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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL. The Elections—Defeat of the People's Municipal League in New York—Election of Tom L. Johnson in Ohio—Professor Walker and Dr. Abbott—How the American Farmer is Disappearing—The Land of the Free—Southern Peonage and the Lodge Bill—The Indianapolis Sentinel. CONGRESSMAN TOM L. JOHNSON.

THE NEW YORK BALLOT LAW. Louis F. Post. **GLEANINGS FROM HISTORY REGARDING TAXATION AND THE LAND VALUE TAX.** James Middleton.

WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT DIMINISHED. D. Webster Groh.

REAL ESTATE OPERATIONS IN CHICAGO. Alfred Dentone.

THE TIME CALLS FOR ACTION. James Mallett.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER. Rev. Harold Rylett.

LETTER FROM INDIA. R. H. Hooper.

SOCIETY NOTES.

CLEVELAND'S WORDS.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. Answers to Sol F. Clark—Suggestion for Michael Davitt—For Mr. Bengough—A Criticism—Work for Women—Carlyle on Land—Will Jay Gould Answer—For the Letter Writers—So Far and Yet So Near—The United States Senate Worse Than Useless—North Dakota Tax Law.

PERSONAL.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT. William T. Croasdale—John De Witt Warner—No Protection Wanted; The Central Labor Union of Buffalo Declares Emphatically Against High Tariff—The McKinley Millennium—A Pertinent Illustration—Cracking the Shell.

THE DEAD PROPHET. M. J. Savage.

GIVE US OUR DAILY BREAD. H. M. Tichenor.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

SINGLE TAX NEWS. The Platform—Single Tax Letter Writers—Warren Worth Bailey Calls on the Single Taxers of Illinois to Organize—The Weekly Report of the National Committee of the Single Tax League of the United States—Thomas G. Shearman Talks to the Brooklyn Single Tax Club—Something About the Conference and the Fence Motto Brigade in West Virginia—Martin Williams at Work Among the Michigan Farmers—A Single Taxer from Texas Offers a Resolution—H. F. Ring Was Delighted With the Conference and Shows His Delight in a Practical Way—Procuring Signatures to the Petition—How the McKinley Bill Works in California—News from Elsewhere.

EDITORIAL.

The response of the people of the United States to the republican legislation of the last session has come, quick and sharp and decisive, in such an overwhelming sweep of democratic success as the most sanguine had hardly dared to hope for. New Hampshire and Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Illinois and Pennsylv-

sion, is already coming into practical politics. The next house will have not a surplus, but a deficiency, to deal with.

In the face of this election, any attempt of the discredited party to force through, during the remaining session of the present congress, any legislation designed to bind the hands of their successors will be in its nature revolutionary, and, should



CLEVELAND, OHIO, NOV. 4.—I AM ELECTED BY OVER THREE THOUSAND MAJORITY.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

vania, have wheeled into the democratic line, McKinley is beaten and the next house is democratic by a majority variously estimated as high as a hundred.

And the increased spirit of the democratic opposition to protection is as marked as the increase in numbers. It not yet a free trade party, but this election marks a long step in the advance in that direction.

Among the new members elected are two avowed single tax men—Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, a single taxer unlimited, and John DeWitt Warner of this city, who is a single taxer to the extent of raising all revenues from land values. We have failed in this city to elect William T. Croasdale, owing to the weakness of the county democracy, on whose ticket he was running, the vote which he received coming mainly from pastors. It would doubtless have been greater if he had run independently, as then there would have been no embarrassment from the contest between local tickets. But there will be enough single tax men in congress to present the petition to the next house, and, besides these, there is a considerable number of thorough free traders.

In the meanwhile, as Thomas G. Shearman pointed out in his speech at the Cooper institute last week, the McKinley bill has made a tariff only for revenue impossible. The duty on sugar once off, it is now impossible to frame any tariff that will come anywhere near meeting the present scale of expenditures, and the tariff question must therefore pass from a question of protective tariff versus revenue tariff to a question of protection versus free trade. In fact, as Mr. Shearman pointed out, the question of direct federal taxation, thanks to the reckless legislation of the past ses-

sion, is already coming into practical politics. The next house will have not a surplus, but a deficiency, to deal with.

the senate resist the expression of the popular will, it ought to be met in the next house by the constitutional power of refusing appropriations.

Strong as were its elements, the defeat of the fusion or Municipal league ticket in this city is not surprising, nor yet much to be regretted. It was a good ticket, as tickets go, and owed its beginnings to a good impulse. But, as I said of it three weeks ago, it lacked the animating and cohesive power of any large principle. It was merely an attempt to "put good men in office;" to displace one political combination by another, which, though it might be better for the time, could not long continue so.

It is to be hoped that this new demonstration of the futility of such effort will lead the clergymen and other well-meaning citizens who have been striving so hard to put one set of politicians in the places held by another, and to turn out one ring for what would ere long gravitate into another ring, to consider the real gravity and depth of the problem they have attacked so lightly. At bottom the problem of municipal government is simply the problem of democratic government. And good and pure democratic government becomes impossible where there exists such an unjust distribution of wealth as is to be seen in this city—the type which all our cities are tending to.

In "Progress and Poverty," in the chapter entitled "How modern civilization may decline," I say:

* * * They were belted barons led by a mitred archbishop who curbed the Plantagenet with Magna Charta; it was the middle classes who broke the pride of the Stuarts; but a mere aristocracy of wealth will never struggle while it can hope to bribe a tyrant. And when the disparity of condition in-

creases, so does universal suffrage make it easy to seize the source of power, for the greater is the proportion of power in the hands of those who feel no direct interest in the conduct of government; who, tortured by want and embroiled by poverty, are ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder or follow the lead of the most blatant demagogue; or who, made bitter by hardships, may even look upon profligate and tyrannous government with the satisfaction we may imagine the proletarians and slaves of Rome to have felt, as they saw a Catigula or Nero raging among the rich patricians. Given a community with republican institutions in which one class is too rich to be shorn of their luxuries, no matter how public affairs are administered, and another so poor that a few dollars on election day will seem more than any abstract consideration; in which the few roll in wealth and the many seethe with discontent at a condition of things they know not how to remedy, and power must pass into the hands of jobbers who will buy and sell it as the Praetorians sold the Roman purple, or into the hands of demagogues who will seize and wield it for a time, only to be displaced by worse demagogues.

The campaign they have just closed will give the men who formed the Municipal league abundant illustrations of the truth of this. On the one hand, a great body of our people cared nothing whatever for the reforms they proposed—and not without reason, for it could mean nothing whatever to them. On the other hand, the head of the Astors—the man who as the greatest of the land owners of New York would have reaped the largest benefit from economical government, refused to give a cent to the funds of the league, just as his predecessor in 1871 refused to give anything or do anything toward the overthrow of the Tweed ring. And the falling off in the vote which the league expected shows how little those who are too rich to care how public affairs are administered, care are to be counted for reform.

The truth is that no reform can avail that does not go to this disparity of conditions—that does not on the one hand check the growth of monstrous fortunes, and on the other give to labor the natural freedom and plenty of which it is unjustly deprived.

Professor Francis A. Walker of Harvard has in the November Forum an article entitled "Democracy and Wealth," in which he attacks an article by Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott in the August number of the same magazine. In the course of it he says:

To my utter amazement I here read words which ally Dr. Abbott with the Henry George party:

The wealth which is not the product of individual labor shall not become individual property; that which is by nature common wealth shall remain wealth common to all the people.

This is sheer rank Georgeism; nothing else; nothing less. It means, if it has any meaning, the nationalization of the land. It means that no man shall ever own a house and the ground on which it stands, since the value of these would be liable at any time to be enhanced by the growth of the community in wealth and population. If Dr. Abbott really means this he may be sure of a cordial welcome from the single tax advocates, who will properly felicitate themselves upon the accession of so distinguished an ally.

No; they would not. Could Dr. Abbott be so foolish as to mean this, single taxers would try to teach him so much of the primer of political economy as would enable him to distinguish the essential difference between a house and the ground on which it stands. Will not some of the young gentlemen to whom Professor Walker lectures at Harvard endeavor to do as much for their professor by asking him to give an instance in which the value of a house

has been enhanced by the growth of a community in wealth and population.

Professor Walker goes on to say:

The contest over the private ownership of land is now fairly joined; public discussion of it, bold, full, free, frank, is desirable.

This is true; but it is also desirable that it should be intelligent.

