches and receptions.

At half-past nine o'clock in the morning Mr. George was received at the Higbee school for young ladies by the several literary organizations organized in that institution, the ladies of each society wearing the colors of the organization to which she belonged. Mr. George and the committee were met by Miss Higbee, who escorted the party to the chapel, where a brief programme of music and reading was given. Miss Higbee, in presenting Mr. George to her scholars, said:

Mr. George, in presenting to you the young ladies representing the high school and their friends, the thought occurs as conveniently suggested, What connection has Mr. Henry George, the apostle of free trade, with a school for the education of young ladies? I answer, by presenting to young ladies, who are already thinkers, Mr. Henry George, the apostle of progress. As they had not the privilege of receiving you when at work the literary societies of the school availed themselves of the privilege tendered them and asked you to help them keep holiday.

These societies, albeit secret in name, have for their one purpose progress. They are, one and all, seekers for the right, the good and the true. Therefore they welcome you to-day, wearing their colors, and asking you to wear them.

The motto of this school, emblazoned on the arch above you, is this: That our daughters may be as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace; "our daughters," mark you, as "corner stones."

They have been taught that upon them rests a responsibility that requires thinking on every subject; therefore they welcome thinkers.

I hold in my hand a souvenir which I shall ask you to accept with some of the thoughts. First of all, it represents the colors of this school, white and gold. White, no color; yet all colors blending in perfect potent light; pure as we would have these pupils, and

ready for impressions. Gold, as representing the truth that makes us free.

By the floral adornments here we represent to you the artistic side of our culture, the polishing necessary to these corner stones, and the legend is "The Higbee school greets Henry George." Let us test the truth and our own selves.

"Mr. George then," says the Appeal, "addressed the audience, showing in a felicitous manner his marvelous power of adaptation. All were interested and instructed. He alluded to the themes touched upon in the reading, spoke of the advantages of the present day, of those they enjoyed; stimulated the young ladies to confidence in their own ability; reminded them that the day had passed when a woman's brain could not do what a man's could. Among other things he said: 'Whether you vote or do not vote makes but little difference; but it is your duty to interest yourselves in the great problems which represent social science, more important than the cultivation of physical sciences in which you are making rapid progress. These things you can study and think over; and, after all, the real power lies in thought. The man or woman who thinks out the invention is greater than he who only makes it.'"

Introductions and a general reception closed a most enjoyable hour.

After leaving the Higbee school Mr. George was driven to the Nineteenth Century club, in its rooms in the Appeal building, where a number of ladies were awaiting his arrival.

Mr. George was introduced to his hearers by Mrs. J. H. Watson, vice-president of the club, who read the following address of welcome, written by Miss Clara Conway:

In the Masonic temple at Boston, nearly fifty years ago, a remarkable lecture was given by our seer—our prophet—the sweetest thinker, and, along certain lines of thought, the most profound philosopher America ever produced. From that lecture I quote these words: "In our idea of progress we do not think the sky will be bluer, or honey sweeter, or our climate more temperate, but only our relations to our fellows will be simpler and happier. People are the age; they are the result of the past; they are the heralds of the future. A personal ascendancy—that is the only fact much worth considering. And so I find the age walking about in happy and hopeful natures, in strong eyes and pleasant thoughts, and I think I read it nearer and truer so than in the statute books, or in the investments of capital which rather celebrate with mournful music the obsequies of the last age. Now and then comes a bolder spirit—I should rather say a more surrendered soul—which is much in advance of the rest, quite beyond their sympathy, but predicts what shall soon be the general fulness, as when we stand by the seashore, while the tide is coming in, a wave comes up the beach far higher than any foregoing one and recedes, and for a long time none comes up to that mark, but after some time the whole sea is there and beyond it. The spirit of progress looks into the law of property and accuses men of driving a trade in the great, boundless providence which had given the air, the water and the land to men to use and not to fence in and monopolize. The same spirit casts its eye on trade and day labor and so goes up and down, paving the earth with eyes. Is all this for nothing?"

These are not my words; they are the words of Emerson, the American philosopher and patriot. If I have chosen them to speak our welcome to you, Mr. George, it is because some of us believe that the great reforms you advocate are the fulfillment of a prophecy, and all believe that hospitality and generous welcome are due to good will and honest seeking. The reformer is the maker of that which man has already made. He corrects flagrant wrongs by "laying each day one stone aright." His motive power is enthusiasm. He believes that love is the remedy for every ill. He teaches that love, freely flowing out to our fellowmen, would put a new face on this "weary old world." More than this. He knows by prophetic instinct that one day all men will be lovers of their kind and that every wrong or shadow of wrong will fade out in eternal sunshine. Though to-day, we "eat and drink and wear perjury and fraud," yet the wise, honest reformer sees beneath tariff and tax a heaven made possible by the transfiguring power of principle.

So it is that reform is "the golden key which opens the palace of eternity," and he who holds this key in his hand by the force of strong will, clear insight and clear conscience, yields us every morning a new day and makes it possible for each one to "bask in the great light which rises forever out of the eastern sea, and be ourselves the children of the light."

Because it is your high mission, Mr. George, to speak for thoughts and principles neither marketable nor perishable, we are glad to have you in our growing city, even for a day; glad to have you take our longitude, "to compare the points to our spiritual compass and verify our bearings from superior chronometers."

The Nineteenth Century club bids you this welcome.

Mr. George replied at some length, his subject being "The Sphere of Woman in Politics, and the Interest She Takes in Social Problems."

An informal reception was held after the lecture, and the ladies were so taken with the apostle of free trade that it was with difficulty they were induced to let him leave to all other engagements.

From half-past three o'clock until five a public reception was tendered Mr. George at the Peabody house, which was attended by a large number of citizens.

Hebrew hall was again crowded in the evening to hear Mr. George's lecture on the single tax. On the platform were seated Congressman-elect Josiah Patterson, Captain W. A. Collier, Rabbi Samfield, Father Kline of St. Mary's Cathedral, Dr. Spruille Burford, mayor of Calvary; Justice D. C. Blauhter, Messrs. J. S. Menken, R. G. Brum, Bolton Smith, Lawrence Lamb, William Horan, G. W. Agee and S. F. Clark of Little Rock. J. S. Menken introduced Mr. George. In the course of his address Mr. George made the following utterances:

Did it ever occur to you that there must necessarily be a right system of taxation, that there must be a system of taxation intended by the Creator? If God made the world; if He made man to dwell therein; if it is by virtue of His laws that we live, and move and have our being, then our social life must be as much in subordination to divine law as is our physical life.

What taxes shall we impose for raising public revenue? We ought to try to find this intended tax, this right tax, and there are certain marks by which we must know it. God's laws cannot clash, the social law cannot clash with the moral law. No tax can be the intended tax that fosters corruption, that puts a premium upon frauds, that leads men into temptation to lie and take false oaths.

I arraign the whole tariff system as doing this, and arraign it for this, if nothing else. It ought to be arraigned, if for no other reason than that it tempts men to corruption, to lying and to taking false oaths. No man who has traveled over the Atlantic ocean as I have; no man who has sat in the steamers as I have and listened to the talk of passengers can fail to know this. Every man or woman who has made the voyage knows that as soon as you get in sight of that statue of "Liberty" illuminating the world in New York harbor, and within hearing distance of this country of liberty, every passenger is compelled to stand in line and to bear witness before Almighty God, in the presence of these custom house collectors, that they have nothing dutiable in their luggage. Swear to it all—consider the impiety of it—call up God Almighty to witness that you are not going to take any of your own property inside this land of freedom; that you are not going to approach this statue of "Liberty" illuminating the world without paying blackmail, and the passengers take the oath. Nine-tenths of those passengers who so take the oath do have dutiable things in their luggage, which they are trying to get through, and especially is this true of the protectionist.

I referred last night to one of the honored and respected citizens of Memphis, Colonel Enoch Easley. I have by his courtesy a pamphlet containing one of his articles written in 1873, in which the golden rule of taxation, in one of its aspects, at least, is laid down. It is, "Never tax anything that would be of value to your state that could or would run away, or that could or would come to you." Think of it. "Never tax anything that would be of value to your state that could or would run away, or that could or would come to you." If we want more wealth, and ninety-nine hundredths of us do, and ninety-nine hundredths could make good use of more wealth than we have (what we want is more wealth); then I say it is a piece of utter stupidity that we should tax wealth in any of its forms. We cannot tax goods without having fewer goods; we cannot tax capital without preventing capital from coming or causing it to run away; we cannot tax houses without having fewer houses; therefore all taxes which keep good things out that would otherwise come, all taxes that repress the production of things we want and would like to have, stand condemned. That cannot be the right method of raising taxes. There is but one plain, clear and obvious way. As society advances, as civilization begins and progresses, the need of public revenue appears and increases with the social growth. Beginning with the beginning of civilization, there arises a value touching land that no individual can say, "This is mine." There arises a value that is clearly due to the progress of society. It is due to that, and that alone. A little over 100 years ago the proprietors of Memphis bought 5,000 acres of land from the government of North Carolina (am I right?) for which they paid fifty cents per acre (am I right?) To-day some of that land is worth \$500,000 per acre. What is the difference? Does it come from any act of the proprietors? What causes it to be worth \$500,000 per acre to-day and only fifty cents per acre 100 years ago? Is it not because the whole population of Memphis is here? Does it not come from the growth of the community—and not from the act of the individual? That is the land value everywhere. No value attaches to land by reason of cultivation, by reason of drainage, by reason of improvements of any kind, for the values are the values of the improvements alone, and when the improvements are destroyed the values go, but the land itself has a value that is entirely independent of any exertion that may be bestowed on any particular land. It is a value that arises on and attaches to the land upon the growth of the community.

In every growing city the land has a value by reason of the population and increases in value with the progress of society.

Suppose the population of Memphis be doubled in the next year, or in the next ten years if you like, what will increase in value? Not the houses, not the dry goods. You all know that the thing that will increase in value is the land. With the progress of society land goes up and up. Land will increase certainly in that event, and is not that a value clearly belonging to the community? There is a value growing parallel with the increased need of public revenue. In the savage state, where there is no need of public revenue, there is no land value. It is only as civilization advances and places grow that land values come. There to my mind is the intended source of public revenue. There is the source supply corresponding always with the natural demands.

It is as clearly to my mind the appointed source of the natural need as is the milk that comes into the mother's breast with the birth of the child the appointed nourishment of that child. There is the source of taxation that may be drawn upon without any temptation to corruption, lying or dishonesty. Land lies out of doors and cannot be covered up. It cannot be carried off. It cannot be hid. There it lies to be seen by all, and land values of all values are the most certain and most definite. Their values are most easily ascertained. I can come here into your city a perfect stranger of values. I can look at a piece of property in your town, go to a well informed and reliable real estate dealer, give him the size, location, streets and surroundings, and he can tell me pretty nearly what the value of that land is. If I ask him what the value of that house is, he will have to take an expert and make an examination, and then perhaps there will be a difference of opinion; still less can he tell me of the value of the possessions of the man who lives in that house. The land is the place to get the certainty of values. There is the value that can be taken for the use of the city, assessing and collecting the tax with the maximum of certainty and with the minimum of cost and trouble. Land values are the most certain and easiest attainable; and with such a system in vogue we could dispense with spies, searchers and the great army of tax gatherers. There is the tax that meets the moral requirement, "Thou shalt not steal."

We say industry is a virtue; we say thrift is a virtue; we say that energy and progress are virtues; we say that man ought to work and save in order to provide for his old age and for those who are dependent upon him. Yet, as we are now doing, we are encouraging idleness, and encouraging people to get rich by it. When a man by hard work and economic living does accumulate some property, down comes the tax gatherer. Why? Because you have worked and because you have saved, therefore you have got to pay the community. If there is a sacred right to property, is not this a moral wrong, and being a moral wrong, is it not an injury, and is it not inexpedient? Is not Colonel Easley right, and are we not fools, to tax the goose that lays the golden egg? A tax that would take the value that attaches to land with the growth of the community gives to the community that which belongs to the community. It renders to Caesar what belongs to Caesar. All over the civilized world men suffer and labor seems to drag, and the very power that produced all wealth finds difficulty in giving employment to labor. A difficulty so great that it makes employment a boon. What is the cause? Seek and search, and you will see this one thing if you go to the bottom. There is no reason in the world that where men are willing to work they should lack the opportunity to work. There is no natural reason.

