

THE STANDARD

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

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

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

I got home in the Umbria on Sunday, and have not had time since to write much for THE STANDARD this week. I always think I will write a good deal on a steamer passage, and always don't. The fact is that an ocean steamer is not a good place to write in, and that home, when you find so many friends to greet you, is for the first few days little better.

I had a formal parting with our London friends on the evening before leaving London, and at Liverpool on the evening before sailing. William Lloyd Garrison and myself were entertained by the Financial reform association and then addressed a great meeting in the Liverpool rotunda under the auspices of the association, at which President Muspratt presided. Mr. Garrison, who came from Leeds, where he was staying, expressly to be present, was received with the greatest enthusiasm and made a most telling speech, while the farewell to me could not have been heartier. When the Financial reform association last December first invited me upon their platform there was a great deal of remonstrance and indignation among some of their supporters and a good many subscriptions were cut off. But these have been more than made up by the accessions that have come, and, as President Muspratt stated, the association are already convinced that they have increased their power and extended their usefulness by recognizing the identity between free trade and the single tax. This association has done good work in the past, but it is going to do far greater work in the future. The period of its great usefulness is in fact now commencing.

A large number of friends, many of them from various parts of the country, came to the steamer to see me off, and say the last good by. Mr. Saunders was to have come to Liverpool, but was not well enough. In fact, he has not been himself since he returned from Paris. The doctors tell him that he must stop some of the work he has been doing, and he has determined with the coming issue to cease the publication of the Democrat. There are others who would willingly take up the Democrat and carry it on, but Mr. Saunders, since he can no longer conduct it himself, prefers to stop its publication. He will continue his work in the County Council, and the work he has been doing there is enough for any man, but his loss in other ways will be felt. And he will also remain a candidate for the district of Walworth,

whence he will certainly be returned, at the next election, to parliament.

I left England with the conviction that the reaping of the harvest is now only a matter of time. Our friends there do not need to think about forming any political organization. All that they need is organization for the distribution of literature and the propagation of ideas, and this the restoration leagues and the single tax clubs that are beginning to start up will carry. The radical party which is growing up within the shell of the liberal party, and which already counts some sixty votes in the house of commons, must push our ideas into practical politics whenever the time for action comes. That will certainly be with the next election.

In his speech at the dinner Monday night Mr. Croasdale made a most interesting statement of the work that has been so far done by the enrollment committee, of which he is chairman, and I hope our friends, if they read no other part of the report, will read this statement. I am convinced that this work, which has been so admirably conducted by Mr. Croasdale, is the most efficient and practical work on which our energies can now be concentrated. The 60,000 signatures which this committee has already gathered mean a great deal more than 60,000 signatures as they are ordinarily obtained to petitions. Each one of these is on a separate blank, and affords means for a classified register which has many important uses. The committee is much more than an enrollment committee. It is virtually a committee of correspondence and a lecture and organization bureau, which with a little effort and expenditure may be made to give us an organization for propaganda work fully equal to that of the organization of the great political parties.

Mr. Charles L. Garland, president of the New South Wales single tax league, who accompanied Mr. Burroughs and myself to Ireland, remained behind in Dublin, having taken a notion to see something of the country, and being especially desirous of witnessing an Irish eviction. He was to have met me in Liverpool, and been present at the Financial reform association meeting, but did not turn up, giving rise to some misgivings that he had met the fate of some of the English members of parliament who have gone to Ireland to see evictions. Mr. Garland is a native of New Zealand. He is a clean-cut, well-informed man of about thirty-seven, and, as he showed at the meetings we addressed, an exceedingly good speaker. Mr. Garland is serving his second term in the New South Wales parliament, and is an active member of the free trade party.

In New South Wales, as in the other Australasian colonies, the members of parliament serve for nothing, and the English system of night sessions has been followed. But they have one privilege of some little value. Mr. Garland carries on his watch chain a little circular gold medal. This is the official insignia of his membership in the New South Wales parliament, and one of its principal uses is to show to railway conductors on the New South Wales railroads when they come around for tickets. The holder of one of these medals is entitled to ride free

on any railroad train in New South Wales, and it is as good for the sleeping cars as for the ordinary cars. But it won't get meals at the stations. South Wales members of parliament, when they travel, have to pay for their meals, but can ride and sleep all they want to.

The beauty of this Australian system of free traveling for members of the legislature, is that unlike the American system, it involves no favor from a corporation that may want votes. The railroads, sleeping cars and all, belong to the people of the colony, and the parliamentary representatives of the people travel free on the roads of the people.

Government ownership of railways has worked so well in all the Australian colonies, that, according to Mr. Garland and the other Australians I have met and talked with on the subject, no one there thinks of reverting to private ownership. This is not to say that it has worked perfectly. One of the difficulties has been the desire of local representatives to get what they could for their own constituencies, regardless of the general good, which has resulted in the building of a good many "political roads" and branches before they could do a paying business, thus saddling the general system with a good deal of dead weight. But on the whole the Australian people seem satisfied that government ownership of railways has worked better than private ownership, and are now taking steps to further improve the system. Victoria led the way a few years ago, in adopting what is called "business management" for her railways, putting them in full charge of a commission selected for their knowledge of railway management and business ability. The plan worked exceedingly well in Victoria. New South Wales followed with similar good results, and now New Zealand has adopted the plan. All the railroad employees hold their places during competency and good behavior. They may be suspended at any time by a superior official, until examination is made, but can only be removed after examination.

Thus have the necessities of the case compelled the adoption of business principles in the management of the Australian railways. So it would be with us. We have sufficiently seen in the United States the evils of leaving the great iron highways in private hands, but most Americans shrink from the idea of public ownership because they associate with it the idea political management of party workers running locomotives and signal men appointed because of their services at primaries. If this were a necessary association then indeed might we well deem governmental management of railroads out of the question, but the fact, as shown in all countries where the railways have been taken into the hands of the government, is that the necessities of the public safety and convenience compel a better system.

The Australians are the first people of English speech to adopt the principle of governmental ownership and management of railways, and their experience is of the more interest to us because in conditions and character the two peoples so closely resemble each other. We are learning something from the Australians about the ballot; we may learn something about railways, and there are doubtless many other things as to which we might

learn from them and they in return from us, were there any communication to speak of between the countries. But although in proportion to population the people of Australia, and particularly the people of New South Wales have the largest foreign trade of any people in the world we have hardly any share in it--thanks to our protective tariff, which while shutting out from our markets the great Australian staples so hampers American manufacturers as to put them at a great disadvantage in the Australian markets. The superior excellence of their products does enable a few American manufacturers like Farquhar of York, Pennsylvania, to do some exporting to Australia, but so small is our general trade that these goods have usually to be first shipped to England in order to be sent to Australia.

Tom L. Johnson does not think that it is necessary or advisable that the government should own and run the railroads as in Australia, but that it should own and maintain the roadbeds and let private enterprise, under proper regulations, run trains upon them. In other words, he would simply treat the railroads as improved roads, as they indeed are, and apply to them the same principles that experience has shown to be advisable in the case of ordinary roads. But the street lines in cities he would run free of charge on the same principle that elevators are run free of charge in large buildings. He tried this in Johnstown lately after the flood, running the street line for some time without any attempt to collect fares. He says that as a device to prevent the "knocking down" of fares it beats all the bell punches and patent registers that were ever invented.

I find on my return a number of letters protesting mournfully or reproachfully against what they speak of as a lowering in the tone of THE STANDARD and a change in its policy during my absence. Some of these are from friends, whose communications I would print did I not know that were they correctly informed as to the facts of the case, they themselves would not wish their communications published.

There has been no lowering in the tone of THE STANDARD, no change in its policy. Its course has been as near to that which I would have taken had I been here as I could have reasonably expected, and nothing has been excluded from its columns that in the best interests of the cause, and of harmony among its supporters, ought to have been published.

Other letters which I find awaiting me are criticisms of the statements and misrepresentations that have produced the feeling that has prompted the letters of the first class. I do not print them, either. There is too much important work to do to waste energy on controversies with those who ought to be friends.

HENRY GEORGE.

Appreciates the Work of Billy Radcliffe, S. T.

CHESTERVILLE, Ont.--I am a reader of THE STANDARD appreciative enough to allow no item to pass unread. Your frequent references to the irrepressible Billy Radcliffe, S. T., have more than interested me, and I know I am only one of the many. This may be taken as evidence that paragraphs giving us tidings of our friends are always appropos. Should this be noticed by the invincible B. R. S. T. (Billy Radcliffe, Single Tax), I would be delighted to have him send me his address that I may write to him. Yours in the crusade, M. J. MACDONALD.

WELCOMED HOME.

HENRY GEORGE ARRIVES—IN GOOD HEALTH AND HIGH SPIRITS.

A Multitude of Friends Greet Him at the Steamship Pier—A Complimentary Dinner to Him at Brighton Beach—Signs of Great Progress and Words of Cheer.

A roar of bewildering voices, a waving of hats and a fluttering of handkerchiefs greeted the big steamship Umbria at noon on Sunday, as she slowly swung in beside the Cunard line pier on the North River. Cheer after cheer went up for Henry George, who stood on the hurricane deck bowing to the multitude of friends gathered on the wharf to welcome him home. The enthusiasm was greatly stimulated when he passed down the gang-plank to the wharf. Each one in the assemblage pushed eagerly forward to grasp his hand and say words of good cheer. Later in the afternoon Mr. George went to the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club on Clinton place, where a large number of the members had assembled, and sitting down in their midst, had an hour's talk with them on matters pertaining to his trip.

Next day an informal dinner was tendered Mr. George at Brighton hotel, Coney island, by the single tax clubs of New York and the vicinity. The dinner was a complete success. Arrangements had been made to accommodate one hundred persons, but though double that number attended, provision was made for all. The tables were ranged about a large apartment in the form of a square, in the center of which were several smaller tables and a collection of palms and other ornamental plants.

Louis F. Post presided. On his right sat the guest of the evening, and Thomas G. Shearman and Tom L. Johnson; on his left, Mrs. George, John P. Cranford and George White, president of the Brooklyn single tax club. Among the others who sat about, were:

Dr. William Barker, president Rhode Island S. T. club.

Jackson H. Ralston and C. B. Hemingway, of Washington.

W. J. Atkinson, Richard Atkinson, A. H. Stephenson, and Messrs. Shoemaker and Sorrell, of the Philadelphia Henry George club.

Richard Spencer, of Burlington, Ia.

Geo. St. J. Leavens, of Sharon, Conn.

Samuel C. Rogers, of the Buffalo S. T. Club.

Rev. E. P. Foster, of Cincinnati, O.

W. C. Albro, of the Poughkeepsie S. T. Club.

Franklin Lane of San Francisco.

W. H. Van Ornum of the Chicago single tax club No. 1.

Thomas L. George of Philadelphia.

Robert Baker, secretary Albany S. T. Club.

Mr. Crane, Troy S. T. Club.

Alfred J. Carr, Crescent Democratic Club of Baltimore.

John De Witt Warner, New York Reform Club.

Mrs. George White, Miss M. P. Cranford, Miss George and Miss J. T. George, Mrs. Samuel Cooper, Mrs. Bedingfield, Mrs. T. L. George, Mrs. M. O. Newman, Miss Leubuscher, Mrs. M. A. Brennan, Mrs. M. R. George, and Mrs. V. Bedingfield.

Wm. B. DuBois, Bayonne N. J. S. T. club.

Wm. Wadsworth and E. W. Nellis, Paterson.

Herbert Boggs, J. T. Averner and W. H. Rathbun, Newark S. T. club.

J. T. Altamus, J. R. Abarbanel and J. H. Jakeway, Jersey City S. T. club.

W. J. Brown, Frank Sullivan and E. O. Hollis, N. Y. West Side S. T. club.

W. H. Friedenberg, M. D., Aug. Schlueter, William Mitchell and James Hopper, Harlem S. T. club.

John Britton, Brooklyn E. D. S. T. club.

Hugh O. Pentecost.

Jose Gros, Morristown, N. J.

B. M. White, Edwin A. Curley, Dr. Shepard, Charles H. Shepard, C. O'Connell, Joseph Lovell, A. T. Collins, J. Hickling, W. McCagan and Miller A. Smith of Brooklyn Central single tax club.

W. H. Faulhaber, Wm. T. Crowsdale, M. R. Levenson, Henry Pfanz, J. H. Scully, Gaston Protin, W. Briggan, Wm. McCabe, H. George jr., Richard George, Benjamin Doblin, W. T. Winters, Paul Boesig, Jos. McDonough, M. Van Veen, John Brown, M. Schwarzkopf, David Kane, O. H. Wilmart, Dr. Walter Mendelson, August Lewis, E. M. Klein, C. M. Atwood, W. B. Scott, Joseph Silbernack, G. W. Everett, T. L. McCready, R. S. King, J. T. McKechnie, A. J. Steers, J. W. Sullivan, W. D. Williams, J. C. Buxton, Sol. Levy, E. J. Shriver, August Wolff, L. O. Macdonald, of the New York and Manhattan S. T. Club;

Walter V. Cranford, Harry Bowerman, Simon Mendelson, W. J. Kahnweiler, Richard Carroll, J. J. Beandriss, Mrs. Pentecost,

Jean F. Hardin, George Cromwell, George Wilson, Albert C. Bates, S. F. Dorrance, George J. Holman and W. E. Barker.

The dinner commenced at half past six o'clock and it was close on to nine o'clock when the last course was cleared away. The chairman then rapped for silence and the following speeches were delivered in the order given:

Address of Welcome.

"His worth is warrant for his welcome."
—Shakespeare.

Delivered by Louis F. Post.

Ladies and gentlemen: The object of our meeting is to welcome home a prophet who is not without honor either in his own country or abroad. How hearty that welcome is only they can fully feel who seeing the scope and grandeur of our cause, distinguish the practical steps that lead to its ultimate success. What a splendid cause it is! Single tax men form the nucleus of true democracy. Tyranny in many forms surrounds us. The tory with his blind faith in a divine right to rule and plunder; the protectionist with his scheme for promoting prosperity by choking the channels of trade and increasing production by diminishing productive power; the socialist with his military plan of industrial organization—all animated by the same spirit of paternalism—must be met and conquered; and the conquering force will follow our banner and from our teachings will draw its inspiration. For we stand for individual freedom. (Applause.) The individual is not free to-day. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, even in so-called free countries, are as much a part of the machines they use as they would be under a socialistic regime. But the remedy we propose is not more restriction but less; not less liberty but more; not a surrender of rights but a restoration of rights; not a pooling of miseries but a reign of justice; not an artificial social structure but a natural development of civilization under the benign influence of human freedom. (Applause.)

In some respects we are free. But in two essential particulars we are not. We do not enjoy freedom to produce, and our freedom to trade is most injuriously restricted. Without freedom to produce, freedom in all other forms is endangered, and without freedom to trade the benefits of division of labor are curtailed and advances in civilization obstructed. Unless these forms of freedom are restored, man cannot reach his highest development; and it is to their restoration that all his magnificent powers and the best years of his life have been consecrated by Henry George. (Applause.)

FIRST PRINCIPLES.

There cannot be freedom to produce until men have equal access to natural materials and natural forces—equal access to the land (applause) out of which everything must be drawn that labor can by any possibility produce. But if we were to give to every one equal access to every part of the land, we should breed an industrial anarchy that would drift us back into barbarism. But that is not necessary. Equality of right does not demand it. By a natural law as simple and beneficent as any other of which we know, competition among men for the right to take particular land gives rise to economic rent, which regulates itself according to the advantages of the particular land to which it attaches, and does so almost with the precision of a measuring scale. The world over, the return to the laborer is about the same for the same skill and effort, no matter what the advantages of the land on which he labors may be. It is only rent that varies. But the benefits of rent are reaped by the owner of the land and not by the producer of its fruits. Here is a manifest wrong. But the wrong is not in the law of rent. We might as well complain of the law of gravitation as to complain of the law of rent. It may be said of rent as it has been said of fire, that it is a terrible master but a most excellent servant. (Applause.) The wrong lies in permitting some to appropriate the benefits of the law of rent to the exclusion of others, and this wrong we propose to remedy by making rent common property. That would secure the produce of his labor to the producer, exclusive rights of occupancy to the individual, and the profits of mere occupancy to the community to which it rightfully belongs.

THE PRESENT PRACTICAL PROPOSITION.

By permitting some to appropriate superior natural opportunities, we create a condition that is even worse than the mere application of a public fund to private use. We encourage the taking of land, not for use but for the purpose of withholding it from use for the sake of a higher price in the future, or as we say, for speculation. This forces the worker to find a master or starve for want of an opportunity to work. Making rent common property would cure this evil, too, for if rent were common property no one could profitably appropriate valuable land except to use it. Then unused land would be common, and the laborer, no longer a piteous beggar for work, would be an independent man, free to assert and develop his manhood in the way that pleased him best. (Applause.)

Because we propose to make rent common property, it has been assumed that we in-

tend a system of state leasing. Why this is not the best mode it is unnecessary to state, for that is not what we intend to do. Our plan is the simple one of allowing men to own land, and to buy and sell it, while we take the rent through the machinery of taxation. The selling value of land depends on its economic rent, actual or potential. By taxing this value we appropriate to public use a large proportion of rent, and if we tax it high enough we shall appropriate the largest proportion that is consistent with the cheapest and surest method of collecting it. If we did that, we should leave to the laborer all he produced and take for the community the full value of a common heritage. But if we did not at first take the whole of rent, the single tax, even for the ordinary purposes of government, would necessarily be high enough to yield to the public a large proportion of a common fund that is now diverted almost wholly to private use, it would make it unprofitable for a long time to hold land out of use, and above all, it would assert the principle of common ownership of rent. Our present practical proposition, therefore, is to abolish all taxation save that on land values.

THE GUEST OF THE EVENING.

In this movement, the principles of which are being rapidly diffused throughout the English speaking world, our prophet and leader is our guest to-night.

Henry George, on an occasion like this, we may be permitted publicly to express sentiments of personal regard for you, of gratitude for your services and confidence in your leadership. Your heart and mind were stirred to search for the solution of a great problem—to find a remedy for the involuntary poverty that afflicts mankind, and threatens our civilization with the destruction it has brought upon former civilizations. You re-examined the tenets of political economy, you sounded the depths of philosophy, you measured your conclusions by the eternal laws of morality, and you gave to the world an explanation so simple and yet so conclusive that candid criticism is defied. But you did not rest when you had solved the problem. A remedy was demanded and you found one—one that harmonizes with our habits of thought, and while involving the essential principles of justice, is in the drift of current political agitation. Nor did you rest there. It was then your mission to bring home to the hearts of the people the truth you had discovered, and to promote activity along the lines of the practical reform you proposed. How well you have thus far performed that mission the great progress of our cause can testify. From the latest field of your labor we welcome you home, and in behalf of this company, and of the single tax men of the United States who are with us in spirit to-night, I extend to you a most cordial and affectionate greeting. (Great applause.)

Speech by Henry George.

Fellow-citizens: I thank you for this warm greeting. It is pleasant to me to get home again, and pleasant to be thus welcomed.

This gathering here to-night is an evidence of the strength of our cause; of the deep and rapid spread of its principles. There are around these tables men from all parts of this state, from all the adjoining states, from, I think, of the majority of the states of this Union, even my own old state of California. (Applause.)

To me it has been given, perhaps, more than to any man of this generation, who speaks our English tongue, to realize how great is the country of which we are in reality citizens. From one end of England to the other, in city, town and hamlet, men have pressed to greet me as a comrade and a brother. Only the other night it seems, when the bagpipes shrilled their welcomes, and men pressed to greet me as warmly as though I were a Scotchman coming home. (Applause.)

It is not two weeks ago, when in the most historic of Irish halls, from a thronged audience fairly packed together, rose and ran the "hundred thousand welcomes" of enthusiastic Irishmen, and but a week ago last Saturday I stood on a Liverpool platform with our good friend and fellow citizen, William Lloyd Garrison (applause), to receive their "God speed and come back quickly." And on the other side of the channel, among those who do not speak our tongue, it has been mine to find warm friends, to meet men whose hearts are beating in this great cause of ours. I feel that I am more than an American citizen—(applause)—that I am what is higher yet—a citizen of the world. (Applause.) Around our standards are gathering, and are yet to gather, men who hope for and who strive for that great republic yet to be founded; that republic that some day will unite in harmonious league the people of the earth. (Applause.)

But it is pleasant to get back again; it is pleasant to hear around you one's own accent, and to meet, as I meet here to-night, the men whom I have long known. (Applause.) And I am glad that at this meeting you have selected to preside my old friend, my good friend, my true friend, Louis F. Post. (Applause.) Louis F. Post was one of the first men on this side of the Rocky mountains to throw himself into this cause in the days of its small beginning, and from that time to this he has been faithful in purpose, earnest in faith, indefatigable in effort. (Applause.)

PROGRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

I come back from England—nay, from more than England—I come back from Great Britain and Ireland, this time, with the firm assurance that the land question is already the burning question. That, steadily and irresistibly, movement is being concentrated on the line of taxation; that already the question is entering into practical politics, and that the day of triumph of our cause is coming, coming quickly. (Applause.)

I know how deeply our principles have entered into the minds of the masses there, and I tell you to-night that whenever they come into practical politics, they will show a strength that will surprise everybody. It will seem as though our friends were fairly rising from the ground. (Applause.)

A wise German has said that every great truth that enters the world—every great social reform—must pass through three stages: First, it is utterly preposterous and entirely ridiculous, and nobody ever heard of it before (laughter); second, that it is against religion (laughter), and destructive of social order; third, that everybody always knew it and always was in its favor. (Applause and laughter.)

In Great Britain our cause has thoroughly passed through the first stage; it is emerging from the second, and there are many indications that it is arriving at the third (applause).

This was clear to me in the many meetings I attended and the many addresses I made during my late trip. It was not the largeness of the audiences that impressed me. I had spoken in that country to large audiences before. But it was the change in the temper of the audience and the character of the men who sat on the platform, who moved the votes of thanks and who took official part. The temper of the audience had changed. It was not this time to hear a strange thing that they gathered; it was to hear something of which they had already more than an inkling. And the men who took part—who came forward to occupy the chairs—sat on the platform to move the votes of thanks that are customary on the other side of the water—on such occasions were men who in former times would not have thought of being in such a place. They were, generally speaking, the local notables, the file leaders, the active workers, as we would here say, of the radical wing of the liberal party. That body on the other side of the Atlantic is now thoroughly impregnated with our views. Our ideas, now that people have got over the first novelty, are passing through the masses by diffusion. They are in the air; men get them without knowing where they come from; men get them without thinking they are getting them, and men get them who still look upon us as cranks and visionaries.

Mr. Labouchere, whom you all know by reputation, recently declared in a speech to his constituents that he was not such a visionary as Henry George,—he did not propose to take the land from the landlords and rent it out again. What he was in favor of was a putting a tax upon land values (applause).

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT.

Very noticeable at my meetings this time was the number of clergymen, especially clergymen of that church, or of that body (they prefer that term), to which our good friend, Thomas G. Shearman, belongs—the Congregationalists (applause), who were present and took part, and who invited me to fill their pulpits whenever there was an opportunity. To me this was extremely gratifying. This movement, I find it everywhere the same as I found it in my own case—this movement is at the bottom a religious movement. (Applause.)

I care nothing whatever for creeds—religion lies beneath creeds. (Applause.) I care nothing whatever, how much or how little any man may think he knows of that power which is above all, through all, and in all. (Applause.) But the essence of religion is the desire to do something for others than oneself (applause) is the feeling that in working for the good of mankind one is working on the side of that great power that is all good; is the faith that beneath what is false is something that is true, and beneath all that fluctuates is something that is firm.

I find everywhere, wherever I go, that the men who are with us and are of us, the men who in our slang phrase, for such it has become, that expresses so much, have really "seen the cat" (applause) are in their hearts religious men (applause), have for their motive a religious motive, and consequently are imbued with a strength that cannot be swerved from its purpose. (Applause.)

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

I find, too, that on the other side of the water we have been rapidly and steadily gaining in respectability; I do not mean respectability of the gig order. I mean that the notion that we are "cranks" is passing away; that we are coming nearer and nearer to the plane of practical consideration; that those who opposed us are steadily adopting more and more of our ideas, and consenting to more and more of our plans. (Applause.)

I from the first never expected that we would have to convert the majority of men to our full ideas in order to take a forward step. I have believed, as I still believe, that every step as it comes will be carried by the support of men who at the time would not be willing to take the next step. (Applause.)

This is all right; for so long as they will go with us for the step that must next be taken,

such men are our men; and in taking one step the irresistible impulse of movement is sure to lead them on to take the next. (Applause.)

THE PRACTICAL MOVEMENT IN LONDON.

The great practical movement which is now beginning in England is on the lines of local taxation, in its first stages the attempt to tax land owners as much as the owners of other property are taxed. The London county council, the greatest municipal governing body in the world, a body which is stimulating the idea of self-government among that great London population, has already shown by two or three decisive votes that they are ready to act on this question.