The same number of the Forum contains an important article on "Western Farm Mortgages," by the veteran abolitionist, Daniel R. Goodloe, who, as the readers of THE STANDARD know, is a single tax man. Mr. Goodloe shows by state bureau statistics that the mortgages in Ohio amount to about one-third of the whole value of the real estate. He shows a similar condition of things in Indiana and Illinois, coming to the conclusion from a comparison of returns that the reported satisfactions consist mainly of renewals of mortgages on the same conditions or on harder ones. Of the interest he says:

The agent who negotiates a loan charges up to the borrower all the expense of deeds, promissory notes and abstracts of title, furnished by a prominent firm that makes a business of searching records and of giving certificates, and in these items the agent adds a liberal fee for himself; so that the interest in one form or another, will rarely fall below 10 per cent.

By the reports of the labor bureau of Michigan for 1888, nearly one-half of the farms occupied by their owners were under mortgage, the average interest being nearly one per cent higher than in the states mentioned previously.

Of Kansas, Mr. Goodloe says:

The Kansas statistics of mortgages, though incomplete and unofficial, are in some respects more interesting than those of any other state, since they convey a clearer notion of the condition of the people at the present time. The facts were gathered during the last spring and summer by the Advocate, a weekly newspaper printed at Topeka, Kan., in the interests of the Farmers' alliance. The editor states that he sent out circulars to all sub-alliances, asking them to make a canvass, and to report upon a blank form which was furnished them. The blank called for a statement of the number of mortgaged, of unmortgaged and of rented farms belonging to members of the several alliances. The request seems to have been faithfully complied with. Reports had not been received from all the alliances, but a great many more had been furnished than the editor found space for in his paper. He believes that he laid before his readers enough to give a fair estimate of the mortgage indebtedness of the people of Kansas. He rejected every imperfect report, and at the same time made selections from them so as to exhibit the condition of things in every part of the state. The 82 cases published in the Advocate exhibit the conditions of 3,107 Kansas farmers belonging to the alliance. Of these, 350 held their farms free from mortgage, 1,030 occupied rented farms and 1,727 held farms under mortgage.

Let me repeat this startling sentence: Out of 3,107 Kansas farmers taken indiscriminately as belonging to the alliance—and the members of the alliance are not likely to be the very poorest—no less a number than 1,030, or nearly one-third, are renters; that is to say, tenants of the Irish type, holding under rack rents, unmitigated by any of the ameliorations or restrictions on the power of the landlord that exist in Ireland. No less than 1,727 of the others, though nominally freeholders, are in reality tenants under the first form of tenancy, the mortgage—mortgages which under present conditions can never be paid by them save in the most exceptional cases. Of the whole number only 350, or a little over ten per cent, are really the owners of the land they till. And remember, that this state is Kansas, is a state that when Mr. Goodloe was in mature manhood and editor of the National Era, was still the range of the buffalo and the hunting ground of wandering Indians—a state that has been settled by the very flower of the most active and intelligent of the American people.

Is it not about time to stop talking and

thinking of the American farmer, as though he were necessarily a land owner?

On the basis of these reports the editor of the Advocate estimates the total mortgage indebtedness among the farmers of Kansas as \$146,563,000. But the reports from the sub-alliances are more significant still, as they show the proportion of renters and the condition of the people:

Every report from the sub-alliances is accompanied by a statement of the condition of the farmers; as, for instance, in one case are reported 9 mortgaged farms, 6 unmortgaged ones, 6 renters and a debt of \$3,900. "On all but three of these," the report states, "the owners cannot pay interest. Most of the renters have owned places and have lost them by mortgages." The next sub-alliance reports 33 renters, no unmortgaged farms and 26 mortgaged ones, with a debt of \$24,702. The report adds: "A great many have had to borrow interest from the banks, and others have not paid interest for two years." In many instances the farmers had taken up public lands, but had not "proved up." The secretary of one sub-alliance writes: "Nineteen homesteads; only two proved up, and these are mortgaged at \$400 each. Neither party will be able to meet payment."

Here are some other reports:

"Our school district consists of six and a half square miles. Of this, two square miles have been foreclosed within the last two years. One square mile has passed out of the hands of original owners, and is now owned by absent landlords, who have obtained possession by direct sale instead of by foreclosure. Nearly one-half of our district is owned by foreign syndicates. Of the remainder, 821 acres are clear of mortgage."

"Two renters; one unmortgaged and 11 mortgaged farms; debt, \$3,100. About one-half are behind from one to two years with their interest. Others have given chattel mortgages to secure payment of interest."

"Ten renters; 5 unmortgaged and 20 mortgaged farms; debt, \$39,950. It is hard to give any facts as to who will pay up. About one in ten I think will do so. If times remain as at present, and if crops fail, one-fourth will be foreclosed in eighteen months. Some are behind with interest, and others are hard pressed to pay it. I know of several other farmers, not members of the alliance, that are in as bad shape as those in the list I send. I think they will join us soon."

"Eleven renters; 6 unmortgaged and 26 mortgaged farms; debt, \$33,750. Several of our members live on farms owned by money lenders, and three-fourths of the others cannot redeem their farms unless prices go up seventy-five per cent at once, and continue at that height for five years. Several foreclosures are now pending."

"Twenty-three renters; 3 unmortgaged and 41 mortgaged farms; debt, \$32,425. This township is heavily in debt, largely on chattel security. From one to three mortgages a week are foreclosed, and several just pay their interest and live, to say nothing of the principal."

"A member of our alliance says that at the county seat the clerk of the district court stated that there were 1,100 foreclosures on the docket, and that the judge and the lawyers were staying them, on account of the injury they would do the county, and also to give the government a chance to help the farmers out."

"Ten renters and 5 mortgaged farms; debt, \$3,900. The rest of the land in our district belongs to eastern capitalists, most of it being taken on mortgages."

"Forty-four renters; 7 unmortgaged and 27 mortgaged farms. The foreclosures in our county are 400 annually, and perhaps as many more farms are doomed without foreclosure. I do not think one-half are keeping the interest paid."

All of the eighty-two reports, Mr. Goodloe says, are of like tenor with these. In only one of them did the number of unmortgaged farms exceed or equal that of the mortgaged. In this case there were fourteen unmortgaged farms and ten mortgaged, with three renters, but it was added that one-half of those unmortgaged had not yet proved up or obtained title, and so were unable to mortgage. In some cases money was being borrowed at two per cent per month to pay interest.

This is Mr. Goodloe's summing up:

The conclusion from this melancholy array of facts is irresistible. The virgin soil of the west is rapidly ceasing to be the home and the possession of the sturdy American freeman. He is becoming a tenant at will, a dependent on the tender mercies of soulless corporations and of absentee landlords. We have abolished monarchy, and primo-

geniture, and church establishments supported by the state; yet the universal curse of humanity, the monopoly of the earth by the wealthy few, remains. It is related of John Randolph of Roanoke, that when visiting a neighboring planter about seventy years ago, he found his hostess, surrounded by her female servants, making clothing for the Greeks who were struggling for liberty and independence. But while taking leave, he observed a troop of ragged slaves approaching the house; and turning, he said to the lady, "Madam, the Greeks are at your door." And now to America, aglow with sympathy for the Irish, may be said, "Madam, Ireland is at your door."

An article by the Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, in the same number of the Forum, supplements and corroborates Mr. Goodloe. Dr. Gladden says:

With the hardest work and with the sharpest economy, the average farmer is unable to make both ends meet; every year closes with debt, and the mortgage grows till it devours the land. The labor bureau of Connecticut has shown, by an investigation of 643 representative farms, that the average annual reward of the farm proprietor of that state, for his expenditure of muscle and brain, is \$181.31, while the average annual wages of the ordinary hired man is \$366.36. Even if the price of board must come out of the hired man's stipend, it still leaves him a long way ahead of his employer. In Massachusetts the case is a little better; the average farmer makes \$326.49, while his hired man gets \$345.

In a fertile district in the state of New York, a few weeks ago, an absentee landlord advertised for a man to manage his farm. The remuneration offered was not princely. The farm manager was to have his rent, his garden, pasturage for one cow and a salary of \$250 a year, for his services and those of his wife. There was a rush of applicants for the place. Who were they? Many of them were capable and intelligent farmers who had lost their own farms in the hopeless struggle with adverse conditions, and who were now well content to exchange their labor and their experience against a yearly reward of \$250. The instance is typical. Throughout the eastern states, with the home market which protection is supposed to have built up at their very doors, the farmers are falling behind. Says Professor C. S. Walker:

A careful study of New England farming in the light of all points of view, carried on for the past ten years by means of statistical investigation, personal observation during carriage drives from Canada to Long Island sound, and intimate association with all classes of farmers, assures one that the man who cultivates an average farm and depends upon its profits alone for the support of himself and family, if he pay his taxes and debts, cannot compete with his brothers, or attain to their standard of living, who, with equal powers, employ them in other walks of life.