I was looking to-day at the boundaries of Memphis—here, this way, there, that way, back around here again, and in outline resembling all sorts of jangled cranks. I was informed that this peculiar figure came about from the efforts of some of your large owners of suburban property, who, when it was proposed to extend your city limits, went to Nashville and opposed the bill, because the proposed extension would subject their lands to city taxes. I was along one of your pretty streets, and right by the side of a magnificent building there was a lot occupied by some graveyard man or stonecutter. Lots of land in the heart of your city (and right along side handsome structures which are a credit to your city) without buildings or with some disreputable shanties, and men compelled to go in and out along these streets, to travel in these slow mule cars of yours to houses in the suburbs. Why? Because of the dogs in the manger. They are exactly what we are permitting everywhere, and the natural conclusion from taxing industry and thrift and letting monopoly go.

I spoke last night about the fallacies of protection. It is preposterous. It is a desire on the part of some individuals to rob others. And the strange part of this system is that those who are being imposed upon are laboring under a false delusion that protection procures higher wages and secures employment. Competition begins to be great, and because there are a great many workers they think there are enough places to go around. There the protectionist gets in his work. He furnishes them work; he furnishes it upon exactly the same principle that a man can make more work for the housekeeper by spilling grease. This comes to the great mass of the population like a boon and here

it, and it is under this delusion that they labor. The cause of this lies in the monopolization of the natural factor of all production, while there is, or should be, room and to spare for all of us. The trouble is, men, instead of simply taking what they can use, take all they can grab, with the hope of beating others. This is the bottom of protection, and the single tax men are the only free traders who are able to meet them as they should be met. We are the only men who can take protectionists from their delusions and make them absolutely free traders.

One thing I would like to say and then I'm done. I do not come to you with any assumption of a superior knowledge about matters of fact of which you are better informed than I am, but it seems to me there is one question that makes this great question of more importance to you people of the south than to us people of the north, and that is in its aspect toward the great race question, which affects us all so much and which lies so gloomily at the feet of the south.

The colored people are here, the blacks are among you, and for some time to come, so far as we can see, they must remain. Whatever may be the final solution of the question this thing is certain, the more they advance in intelligence, the more they acquire property, the less is the bitter competition for employment, and the easier all such questions will be solved. Everywhere, all over the world, the bitterness of the race troubles is intensified whenever men of different color or tongue have to bid against each other for employment. What we propose would give employment for all. It would raise labor to its true dignity, it would make wages what they ought to be, it would do away with the bitter competition, it would transform them from rivals and enemies to friends and peaceful citizens, it would bring about a state of things in which passion and prejudice so aroused would die. It would elevate the negro race faster than anything else, because at the same time it would elevate the white race. Underneath the local aspect of that question lies the same problem that we have at the north. Make no mistake about it. In any condition of things where there exists a great body of people too poor to feel any interest in the proper administration of public affairs, whether white or black, there universal suffrage brings on the quicker injuries and disorders. The idea is rapidly passing away in the march of democracy that men who have no property ought not to vote. There is something in the idea that no man who has not a stake in the country is fit to exercise suffrage. Every man ought to have a stake in the country. Every man would have a stake in the country under the simple measure we propose. In the north we have the same class, the same kind. Why is it? Because of the corruption in our great cities! Simply this, that in these cities there is a class of people who are very rich; there is also a great body of voters to whom it makes no difference whether the governmental affairs are managed economically or extravagantly, whether it be a wise or injudicious administration, whether good or corrupt; and a republican government based on universal suffrage must, under such conditions, be corrupt. Take the masses of our people in the cities of the north, men who work for a bare living; what difference does a good or bad administration make to them? Cheapen their goods, improve your cities, let there be economy where there was extravagance, let there be honesty where there was corruption, and then you will see what is the difference to them. The land owner may increase his rent, but no public improvement interests them or does them any good until they are interested as citizens in the prosperity of the state. Then, and until then, must our democracy have a weak and uncertain basis. Slavery abolished! Slavery has not been abolished—only that coarse and rude form has. Why did slavery grow up here in the south? Why is it that those negroes were not carried to England instead of across the waters to the south? The answer is, that slaves are never carried where population is dense; slaves are always carried to sparsely populated countries. Where population becomes dense, if you want to compel the labor of other men it isn't necessary to make property of their bodies. All that is necessary to make property of is the land. Carry slaves to Ireland or England? Why, you can get labor there cheaper than most slave owners paid their slaves, without any of the responsibilities. The air of England for a long time could not be breathed by a slave. They were nominally free, but the land by and from which alone they got their living being owned by others, they had to come and beg permission to work, and looked upon the privilege of working as a boon, and gave in return all their labor could produce, save just enough to live. So it is here to-day.

Your ex slaves are free, but they do not get any more or better living than they did before. Do they not now pay for rents about as much as profits were before? Economically, what is the difference?

Mr. George then devoted half an hour to answering questions.

The next morning (Sunday) Mr. George left Memphis, in company with Mr. Bolton Smith and Sol F. Clark of Little Rock, en route to Paris, Tenn., where he was to speak on the 11th.

THE EFFECTS OF GEORGE'S WORK.

THE GOOD THAT HAS BEEN DONE TO THE MOVEMENT BY HIS VISIT TO TENNESSEE.

R. G. Brown, Memphis.—Our leader has come and gone, but the effects of his presence and his two powerful speeches will remain with this community for many a long day. Among those who met him at the depot were "five horny-handed hayseeds" from Randolph, Tenn., who brought the welcome news that the farmers in their neck of the woods were wide awake on the subject of the single tax, and who came down to stay "endurin' of 'er meetin'," as one of them expressed it. L. Kard, Pollard, the two Wrights and Patterson are the nucleus of a fine rural single tax club, and before they left Memphis they promised me to form one, which they expect to start with fifteen names. They tell me the farmers are discussing the single tax at their alliance meetings, and that if put to the farmer vote of Shelby county to-morrow the result would be overwhelmingly in favor of the Henry George system.

The audience at the free trade lecture was not so large as we had hoped; but it was a thoughtful and a weighty set of people, who seized a point quickly and were keenly alive to the moral side of the question. Our southern audiences are not accustomed to questioning meetings, and so were slow about catechising the speaker; but how they did applaud the short, clear, decisive answers Mr. George made, when some protectionists began at length to state their objections to free trade! The Hon. Josiah Patterson, who introduced our leader to the people of Memphis Friday night, is one of the advanced tariff reformers of the democratic party, who has utterly repudiated the faintest sort of protection. In his address to a mass meeting held in the hall where Mr. George spoke, some two weeks ago, he stated his position on the tariff question to be "a tariff for revenue to support the government economically administered, without the slightest reference to protection." He will be a good man for Tom L. Johnson to have his batteries on at Washington, as he will soon be a free trader if properly attended to, and I hope before many moons a single taxer.

Mr. George's short addresses before the two large girls' schools and the Nineteenth century club will be long remembered by the women of Memphis, and his name will be a household word in many a home here as the result of them. Quite a number of the members of the Nineteenth century club did not find the hour and a half Mr. George gave them in their rooms enough to satisfy their desire to see and hear him, so a large delegation attended the public reception tendered him Saturday afternoon in the parlors of the Peabody hotel, and nearly all of them were present at the lecture Saturday night.

The single tax lecture was delivered to a numerous and brilliant audience, at least two hundred of whom were women; and I have since heard numbers of them announce their adherence to the cause. At the meeting of the Twilight club, held last night (Tuesday) nothing was spoken of before the regular exercises began but the single tax and Henry George. The whole community, in fact, has been stirred up, and I expect numerous additions to our club as the result; five have already sent in their names, and one of them, Mr. J. Baxter, a large cigar manufacturer, said he did not see how any man who was on the fence about free trade and the single tax could hear Mr. George and not get down on his side. "I was on the fence," said he, "and now I will not be satisfied until we have them both."

The newspapers were very kind to us, and all gave very favorable editorial and local news mention of the lectures and of the speaker. The result of the persistent agitation of the question that the Memphis club has kept up in the papers, and particularly through the column we publish in the *Week's Appeal*, was shown to me Tuesday in a very satisfactory manner. On Monday I went out on business to Covington, the county seat of Tipton county, some forty miles north of Memphis, and as I was standing on the depot platform waiting for my train to return, I fell into conversation about the recent lectures with a young lawyer, who happened to be there. While we were talking a farmer came up, and after listening to the conversation for a few minutes, he said: "That's the Henry George doctrine, ain't it?" "Yes," said I; "are you acquainted with it?" "Oh, yes," said he, "a lot of us farmers up here have heard about it, and it's bound to be adopted all over this country. It's the tax for the farmer, every time, and we are all in favor of it."

Shortly afterward, seeing him talking to a knot of his friends, some seven or eight in number, I joined the group, and asked them what they thought of the single tax. Each one of them expressed himself as favoring it, and showed a clear appreciation of the effect it would have in bringing relief to the working farmer. I told them that I would like to come up and make them a talk at their alliance meeting. "Stranger," said one of them, "don't you bother about the alliance meeting; just you advertise in the papers here that you will talk any Saturday night in the court house on the single tax, and we will all be out to the fence to hear you."

I shall make that talk before many a Saturday

days have gone by, although I am very busy just now making up for the time lost from my business attending to the lectures. What we need most here is a lecturer to travel around among the small towns and talk to the farmers at their large meetings and on court days. Next summer in the long vacation I hope to put in two or three weeks at this work.

The following letter from the rector of Calvary church (Episcopal) shows the attitude of the greater part of the clergy here toward the single tax, and I am happy to say that a large number of them were present on the platform and in the body of the hall Saturday night:

CALVARY CHURCH RECTORY,
MEMPHIS, TENN., NOV. 6.

My Dear Mr. Brown: Thank you for your cordial invitation to attend the lecture of the distinguished writer and friend of reform in behalf of the masses, Mr. Henry George. I have long been an admirer of Mr. George's theories, and would gladly lend a helping hand to have them become working factors in our civilization. I hope to have the pleasure of paying my respects to a man so full of humanity and ability in discussing the gravest question of this age. All good men ought to unite in wishing him Godspeed. If it is in my power, I will accept your invitation to take a seat on the platform. I will be glad to have, also, a reserved seat for my wife. With the highest respect, Yours very truly,
SPRUILLE BURFORD.

R. G. Brown, Secretary, etc.

WHAT MARY MEANT WHEN SHE SAID "RATS!"

KANSAS, NOVEMBER 4, 1890.

("The Women Did It."—John Sherman.)

KANSAS CITY STAR.

I was one of them "fool farmers;" yes, I'll own it like a man; There was plenty of us fashioned on the same peculiar plan; And I've lived out here in Kansas more than five and twenty years. A growin' poor and poorer as it certainly appears.

I seldom read the newspapers; I worked too hard for that; And never knew why I got lean while other men got fat; I didn't fool with politics; I had too much to do; But I always voted as I shot and as they told me to.

The day before election, jest imagine my distress, When I ketched my wife a-readin'—now what-ever would you guess?— A free trade publication, and, to make it worse, she said She'd read it regular each night before she went to bed.

And, do you know, that wife of mine jest faced me up and down That farmers slave to make a few monopolists in town? I always try to get around these warm domestic spats, But when I praised protection and she laughed and answered "Rats,"

I bristled up; it kindled all the sentiments of strife To think this free trade stuff should be corruptin' of my wife; I quit her then and there before her argument was through, As every good protectionist makes it a rule to do.

That night we had a camp fire and our congressman was there; We gave him "John Brown's Body," when he went to take the chair; I wore my old blue uniform to spite the democrats, But all the time I wondered what my Mary meant by "Rats."

Our congressman was eloquent, he made a stirrin' speech; I could almost see the battle's smoke and hear the bullets screech; And when he bade us vote as we had shot at Malvern Hill, We rose with one accord and cried with one acclaim, "We will."

We sang the good old war songs and we ate a mess o' beans, And we passed the evenin' pleasantly, recallin' bloody scenes; And we took the straightout tickets and we pinned 'em on our hats, But all the time I wondered what my Mary meant by "Rats."

When I reached home I noticed that my Mary wore a smile, Which seemed to me as indicatin' storms ahead, or bile; To head her off I said: "You'll call me early, mother dear, For to-morrow'll be the liveliest day free trade will have this year."