A committee on the taxation of land values, appointed by the county council has, after taking much testimony, already reported that there is no difficulty whatsoever in determining the value of the land as distinct from the value of the improvements.

Some of you perhaps remember that the royal commission on the housing of the poor, at the head of which was the Prince of Wales, proposed in their report the thin end of the single tax wedge. They called attention to the fact that while every house that would help to furnish accommodation to that great over-crowded population was heavily taxed as soon as it was erected, yet the men who were holding idle land on which houses ought to be built escaped taxation though the growth of population was steadily and enormously adding to the value of the land. They declared that this unused ground ought to be taxed as much as the value of buildings and used ground. (Applause.)

That is the line in which advance is taking place, the line on which the London county council is working. While they have no power themselves to change the law, they do have the power of proposing that measure to parliament with all the force of that vast population—of the great vote of London behind them.

Our good friend William Saunders (applause), who has been working like a tiger (if a tiger can be supposed to work without fuss and noise) on these lines, said to me one morning when I called at his office: "I have not slept last night; I have made a great discovery that has kept me awake. Strange as it may appear, I find in looking over the acts of parliament, that, if I read it right, the law now commands the taxation of land values where the land is unused. I have been thinking over it so much that I could not go to sleep." Mr. Saunders laid the matter before another member, a fellow radical, Mr. Torr, a barrister, who coincided with his view; together they brought it before the committee; the majority of the committee accepted their view and reported it to the council, legal opinion has been taken, a test case is to be made, and the probability is that they will be able to make a beginning on our lines even before they can get parliament to act. But parliament must act on the question, for the pressure is coming not merely from London but from other localities. This is the line of advance on the other side of the water.

DILEMMA OF THE LANDLORDS.

Many different schools of theorists have seen that the land question is the fundamental question; but in Great Britain to-day all other schemes are losing ground and clearly and plainly effort is concentrating upon the line of taxation, simply because the line of taxation is the line of least resistance. (Applause.) As for the great interests that are concerned in the continuance of the present system, strong as they are, they are really, to use the expression, "between the devil and the deep sea." (Laughter.) If they oppose the small measures that will be at first offered, they inevitably increase the force that is going to carry them away. If they accept them they know that yielding an inch is but to bring on the demand for an ell. (Applause.) So monstrous is private ownership of land, so unjust is it—so ridiculous even is it, that a few men should be the owners of the element on which and from which a whole people must live—so clear is it that all men have by nature equal rights to the use of the land—that private property in land as we know it can only long continue where from the force of habit it is acquiesced in and never questioned. (Applause.) When it is thought about, when it is talked about, even when it is defended, it is doomed. (Applause.)

Upon my first visit to London, when I met a large number of clergymen of the English church and talked to them about this matter, I found that their desire was to minimize principles, so as not to excite opposition; I told them that was a mistake, that the thing we then wanted was opposition. Whenever, I said to them, we can get a half a dozen of the great hereditary owners of England to go about the country and defending their rights to own England, then we can fold our arms and take back seats. (Applause.) And so it is to-day. I never count anything upon the effect of any speech of mine before an audience; I do not hope to convert men in a few hours. What I count on is the discussions that follow my argument. What I count on is the communications that are sent to the papers; the discussions that go on in private; the editorials that the newspaper editors write to show how these doctrines of ours are "false as Satan." (Laughter and applause.)

In Dundee one morning a lot of friends came to me, one after the other, to say, "Did you see that article in the Journal? is it not atrocious that we should be so misrepre-

sented?" I said: "Have you talked to anybody about it this morning?" One after another replied: "I have been talking to every man I met." (Applause and laughter.) "All right," I said, "the Journal then has this morning sent out thousands of missionaries like you." (Applause.)

THE WORKINGMEN.

Speaking about Dundee—one of the things that most deeply impressed me—one of the things that was most suggestive to me was the address that I received from the Dundee trades council. (Applause.) It has been printed in THE STANDARD, and probably most of you have read it. As they told me, it represented the sentiments of ten thousand organized workingmen in that district. Our ideas are spreading all through the kingdom among the organized workingmen, and not among the unorganized workingmen alone, but among the unorganized workingmen (applause), and even to-day among the agricultural laborers. In the beginning I was far from sanguine of success in our time, and I have always felt that, whether the triumph came or did not come, it should make no difference in my efforts. But now I am as sure as I stand here, and that from the evidence that I find wherever I go, that whatever it may be in the present, the future, the immediate future, is ours. (Prolonged applause.)

Our friends on the other side of the Atlantic—our people on the other side of the Atlantic—say that Great Britain is going to lead the van in this matter. It may be so, and if so, more glory to the British people. But I have not given up faith in my own country; I believe this cause is growing here as surely, as steadily and as rapidly as on the other side of the water, and I hope not that they will hold back, but that we may go forward even faster than our British brethren. (Applause.)

THE AMERICAN BABY ACT.

And there is one thing in which all my patriotic feeling is concentrated. I do hope for a swift coming of that day in which the American people will begin to be true to American principles—in which they will sweep away that degrading vestige of barbarism, that miserable "baby act," our protective tariff. (Applause.)

To me there is really no difference between an Englishman and an American; but still this thing of always having to cross the Atlantic in an English vessel, unless you take a German one—this thing of having American ships protected off the high seas, offends my national self respect. I believe in American intelligence, in American skill, in American adaptability, I believe that all Americans need is a free field and no favor. (Applause.) And I am glad that there is here to-night among the officers and representatives of the single tax clubs a representative of the democratic society of the city of Baltimore. (Applause, and hear, hear.) These democratic societies may not be with us on the single tax, they may not be with us to the end, but in as far as they raise the banner of free trade, in as far as they are against the doctrine of paternalism, in as far as they are for freedom, they are with us. (Applause.) And I do hope that that element represented by the democratic societies in the democratic party will so increase in power that at the next campaign, casting out the Randalls, casting out the Gormans, casting out the men who have no place in the party of Thomas Jefferson, they shall give us a candidate who will have no hesitancy in avowing himself a free trade man. Him we will elect. (Applause.)

FREEDOM.

After all, what is the doctrine of the single tax? That is a name that we have adopted simply for want of a better name. It expresses our means but not our ends (applause). Our movement aims at more than a reform of taxation; what it aims at is equal freedom (applause). We would sweep away all barriers, all restrictions upon the freedom of men to do whatever is good, to do whatever they deem right and wise, so long as it does not interfere with the equal freedom of any one else (applause).

We believe that there is in natural laws a harmony; we believe that what is needed to do away with the social evils from which mankind is now suffering is not the construction of some great machine, not the building up of some immense organization, not the putting of society into leading strings; but the giving of liberty, the trusting to freedom (applause). And so far as any man is on the side of freedom—so far as any man or any body of men are in favor of sweeping away restrictions and giving liberty, they are with us and we are with them (applause).

I thank you for your greeting. I say to you take heart and hope, and fresh courage. Let us press forward. Freedom is not yet here, but she is coming (prolonged applause).

What He Has Accomplished.

"Whose yesterday's look backward with a smile," Young.

Responded to by Thomas G. Shearman.

The Chairman: Those of you who have read "Progress and Poverty," and I suppose most of you have, will remember that after going over the land question, this question of freedom and restriction of monopoly of the natural opportunities of labor, Mr. George comes to the question of how to accomplish the reform he proposes, and finding that it lies along the lines of taxation he enters into a discussion of that subject. Now, as long

ago as 1883 or 1884, I remember hearing, through our members, of a well known resident of Brooklyn who in a quiet way was helping our movement along, and who, through fiscal considerations alone, had arrived at the same conclusion with regard to the question of taxation which Mr. George had arrived at. That man was Thomas G. Shearman, and I now introduce him. (Applause.)

ADDRESS BY THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

The friend whom we greet this evening began the real work of his life only ten years ago, with the publication of the mature fruit of many years' thought and study, in "Progress and Poverty." Two years later Prof. Thorold Rogers visited this country and found, as he says, "That the reading public was interested and amused" by it; that Americans "read the book, not seriously, I conclude, and have, I presume, forgotten it." But he adds that, in England in 1886, "it has run through enormous editions and is said to be eagerly accepted as a new gospel of labor by multitudes of intelligent workmen." Prof. Rogers was hardly as well informed concerning American readers as he was concerning English workmen. If the American reading public did not take Henry George seriously in 1881 American devotees of the existing condition of things certainly took him with tremendous seriousness and even ludicrous dread in the fall of 1886. That absurd degree of seriousness has passed away; but what remains? What have these ten years to show for the constant labor and enthusiasm of Henry George? (Applause.)

WHO ACCOMPLISHED THE GREAT WORK OF THE RECENT CAMPAIGN?

The election of 1888—the last victory which the robber tariff will ever win—demonstrated that the tariff was weakest in precisely those quarters where it was universally believed to be strongest, that is, among the laboring men of manufacturing cities and towns. Outside of Pennsylvania, a large majority of the men employed in protected factories, foundries and mills voted for tariff reform and were ready for free trade. Why? Who educated them out of their old superstition? The democratic party? Not at all. It did not even allow the subject to be discussed in New York or Brooklyn until the election was close at hand. Masses of men are not converted by a half-hearted canvass of a few weeks just before election. The tariff reform clubs? We who labored through those organizations for years know very well that they utterly failed to reach the mass of mechanics and workmen. Yet the work was done. Who did it? There is but one possible answer. It was Henry George. (Great applause.) He gained the confidence of laboring men; he was listened to; his books were read. Not all who voted with him had heard him; but it may be safely said that more than nine-tenths of all the artisans who voted that protection of the boss meant plunder of the workman had either heard or read Henry George, or were decisively influenced by those who had both heard and read him. Now this desertion of the cause of protection by the very class for whose benefit it is always pretended that protection is maintained must, in the nature of things, be speedily fatal to protection itself.

WHO GAVE THE DEATH BLOW TO PROTECTION?

And, if Henry George were not allowed to live for further good work, it would be sufficient reward for the past that he should have had the privilege of giving the real death blow to the monstrosity of protection to the rich at the expense of the poor. (Applause.) Let us look at another practical question. Long before Mr. George became interested in the subject, many able men demonstrated the folly and wickedness of our system of taxation of personal property. David A. Wells, Isaac Sherman, George H. Andrews and many others set the truth before the people in a clear light. Yet all their efforts produced no impression. The farmer never could get the idea into his head; and the mechanic would neither read nor listen to a discussion which seemed to have no bearing upon his interests. But some influence has converted mechanics to this belief, by hundreds of thousands; so that Mayor Hewitt himself is convinced that, if the legislature would only leave the people of New York city to regulate the form of local taxation for themselves, an overwhelming majority would vote to abolish all taxes on personal property. (Applause.) But did Mr. Hewitt or any of his allies gain this majority? They will not pretend it. Who did? No one but Henry George. (Great applause.)

SIGNS OF THE GREAT PROGRESS.

How is it as to the main practical proposition of Mr. George—the concentration of all taxes upon the rent of land? Ridiculed and denounced as this was, only three years ago, its opponents were soon compelled to argue upon it, with the result of showing such utter intellectual weakness as to turn their ridicule upon themselves. Now, they confine themselves mostly to claiming that rent is such a tiny thing that it will not defray the present cost of government. Meanwhile, the bitterest opponents of Mr. George are compelled to admit that the single tax is a fair and proper subject for consideration; and, on every hand, may be found numbers of educated and conservative men who privately avow their belief that this is the only just method of taxation. Sixty thousand persons, in widely separated parts of the country, and

acting one by one, have signed petitions in favor of this system; and they represent hundreds of thousands who cannot be reached in that particular way.

Turning now to our kin beyond sea, it has just been made evident that the new gospel of labor has gained even a stronger hold upon the intelligent workmen of Britain than it had when Professor Rogers wrote. The enthusiastic reception which our friend has met, from north to south, the significant result of the late London elections, the acceptance of taxation of ground rents as part of the liberal platform, the vigorous denunciation of such taxation by the London Times, all mark a wonderful degree of progress. For while the present demand of the rejuvenated liberals is only for the imposition of a part of the necessary taxes upon ground rents, there is no doubt in the minds of the landlords, any more than in ours, that the collection of part of the taxes in this manner will prove so convenient as speedily to lead to the collection of all in the same way. (Laughter and applause.)

I know of no instance in which the ideas of a single man, entirely outside of public life, and with no organization behind him, have made such rapid progress as have the doctrines of Henry George. (Applause.) Evidently, he has come to stay. (Laughter.) The single tax is a solid factor in political science, which must be taken into account; and it will soon be an important factor in practical politics. But the future is not within my sphere this evening.

THE RELIGION IN THE MOVEMENT.

Now, by some strange misapprehension, I believe that some of our friends have thought that I am the man who is taking religion out of this great movement; that I who believe in a God, that I who believe in religion, and believe that God is guiding this movement, have no practical religion in it, and am simply making this a fiscal reform. It is an extraordinary situation of things that the men who believe in God should be considered to be the men who have no religion in the movement, and that the religion is confined entirely to our friends who do not believe in God. (Laughter and applause.)

Some of our friends are afraid that we are growing too practical and are losing our sentimental side. But what kindles sentiment or enthusiasm, if not the sense of practical wrongs and the hope of practical remedies? The heart of Henry George himself was stirred, not by a mere sentimental reflection that society was not in an ideal state or by a sentimental hope that we might all attain to the absolute freedom of Robinson Crusoe, but by seeing the wretched poverty of the poor, the unsatisfying waste and ostentation of the rich, the pinched faces of little children, the hunger, the barren lives, the ignorance, the squalor of masses of men and women. He sought a practical cure for these practical evils; and it is for this reason that I congratulate him upon the great advance which he has made among practical men toward a practical success. I congratulate him that he has been wise enough to concentrate his own energies, as well as the state's taxes, and that, in reply to all clamors for his attention to minor questions, he has been wise enough to answer: "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down." I congratulate him upon the sound common sense which has led him to look to the pith of things, rather than the shell, to walk with those who were going his way, and to deal with facts, rather than fancies. (Applause.) I congratulate him upon his modesty, which has kept him from the inflation of self conceit, which has destroyed so many prophets of new causes. I congratulate him upon his simple integrity, which has made it impossible for any sinister influences to lead him astray. I congratulate him, perhaps, more than all, upon his possession of a gift which few speakers or writers, so effective as he, possess, and the lack of which has slain thousands of promising champions—the power to say nothing, when he has nothing to say. (Great applause.)

What He Hopes to Accomplish.

"Act—act in the living present," Longfellow.

Responded to by William T. Crowsdale.

Mr. Crowsdale said that even if he were able to do so, he could not in the brief time remaining attempt to tell all that Mr. George hopes to accomplish. One thing he could say, however, with certainty, and that was that Mr. George hoped to accomplish, through the votes of the people, the abolition of all other taxes and the establishment of the single tax, and the speaker said he would briefly summarize the work done by the enrollment committee.

That committee is a voluntary body, claiming no authority, and devoting itself to the simple work of obtaining signatures to a petition asking congress to do all that lies in its power to abolish taxes on the products of labor and transfer them to land values. The committee has never expected that the petition will produce a very profound effect on congress, but its circulation has given devoted men and women opportunities to present our doctrines in every state and territory, and has given to the committee the names and addresses of 2,000 workers.

THE WORK OF ORGANIZATION.

It has recently sent out a circular to these workers, giving to each the names of their fellow workers in the same cities and towns,

asking the names of single tax organizations and urging the formation of clubs or committees where none already exist.

Mr. Croasdale said that on returning to the city to attend this reception he had been gratified to find that responses to these circulars are coming in, and that they show a rapid increase in the number of single tax organizations. At the risk of appearing dry, he would give the bare facts.

In the state of New York clubs have reported from New York city, Brooklyn, Flushing, New Brighton, Albany, Auburn, Poughkeepsie, Rochester and Buffalo. The Buffalo club has adopted a novel and effective plan for spreading our doctrine. It has put out a circular calling the attention of men out of work to the fact that the city discourages the building of factories by taxing men for building them, and that it makes rents higher for those who do work by taxing houses. It accompanies the circular by a slip asking each person receiving a circular if he is willing to vote for the removal of the tax on improvements.

IN PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND AND MAINE.

In Pennsylvania the Henry George club of Philadelphia is circulating a state petition and doing much good work not under the auspices of the enrollment committee. Clubs are reported from Pittsburg and Reading, and the latter, though a new organization, has rooms open every evening.

In New Jersey there are clubs at Jersey City (which holds open-air Sunday afternoon meetings), at Bayonne, at Orange (where space has been bought in a local paper), South Orange, Paterson and Newark. The latter has permanent headquarters always open.

In Connecticut there are clubs at New Haven and Meriden.

Rhode Island has a state association for legislative work, and at Pawtucket there is a club that maintains permanent headquarters and holds open-air meetings.

Maine has been invaded, and at Auburn there is a club that has permanent headquarters and reading rooms, and preparations are making for a state conference.

IN MASSACHUSETTS, OHIO, INDIANA, ILLINOIS, IOWA AND MISSOURI.

In Massachusetts there are clubs at Boston, Lynn (where they are stirring up the assessors), Newburyport, (where a former assembly of Knights of Labor has turned itself into a single tax club), at Whitman, Stoneham (where Dr. Lymington Brown is president), Neponset, Worcester and Hyde Park.

In Ohio, Cleveland has a strong and flourishing club of which T. L. Johnson is president, and there are clubs at Columbus, Miamisburg, Akron, Cincinnati and Youngstown. The latter holds open air meetings at which Billy Radejiffe is the apostle.

Indiana has a strong club at Indianapolis. In Illinois there are great clubs at Chicago, Jacksonville and Springfield.

Iowa has clubs at Des Moines and Allenton.

In Missouri St. Louis has a fine club, with permanent headquarters, and there is a new and vigorous club at Kansas City, which was able to get up a good meeting for Mr. Shearman recently. At Benton, a suburb of St. Louis, "Pa." Chase has established a summer school of political economy, at which he dispenses "Progress and Poverty," tea and cakes.

IN MINNESOTA, COLORADO, CALIFORNIA, SOUTH DAKOTA AND OTHER STATES.

Minnesota has clubs at St. Paul and Minneapolis. The latter has a reading room and a news store where single tax publications are in stock.

Colorado has clubs at Denver, Pueblo and Hawxburst.

California has clubs at Sacramento and San Francisco. The latter has just opened permanent headquarters.

South Dakota has a club at Rapid City.

Nebraska has clubs at Omaha and Wy-more.

Tennessee has a club at Memphis, which has undertaken as its special work the circulation of a petition for an amendment to the constitution leaving the legislature free in fixing the objects of taxation.

Maryland has a club at Baltimore, and many single tax men have joined the Crescent democratic society, which has welcomed them with open arms.

Clubs are reported from Augusta, Ga.; New Orleans, La., and Little Rock, Ark. Texas has a state association with headquarters at Houston, and at Washington, D. C., there is a club which is about to open new and handsome reading rooms.

WORK IN OTHER PLACES.

Committees have been organized as follows: At Gloversville, Elmira and Cohoes in New York, and at Cohoes a club will be organized as soon as suitable quarters can be found; Passaic and Elizabeth, N. J.; Pottstown, Pa.; Canon City, Col.; Pervis, Cal.; Spantre, Ill.; Mason City, Ia.; Pittsfield, Mass., and South Bend, Ind.

Numerous letters have been received from all parts of the country promising the formation of clubs or committees, and everywhere there is a feeling of increasing enthusiasm and renewed vigor.

Perhaps better than all else is the evidence coming in from all quarters to the effect that there is generally a better understanding of our principles and a breaking down of the prejudice that has stood as a barrier to their

advance. Mr. Croasdale closed by expressing his belief that the people of America would yet show that England is not ahead of them in this great reform.

The Chairman—Representatives are here from single tax clubs in Buffalo, in Chicago, in Baltimore, in Philadelphia, in Providence, and other places, and the Crescent democratic club of Baltimore (applause) is also represented. But, as you can see, we have not the time to hear from more than one of these representatives. The Henry George club of Philadelphia was organized about the time of the mayoralty campaign in 1886, and I invite Mr. A. H. Stephenson, who has been its secretary from the beginning, to address you. (Applause.)

Mr. Stephenson—I should be very much pleased to address you this evening, but the hour is late, and we have with us those who can better entertain you than I. I therefore take pleasure in declining, so that you may have an opportunity of listening to Mr. Johnson. (Applause.)

The Chairman—I am very sorry we could not hear further from Mr. Stephenson. We shall, however, have a moment for Tom L. Johnson after the regular speakers are through.

Looking Forward.

"Some day Love shall claim his own,"

"Some day Right ascend his throne,"

"Some day hidden Truth be known,"

—Lewis J. Bates.

Responded to by John De Witt Warner.

The chairman: The last speaker on the programme is a gentleman who claims that he is not a single tax man unlimited. I always believed him until at the last Henry George dinner, when he spoke of the people who do nothing and want so much land to do it with. Since that time I have had my doubts. I refer to John DeWitt Warner.

MR. WARNER'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman: It has rather puzzled me that I have been repeatedly tolerated at the state festivals of the Single tax men. A couple of weeks ago, however, one of your members explained to me that we were really nothing but mummies; that swathed about by the limitation of our time, political and social, we would never get ahead unless some live man—and he modestly suggested Mr. George as that man—would take us along with him. That reference to a mummy, sir, threw a flood of historical light upon the solution of the doubt with which I have been visited. Far back by the old Nile, sir, I saw the first great single tax man Joseph; how he bought in all Egypt for Pharaoh and let it out under perpetual leases to its cultivators; and there rose, too, in my mind's eye pictures of those great Egyptian banquets, at each of which, if you will remember, at least one mummy was always given a seat, and I began to realize, sir, the gravity and the dignity of my position. (Laughter.)

But I regret, sir—and you are going to regret it still more—that you did not carry out in faithful detail the old custom you have chosen to adopt, for the Egyptians, sir—the ancient ones—never fooled with their mummy. (Laughter.) They let their solemn guest remain silent, and so doing, sir, they averted the fate that you have courted.

EVEN A MUMMY WOULD HAVE BEEN MOVED.

But that toast—"Looking Forward"—Even a mummy would have hard work to keep his mouth from responding to it.

I suppose there is not one man here to-night but what if the world were to end at once would believe that both it and he might as well not have been created. I do not think that there is man here to-night—and if there is, he has got into the wrong crowd—who does not believe that there is a good time coming, when every wrong shall be righted, every effort recompensed, every sacrifice rewarded. The future is the one thing in which we all have confidence; it is the one thing, sir, which nerves us to labor and to wait. What is to characterize that future? How are we to know as we approach it? It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that that future is to be characterized by greater freedom (applause); by an effort on the part of every individual to obtain that greater freedom, and by a more careful effort on the part of each well to employ so much of that freedom as he may have. I do not believe it will come from more organization or more government, or more paternal institutions whether in the shape of protectionism or socialism or any other form which lays the individual one side and substitutes for it corporate or co-operative individuality.

Not more government the magic
That the waiting world shall bless,
But a nobler generation
That shall need, and suffer, less.
More true men, and not more rulers,
Shall ward off impending fate,
And the harmony of freemen
Prove the only lasting state.

(Applause.)

MORE FREEDOM MORE OPPORTUNITY TO EACH.

So, gentlemen, when I am asked whether I can see clearly the way all through to the end of that great freedom, I answer frankly, No, I cannot see far enough. There may be those about me who believe they can. My vision is too short. But I believe, sir, that as we pass every mile stone on the route we shall find inscribed upon it, just as we have found engraved upon every one we have

passed, "More freedom"—more opportunity for each.

And, sir, inasmuch as the one great privilege vouchsafed to us by nature, which is not as yet in the hands of all people as it should be, is that of each to earn his living from the land, so, sir, although I may differ with you in the extent and in the manner in which it should be applied, I believe in the principle of the single tax. (Applause.)

Do you recall, Mr. Chairman, the first occasion when the best lands of this world were shut out from its inhabitants? It was when the flaming sword was set at the eastern gate of Paradise as a punishment for man's sin. And from that day to this the race has writhed under the same scourge. I do not begrudge to those who insist upon holding more land than they will use the precedent that has been thus created for them: I do not envy them their self-appointed office as representatives of the primal curse. But, sir, I am certain, and they may be certain, that the prophecies of a golden age to come are as sure as are the traditions of that old Paradise Lost, and they may be certain, too, that when the race, now disinherited, shall once come to its own again; then, in God's mercy, their graceless office will end.

The chairman then read the following telegrams and letters:

Middletown, N. Y.—Single tax men of Middletown send greetings. Success to the cause. GEORGE WINTERS, S. T.

Syracuse, N. Y.—A word of good cheer from Syracuse friends to the Prophet of San Francisco. J. K. McGUIRE, Sec.

Buffalo, N. Y.—We congratulate Mr. George upon success of his foreign mission, and welcome gladly his safe return. Greeting to all present to-night.

BUFFALO TAX REFORM CLUB.

New Brighton, S. I.—Staten Island sends greeting to the modern Moses. With such a leader the future is ours.

JOHN S. COGAN, Prest.