The same story is heard in the central states. In Ohio farms are offered for beggarly rents, and even on these favorable terms farming does not pay. Tenant farmers are throwing up their leases and moving into the cities, well content to receive as common laborers a dollar and a quarter a day, and to pay such rents and to run such risks of enforced idleness as the change involves. At the south the case is even worse. Under a heavy burden of debt the farmer struggles on from year to year, the phenomenal growth of the manufacturing interests in his section seeming to bring him but slight relief. And even in the west we find the same state of things.

Scarcely a week passes that does not bring to me circulars from banking firms and investment agencies all over the west begging for money to be loaned on farms at eight or nine per cent, net. The cost of negotiation and collection, which the farmer must pay, considerably increases these rates. The descriptive lists of farms which accompany these circulars show that the mortgages are not all given for purchase money. I find in one of the agricultural papers the following figures indicating the increase in farm mortgages in Dane county, Wis., during the year 1880. The number of mortgages filed was 467; the average amount of each, \$1,252; the total amount, \$584,727.80; the number of mortgages given for purchase money, only nine. But whether the mortgages represent debts incurred in the purchase of the land or those incurred for other purposes, it is evident that when they bear such rates of interest they constitute a burden under which no kind of business can be profitably carried on. The farmer who voluntarily pays such tribute as this to the money lenders is quite too sanguine. Other business men will not handicap themselves in this way. But probably the large proportion of these mortgages are extorted from the farmers by hard necessity. Not their hope of increased prosperity makes them incur these debts so often as the pressure of obligations which have been incurred and which must be met.

Dr. Gladden states the propositions made by the Farmers' alliance, but as to what is the real fundamental cause of these evils and how alone they are to be

cured, he seems to be even more hopelessly at sea than are the farmers of the alliance. But he says one thing that is as true as it is promising:

They are helping to make an end of the sectionalism which has been a large part of the capital of a certain class of politicians. Their manifestoes point to this as the one striking result of their work thus far. "Scarcely a vestige," they say, "of the old sectional prejudice of a few years ago is now visible within our ranks." The south and the west are coming into fraternal relations. Mr. Lodge has already discovered that the west is not supporting his force bill. "The demagogue politician who now attempts to array sectional prejudice in order that he may keep farmers equally divided on important questions," is admonished that he is about to confront "a superior intelligence that will soon convince him that his occupation is gone."

A circular from William O. McDowell, Past-General of the Sons of the American Revolution, and chairman of the committee having the matter in charge, informs me that a movement is on foot among the various veteran and patriotic societies of the United States to place a huge flagstaff between the twin lights on the Navesink Highlands, "whence shall float the Stars and Stripes from daylight to dark every day in the year, so that all who shall hereafter enter the port of New York will first see the flag before they get a glimpse of the free land of which it is the beautiful emblem."

A site has been donated by the government, and lighthouse keeper David H. Caulkins will have charge of hoisting and lowering the flag and of the box containing the records and list of subscribers to the flag. The estimated cost of pole and flag is \$71.50, of which some \$116 has been already collected.

I shall not contribute to this fund. I do not think this a free land, and I would take no pride whatever in seeing the flag of my country floating from a high flagstaff, on my return from abroad, so long as I knew that there were custom house officers waiting under it to search my baggage and levy blackmail on me under pretense of protecting American labor. Let us make this a free land first, and then, afterward, do our erecting of flag-staffs and liberty poles.

Mr. James E. Mills of San Francisco objects strongly to THE STANDARD'S opposition to the Lodge force bill, and to what he deems "the partisanship which prompts the mention of it with bitter condemnation without one word of rebuke or criticism of the peonage at which it is professedly aimed." As evidence of this peonage, he sends a paper on "Colored mining labor," read before the American institute of mining engineers at the Chattanooga meeting in May, 1885, by Alfred T. Brainerd of Birmingham. Mr. Brainerd says:

To one accustomed to seeing white miners at work in the middle, northern or western states the colored miners seem somewhat slow and lazy. But their efficiency is greater than it appears to be. The almost tropical sun of midsummer beats upon their unprotected heads without injuring them. Sun-strokes are practically unknown among them. What they may lack in speed they make up in muscular efforts and in longer hours of labor. It is quite common in "open work" on ore veins or in quarries, for the colored laborers to enliven the monotony of their task by singing some melody, keeping time with their hammers, picks and shovels to the music. One never hears as yet of strikes among them. Yet they hang together with exceptional loyalty. In case of mishap, due either to accident or carelessness, the management fails to get at the cause by examining any number of them. They always manage to get together and agree as to the story they will tell if called upon. Among white miners, on the contrary, there is usually some one to turn "states evidence," either for the sake of getting out of the difficulty himself, or of getting some one he dislikes into trouble, or from the higher motives of truth and duty.

The system of payment in checks or scrip, similar to that used in the middle states, is common. This enables the miner to get provisions every evening at the store. At the end of the month, rent, doctor's bill, and the amount of scrip drawn, or money advanced,

are deducted from the amount due for wages, and the balance is paid in cash. Many of the miners live on from \$3.50 to \$7.50 per month. Most companies employ their own physicians, and the employees are taxed to pay the doctors' salaries and the cost of medicines used. A few of the colored miners lay up a certain amount every month from their earnings. Most of them keep in debt to the storekeeper, or simply draw enough to support themselves as they go along, and on pay day receive the remainder and spend it within a short time in some foolish manner. They do not seem to care for improving their personal appearance by suitable clothing.

Mr. Brainerd says that the wages of colored miners in Virginia average from 90 cents to \$1 per day of from ten to twelve hours. In Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, from 80 to 90 cents per day of from eleven to twelve hours. "The colored laborers," he says, "are fervently religious, intensely superstitious, improvident, and usually good-natured and happy—in a word, like children." It is hard at first to get them to work underground, but they soon get to prefer it. When a fatal accident occurs, even though caused by carelessness or neglect, the colored miners will all leave, and can scarcely be induced to work there again. About the holidays nearly every man on the place insists on going home, remaining off for from one to three months, during which there is a total or partial suspension of mining.

What the Lodge force bill would do to make better this condition of things I cannot see. Its ostensible purpose is to secure the counting of the colored vote in the districts where the blacks outnumber the whites. But supposing this could be secured and by means unobjectionable, what to relieve the blacks of this peonage would have been gained? The warmest advocate of the Lodge bill would hardly contend that it could possibly give the southern blacks any greater freedom to vote (for the Lodge bill does not involve the Australian system), or any greater security that their votes would be fairly counted than the miners of Pennsylvania have, yet peonage of the same kind and worse in degree than Mr. Brainerd shows among the black miners of the south has long existed among the miners of Pennsylvania.

If Mr. Mills will read the papers which, under the title of "Labor in Pennsylvania," I contributed to the North American Review in 1886, after a personal visit to the Pennsylvania coal fields, or if he will read what Mr. Powderly has said on the same subject, and what has been from time to time contributed to THE STANDARD by single tax men familiar with the condition of the miners of Pennsylvania, he cannot fail to see that the conditions of the colored southern miners as stated by Mr. Brainerd are easier and happier than those of white northern miners. These white miners certainly get no larger wages, expenses of living considered, than do the black miners; they too must buy in what they call "pluck me" stores; and rent, and store bills, and doctor's fee, and in some places, where they are Catholics, a fee for the priest is deducted from their wages. But they do not work with songs; they do not refuse to work even in dangerous places; they can not afford to go off from a month to three months to celebrate holidays when they can get work to do.

The truth of the matter is that the peonage which exists at the north, as well as at the south, and that is deepening and darkening at the north even faster than at the south, is not an outgrowth of the political institutions; it is an outgrowth of social institutions. It is the necessary result of increasing population and advancing arts in a country where the land on which all must live is made the property of some, while others

are reduced to the condition of mere laborers—men who, while accorded in terms the right to live and the right to labor are denied any right to the element without which labor is powerless and life impossible. The question of questions to us who see this relation is, how shall men be restored to their natural rights? For without this, all political reforms and political devices are valueless; democratic government and manhood suffrage are of no avail. Does the Lodge bill lead toward this greatest of all emancipatory measures?

On the contrary, it leads against it. Its real motive is the perpetuation of the protectionist policy—to utilize race feeling to strengthen bonds which are fast reducing the working masses of the north to a condition of industrial slavery differing only in degree and form from that which at such cost has been abolished at the south.

HENRY GEORGE.

The Buffalo Evening News recently commended some of Governor Hill's utterances in Ohio as "pretty sound protection doctrine." The Rome Sentinel, one of Hill's organs, declares that there is nothing in the democratic platform or policy antagonistic to Governor Hill's declaration that "the tariff must be high enough to equalize wages between countries," and it insists that the democratic party is opposed to free trade. The Buffalo News in response says:

We have never had reason to accuse Governor Hill of a free trade leaning. Apparently his views are not far from being in accord with those of the late Samuel J. Randall and of Edward Cooper, the New York representative on the committee on resolutions at the St. Louis convention.