Next mornin' jest at sun-up, as I woke and rubbed my eyes, A-wonderin' what she meant by "Rats," I saw to my surprise My clothes and hat and boots all ranged in order on the floor, And bearin' each a card I'd swear I never saw before.

My fannel shirt displayed this sign, "Taxed 45 per cent."

My trousers "Taxed 100"—s; this was what "Rats" meant; My vest said "Taxed 100," and my shoes "Taxed 25;" My coat and hat "200" with "Protection makes us thrive."

I went to fill the basin and I noticed as I came "Taxed 45 per cent"—Great Scott! the towel said the same! The soap was marked at "20," as I dropped it on the floor, I chanced to see a scuttle full of coals, chalked "24."

I passed into the kitchen and it gives me pain to state That my wife had on a woolen dress stamped "only 58;" And in shooting out a guinea hen she made a little dive Which showed a pair of stockings with a card marked "25."

The baby in his little bed was lyin' fast asleep; I always held the little chap as most uncommon cheap; But when I saw them cards on basket, pillow, crib and sheet, I felt a lump rise in my throat; I knew that I was beat.

No matter where I went I struck them pesky little signs; The stove, the plates, the knives, the forks, the window sash and blinds, The scissors, needles, thread, all bore that terrible per cent; Bigosh, I didn't dare to ask what card was on the rent.

That was the soberest meal I ever ate in all my life; And as I left the table, in remarkin' to my wife That I was goin' to the polls, she helped me with my coat, And said: "I reckon, John, I needn't tell you how to vote."

I walked down to my votin' place; it looked like every yard Was full of farm'n' implements which bore a little card, And seemed to say from plow to spade, from thresher down to ax: "Good mornin', John, and don't forget the tariff is a tax."

I voted straight—O, yes, no doubt of that; I voted straight, But not exactly in the way expected of my state; And I showed the boys the little cards provided by my wife; —That night our congressman took formal leave of public life.

I was one of them "fool farmers" durin' five and twenty years; But I've learned a little common sense, as doubtless now appears; You can run and tell McKinley, and—say—don't forget to state That we've voted out in Kansas, and we've voted darned near straight!

"AN AFFRONT TO THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY."

THAT IS WHAT A WESTERN DEMOCRATIC PAPER SAYS THE ELECTION OF SMITH M. WEED AS UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR NEW YORK WOULD BE.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The proposition to send Smith M. Weed to the United States senate from New York ought to be promptly withdrawn. It is an insult to the decency and common sense of the democrats of New York and of the country. Mr. Weed is a protectionist and always has been. He has no sympathy with democratic policies on any of the great issues of the day. He is in full accord with the money power and cares nothing for the interests of the people. He has the reputation of being a corrupt politician. If the democratic legislature of New York sends such a man as Smith M. Weed to the United States senate, it will, by that act, do more to prevent the election of a democratic president in 1892 than it is possible for the whole republican party to do between now and the day of the presidential election. It will drive away from the party a great multitude of voters who have recently come to it in every state in the country because they were opposed to a high tariff and in favor of decent politics and honest government. Among other things it will compel the democratic party to come west for its presidential candidate in 1892.

His, indeed, under ordinary circumstances, would be the wise thing to do. The democratic party has taken all of its presidential candidates from the east since 1860, and the only excuse for not departing from this custom in 1892 lies in the fact that Grover Cleveland is identified with the issue upon which the campaign must be made to a far greater extent than any other man, and that his personality is pre-eminent in the party. In the confidence and affection of the democratic masses he is without a rival.

It must be either Cleveland or a western man in '92. Meantime let Governor Hill be sent to the senate from New York and take himself out of the presidential contest. And, above all, let the democracy of New York avoid offering such an affront to the national democracy as would be involved in the election of Smith M. Weed or any man of his stripe, to the senate.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE INDIANAPOLIS SENTINEL.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Your complimentary reference to the Indianapolis Sentinel in the last issue is conferred on a worthy subject. This paper used to be one of the vilest sheets printed in the United States, and it reeked in language unworthy of educated and enlightened citizenship. The whole cause for this attitude was the absence of any thought of principle within the cranium of its editorial sponsor, except the very demoralizing principle of "to the victors belong the spoils." This was its only animating force, and in the language of the tough, "everything went" to reap success in this one direction. It is my opinion that its best friend in those days will admit that the paper has taken on a change that places it on a plane, in comparison to its former position, as a mountain compares to its gentle undulating approach.

I have no word of harshness to say against one of its former editors, who is a good friend of oppressed humanity, and a gentleman whom I have had the pleasure and honor to know right well; but his conception of his duty toward the party that his paper stood for led him to a course, editorially, that was wholly inconsistent with his attributes as an every-day citizen. It has often occurred to me since how such a man as Colonel Maynard, known throughout the country as a staunch friend of wage earners, and who has spoken time and again to organized labor in different parts of the United States and Canada, could take such positions as he did take in the editorial columns of the Sentinel when he had charge of it.

The present editor, Mr. Morss, I also have the honor of knowing. He is a man not only alive to political tactics for the advancement of the party he upholds, but is imbued with sound economic principles as well, and has never, to my knowledge, surrendered them for party success. He believes the success of the party depends upon principle and holds strongly and firmly to his faith, and the recent election has amply vindicated his judgment and leadership. He stands today, amid the wreck of broken and stranded so-called state republicanism, a tower of strength to rejuvenated democracy. He has been the leader, the general, as it were, of the tariff reform movement of that state, and has lent it comfort and advice when it was all but deserted by the so-called leaders of the democratic party. In its convention two years ago, when ceaseless agitation for months had scraped together possibly a hundred, from the state at large, scarcely any of note within the ranks of the party except Congressman Cooper and one or two members of the legislature (the legislature then in session), Mr. Morss's appearance in the hall was the signal for long-drawn out applause, because in him they recognized the best friend of the movement. He commanded the organ that represented the state democracy, and no matter how little stock the machine of the party took in the movement, the people at large were behind the paper, and no amount of cold shoulder from the politicians could dampen Mr. Morss's ardor in the cause of free trade, as Editor Ball of Terre Haute called it, with Editor Morss's sanction, too. We see the result. To Editor Morss I attribute the success of the democratic party of Indiana more than to any other man. To him belongs the honor of securing the election law of that state. But for his indefatigable efforts in its behalf I do not think Indiana would have the best election law (take it all through, with the bribery and civil statutes combined) in the United States.

The best thing I can say for Mr. Morss, perhaps, to conclude, is that he is not only a politician, in the best sense of the word, but he is a statesman and a patriot, because he is imbued with principles of justice, and fearless and able in their proclamation. A higher place in public life and estimation awaits Samuel E. Morss of the Indianapolis Sentinel.

L. P. CUSTER.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 10.

A JUBILANT SINGLE TAXER.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In an interview on the result of the recent election ex-President Cleveland says that no one has a greater right to rejoice than he has. Now while this is no doubt very true, I think the single taxers may be pardoned if they, too, claim a right to rejoice. It is only four years ago that Mr. H. J. Vance declined the democratic nomination for congress from the First Connecticut district, because the platform called for a revision of the tariff. The convention was reconvened, the platform changed to a demand for protection and Mr. Vance renominated and subsequently elected. Then came Cleveland's message, the presi-

dential election, the McKinley bill, and then came a mighty change of sentiment, and now the banner, that four years ago none dared to raise, floats in triumph all over the land. As a resident of New England I feel proud of the part she has taken in the fight. Two years ago but three democrats were elected out of the twenty-six congressmen from New England. Last Tuesday we elected thirteen and will carry one more—the Second Rhode Island at the second election—there being no choice at the first. They are all young men, ardent tariff reformers, and will ably represent this section of the country in the next congress. The most noted ones are Andrew Hoar, William Crosby of Massachusetts, McKimsey of New Hampshire, and Sperry and De Forrest of Connecticut.

I think the free traders should rejoice at the defeat of David A. Wells of the Third congressional district. He has always been known as one of the pioneers in the movement; but on the stump, instead of denouncing the whole tariff system as a swindle, he denied that he favored free trade, announced himself as a moderate protectionist, and his opponent, who at least was honest and who stood square on the "McKinley bill," was elected by an increased majority. Hurrah for Tom L. Johnson. He, with M. D. Harter, will do more for Ohio than a dozen McKinleys. I am sorry Mr. Croasdale was not elected, but as I knew the district I was not surprised. Mr. Thomas also went down with the Platt-Grace & Co. reform party. Every one here looks to Cleveland as the coming leader of the rejuvenated democracy. If our theories on the tariff work as well as we expect, he, as the leader, will be the greatest man of the century.

What a victory it was. The tariff barons thought that with the senators from the new states they were secure in their license to plunder the public for years, but the next congress will be "tariff reform" in both branches, and if President Harrison interposes his veto the republican party will be buried beyond resurrection. Let us keep up the fight so well begun. Let the standard be raised on high, and let us not rest until the whole accursed system of indirect taxation is destroyed and in its place is substituted the single tax, which, relieving us of our present load, will open up natural opportunities, abolish property in land and bring about that golden age of which mankind has always dreamed. We must not rest now that the battle is partly won. The forces of selfishness and greed with falsehood and bribery and corruption are gathering for another great battle, and "We who fight with Ormuzd," under the banner of truth and justice, must be ever vigilant and press forward to the final fight which can end only in victory. It is to be regretted that Mr. George did not go to congress this fall. I believe that he could have been elected if he wished. It seems strange to me that the men who four years ago in New York "were denounced as outcasts and branded as enemies of society," have become in the same city the leaders of a movement that counts among its supporters some of the leading men of the country. JOHN MAULIFFE.

Stratford, Conn., Nov. 10.

A WORD TO THE WISE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Not a hundred miles from one of the large cities of our Atlantic seaboard there lives a hard-worked single tax man, who is devoted to the cause because he sees what good it will bring to the human race. Meanwhile he works the idea for his own personal benefit in a manner original and new. Every day for years he has traveled many miles in and out of that city till his face has become known, and he has become subject to attack from that species of noxious animal called bores. Now, one trip every week our good friend wants to read his STANDARD. Often he wants to hold a debate with an intelligent friend on the subject which lies near his heart, and oftener yet he is tired out and wants to put back his head and take a nap. So, when he sees one of the above mentioned species approaching he braces himself for the attack, and before the other can get in a word begins to talk single tax or free trade. And he talks and talks and talks, giving no chance for a reply or a contradiction—no chance for that sweetest of all sounds to the unwilling listener, his own voice.

This our friend calls true protection to the American laboring man, and he says it does it every time!

JOHN DOE.

AGREES WITH MR. COPELAND.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I was glad to see the criticism by Ira Copeland in last week's STANDARD on the action of the Gem city single tax club. I would have given my opinion sooner, but want of time prevented me; but the proposition for that

club meant the new water system proposed for that city seemed to me so unreasonable that I looked for lots of criticism before now. As I always give away my STANDARDS, I have to trust my memory in regard to the proposition of the Gem city club, and if I remember it was to make assessments for the new water system on land values. I do not see what land values has got to do with improvements. We intend to take the land values in annual taxation; therefore, it would be unjust to make special assessments for improvements on land values.

The question is that of supplying water to the people, and the owner of a lot of low value will receive as much benefit as the owner of a lot of high value; if it were a question of supplying bread instead of water, the unreasonableness of their proposition would be seen at once. So in the case of paving streets they should pay no more than the actual cost of work done, otherwise property of high value would have to pay for the improvements on property of low value.

We are having a system of sewers built here just now, and I think the way the assessment is laid is very fair. The trunk sewers generally go through streets where property is high, but as a trunk sewer is a great deal more expensive than the property adjoining would need, the property along the trunk sewer is assessed first at the rate of a regular branch sewer, then the extra cost is apportioned on the square foot of all land draining into it. The assessment is apportioned in sections, and the further the property is away from the terminus of sewer the more the assessment is laid on it. I own two lots of low value on the outskirts of the city, and it is but right I should pay my share of the expense of sewer between me and the terminus, for I receive the benefit of it, for I must use it, and it will raise the value of my lots more in proportion than lots of high value; but if it were assessed according to land values I would get all these benefits at the expense of the property of high values.

I was sorry to see such a lump of the THE STANDARD's space given to such a foolish proposition. Men reading it that did not understand our fundamental principles would not take kindly to us. The Gem City club seems to have land values on the brain, but I hope, for the sake of our cause, they will think a little more before they make any more proposals to their municipal board.