A. B. STODDARD, Sec. Richmond County Single Tax Club.

Jamaica Plain, Boston.—I am very sorry I cannot be with you to welcome Mr. George, our great orator. Present my best regards to all friends. Yours fraternally,

HAMLIN GARLAND,

President Boston single tax club.

Mobile, Ala.—I congratulate you upon your successful trip and safe return.

E. Q. NORTON.

St. Louis, Mo.—The Benton school of social science sends you a hearty welcome home.

P. A. CHASE.

Cincinnati, Ohio.—The Cincinnati single tax club assembled sends greeting.

WM. C. WULF, Secretary.

San Francisco, California.—Your California friends send greetings and congratulations. Your recent tour has accomplished wonders in preparing the civilized world for our doctrines. The single tax cause is making rapid progress here. All hope to see you in San Francisco soon. JAMES G. MAGUIRE.

New York.—W. T. Croasdale, Esq., E. McClean, Esq., and others, committee, gentlemen: Accept my cordial thanks for your kind invitation to the dinner to be given to Henry George on the 29th inst. I greatly regret that absence from town upon that evening will prevent my attendance. The earnest spirit and noble purpose of Henry George must commend the admiration of every one who admires disinterested public service. These qualities, together with the singular earnestness and activity of his supporters, will command in time, a full hearing for the ideas he represents. Meanwhile, I am glad to see that advocates of the single tax recognize the present duty of co-operating with the democratic party in its work of securing for the people relief from the burdens of our iniquitous tariff. Yours very truly,

A. AUGUSTUS HEALY.

Baltimore.—Wm. T. Croasdale and others committee: Gentlemen—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your invitation to me as president of the Crescent Democratic Society to attend the reception and dinner to be given to the Hon. Henry George on his return from Europe, July 29th. Finding it impossible to attend, and desiring that the society should be represented on this great occasion, I have requested Mr. Alfred J. Carr to attend as such representative.

Hoping this will meet with your approval, and thanking you for giving us the honor of being represented on such an occasion, I am, yours truly,

N. MORRISON.

The Chairman—I am about to introduce to you a free trader who ran for congress, but who did not get there, and whose candidacy was a matter of national notoriety. That man is Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland. (Applause.)

MR. JOHNSON'S ADDRESS.

You have heard a good deal about the past and the future of the single tax; I will just detain you for a moment to consider the present. You know St. Paul was converted in a dream, but 30,000 people were converted to the single tax in ten minutes recently. When Johnstown was swept away there was nothing left but land to tax. (Laughter.) There was a great lesson to be learned there. It was a study in which a great many phases of the single tax could be clearly seen. All

over this country came a response of generosity such as never was witnessed before. Millions of dollars, enough money to pay half the loss, was raised by the public for the people of Johnstown. But raising the money was easy work compared to distributing it, getting it into the hands of the people in some way that approached fairness. The dead had to be buried and the starving fed, and the city, without a grocery store or without a market, had to be supplied from abroad. Money was useful in the start, and to-day there has been a million, probably over a million dollars distributed with some degree of fairness.

But I say to you, in all candor, and I have been there ever since the flood, that I believe the two millions of dollars still remaining to be distributed is to-day a curse to Johnstown. It hangs over those poor people with all their sorrow as the greatest sorrow of all. It has demoralized them—so many thousands turned upside down—thinking what their share of this enormous sum will be. They forget that when you divide it up among four thousand families the share of each family is only a few hundred dollars. And unless that money is quickly distributed, and the committee bankrupted, it is going to be a continuous curse, and it would be better to fling it into the sea.

MEN WANT NOT CHARITY, BUT JUSTICE.

Now, that is a strange state of things, but it proves one important phase of the single tax—that is, that it is utterly impossible to help people by charity. (Applause.) There is but one way to help the men, especially the lower stratum, that stratum that struggles hardest for a living. That way is to do them simple justice. (Applause.) The crumbs that fall from the rich man's table can never help the poor.

Johnstown brings up another parallel which shows how impossible it is under any system of a protective tariff, any paternal form of government—and charity is only one feature of that—how absolutely impossible it is to devise a protective tariff or organize a charity that will accomplish the end in view. (Applause.)

For if every man in Johnstown were engaged in the work of paying out all that money, planning and executing ways of putting it into the proper hands, it would not be possible to do the thing. (Applause.)

There are many lessons there to be learned. I have always had a sort of a hobby as a railroad man that the true principle of running street railroads was to run them free. I have tried to convert some of my brother street railroad men at conventions to my way of thinking, but have never succeeded in making a single convert. Now, we have tried the practical workings of this plan at Johnstown. The people had no money, and so we ran our street railroad free, and it was a wonderful success. It was the easiest road to manage that I ever saw. The ticket office was washed out. Our railroad runs by steam, and it has but two stations. But of all the devices, bell punches, patent wrenches and everything we have ever tried, nothing served so well in preventing stealing as carrying the people free (applause).

Rev. John W. Kramer, who was down on the list of speeches to respond to the toast "When the good time comes," was delayed at a funeral in Connecticut too late to catch a train, and did not get to the dinner. In a letter to Mr. George explaining this, he says:

2182 FIFTH AVENUE,

NEW YORK, July 29, 1889.

My Dear Mr. George: It has been with very great interest in the cause, and with much friendship for you, that I have read the reports of your work in Great Britain and Ireland, and at the congress in Paris. Welcome back to us, and thanks for your energetic labors abroad.

My theme to-night was to be "The Realization of the Ideal." A great seer must speak for me. "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron; I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise."—Isaiah, 60, 17 and 18. Very truly yours,

JOHN W. KRAMER.

Truth Must Come Uppermost.

His friends—and they are not easily counted—have already offered Mr. Henry George a warm welcome home. He has had a busy time abroad, filling as many engagements as the time allowed, and declining as many more. He is a radical of the most radical sort, but it matters little what a man thinks if he only thinks honestly. The progress of the world comes from the assertion of one philosopher that "it is so" and of another that "it isn't so." Mr. George takes the "isn't" side in the argument, and before we get through we shall have a very lively and instructive controversy.—[N. Y. Herald.

His Relatives Say He Was Insane.

Freeland, Pa., Tribune.
A landlord in Philadelphia began reducing the rents of several properties which he owned, and his relatives concluded that he was insane. An examination was made and their suspicions proved to be correct, and last week he was taken to the asylum. When a landlord voluntarily reduces the rent an examination of his sanity is in order every time.

"BACK TO THE LAND."

In spite of law of parliament the English people have been enabled by the earlier, more enduring and stronger law of custom to preserve many examples of their ancient rights in the land. Barring depopulated grouse-moors and deer-forests, there is hardly a parish in England where one can not make use of immemorial rights of way through fields and woods, along hedge-rows or over downs. There is no sweeter walk in all the country than the famous pathway, leading along the hedges, from Stratford-on-Avon to Ann Hathaway's cottage at Shottery. You pass through several separate fields that have doubtless known many landlords since Shakspeare's day, yet the path is common way still. And in our own country the identical old custom has been likewise preserved, for at Newport one is free to walk along "the Cliffs" within the property bounds of extremely exclusive cottagers.

The most delightful parts of New England towns are their commons. There used to be commons enough in old England in bygone days, before the practice of thievish enclosure came into vogue. Commons are now a luxury, inasmuch that when a great pleasure ground like Epping Forest or Hampstead Heath is preserved from destruction and made over by purchase to the people there is a splendid celebration, with music and processions and general rejoicing. Even in humbler neighborhoods, as recently in Kennington, the efforts put forth by the common people to retain forever their old playground, with its ancient greensward, touch the reader with a strange and sympathetic interest.

At last the spoliation of the northerly British mountains seems to have reached its limits. A movement is now under way to grant or return to the people freedom to walk over the Scotch moors. One must not molest any game nor injure any vegetation; parliament is merely prayed to enable the humble pedestrian to stroll over the everlasting hills, to enjoy the prospect and breathe the air of his native land. His lordship's game keepers must cease to prevent him doing these lawless things.

The people of this country, in congress assembled, have set aside the Yellowstone natural park for public use and enjoyment; and they have joined with Canada across the border in relieving the quondam owners of the vantage points at Niagara of their divine right to peep at the falls. The more recent opening of the public lands upon the islands of Lake George to the use of camping parties has been hailed with natural delight by a general consensus of opinion. A principle is embodied which is everywhere recognized as just and beneficial.

The latent intuition of all men that they have a common right to the use of certain kinds of land sometimes rises to a flame of indignation when an act of immediate injustice is brought home to them. The recent outcry of the country-folk in one of our interior counties where a club of city men bought up the bed of a neighboring celebrated trout stream, is evidence that these farmers have regarded the stream in question as common property, so far as its uses are concerned. Now that the stream is to be strictly guarded by keepers and no person uninvited is to be permitted to fish, the overthrow of the old custom of the locality based on friendliness and justice comes very hard to bear.

The strength of the movement to recover the use of natural opportunities to all men lies just in this truth, that all men have within them an instinct that urges them to the enjoyment of natural opportunities. The love of the land in some one or in many of its countless manifestations is an instinct which in the normal human being can not be restrained. It is as natural as the love of life, indeed it correlates with the love of life, and its overthrow argues mental unbalance. And it is more natural for a man to love the fields or the woods or the sea or the mountains than for him to extend his affections to the aggregation known as his native land. The extreme localization of English rural life is instinct with the strongest and sweetest sentiments of a religious people. The poets of Italy and Provence sang of the soil with a persistent burning pagan joy. And so charged was the Greek mind with an actual worship of nature that in all its glory the Greek theatre did not dare to imitate the natural world; but open to the sky and in sight of the moun-

tains and the blue sea the just relation was always presented to the audience between man's tentative art and nature's eternal perfection.

In our day custom and restriction have done much to deny us our kindest and most natural pleasures. Occasionally we break the trammels. No more inspiring sight can be seen than annually in England, at Whitsuntide, the great outpouring of the people into the lanes and fields and byways. The country side is all alive with holiday makers, whose whole delight and consummate happiness is to revisit once again the breezy downs or the great sea or the retired woods, and revel and roll upon the earth in a very ecstasy of freedom.

The poetry of earth is never dead, and every man is at least something of a poet. I cannot believe that any one will ever be found who, having in this age endured the horrors of a tenement house and lived to see them abolished, would wish to see them re-established. Even now when sentiment and tenderness in many a rookery may almost be said to have been laid forever low, do we not frequently see a spark of the poetry I speak of fitfully flashing in the gloom? Give the children of the poor a charity excursion into the country and you will hear uttered by them homely expressions of an awakened rapture. Returned to the city, they will for a whole year behold the beauties of the hills and valleys, as in a dream. Will any one say that our scanty parks are not appreciated by the poor? He is wrong. Parks have been a delight to the people since the time that Cæsar bequeathed one across the Tiber to the Romans. But with good reason the poor do not fancy the restriction that bids them "keep off the grass." To run at will over the turf or throw oneself down under a tree is the only relaxation after all. If the poor could afford the luxury they would plant their wretched areas and alleys with tender grass, recognizing that greensward is more soothing and pleasant than paving stones. Why do many of the miserably poor keep flower pots in their windows? Do they not always in their pathetic, ineffectual way try to keep in touch with nature? They do, indeed, crave the lovely gifts of earth with a craving that is terrible to think upon. Inalienable right to the bounties and beauties of nature! The unerring instinct is theirs. Simply, they have not yet seen the positive necessity of asserting that right, nor, alas, have they the time to dream of the enjoyment of it!

I believe that this passion for the pleasurable forms of nature will be and must be indulged under the operation of the single tax. Freedom's charter is as wide as air! Who can picture the magnificence of our future pleasure walks and drives, following the lordly Hudson for a score of miles, with unrivaled vistas up the river and down the bay? What parterres of flowers and what noble statues may not adorn our embankment? And as for our extensive pleasure grounds beyond the Harlem river, in some such wide champlain may rise a veritable People's palace, not like the one of Mile End, surrounded by the squalor and misery of a million slaves, but standing clear and proud, like the stately pleasure dome of Coleridge's vision:

"Twice five miles of fertile ground,
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery."

The philosophy of the single tax, beautiful in its even handed justice, is finding a ready welcome in the minds and aspirations of all sorts and conditions of men. "Back to the Land," the title that Bishop Nulty gave to his famous letter, voices an immutable longing in the innermost hearts of the people. The instinct that the earth is the source of all that is good or bad for men lies at the root and is the soul of primitive religion. The earth-spirit strenuously dominates men's minds. The powers of nature, terrific, destructive, beneficent or serene, so impress the thoughts of the unlettered of early civilizations that they are transmuted very readily into omnipotent deities. Ignorant fear seems to predominate, but love and joy have their places; and poets and seers intensify a universal belief and but embellish with fable and mysticism the cruder images of the many.

The essential habits of mind that inspired in ruder times the unaffected out-

pouring of supplication or of thanksgiving are not so greatly altered in these days of knowledge and judgment. The local deity, possessed of one power for good or evil, has indeed become the cosmic Almighty—our thoughts have widened with the process of the suns. Yet we cannot escape being acted upon by our immediate environment, and acted upon so strongly as almost to suggest our near relationship with the primitive man. We stand awe-struck in a great storm, we cower before the flash of lightning, we imagine strange forms to menace us in uncanny places at night. On the other hand, we are often overcome by the influence of the beautiful and the serene. I have seen a strong man brought to tears while contemplating the very loveliness of nature mirrored in a sunrise among the Swiss mountains.

If, as it seems to me, the human heart craves knowledge of and companionship with the mysterious processes of nature, the return of great masses of men back to the land, yea, and to the lands, from which in a thousand ways they have been separated, must be hailed by them with shouts. Every man in his vineyard and under his own fig-tree is not the state of society pictured in "Progress and Poverty" as likely to follow the single tax. Yet even now the ability to possess and enjoy a home, which is our word for the vineyard and the fig tree, is the end for which men are struggling and toiling. Warren Hastings used to say that all his course in India was dictated by a consuming desire to recover his ancestral home in England, which had passed out of his family. And what shall we say of the vast numbers of men and women who, in one way or another, have been driven away from their native villages and towns and cities in Europe to seek new homes in distant continents? Can we doubt that they would return to the scenes of their childhood with thanksgiving if they could return to a reign of freedom and peace? The enforced migration of great masses of people from their homes by reason of injustice and oppression is surely the most terrible spectacle in history. The proud glory of our great measure will be reached when men shall cross the seas for trade and instruction and pleasure, and cease to cross them for very life. In those days many a deserted village will renew its life, and bloom again with the sweetness and health that Goldsmith remembered.

There are indeed some men, like Dr. Johnson and Charles Lamb, who prefer "Fleet street" to any other place on earth. But even the cockney sometimes belies his words, and unfortunately both the doctor and Lamb are not examples of mental soundness. The very tramp of civilization has a clearer perception. He finds his solace in resting upon the benches of our green parks, watching the sparrows and listening to the dripping fountains. And Falstaff, type of the fallen, comes back at last to the sweetness of nature and dies "babbling of green fields."

In perfect truth the Earth is our mother, and the natural affection of men will always crave the right, inalienably theirs, to receive her liberal, loving gifts.

E. Y. COHEN.

The Way to Run a School House Campaign.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va., July 28.—The single tax men who may be possessed of the lazy notion that they cannot do anything for the great cause of freedom may take off their hats to the school house campaigners again. We have been on the war path. We have gotten them once more. Talk about not knowing what to do or how to go about it. Pshaw! boy; it's easy as grease. This is the way. The first thing to do is to convert, partially at least, one person in the neighborhood you have your eye upon. He then gets the consent of the trustees to the use of the school house on the night desired, sticks up the notice of the meeting, and fills and lights the lamps. Here is one of our written notices which I have pulled off a rail fence along the road announcing the meeting:

NOTICE.
There will be a meeting at
Tallyho School House
to discuss
The Single Tax
On Saturday evening, July 27th.
Come and bring your friends and ask questions.

And don't the farmers listen! My, O! they sat with elbows on the desks and hands under chins, never once applauding or dissenting—all ears and eyes. They will listen all night, not one going out or showing any signs of weariness. Last Saturday night we held the banner meeting at a school house eight miles in the country. All the bell weathers were

there and quite a sprinkling of ladies. The audience did not gather till almost nine, but came with a rush and all at once when they did come. Two of us spoke and explained the elementary points of taxation and the land question. We were so completely satisfied with the effect that we did not mind footing it home after the meeting and getting to town at half-past 1 o'clock in the morning.

To those who bewail their inability to help on this cause of "The land for the people" I would mildly suggest that maybe you let your fear of ridicule keep you from doing what it is clearly your duty to do—to arouse men and set them to thinking. But let me tell you that once you catch the enthusiasm of this work you will never want to stop.

W. I. BOIREMAN.

SINGLE TAX AND BUILDING LOANS.

Sunday Meeting of the Jersey City Standard Club.

In spite of the moisture that dripped from the trees in Currie's woods on Sunday, July 28, and the threatening weather, the Standard single tax club of Jersey city held the seventh outdoor meeting in Salter's Woodbine grove on the Pamunapo shore of Newark bay.

The speaker of the day was Charles O'Connor Hennessy, editor of the Home Seeker, who delivered an address upon the application of the single tax to building associations. Mr. Hennessy has for a long time been devoted to the advancement of co-operative building loan associations.

In his argument he sought to show that by the adoption of the single tax these associations would be increased. He gave a clear outline of the rise and progress of associations in the United States, with illustrations of the great amount of good that has been done by them. In the United States, the speaker said that there are at least five thousand associations, with a membership of over one million, having an invested capital of \$100,000,000. Twenty-five out of forty-one states have building and loan associations. Under the present system these associations tend to create and increase land values enormously, and in many instances this increase operates against the homeseeker because he improves by his frugality that which otherwise would remain unimproved. If the single tax were in operation the home site speculator would be killed at a blow. He could not afford to hold land without improving it. Thousands of acres of accessible land would be put into the market. Then, when homes were built under the proposed condition, the owners would not find a tax levied upon their industry. All improvements would be exempted from taxation. Employers would seek labor instead of labor begging for a chance to employ itself; wages would rise and wealth would distribute itself more generally and more equally than now. And with all these changes would come better men, better women, happier marriages, healthier children, brighter homes and the establishing of that social equality, not yet realized, which is to make our common country the grandest, richest and greatest under the sun.

Next Sunday the speaker will be Thomas B. Preston, of Brooklyn, who will deliver an address upon socialism and the Single tax.

The Single Tax Club House Tontine.

NEW YORK, July 28.—The chairman of the Tontine club house committee, Mr. Steers, after a long and patient endeavor to merge the club house tontine with the real estate tontine of Washington, D. C., has finally concluded that it would be wisdom to wind up the club house scheme; so he has instructed me to return the cash subscriptions and close the work. Considerable time has elapsed since the club house tontine was begun and it may be possible that many of the subscribers have changed their addresses; so I avail myself of the privilege of THE STANDARD columns to reach all who contributed to the scheme. I ask that all who contributed cash to forward an addressed and stamped envelope, through which I can return the money sent me. And if the subscribers desire they can also authorize me to register the letters. Those who may wish their cash subscriptions otherwise disposed of can write me to that effect and I will attend to it and have it properly acknowledged. WM. McCABE.

In Brooklyn, E. D.

At the regular meeting of the Eastern district single tax club, held at Oriental Hall, 316 Bedford avenue, on Wednesday, July 24, an interesting debate took place—the question being on the advisability of taxing land to its full rental value. It developed the fact that nearly all present who took part were "single tax men unlimited." Friends of the cause within hailing distance of us will always find on meeting nights our illuminated banner on the outer walls at 316 Bedford avenue. We also have a bulletin on Grand street, near the ferry, which courteously informs wayfarers of our presence. The subject for discussion at next meeting, 21st inst., is: "Resolved, that the small property owner would be benefited by the operation of the single tax." This will be preceded by a short lecture on "The Solar System" by Dr. M. H. Garland J. McF.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, July 30.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 60,751
Received during week ending July 30. 659

Total 61,410

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

Thos. P. Craig, Aspen, Col. \$1 00
John Nicolson, San Diego, Cal. 1 00
"A Pagan," Jersey City 2 00
Ed. Hill, Philadelphia 34
T. W. Wright, Cincinnati 1 00
W. Wellstood, N. Y. City 1 00
Sundry stamps 22

Total \$6 56

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,612 09

Total \$1,618 65

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

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

J. W. Baldwin, Kansas City, Mo.—I have just finished reading "Progress and Poverty" and am a convert to the single tax. Please send me 100 blanks, which I will return in due time signed. Include me as a worker.

Wm. W. Rose, Kansas City, Mo.—Hot weather causes smaller attendance at our meetings, yet the work is ever progressive and new allies manifestly increase without our knowledge.

E. J. Plumstead, St. John's, Mich.—The enclosed signature is a straight convert from the ranks of the G. O. P. since last fall's election.

R. H. Thompson, Portland, Oregon.—It is very easy to obtain the signatures of those who heard Mr. Shearman's lecture. What we need now to make the single tax blossom as the rose in this section of the country, is Henry George.

John C. Burge, Dallas, Texas.—I am satisfied I can obtain a thousand signatures in Dallas alone.

J. N. Symons, St. Louis, Mo.—We have a sort of informal club that meets every Sunday afternoon to study "Progress and Poverty." I think I am safe in saying our efforts have already been crowned with success. We are much indebted to Messrs. J. Z. White and J. W. Steele for their attendance at our last three meetings. Everyone seemed loth to leave the room after adjournment, small groups might have been seen eagerly debating different points for fully half an hour, and some that were not satisfied confessed that they were interested, and promised to come again.

A. C. Hughes, Youngstown, Ohio.—While we have been working with unseemly success, we are now beginning to see the results. Our president, Billy Radcliffe, is now on the road, and he makes a single tax and free trade speech in every town, and also distributes tracts. As soon as he returns from his present trip we will begin our open air meetings on the square.

J. A. Craig, Paterson, N. J.—Paterson is a great manufacturing center, a stronghold of protection, but all is not calm and serene in camp. Wages have been much reduced, many mills are running with only fifty per cent of their hands, while others are closed, and some failures are reported. I have just received a notice from a remote corner of the town that a number of workmen not known to the single tax movement have held a meeting and decided to form a single tax club.

C. W. Garretson, Bishop, Cal.—The majority of our people, I think, are certain something is wrong when they inquire the cause of the mortgaged indebtedness of our farmers increasing fifty per cent in one year, while scarcely a single improvement has been made on any of the farms in the county. The whole sum seems to have been borrowed to pay last year's deficit and debt—not from a failure of crops, as we have never known such a thing here. I find many impressive lessons for home market men and high protectionists, and I think I have fully convinced and converted two republican protectionists. Sugar has advanced two cents per pound, and the high freight added makes that necessary article a splendid subject, as is also barbed wire (with which we do all our fencing) with its eighty per cent duty.

F. M. Marquis, Grass Valley, Ore.—Even here in this protectionist stronghold, where it is rank heresy to speak the words "free trade," the light has begun to break. Shearman's address at Portland has started the discussion.

Dr. H. H. Boulter, Chicago, Ill.—Of the thirty signatures inclosed over thirty per cent are physicians and dentists, while the balance are lawyers and merchants. The cause progresses here and is working among the best classes.

V. Leonard, Silverton, Ore.—There is a growing knowledge here of the single tax and they do not look at me so strangely when I present the petition. I inclose you twenty-eight signatures of the most influential citizens.

G. T. Songer, Elizabethton, Tenn.—We will soon organize here and go to work in earnest.

I believe every laboring man in our county will sign the petition. As soon as we organize we will raise funds for the circulation of literature. The harvest is truly ripe and ready—all we lack is laborers. May God bless Henry George and his noble co-workers in their God-given work to free us from political slavery and the oppressions of monopoly and unjust taxation.

G. I. A. Roberts, River Falls, Wis.—The inclosed are the signatures of twelve farmers who know something is wrong and want this question investigated.

John Petrikovsky, Louisville, Ky.—A good many people here are reading THE STANDARD. In the book store where I get mine over fifty copies are sold each week. If Henry George or Louis F. Post would come here and stir us up a little we would be able to organize a club and maintain it.

H. M. Welcome, San Francisco, Cal.—For information wanted see THE STANDARD of June 23, 1888. Send street address and this paper will be forwarded.

Robert Leslie, S. Orange, N. J.—Although not more than twenty-five here avow themselves single tax men, I am sure there are at least one hundred in the town, among them being our local editor and the assessor, who sees about half the cat.

F. L. Carter, Cleveland, O.—In addition to our weekly meeting we meet every other Sunday, when we have one or more speakers. These meetings are quite well attended. We have a membership of 74. In the way of propaganda we are doing something most of the time, and our principles are gaining strength.

Edward Barker, Pawtucket, R. I.—Our club, the Single tax association of Pawtucket, has permanent rooms and intends soon to have a reading room, which will be open every evening. We are holding open air meetings—public discussion at every meeting. We are now petitioning our city council for a change in our tax book, separating land from buildings, etc.