Nevertheless the News insists that "in national politics Governor Hill does not represent the dominant spirit of his party," which it truly says is better represented by Mr. Mills, an undisguised free trader. It further says:

The New York county democracy, Grover Cleveland's pet organization, has nominated Henry George's lieutenant, William T. Croasdale, who is not only a free trader, but an advocate of the single tax theory. Tom L. Johnson, democratic nominee in the Cleveland district, is troubled the same way. Taking the country over it is safe to state that a large majority of democratic nominees are out-and-out free traders and a very respectable minority have had the frankness to so declare themselves.

The Buffalo News is right both as to the attitude of a majority of democrats and that of Governor Hill, and the entire frankness with which the governor's organs and friends are now declaring that he is not in accord with the national sentiment of his party will prove most embarrassing to him when he seeks to secure the presidential nomination of the still more radically free trade democratic party in 1892. Mr. Hill will probably then be posing as a free trader, but conscientious free traders will not forget that he is now a confessed protectionist.

THE INDIANAPOLIS SENTINEL.

The Indianapolis Sentinel would be better called the American Sentinel. From our first knowledge of it, it has been vigilant in detecting and courageous in proclaiming the dangers that threaten the liberties of the people of this country. It was an unwavering champion of the Australian ballot, to secure secrecy and independence from spoils brokerage associations in voting; and now it makes a declaration about the single tax, which falls but little, if any, short of a declaration of principles.

On the 14th of September last the Sentinel declared that "the tax on personal property ought to be wholly repealed," and went on to say:

The prospect is that the system of private property in land will remain as it is, for some generations at least, but that all taxes, at least for state and local purposes (except

such as may be derived from the sale of franchises), will in the future be laid upon land.

This has been taken up by the republican papers of Indiana, and the Sentinel and the democratic party, to which it is attached, are assailed for having come out for "the theories of Henry George."

The Indianapolis Journal, a republican paper, placed the quotation from the Sentinel at the head of its editorial columns, and suggested that the democratic party "managers should invite Henry George to take a hand in their campaign;" and all over the state the republican press bristles with indignation at the predicted coming of the single tax.

Some of the quotations are at least amusing. The Evansville Journal discovered that "the single tax cranks are democrats and free traders in disguise;" while the Lafayette Courier advised "farmers who are favorable to the theory that land should be exclusively taxed for means to provide for public expenses," to vote the democratic ticket. The Kokomo Gazette-Tribune wanted rather to extend the list of taxable things and "so reduce to a minimum the taxes that must be paid by farm owners and home owners." The Tipton Advocate, more just if not so shrewd as its adversaries, told its readers before voting the democratic ticket to be sure they understood "the single tax theory." The Middleton News thought "the single tax theory as advocated by Henry George and indorsed by the Indianapolis Sentinel" was "very pretty in outline but wholly impracticable," and sagely observed that "it would bear heavily indeed upon land owners if taxes for all public expenses were levied only upon land." The Newport Hoosier State, with a new idea as to the destructibility of matter, was in great alarm lest under the single tax land should be "taxed out of existence," and proposed that men who favor a policy so destructive of the very ground upon which we stand, and the air we breathe "be sent to the insane asylum for treatment." And so on, through column after column of paragraphs, culled and reprinted by the Indianapolis Journal, the rural press of Indiana displayed itself for the benefit of the dear farmer, who is supposed to be an object of bitter hatred to single tax men.

Most of these paragraphs are interesting only for the variety of their methods of exhibiting ignorance. But some are far from exhibitions of ignorance. The Monticello Herald, for example, clearly sees the relation of free trade to the single tax. "The difference in the two parties on this question," it said, "is the natural outgrowth of their position on other questions. Free trade and the single tax theory go hand in hand, and Henry George is the apostle of both."

Free trade and the single tax do indeed go hand in hand. Free trade enables men to exchange the products of their labor as freely with men of other nations as in this country they may do it with men of other states, while the single tax enables them to labor without buying the privilege, and to produce without being fined. In fact, free trade is included in the single tax; for if only the value of land were taxed trade would be free.

The burden of these songs of the Indiana country papers is that the single tax would fall upon the farmer, because he is a land owner, and that the rich who do not own land would be untaxed. For a little while the farmer may be deceived by this kind of trickery. For a little while the farmer may suppose that a tax on land values would be a tax upon him. For a little while he may think that laws for the taxing of personal property are enacted in his interest and operate so as to fall upon the wealth of the rich. But he cannot be long deceived. As Mr.

Lincoln said, "You may fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time." This is as true of farmers as of other people. They will soon understand that taxes upon personal property are shifted or evaded by the rich, while farmers are forced to pay them, and that a tax upon the value of land cannot be burdensome to a class like farmers, who, when they own land at all own land of very low value. The Indianapolis Sentinel is first in the field among all the established papers of Indiana, to call the truths of the single tax to the attention of farmers. The near future will prove its wisdom and bring it its reward.

CONGRESSMAN TOM L. JOHNSON.

Tom L. Johnson, who has been elected to congress from the Twenty-first (Cleveland) district of Ohio, is of Virginia-Kentucky stock, his ancestor, Robert Johnson of Virginia, having settled in Scott county, Kentucky, in 1779. Colonel Robert Johnson was a man of influence and distinction in the early days of the "dark and bloody ground," and his sons, one of whom, Colonel James Johnson, was the great grandfather of Tom L., were all men of character and position. One of these, John T. Johnson, became a warm friend and earnest disciple of the famous Alexander Campbell, whose efforts to discard mere doctrinal differences and unite Christians on the broad teachings of the gospel resulted in the formation of the body, still strong in some parts of the west, who, styling themselves Christians, or disciples of Christ, are called by others Campbellites. He was a judge of the supreme court of Kentucky, but abandoned the bench to engage in evangelical work. Another son, Richard M. Johnson, was a man of national prominence. He represented Kentucky in congress, commanded a regiment of mounted riflemen during the war of 1812, and fought the Indian part of the battle of the Thames, where he was badly wounded. He was credited with having killed the Indian chief, Tecumseh. He was chosen vice-president of the United States with Martin Van Buren in 1836. After retiring from that office, he still continued to serve his state in the legislature until the time of his death in 1850. He was the father of some notable reforms, and the kindness of his nature and the fascination of his manners are yet traditions in Kentucky. At the same battle of the Thames, Colonel James Johnson, the great grandfather of Tom L., led against the British, whom he routed in a gallant charge. Another son, Judge Ben Johnson, removed from Kentucky to Arkansas in 1830, which state his son, Robert W. Johnson, represented in the United States senate.

Colonel James Johnson's son, General William Johnson, who also saw service in the war of 1812, was long a leading man in Kentucky. His son, Albert W. Johnson, married Miss Helen Loftin, daughter of Colonel Loftin, a prominent and wealthy Tennessee planter, and to them in Scott county, Kentucky, was born on July 18, 1854, the single tax man, who has just been elected to congress from the Twenty-first Ohio district, Tom Loftin Johnson, a boy in whom the strength and grace for which his ancestors on both sides had been distinguished seemed to meet. But unlike his predecessors, who for some generations at least had been born to the possession of land and slaves, and who had entered manhood with every advantage, Tom L. Johnson had a rougher school.

The outbreak of the war found Colonel A. W. Johnson, the owner of a large cotton plantation near Helena, Ark. But taking the confederate side and raising a regiment, he fought doggedly through the war to the very end, Tom, with his mother, following the armies. At the close of the war, instead of going to school, Tom had to go to work, and became an errand boy in the office of the Central passenger railroad of Louisville,

of which the principal owner was Mr. A. V. Dupont of Louisville, a member of the family of Delaware Duponts, who have for some generations carried on the great powder works near Wilmington.

To Tom L. Johnson now belongs the distinction of being the first open and avowed single tax man ever elected to the congress of the United States—the first where, ere long, there will be many. And it is a somewhat curious coincidence that the first man to give him employment, and the man who ever since he knew him has been his firm friend, and who from being his employer has become his partner in almost all his financial undertakings, is the direct descendant of one of the most ardent, active and influential of the distinguished knot of French single tax men who gathered around *Quenay* and *Turgot* just before the great French revolution—*Dupont de Nemours*, the friend and correspondent of *Thomas Jefferson*. But it is a mere coincidence, involving no element of causation, for A. V. Dupont, though a man of high and kindly character, has, like the rest of the American descendants of *Dupont de Nemours*, forgotten the principles of his illustrious ancestor, and even degenerated into a protectionist.