Yonkers, Nov. 10.

J. A. FORSYTH.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In my article of issue of November 6: "Gleanings from History Regarding Taxation and the Land Value Tax," are a few typographical errors. Decumon, Scriptum and Salinon should be Decumne, Scripturae and Salinae. Carnate should be Caruante; lecture, lecturer; Vanderbilt, Vanderlint, and Import Unique, Impot Unique. JAS. MIDDLETON.

New Orleans, Nov. 10.

WHERE BLAINE LEARNED IT.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Is it not apparent from the following quotation that Mr. James G. Blaine has been reading to advantage the writings of Turgot? On page 93 of Leon Say's "Turgot" I find this: "The policy of intervention in trade can have no result but to diminish the harvest; and this inevitably raises the average price of grain. Under the system of police regulations the prices are more variable than under the free system." "Regulations and restrictions do not produce a single additional ear [of corn], while they prevent the superfluous grain of one place from being carried to places where it is scarce."

Mr. Blaine asserted that "the McKinley bill would not make a market for another bushel of grain or barrel of pork."

When will the masses see the truth as it is?

EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

Daphne, Ala., Nov. 10.

IN THE LAND OF THE FREE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: It was my misfortune recently to witness a scene such as the imagination can depict only when reading the story of the downtrodden in distant lands. To think that "free" America—the refuge of the oppressed—could possibly present such a scene seems almost beyond conception. I was crossing the railroad tracks a few days since in Jersey City, where that great corporation, the Pennsylvania railroad, is doing such a stupendous work, when my attention was attracted to a group of people of both sexes and all ages and sizes, apparently waiting some event. There were about a dozen, ranging from middle life to the child of perhaps five years, each with a basket or pail in hand. Curiosity impelled me to wait and discover their object, for they stood on land, aside from the street, that was being newly filled. It was not long, for presently a cart was driven up

loaded with ashes from the engine house. Eagerly they followed it and anxiously gathered around it when it stopped. The load was dumped, and with one accord the whole group dropped upon their knees—some to pray, perhaps, but all to search for the few unburned coals—the cinders among the ashes—with which to help keep out the chill of grim winter's coming blasts. Together, the old with visage pinched and callous with sufferings of years, the young with joyous smile and of envy ignorant. Ah! to me it told a pitiful tale. Here, indeed, was Lazarus gathering the crumbs that fell from the master's table. And where was Dives Well, perhaps in that large, beautiful building yonder, surrounded by every comfort, with warmth for body and cheer for soul—gathered there, maybe, with other "coal barons," decreeing how much or how little of nature's bounteous stores should be "put on the market," and fixing the price at which, if able to buy at all, their brothers could procure a small portion of nature's provision for supplying warmth and power, while in those far away fields of coal, "protected" for their benefit to the injury of millions—some like the poor cinder gatherers—well, why continue? It only remains to be asked, is this, indeed, a free country? Is it really an asylum for the poor? Can such things be where equality of opportunity exists? Burning questions, truly. And the parched tongue of Dives may yet again call for one drop of water for its cooling. It is to be hoped the "mute appeal" may reach him here, touch his heart and stay both present and future sorrow.

B. M. J.

Brooklyn, Nov. 12, 1890.

WHAT IS THE TARIFF?

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: We all know that at various ports of entry our custom house officials are stationed, whose business it is to collect money for public uses from those who are importing certain lines of goods; the tariff is therefore a mode of taxation; but this is not all.

When the schedule is so arranged as to encourage and assist people to carry on occupations which would otherwise not pay, it diverts labor and capital from more to less profitable industries, and as far as this is the case, it can with truth be said that the tariff causes, or is, a waste.

Last year the tax upon imported corn was ten cents a bushel. We exported 70,000,000 bushels, and farmers in some parts of the west burned corn for fuel, and in some instances sold it for seven cents a bushel.

The tariff upon corn was a dead letter.

In 1875 steel rails sold in the United States for less than free trade prices; the tariff upon rails at that time was inoperative.

In 1887 the situation was very different, the manufacturers exacted free trade prices plus the tariff; rails were imported, upon which the government collected the specified revenue.

The tariff upon rails at that time put money into the national treasury; it also put money into the pockets of a few wealthy manufacturers, whom, we are assured, had intentionally limited production.

The tariff upon steel rails in 1887 was in the first instance a tax; in the second, it was an instrument by which a theft was accomplished. The same year there was mined in the United States 150,000,000 pounds of copper, two-thirds of which amount was consumed at home, the balance being exported. The average price of copper in New York during 1887 was a trifle over thirteen cents a pound; in London it was about nine cents. ("Mineral Resources of the United States," by Day.)

The copper trust evidently made use of the tariff of four cents a pound on copper, to realize that much more for their sales here, than they secured on the amount sent abroad. The inhabitants of the United States in 1887 paid \$1,000,000 more for the copper they used than England would have to pay for a like amount.

It seems then that the tariff upon a given article may be a nonentity, a waste, a tax, a steal; in its entirety it is a mixture of all.

Lakewood, Ohio.

A. E. BROWN.

A FREMONT REPUBLICAN'S JUBILATE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Kindly find space in your excellent, instructive and truthful journal for a thanksgiving from an old Fremont republican up to Cleveland the 1st, 21 and, I hope, the 3d, for the stupendous and glorious victory over the McKinley Midianite oppressors, the Quay and Delamaterites, the blocks of five-ites, the force bill-ites, the pension fraud-ites, the Reed-ites, the aristocracy-ites, the plutocracy-ites, the millionaire-ites and the 400,000 fraud-ites. "Let the heavens rejoice, and the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof."—Ps. xvi.

NUNGESER TITUS,

Nov. 15.

F. T. and S. T.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

THE SINGLE TAX PROPAGANDA

IS WHAT CAUSED THOUSANDS OF PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICANS TO VOTE FOR THE DEMOCRATS.

W. B. Brown, Southard, Pa.—I am so much elated over the result of the elections throughout the country, and especially here in Pennsylvania, that I hardly know how to contain myself. I wish to express gratitude to Mr. George and his single tax propaganda, feeling as I do that it is he and THE STANDARD that are the great educators of the people.

The single tax agitation is turning republicans protectionists into free traders everywhere; and—as in my case—they have no place in the republican ranks, and naturally fall into the democratic organization, which has, in this state in particular, been forced into the adoption of free trade by the republican press. Nearly every republican organ declared that "a vote for the democratic nominee means a vote for the repeal of the McKinley bill;" and, of course, as that was exactly what I desired, and, as the election clearly demonstrates, it was what very many others wished for also, we naturally voted for a democrat.

TWELVE APOSTLES OF REFORM.

A SUGGESTION AS TO HOW THE TARIFF CAN BE REDUCED, DESPITE THE REPUBLICAN SENATE.

St. Louis Republic.

Senator Cockrell's hearty approval of the Republic's plan of tariff reform is another gratifying evidence of its feasibility and popularity. Though we have heard publicly from men like Messrs. Vest, Cockrell and Springer, we have heard nothing except hearty commendation of the plan, nor do we expect anything else except from those who are either openly or secretly in favor of maintaining the McKinley tariff of abominations.

The plan is so simple that it can be understood at once by all, even by those who have never considered the tariff question as a whole. It involves nothing more than a number of separate bills, each dealing with a single article of trade now controlled by monopolies. No general bill will be introduced. Each of these separate bills would stand on its own merits, just as did the single bill which put quinine on the free list, broke down the quinine monopoly, and reduced the price of the drug from prices ranging as high as \$4 an ounce to prices ranging as low as 40 cents.

In suggesting a somewhat indefinite number of such anti-trust bills we spoke of "a dozen separate measures," and Congressman Springer christened them for us as "The Twelve Apostles of Reform." Below we give them, tentatively:

1. Free binder twine.
2. Free cotton ties.
3. Free worsteds for men and women's clothing.
4. Free agricultural implements and edged tools.
5. Free blankets.
6. Free coal.
7. Free tin and tin plate.
8. Free silver-bearing lead ore to re-establish our trade with Mexico.
9. Free lumber.
10. A reduction to the "revenue only" basis on table and kitchen ware.
11. Free white lead and paints.
12. Free barbed wire and wire rods for fences.

We doubt if a single one of these bills could be defeated by the senate. The republican senators from western states have learned a great deal since the McKinley bill was framed. Pennsylvania would of course resist the free coal bill, but New England would support it. So, too, would Illinois and Ohio, if it contained a reciprocity clause giving our western coal a chance to get into our section of Canada in exchange for giving New England free coal from Nova Scotia. The white lead trust, the binder twine trust, the edged tool trust and the other monopolies thus attacked would of course use their combined influence against each and all of the bills, but failing of the sectional support they are reinforced by on a general reform measure, they would not be able to defeat the strong western demand for reform.

So we send out these twelve apostles on their reform mission, confident that their work will not be a fruitless one. The best part of the plan, however, is that it prescribes nothing except that each article shall be dealt with in its own bill.

DO YOU SEE THE POINT?

THE "PROTECTED" WORKINGMAN HAD HIS INNINGS UNDER A SECRET BALLOT—THE RESULT WAS THE LANDSLIDE—A SUGGESTION TO LABOR LEADERS.

Buffalo Truth.

The "protected" workingman had his innings on Tuesday. Freed from the grasp of his master, loosened from the political chains that were bolted to his bench in the work shop, he proudly stepped into the arena of freedom, and feeling his true dignity as the producer of all wealth, spurned and trod upon the "protection" fraud that has for so long

swindled him out of his money, his home, and almost his country.

You "thought the workingman a fool, so you were not expecting what has happened." Of course you did. You thought because you saw the toiler on previous years getting his ballots at the factory office and going with his boss to the polls, that he believed he was being honestly protected? Well, you were simply mistaken, for he knew better. He knew that the tariff is a tax, for the expenses of the federal government are met by the tariff duties, and that money which we raise to support government is a tax. He knew that an increase of goods into our country is a demand for our labor; he knew that no labor organization had ever appeared before congress demanding a duty on goods, while sanctioning free trade in labor; and after learning from the protectionist that "protection," when it worked well, would cheapen the thing "protected," what else could he do when McKinley & Co. brought around "protection for labor" but kill it?

In this fight the Central labor union has done nobly. No other labor organization has come out so boldly and defiantly and declared without equivocation that "protection" is robbery. Let us, too, be true reformers. If a system is bad, reform it out of existence, do not try to pare it down—kill it. Did the workingman on Tuesday show that he wanted a bigger measure of this fraud "protection?" Hardly. If "protection" be just to all, then we want to reform the tariff, not from forty-seven per cent down to twenty-five per cent, but from forty-seven per cent up to one hundred per cent. Do you see the point, Mr. Politician? Well, if you don't, the unprotected laborer does, and he will certainly give you another surprise. Watch him, for he is in this fight to win.

And while the fight goes on we can afford to stop for a moment to suggest to some of our leaders the propriety, if not the necessity, of grasping at least the elementary principles of the tariff question.

CONGRESSMAN MILLS'S PLATFORM.

New York Sun.

A candidate [for speaker of the house of representatives] ought to have a platform. Mr. Mills's recent speeches in the west supply the declaration of principles on which he stands during his canvass for the speakership. He is the author of his own platform, and here it is:

1. Free trade will kill trusts as dead as a door nail. And yet the American people insist on sending men to congress that vote for protection.
2. The Almighty never designed that any man or any woman should be independent of his fellow man. He made us dependent upon each other. We must exchange the things we do not want for those things we must have. And to do this we must have absolute free trade.
3. You want reciprocity, but you want it in the right way. In order to have it you must trade with the whole world. If you want a market, take down the tariff on woolen goods and iron.
4. I believe in free trade, free labor, free speech and a free press.

WHY HE CANNOT ACCEPT "PROTECTION."

Louis F. Post in New York Voice.

Because it is destructive of free competition, by means of which alone wealth can be made abundant and its distribution just. Because it is prejudicial to property rights, which include the right freely to produce, buy, sell and own property. Because it inculcates enmity toward foreigners, and by generating estrangement and kindling hatred gives occasion for war. Because it depresses wages and tends to impoverish all but a privileged few.