George B. Whaley, San Diego, Cal.—Our committee is at present engaged in organizing a Single tax club in this city. The prospects are very favorable. We have several very prominent people interested.

Chas. J. Buell, president Minneapolis Single tax league.—We have permanent headquarters and reading room open every evening. We have recently sent to every newspaper in the state a copy of Shearman's "Farmers and the Single Tax," and also a copy of the enclosed Single tax circular. We are doing all we can to spread the light and shall keep on till the end.

Started Up Again in Albany.

ALBANY, N. Y., July 27.—The Albany single tax men have thrown off their lethargy and established permanent headquarters at 68 Washington avenue, two doors above the most colossal fraud in America (barring the tariff)—the state capitol. We organized Tuesday evening by electing, on the Australian system, the following officers: President, Alexander Gregory; first vice-president, M. W. Norwalk; second vice-president, F. W. Croake; recording secretary, James J. Mahoney; corresponding secretary, Robert Baker; treasurer, Charles G. Zeilman. The club rooms will be open every evening for members and their friends, while the regular meetings will be held Tuesday evenings, the first and third Tuesdays for the transacting of business, and alternate Tuesdays for debate.

It is the intention to make the club rooms so attractive that not a day will pass without some little informal discussion being carried on between members and the hearth. We have already quite a large supply of books and papers, single tax literature of course predominating, but we look to those friends of the cause, who are unable for any reason to take an active part in the work of the club, to make the rooms more and more attractive by donating books, papers, pictures, etc.

The constitution of the Henry George club of Philadelphia was adopted with some slight modifications, with THE STANDARD's declaration of principles as a preamble.

An executive committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Waldbillig, Stevens, Noyes, Murphy and Callaghan, with the officers of the club ex-officio, comprise the working force of the club.

It is to be hoped that all who have the success of the cause at heart will demonstrate by their presence that their interest is more than passive. We expect to have a transparency which will reach the whole length of the building, to be completed and put in position before the next meeting. Mr. F. C. Stevens will paint our emblem the "cat" in the center, which the inscription will read as follows, "Single Tax Club." "Wages to Labor; Interest to Capital; Ground Rent to the Public Treasury." So that he who runs may read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

ROBERT BAKER.

One Point That is Not Sufficiently Appreciated.

KALAMAZOO, Mich., July 19.—There is one thing in connection with the effect of single taxation which, it seems to me, is hardly appreciated by most of its advocates. Many men who do not question the justice and expediency of the single tax yet fail to see how

it will be of any especial benefit to business or workingmen beyond the slight saving of a little unnecessary or unjust taxation. In other words, they do not see how the appropriation of ground rents by the state will benefit people who must in any event pay ground rent, either capitalized into a purchase price or as rent actually paid to a landlord.

Now, I apprehend that the chief advantages of the single tax on land values will be this—that by crowding unused land into market, especially all valuable unused land, and by making land of little or no value practically free to whoever desires to use it, it will constantly tend to keep the price of land below its actual value; to the user thus of course necessarily increasing the profits of industry by so much, while labor, sharing access to free land, will be in a position to demand and obtain its just share of the increased profit. Under the present condition of unlimited land monopoly the price of land keeps continually above its real value for use, and this difference between the price and actual value of land, which continually grows greater with progress and the increase of population, is, I believe, the means whereby land monopoly operates not only to rob industry but to kill many industries which might pay the real value of land or opportunities, but are not sufficiently profitable to stand the price demanded.

N. G. LESLIE.

Work for Mr. Porter.

The following resolutions were adopted at the last meeting of the St. Louis single tax league:

WHEREAS, The statements are repeatedly made publicly, and the belief is growing, that we are becoming a nation of landlords and tenants, and that the homes and farms of the country are very largely under mortgage; and

WHEREAS, Exact knowledge on this subject is of great importance in the study of the social questions of the day; therefore be it by the St. Louis single tax league,

Resolved, That Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the eleventh census, be respectfully requested to collect the data to show, in the next census, what percentage of the people in this country occupy their own homes and farms, and what proportion are tenants; and of those who occupy their own homes and farms, what proportion have their property free from debt; and of the homes and farms which are under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.

Resolved, That the secretary of this league be requested to send a copy of these resolutions to Mr. Porter.

Protecting the Rich Against the Poor.

SEATTLE, Washington.—I cannot but bring to your notice a fact, which in my opinion is fitting to be placed in the columns of THE STANDARD, showing the delusion of protection, where only the rich are protected at the expense of the poor—as in this free country a poor man has not got the freedom to pursue a legitimate avocation without paying dear for it. Having been out peddling a few days ago through a town by the name of Orting, not knowing it to be incorporated, and having canvassed such, I succeeded in selling fifty cents' worth of goods when the marshal turned up and took me before the clerk, who pleaded with the marshal to turn me loose on paying one dollar to the marshal for his trouble. If he had taken me before a magistrate I would have been fined a great deal heavier. So I paid one dollar for the marshal's trouble. The regular license would have cost three dollars a day, whether a man sells anything or not. Yet it is not quite as bad as Seattle, where they want ten dollars a day for a license for peddling. It seems to me clear that if merchants who are doing business on a large scale would be required to pay in proportion it would be an impossibility for such to exist.

WILLIAM SEIDELMAN.

Down in Louisiana.

VILLE PLATTE, La., July 7.—B. F. Hardesty, Washington, La., is kindling a flame in his town. To my thinking he is our biggest acquisition so far. He writes me that he will soon organize a club with good material. Our friends should send him all the literature they can spare. He is full of ardor and has burned the bridges behind him.

I am having a lively fight with one of the unregenerate through the Capital Item, Baton Rouge. A lonesome crank signing himself "Rusticus" (that's me), is getting in some work on land values and firing the industrious people in St. Lande's Democrat. The Southwest has some circulation here, and the same lonesome crank is saying something in it. I devote the Lord's day to the Lord's work. I get plenty of "nibbles," and once in a while land a big fish. Our county commissioners have had a lively squabble on the land question, and have dug up 30,000 acres of hidden land.

D. C. DAVID.

How the Thing is Done.

E. B. Wheeler interviewed by Indianapolis Journal.

"After the (salt trust) association is formed, each manufacturing point will be appointed its own district (so as to stop competition) the loss on the long haul freight will be adjusted (by reducing) and the prices will go up ten cents on a barrel."

REPORT NO. 6

Of the Texas Tax Reform Association.

HOUSTON, Texas, July 15.—The resolution adopted at the meeting of the Texas federation of labor, held at Dallas on July 4, shows that the seed sown by this association during the past two years has taken vigorous root and is beginning to bring forth fruit fully equal to the predictions of our most sanguine workers. The Texas federation of labor is an organization composed of representatives elected by local Knights of Labor assemblies and local trades unions and other local bodies of organized labor. The purpose of the organization is to unite all bodies of workingmen on a common platform for the purpose of securing not only the adoption of eight hours as the legal limit of a day's work, but also of securing such political action looking to the betterment of the condition of the laboring masses as shall be deemed most advisable. The meeting was a large one and was composed of delegates representing labor organizations of all kinds from all parts of the state. W. E. Farmer, Master Workman of District Assembly, No. 78, Knights of Labor, presided and was chosen president of the federation. The importance of the gathering was shown by the fact that several columns of the Dallas papers and also of the Galveston News were devoted to reports of the proceedings. The chairman of the Texas tax reform association was at Dallas and addressed the convention on the single tax, though he was not a delegate and took no part otherwise in the meeting. We were greatly surprised, as well as gratified to find the delegates unanimously in favor of the single tax. The only opposition to the resolution embracing the George platform came from those who thought it inexpedient to declare in favor of the single tax doctrine at the present time. It was contended since so many working people believe in protection that it was too early for the organization to declare in favor of raising all public revenues from a single tax on land values. Some of the speakers taking this stand evinced a great deal of ignorance of economic questions by claiming that American labor was benefited by the tariff tax on things which laboring men in America must consume, but the great majority present were not only in favor of the single tax, but seemed to be of the opinion that the protective tariff was a humbug and nothing less than a scheme by which rich people compelled poor people to bear the expenses of government, in proportion to the number of mouths to be supplied with food and the number of backs to be covered with clothes.

We all have reason to congratulate ourselves that the first great representative body of organized labor in the United States to endorse in every respect "Henry George's confession of faith," as the Galveston News puts it, should be in Texas. It is now only necessary for us all to go to work again as vigorously as we were working twelve months ago in order to secure a similar endorsement of the faith by the farmers' alliance. Our missionary, Mr. Mullins, is doing most successful work in this direction in the central part of the state. If all our friends would but respond steadily with small monthly subscriptions, so that we could continue to sustain Mr. Mullins and put others like him in the field, it would not be long before we would have the farmers' alliance as thoroughly in line with us in this state, as are now the Knights of Labor and the trades unions.

The following is a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Texas federation of labor at Dallas, July 4, 1889:

Resolved, That we favor eight hours as a working day and demand the passage of a law so declaring, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to establish and perpetuate the system from and after May 1, 1890.

Resolved, That we favor a single tax, or a tax upon land values, and the repeal of all other taxes whatsoever, because all other taxation is a fine placed upon intelligence, enterprise and labor.

Resolved, That we favor the repeal of the national bank law and all other class laws, so that all issues of money be by the government only and by law declared to be of equal value and a full legal tender.

Resolved, That the only equitable solution of the transportation question is in the government ownership of the railways, telegraphs and telephones.

Resolved, That we favor the abolition of the United States senate and all state senates because of the corruption practiced; the abolition of the grand jury system, because it is used by designing men to crush, ostracize and persecute, in some instances, those who oppose existing systems, and the supremacy of either the democratic or republican factions, and to the end that our votes may be counted when cast and all corruption and the damnable hoodlume system be obliterated.

We favor the Australian system of holding elections, also the election of all officers by the direct vote of the people.

We favor a law that will secure a lien on the products of labor.

The spread the light fund report shows receipts since last report, \$189.65; disbursements, \$171.26; cash on hand \$18.39.

H. F. RING, Chairman,
E. F. ALSHUR, Treasurer,
J. B. COCHRAN, Secretary,
Executive committee Texas Tax Reform Association.

TOO MANY DOCTORS.

The Remedy for Overcrowding in the Medical Profession.

Boyd Cornick, M.D., in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

That the medical profession is overcrowded, is a fact of the gravest import, recognized by physicians everywhere. The lamented Dr. Garnett, in his address as president of the American medical association, devoted his entire paper to an earnest and able discussion of this evil, and to suggestions for its abatement. State associations, district and county societies, current medical periodicals and individual physicians, both here and abroad, are manifesting the liveliest concern in the solution of the problem, which is everywhere increasing in importance.

We know that in the United States there are more doctors to the 10,000 of general population than in any other country in the world; and yet it may reasonably be doubted if the average income received by American physicians is less than that enjoyed by medical men abroad. On the contrary, it seems to be a well ascertained fact that the average, both of medical fees and of the incomes of medical practitioners in this country, exceeds that prevailing in any other country on the globe. And the cause of this is not far to seek. The average prosperity of the whole people of this country exceeds that of any other people in the world; and doctors, like all other citizens who labor for a livelihood, receive their proportionate share of the prosperity or poverty of the particular country in which they live. In Great Britain there are fewer doctors to the 10,000 of total population than with us, and on the continent of Europe a still smaller ratio, yet this fact does not give the average medical practitioner abroad any advantage in point of professional income, over his American brother. For, though his patients be more numerous, yet the poverty of the masses of the people, among whom he practices his profession, compels him to accept lower fees and a smaller total income.

It is manifest, therefore, that where prosperity prevails among the people a larger proportionate number of physicians may enjoy comfortable incomes than where the people are steeped in poverty. Were all the citizens of the United States sufficiently prosperous to be able to pay reasonable fees for medical services, who could then say that we have too many doctors? But if our citizens, on the contrary, were as largely sunk in the depths of poverty as are the masses of the people on the continent of Europe, who could then deny that the American medical profession would be overcrowded, even though half its number were blotted out of existence within twenty-four hours? For the sake of argument imagine nine-tenths of the citizens of this country to be in the possession of incomes sufficiently ample to purchase the satisfaction of all the material desires incident to modern civilization, and he would be a bold man who should then declare the medical profession to be overcrowded, even were the existing ratio of physicians to general population in the United States doubled, trebled, or indeed quadrupled.

The criterion, then, by which we may determine when the profession is overcrowded, is not alone the ratio of physicians to total population, but this ratio taken in connection with the degree of poverty or of prosperity prevailing among the masses. Bearing this conclusion in mind, we are now in position to consider the remedies which have been offered for the abatement of the universally recognized evil, which is now everywhere under discussion.

If stringent laws, regulating the course of study and the qualifications for practice, could solve the problem of an overcrowded profession, then Germany would have settled the matter long ago. Germany is probably excelled by no other government in the world in the stringency of its laws regulating admission to the ranks of the medical profession. Not only is the preliminary course of study long and arduous, not only must each aspirant have passed through every successive grade of prescribed preparatory instruction, not only must he have secured the endorsement of some noble university, justly famed for the high standard of learning which its degrees imply; not alone must the aspiring youth devote many years of time and many hundreds of thalers to a completion of the course marked out for him by the authority of the state; but in addition to all this, even though the possessor of a university degree, he must finally pass a rigid and awe-inspiring Staats-examen before a government licensing board; and then, if successful in this latest ordeal, he is permitted to practice medicine within the confines of the German empire.

As a consequence of all these stringent requirements, the medical profession of Germany leads the vanguard in the world-wide march of progress in the medical sciences. Such results certainly justify the high standard of qualification requisite for entrance into the medical profession of Germany. But, alas! even in that favored land, whose laws regulating the practice of medicine are exceeded in stringency by those of probably no other government under the sun, we are confronted with the same problem of an overcrowded medical profession, which is harassing the minds of medical men throughout the confines of our civilization. For, as with us

so also in Germany, the same widespread inclination prevails among the working classes to become doctors and lawyers. And, in spite of the highest degree of restrictive legislation which may be deemed possible or even desirable, the ranks of the learned professions are in Germany even more overcrowded than with us, if we may take as a criterion the relative fees and the average professional incomes prevailing in the two countries respectively.

The explanation of this is simple and the cause is not difficult to find. As in the United States, so also in Germany, men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. It requires far more exertion in Germany to obtain a license to practice medicine than is requisite in the United States, but it is also far more difficult there than with us to earn a living in every other avocation. And the proposition holds good for Germany, as it does also throughout the civilized world, that as it becomes increasingly difficult for the average man of average intelligence to earn a satisfactory livelihood in all other avocations, he will lightly turn to the thought of "doctoring," with a view to bettering his condition. And it must in the future continue to be as invariably true as it now is, that so long as "the working classes" find it relatively more irksome and laborious to secure the gratification of their desires in other avocations than in the practice of medicine, so long will they persist in overcrowding the medical profession. Laws requiring of students the expenditure of more time and the outlay of greater effort than are now necessary to the acquirement of a license to practice medicine, should undoubtedly be enacted in our country also; because more stringent laws in this direction are manifestly needed in order to elevate the existing standard of qualification for medical practice. But, if I correctly apprehend the drift of the argument put forth in the address of President Garnett, such laws, if only stringent enough, are also expected to solve the problem under discussion, and to check the recognized tendency of the working classes to become doctors, by requiring of them so great exertion in the attainment of their object as to make them rather content with some other pursuit, less remunerative, may be, but also far less burdensome to follow.

Restrictive legislation will not solve this problem. Its solution lies not in restriction, but in freedom—freedom on the part of the working classes (including doctors) to produce wealth and secure the satisfactions of their desires by equal privilege of access to the bounties of nature. Let us beware of advocating restrictive legislation of such character as may be calculated to invite public hostility to the medical profession. Let us avoid the suspicion of seeking to build up a close trades union, a medical guild, a professional trust, a close corporation—seeking our own advantage (it is suspected) at the expense of the public at large. Laws operating in this direction do not, and cannot, afford a solution of the problem, but rather retard its solution. The remedy which we are seeking does not consist in making it more difficult for "the working classes" to become doctors, but in making it less difficult to earn an honest living in all other avocations.

Whenever our existing taxing laws, which now levy a fine on every product of labor, and which by taxing, also restrict every form of wealth production—thereby promoting the poverty of "the working classes" (including doctors)—shall be so amended as to take by taxation for public purposes those values, and those values only, which pertain to land, irrespective of improvements; and which, being produced by the whole community, should rightfully belong to the people at large; then will every form of wealth production be unfettered, and every citizen be at liberty to earn a living by applying his labor, on equal terms with every other citizen, to nature's inexhaustible storehouse of raw materials. And since the power of labor, in transmuting raw materials into wealth, has, in our own generation, been multiplied a thousand fold by the aid of steam engines and labor saving machinery; and because nature is lavish of her bounty, and all forms of raw material are practically inexhaustible, it follows that, if all men secure equal privilege of access to nature's inexhaustible stores, the production of wealth in all its forms will be practically limited only by the complete satisfaction of every material desire of the human heart, and the wildest dreams of avarice be more than realized, to the practical benefit of the human family without exception. Under such a system of taxing laws involuntary poverty will of necessity be abolished and every man will be free and untrammelled in earning a livelihood in whatever avocation promises to secure the satisfaction of his desires with the least possible exertion.

And when this practical and far-reaching reform shall have been accomplished, by virtue of a simple change in our existing taxing laws, as I have faith to believe it shortly will be, men will not be tempted to overcrowd the medical profession, at the cost of irksome preparatory labor, unless they are constrained to do so by higher and nobler motives than simply to gratify their desires with the least exertion. And the enhanced general standard of comfort, and increased ease of earning a livelihood then prevailing among the people at large, when the existing barriers to profitable employment in other avocations shall have all been swept away, will react

favorably upon the medical profession also; not only by removing the present incentives to study medicine on the part of those who are better fitted by nature for other pursuits, but by enabling many hundreds of thousands of honest men to pay adequate fees to their family physicians for services rendered, instead of, as now, seeking medical charity for very poverty's sake at some free dispensary.

Then will our problem be finally solved. But a new one of opposite tenor will spring up, a solution of which will be called for, not by the medical profession but by the public at large. The problem will then read, not "how shall we prevent unlearned men from gravitating toward the learned professions?" but rather "how shall the pecuniary reward be made sufficiently great, to induce men of talent to devote the years of time and labor needed to qualify them to enter upon the laborious and responsible professions of law and medicine?"

What Stands in the Way of the Success of Eight-Hour Movement.

Chicago Herald.

The workingman may get eight hours with eight hours' pay, or he may get eight hours with ten hours' pay; or more—no matter. The situation, however greatly eased, will resolve itself to the present or a worse condition. The protective tariff, which obstructs, defies and prevents industry, will be as potent, as remorseless, as costly as it is now. Labor, decaying hither by false expectations, will empty forever on our labor market. Smuggling will prosper. The robbers will go abroad to spend their gains. The laborers then as now will struggle for survival amid lockouts and strikes. Charity will be demanded from the poor, for the tariff baron will give less and less as he foresees that human suffering is inevitable. The tendency of wages will be down, down, and down. Fight as they may, argue as they may, succeed as they may, the unions can gain for labor nought that is substantial unless they smite the protective tariff. Every cent of it is wicked and inequitable. Intelligence has condemned it. Only greed and ignorance condone it. The tree of liberty was watered with the blood of tyrants, but the oak of protection sucks the blood of the people. Aristocracy may be its foliage and fragrance; power may be its fiber; but peasantry and slavery must furnish its deepest root.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

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

Akron, O.—Jas R Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Roshart, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Marle avenue.
Alhambra, Mont.—Mrs Josephine Suhr.
Altoona, Pa.—C. L. Ishler, pres; D. L. Munro, recording secretary single tax club.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T Gramstam.
Ashabula, Ohio.—A. D. Strong.
Athens, Pa.—Arthur I. Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—J. A. Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Aurora, N. Y.—Homer Sabon.
Baltimore, Md.—John W Jones, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 1438 E Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C Kirsch.
Bayreuth, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M Molina.
Beeville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Pa.—W. E. Brinkaw.
Binghamton, N. Y.—E. W. Dutton, 33 Maiden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M White, 288 Main street; Charles Tom; J. R. Royle, 29 Converse avenue; Maiden Hamlin Garland, chairman Single tax league; Jamaica Plain; John Lavey, 13 Cromwell; Harrison square.
Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
Buffalo, N. Y.—H. B. Buddenburgh, pres. Tax reform club, 824 Clinton st; C. O. Whittemore, sec, 385 Washington street; reception committee, S. C. Rogers, 198 Vermont street; Robert White, 650 Main street; T. McCrowe, M. D., 777 Elk street.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax and agitation.
Canastota, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harmon, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May City, N. J.—Wm Porter, box 57.
Champerlain, Ark.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Whitler, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee; Wm W. Ward, 1015 Madison; pres. S. T. club, 125 5th av.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, Ortiz building, 800 Fourth and Sycamore.
Clinton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex G Duke.
Cleveland, O.—W. W. Williams, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
Columbia, N. Y.—J. R. Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyemman, 48 1-2 South High street.
Black Diamond, Cal.—Jeff A Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Campden, N. J.—Chas P Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A Malm, 31 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 31 E Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 263 Ramble street.
Denver, Col.—Andrew W. Elder.
Des Moines, Iowa.—J. J. Kasson, president Single tax club; John W King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—R. E. Fincher, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 279 Third street, secretary Tax reform association; B. G. Howe, 65 14th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Lanston.
Digston, Mass.—C. Foss.
Dundee, N. Y.—Frank Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, 81 John's Literary Institute.
East Orange, N. J.—Edw C Ambrose, 353 Main st.
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.
East Windsor, N. J.—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Orner.
Elmira, N. Y.—William Heyman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Stiers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—R. D. Terry.
Farmington, Iowa.—F. W. Rockwell.
Faxonville, Mass.—E. Libby.
Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cuming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loomer.
Glenview, Ill.—A. J. Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H Quinnan.
Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C Wool, M. D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J. J. McCollum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H Folber.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F Brock.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornesville, N. Y.—George H Van Winkle.
Holton, Kan.—J. J. Avery.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.
Hosack Park, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Malcom, M. D.
Ilion, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. P. Custer, president Single tax league, W. H. Telfer Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Von Neumann's hardware store, E Washington street.
Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Jauvier, N. J.—S. B. Walsh.
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Standard Single tax club, 86 Ego avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E Reid, 212 Highland avenue.
Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quigley.
Keltisburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kinston, N. Y.—Theodore M Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McManis, 21 Eighth street.
Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr L. P. Garvin.
Lexington, Mo.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Lewin.
Little Rock, Ark.—Sol T Clark.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Vinette, P. O. Station F.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Melendy block, Kidder street.
Lyle, Minn.—C. F. Wenham.
Lyndeburg, Va.—Thos Williamsor, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—E. H. Eymson.
Mahanoy City, Pa.—J. M. Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich.—Albert Walkley or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marion, Mass.—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Baildon.
Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Halston, Br., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean.—Robert A Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 235 Alabama street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G Hopkins, P. O. box 580.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H Fuller, P. O. box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—J. C. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E. L. Hyder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Fletcher, M. D.
Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. H. Luttinger.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Cunn, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lottrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm H Whitmore, secretary Merrimack assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—William D Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S Watters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 59 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass.—William M Browne, 13 Marshall street; H. S. Myers, P. O. box 37.
North Springfield, Mo.—K. F. Alexander, 1826 North Boonville street.
Norwalk, Conn.—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw H Haskell.
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres. Single tax association.
Timothy Horan, sec, 85 Railroad street.
Olympia, Wash.—Ter Alexander Parquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E Embler, 522 Virginia avenue; Percy Poppen, pres. single tax club, 1312 S 5th street; C. F. Beckert, sec, 10 West 27th and Randolph streets.
Ordway, Dak.—H. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Owego, N. Y.—M. J. Murray, 18 Main st.
Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Harward, 184 Kensington place.
Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nellis, Chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 49 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles H Hood, P. O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Riggen, 48 Stark street; H. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C Albro.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Glover, 32 Sutton street; Dr Wm Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corbitt, 13 N 6th street.
Reynolds, Edgemo, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—M. Ritchie, 913 South A street; J. E. Huff, 136 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles A Vail, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Head Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Diego, Cal.—A. Harvey, 139 10th street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G McGuire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M Milne.
Seattle, Wash.—Ter Alexander Wall.
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H Addison, P. O. box 56.
Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Postwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Farris, secretary.
S. Albion, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
S. H. Dalton, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
Spencer, Mass.—Orange county, N. Y.—O. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Buchanan, sec. retary.
Spink Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McCrea, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 623 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Juneman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—H. H. Hoffman, president Single tax league; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 919 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
Stoughton, Mass.—Dr W. Symington Brown.
Streator, Ill.—George G Gundersen.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles B Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Sudbeck, Wash Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
Tahlequah, Okla.—J. P. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 1008 K st.
Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. H. Martis.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAliff.
Ulrich, N. Y.—Thomas Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and Opera block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakarusa, Ill.—David Harrower.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, 5; W. secretary single tax club.
Weatherford, Tex.—William D Huell.
West New Brighton, Staten Land, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
Wheeling, W. Va.—John L Frank, 2307 23rd street.
Whitstone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Barnwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C. F. Bell, cigar store; Thos Douglas, president Single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Collins.
Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O.—J. H. Litchfield, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Langford, 21 Van Buren street; or A. Newman, pres. single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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It was good judgment on the part of the Central labor union to accept the mayor's invitation to the conference on the subject of the World's fair which it is proposed to hold in the city of New York. It is quite true, as some of the members protested that such an enterprise is of no benefit to laborers as a class. It tends to enhance the cost of living for the time, and its tendency to increase wages is neutralized by the flow of labor from other points. But one of the most important lessons for labor organizations to learn is the injurious effect on public opinion of holding aloof from matters of common concern. The disposition to segregate organized laborers from other laborers and to create within the body of citizens a distinct body which refuses to participate in and advise respecting questions of general interest, has all along been encouraged by the socialists to the detriment of the laboring interest. The appointment by the Central labor union of a committee to attend the conference to which the organization was invited by the mayor, is an indication of the improved temper of that body which has resulted from its escape from the domination of the socialists.