Tom Johnson's chief duty when he first went to work was to put up change in packages, but he soon showed such qualities that at the age of sixteen he was made secretary of the company and put in charge of the office. There he began to develop not merely striking qualities of organization and management, but, something that had laid latent in his slave owning ancestors—striking inventiveness. One or two successful inventions, which he sold for considerable sums, gave him a financial start. Colonel Johnson, his father, had also gone into the street railroad business, having become superintendent of the Central passenger railroad. He and his son bought an interest in the Louisville road. From Louisville they went to Indianapolis, buying up the street railroad system of that city, which, after having been made very profitable, they sold out some two years since. In the meantime Tom L. Johnson had gone to Cleveland, settled there and bought a controlling interest in the Brooklyn line of street railroad, which he has very much extended and turned into an electric line. He has also large interests in St. Louis street railroads, in the road running between New Philadelphia and Canal Dover, Ohio, and with his partners in the Johnson iron works where the rails, which are his invention, are manufactured, has bought up and is developing the railroad system of Johnstown, Pa. Mr. Johnson's managing partner in the iron works is Arthur Moxham, after whom the town of Moxham, where the works that manufacture the Johnson rail are located. He is president of the Johnstown single tax league, and is the man who, made dictator of Johnstown on the dreadful morning after the flood had swept over it, organized the citizens, seized and destroyed all the liquor, collected supplies, started the work of burying the dead, and in fact brought order out of chaos, until the state authorities and relief committees could take charge.

Mr. Johnson became a single tax man in 1881 or 1885, the impulse having come from a copy of "Social Problems," which he bought from a train boy on a railroad car, and since that time that has been his political faith. He was a warm and generous supporter of Mr. George when he ran for mayor of New York in 1886, and in his quiet way has been a steady contributor of effort and counsel and money to the spread of the single tax principles. He was a prominent though quiet figure at the recent single tax conference in New York, where he was chairman of the committee on resolutions.

There was in the whole country no man to whom the idea of running for office was so foreign as it was to Tom L. Johnson previous to the campaign of 1888. It was not merely that he had never contemplated it, but that all his

tastes and interests were positively averse to it.

But in 1888, the democrats of Cleveland, foredoomed to certain defeat, began to look around for the strongest man they could nominate, and all voices centered on Tom L. Johnson as the man who, if he could be induced to run, would prove, by reason of his great personal popularity, the strongest candidate they could put up. Though he had never taken any part in democratic politics, he was known to be, as a single tax man, a most earnest supporter of Grover Cleveland, ever since the issue of the famous tariff message of 1887. So, in spite of his refusal, the congressional convention insisted on nominating Mr. Johnson to lead the forlorn hope. The local papers, in their cartoons, represented the convention as chasing and lassoing him for a candidate, and this was almost literally true. But when Mr. Johnson found that it was really a demand from the masses of the party he accepted. Then ensued one of the strongest and bitterest political fights that Cleveland had ever witnessed. The charge that was most rung against the democratic nominee was that he was not merely a tariff reformer, but an open and undisguised free trader; not merely a free trader, but a single tax man. Mr. Johnson never quailed nor swerved, and as an open and avowed free trader, who would be satisfied with nothing less than the entire abolition of all tariffs, he came, in spite of the tremendous expenditure of the money of the protected rings, within five hundred votes of election. Had he been willing to "fight the devil with fire" and to use money as his opponents were using it, he could undoubtedly have been elected. But, generous to the last degree, he yet refused to allow one cent to be used corruptly.

This year there was a greater chance of the democratic nominee carrying the district, and a struggle was made for the nomination, the opposition to Johnson, whose renomination was demanded by popular sentiment, finally centering on Major Armstrong, a popular democrat and democratic editor of the modified protectionist school that passed for democratic before Grover Cleveland had roused the real democratic sentiment with his tariff message. The result of the elections for the convention was that Johnson carried thirty-four wards and Major Armstrong carried one.

The campaign that has just concluded in the triumphant election of Tom L. Johnson by a majority of over three thousand was even more hotly contested than the first. The republicans nominated a strong man, and fearing the moral effect of the election of an avowed and absolute free trader, who made no secret of his belief that all custom houses should be swept away, the protected rings have poured into Cleveland all the money that could in any way be used to compass Johnson's defeat. And the opposing newspapers and the speeches of the republican speakers have teemed with denunciations of him as a single tax man. The campaign could hardly have been more educational in this regard if Mr. Johnson had been running on a platform which proposed the concentration of all taxes, state and national, on land values.

One of the elements of Mr. Johnson's success has been the power he has developed in the joint debates to which his opponent challenged him. Though he never made a speech till the last campaign, and but a few then, the logic of his position and his straightforward common sense way of handling facts and putting arguments enabled him to carry his audiences with him in spite of the skill of the practiced speaker he had to meet.

There can be no doubt that in time Mr. Johnson will become a public speaker of the first class, but if his voice is never heard on the floor of the house, he has other qualities which will make him an important and influential man there—winning manners and a power of making and holding friends; the faculty of seizing the heart of a question and presenting it to others, and a quick, sound judgment. His education never embraced more than

a year at school, but has been that which is gathered by observation and contact with men and things, and which gives the ability to deal with them.

Just turned thirty-six, Mr. Johnson is only now entering on his prime, and his strong, well knit frame gives promise of many years of usefulness. A genealogical tree, compiled a few years ago by one of the Johnson family, shows no less than three thousand descendants of the Kentucky pioneer Robert Johnson scattered through the states of Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi. Mr. Johnson married one of these, a cousin of the fourth degree, the daughter of Colonel Robert A. Johnson, of the Second confederate Kentucky regiment, a gentleman of large accomplishments and high culture, who resided after the war in Tennessee, where he died a few years ago. They have two children, a boy and a girl. Colonel A. W. Johnson, Mr. Johnson's father, is a resident of Brooklyn, or rather of Fort Hamilton, where he has built a house overlooking the Narrows, and teaches every Sunday in the Sunday school on Sterling place near Seventh avenue, Brooklyn.

THE NEW YORK BALLOT LAW.

At Tuesday's election the New York ballot law was subjected to its first test. In every respect it is an improvement upon the old law, but it falls far short of accomplishing anything like a thorough reform in electoral methods.

The responsibility for this failure is with Governor Hill.

The law as originally prepared would have worked as satisfactorily as that of Massachusetts, but Governor Hill refused to approve it, and in order to get any measure of electoral reform at all it was necessary to compromise with him. In this compromise all the leading features of the method prevailing in Massachusetts were retained by the friends of the reform, except such as were inconsistent with Governor Hill's requirements (made, as he claimed, in the interest of the illiterate voter), that the voter should be permitted to prepare his ballot outside of the booth. The compromise finally made between the governor and the friends of the reform was to the effect that a blanket paster might be used; that is to say, although the voter should be required to prepare his ballot within the booth, and although he should not be permitted to vote any but an official ballot, that he might take into the booth with him a complete ballot privately printed and gummed on the back which he might attach to the face of any of the official ballots. The idea of the friends of the reform in assenting to this compromise was that they would thereby procure a law which would put the general features of a good system into practical operation, and that the people would thereby at once be made familiar with the method and with the disadvantages of the features which Governor Hill insisted upon. As a result of this, it was hoped that there would be a universal demand for an alteration of the law, not in the direction of making one less capable of securing independence and secrecy, but in the direction of greater independence and secrecy. The friends of the reform were careful, in agreeing upon the form of the law, to secure such a form as would most readily lend itself to amendment in this direction.

The features which Governor Hill introduced have made the reform almost a failure; and yet it was plain to intelligent voters that the law was beneficial in every other respect. On the night before election there was none of the confusion incident to the preparation and folding of ballots for use on the following day. There was none of the vigilance that was formerly required to see that bunches of ballots contained the whole party ticket and did not contain deceptive ballots. There was none of the old fear that voters who came to the polls might be unable to vote as they wished for lack of necessary ballots. Everyone knew that on Election

day a ballot for every party and every candidate would be placed into the hands of each voter and be open to his inspection in the secret booth. To this extent the reform was successful, and it was no doubt successful in great degree in satisfying the more intelligent voters who are under the influence of local intimidation that they were safe in voting the ticket of their choice.

But, though it was not necessary to prepare ballots and exercise great vigilance in regard to them, organizations believed it necessary to print blanket pasters and mail them to voters, and every candidate acted under the pressure of the same necessity in regard to individual pasters. Party organizations also found it necessary, for Tammany had set the example, to have blanket pasters at the polls on Election day, and also to have the usual booths covered with posters, and workers to manage the booths and electioneer in the neighborhood of the polls. To accomplish this, party managers, the night before election, distributed pasters to from one to a dozen or more poll workers for each district to be used at the polls. They also ordered and paid for booths to be delivered near the polls, and supplied posters to cover the booths. And just as heretofore, they gave to every assembly district captain a sum of money ranging from \$20 to \$200 or more for each polling place in his district. In all these respects it was impossible to see any difference in operation between the old law and the new.