It is sometimes said that a trade within a nation yields two profits to its people, while a trade with a foreigner yields but one. But a foreign trade that is not more profitable than a domestic trade will not be made. The inference that a domestic trade is better for a country than a foreign trade, if it were true, would be true of a village; but we do not enrich our villages by compelling their inhabitants to trade at home.

It is said again that protection enriches a country by increasing its exports and diminishing its imports. But how can a nation be enriched by continually sending more wealth away than it receives back? Ireland has tried to do it for centuries, but without success. Normal trade requires both exports and imports, and one equals the other except in so far as the people of one country have the power of taxing those of another, like English landlords as to Ireland or English bond owners as to Egypt. In such cases the victimized country does precisely what protectionists want us to do—exports more than it imports.

Again we are told, protection enriches a country by fostering domestic manufactures. But the only manufactures it can foster are those for which the consumer is compelled to pay more than the commodity is worth. All others foster themselves in accordance with the natural laws of trade. How can a country be enriched by forcing some of its inhabitants to buy of others at abnormal prices?

It is argued that wages are higher here under protection than in England under free trade. But there are reasons irrespective of

protection why this should be so, and the comparison counts for nothing when we see that wages are higher in England under free trade than in Germany under protection.

Sometimes we are asked to retain protection, not to increase wages, but to compensate employees for the higher wages of this country. This ignores the fact that while our employers pay higher wages, they get more value for the wages they pay. Though our time wages are relatively high, our piece wages are relatively low.

Protection tends neither to increase wealth nor to modify the injustice of its distribution. In its very nature, therefore, it cannot generally increase the wages of a country, and any increase in particular vocations is only temporary. What labor needs is, not greater restraint, but more liberty. When it is allowed freely to make the things that constitute wealth and freely to trade them, every one who works will share in the product according to what he has earned. Protection, like all other forms of restraint upon production, tends only to divert wealth from the producer to the monopolist.

PROTECTION'S FATAL WEAKNESS.

Chicago Herald.

The consumer is a person who is entirely unknown and unconsidered in the philosophy of protectionists. The Herald never saw a protective tariff argument that took him into account. Because protection ignores the consumer and in effect declares that there is no such person, it is sometimes able, by presenting half of a case, to make the ignorant and thoughtless believe that it is a useful and just system. When the entire question is presented, however, even a blind man, if honest, can see that in the very nature of things a scheme of taxation, manifestly designed in the interest of a few, must oppress the many, or it could not be profitable to the few.

If recent events shall have had the effect of compelling protectionists to consider the consumer hereafter, then an abominable economical heresy will have been destroyed, for, with the man who pays taken into account, as well as the man who receives, there can be no protection as such in the tariff legislation of this country.

IMPORTS ARE THE PAY FOR EXPORTS.

Harrisburg Patriot.

The passage of the McKinley bill for the purpose of shutting out from American markets the goods of Europe has begun to do what it was expected to do. Importations of foreign goods feel a slackened movement. But another result not anticipated by the friends of protection is also felt. That is, the export of American goods to Europe is also falling off. It is found, too, that the export decreases with the import. When imports are heavy, exports are heavy. Each is the pay for the other. To stop one is to stop the other.

The protectionists thought they could stop the import without stopping the export, and we should receive our pay in gold. We might thus drain the gold from other countries and get it all for ourselves.

The trouble with this theory is that it doesn't work in practice. Foreign trade is simply trade, or barter. Goods pay for goods. No money is used in foreign commerce. We do not receive Chinese coins in payment for the goods we send to that country. We receive tea, silk and freecrackers. We do not receive English sovereigns and shillings in payment for the goods we send to Great Britain, though we send every year vastly more to that country than we receive from it. English merchants pay us the balance with the goods of other nations to which they have sent more goods than they have received from those countries. No country in the world could pay for imported goods with money.

CONSPIRING AGAINST THE AMERICAN HEN.

Chicago Herald.

The duty on Canadian eggs is to be evaded by an ingenious scheme. Enormous henneries are to be erected, the buildings being placed on the boundary line, so that one-half of their area will be in Canada and the other half in the United States. The hens will be fed on "cheap Canadian food" and tended by "cheap Canadian labor" on one side, and do the laying of their eggs on the other. It is, of course, nothing less than a dastardly attempt to deprive the American hen of the benefits of the tariff bill, knowing that the crushed and defeated Mr. McKinley is no longer in the house to prevent it.

THE SHELL CRACKED.

The plumed knight pucker'd his lips and whistled, he whistled a merry tune, when not long before he joined the man who tumbled from the balloon.—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

William McKinley, jr., has fallen from his high estate. Like Satan, high on a throne of royal state, he sat exalted. His tumble is a miserable descent.—[Canton, Ohio, News-Democrat.]

E. O. Thompson, the famous clerical out-fitter and vestment maker of Philadelphia, writes that the price of clerical vestments has been raised twenty-five per cent by the McKinley bill. Besides putting a tax of twenty-five per cent on prayer books and

bibles, this ungodly McKinley bill has also raised the tax on church organs and chimes from twenty-five to forty-five per cent, and even added another terror to death by advancing the price of coffins.—[Boston Globe.]

The people of this country have substantially said to the republican congress that the McKinley bill is counterfeit.—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

PERSONAL.

Mr. W. B. Estell, who is well known to the readers of THE STANDARD, was on the stump in the mining districts of West Virginia advocating the re-election of Hon. William L. Wilson. The Fairmont Index speaks in a highly complimentary way of Mr. Estell's practical talks, and gives the following as one of the many good things said by him in replying to General Goff's plea for the beautiful arm of protection to be thrown around the American workingmen: "My friends, the next time you feel the beautiful arm of protection which Mr. Goff tells you of clasping you in its warm embrace, examine it carefully, and dollars to buttons you will find the arm attached to a Hungarian or Italian laborer, who has been imported to our shores by a protected manufacturer, and who, by his very hunger, is compelled to compete with you in your 'home market' for labor at unprotected wages."

Professor Hamlin Garland will make another trip to the west in December, going as far west as Minneapolis. His headquarters for several weeks will be at Onalaska, Wis., La Crosse county. He will speak as often as may be possible, going and coming. His route has not been determined. He will read "Under the Wheel" and "The Lion's Paw" when desired. Address all communications to him at No. 9 Tolman place, Roxbury, Boston.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

For the convenience of persons wishing to send THE STANDARD on trial to their friends, we have prepared recruit subscription books. They are handsomely bound in heavy alligator paper, and sold at prices regulated by the number of blanks in each book.

These blanks are each an order on THE STANDARD to send the paper for four weeks to the person designated, and they save all trouble of remittance, as they are paid for in advance. As soon as one of the blanks reaches our business office a postal card is sent to the person designated, informing him that at the request of the sender THE STANDARD will be sent to him for four weeks, beginning with the next issue, and that in case he does not wish to continue it it will be stopped at the end of that time. This attracts more attention to it than is given to a sample copy sent out directly from the office.

Every active worker for the single tax should have in his pocket a recruit subscription book, in order that he may be able to tear out the blanks and order the paper sent to anyone with whom he has been having an argument on the subject. If our friends will use the stubs in the books and keep a record of those to whom they order the paper sent they will be able to follow the matter up and probably make converts. The price of the books is as follows:

Five subscriptions \$1 00
Twelve subscriptions 2 00
Thirty-five subscriptions 5 00

THE STANDARD,
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

POPULATION AND PROTECTIONIST COUNTING.

Protection, says Blaine, in his speech at Smith Bend,

Increases the men of the nation;
What you have to do, if the people are few,
Is to raise the tariff a billion or two,
And double the population.

But Porter, the census man, has proved—
Alas! and alas! the pity!

If you get a protectionist count, why then
There's a strange decrease in the number of men

In a democratic city!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

A REPUBLICAN PAPER SAYS THIS.

Philadelphia Telegraph (rep.).

The tariff is a tax upon the consumer only. The merchant adds it to the cost of the goods he buys, and the McKinley bill, instead of taxing luxuries only, chiefly taxes necessities. If those organs of the privileged classes, privileged to pray upon the masses of consumers, have the courage to do it, let them publish, if they dare, the duties of the McKinley bill with the duties of the old bill. This proof is so easy of presentation as to cause surprise that the organs of the trusts do not produce it. It would settle the question beyond all dispute.

IT WASN'T; THAT'S A FACT.

Marat Halstead.

It was not a pleasing spectacle to see many republicans leaning against a wall contemplating the reminiscence of a bellyache two years old, while the democratic masses marched in solid column.

BALLOT REFORM.

GOOD NEWS FROM ILLINOIS.

VOTES WERE CHANGED, BUT THE DEMOCRATS CARRIED OUT THE USUAL "SNEAKING" POLICY.

Robert Cummings, Braceville, Ill.—William G. Danks, an avowed absolute free trade single tax man, has been elected to the legislature from this place.

From 600 majority for the republicans two years ago this (Grundy) county has given as nearly as can be ascertained 600 democratic majority in this election. A large percentage of the voters of this county are miners; but great and universal as the democratic victory has been, the unfaltering opinion of free traders everywhere is that a more aggressive campaign would have made the landslide more complete. General John M. Palmer says we have not been aggressive enough.

Hon. William Morris, candidate for congress in the Twentieth senatorial district, declared that democrats who affect to sneer at the idea of making an educational campaign would make a great mistake. Yet here where I have been, and in Perry county, where I make my home, the managers of the democratic party have persisted in carrying out the sneaking policy of a still hunt regardless of the scorn and protests of those around them.

One thing that free traders should look to everywhere is the relegating of the old moss-back committeemen to the rear of the party by quietly replacing them by live, aggressive men.

It is a prevalent expression of opinion that it makes no difference what party gives us the largest measure of commercial and industrial freedom, that is the party we ought to support. And it is everywhere suggested that the democrats will have to go further now than they have yet proposed to go or the republicans may go them one better and leave the democrats in the shade.

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT IN WASHINGTON.

F. M. Marquis, Walla Walla.—I arrived here November 4 and remained over one day to see for the first time an election conducted under the Australian system, and am happy to report results all that could be desired, and if there ever was a man in the place who ever opposed the system he is either dead, or moved away, or keeps his mouth shut upon the subject, for everybody seems to be proud of the system, and every one seems to take a special pride and pleasure explaining the advantages over the old plan. I have no opportunity to ascertain the effects on parties, but all appear to accept the fact that if a party or a man is defeated it is because the people prefer the other fellow or party. I hope it may soon be the universal plan.

MARYLAND'S NEW BALLOT LAW.

IT WORKED VERY SUCCESSFULLY—THE DEFECTS WILL BE REMEDIED.

New York Times.

The new system of voting in Maryland is pronounced a success. Opinions from all sections of the state have been received, and they are uniformly favorable. Even the opponents of the law, who thought it a needless expense, are now commending it. The law, while by no means perfect, is a great improvement on the old method, and is a monument to the perseverance and persistence of the reform democrats, who compelled the legislature to pass it, in defiance of the preferences of the bosses.

The new law is based on the Australian system. Its two great features are the secrecy and the one official ballot. The trouble that New York experienced in separate tickets was avoided here by the one large ballot, already folded. This ballot the voter took to the little booth and, if he wished to vote the whole of any ticket, he took the rubber stamp provided by the city and stamped a cross opposite the party emblem at the head of the ticket. If he wished to vote for different names on the different tickets, he stamped the cross opposite each name for which he desired to vote. There was no crowding, no pushing.

The law is simple and easily understood, and the one ticket made everything plain to the voter. The abolition of the heeler and ward worker and party ticket holder was generally gratifying. The only mechanical drawback to the law was that some of the rooms selected for the voting places were rather small, and then the officers were so crowded that the ballot clerk could see how the voter marked his vote. This can be remedied by putting small doors to the booths, as in the New York law.

The speed was about one hundred ballots per hour. This was the feature that most surprised the old politicians. They expected it to be slow. Illiterate men were promptly assisted, but of course they caused some delay. An improvement in the Baltimore law is the gate, which is manipulated so as to admit at one side and afford an exit at the other. The ward workers did not remain the legal distance from the polls, but they were far enough to make the new system an improvement.

The law allows any foreign voter to take an interpreter or friend into the booth with

him. This is regarded as the worst feature of the law, and it will undoubtedly be eliminated when the legislature meets again. The law also allows too many officers around, and in that it is thought weak. But altogether it is an undoubted improvement and is especially valuable because it interferes with bribery and defeats repeating. As repeating has been the worst and most abundant election crime in Baltimore, the law is worth many times its cost if only for this one benefit. The effect of the law will soon be felt in state politics.