The constitutional convention of North Dakota was surprised last week by the presentation of a complete constitution. Since its organization it had been flooded with disjointed propositions, good, bad and indifferent, and its organic law promised to be a piece of crazy patch work; but while this was going on, some one had the good sense to prepare a perfect constitution outline, and the skill to fill in the outline so well as to make almost an ideal constitution. No matter to what extent this draft may be altered, it promises to save the new state from an absurd constitution.

Judging from the abstract that comes to us the less this draft is altered the better will it be for the people. It is a careful compilation and revision of the constitutions of the several states and of the federal government, in general features, and in particulars it requires equality of taxation as between residents and non-residents, gives the legislature control over railroads, prohibits the lending of state credit to private corporations, prohibits the passage of special laws, directs the enactment of liberal homestead laws, and makes the reading of the declaration of independence with facility a qualification of suffrage. Two of its specific provisions, that prohibiting woman suffrage and the other forbidding minority representation, might better have been omitted. Irrespective of the merits of minority representation it is a question which should be left open for legislative experiment, and while the right of suffrage ought to be constitutionally secured, any denial of the right in a constitution is an obstacle which cannot be justly opposed to those who favor the right.

But the most important and significant

clauses in this proposed constitution are those which require coal lands to be leased instead of being sold, and leave the legislature free to tax or exempt any class of property provided it taxes at a uniform rate. The former clause will ultimately give to the state the royalty on coal which but for this provision would go into the pockets of individuals who do nothing to earn it, and the latter wisely allows the legislature from time to time to select the kind of property which shall be subject to taxation, while requiring the rate of tax to be uniform. We trust that the direct tax men of North Dakota will see to it that these two clauses are not changed.

The latest important recruit to the ranks of unconscious single tax papers is the Minneapolis Tribune, which doubts whether it would be for the best interests of the city to tax wheat in store, and approves the following principle of taxation: "Never tax anything that would be of value to your state (or city) that could and would run away, or that could and would come to you." We should like to know, after that, what the Minneapolis Tribune would tax except land values. Houses might not run away, but they would not come so readily, if taxed. But land neither runs away nor keeps away on account of taxation. There is just so much of it in every community, and it can neither be increased nor diminished physically; but economically, land can be increased or diminished by taxation. To tax land values lightly is to encourage the cornering of land, and so in effect to make it run away. To tax land values heavily is to discourage the cornering of land, and so in effect to prevent its running away. The effect on anything that labor can reproduce is the opposite. To tax it keeps it away. Hence it is that we propose to tax land values. This is the basis of the single tax as an economic reform.

The Press has found a new argument for protection. A Zulu chief is said to have preferred a big American ax to a string of beads, a lot of brass ornaments, a bracelet, a little ax, either American or English, and a big English ax. The consideration for the American ax, was the sustenance of twenty or thirty people for a considerable time. This is supposed to prove the advantage of protection to American industry; but it rather proves the necessity to the Zulus of less protection in Zulu land.

Our friends in North Dakota will be glad to learn that so influential a paper as the Boston Globe heartily approves their proposition that the new state shall derive revenue from its school lands by leasing instead of selling them. How well the Globe sees the principle of the single tax may be inferred from this quotation: "If this idea were adopted, Dakota would soon find herself in possession of an enormous annual income without resorting to taxation. If the development of the territory should continue to be as rapid as it has been of late years, the income from the leased land would not only be sufficient to support a costly system of schools, but would be sufficient for all the state and county expenses and those of the towns and cities. We should then have the spectacle of a state without any taxes. There can be no doubt that a perfect torrent of capital would flow to such a state, and that the material development of Dakota would be more rapid than anything the country has ever seen. It would be a bad place for land speculators, but all other classes would be prosperous."

The clearness with which the Globe sees that a single tax on the value of land is no tax at all is specially worthy of note. It speaks of the spectacle of a state with no taxes, and yet its reason for saying there are no taxes is that the state raises its revenue from the increasing values of land, which by ordinary methods would go into the pockets of private individuals. It is a long time since John Stuart Mill proved that a tax on land values is no tax, and people have been slow in accept-

ing it, but they are coming to it surely. Notice, too, how vividly the Globe discerns the effect of the single tax. Capital will pour in torrents into the untaxed state, material development will be unprecedented, and only land speculators will be repelled while all other classes will be prosperous.

Why should such a condition be monopolized by a single state? Why should not every state be untaxed, and yet have an enormous income, be flooded with capital, advance rapidly in material development, be a bad place for land speculators, and one where all other classes would be prosperous? If this will happen to North Dakota because it retains title to its school lands, why should it not happen to all the other states if they taxed the value of the land within their jurisdiction into the public treasury, and by exempting all products from taxation, presented with Dakota the spectacle of untaxed states? The answer will be that the school lands of North Dakota are already the property of the state, and that she can present the spectacle of an untaxed state without disturbing anybody's legal rights, while other states could not untax themselves without taxing away values that are treated as private property. This is a worthy objection, for it is based upon a conception of justice. But it is a false conception. The owners of valuable land wherever they may be found have nothing but a taxing privilege. The value increases without any effort on their part. It is due to the growth of the community, to that influx of capital and material advance which in Dakota will attach to the school lands in part, and through them be enjoyed by the whole community, to which it in justice belongs. All that the Globe says about Dakota is true, and what it advocates can be made to apply to every state in the Union, without disturbing a single title, or taking from any man anything that is justly his, by the simple process of shifting taxes from products, enterprise, business, labor, and placing them exclusively on land values.

And now we are asked to forego the eating of bananas. A high duty on that fruit is proposed. The object is not to encourage the cultivation of Yankee bananas, but to induce us to eat berries instead of bananas. This is not exactly in harmony with the protection doctrine that the exclusion of foreign products should relate only to such as can be advantageously produced here. But the berry growers who urge the exclusion of bananas by a protective tariff argue that all money spent for bananas goes abroad and deprives American labor of opportunities to work at the berry industry, wherefore banana eating ought to be discouraged by the tariff, and this sounds very much like a familiar protection plea. Of course they do not see that the more bananas we import the more of something else we must export which makes the opportunity for labor; but why should they see it when every protectionist shuts his eyes to it? It is just as true of tin and sugar, and steel and everything else on the tariff schedules, that the more we import the more we must export, as it is of bananas. In the last analysis it is not labor but land owning that is to be benefited by protection. The berry land owners would not pay any higher wages for picking berries if the exclusion of bananas increased the demand for berries, than they do now. It is not demand for labor in one direction that increases wages, but general demand for labor. Protection may make demands for labor in some directions, but it is only free trade, full and perfect free trade, that can permanently increase wages in all directions.

One of the most enthusiastic and indiscreet advocates of protection to American industry in the late campaign, and who withal was most bitter in his denunciation of British greed, was Horace K. Thurber, who is now vice-president of the North American Salt Company, which proposes to assail American in-

dustry with the aid of the pauper produced capital of England, by monopolizing all the principal salt works of the United States and Canada.

It does not take a student of political economy to see that advantages of location go, not to wages, but to rent. Even the common place business man understands it in a business way. Here is a circular of an Alabama cotton and iron company which attributes the lower wages of Florence, Alabama, to "the great richness of the surrounding country, producing all kinds of food and fuel in abundance and at half their cost elsewhere."

Senator Foley says of Judge Daniels that his charge to the jury in the trial of McQuade was much stronger for conviction than the district attorney's argument. If Judge Daniels regards this as a compliment he has queer notions of the functions of a judge presiding at a criminal trial.

A labor paper in the west calls the single tax movement a middle class movement. It is not true. The single tax movement is a no class movement. It is a movement for honest taxation and social justice. Class movements cannot succeed in this country and none ought to.

Some of the officials of Washington territory complain that immigrants from Canada are taking land in the territory so readily that it "is now nearly all gobbled up, not by Americans, but by foreigners." What difference does it make to landless Americans whether the gobbling is done by their fellow citizens or by foreigners? Americans would not rather be servants of Americans than of Canadians. The evil is in the gobbling, not in the nationality of the gobbler. There is land enough in this country for all the world, and if every one who appropriates any of it to his exclusive use were required to pay into the public treasury its annual value in consideration of exemption from taxation, we should have Canada trying to keep its population at home, while we, instead of complaining of their coming, would be welcoming them. Let the Washington convention take care to leave to its legislature a full description as to modes of taxation, and it may not be long before the people of that new state will see that the more land holders she has, wherever they come from, the more prosperous she will be, provided they are given free scope to produce and trade and are required to put the value of the land, which is indisputably common property, into the common treasury.

A VOICE FROM TEXAS.

The Galveston, Texas, News in commenting on the indorsement of the single tax by the recent Texas labor convention, says:

No doubt a number of politicians will regard this course as socialistic. The News does not. On the contrary, a single tax need not necessarily be more socialistic than a number of the tax institutions of the present time. Where the federation unquestionably touches the line of state socialism is in the demand for government ownership of railways, telegraphs and telephones, as well as in the demand for the eight hour limit on labor.

This, though friendly in tone, shows that the News has not fully mastered the single tax idea. The single tax is not only less socialistic than the existing system of taxation, but it is the only tax that is not socialistic in its tendency. Every tax on personal property, whether direct or indirect, is based on the socialistic claim that the many have the right to take from the individual the product of his labor, for the common benefit. The single tax, on the other hand, will take for public use only those values that are created by the public through the growth of population, leaving to the individual the full product of his labor applied to his exact share of natural opportunities. The single tax, therefore, not only "need" not "be more socialistic" than existing systems, but it cannot be socialistic at all. The demand for the state ownership of

railways and telegraphs, though not necessarily any part of the single tax programme, is not, however, in the line of state socialism, since it is a proposal to acquire for the public things that can only be called into being by the exercise of public powers. If it be practicable, it would certainly be wise, to insist that the public should own the great modern public highways, and permit individuals and associations to operate them subject to the law of free competition. If this were the demand the News could not consider it in the line of state socialism. That the demand goes further is due solely to the claims made by railway men that the government cannot own railroads unless it also operates them; hence those who see the necessity of the public ownership of highways, frequently accept the idea of governmental operation as necessarily incident to that of ownership. So far as telegraph lines are concerned they, also, can only be built through the exercise of the public power of eminent domain while the demand that they be operated by the government is simply a demand that the conduct of the post office shall receive the benefit of modern facilities for the transmission of intelligence.

Of course the proposal that the state shall enact an eight hour law is essentially socialistic, since it contemplates the exercise of paternal authority by the government for the regulation of the conduct of individual business. Doubtless some single tax men acquiesce in this proposal as a palliative or temporary corrective of existing evils, but the single tax philosophy is essentially antagonistic to all attempts to establish paternal government. That philosophy declares that the remedy for injustice is the establishment of justice. It demands that the public shall receive its own and apply what it thus receives to public purposes, and that the individual having paid to the state the fair rental value of the natural opportunity he is using shall be left to conduct his own business in his own way without the suspension of government or the appropriation of any public powers or public property to his own personal profit or advantage.

Of course single tax men appreciate fully the enormous relief that would come to the masses through the abrogation of all taxes on the products of labor after they had begun to pay to government in place of such taxes only those sums that they now pay in ground rent or land purchase money to individuals, but our chief aim is to break up land monopoly by making it unprofitable to hold land out of use. This will open up innumerable natural opportunities to the unemployed, and so promote production that with freedom of exchange all may easily obtain enough and each man can then manage his own business without governmental aid or supervision and work as many hours as he chooses.

The Galveston News is a democratic paper in the best sense of the word. It opposes protection on the perfectly tenable ground that the power of the whole people delegated to government cannot be rightfully used for the private benefit of any class or individual. It is opposed to paternal government and is the advocate of individual liberty and responsibility. It is clear headed enough to see that the single tax is not a step toward state socialism. If it will look further into the subject it will see that the single tax is simply a proposal to apply the everlasting truths of Jeffersonian democracy to present conditions, and that for some time to come at least its advocates are the most vigorous and trusty allies that sincere free traders can find in this country.

Personal.

Frank M. Garland (a brother of Hamlin Garland) will travel the coming season with James A. Herne playing a leading character part. He is also a thorough single tax man and will be glad to meet with single tax men, and will do all he can to push the good cause forward.

John H. Wigmore, author of the admirable work on the secret ballot laws, entitled "The Australian System," has recently been appointed to the law professorship of the university of Tokio, Japan.

FATHER HUNTINGTON'S EXPERIENCES.

The STANDARD of last week contained a reference to a little work that it was my privilege to do lately in the western part of this state. As the work was both a benefit and a pleasure no credit attaches to the doing of it. I only revert to it to speak of one or two incidents that may be suggestive or encouraging to other workers.

One fact that surprised me was the way in which the "money power" is felt even in country meeting-houses and rural congregations. One did not have far to go to find men who had abandoned church-going, even if they had not discarded religion, because they had become convinced that the preachers of the Gospel were subsidized by wealthy members and landlord farmers. No doubt, this charge is false in the case of some individual ministers here and there, but the sort of preaching that prevails, of individual salvation, particular election, and other worldliness generally, does not seem likely to disturb the class that is believed to control in the churches. The discovery of this state of things reinforced my determination to receive no compensation for any religious work I might do, but to earn my living for the time being by ordinary labor on a farm. I found this practicable and, for the time being, agreeable. The disadvantage was that I had but little time for personal intercourse with those who listened to me. I preached in the open air a number of Sundays in succession.

It was a satisfaction to find that the audience was composed mostly of men, and that the same faces greeted me every week. It was impossible to tell how far the truth was winning home to them, but one encouraging fact was that at one village, on the last day I was there, when I had finished speaking an old man, most respectfully dressed and wearing a white tie, came forward to answer and contradict me. He began by saying that he was himself a poor man, and that he could not agree with the sentiments just uttered because he thought that when a man had worked hard and improved his little farm and tilled the land for years, no one had a right to come and take his home away from him. Here the speaker looked at the crowd as though they would of course agree with him in this condemnation of my teaching; but as the men knew that nine out of ten farms in the neighborhood were mortgaged up to the ears, and that the owners were groaning under the burden of interest and taxes on production, they looked rather blank. The speaker went on to say that I had told them that God had made the air and all had a right to that, and He had made the water and all had a right to that, and that He had made the land, and therefore all had a right to that. To this he replied that God made the house and so he had a right to go to his neighbor's barnyard and say, "that house doesn't belong to you and so I'm going to take it." As he went on in this style a smile began to illuminate the faces of the crowd, but there was better yet to come. By way of a peroration the speaker said:

"The other day I heard a minister say that no man had a right to have a million dollars. I think a man has a right to have as much money as he comes by honestly. Now, I have a dear friend, we were school boys together, who is worth a million and a half, and I want to tell you how that money came so that you may see how plainly God gave it to him. His father bought 400 acres of land years ago in the town of Wilkesbarre, Pa.; the land wasn't worth much; it was covered with scrub pine and moss; in fact his father paid only fifty cents an acre for it. My friend thought of selling it, and finally he did sell a corner of it for city lots and got \$10,000. Then he moved out west. After some years he heard that accidentally a rich vein of coal had been found underneath his land, and that is the way he made his money. Do you dare to tell me he hasn't a right to it? No; what we want is that our rich men should learn to use their wealth as a trust from God, and when my friend dies I expect that we shall find in his will that he has left a large sum of money to build some needed institution for the poor."

Imagine my state of mind in listening to such a confirmation of much that I had tried to say! Can it be that my apparent antagonist was some friend in disguise sent to my assistance? If so, may I, through you, tender him my warmest thanks. J. O. S. HUNTINGTON, O. H. C.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The most conspicuous characteristic of society at this moment is its dispersion. A large majority of New York's four hundred are to be found at Newport, but Bar Harbor, Lenox, Richfield, Sharon, Saratoga, New London, Southampton and Narragansett each shelters its own little contingent of what are called "smart" New Yorkers. But Beverley now takes the lead as a place of fashionable Bostonian resort, and can boast of a most exclusive little circle, who have no disposition whatever to mingle with representative people from other cities. In this respect the blue blood of Philadelphia and Baltimore takes quite a different stand. It absolutely shuns Atlantic City and Cape May, its own particular watering places, in order to get a share of the fun and jollity by the sea and in the mountains in the company of the New Yorkers. Newport has always a large contingent of Philadelphians and Baltimoreans, and so also has its younger sister, on the opposite shore of Narragansett bay, while at Mount Desert the Pennsylvanians and Marylanders almost outnumber the Gothamites.—[New York Sun, July 28.]

There were 117 deaths in New York city last Saturday: 53 were of children under five years of age. The Evening World's corps of physicians have been visiting the tenements and trying to aid the mothers and babies; several druggists have agreed to fill all prescriptions signed by these physicians without charge; the Tribune fresh air fund is large as usual, and the St. John's Guild free excursions are well supported. But still the children in the foul and stifling back tenements die as if a plague were on us.

The birthdays of high toned dogs are celebrated in the best New York society with select parties, and birthday presents are often costly and elegant. All the "tony" dogs whose mistresses move in a given set are of course invited.—[Boston Globe.]

The body of the man taken from the same reservoir Tuesday was yesterday identified by his daughter as Michael Keeley, a carpenter, sixty-five years old, who lived alone at No. 414 East Seventy-ninth street. He had been ill and out of work for almost a year. His landlord had threatened to dispossess him for non-payment of rent.—[N. Y. World, July 3.]

One of the fancies of dainty women is to sleep in silk. They have long abjured any other wear for underclothes, and now there are being shown in the shops that cater to all the new whims of the sex sets of silk sheets and pillow-cases in all colors. With these go the beautiful East Indian blankets, woven entirely of raw silk, and down spreads covered with surah or satin. These sheets and pillow-cases are hemstitched, with a crest or monogram embroidered in one corner. Some of them have a delicate vine embroidered along the edge, or a broad band of aram work. They are of all delicate colors and white and black. Mrs. George Gould, who has a passion for violets, has several silken bed furnishings of pale lilac, with wreaths of Parma violets embroidered around them. The Hindoo blanket is a deeper purple and the violet-colored down spread is perfumed with sachets of violet.

Henry Mewies, a German silk weaver, 55 years old, of No. 328 West Thirty-eight street, committed suicide yesterday by hanging himself at his home. He leaves a widow, who said yesterday that he had been despondent, owing to his inability to secure employment. Another suicide, which is also laid to despondency, was that of Bernard Mohan, 57 years of age, of No. 480 Grand street. He entered a barber shop at No. 474 Grand street at noon yesterday. He made a motion as if to take a seat, when he suddenly grasped a razor and drew it across his throat. He died almost instantly. He leaves a widow. It is said that he carried on a small business in Grand street which failed several months ago. Since then he has been running into debt.—[New York Star, July 19.]

The Jeweler's Weekly makes the following notes as to the latest ideas in lace and shawl pins: A thread of small diamonds inserted across the center of an ivy leaf of green enamel is a dainty piece of workmanship. A four leaf clover, having diamonds and rubies alternately in the center of each petal, is a lace pin that deserves commendation. A diamond chicken roosting on one leg in the center of a crescent of rubies and emeralds is a fashionable oddity.

Hugh Cullum, a war veteran and an employe of the department of public works was discharged on July 1, for refusing to submit to an assessment. He looked vainly for work and finally gave up in despair. He wrote a note to his wife, saying he was tired and would kill himself, but he thought better of it and made another effort to get work. It failed like the rest. Last night, in the absence of his wife and grown daughter, he got a bale stick put it over two open doors, and rigged a noose on it. Then he hanged himself. His wife, coming home, found him dead.

Lawrence Turnure has asked to be relieved of the executorship of the Taylor estate, aggregating \$50,000,000. His commissions in five years of service amounted to \$500,000.

PITTSBURG, July 18.—Early this morning the bodies of Mrs. John McGregor and two children were discovered in ten inches of water in a small creek near Youngstown, Ohio. The woman had first drowned her children and then herself. Her husband had left her in destitute circumstances, and she was yesterday seen begging for food.—[N. Y. World, July 19.]

Will Have to Hit Up a Protective Tariff Between Cities to Meet This Case.

Sir: Scarcity of work in this city for the resident workmen is caused by a large number of men who come here from a radius of 20 miles. As a carpenter I know of sever-

al shops in this city which have no New York men in them. Bosses here make no discrimination. They appear to have no interest in whom they employ. When an outside boss comes in to compete successfully against them then they "kick themselves" and would like to see them struck against. Those men who came across the river mostly own their own houses and some of them are farmers. Living costs them very little. The poor men here who walk the streets have no sympathy for them. When you cannot meet the rent, out you go, over the hill to the poorhouse.

A SUFFERER.

SHEARMAN'S OREGON SPEECH.

The Political Question of Our Times Is, Whether Our Increasing Wealth Shall Go to Increase the Power and Luxury of Those Already Rich, or to Increase the Comfort, Independence, Culture and Manhood of the Mass of Our Citizens.

New York Christian Union.

A vehement discussion has been aroused by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's recent speech in Portland, Oregon, in which he declared that 100,000 persons are possessed of incomes which enable them to save about three-fifths of all the wealth that is annually saved in this country, and that, unless our method of taxation is changed, within thirty or fifty years this 100,000 will own three-fifths of all the property in the nation. The New York Tribune angrily denounces Mr. Shearman, and attempts to show that more than one-half of our annual increase in wealth is divided among four million farm owners. In this attempt the Tribune manifests more daring than wisdom. Mr. Shearman is not a labor agitator, except in so far as facts agitate. His rhetoric in the Portland address was the rhetoric of under statement. Had he said that 100,000 men own to-day more than all the rest of the nation, he would not have been wide of the truth.

What the Tribune says about the great number of property owners in America is true but meaningless. Mr. Andrew Carnegie once stated that there were more shareholders than workmen in the Pennsylvania railroad system. This may also be true, but it, too, is meaningless. In England and Wales there are more land owners than farm laborers—the former numbering 972,000, the latter but 810,000. But would Mr. Carnegie or the Tribune on that account declare it absurd to say that one per cent of the families in England owned three-fifths of all the land? This is the logic of their position. Yet the fact is that practically three-fifths of it is owned by 4,217 persons. The income tax returns show that in England 57,000 persons, representing less than one per cent of the families, own fully three-fifths of the whole wealth. Although our statistical bureaus have generally avoided the investigation of the distribution of wealth, yet there are facts enough to show how nearly we have approached the condition of things in England, and the thought of which the Tribune shudders. In the cities and towns of Michigan, according to the second annual labor report, 1-200 of the inhabitants own 61 per cent of all the real estate. This is where property is remarkably well distributed. In New York city the bulk of the real estate is owned by 10,000 persons. In 1880 official statistics were published as to the distribution of ownership in United States bonds. It was found that, although there were 71,000 private holders, over 60 per cent was held by 2,300. These holders of bonds are the same men that have the large holdings of real estate.

In the city of Columbus, Ohio, it has been estimated that one hundred and fifty men own more property than all the remaining. A banker of Omaha, Nebraska, recently expressed the opinion that more than half the wealth of that city was held by one hundred men. In Cleveland, Ohio, according to a dispatch to the New York Sun last week, there are sixty-three millionaires (names all given), whose aggregate wealth approaches \$300,000,000. This sum divided among the people of Cleveland would mean \$7,000 per family. The estimate is probably exaggerated, but the likelihood remains that these sixty-three men are worth as much as the remaining forty thousand in the city. In selecting one hundred thousand families who would own more than all the remaining eleven millions in the nation, Mr. Shearman might take twenty thousand instead of ten from New York, and five hundred instead of one hundred from such cities as Columbus, Omaha and Cleveland. The ownership of farm lands is, as the Tribune claims, well distributed; but it must be borne in mind that the public indebtedness of the country and its railroad securities (which are held almost exclusively in cities) are worth more than all the land which is actually owned by the farmers. The estate of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt alone was worth more than the 165,000 farms in the three states of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. As regards the concentration of wealth, the United States cannot boast much over England. Since 1860 its wealth has increased from fifteen to fifty billions. During the next thirty years it will probably increase from fifty to one hundred billions. Whether the next fifty shall go to increase the power and luxury of those already rich, or to increase the comfort and independence and culture and manhood of the mass of our citizens, is the political question of our times.