Poll workers were hired for their skill in bribing voters, and they practised bribery in the most barefaced manner and with astonishing success. The bribed voter was taken into custody, as a rule at the legal distance from the polls, and furnished with a blanket paster which he was instructed to hold in open view. The poll worker having ascertained to his own satisfaction that the voter had no other paster about his person, the latter was started on his voyage to the poll, the worker following with his eye constantly upon the paster ballot. Never once did the worker take his eye off of that paster ballot until the voter had gone into the secret booth. Sometimes the voter, instead of being followed by the man who originally bribed him, passed from poll worker to poll worker, stationed at intervals along the street, each of whom did no more than to see that the paster was displayed according to orders and that no opposition worker interfered. Of course the booth workers lost sight of their man when he went into the secret booth; but they knew he had but one paster in his possession, which was the one they had given him, and that if he voted a paster at all it was theirs, while if he did not his disobedience would be disclosed to the inspector, who, by handling the ballot voted, could tell whether it contained a paster or not. Under these circumstances the poll workers were reasonably certain that when they paid money in bribery they were not wasting their money. So sure of results were they, that in some of the downtown districts, where bribery is associated with election day pretty much as firecrackers are with the Fourth of July, expert workers were able to tell, and in some instances they did not hesitate to tell, when the polls were closed, but before the count, how many Tammany votes were inside the ballot box. Their success in this respect was marvelous, or would have been, if the basis of their calculations had been less obvious.

The expenditures caused by Governor Hill's part of the new ballot law were enormous.

Under the law as its friends wanted it there would have been but one kind of ballot. This would have contained the name of every candidate, and 1,000 ballots for each polling place would have entailed but slight expense; but under Governor Hill's requirement that there should be a separate ballot for each group of candidates, we had at all polls ten and at some as high as fifteen different ballots. This called for the printing of from 10,000 to 15,000 ballots in places where, but for the governor's demand, there

would have been not more than a thousand.

Under the law as its friends wanted it there would have been no pasters. Every name would have been upon one ballot, and the voter would have indicated his choice by making a cross opposite the name. But under Governor Hill's requirement that pasters should be allowed, millions of them were freely distributed before and on election day, at a cost for printing alone of a dollar a thousand.

Under the law as its friends wanted it there would have been no workers' booths about the polls, for voting would have been done with a lead pencil in the secret booth; and there would have been but few poll workers, on account of the total lack of use for poll workers except to bribe under conditions that make successful bribing wholly dependent on the good faith of the person bribed. But under Governor Hill's requirement that pasters as well as lead pencils should be allowed, workers' booths had a reason for being, and workers were so far necessary that under the guise of electioneering bribery was carried on as before, and with all the guarantees that could be given by a ballot distinguished by doubling its thickness with the only paster that the voter dared take into the secret booth.

The features of the reform that relate to the nomination of candidates, the printing and distribution of ballots, the isolation of voters while preparing to vote, and the single ballot box as a substitute for the dozen or more that used to annoy the voter and offer opportunities for fraud—all these features were reasonably satisfactory in practical operation. It was only here and there, where election officers at the polls were ignorant or corrupt, that the law in these respects was violated. In such places the rail was abolished, or poll workers were allowed to go within the rail, or the polling places were small stores not at all adapted to the purpose. But these evils could be readily remedied if it were not for the evils which are inseparable from those phases of the law that Governor Hill insisted upon. Good polling places could be secured by the purchase of temporary houses which, though the first cost would be considerable, would soon pay for themselves by saving rent. It was noticeable that wherever these temporary houses were used last Tuesday, even in bad quarters of the city, the law was the better observed because the polling place was adapted to its purpose. Two good watchers in only a few districts would be enough to secure a due observance of the law in all its details, the corruption incident to Governor Hill's part of the law did not make such an observance a matter of no practical importance.

A comparison of ballot reform in New York, as amended by Governor Hill, with ballot reform in Massachusetts, where it was not necessary to compromise with Governor Hill, leaves no doubt that in so far as New York's ballot reform has failed, the failure is due to the modifications insisted upon by Governor Hill. It now remains to get rid of these modifications.

First of all, there must be a blanket ballot containing the names of all nominated candidates; and pasters must be absolutely prohibited. This is essential. Whatever else may be conceded to the governor's anxiety to maintain old methods of electioneering, this must be fought for. As it involves the use of pen or pencil in the secret ballot by every voter, it will be opposed on the ground that it disfranchises the illiterate. Heretofore this objection has been met by proposing to allow the illiterate voter to take a friend with him into the secret booth, but all such devices must be abandoned. The experience of Tuesday proves that bribed men would be voted in droves. They would swear to illiteracy, and the briber would go into the secret booths and prepare their ballots for them. Under the present law, which allows a voter who swears to physical disability to take a friend into the secret booth to prepare his ballot, men did not hesitate last Tuesday to take the oath, though it was obvious in many cases that they were not physically disabled. The friend they chose was almost invariably a poll worker for the organization that aimed to win by bribery. It would be comparatively

easy to convict of perjury when the voter swore to physical disability, but often impossible when he swore to illiteracy. The objection that a blanket ballot as a substitute for all other forms of ballot, including pasters, would disfranchise the illiterate must be met with no such devices, but with positive denial. It need not disfranchise any but the physically disabled, and no great harm would result if these were allowed to avail themselves of the services of a friend, even though the friend were a briber, for the physically disabled are in fact few, and proof of physical ability where it exists is easily made in a prosecution for perjury.

To enable the illiterate to freely vote without calling a friend into the booth, it is only necessary to take a suggestion from one of the cities of Tennessee, where the blanket ballot is in use and "friends" are not admitted into the secret booth. It is more than probable that the framers of the Tennessee law, having heard Governor Hill's objections to the one proposed by ballot reformers here, prepared it for the express purpose of disfranchising illiterate negroes; but, as the law required the publication in advance of election of the form of the official ballot, the illiterate negroes were enabled to vote by taking a cardboard stencil into the secret booth with them. If, instead of facilitating the operations of those who bribe and those who intimidate, by allowing paster ballots on the pretense that they are necessary or the illiterate voter, we absolutely prohibit all pasters, but expressly require the publication in advance of election of the official ballot in word, size and form, and expressly allow any voter to take into the secret booth with him a cardboard stencil previously prepared so as to enable him by laying it over the official ballot to make the cross mark in the proper places on the ballot through the openings in the stencil, we shall completely protect the illiterate voters' electoral rights.

It is not intended that ballot reform shall do indirectly what the constitution forbids, namely, disfranchise the illiterate; and the law should be so drawn as to secure his right to vote. If he really wants to vote as others ask him to, that is his right, and his right should be secure; but that he may be perfectly free in the exercise of his right, such safeguards should be thrown around the secret booth as will enable him to vote as he wishes without anyone being able to discover how he votes. It is true that voters might be bribed to take a particular stencil—a Tammany stencil, for example—into the secret booth, and that he might be searched, as he is now with respect to blanket pasters, to see that he took no other stencil into the booth; but even if this were done, it would give Tammany no advantage except with the really illiterate, for those who were not illiterate, even though they took only a Tammany stencil into the booth, would be able to mark the ballot without the aid of a stencil and without any one but the voter himself being the wiser. And even as to the really illiterate, it is not so certain that they would be wholly dependent upon the stencil, for, though they might not be able to spell out names upon the ballot, most of them would be able to distinguish the name of one candidate from that of another by the familiarity with the form of the printed words and the relation in position of one name to another, which the fac simile ballot printed before election would enable them to get.

No time should be lost in reviving the ballot reform league and in making an effort at the coming session of the legislature to amend the law, and neither effort nor pains should be spared to secure the abolition of pasters. They are expensive; they involve the employment of an army of poll workers; they afford a cover for bribery; they offer a pretense for the assessment of candidates and the maintenance in politics of office brokerage machines; they embarrass the voter in preparing his ballot; and they serve no purpose whatever except to keep alive these methods of electioneering by means of which the cunning and unscrupulous come into favor and democratic government is discredited and disgraced.

LOUIS F. POST.

MAKING LIFE A LUXURY.

New York Sun.

"Well, the new tariff bill has had one good effect."

"What is that?"

"It has made luxuries of so many actual necessities that the life of the poor man has become positively luxurious."

CLEVELAND'S VICTORY.

New York Times, Nov. 5.

The "educational campaign" of 1888 bore fruit yesterday. It was a late crop, but astonishingly abundant, and the apples fell into Grover Cleveland's basket.