A FREE AND HONEST BALLOT.

THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM OF VOTING IN INDIANA PRONOUNCED A SUCCESS—WHAT THE INDIANA STATE PAPERS HAVE TO SAY IN COMMENDATION.

The system is a grand success in Indiana, does away with corruption and bribery at the polls, makes voting at least decent and respectable and relegates to the rear the hoodlum element who feast and fatten on political offal. Indiana has taken a wonderful step in advance, and has a system probably as near perfection as human ingenuity can devise. The extra cost in taxation is as nothing in comparison to the extraordinary good resulting therefrom in good order, freedom from rascality and a perfectly fair and honest election.—[Fort Wayne Press.

The election in Indiana this year will go down in political annals as one of the most quiet and orderly ever held. There was less use of money, less excitement among the voters, less drunkenness and disorder, than we remember to have seen in many years. For the first time in years the people used more judgment and less of political prejudice and passion. As an expression of the popular will at elections the new law is all right, is the thing we have needed for a long time past, and we hope to see it enforced. It will not injure honest people, and rogues' wishes are not to be consulted.—[Crawfordsville Review.

The new election law is the most popular law in Rushville to be found on the statutes. From the time the first vote was cast till the last one was stamped the law grew in popularity. The law lends dignity to the free-man's ballot. It secures a quiet, and as near as may be, and honest and fair election.—[Rushville Jacksonian.

The new system of voting worked like a charm. Words of praise come from every part of the county in favor of the new method. "We are delighted with it," "nothing could induce us to go back to the old law," "it is as easy to vote as under the old law," were the expressions heard among the voters on election day. So far as we are able to learn no voice is raised against the law. The working of the new system was more satisfactory than the most ardent supporters of the law had expected.—[Lawrenceburg Register.

The new election law on this, its first trial, met the expectations of its friends most admirably. True, it fits a little like a new boot as yet, and binds a little here and there, but in the main it is all that has been claimed for it and more. It is the simplest possible method for the voter, as well as the most secure. It makes him, as he should be, the absolute master of his own vote. It gives him more time and better opportunity to discharge his more sacred public obligation than he ever had before. It is essentially the poor man's law. He is protected within the screens from the gaping, vicious interference of men who have hitherto assumed to own him. He is left alone with his ballot, and his stamp, and his conscience, and if he fails to do his duty the responsibility is with himself; no one else. We are pleased to note that citizens of all parties, in a general way, respected the law, and there seems to have been a reasonably full vote, with very satisfactory results to the democrats.—[Logansport Pharos.

The salvation of the country has been found in the new election law. By this system of voting the boodler's occupation is gone. This puts an end to corruption funds. The new system of voting not only secures honest elections, but it opens the way for the people to secure that character of tariff legislation for which they made such a stern demand on Tuesday last. 'Tis well.—[Lafayette Journal.

Everybody is pleased with the new way of voting.—[Indiana Phalanx.

The new election law worked like a charm. Never before in Terre Haute was such a quiet election held. It gives Indiana in the future a more honest and honorable ballot.—[Terre Haute News.

The system is here to stay and Indiana will never again be bought.—[Anderson Democrat.

[Exchange upon exchange re-echoes the opinions printed above. It would be useless to quote the papers in detail, for space will not permit. The names of some of them are: Richmond Independent, Evansville Journal, Madison Democrat, Scott County Journal, Spencer Democrat, Bloomfield Democrat, Washington Democrat, Columbus Herald, Jeffersonville News, Shelbyville Democrat, Hartford City Telegram, Kokomo Dispatch, Columbus Republican, Huntington Democrat, Logansport Pharos, Greensburg Review, Dana News, Noblesville Democrat, Daviess County Democrat, Graham News, Vincennes

Sun, Muncie Herald, Michigan City Dispatch, Rochester Sentinel, Washington Democrat, Decatur Democrat, South Bend Times, Richmond Independent, Brazil Democrat, Franklin Democrat, Stark County Ledger, New Albany Ledger, Ripley Journal, New Castle Courier, Greencastle Banner, New Castle Democrat.

IT WAS A SUCCESS.

Elmira Telegram.

The Telegram heartily indorses the new ballot reform law of the state of New York. It does this after seeing its practical workings.

It was an actual pleasure—a real luxury to vote on Tuesday last.

One could go to the polls without taking his life in his hands and find himself subjected to the pulling and hauling of roughs and toughs and drunken poll "workers" and "strikers."

You went in quietly, without hindrance, received five tickets, retired to a booth and there unmolested prepared your vote, then gave it to the receiving clerk, and saw it go in the ballot box without any fear that it would not be counted right.

Voting Tuesday was like going to church, almost—so decent and respectable and orderly were the thugs.

Yes, the Telegram heartily favors the new law. It is a good thing. Its practical workings were a success.

The day of the political thug is over.

The occupation of the boodler handler and the boodler taker is at an end.

The new law is in the interest of honest elections, a pure, free ballot—decency in politics.

All hail the new law. The Telegram takes off its hat to it. It ushers in a better day for citizenship in the state of New York.

THE MCKINLEY BILL A PROMOTER OF MORALITY.

Boston Home Journal (rep.).

Great stress is being laid on the fact that the seal plush sacque will, under the McKinley tariff, advance in price, so that the poor can no longer afford it. Newspapers speak of this as a sad fact. There are two minds about that. The seal plush sack got its popularity among the poor, not on its merits, but because it was an imitation of seal skin. The habit which the poor have of aping the ways of the rich, and wearing rhinestones because they envy the diamonds of the rich and cannot have them, French gilt because they love ornaments and cannot afford gold, and seal plush, hoping to pass it off for seal skin, is pernicious. Any circumstance which prohibits mimic flattery to the poor and reduces them to the good taste of honest homespun is to be commended. It may be looked upon as a promoter of morality.

CURIOUS FIGURES.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE WITH A VENGEANCE.

New York Times.

The congressional elections of November 4 clearly illustrated again the unrepresentative character of the United States senate. The fifty-second congress will legislate for forty-four states, only twelve of which will send to the lower house delegations in which the republicans have a majority. Those twelve, with their estimated population, according to the Porter census, are:

California	1,204,003	Oregon	312,490
Colorado	410,975	Pennsylvania	5,248,574
Idaho	84,229	South Dakota	327,848
Maine	680,261	Vermont	332,205
Nevada	44,327	Washington	349,516
North Dakota	182,425	Wyoming	60,580

Total 9,217,441

The total population of the United States, exclusive of Indians, according to the census, is 62,480,540. Deducting from this the number of persons represented by the twelve republican states, there remain 53,263,099. Assuming that the elections reflect the sentiment of the people on national issues—and the assumption is in harmony with the known facts—the United States senate is controlled to-day by a party that represents only a little more than one-seventh of the inhabitants of this country. There are 9,000,000 persons legislating for 53,000,000. The majority, a vast majority, is controlled by a minority not as great as the population of New York and Pennsylvania.

But the significance of these figures will go still further. In the election of 1888 Mr. Harrison carried twenty states, having an aggregate vote in the electoral college of 233. In all but seven of these states the republicans in the last election lost control of the congressional delegations. On the basis of the congressional delegations Mr. Harrison would this year have secured in the twenty states 57 electoral votes instead of 233.

These figures are very curious ones in a "government by the people." They show a senate out of touch with the states many of its members represent and an administration that has back of it far less than a majority of the people of the country. It is doubtful if the history of the United States would show a like condition of affairs. General distrust of that sort in England would lead to an "appeal to the country." The Harrison administration made an appeal and sent its ablest men to the hustings to plead for an endorsement. The result is shown in the majority of nearly 150 in the house of representatives against the principle on which Mr. Harrison was elected, the defeat of the candidate for governor of Pennsylvania for whom the secretary of state begged votes, and a republican loss in every state represented in the cabinet except Maine and Vermont, both of which elected their congressmen before the tariff bill went into effect.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for specu-

lators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

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

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Wonderful as was the success of free trade in the recent election, the triumph of ballot reform was far more inspiring. Advocated by but a handful not many months ago, ridiculed by professional politicians and regarded with entire indifference by the masses, it was through the unremitting efforts of a few brought forward to such a success as it was scarcely expected to attain this century.

And it was the single tax men everywhere who were its most ardent supporters, its most indefatigable advocates. Can we not see by this that it needs but the same effort to secure as speedy a success for the single tax? If you will but use the weapons already within your grasp we may measure the time to our triumph in months, not years. Nor have we in all our arsenals more potent weapons than our pens, if used in unison.

Argus, San Francisco, Cal.—In a recent issue quoted most of our platform, and in conclusion said that while the opposition of monopolies, trusts, vested interest and ignorance would make the progress of the single tax movement slow, yet, "come it will, and when it does come this country will be far more prosperous and happy." Our united thanks would induce the editor to keep up the good work.

William Baker, Lincoln, Kan.—Farmers' alliance congress interested in social questions.

John Davis, Junction City, Kan.—A greenbacker in 1880, owner of Junction City Tribune, able, cultured and a prominent Farmers' alliance man, being their successful candidate for congress in the Fifth Kansas district.

Albion W. Tourgee, Mayville, N. Y.—This celebrated author and jurist, in an article in the Chicago Inter Ocean of November 1, said: "The interest of the negro is to own his own plantation as soon as possible. The interest of the land owner is dear land and cheap labor. The interest of the negro laborer is cheap land and dear labor." Seeing this so clearly, we can easily reveal the beauties of the single tax to Judge Tourgee.

Rev. H. D. Sheldon, People's Congregational church, Buffalo, N. Y.—Young, live and leans toward the single tax. Needs to be shown how the single tax will secure individual liberty while giving to the community the values it creates.

G. M. Hansauer, proprietor Sunday Truth (labor), Buffalo, N. Y.—Said recently that he inclined to favor the single tax from seeing speculators enriched by the industry of others; while those enterprising enough to improve were fined like criminals.

Hon. O. W. Johnson, Fredonia, N. Y.—Able, but conservative; a tariff reformer, but opposes free trade, as he thinks the people would not stand direct taxation. Shearman's tracts, "The Menace of Patocracy" and "Farmers and the Single Tax" suit his case.

Rev. C. H. Woolston, Baptist, 427 Richmond street, Philadelphia, Pa.—Thanks Henry George should be commended for trying to abolish poverty, but don't consider the single tax the right way.

Rev. Joseph A. Milburn, Indianapolis, Ind.—Bright and progressive. Will preach the union Thanksgiving sermon to all the Presbyterians on that day. We were urged to write him at once, asking him to say a word for those who have nothing to be thankful for, and to speak somewhat of social wrongs and their cure.

Please tell all single tax friends that it now costs nothing to join the corps, and remember to send in names and addresses of local assessors and summary of tax laws.

W. J. ATKINSON,
Box 271, Haddonfield, N. J.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COM., 12 UNION SQUARE,
New York, Nov. 18, 1890.

The national committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and sin-

gle tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

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

The attention of officers of single tax organizations is called to the resolution adopted at the national conference to the effect that all organizations subscribing to the national single tax platform shall be eligible for membership in the league. Thus far but very few clubs have formally subscribed to the platform and enrolled themselves in the league, and officers of organizations that have as yet made no move in the matter are earnestly requested to bring the question before their clubs and apply at once to the secretary of the national committee for enrolment.

As the space accorded to this committee for the advertisement of single tax organizations is limited, the present club list will soon be withdrawn, and a new list made up only of clubs enrolled in the league will be published.

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work for the week ending November 18 are as follows:

Camden county single tax club, Camden, N. J.	\$12 00
Additional subscription from enrolment committee	4 20
Subscriptions previously acknowledged	1,180 90
Total	\$1,197 10

Cash contributions for same period are as follows:

A. B. Harrower, Philadelphia, Pa.	\$3 00
A. Skiba, Boone, Iowa	50
J. G. Wright, Berkeley, Cal.	4 50
E. D. S. T. club, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3 00
"E. M. S.," Germantown, Pa.	1 00
John Salmon, Baltimore, Md.	10
Total	\$12 10

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD

	692 07
	\$704 17

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	92,185
Signatures received since last report	302
Total	92,487

For news budget see "Roll of States."
Geo. St. John Levens, Secretary.