Not Edifying; But It Displays the Beauty of the Protective Idea.

Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

The sight of the coal operators of Spring Valley, Ill., starving their 2,000 laborers with their 4,000 wives and children in submission is not an edifying one in this Christian country.

Hard on the Rent Payers.

A young Englishman, on a visit to Ireland during the shooting season (says America), asked his host if there were many of the neighboring land-holders then at home. "Devil a one, faith," was the answer, "the country is overrun with absenteers."

NOT WICKED, BUT WEAK.

The Criminals of To-Day are Not in the Penitentiaries—Those We Convict are Merely Those Who are Weak—The Men from Whom Society Suffers Keep Clear of Courts—The Message to the Laodiceans.

Van Dorn Erickson in Nashville Herald.

Unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans John was instructed to write: "I (Jesus) know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert cold or hot."

"So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot I will spew thee out of my mouth."

"Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Mr. Froude, some years since, said: "We have false weights, false measures, cheating and shoddy everywhere, and yet the clergy have seen all this grow up in absolute indifference, and the great question which at this moment is agitating the church of England (Laodicea?) is the color of the ecclesiastical petticoats."

Donn Piatt, in Belford's Magazine, says: "The late Chief Justice Chase once startled the writer of this by saying: 'The wicked men are not in the penitentiary; they are in the churches. The criminals we convict are not wicked; they are simply weak—weak in character and weak in intellect. The men from whom society suffers are the cold, selfish, calculating creatures who not only keep clear of the courts, but seek the churches' (Laodicean), and deceive others as they deceive themselves and hope to deceive the Almighty.'"

"One summer and autumn we lived at a mountain resort on the line of a great railroad. We saw, day after day, long lines of cattle cars crowded with their living freight in a 300-mile pull of intensest agony. The poor beasts were jammed against each other, unable to lie down—to get under the hoofs of the others was death—fighting, hungry, in the last stages of thirst, panting with tongues protruding, and their beautiful eyes staring with that expression of wild despair which the scent of blood brings to them, they rolled on to their far-off slaughter houses with moans that were heart breaking."

"It was our fortune that same autumn to meet one of the cattle merchants at church. He was there with his family. A stout, middle-aged man of eminent respectability, he was a church member, and looked up to as a model citizen. We saw him listening to the eloquent sermon, and wondered if there were not a low, deep undertone of agony running through the discourse. When the prayers were offered up he knelt humbly, and covered his face with his hands. Did they shut out the wild, despairing eyes of those suffering beasts?"

Hush, man, such sentimental stuff is laughed out of church in Laodicea.

The present head of the Roman church, while bishop of Perugia, wrote: "In view of so large a portion of humanity prematurely worn out by pitiless cupidity, we may well ask whether the adepts of this godless civilization, instead of aiding our progress, do not rather send us some centuries backward to that period of mourning when slavery crushed so large a portion of the human race, and when the poet sadly exclaimed, 'Humanity lives only for a few privileged beings—*humanum paucis vivet genus*.'"

But that is something the church of the Laodiceans has no connection with—let Caesar be responsible for that—our concern is to see that the Almighty Creator of the universe of worlds is complimented by a proper recognition in the constitution of the United States, and that Emma Abbott conducts herself properly.

While thousands of babies are dying these July days in overcrowded tenement houses the church of Laodicea is off on a vacation at the seaside.

While "our city children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime," while our maidens are cast, by thousands, ruined, on the streets, like sucked oranges thrown into the gutter, while "the master scripps his haggard seamstress of her daily bread, and a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead," while "the smoldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor, and the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor," the churches of Laodicea in America are collecting millions of dollars to tear down their already commodious "barns" (or brick houses of God) that they may build

"bigger" ones, or to convert kinky-headed savages in the wilds of Africa to a knowledge of the Thirty-nine Articles. While Usury is placing mortgages on all the farms of the country and cruelly destroying "a bold yeomanry, their country's pride, which, once destroyed, can never be supplied," the ministers of the church of Laodicea are to be seen seated at the table of the money changers where only usurers congregate.

Chancellor Howard Crosby says: "If America is to be ruined it will be by materialism, the accumulation of individual wealth, and the mad chase for such accumulation. It is that which will dry up human sympathies, divert the mind from high and healthy thought, degrade art and science and literature, destroy family life, poison the fountains of society, sanction immoralities, and make the nation a seething caldron of selfishness and unrest." It is that which will? Nay, has it not already done so? Is not the dollar our almighty? Let the eagle no longer be our symbol. Who does not value a dollar more than he does the sermon on the mount? Walk the stinking streets of this city to-morrow, nay, even to-day, and listen to the talk, and then answer the question. Nashville, the "Athens of the south!" There once walked the streets of old Athens, before the days of Christ, a man who prayed: "O, gracious Pan! and ye other gods who preside over this place! grant that I may be beautiful within; and that those external things which I have may be such as may best agree with a right internal disposition of mind; and that I may account him to be rich who is wise and just." Did God ever hear such a prayer as that from this "Christian" Athens? Does the Church of Laodicea pray such prayers as that? The Church of Laodicea is preaching "prevenient grace and supervenient moonshine."

Frank Leslie's Weekly of the 13th inst. had for its frontispiece a picture of "a hot night on the East river front," in New York city, showing a number of ragged women and children sleeping under the tall bridge. God! what faces and what rags. Little skeleton-limbed, soul starved children, sleeping with their matted hair, and weakened faces resting in the laps of their mothers, whose bony nakedness was partially hid by rotten, loose hanging rags. A policeman and a number of God's pitiless, or helpless, stars are standing guard over them. On the next page is a picture of Laodicean priest, with gorgeous canonical vestments and mitre, performing a marriage ceremony. "The bride was attired in a dress of thick white satin, en train, with front draped in rare point D'Alencon lace 150 years old, and worth about \$2,000, the entire dress costing something like \$5,000. She carried a beautiful prayer book bound in vellum and ornamented with a cross and a crown and anchor of diamonds, rubies and sapphires."

"Hark! the rustle of that dress, Stiff with lavish costliness. Here comes one whose cheek would flush But to have her garments brush 'Gainst the girls with fingers thin, Who wove the weary brocade in; Bending backward from her toil Lest her tears the silk might soil, And in her midnight's chill and mure Stretched her life into the work."

Sixty-eight per cent of the married and unmarried females of Great Britain engaged in the industrial pursuits. What per cent in "this land of the free" (!) I don't know, but perhaps equally as large, and constantly increasing. And the church of Laodicea has nothing to say, is on aged in sprinkling holy water on the heads of babies, as if God could send a baby to hell, or a man whose parents neglected to get a properly qualified disciple of John the Baptist to sprinkle water on him.

The whole land reeking with fraud, shoddy, lying, cheating, stealing, scandal, scheming, money making, puffery, etc., etc., that is, dying—and the church of Laodicea, in broadcloth and a white necktie, and rotund abdomen, singing at the top of his lungs, "I am so glad that Jesus loves me!" "I will spew thee out of my mouth!"

Didn't Mean to Admit It, but He Did.

Minneapolis Farm Stock and Home.

A high protective paper, while urging its readers to hang on to wool for higher prices, says that wool is now relatively as high in Europe, particularly in England, as in this country. The statement is true, but our high tariff contemporary probably did not mean to admit that the price of wool could by any possibility be as high in England, where no tariff on wool exists, as in this country, where it is "protected" by a duty of from 50 to 75 per cent! Such an admission knocks out our contemporary's theory in one round; it should be careful. But this tariff is a funny thing, anyhow.

THE HOME SEEKER.

The Chicago Building Association Paper With Us.

The Home Seeker, a monthly paper just started in Chicago, is "an exponent of building society methods and purposes." W. H. Van Ornum, well known to STANDARD readers as an active single tax man, is the editor, and if the readers of the Home Seeker are as open to sound argument as "people who have a stake in the country" ought to be, they will all be single tax people too before very long. As to the choice of the name, Home Seeker, the editor says:

We have adopted the name of The Home Seeker because we propose to make the paper represent the interests of those who join building and loan societies in order to avail themselves of the advantages offered to get homes of their own. In furthering those interests we shall do whatever in us lies to eliminate all features from those societies which place the borrower at a disadvantage, and hinder his becoming, at the earliest moment possible, a home owner.

We have another and greater reason for the adoption of this name. It expresses the aspiration of an untold multitude of men and women in all walks of life. The hope that one day one "may sit under his own vine and fig tree," and gather about him his loved ones, "with none to molest or make him afraid," is the most natural and universal sentiment in man. We believe there is nothing in nature which would prevent the fruition of this hope, but that the causes which hinder it are solely the bad laws by means of which men are cheated out of their earnings and prevented from enjoying equal access to the natural opportunities to make homes provided by the Author of Nature. Believing this we shall strive to bring about the repeal of those laws by making plain just how bad those laws are and what they are.

To a correspondent who asks him why he should antagonize many of his readers by accentuating his "personal approval or disapproval of free trade, or the Chicago Inter Ocean, socialism or Henry George's theories," Mr. Van Ornum replies:

There is only a small proportion of the people to-day who can ever hope to get homes of their own so long as present conditions continue. Among the remedies proposed are temperance, economy, industry, education, trades unionism, prohibition, protection, restriction of emigration, socialism and the theories of Henry George. We have never known anyone to deny that all these questions have an important bearing upon wages, upon savings, upon the ability of men to get homes. If these are not to be discussed, what is there that is worth discussing? Men, and women, and children are perishing every day with hunger and exposure, dwarfed in body and soul, predestined for the prisons, the almshouses and the brothels simply because they can't get homes, because they are poor. And shall we raise no voice in their behalf lest we "antagonize too many interests?" If this is not our legitimate field, Brother Gage, please tell us what is? If papers like the Home Seeker, which seek to make poverty a little more tolerable by raising the average of human prosperity, must not say anything lest interests be antagonized, who shall speak?

Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland.

Indianapolis News.

There is talk in Ohio of nominating Tom Johnson to run against Foraker. Indianapolis would watch such a contest with keen interest. Tom Johnson once owned the street car system of this city. He took it when it was what the late William Allen declared specie payments to be: "A d—n barren ideal." It is understood that he paid \$300,000 for it. He sold it ten or a dozen years afterward for \$1,100,000. He invented the fare-box used in nearly all of the conductorless, bob-tail street cars of the country. His royalty from this was and is many thousands of dollars a year. He invented the improved street car rail by which an iron stringer was made for the flat top, and all cast in one piece so that the whole is laid as a steam railway is on cross ties. The old style was wooden stringers first laid and the flat rail spiked on top of them. Tom Johnson has remarkable business prescience, can overcome opposition and "make his point" with that almost inevitable quality which characterizes genius. He has, yet in early middle life, already accumulated a vast fortune. His last turn after leaving here and since he walked into Cleveland against the opposition of the street car companies and took streets from right under their nose, is to become Henry Georgeite. The Chicago News puts it:

"He has endeared himself to the working classes by an enlightened radicalism which offers no apology to the fetish of high taxes. He slapped that fetish in the face last fall and came within a few hundred votes of carrying what had been an ultra protection congressional district time out of mind, losing the election only by a scratch in the remote country precincts, after a fight in which the Standard oil company and the protectionists of high and low degree spent money lavishly to secure his defeat."

In personal appearance he is William Penn, according to the pictures of that gentleman. Were he to wear long hair a photograph of him in costume like Penn's would be a twin picture. As it is, with his soft, short, brown hair, clinched on his head as it were, by numberless little crispy curls; his fat, round, smooth face with its dimpled cheek and chin; little bow-like mouth, with a perpetual laughing expression and bright, blue eye, he looks comically like an over-grown Cupid. If the democrats should nominate him there would be a piquancy and life in the coming campaign, rare even for Ohio. The amount of hustling that Tom Johnson would make

the other fellows do would be edifying to see. But he won't be nominated. The machine is fixed for Campbell.

TARIFF NOTES.

The cheapness of the American goods, we are told, is not the least astonishing to the Paris buyers of fine articles of table decoration and small wares. In fact, it looks as if American high priced labor were sending a kind of goods directly to the heart of a country suffering from "over production" in them, and establishing a market there in spite of the pauper labor it must compete with.—[Tar-entum, Pa., Times.]

The striking weavers of Zwitau, Austria, have obtained the advance they desired. We have no such reports from the "protected" American weavers.—[Sedalia, Mo., Truth.]

The more the protective system is contemplated in its practical operation, the more its duplicities are revealed. While it enables a privileged few to despoil American consumers, it enables them at the same time to secure labor at the cheapest rates. Between the two processes they grow rich apace. It is not strange that the protective system should have so many devotees and so many subsidized advocates, but it is passing strange that the working people of the country should put up with it as patiently as they have hitherto done.—[Philadelphia Record.]

Twenty thousand tons of beet root sugar have just arrived at Philadelphia from France. It was attracted here by the high price the trust has greedily placed on cane sugar, and came in spite of the tariff duty of almost \$10 a ton. Is it not plain that freetrade in refined sugar would break the trust's monopoly?—[Boston Globe.]

Through the refusal of the French chamber of deputies to vote the money for the purchase of Millet's "Angelus," that great painting will at last become the property of the American art association and come to this country. It is not pleasant to reflect, however, that thirty per cent of its already high cost will have to be paid out in duties. The fact is anything but creditable to our national appreciation of the educating value of art.—[Boston Post.]

The Pittsburgh Telegraph (rep.) is urging the active and ambitious young men of this country to leave it by the first steamer. It says that they must go out of here or quietly reconcile themselves to the low scale of living prevalent in Europe—for to that condition are we fast approaching. This is fine talk from a protectionist paper. It is a delightful commentary on a system that was adopted and is maintained for the benefit of the ambitious workers of our favored land. What does it mean? Are we to understand that protection is a failure? Has it made success impossible to the great majority so soon?—[Freeland, Pa., Tribune.]

Carnegie is doing good work for free trade by showing the absurdity of the protectionist claim that the employer will divide the proceeds of tariff robbery with his employees.—[Harlem Tax Reform Advocate.]

Protection to American labor was the war cry of the republican party in the last campaign. A general reduction of wages and numerous strikes followed the election. Riots are frequent, and the United States troops have been called out in certain localities to preserve the peace against idle and starving men, and to protect the "friends of labor," for whom labor marched in procession, sounded the loud timbrel, cheered lustily, and voted like slaves.—[San Francisco Star.]

We are trying to find a laborer who has had his wages raised in consequence of the republican protection policy. When the campaign orators were on the stump they poured whole volleys of promises into the expectant multitude, and predicted that every working-man would have something better than "five acres and a mule" if their candidate was elected. Our office telescope is at the service of any one who thinks he sees that mule anywhere on the horizon line.—[New York Herald.]

An amusing "tariff talk" in a protection organ represents that American farmers are "suffering from the effects of depending on foreign markets." Why not pass a law compelling every American to eat an extra bushel of wheat? Or why should not the government buy and store the surplus grain as it does the surplus product of the silver mines? Meanwhile the American farmers will wonder how they would have paid their taxes last year had it not been for the \$127,000,000 worth of breadstuffs which they sold in foreign markets.—[New York World.]

Four months of a protective administration, and what does the worker see? Prosperity? Not much. He finds that wages are reduced, right and left. Mills are shut down. Lockouts, strikes, starvation and despair are too common for special publicity. The very things which he was informed could never take place if "protection" won are the very things which have taken place, and well he knows it.—[Dayton, Ohio, Workman.]

The general reduction in wages throughout the protected industries gives support to the belief that the tariff barons are simply reimbursing themselves for their big contributions to the republican boodle committee during the presidential campaign. The Bureau County Tribune truly says they are making the workingmen pay the cost of Harrison's election. And now that they have secured to the protected laborer the blessings of a protective tariff for another four years, they are making him sign a three-year contract reducing his wages 25 per cent.—[Rock Island, Ill., Rock Islander.]

Stop placing restrictions upon trade, upon commerce, upon exchange, abolish taxation in all its forms.—[Sedalia, Mo., Truth.]

HENRY GEORGE RESTATED.

Thomas Bennett in the Age of Steel.

There is no source of discord so fruitful as misunderstanding. One-half our litigation and most of our quarrels arise from confusion of meanings. Writers suffer greatly from their inability to accurately convey their thoughts by the symbols of words. Hegel complained that only one man understood his writings, namely, himself. Some irreverent critic has suggested that even he did not understand himself. So acute and exact writers as Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison came to a snappish passage at arms a few years since from the sheerest failure to catch each other's meaning.

That Henry George is condemned by critics who have never read his works, is possible; that the force of his argument and the effect of his conclusions are misapprehended and misconstrued by a large majority of careless readers and critics, is certain. Men's perceptions enter largely into their reasoning and color their judgments. Few minds are equipped with judicial impartiality. Our interests very largely form our morals, and few men rise above their environment.

It is not remarkable that a doctrine so novel and far-reaching as Mr. George's theory of land should meet violent opposition from a people bred to veneration for traditional rights; it is remarkable rather that so much honest attention is accorded this apparently revolutionary creed. The theory that private ownership of land is a political error and a social evil, is not new with Henry George. John Stuart Mill and other such authorities had advocated the doctrine long before the great California land speculations drew the attention of the San Francisco journalist to the system by which men became millionaires without producing or earning a dollar. In the aggregate, land is cornered as much as pork, or crude rubber, or coal. George crystallized the argument. With facility of expression, breadth of conception and voluminous data, he set before the thinking public a vivid picture of the wrong which all men knew, and the remedies which few had ever suspected possible. He was far more fortunate than most radicals in receiving full credit for both honesty and ability. He introduced a new style in the treatment of economic subjects. His deductive argument was sufficiently philosophical to fill the English quarterlies with rejoinders from such authorities as the duke of Argyll, yet his inductive method was so luminous and so replete with analogy and illustration that thoughtful men of every degree read his books with interest and understood him with ease. The sale of "Progress and Poverty" exceeded that of Macaulay's History. This extraordinary interest in an abstruse subject did not arise from the fascination of his style alone. Whether readers were convinced or no, the question was of the deepest moment. Land is the substratum of society. The manner of its occupation and holding yields a paramount influence on the whole superstructure of civilization. Said George: "If one may control more land than he can use, then he may control all land and drive all other men into the sea." This is the archstone of the proposition. Land, water and air are natural elements necessary to human life, and these he holds to be inalienable. By reason of their abundance, air and water have not passed into private ownership, but the natural and equal inalienable right to the use of land in no wise differs from the other elements. If by force of conquest possession may be taken of more land than can be used by the holder, and price charged for its use, by parity or logic, air and water may be monopolized. All men are entitled to the produce of their own exertion. They may do with it what pleases them, destroy it, barter it, hoard it. But land no man can make. It is a corollary of life, given by the same creator, conditioned upon the same tenure. The improvements made upon land are personal; they may be held perpetually, or may be sold or bequeathed. Public improvements made from the common fund of the community become a part of the land; but outlays of whatever nature made by the occupant are exclusively his.

This being predicted, he next proceeds to examine how the stability of society and the rights of individuals would be affected by the modification of ownership proposed.

All governments hold the right of eminent domain in land. Whether crown or commonwealth, the state grants or re-

scinds the title. It may condemn for streets and highways, for parks and public buildings. It may assess them for public improvements and for expenses of government, and it may sell them for unpaid assessments. Government is the people; it is the whole community which holds and asserts this final title and control. Private title is thus conditional; it is a tenure at will. The fact that compensation is made does not affect the principle of community dominion. The ownership of personal property, the product of labor, is absolute. Never, except in war, when all law is discarded, does the state seize chattels with or without compensation. A contractor may require horses and wagons, but unless he agree to my price, he can by no process of law get possession of my horses and wagons. Here is marked and essential distinction between land and the product of labor. (The term "land" includes all natural agents, timber, mines, waterfalls, etc., so far as unaffected by artificial agencies). If it be lawful for the commonwealth to resume possession of land for certain purposes, it is then lawful to resume it for any purpose. The title being a limited one, we are free to consider whether the interest of the whole community is better subserved under one system of tenure or another system. He then proceeds to examine the effect of the present system. From 1868 to 1876 the market value of land in California increased 400 per cent. It goes without saying that this enhancement in value did not arise from extraordinary betterments added to the land. It was speculation, pure and simple. It had been discovered that the climate and soil were exceptionally adapted to the production of fruit and grain. Irrigation could make enormously productive great tracts which had been regarded valueless. Speculators bought millions of acres, and quadrupled the prices. In what sense did they earn this increase? By what natural or moral right could they step in and say to persons who desired to use these lands: I am lord and master over all this fair domain; you must pay me in advance all the estimated earnings, or you must not set foot upon my remotest acre; if you do not pay me tribute, get you to the city or into the sea? If once disabused of the traditional belief that land is private property, the mind at once sees the dog-in-the-manger policy by which the speculator fattens upon the toil of him who must accept the terms or do worse. The sharper does not wish to use a single foot of land, but he estimates the necessities of his victim and bleeds him accordingly. This example represents the whole class of speculators in land. It should be understood that it is the system, and not any individual upon which the odium of this manifest injustice is charged. No man can singly do materially better than the social organism of which he is a part. The Astors are good and kind people, but the system which enables them to levy an enormous tax upon the inhabitants of New York is not good. It is the people of New York, and not the Astors, who have made Manhattan island valuable.

Mr. George has never uttered a word favoring the leveling of fortunes, much less favoring community occupation of property. In not the remotest degree does he advocate socialism other than that embodied in every organized community. Every nation and municipality, every church, club and society, is a social organism into which individual rights are merged for the mutual benefit of all. How far this consolidation of interests shall go in the relation of the individual to the state has always been a question with statesmen and economists. In our own time, Bismarck may be taken as the type of centralization, while Herbert Spencer sees nothing but despotism in any extension of government beyond that of police protection. These extreme schools of sociology differ only in their methods, and not in their purpose. Indeed, the root of their controversy lies in their different estimate of human motives. The healthy balance between altruism and egotism, which the scientific school believes is best evolved by absolute personal freedom, is a counterpart of that other social theory first propounded in Plato's republic, and now realized in the Prussian empire. Each treat man as a fraction of a social unit. By the association which every theory of law and government recognizes as imperative, innumerable advantages accrue. Sparsely settled rural regions can have few of the facilities of the more densely populated areas. Cities are built, means of trans-

portation constructed, education provided, art and elegance cultivated. Every member of the community works to a common end. The benefits conferred by the gradual improvement in the social structure enhances the desirability of residence and the value of land. It is the combined efforts of all which has made this desirability and value, and Mr. George says this value belongs to the community. At all times a portion of this enhanced value is taken for public use, land being taxed according to its market price. Mr. George proposes to take it all. He denies the right of any person under any guise or plea whatever to withdraw arbitrarily any of such desirable lands from use, or to assess a fine in the shape of rent or purchase money from those who desire to use it. The superior adaptability of certain lands over other lands, so far as it depends on human agency, has been created by the aggregate population, and its premiums must accrue to the benefit of all.

The small corner lot at Wall and Nassau streets upon which the banking house of Drexel, Morgan & Co. stands brought many years ago over half a million dollars. This insignificant piece of land might have been leased wholly without improvements or expenses during the last fifty years at a rental which would sustain the owner in idleness and affluence, and create in perpetuity a great and growing pension. All around this bit of once valueless land the active brains and hands of some millions are struggling and straining, and with every tissue wasted they add to the income and luxury of the drone whose title deed lies securely locked in a safety deposit drawer. He toileth not, neither doth he spin; but Oscar Wilde in all his glory was not arrayed more aesthetically than he. He who will not work, neither shall he eat; yet here is a man who neither in his own person nor his father before him, so far as pertains to the land in question, has ever done a penny's service; and yet he and his kind draw in pure land rents in these free United States more millions a year than ever Pizarro dreamed of, a sum amply sufficient to pay off every national, state, county, city and school debt. This "unearned increment," Mr. George asserts, belongs exclusively to the community, to be used for its benefit.