GLEANINGS FROM HISTORY REGARDING TAXATION AND THE LAND VALUE TAX.

I.

In the study of a question of so vital import to a nation as is the question of taxation, it is important that it should be investigated and weighed not only in its present aspects, but also in its historical features.

I therefore propose to present a few gleanings from history that may be of especial interest to those who look upon the land value tax as the ideal tax. Space forbids giving more than a brief glance at the subject; but it may serve as a guide to those who wish to go more fully into the matter.

The historical study of the subject of taxation is attended with some difficulty, as most historians, while recording battles and court intrigues, have paid too little attention to the economic side of history.

The idea that the earth is the common heritage of man, is as old as human intelligence, and the contributing of individuals of wealth and services to the common good as old as society. But, so far as I can discover, the idea of making every man contribute, not in proportion to his wealth, but in proportion to the value of natural or economic opportunities, he controls, is a matter of modern history. Take, for instance, the Jews. They had a system of land tenure to which the lords of England could give hearty assent; for the land of a family, even if it passed from possession, reverted back each fifty years. They had a system of taxation, but it was a tenth of the actual product, not of the potential product.

The Greeks and Romans also had highly developed systems of taxation of property, occupations and individuals. In renting of the ager publicus, or public lands, like the Jews they had something akin to a land value tax. In Rome the tenant of the ager publicus gave a tenth of the agricultural product to the government called decumion. The occupiers of pasture lands paid a tax on their flocks called scriptio, though the rate is not known. The salt mines were rented out and the rent or tax was called salinon. The other mines were also rented out by the government.

But in passing, as we may naturally, from Rome over to England, we find that while the primitive England that succeeded Roman domination had no scientific idea of a land tax, yet they had something that was akin, though it also was based not upon control of natural opportunities, used or unused, but upon actual production. The ship tax, which might be an exception, was proportioned to population. The Danegeld was proportioned to the cultivation. When, after Norman conquest, the feudal system began to develop, the Danegeld or hidage disappeared and the carucate was employed, a Norman term of similar import, from which the tax took its name, were a crude measure of lands. The carucate was determined by what eight pair of oxen and a plow could cultivate in one season, and was probably equal to about 100 acres.

Then came the scutage or shield tax, which the knights, who were also landlords, paid in commutation of those obligations to the crown. This was also a direct tax upon his whole property. As the English became more and more an industrial people, a large portion of the taxes very gradually shifted upon the different forms of industry. Though in 1382, a "bad year," the "landlords paid the whole tax."

As the landowners were also the ruling classes it is easy to see how it was they gradually transferred the burdens upon industry, where it largely remains to this day.

In Cromwell's time (1656) a taxing act was passed (see Stephen Dowell's History of Taxation, vol. III., pages 76 and 77), which provides that—

The tenants of houses and lands rated to the tax are required to pay the whole tax rate to use such houses and lands; and power is given them to deduct on payment of their

rent so much tax as, in respect of rent, the landlord ought to bear. This deduction all landlords, mediate or immediate, according to their respective interests, are required to allow, upon receipt of residue of rent. In short, a payment of the tax is considered pro tanto a payment of rent to the landlord. Power is given to the divisional commission to settle differences between landlords and tenants.

The word rent, though, in this act is used, not in the strict economic sense of ground rent, but in the popular sense.

According to J. Thorold Rogers ("Economic Interpretation of History," p. 457), Cromwell's heavy direct tax was thrown off as intolerable after the restoration.

In 1691 the great English philosopher, Dr. John Locke, published a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the lowering of interest and raising the value of money."

This contains, according to Dugald Stewart, an eminent lecture on political economy the first part of this century, the first written advocacy of a territorial tax, which was afterward developed scientifically by the great French school of physiocrats, of which Quesney was the founder.

The following extracts will show its tenor:

A tax laid upon land seems hard to the land holder, because it is so much money going visibly out of his pocket; and, therefore, as an ease to himself, the landlord is always forward to lay it on commodities. But if he will thoroughly consider it and examine the effect he will find that he buys this seeming ease at a very dear rate. And although he pay not this tax immediately out of his own purse, yet his purse will find it by a greater want of money there at the end of the year than that comes to, with the lessening of his rents to boot, which is a settled and lasting evil that will stick upon him beyond the present payment.

He supports this position at length, and concludes by saying:

It is in vain in a country whose great load is land to hope to lay the public charge of the government on anything else. The merchant, do what you can, will not bear it, the laborer cannot, and, therefore, the land holders must. And whether it were not better for him to have it laid directly, where it will at last settle, than to let it come to him by the sinking of his rents, which when they are once fallen every one knows are not easily raised again, let him consider.

The farmers of New England might well ponder those lines. They might find in abandoned fields, lowered farm values a striking confirmation of their truth.

In 1692 the real estate tax, or land tax including the improvements, was re-imposed, probably in a measure as a result of the teachings of Locke. It was assessed at four shillings on the pound valuation. This tax, though it fell some years to only a shilling on the pound, remained in force until the time of Pitt, who in 1798 made it perpetual and redeemable at four shillings on the pound at the valuation of 1692. This tax remains to this day; and, though originally it was placed upon land and improvements, it has in the course of time resolved itself into a tax upon economic, or ground rent only, and the only direct tax which that rent now bears in England. According to the same Dugald Stewart in 1696 Mr. John Argill, in a treatise entitled, "Several assertions proved in order to create another species of money than gold and silver," advocates the same opinion with respect to a territorial tax. This treatise was in advocacy of a land bank proposed to the house of commons in 1693 by a Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne. I will make but a brief quotation:

Man deals in nothing but earth. The merchants are the factors of the world to exchange one part of the earth for another. The king himself is fed by the labors of the ox; and the clothing of the army and the victualing of the navy must all be paid for to the owners of the soil as the ultimate receivers.

Stewart also quotes Jacob Vanderbilt's pamphlet, "Essay to make money plentiful," published in 1734.

If all taxes were taken off goods, and levied on lands and houses only, the gentlemen would have more net rent left out of their estates than they have now, when taxes are almost wholly levied on goods. That land gives all we have would be self-evident, if we did not import many goods which are the produce of other nations. But this makes no alteration in the case, since the quantity of foreign goods which we import cannot continually be of greater value than the goods

we export; because this in the end must exhaust our cash, and so put an end to that excess. Therefore, the goods we import stand only instead of those we export; and, consequently, the land gives not only all we have of our own produce, but virtually all we receive from other nations. * * * That the land must pay all taxes in what manner so ever they may be levied; a proposition which might perhaps be assumed as virtually implied in a self-evident truth, that what gives all must pay all.

Mr. Vanderbilt goes on to elaborate his views regarding taxation at length. Thus, commencing with Locke, we have really the crude presentation of the single tax upon land stated in the language of that day. But there was soon to arise in France a school of economists, the physiocrats, characterized by great scholarship and wonderful intellectual ability, unsurpassed in unselfish devotion to humanity, which should bring economics into scientific form, and should urge with great earnestness and power the "import unique," or single tax.

JAMES MIDDLETON.

New Orleans, La.

WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT DIMINISHED.

As men wisely, prudently, instinctively resort to common labor saving machinery to multiply the fruits of their toil, so they as naturally adopt that other labor saving machinery called trade, exchange, barter or commerce, which, by the exchange of an article which cost them less labor for one that would have cost them more, thus gives them an increased product. And if to increase the fruit of your toil by the latter method is wrong, then is that increase of fruit by the former method also wrong.

If labor were such a pleasure that, not its fruits, but simply the act of toiling itself was the desired end sought, then and then only would men be justified in their efforts by protective tariffs and otherwise to restrict its creative capacity. But the more productive labor becomes the larger will be the share of fruits accruing both to it and the capital with which it co-operates.

Protective tariffs, besides depriving labor of that increased creative power which would entitle it to share a larger product, also deprive it of opportunity for employment, as a careful study of the following questions will fully demonstrate.

1. As exports pay for imports, does not the tariff-enforced making here of a former import, which abroad employed (say) 1,000 men to produce it, while thus giving 1,000 Americans this work, at the same time deprive 1,000 other Americans of their former work of producing the export we previously traded for the import?

2. As less and less of an article is consumed in proportion as it becomes dearer and dearer, will not such a tariff-increased price as restricts consumption of this article to (say) half its former quantity employ only 500 of that one thousand men formerly required, thus actually throwing out of work one-half of the men that would have had employment had no tariff existed? And will not any increase of price whatever throw out of employment in those industries a proportionate number of their employes, because of a proportionately reduced consumption of those articles?

3. For the above reason, does not the restricted consumption resulting from our high tariff-increased prices likewise displace and throw men out of employment in every protected industry?