NEW YORK CITY.

The first of the fall series of the "social Thursdays" was given at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club last Thursday evening. It consisted of a sketching party, singing, piano solos by Professor Brizzi and refreshments. The evening was greatly enjoyed by those present.

A lecture will be given at the rooms tomorrow evening. It had been expected that Father Huntington would be the lecturer, but he has engagements in the west which will make it impossible to be here. Mr. Horace Deming has been invited to take Father Huntington's place.

BROOKLYN.

THE BROOKLYN CLUB GIVES THOMAS G. SHEARMAN A RECEPTION—A SOCIABLE WEEK—PROFESSOR GARLAND READS HIS PLAY AT AVON HALL.

W. F. Withers.—The reception given Mr. Shearman at the club house on Tuesday night of last week, brought together a large number of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were some of the prominent citizens of Brooklyn and New York. The parlors were gaily decorated with bunting, and the words "Welcome" and "Shearman" in gold and silver letters, were suspended across the doorways.

Mr. Thompson made an address of welcome to the guest of the evening, and presented Mr. Shearman, and other leaders of reform.

Mr. Shearman's address was full of encouragement based on the logic of events.

Mr. Walter Logan of the Reform club took pains to say that he was not committed to the single tax, but gave evidence of being almost persuaded. Mr. Croasdale was cheerful and sanguine as usual, and Mr. Post's humorous presentation of great truths completely upset the dignity of the assemblage. Professor Ellis was on hand to bewilder the company with legerdemain.

Music was furnished by Beggs's orchestra and by the Concordia zither club, who volunteered to come and assist in the welcome to Mr. Shearman.

Lunch was furnished by the steward of the house, and, of course, the affair was rounded off with a dance.

Among those present were: Mr. and Mrs. William Rogers, Miss Jennie Rogers, Miss Mamie Rogers, Miss Phoebe Rudon, Miss L. R. Nye, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Moore, the Misses Turner, Miss Hanway, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Dennin, Miss Hickling, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. L. F. Thompson, Miss Brennan, the Misses Mulcahy, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. King, Miss L. Housman, T. Hockbaker, Hugo Hanksler, G. G. Smith, Theodore Rossman, E. Rugbasse, H. Eyesman, Emil Rugbasse, Miss

McGregor, Miss Mulligan, Mr. and Mrs. T. C. Disbrow, Miss Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. B. Simms, James McGregor, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Hughes, Miss Della Stephens, Miss Mary Leuter, Mr. and Mrs. W. Gidderup, Miss Julia Cox, F. W. Davis, Miss L. Murphy, Albert Smith, Miss E. L. Smith, Miss Agnes Simms and H. H. Moore.

On Wednesday evening there was a jolly gathering of young folks at the same place, and the hours were pleasantly passed with songs and dances until midnight.

Messrs. Brennan and Boggs and Miss Mulcahy, vocalists, and Mr. W. L. Thompson, pianist, contributed very much to the pleasure of the guests, and a song and dance by two witty young men in minstrel attire caused great merriment.

The club house is becoming very popular with the young folks of the neighborhood, and the members of the club are pleased to have it; but we shall have to choose another evening for our social gatherings, for at the last business meeting of the club it was decided to devote every other Wednesday evening to discussion.

"A Member of the Third House" drew a full house at Avon hall on Sunday night, and Professor Garland held the strict attention of his audience as he vividly described the characters and scenes introduced in the play.

It is a drama with a moral, and a very pronounced one at that. In fact, it seems to have been written, not merely to entertain an audience, but to educate the people—to set them thinking. It shows the power of money to shape legislation, and how unscrupulous men obtain special privileges at the expense of the people at large, by means of the lobby. "L bbying" said Professor Garland, in his introductory remarks, "means getting public property voted into private pockets."

The meeting was enlivened with very delightful music, for which we are indebted to Messrs. Joseph Lindner, George Swan and Ernest Nedderdan of the Harmonic club. The trio will be with us again next Sunday evening, when Mr. F. W. Hinrichs will lecture. Mr. Hinrichs's subject will be "They Can, but They Don't."

John Munnick.—If the bull keeps on unwinding himself from the protection stake at the rate which he has begun, he will soon regain his freedom.

NEW YORK STATE.

THE CAUSE GAINING GROUND—INDORSING THE PLATFORM.

George Winter, Middletown.—I send in a number of petitions. Our cause is gaining ground here every day. A single taxer is not now considered a dangerous man in the community, but he was a few years ago.

B. B. Martis, Troy.—Our club has indorsed the platform adopted at the conference and has sent a request to be enrolled as a member of the Single tax league of the United States. Our first lecture will be given December 2, at Star hall, corner Fourth and Fulton streets, by Rev. H. O. Hiscox.

In consequence of the tariff I am paying \$1.50 more a thousand for tin boxes, \$1.50 more a dozen for clothes wringers, \$4 more per ton for plumbago, and so it goes.

E. L. Ryder, Sing Sing.—The three signed petitions I send this time do not indicate that there is any difficulty in getting signatures, but that I have been too busy to ask people. We failed to defeat Husted, the "Bald Eagle of Westchester," in this assembly district, because of the treachery of certain democrats who claim to represent Grover Cleveland. These same men tried to nullify the ballot reform law also.

One of the amusing episodes of the day was the finding of a voter in a booth where he was patiently poking his ballots through a very small knot hole with the aid of a lead pencil. He exclaimed that "its pretty hard voting now, sor." The hole to vote in ought to be larger, sor."

DELAWARE.

THE SINGLE TAX MEN OF THE BLUE HEN STATE URGED TO ORGANIZE.

George W. Kreer, Wilmington.—Our single tax association held its second meeting last Monday night with a larger attendance than the opening night. We want every reader of THE STANDARD to come forward and join the association, sign the platform adopted by the conference and pay their twenty-five cents per month dues toward the expenses of our work. If they do not feel able or willing to do missionary labor or to attend regularly, there are active men in the association who will. The encouragement of forty or fifty contributing members, even though they cannot attend meetings, will aid us materially in the work we are anxious and willing to do, and the dues are so light as not to be burdensome.

It is the desire of the association that every single tax man in the state will send the association his name. Attend to this matter at once, addressing George W. Kreer, box 380, Wilmington, Del. We will furnish men down the state with literature and will assist in the formation of clubs. The association has information that leads them to believe that there are single taxers in Smyrna, Dover and Milford. Now, gentlemen, come forward and we will help you.

ILLINOIS.

JOHN Z. WHITE DELIVERS A LECTURE ON THE SINGLE TAX.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Nov. 14.—One of the best meetings we have had in a long time was that of last night, when a large and intelligent audience gathered to hear Mr. John Z. White expound "The Single Tax." He was especially invited to make this address, and the club paid him the deserved compliment of an audience which completely filled the house. It included many who had never visited us before, and it was manifest that there was not one who was not thoroughly interested. Mr. White spoke for an hour and a half without notes, yet there was not an instant's hesitation nor a break in his argument, which was plain and simple, yet conclusive, even to the smallest detail.

Mr. Furbish followed Mr. White for a moment in one of his clever little speeches and then Mr. Robert Cumming of Duquoin spoke for ten or fifteen minutes.

A committee was appointed to arrange for the forthcoming visit of Professor Garland of Boston, who is expected about December 7.

Our next attraction is Mr. Benjamin Reese, who speaks next Thursday night on "The Railroad Problem." November 27 Judge Mark Bangs, United States district attorney under Hayes, will deliver an address. He is one of the old abolitionists and an enthusiast in the single tax cause. On December 4 Walter Thomas Mills, the prohibition orator, is booked; and December 11 Mr. Phillips will speak on "Socialism." Other good attractions are in prospect.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—I am now at it again, and as a result send in a number of petitions. A few days ago I had the pleasure to meet Mr. Cummings. He is a genuine single tax man and does good work wherever he goes.

F. W. Irwin, Chicago.—Our club has decided to push the petition.

Henry Walker, Springfield.—I send you herewith ten signed petitions. It is all that I have been able to gather for some time.

I rejoice at the election of Tom L. Johnson and John De Witt Warner to congress. Illinois has done well, having elected fourteen—possibly fifteen—out of twenty members of congress. In our county everything on the democratic ticket, from top to bottom, was elected.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—The vote for Congressman Scott Wike, in this the Twelfth district, is peculiarly gratifying. He was nominated on a straight free trade platform.

MISSOURI.

W. L. SHELDON NEARER TO US THAN EVER—GEORGE TO LECTURE IN ST. LOUIS.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—Last Wednesday night the Single tax league opened its winter's campaign with a fine meeting in the new hall in the Bowman building. A number of prominent citizens were present. The programme of the evening was a debate between Mr. W. L. Sheldon, lecturer of the Society for the promotion of ethical culture, and the Single tax league on the subject of compensation to land owners. Mr. Sheldon went further than he has ever done before toward an indorsement of our principles, declaring his belief in the justice and correctness of our claim that all individuals have an equal right to the use of the earth and that land values should belong to society.

He endeavored to show, however, that justice requires compensation to landlords whose rents are absorbed by the single tax, and that such compensation is practicable. About a dozen very strong replies were made by members of the league. The most radical and eloquent speech of the evening, in favor of the single tax, was made by Dr. Samuel Sale, rabbi of Shuare-Eweth congregation.

Friday evening, November 21, Henry George will lecture at Memorial hall, under the auspices of the Single tax league and the West End single tax club. On the 25th inst. Father Huntington will deliver a free lecture.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

THE GOOD WORK DONE IN THE LAST ELECTION—A STATE CONVENTION CALLED.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.—I inclose eighteen more names, all but four of which I obtained myself. Most of these signed after considerable discussion, and a number of them expressed their approval of the single tax. Since election day I have heard several men announce themselves as fully convinced single tax men. Our single tax club will meet every week this winter after court adjourns, and will be a live affair.

The election in this county was as much of a surprise to the p. o. p. managers as it was elsewhere. The democratic ticket made an almost clean sweep. The independent and democratic county ticket was the same. In addition there was an independent republican ticket up in this county.

Governor Mellette resides here. He carried this county last year by about 1,500. He pulls through this year with only 70 plurality in the county, and runs behind the most of the state ticket. Many of our republican friends give the Journal credit for much of

the change. It has gone into every home in the county during the campaign.

The following call has been issued by our state officers:

Single tax men of South Dakota are requested to meet in Mitchell at 2 p. m., November 27, 1890, to reorganize the South Dakota single tax association, and transact other important business. It is very desirable that as many as possible shall attend. Everyone in the state who can indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted at the national convention is invited to meet with us. Please notify the secretary as soon as possible, whether you can attend or not, as reduced railroad rates may be obtained if a sufficient number report that they will attend. LEVI MCGEE, Pres. W. E. BROKAW, Sec.

IOWA.

APPROVING THE MOTION MADE BY CALDWELL OF TEXAS.

Wilbur Mosena, Burlington.—At the regular meeting of the Burlington single tax club November 8, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this club heartily indorses the resolution proposed by Mr. J. L. Caldwell of Texas as published in THE STANDARD of November 6, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, That Brothers Buell, Brokaw and Ring be composed a committee to write an address to, or produce a paper for the boards of trade throughout the United States, setting forth the advantages of a land value tax over all other systems of taxation for all public improvements, etc."

And that the secretary be instructed to mail a copy of this resolution to each of the following persons: The secretary of the Single tax league of the United States, New York; C. J. Buell, Minneapolis, Minn., and the editor of THE STANDARD.

VERMONT.

L. K. Hoadley, Rutland.—We are pleased to say that we have made a beginning in Vermont, and organized what is known as the Rutland single tax club, with Mr. A. A. Orcutt president and J. R. Hoadley secretary. This is the first purely single tax organization that has ever taken form in this state, and it is our purpose to keep it a single tax club for the purpose of education only.

It gives us some encouragement to know that the people of this great country sat down upon the system of robbery that Mr. Reed and his associates are trying to perpetuate.

MASSACHUSETTS.

R. Scott, Whitman.—I am glad to announce that we have made a start toward organizing a club here. On Wednesday, November 5, an informal meeting was held at my house, and a temporary organization was effected. We intend to ask all the single tax men in Plymouth county to join with us. A public meeting is wanted as a starter, so we will try to get together enough money to engage a large hall, and shall ask William Lloyd Garrison or some other well known friend to give a lecture.

RHODE ISLAND.