But, it is said, "what should the state do with so enormous an income?" First, pay all its debts, and keep out of debt. Build more and better roads, more parks and gardens, more schools and museums, more hospitals and asylums, make better streets and clean them, care for the disabled and unfortunate, provide water and gas, remove all taxes upon production and product, let every man create and exchange, and enjoy all that he chose. Taxes upon property would be wholly obviated, an ample income for all public purposes being derived from the premiums assessed upon eligible lands. But, says one, this would create an enormous corruption fund and an army of officials, and it would fall by its own weight. The money collected and disbursed by all the officials of this country amount to some thousands of millions a year. Has it created a more expensive or more arrogant class than the same amount of private business? Is there any extensive business conducted upon so strictly an economic basis as the post office department or as free from scandal? Compare the morals of Wall street with those of the treasury department, or the pools of manufacturers and railroads with the uniform and methodical processes of the government. By what method would the new system be introduced? Simply by increasing present taxes upon land (exclusive of all improvements) to their rent value. The process of tax collection would in truth be greatly simplified and equalized. The inequality of taxation is one of the notorious evils of our time. The census of 1880 gives the estimated value of personal property in the city of New York at \$1,634,000,000 while its assessed value was only \$176,000,000. Probably not ten per cent of the stocks, bonds and mortgages owned in St. Louis, not over twenty-five per cent of its merchandise, and an insignificant part of household property are reached by the assessor. All or practically all such property is assessed upon the sworn report of its owner. There is no means of verifying his statement. Some report honestly, others stretch their conscience and a sadly large portion evade tax and conscience alike. Some years since a local paper published the names of prominent and wealthy citizens whose sworn returns to

the assessor would not cover the value of their kitchen utensils, saying nothing of their splendid pictures, mahoganies, equipages and stocks and bonds. There is no more demoralizing agency in the business of the state than the collection of a personal property or an income tax. Land is accessible, and its rental value can be more accurately estimated than any other species of property. The present complex, expensive and haphazard system of assessment and collection of taxes would be immeasurably simplified.

The error is a common one, that improvements upon land would be of an inferior order because the terms of occupancy would be uncertain. Here are two fundamentally erroneous assumptions. The tenure is not uncertain. It is as fixed and permanent as the state. So long as the owner of the improvements pays his taxes (the assessed ground rental) he cannot be disturbed. His tenure is precisely the same as under a fee simple deed of the law. He is free to sell or lease. He may borrow money and mortgage the property. There is but the one simple change contemplated; that the increased annual value of the bare land shall be paid to the state, which has created the increase. So far from this system retarding substantial improvements, reflection makes it quite clear that a better class of improvements would be made. The tax on the corner occupied by the eleven story Equitable building would be no more than on the corner opposite or the one adjoining occupied by rookeries. Improvements being wholly free from tax, there would be a standing and pressing inducement to erect superior structures.

Whether or not the social result would be all that Mr. George claims, whether poverty would be eliminated and intelligence and virtue be promoted to the extent he prophesies, it is at least well to remember that history records radical changes in property systems and in vested rights; changes which have conferred the greatest benefits upon the race, and it may be possible that similar or greater beneficial changes are stored in the near future.

Babylon.

Queen Semiramis, who the years,
Some thousands, partly shroud from view,
Clad in her royal robes appears,
With that old beauty always new.
On city's walls her chariots flew,
Their white wheels flashing in the sun,
But round those gates of brass there drew,
Silent, the doom of Babylon.

God Belus in his temple sat,
His golden altars and his shrines;
His priests their long devotions at
Pursued their rituals and their signs,
And quaffed the daintiest Chaldean wines.
What things were on those altars done
Shame the gross chronicle resigns—
O, fair, O, faithless Babylon.

O, dreary waste, O, solitude,
Of all that glory held secure!
An Empire and a Race subdued,
And lost in one ignoble lure!—
The riches of the world made poor,
To those the laws of God that shun
His vengeance cometh swift and sure,
Say the dead lips of Babylon!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

Protection Preachers Puzzled.

Chicago News.

Along about last fall it was the commonest kind of prophecy that a reduction of wages would follow a reduction in the tariff, just as sure as shooting. It scared the folks in Illinois and, knowing right well that wages were none too big, anyhow, they voted against any change. The folks who talked up for the high tariff are rather puzzled to account for the sudden drop in every industry as soon as it became known that the ark of protection was safe and sound. They don't like to talk about this Braidwood affair at all. It doesn't jibe with their doctrine. It's like asking a man who carries a buckeye in his pocket to ward off the "rheumatiz" how it comes that he is sick abed with the sciatica. Nevertheless, it is hard to forbear giving one more crack at the victims of this delusion. The nailers of the Boroque iron company at Birdsboro, Pa., are locked out till they are starved into accepting lower wages. So the high tariff doesn't keep up wages in the nail industry. Now, in what business does it? Name one. Protection is a political fetish which doesn't bring luck, and is a bother to have around.

The Workmen Should Apply to Congress Too.

Clinton, Ind., Argus.

When an American manufacturer wants an increase of profits, instead of trying to enlarge his trade, he applies to congress. When the laborer wants an advance in his wages he must resort to the desperate and uncertain strike.

Perhaps it Won't Make Headway; and Then, Again, Perhaps it Will.

New York Herald.

His (Mr. George's) theory respecting the ownership of land is as false as Satan and will never make any serious headway among level headed people in America.

THE TRAGEDY OF A LIFE.

Keith Christie in Belgravia.

ACT I.

A purple bank of clouds "fringed with fire" darkened the sky where the sun had just dipped wrathfully below the world's rim. The light was still on the bay; and the water was crimson as though, like the prophet's rod, the red wand of the sunset had touched the waves to blood.

Threatening clouds were massed in angry medley all around the horizon; and ever and again a blast of wind swept darkly across the calm surface of the water, like a troubled smile across a sleeping face, and foretold the awakening of the storm.

The lights of Paignton twinkled in the distance, and from the houses of Torquay, rising in terraces one above another, household lamps flashed a meek defiance at the angry sky.

At the pier end, where one solitary lamp was lighted, two men stood watching a little craft speeding away southwards towards the dark clouds. There were tight little yachts safely moored in the harbor, and on board of these reigned a pleasant bustle of dinner; but far away beyond the bar the white sails of the outgoing vessels were fading in the gathering darkness.

"It will be a coarse night; the White Rose had better have stayed in harbor," said one of the men, turning from his critical survey of the boat.

"Ay; she couldn't outlive a squall. But likely she'll put into Brixham if she sees the storm coming up."

"I doubt it'll be on her before she sees it," was the reply.

"Well, I'll just turn in myself; so good night, mate."

The man walked away, leaving his companion to stand straining his eyes at the yacht till she faded from his sight in the darkness.

But he was not the only spectator interested in her movements. On the rock walk a woman stood gazing seaward, her wild eyes fixed despairingly on the receding sails of the vessel. She gathered her shawl round her, shivering as a blast keener than usual pierced through her aching limbs.

It was not the cold wind that had brought that despairing look to her face, nor fear for the yacht that had summoned the tears to her eyes. The outward physical conditions only emphasized those of her inner life; and some vague, scarcely developed thought of the resemblance between herself and the storm-threatened vessel had stirred her sleeping misery into conscious anguish.

She wrung her hands wildly, the action causing the flowers she held to fall from her chilled fingers. They lay unheeded at her feet, and she trod recklessly on them when at length she turned fiercely from the sea and continued her way homeward.

Gesture and passion were both inconsistent with her appearance. Her slim, girlish figure was soft and dainty; her face fair and gentle, with great Madonna eyes of lovely blue; and face and figure seemed created more for the soft amenities of life than for the cruel realities of existence.

At the first glance she seemed but a child, for her face was full of an innocent wonder that is rarely seen except in childhood; but looking more closely you saw that she was a woman, and in her eye was the still depth of feeling that motherhood brings.

Rose Earnshaw was only nineteen, yet she had known travail of birth and death. A twelvemonth before her husband had sailed away for the south, in whose treacherous seas his vessel had been wrecked. The sea had claimed him; and when she slept at night she woke in shuddering terror from the dreams in which she had seen him lying, a pale corpse, down under the green, waving waters that held the secret of his fate.

Then the baby had been born; and Rose had wept, longing vainly that the stern man could have taken his little son in his arms before he had sailed away on that long voyage.

Since that time she had wept for a grimmer reason. Hunger is a more practical thing than loneliness; and in this everyday world it is easier for the spirit to want than for the body to lack. Rose could live without love, but not without bread, and since in her case the one included the other, she had to weep for herself and the child depending on her.

She thought longingly of the little

Devonshire village where she had lived before her marriage; but, even if she had had money for the journey, it was not worth while returning to it, for the mossy, thatched cottage standing among the lichen-armored apple trees had lost its tenants.

The clematis threw its long tendrils across the hedge where grew the green fronds of hart's tongue and polypodium, and the trailing ivy and sweet earthy mosses; where in the springtime the primroses smiled and the daffodils laughed. The catkins hung their downy tassels on high, and the pink apple blossoms decked the old trees as gaily this spring as they had done three years ago; but, for Rose, the charm of the place had gone with the passing away of the old people. Under the laden apple boughs, through the moist, ferny lanes, up across the sloping field fragrant with meadowsweet, the mourners had wound, bearing the two to the old gray church on the hilltop; and Rose, away in her seaside home, had been comforted for the loss of her parents by her husband's love.

And now he too had been taken; and the only thing left to her was the baby, of whom hunger threatened to rob her.

He would even then be crying for his mother; and at the thought she quickened her pace, and walked swiftly along the pretty green lane towards Cockington.

She had been away all the afternoon selling flowers on the strand, and it was time that she was returning to the fretful baby. The neighbor in whose charge he had been left gave him into her tired arms with a sigh of relief.

"I'm glad enough to see you back; such a time as I have had with the child—nasty, bad tempered, little thing! You must take him with you to-morrow, for I'll have nothing more to do with him."

She glanced vindictively at the baby's tearful face; and Rose held her boy closer to her breast at the ill-natured words. She entered the cottage and seated herself wearily, looking tenderly down at the tear-swollen face pressed against her bosom. It was drawn and wizened like that of an old, old man; and the eyes looked out with a weird comprehension that made his silence strange and unnatural. He seemed to know so much, and yet he could not give utterance to the thoughts that oppressed his young understanding. But to Rose it appeared that the baby knew all about her bitter struggle with poverty. Try as she might she could make only the barest subsistence. The child prevented her finding work away from home, and the sewing she had been doing had come to an end with the winter.

Then she had eked out her means by selling flowers in Torquay; but her slender purse had almost reached its limits, and the flower trade had begun to fail with the coming in of the spring blossoms.

Every day she took up her position on the Strand along with the other flower vendors; but she had not the assurance success demands, and she shrank timidly away and gave place to the women who plied their trade without unnecessary and disqualifying modesty.

More than half her stock was always unsold, and she saw that she would have to find more lucrative employment if she and the boy were to live.

But the law of gravity makes an insecure footing preferable to no footing at all; and the law of hunger—a grimmer and equally inevitable force—made her cling to the trade that at least provided bread, rather than forsake it for an uncertain provision. So each day she stood, trying to attract the attention of the brilliant crowd that promenaded gaily, giving no thought to the ragged edges fringing the under-garments of society—the ragged edge, its rags hidden by flowers in the sharp irony of pathos, that obtruded itself even here, where wealth and fashion and the velvet pile of rank were elaborated in human lives.

She had never taken her boy to the strand, but on the following day she carried him wearily along the pretty lanes, where the hawthorn trees bore their burdens of blossom so lightly, and where the earth was full of budding promise, to the town, where she took up her old position on the pavement. There she offered her dainty wares—cowslip violets, sweet and dewy; starry primroses, about which lingered a perfume faint as the smiles on dead faces; daffodils that laughed at life; and sprays of willow and budding hawthorn.

The child slept on her breast, his face

flushed in slumber, and Rose smiled as she lifted her pale face to the sunlight. It was such a bright day that she could not altogether despair. The waves flashed and sparkled, and the boats tossed merrily on the bright waters, dancing to the music of the band.

The yachts in the harbor spread their white wings, and dipped gracefully with the roll of the waves, in mocking defiance of their power. The gay groups thronged the walks; the midges rattled past with bright-faced occupants; stolidly respectable carriages rolled by them, like prim dowagers looking askance at flighty misses; there a piquant French demoiselle flirted a scarlet parasol at an ancient beau; and here fashionable fops danced attendance on wholesome English girls. All was life and laughter, and no one gave a sigh for the "White Rose" that a few hours before had gone down beneath the dark waves during the stormy night; even Rose's face, smiling with hope, did not emphasize the obverse of the cheerful picture.

"O mamma, what a dear little baby! I must buy some flowers from its mother."

A little girl had paused beside her, and Rose turned at the voice.

"Violets, lady? See, these are fresh and sweet," she said, offering the best bunch in her basket to the child who had noticed her boy.

"Wait a minute, Ida; to whom are you speaking?"

A coarse looking woman, vulgarly dressed, stopped in her walk, and, adjusting her pince-nez, stared rudely at Rose.

Social affectations are not a good medium through which to view human merit; and the pince-nez distorted the lady's moral perceptions. She turned to her companion with an audible aside:

"One can easily see what she is; so young too! Fancy parading the child like that; those creatures have no shame! Come away, Ida; if you want flowers you can buy them from some one else."

Rose heard the whole, and her face burned at the gross outrage of the words. Instinctively she would have brought her wedding ring into notice, but the boy was sleeping on her left arm, and she would not disturb him even to give the lie to the calumny.

She sold no more flowers that day, and wearily and dispiritedly she dragged herself home; the tired baby, the withered flowers, the fading day, all being emblems of the hope that had perished in her heart.

ACT II.

From that day the luck was all against her.

Whether because she was too dispirited to exert herself, or because of the fate that hounds the unfortunate to their doom, the morning following the loss of the "White Rose" was the last day of even a tolerable success.

She had to sell her wedding ring; and when the few shillings that remained from the sale were gone there was nothing but starvation before her.

"You'll have to take the child to the workhouse," the woman with whom she lodged said to her. "You are dead beat, and not fit to go on as you've been doing. The workhouse is the best place for people what can't keep body and soul together out of it."

Rose's face flushed, and she caught the child to her breast. "They would take him from me," she cried; "I would rather die than part with him!"

"Just as you like," said the woman, shrugging her shoulders. "But, if I was you, I wouldn't let a fretful little brat like that stand in my way. You could go to service if you got rid of him, and then your troubles would be over."

"He's such a tender little fellow," said Rose wistfully; "he would die if I left him. I couldn't do it. We must do the best we can; and, if we die, death can only come once."

"It would be the best thing for the child, at any rate, for you can't nurse him and keep your strength up on nothing. But you're a young woman to talk so easy of dying; when you are my age you'll take a tighter hold of life. We're like the trees—the older we get the faster rooted we are. But, workhouse or not, you must find another place, for I can't afford to keep lodgers for nothing."

Rose looked into the stern face before her, and she saw there was no relenting on the iron-hard countenance.

"I have a shilling or two left," she said; "I can pay for a week's lodging."

"That's all I want to know," was the grim answer. And Rose turned miserably away and dragged her weary steps to

the town again. Her flowers were poor and faded, and she was ashamed to offer them for sale; but she stood beside the pavement hoping her miserable poverty would plead for her.

"O mamma, there is that little baby again! But how ill it looks! Do you think it is dying?"

It was little Ida, walking by with the two ladies; and for an instant hope struggled in Rose's heart as they stopped to look at the child. But hope died at the first words.

"Dying! I hope so. There is no room for such children in the world."

The lady glanced critically at the shrinking woman, then she turned away with a careless—

"Ah, I thought so. Did you see she had no ring?"

The trio passed on, leaving Rose thrilling with indignant shame. Her eyes flashed angrily, and the hot color mounted to her cheeks, giving her for the moment all the old beauty of which sorrow and want had deprived her. Her breast heaved passionately, and her whole bearing was full of a proud dignity as she bent to the child.

Was it true? Was the baby dying?

She kissed the white little face, unconscious of amused eyes that had watched the little scene; and presently a man sauntered across the pavement, and carelessly turned over the flowers in the basket.

"How much?" he asked nonchalantly.

Rose raised her pathetic eyes to him; and he dropped the flowers and fixed his bold look on the face so beautiful in its outraged modesty.

"A penny a bunch," she answered timidly, conscious that they were not worth the price.

"I will take two," he said, throwing sixpence into the basket. "No, I don't want the change; it will buy a toy for the child." Then he bent toward her, and spoke in a low tone; and his words made her start from him in fear:

"I will give you gold for a kiss."

ACT III.

It was true that the boy was dying; and though Rose closed her eyes and refused to see it, she could not blind her heart to the terrible truth.

The woman with whom she lodged gave her no sympathy. She disliked children, and especially the puny babe whose constant wailing disturbed her sleep; and she would make no effort to help its mother.

"It's just as well the child should die," she said. "You'll be free then, and a bonnie lass like you will soon get wed. A child like that is nothing but a torment to everybody, and the world will be well quit of it."

The mother could not bear the words, and she fled from the cottage with her boy into the meadows, where nature was kind and the sunlight was free, and the fresh air blew as softly for the poor as for the rich.

She seated herself under a hedge and gazed at the little face, and she could no longer remain blind to the change that had been going on. The weeks that had crowned the year with blossom and beauty had laid the white flower of death on the baby's brow.

The lambs frisked merrily around them; the fat young birds chirped in their nests; and among all God's creatures they were the only two for whom no provision had been made. The boy woke crying, and she laid him against her breast; but his eager lips turned unsatisfied away, and a horrible despair filled the mother's heart. Even nature had failed her, and had dried the springs of maternal succor. Now indeed starvation was before the child.

Her bosom was torn with sobs, and she laid him down among the flowers on the fresh grass and wept unrestrainedly in her misery.

Attracted by the daisies and buttercups the baby ceased his wailing, and lay quietly, languidly pulling the blossoms; and when his mother bent over him in her passionate grief, he lifted his little hands full of cowslips and pressed them against her mouth.

"Oh, the pretty, pretty flowers!" the poor mother cried, glad to divert him from his hunger. "See, darling, mother will kiss the pretty gold cowslips for her baby."

At the words she started back, as though the flowers had stung her, while a deep wave of color passed over face, and neck, and brow.

"Kiss—the gold—cowslips!" she repeated vaguely, wondering that the innocent

words should give her such an agony of shame. And then she remembered:

"I will give you gold for a kiss." The words throbbed in her ears, and she let the flowers fall and covered her face with her hands.

"Gold for a kiss!" She had nothing but kisses to give the child who needed gold.

"Gold for a kiss!" If she took one of those kisses and bartered it for the boy's sake who could blame her?

She had done everything; she had tried every means in her power to save him, and had failed. And now nature, too, was against her, and she must get money or see the boy die.

"Baby, baby, what am I to do? Would he love mother less if she did it for his sake? O my baby, mother would give more than life to save her boy!"

The terrible tears of a great anguish dropped heavily down her wan cheeks, and she pressed her lips passionately against the child's mouth.

"Kiss them, darling, kiss them!" she sobbed; "to-morrow they will not be fit for baby's kisses."

She raised herself again, and the child looked up wonderingly at her as the hot tears fell on her face. In the sunlight they flashed and glittered like diamonds, and with a strange, old-fashioned smile he put up his hands to catch them.

The smile broke the poor woman's heart, and she caught the little hands and kissed the tear drops from them.

"You forgive me, my baby! And father will forgive me too up in heaven, for I do it to save his child."

And the lark sang joyously overhead, the butterflies flitted past, the blue skies smiled, the green corn bent beneath the south wind, and nothing in the wide meadow gave a sigh for the woman's misery.

Oh, the pity of it! the pity of it, Othello!

But the boy pulled the yellow blossoms and lay contentedly on the grass, knowing nothing of the golden flower of sacrifice the mother had plucked for his sake.

And at length, with a stern resolve upon her young face, Rose lifted her child and passed from the smiling meadow into the dark lane, where the hedge rose steeply from either bank, and the trickling moisture oozed slowly from the rotting undergrowth, and where slimy things crept away to hide from the happy sunlight.

The bitter desolation in her heart urged her to death; but the clinging baby lips at her bosom forbade her to seek the great solution of life's mystery.

Life, not death, demanded a victim; and she nerved herself for the sacrifice with the strength of a mother's infinite love.

ACT IV.

The hot sun beat down on Torquay with all the force of the summer afternoon as Rose stepped briskly toward the station. The tide was coming in, and all along the sea wall on the Torbay road the sad monotone of the waves followed her—a dismal accompaniment to the joyous beat of her heart.

She looked at the long level lines of surf flashing like burnished silver, and a smile as bright flashed across her face as she glanced at the boy laughing in her arms. Three months had passed since that May morning when her heart had failed her; and the days had changed the puny baby into a rosy, healthy boy.

Rose, too, had lost her starved appearance; but her beautiful eyes were full of a piteous sadness, and it was only when they fell on the child that the shadows passed from them.

Life had dealt hardly with her, and the three months had erased from her face the wonder and innocence that had given her such a childish air. At nineteen she was a woman old in sorrow and knowledge of life. To-day nothing but gladness should have been in her heart, for she was on her way to meet her husband, restored to her from the dead.

By a strange freak of fortune Roger Earnshaw had been rescued from the ill-fated vessel, and in another hour he would clasp in his arms the child he had never expected to see.

That evening the three strolled out together Roger carrying the boy, and Rose hanging on his arm. There was a feverish excitement in her manner, and she urged her husband on towards the promontory known as Hope's Nose.

He was willing enough to saunter on in the calm beauty of the summer evening; and they walked together round the Nose and along the narrow path on the edge of

the high cliffs. There was not room here for two to walk abreast, and Rose took the child and followed her husband along the undulating pathway; then as they went she told him her story. Roger went forward stolidly, with dark brows listening to the recital of the bitter struggle for life, of the hard fate that had pursued her, of the daily fading away of the boy, and the mother's agony at seeing him dying for lack of food. Then, in her direst need, she had earned a sum of money that had averted want, and had enabled her to buy the fittings of the tiny shop which had since supported herself and the child.

Roger paused on the narrow footpath and fronted his wife when she ceased speaking. Her face was streaming with tears, and she trembled under his glance.

He was a stern, hot tempered man, and he bit his lips fiercely that she should have suffered all this, but he only said, almost carelessly:

"You have had a hard fight for it. But how did you get the money that set you up in business?"

Rose shrank from him, while the tears coursed pitifully down her cheeks. She had known this moment would overtake her, and its shadow had been cast over the brightness of Roger's home coming. She thought she had tasted the bitterness of death three months ago, but the bitter draught of life that she must drink to the dregs was a yet more terrible thing.

She cowered before his eyes, and held the boy toward him, saying with heart-breaking pathos:

"O Roger, look at him and forget me! See, he does not love me less for it. Look at his little fat arms, and his rosy face, and see if he blames me. I couldn't let him die of hunger, and—O, Roger! I sold myself to save him."

"What do you mean?" Earnshaw cried, seizing her roughly by the arm, while his face grew white under the suggestion of a horrible dread. Don't stand crying there, and don't speak in riddles. Tell me what you mean."

He shook her arm savagely, and she turned her agonized white face to meet his furious eyes.

"The world is so cruel," she said brokenly. "There was no room in it for baby and me—and they thought me bad when my heart was pure as snow. And, O Roger, it is white still, white as snow. I have been in the depths, but God knew it was for my baby's sake, and He saved me from the pollution of it. Through it all I have been true to you."

Her eager voice ceased, and Roger looked fiercely into her face, wondering at the light on it that made her appear strangely radiant and pure. He dropped the arm he had seized so savagely, and sighed with relief as he dismissed the overpowering dread from his mind.

"I have been true to you!" He could not but believe the words; yet, if his fears were unfounded, what was the meaning of his wife's agitation?

"I don't understand you," he said. "What did you mean by 'selling yourself'?"

A quiver passed over her face, but she answered simply: "I meant that, Roger; I did it to buy food for the child."

The man fell back stunned by the words; and then his savage nature woke ten times more furious for the momentary lulling to rest of his suspicions, and an oath sprang from his lips with the loathsome name he hurled at his wife.

She shrank as from a blow, and the child in her arms stirred with a feeble cry. Mechanically she soothed it, gazing at her husband with the eyes of an animal wounded to death; then she sprang to his side.

"Roger! Roger! strike me, punish me; do anything but call me that. I am not that—not vile. Let me tell you—let me explain! See, I kneel at your feet, dear. Do anything—anything, only don't go away believing me that." She sank on the pathway before him, but he spurned her brutally.

"Get up, and let me pass! No, I won't hear; you are no wife of mine. I disown you; I don't want explanations; you can't touch pitch and be clean. I'll never see your face again."

At the harsh words she sprang to her feet and threw herself upon his neck with passionate weeping, and broken words of love and entreaty.

He would not listen to her, and with a fierce oath he flung mother and child from him and strode rapidly away.

Below him the sea slept in the sunset, and a pearly light was diffused over the waters of the bay. The white rocks at

Anstey's Cove rose like ghostly forms from the green waves; and no sound broke the stillness but the tread of Roger's hastening footsteps, and the sad undertones of the moaning waters beating on the rocks below.

ACT V.

The light had almost faded when Rose stirred from the spot where she had fallen. She was faint from loss of blood, for she struck her head against a sharp point of rock, and had been unconscious for many hours.

In spite of her fall the baby was still tightly clutched in her arms, and instinctively she laid her cheek against his face. She shivered as her lips touched the little ice-cold face; and she rose unsteadily and looked about her. The continuous beat of the waves seemed to dull her senses, and she gazed vaguely and uncomprehendingly at the opalescent waters. Then her eyes came back to the child, and rested blankly on his face.

How pale and still he looked! And how blue the little hands seemed. Rose took the tiny fingers in hers and chafed them tenderly. They had closed over a flower, and she opened them with vague curiosity to see what they were guarding so carefully.