David Harrower, Wakefield.—I rejoice with you in the great political overturn. May it prove to be only the first step.

The few single tax men here were busy in the late contest here, and our distribution of tax reform literature was productive of good. I hope soon now we will be able to organize a single tax club in this locality.

PENNSYLVANIA.

C. F. Knight, Allegheny.—On October 28 I spoke on "Taxation" at the school house in the village of Florence, Pa., to an audience of about two hundred farmers on the injustice of taxes on personal property of every kind, and the justice and expediency of the single tax. At the close of the lecture, a large number crowded around me and claimed they had always thought it unjust to tax a man more as soon as he made any improvement in any way, and asked me to lecture again on the same subject and again on the tariff question, which I have promised to do.

Hurray-h-h for the democratic majority and condolence for the republican minority in the next congress. How about "Tariff reform is not free trade" now?

OHIO.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo.—When the Fifty-second congress meets I believe we should by some means supply every democratic member, senate included, with a copy of THE STANDARD each week. If we can plant our ideas in the minds of our representative men the danger line will be passed.

TONTINE LIFE ANNUITIES.

This system of life annuity was originated by Lorenzo Tonte, an Italian banker, who proposed it to Cardinal Mazarin, in the year 1653, for the purpose of raising a public loan. The large insurance companies in this country have adopted various modifications of Lorenzo Tonte's scheme, but there has not been, outside of the insurance companies, much effort made to popularize it. The possibilities of the system for returns for the investment of small sums of money are enormous. An exposition of its principles will be given at Annex hall, 16 Fourth avenue, this city, on Friday, the 21st inst., at 8 p. m. Messrs. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Louis P. Post and others will address the meeting.

MR. CLEVELAND'S SPEECH.

THE EX-PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE THURMAN BIRTHDAY DINNER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I follow the promptings of a heart full of devotion and veneration, as I tender from the democracy of the great state of New York her tribute of affection for the man whom we honor to-night. I am commissioned to claim for my state her full share of the glory which has been shed upon the American name and character, by one whose career and example cannot be pre-empted and whose renown cannot be limited in ownership to the neighbors and friends of any locality. We contest every exclusive pretension to his fame and greatness, because he is a neighbor to all the people of the land; because he is the friend of all who love their country; because his career splendidly illustrates the best and strongest elements of our national character; and because his example belongs to all his countrymen.

It is fitting that those who have faith in our destiny as a nation, who believe that there are noble things which belong distinctively to our character as a people and who prize at its true worth pure American citizenship, should gather here to-night. It is given us to contemplate the highest statesmanship, the most unyielding and disinterested devotion to the interests of the people, and the most valuable achievements in the cause of our country's welfare, all of which have been stimulated and accomplished through the influence and impulse of true, unperverted, sturdy Americanism. We rejoice in the example afforded on this occasion of genuine American citizenship, revealed to us as a safe and infallible interpreter of duty in all the emergencies of a long and honorable public career, and as an unflinching guide to usefulness and fame.

In this presence and in the atmosphere of these reflections, we should not miss the lesson they commend to us, nor fail to renew appreciation of the value of this citizenship, and revive our apprehension of the sentiments and conditions in which it has its rise and growth.

And first of all we should be profoundly grateful that the elements which make up the strength and vigor of American citizenship are so naturally related to our situation and are so simple. The intrigues of monarchy which taint the individual character of the subject; the splendor which dazzles the popular eye and distracts the attention from abuses and stifles discontent; the schemes of conquest and selfish aggrandizement which make a selfish people, have no legitimate place in our national life. Here the plain people of the land are the rulers. Their investiture of power is only accompanied with the conditions that they should love their country, that they should jealously guard and protect its interests and fair fame, and that all the intelligence with which they are endowed should be devoted to an understanding of its needs and the promotion of its welfare.

These are the elements of American citizenship, and these are the conditions upon which our free institutions were entrusted to our people, in full reliance, at the beginning and for all time to come, upon American manhood, consecrated by the highest and purest patriotism.

A country broad and new, to be subdued to the purposes of man's existence, and promising vast and independent resources, and a people intelligently understanding the value of a free nation and holding fast to an intense affection for its history and its heroes, have had much to do with molding our American character and giving it hardihood and vigor. But it should never be forgotten that the influence which, more than all other things, has made our people safe depositaries of governmental power, and which has furnished the surest guaranty of the strength and perpetuity of the republic, has its source in the American home. Here our patriotism is born and entwines itself with the growth of filial love, and here our children are taught the story of our freedom and independence. But above all, here in the bracing and wholesome atmosphere of uncompromising frugality and economy, the mental and moral attributes of our people have been firmly knit and invigorated. Never could it be said of any country so truly as of ours, that the permanency of its institutions depends upon its homes.

I have spoken of frugality and economy as important factors in American life. I find no fault with the accumulation of wealth, and am glad to see energy and enterprise receive their fair reward. But I believe that our government in its natural integrity is exactly suited to a frugal and economical people; and I believe it is safest in the hands of those who have been made strong and self-reliant in their citizenship by self-denial and by the surroundings of an enforced economy. Thrift and careful watchfulness of expenditure among the people tend to secure a thrifty government; and cheap and careful living on the part of individuals ought to enforce economy in the public expenditures.

When, therefore, men in high places of trust, charged with the responsibility of making and executing our laws, not only condemn but flippantly deride cheapness and economy within the homes of our people, and when the expenditures of the government are reckless and wasteful, we may be sure

that something is wrong with us, and that a condition exists which calls for a vigorous and resolute defense of Americanism by every man worthy to be called an American citizen.

Upon the question of cheapness and economy, whether it relates to individuals or to the operations of the government, the democratic party, true to its creed and its traditions, will unalterably remain attached to our plain and frugal people. They are especially entitled to the watchful care and protection of their government; and when they are borne down by burdens greater than they can bear, and are made the objects of scorn by hard taskmasters, we will not leave their side. As the great German reformer, insisting upon his religious convictions, in the presence of his accusers exclaimed, "I can do nought else. Here I stand. God help me," so, however much others may mock and deride cheapness, and the poor and frugal men and women of our land, we will stand forth in defense of their simple Americanism defiantly proclaiming, "We can do nought else. Here we stand."

Thus when the question is raised whether our people shall have the necessities of life at a cheaper rate, we are not ashamed to confess ourselves "in full sympathy with the demand for cheaper costs;" and we are not disturbed by the hint that this seems "necessarily to involve a cheaper man or woman under the coats."

When the promoter of a party measure which invades every home in the land with higher prices, declares that "cheap and nasty go together and this whole system of cheap things is a badge of poverty; for cheap merchandise means cheap men and cheap men mean a cheap country," we indignantly repudiate such an interpretation of American sentiment.

And when another one, high in party councils, who has become notorious as the advocate of a contrivance to perpetuate partisan supremacy by outrageous interference with the suffrage, announces that "the cry for cheapness is un-American," we scornfully reply that his speech does not indicate the slightest conception of true Americanism.

I will not refer to other utterances of like import from similar sources. I content myself with recalling the most prominent and significant. The wonder is that these things were addressed by Americans to Americans.

What was the occasion of these condemnations of cheapness and what had honest American men and women done, or what were they likely to do, that they should be threatened with the epithets "cheap," "nasty" and "un-American?"

It is hard to speak patiently as we answer these questions. Step by step a vast number of our people had been led on, following blindly in the path of party. They had been filled with hate and sectional prejudice; they had been cajoled with misrepresentations and false promises; they had been corrupted with money and by appeals to their selfishness. All these things led up to their final betrayal to satisfy the demands of those who had supplied the fund for their corruption.

This betrayal was palpable; and it was impossible to deny or conceal the fact that the pretended relief tendered to the people in fulfillment of a promise to lighten the burdens of their life, made by the party entrusted with the government, was but a scheme to pay the debts incurred by the purchase of party success, while it further increased the impoverishment of the masses.

The people were at last aroused and demanded an explanation. They had been taught for one hundred years that in the distribution of benefits their government should be administered with equality and justice. They had learned that wealth was not indispensable to respectability and that it did not entitle its possessors to especial governmental favors. Humble men with scanty incomes had been encouraged by the influence and the spirit of our institutions to practice economy and frugality, to the end that they might enjoy to the utmost the rewards of their toil. The influence of the American home was still about them. In their simplicity they knew nothing of a new dispensation which made cheapness disreputable, and they still loved the cheap coats of Lincoln and Garfield, and hundreds of their countrymen whom they held in veneration. And thus these unsophisticated Americans, unconscious of their wrong-doing, demanded the redemption of party pledges and clamored for cheapness, in order that they might provide the necessities and comforts of life for themselves and their families at the lowest possible cost.

The leaders of the party, which was caught in the act of robbery and which was arraigned by the people for a violation of its trust, were forced by their sad predicament to a desperate expedient. To attempt to reverse the current of true Americanism and discredit the most honorable sentiments belonging to American manhood, were the disgraceful tasks of those who insulted our people.

ple by the announcement of the doctrine that to desire cheapness was to love nastiness, and to practice economy and frugality was un-American.

Thus do we plainly see that when the path pointed out by patriotism and American citizenship is forsaken by a party in power, for schemes of selfishness and for unscrupulous conspiracies for partisan success, its course inevitably leads to unjust favoritism, neglect of the interests of the masses, entire perversion of the mission of republican institutions, and, in some form, to the most impudent and outrageous insult to true American sentiment.

It cannot be denied that political events in the past have gone far toward encouraging arrogant party assumption. Every thoughtful and patriotic man has at times been disappointed and depressed by the apparent indifference and demoralization of the people.

But such reflections have no place in the felicitations of to-night. This is a time when faith in our countrymen should be fully re-established. The noise of a recent political revolution is still heard throughout the land; the people have just demonstrated that there is a point beyond which they cannot be led by blind partisanship, and that they are quite competent to examine and correctly decide political questions concerning their rights and their welfare. They have unmercifully resented every attack upon true American manhood, and have taught party leaders that, though slow to anger, they take terrible revenge when betrayed. They permit us to forgive our honored guest for all the cheap coats he has ever worn, for they have declared them to be in fashion. They have also decreed that the Decalogue has a place in our politics, for they have enforced the command, "Thou shalt not steal," and have rendered an emphatic verdict against those who have borne false witness.

Nothing could so well accompany the honors we pay our distinguished guest as the celebration on his birthday of the victory which has just been achieved in vindication of American citizenship—for in him we honor the man who has best illustrated true American manhood. Our rejoicing and his are increased, as we also celebrate to-night the triumph of a democratic principle for which he fought and fell but two short years ago; and to complete our joy and his we are permitted to indulge in true democratic enthusiasm over the steadfastness and devotion to its creed exhibited by our party, which knowing no discouragement, has fought to victory in the people's cause.

Who can now doubt our countrymen's appreciation of that trait, so well illustrated in the character of Allen G. Thurman, which prompted him throughout his long career, at all times and in all circumstances, and without regard to personal consequences, to do the things which his conscience and judgment approved, and which seemed to him to be in the interests of his country and in accordance with his democratic faith? Who can now doubt that conscience and courage point out the way to public duty?

If we entertain more solemn thoughts on this occasion, let them be concerning the responsibility which awaits us as our fellow countrymen place in our keeping their hopes and their trust. We shall fail in our obligation to them if we stifle conscience and duty by ignoble partisanship; but we shall meet every patriotic expectation if, in all we do, we follow the guidance of true and honest democracy, illumined by the light of genuine American citizenship.

I took Cold,
I took Sick.

I TOOK

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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909 1/2 Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., L. M. Manzer; sec., H. M. Welcome; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

SACRAMENTO.—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. E. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1066 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haskins.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

BLACK DIAMOND.—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

COLORADO.

STATE.—Colorado State single tax association, 303 16th st. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., H. C. Niles, 303 16th.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

GRAND JUNCTION.—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

CANYON CITY.—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

CONNECTICUT.

DANBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., John E. Jones; sec., W. E. Grumman. Address for the present, Sam E. Main, 10 Montgomery st.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. 3 p.m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

SHARON.—Single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Pres., Geo. W. Kruer; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

PENSACOLA.—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Dennis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

TAMPA.—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., J. H. McCormick.

GEORGIA.

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

AUGUSTA.—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Loflin & Meyer.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrear, 623 Black ave.

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SPARTA.—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm R. Bailey.

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