It was a dry and faded cowslip; and at sight of the flower the events of the past returned with sudden poignant agony to her mind. But in vain she strove to think clearly; her mind had room only for the overwhelming anguish of the day. Her husband had judged her as society had judged her before. She had lost herself in saving her boy.

She fondled his strangely cold face, smiling contentedly to see that her fall had not awakened him.

"The little baby that the world has no room for," she said, pressing her lips to his marble forehead, and murmuring brokenly that there was room for him in mother's heart.

The child did not move, and she pushed his hair from his forehead and gazed at him with bewildered eyes, wondering at his strange stillness.

Thought was again becoming difficult, and a curious throbbing in her head made her feel as though she were suffocating.

"No one wants us, baby dear; no one but God," she murmured. "We will go to Him together, you and I. The sea is kinder than the earth, and the waves are warm in the summer time. They make room for everybody, not like the world—"

She paused breathless, and a grey pallor overspread her face. A horrible faintness was paralyzing her limbs, and she rose tremblingly and staggered to the edge of the steep cliff, still holding the child in her arms.

She had barely reached the verge when a strange, despairing cry rang across the water; and some sailors passing below looked up, to see a woman stand for a moment, tottering perilously near the brink of the precipice.

Then, with a sound of slow horrible crashing, the trees and shrubs on the cliff side parted, and the lifeless bodies of mother and child sank, down, down towards the cruel rocks and towards the moaning sea.

And the black night drew its curtains over the tragedy that the day had witnessed.

A "Home Market" at Last.

Minneapolis Farm, Stock and Home.

In an editorial in one of the most radical high protection papers in the United States we find the following:

The cattle interest of this country has so far outgrown the domestic market, great as that is, that the profits of the business must be determined by the export trade, substantially as the profits of wheat growing are. The sooner our range men and prairie farmers recognize the inevitable competition of Australia, New Zealand and the valley of the Platte the better."

And so, after nearly thirty years of sacrifice on the part of farmers to secure to themselves the questionable boon of a "home market," through the channel of an excessively high tariff on foreign manufactures, one of the high priests of the tariff faith gives it out cold and flat that the profits of the cattle interest must be determined by foreign prices, just as the profits of wheat growing are. The oracle quoted herewith cannot now avoid the admission that every other farm product of which we have an exportable surplus is in precisely the same fix. Of course, this is no new discovery; it has been pointed out by the most superficial thinkers for years. The source from which the admission is made, which perhaps give it an influence on some extent, a "free trade" paper could not be expected. For years the paper in question has argued that a high tariff would save some market and high prices for our products; but now, alas! it throws up the sponge.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

To say that it is better to make working people dependent pensioners upon the rich and perpetuate this in lieu of adequate wages (which may be wasted in the indulgence of appetite) is to talk nonsense, if not selfish sophistry.—[Cincinnati Christian Standard.]

The fault of our taxing system is that improvements and personal property are assessed too high, and land—that is, idle land—is not assessed high enough. If vacant lots—or lots that might better be vacant—were taxed higher, and good buildings taxed lower, there would be more good buildings, and there would be fewer vacant lots held for speculative purposes.—[Alpena, Mich., Journal.]

The movement of which Mr. Henry George is the leader, for levying all the revenue required by government on land, and for abolishing all duties and tariffs and substituting the single tax on land values, is making extraordinary progress in England, where Mr. George has just completed a tour of lecturing.—[Bobbygeon, Ont., Independent.]

The New York Tribune is of the opinion that the number of protectionist democrats is much larger in this country than the number of tariff reform republicans. We are curious to learn upon what know facts the Tribune relies for the justification of its ideas on this subject. Certainly, as represented by the intelligent press of both parties, tariff reform in the republican party has more powerful advocates than has protection in the ranks of the democracy.—[Philadelphia Record.]

High taxation of capital lowers wages every time; but high taxation of land has the opposite effect.—[Alpena, Mich., Journal.]

Up in Bismarck they are discussing whether or not it is a good scheme to tax the gross earnings of the railroads to support the state government. The state has no right to any part of the earnings of a corporation. The very use of the word "earnings" shows that the corporation is entitled to all its money. If these legislators had but the sense to see it, it is the monopoly they ought to tax, and that is the continuous strip of land on which a railroad does business. Don't make it expensive for the railroads to have comfortable cars or substantial rolling stock or well-basted road beds. Take the taxes off that kind of property.—[Chicago Evening News.]

Land and labor are opposite ends to the social team. As the land end goes up the labor end goes down. As the share of the total product of labor taken by rent grows larger the share left for labor must grow smaller. This condition continues until the laborer gets comparatively nothing for doing a great deal, while the speculative landholder gets comparatively all for doing nothing.—[Pendleton, Ore., East Oregonian.]

The authorities seem to be playing into the hands of the single tax men. Their proposition to tax building associations only shows the tendency of the times to tax everything—the clothes you wear, the food you eat, the roof that shelters you, and if you combine for the purpose of ameliorating your condition, or saving some of your hard earnings, it's tax, tax, tax. And then look at the army of taxgatherers required.—[Brooklyn Liberalist.]

Beyond all doubt Mr. George has done much to deserve the gratitude of his fellow men.—[New York Herald.]

New York city has 291 millionaire individuals or firms, and probably over 1,000,000 of individuals who are not worth \$291 each. Thus do we secure a just distribution of wealth in this land of the free.—[Pittsburg, Pa., Trades Journal.]

There is no mistaking the fact that the George theory has been accepted to a far greater extent in England than this country, and we do not have to go far to see why this is so. One-half of one per cent of the population own all the land in the United Kingdom.—[Troy Press.]

The Baptist people appear to be getting saturated with the Henry George doctrine. The congregation at Stratford, it is said, contemplate paying taxes in future on the lot on which their church stands.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.]

"Time for Them to Put Something in the Hat."

Kansas City Star.

The "farmers" who own acres by the hundreds in the immediate vicinity of Kansas City, which are worth all the way from \$1,000 to \$5,000 per acre, are very much exercised lest by an extension of the city limits they may be required to pay a share of the cost of city government. The extension is not being considered in the interest of these gentlemen. It is rather being considered in the interest of those who have, by their thrift and energy and at their own expense, built a city which gives the lands of these "farmers" all the value they have. Indeed, there is getting to be a pretty general feeling that the real estate owners beyond the present city limits should be taxed if for no other reason than just for the fun of the thing. They have danced long enough without paying the fiddler. It is time for them to put something in the hat.

Then the Theory of Protection is that Commerce is an Evil.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

A large import trade, whether balanced by a large export trade or not, is a misfortune to a nation.—[American Economist.]

This seems a startling proposition, but it is the logic of protection. It is equivalent to saying that commerce is an evil, and that is the theory of protection. Protection is really nothing but war upon commerce, the great civilizer, the great christianizer of nations.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Among the queries referred to me by the editor of THE STANDARD is a long letter from J. R. Gordon, of Everett, Massachusetts, which is full of apt illustrations of his objections to the single tax. I think the questions and answers will be better understood in this case if treated a little differently in form than usual.

Mr. Gordon says he works side by side with two believers in the single tax with whom he has discussed the question, but he is not yet in full accord with them. They say the land belongs to the people, and as to that he heartily agrees with them. They also say that all the land not occupied should be taxed to its full value, and as to that he also agrees with them. But when they say improvements should not be taxed he differs from them, and offers an example to justify his belief in the taxation of improvements. Following is the example:

I own now a small place containing in the lot about 5,000 feet of land, valued at and taxed for 15 cents per foot. A short time ago I contemplated exchanging it for another place containing about 2,400 feet and valued at 30 cents per foot. This would make each lot of equal value, nearly. But on the lot I contemplated purchasing there was a house of double the value of mine. It would have been very pleasant not to have paid any more taxes on the more valuable estate, but on the supposition that the larger and richer the house a man is able to live in, the more able he is to pay heavier taxes, it would have been hardly just.

On the supposition that a man should be taxed according to his industry, or, as Mr. Gordon puts it, according to the house he is able to live in, which, when monopoly is abolished is the same thing, it would not be just to tax the owner of a poor house as much as the owner of a good one. But the supposition itself is not just. It has its root in the conception that a rich man does not earn his wealth. That is in great degree true, under present conditions, but it is true only because land, the source of all wealth, is regarded in law as the same thing as the product that labor draws forth from land. Through the monopoly of land labor products are diverted from the laborer who produces them to the mere owner of the natural source from which they are produced. The laborer is compelled to divest himself of part of his product for permission to produce at all, and as laborers increase while natural opportunities to labor are stationary, the proportion of product that goes to pay for permission to produce tends to increase. This condition enables one class to grow rich at the expense of another, and it seems but just that the former class should bear the burdens of taxation, or, as it is sometimes put, should pay a penalty for being rich.

But if Mr. Gordon will for the moment eliminate this condition from the problem, and assume that all wealthy men have earned their wealth, I think he will see that it is unjust and impolitic to tax improvements. Here is a skillful and industrious tailor who makes two suits of clothes while a less industrious or skillful fellow craftsman is making one suit. By what principle of justice, or according to what rule of public policy would Mr. Gordon tax the former twice as much as the latter, assuming that each appropriated only the same value of common property? Of course an existing condition cannot be eliminated from a social problem by the imagination. It may be for purposes of analysis, but for practical purposes it must be eliminated practically or its power will continue to be felt. But the single tax eliminates it practically. If the land belongs to the people in common, and Mr. Gordon agrees that it does, the land is the proper source of taxation. If the land be taxed it will not be necessary for revenue purposes to tax anything else, and all vacant land will be thrown open for use, for mere land owning will not pay. This conjunction of absence of taxation on products with free land will make it practically impossible for anyone to get wealth without earning it, and that of course will remove the condition which now makes it appear just to punish men for being rich.

In the illustration Mr. Gordon gives, it is perfectly just that the tax on the thirty cent land should be twice as much as that on the fifteen cent land, irrespective of the character of the improvements, for the improvements are private property, while the land value is public property. And so far as public policy is concerned, is it not clear that such a tax will promote improvement, while a tax according to improvements will discourage it?

Proceeding with his illustrations, Mr. Gordon says:

I cite another instance. On the main street of the town where I reside, side by side are two estates of about equal area. On one estate lives an old man, well-to-do but not rich. He has a comfortable home, but one that is quite old. His place is fairly well kept, but not elaborately. The estate may be valued at \$3,700—\$2,500 for the land and \$1,200 for the house. The next estate is owned by a rich man doing a large business in Boston. His land is graded, has fine fruit trees, a fountain, a beautiful lawn, a fine stable, and a rich and beautiful house, elegantly furnished and fitted throughout. This estate may be valued at \$15,000—\$2,500 for the land and \$12,500 for the house, stable, fountain, &c. Now, according to the single tax theory, both would be taxed alike. Do you think it just that the first man should pay the same taxes as the second?

I certainly do. It may not be just that the second should be so much richer than the first; but assuming that his wealth is honestly his, it would certainly be unjust to tax him for having produced it. Each of these men has appropriated the same value of common property, and each should pay the same price into the common fund. Both men have earned, or at least acquired title from whoever did earn, the improvements on their lots respectively, and any difference in the value of those improvements is not justly a subject for the consideration of the tax assessor. So much for the justice of the matter.

Now think of it as a question of policy. The Boston merchant, no matter how he acquired his wealth, has in this instance used it in a way that benefits the whole community. It is a good thing for any community to have improvements such as he has made. Even if he got his wealth as a pirate on the high seas, he has used it well, and while it would be proper to punish him for the way in which got it, it is absurd to punish him for the way in which he uses it. But there is more to it. One of the reasons why the owner of the other lot has not improved it more may be the knowledge that the better he improved the higher he would be taxed. It may not be so in this particular case, but generally it is true that shabby improvements are kept shabby to save taxes. It is notorious that some country people live in unpainted houses, not so much on account of the cost of painting as on the higher tax they will be required to pay if they do paint. The single tax proceeds upon the theory that every appropriator of land shall be at liberty to improve it as much or as little as he pleases without affecting his taxes, which are based not on his private earnings but on his public appropriations.

Mr. Gordon finds another illustration in Boston. He says:

It is well known that a large portion of the city of Boston is built on land that in its natural state is worth but very little to man, but by improving it by filling in, it became very valuable. I refer to that portion known as Back bay. If you tax that land for its full value as it stands, you tax the improvements on it; but if you tax the land without the improvements, then most of Boston's richest men will escape a burden that they now feel. I have no doubt that such instances exist in all large cities. I should like your ideas on this question.

I am not advised whether the filling in of the Back bay was done at public or at private expense, nor is it of importance. I shall assume—for that will better meet the point Mr. Gordon intends to make—that it was done by the property owners. In that case the filling in is not an improvement, and should not be considered in appraising the property for taxation. The land should be taxed without considering the value of the filling in. But it does not follow that the basis of taxation would be the same as if there had been no filling in. The value of the mere right to fill in is now much greater than it was originally, and it is this value that would be taxed. The time will come, if it has not come already, when the value of filling in will be so small in proportion to the value of the opportunity that the land as filled will be fairly regarded as in its natural condition. The improvement value will have merged in the land value, just as clearings, drainage, and the like, do in the course of time.

It must be remembered that while the ideal of the single tax is to take the whole value of the land for public use and to leave the whole value of private property to the producer, yet that this ideal, like all other ideals, is incapable of perfect realization. We can only approximate. Certain practical considerations will compel us to leave to private use some small part of land value, and in some cases to take some small part of private property. The private property so taken will be private only ideally, just

as the public property left to individuals will be public only ideally. In the latter case it will be practically part of the expense of maintaining the system. In the former case the private property taken will be only that which, like the filling in of Back bay, has existed so long and under such circumstances as to be in effect, for all practical purposes and in accord with substantial justice, merged in the natural opportunity and in its value indistinguishable from the value of the natural opportunity.

Perhaps the justice of the matter may be more simply explained by ignoring the single tax as a practical mode of appropriating land values for common use, and assuming that they are appropriated by leasing land to the highest bidder. If that were done we might treat such land as Back bay originally was as we now treat useful inventions. We might say to the lessee, if you will fill in Back bay you may have the exclusive use of that locality for a certain period at a low rental, or none at all, the improvement to go to the public with the land at the expiration of the period. This would be just. The same thing substantially would be done by the single tax.

On the subject of personal property taxation, Mr. Gordon writes:

My friends oppose taxation of personal property. Again we differ. In case there was no tax on personal property, the rich man would pay no more taxes on a house full of elegant furnishings, a half score of blooded horses, his wife's \$100,000 worth of diamonds, and his elegant and extensive library, than the poor man would on his hovel with broken down furniture, his rickety wheelbarrow, the hen's feather in his wife's hat and his weekly newspaper.

All I have urged against the taxation of improvements applies with equal force in answer to this objection. But there is a further reason why personal property should not be taxed. It is impossible to tax personal property with any degree of fairness. Whenever it has been tried it has resulted in compelling the poor man to pay a far greater proportion of the tax than rich men pay. It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon this, for in recent issues of THE STANDARD Thomas G. Shearman has made it clear beyond possibility of contradiction to all who will read his articles, that personal property cannot be fairly taxed.

Again, I claim it would not be just to tax a storekeeper doing a business of a few thousand dollars per year and carrying a stock of perhaps a thousand dollars, the same as a dealer doing millions of dollars worth of business per year and carrying a stock worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. And this reminds me of another case that has come under my personal observation. There is on the Penobscot bay, in the state of Maine, a small village that was once in a prosperous condition, its only industry being farming and ship building. We well know that farming in the eastern states has, since the development of the west, been quite a profitless business generally, and also since iron and steel have taken the place of wood for ship building, and since the decline of American shipping interests that ship building in that state has dwindled to very small proportions compared with its former state. In this town there were located before the war of the rebellion a farmer of my acquaintance and a ship builder of some note. The farmer has a small place valued at perhaps about \$2,000, on which by hard work he manages to keep soul and body together and that is about all. On the other hand, the ship builder has in the finest part of the town a fine residence with considerable land around it, perhaps an acre or an acre and a half. He is also reputed to have \$800,000 worth of shipping. Now, the value of the land in both cases would be about the same. Would you tax both alike?

I cannot say whether I would tax both alike or not, for I do not know whether their interests in land values are the same. But so far as their ownership of the property mentioned is concerned, I would tax them alike. The land is common property, as Mr. Gordon agrees, and he will no doubt admit that the other property is private. Each having appropriated the same value of public property, each ought to pay the same sum into the common treasury.

The question about the storekeepers assumes that each uses the same land value. If the assumption be allowed, I would tax them the same; but it cannot be allowed, for it is matter of common observation that a storekeeper who carries a stock of \$1,000 does not appropriate as much land value as one who carries a stock of \$100,000. But suppose we undertook to tax them on their stock, would not that have the effect of compelling them to charge enough more for their goods to make up the tax, and thus shift it from themselves to their customers? And would it not put the smaller dealer at a disadvantage, since he would have to advance the tax, and thus lessen the effectiveness of his capital? All attempts to

tax commodities in the hands of dealers or manufacturers necessarily add to the price plus a profit on the tax, and result in taxing the poor consumer and hampering the small dealer who ask for relief instead of the rich dealer or manufacturer whom it is intended to punish.

I am also informed by the two advocates of your doctrine that the federal government will raise or receive its revenues by taking a certain per cent of the rent or tax money. Each town and each city requires a certain amount to carry on its municipal business now, and will, no matter what the system of taxation is. I fully understand that to take off the tariff duties, takes off some burdens hard to bear, but it is a question in my mind whether under the land tax system the burden will be distributed evenly. I reason thus: The city of Boston requires in round numbers about \$10,000,000 per year to carry on its municipal affairs. This, allowing its population to be 450,000, means a tax of \$22.25 per head. Now we will add a percentage, for the government income, of 50 per cent, it may be more or it may be less but I take this for convenience sake. That means that each person in the city of Boston pays per year \$11.12 1/2 for the support of the government.

Now I reside in the town of Everett, three miles from Boston. The town has no costly fire and police departments, no great and expensive system of sewerage, no paved streets and no extravagant city government. The total tax levy is about \$75,000 per year for a population of 9,000 or a tax of \$8.33 per head and each person will pay toward the government income \$4.16 1/2 per year, under the land tax system, if I am rightly informed.

The question is not definite, but I suppose Mr. Gordon wants to know whether it is proposed to make federal taxation a ratio of local taxation. The mode of computing federal taxation is a question of detail in regard to which there will be no difficulty when the principle that land values ought to bear all public burdens is established. It is not a present practical question, though it is involved in the principle. Probably the most convenient plan would be for each state to pay into the federal treasury a sum in proportion to the population; and if the states raised this sum by a tax on land values, federal taxes would be pretty evenly distributed, for general land values rise and fall pretty regularly with population.

There are only two more questions I desire to ask and they are these:

First—Would you tax opium or exclude it altogether?

Second—Would you place any tax on liquors or beers?

A tax on opium, liquors and beers, laid for the purpose of regulating their sale, would not be inconsistent with the principle of the single tax. The object in such a case is to restrict trade in those commodities, and a tax has that tendency. But if trade in them is to be regulated, the better plan would be by way of government monopoly. L. F. P.

Selling Values Under the Single Tax.

HEMLOCK, Neb.—A farmer says that he does not understand how under the single tax land is to be had without buying it, and I am unable to explain it to him. Will you answer the following question:

How under the single tax can land be had without buying it? ABOLISH M. SEGIN.

The single tax, if it took absolutely all the rental value of land, would destroy the selling value, because selling value is based on rental value; that is to say, a man will pay as purchase price for land a larger or smaller amount, according as the land will yield him a smaller or larger annual return either in money or in the satisfaction of his desires. Now, no man will pay to another the purchase price of a piece of land and then afterwards proceed to pay him the full rental value every year. When a user pays the purchase price he stops paying rent; when he pays rent he does not pay purchase price. This shows that the two things are really two expressions of the same value, and if the owner had to pay to the state in the shape of a tax the full rental value every year, he could not get any purchase price, for the man who bought would then be paying twice for his land, once in purchase price and afterwards in rent tax. This, as above shown, is ridiculous. A man would rather go and take up a piece of land with no value.

All valuable land under the single tax, however, would be improved. And there would be sales of property just as now, the selling price being the value of the improvements and perhaps some little land value which it is impossible to obtain absolutely by a tax. W. B. S.

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The Average Man.

Hamlin Garland in America.
His face had the grim look of granite,
As wrinkled and browned with the sun—
As the coat on his poor narrow shoulders—
And his hands showed the work he had done
For his wife and the babe on his bosom,
Yet he smiled through his pallor and tan
In patient, sad way, as if saying:
I'm only an average man.

"I can't be a hero or poet,
Nor a general, decked with a crown;
I'm only a badly paid servant
For them set above me; I'm down,
An' it's no use complaining,
I'll git along best way I can—
But one of these days 'I come mornin'
An' hope for the average man."

As I looked on this wistful-eyed toiler
A fire flashed into my brain,
And I cried from my heart's deepest center
Above the wild roar of the train:
"I have seen the hero of battles,
I have looked on the hand for the plan,
The mightiest force of the world is
The arm of the average man!"

"He wages all battles and wins them,
He builds all towers that soar
From the heart and the heat of the city;
His hand sets the ship from the shore,
Without him the general is helpless,
The earth but a place for a plan;
He moves all and builds all and feeds all,
This sad-smiling average man!"

Then I lifted my hand in a promise,
With teeth hard-set and my breath
Held close in my throat, as I uttered
In a vow that shall outlive death:
"I swear that the builder no longer
To me shall be less than the plan;
Henceforth, I give honor and glory—
Being just to the average man!"

A CASE IN POINT.

A Garden Spot, Where Hundreds of Happy
Homes Might Be, Remains Barren
Through the Curse of Land Monopoly.

Sacramento, Cal., Dec. 17.

The curse of land monopoly has ever been one of the most gigantic evils of the century and of the country. We do not as yet begin to feel its baleful influence here as it is felt in Ireland and other countries of Europe. But it is crushing in upon us, surely but not slowly. It is making giant strides here in California. It is opposing itself as a barrier to progress. It is a stumbling block placed on the road to improvement, for the purpose of wrecking the trains of enterprise. Its vicious work is to be seen on every hand, even right here at our very doors. The Norris grant yesterday was beautiful in its wealth of verdure, and as far as the eye could reach the breath of the sun transformed the earth into a charming combination of green, and gray, and gold. It seemed as though here hundreds of homes might be dotting the landscape; a thousand children basking in the sunshine; the music of the church bell and the voices of happy scholars making melody where now the rolling plain echoes only to the low of the cow, the bleat of the sheep, and the neigh of the horse; orchard, and vineyard, and farm standing as silent witnesses to the growth and prosperity of the country. Yet no such picture presents itself. But a few houses can be seen and dozens of herds and flocks. All this fair land is the property of one man. Not content with hoarding to himself these vast acres which the good God meant should be the heritage of all mankind, the owner thereof has barb-wired them all in, until only the county road is left. It is strange that even that concession has been made to the people. It certainly would not have been done could it have been prevented. For over thirty years this vast area has been the rendezvous of pleasure parties. It was one of the few places in the county where a pleasant Sunday could be spent. Now it is locked up, and its boundless acres, untitled, have naught but cattle, sheep and horses for the background to the landscape, while ever and anon

The merry brown hares come leaping
Over the crest of the hill.

And as they leap the duke of Sacramento and the lord of the Rancho del Paso glances hoardingly over his broad demesnes, while all over the Union "millions of hands want acres; millions of acres want hands."

Personal Property Taxation.

The Independent, July 18.

State Assessor Ellis, who with his associates has been exploring the inequalities of taxation in this state, is reported to have come to the conclusion that all taxes on personal property should be abolished, and that so far as taxes are collected on the basis of assessed valuations, they should be confined to real estate. We have for years been of this opinion, and are glad that Mr. Ellis has received light on the subject, as the result of his inquiry.

The simple truth is that the effort to tax personal property is historically a failure, and that the great mass of such property has never been reached by any process yet devised, and never will be by any process that can be devised. The uniform result is that the tax bears very unequally on such property; and hence involves injustice as between the owners of this property. Trust estates are taxed to their full value. Conscientious persons, who on moral grounds refuse to evade the law, are fully taxed. But the great mass of the holders of such property manage, in one way or another, to keep it out of the sight of the assessor, and pay no taxes upon it. Such has been the result whenever and wherever the experiment has been tried; and such, so long as human nature remains what it is, it always will be. Those who have studied the subject in the light of the past, have very generally come to the conclusion that the effort to tax personal property had better be abandoned.

Taxation is a practical question, not to be disposed of by mere theories and speculations, but by considering in the light of experience and facts what can be done and what cannot be done. To make a law that certainly will not secure the end it contemplates is always legislative nonsense; and this is just the nonsense that is disclosed in every effort to secure a full taxation of personal property. The uniform failure of the effort ought to be the end of the question, as a matter of practical legislation. Laws that are doomed to fail of their own end, or that, if enforced, create far more injustice than they remove, had better be kept off the statute book.

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