4. As some unprotected industries were just struggling above the waves of adversity, and the increased cost of their raw material under the new tariff exceeds their former profit, will not the sinking of such vocations throw out of employment a still greater number of laborers, causing consequent business stagnation and lack of employment?

5. Do not their inflated prices injure those of small capital, by reducing the quantity, quality and variety of stock—in store or factory—their limited capital will now carry as compared with that of normal prices?

6. As the price of wages depends on the demand for labor, do not protective tariffs by lessening this demand, as shown above, certainly operate to reduce instead of advance wages?

7. Are not these reduced nominal wages still further reduced by the contraction of their actual purchasing power consequent on increased prices of the necessities of life?

After carefully examining these points, is there any intelligent man so recreant to the sacred interests of himself and family as to believe in protection?

Dr. WEBSTER GROH.

Boston, Mass.

REAL ESTATE OPERATIONS IN CHICAGO.

That column in our city dailies devoted to reviewing the real estate market and forecasting its future must, from an economic standpoint, be intensely interesting to single tax men. How appropriately such matter, unembellished and unedited, might appear in THE STANDARD. Not long since a Chicago paper informed the public that a portion of the ground on which the Grand Pacific hotel stands in that city would be revalued by its owners in a few months (at the expiration of the lease), and the rental, hitherto \$8,000, would be increased to \$40,000 per annum. The owner or owners, it is said, reside in the east, as many other large appropriators of Chicago ground rents do. Here we have an example of pure landlordism, and alien at that. Those who are too lazy mentally to analyze and perceive landlordism in its usual form are here confronted with the operation and effect of the system in its nakedness. In this and in numberless other instances, the power of the individual to extort a monopoly toll from thrift and industry cannot be justified on the ground that he is an improver. The owners of this particular spot of land do absolutely nothing toward the increase of its value; not even have they added the mite which would come from their presence in the city. And if they owned the hotel and were still permitted to appropriate ground rent, how could that fact justify or mitigate their evil effect as landlords? What would it matter if they lived in Hong Kong or in the Grand Pacific hotel itself, so far as the effect of the system under which the property is taxed is concerned?

Of course the world's fair and the drainage canal come in for a great deal of attention from these real estate editors. The fact that acres in and about the city are being held out of the market at enormous prices is triumphantly pointed to as a prophesy of Chicago's coming greatness, or rather greater greatness. The "confidence in the city's future" is being continually shown by a transfer of lots in the business center, yielding to the seller a profit of 200 or 300 per cent in six months or a year. The men who thus sell and buy are held up as benefactors of the race. Bob Givins, as he is known to the real estate fraternity, declared in public recently that the dealers who bought acre tracts and subdivided them into building lots, charitably disposing of them to workingmen at a percentage that has made most of Chicago's millionaires, were really saving and rejuvenating society. Workingmen, he said, who are permitted to call a portion of this earth their own will always be found on the right side of public questions. Apparently it has never occurred to Givins that this is a mighty expensive method to the average man of becoming even a small sharer in the general growth of the community. It is true that it is better than no share at all, but what kind of a partnership is it that gives a man one dollar in land value and robs him of ten in the shape of taxation when he improves his property? I have a neighbor who is afraid to paint his house because of the assessor's vigilance in looking for some evidence of thrift to pounce upon. All around him are vacant lots and acres, held out of the market to attest the great future of Chicago, which are religiously passed over when more money is wanted for the public treasury. It is a well known fact that

unimproved land is taxed from one-third to one-half less, proportionately, than improved property. The workingmen whom Givins supposes the real estate dealers start on the road to independence, pay at least two or three times more than their share of direct taxation on personal property alone, and the Lord only knows how much more they pay in indirect taxes. Of what does the increase consist which these real estate subdividers receive when they sell to the prospective improver? Where is the justification for six or seven per cent interest on that increase which they require from the buyer? The answer will probably be that the work of putting in sidewalks and planting trees must afford some return. Yes, some return, but how much? Should men be able to grow from virtually nothing to millionaires in a decade through such a service to the community? S. E. Gross, real estate subdivider, boasts that he has "provided" more homes for workingmen than any other real estate dealer in the world. Five or six years ago he opened his first subdivision, a poor man. To-day he is reputed to be a millionaire. The most he ever did for society and his patrons, that is, the only real service that he did, was to build sidewalks, plant trees and erect a few houses, for all of which he always managed to get exorbitant prices, because of his advantage as a land owner. But Gross is only an example of his class.

Baron Yerkes of street car fame also figures prominently in the real estate columns. Yerkes has evidently purchased large tracts of land on certain streets over which he was sure of getting a franchise from the city council to run his cars. The aldermen give away franchises to private corporations; the private corporations furnish ill ventilated and unheated cars while declaring monopoly dividends; the president of the corporation, not satisfied with the special privilege given him by the aldermen, preys upon the necessities of the people at the other end by land speculation. Is this not "protection" with a vengeance? But why call Mr. Yerkes a baron, or denounce real estate sharks as long as the victims stand by ready and willing to be fleeced? No use.

ALFRED DENTONE.

Chicago, Ill.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

THE ELECTION OF MR. ROBY, LIBERAL, TO PARLIAMENT—IMPORTANT INFLUENCE OF THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT—SCHOOL TEACHERS GETTING LESS THAN \$150 A YEAR—THE NEW TRADE UNIONISTS.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, Oct. 25.—The event of greatest importance during the past week is of course the Eccles election. The contest lay between the Hon. Algernon Egerton and Mr. H. J. Roby, and it has resulted as you have learned by cable in the return of the latter gentleman. Several considerations give significance to the fact. In the first place, Mr. Egerton is a territorial magnate. His family reside in the Division, and not only have a large influence as landed proprietors, but they are the famous Bridgewater trustees, and in that capacity are the proprietors of large collieries employing an immense number of miners. The defeat of such a candidate as Mr. Egerton is therefore a very considerable thing in itself, and the victory of Mr. Roby is a sign that the influence of the aristocracy in England is steadily on the decline. Then, again, since the present constituency was formed, it has been represented by a Tory and an Egerton. An examination of the following figures, showing the polling for the liberal and Tory candidates respectively in the three elections which have taken place since the constituency was formed, will be of interest:

	Liberal.	Conserva- tive.	Total poll.	Majority.
1885.	4,312	4,559	8,871	247 C.
1886.	3,985	4,277	8,262	292 C.
1890.	4,401	4,696	9,097	295 L.

It will be seen from these figures that the return of a liberal in place of a Tory is very significant. The Times frankly admits the importance of the circumstance, for while it declines to despair, it acknowledges that the growth of the constituency has meant a larger growth of the liberal than of the Tory party, and adds that "this election, like so many other by-elections, has been decided by

the return to their party allegiance of numbers of Gladstonians, who in 1886 absented themselves from the polling booth." And the Times might have added what its editor no doubt feels, that this return may be expected to go on. For, as the hesitating ones of 1886 see from time to time that their companions in doubt have made up their minds to return to their old colors, their own hesitation will disappear. We may, therefore, confidently anticipate that whenever a general election occurs a large liberal majority will be returned.

And it is this which has filled the Tory and Unionist heart with dismay that all conservative seats that were held by small majorities, or at any rate a good round number of them, may actually go to the liberals also. But another fact renders this election significant above any that have taken place since 1886. In many previous by-elections the victorious liberal candidate has pledged himself to the principle of the taxation of land values, payment of members and so on. In this case the liberal candidate, while he did not specifically pledge himself to these things, took care to give them no discountenance, and did pledge himself to a legal eight hour day for miners, and even went so far as to say that he knew no law of ethics or of political economy adverse to a limitation by law of the hours of adult male labor provided those concerned were anxious for the limitation.

Now it is my firm conviction that this election has been won, not on the Irish question, but on the eight hour question. The miners would have voted for Egerton in considerable numbers if Roby had declined to vote for a legal eight hour day, because the Egertons, after all, are fairly good employers, as employers go, and many of their men have been in the habit of voting for them in past elections. I do not believe that mere home rule would have won the election, though undoubtedly the conservative majority would have been extremely small.

Of course the average liberal journals claim the victory for home rule, but the liberal leaders fight very shy of social questions. The true view is taken by Reynolds's Newspaper: "The victory was decisive for Mr. Gladstone—but it was more than that, it was a victory for the policy of the new trade unionism as against that of the old."

It is this projecting of an important social question into the Eccles contest which has given it its supreme significance. And Mr. Gladstone has been the very first to admit as much in his Midlothian speeches.

Meanwhile every eye is turned up on the government. What will they do in view of the Eccles election? It is said that they are at sixes and sevens about the measures which they must introduce when parliament meets at the end of November; and it is affirmed on excellent authority that if they cannot make headway with their land purchase bill, and it is known that the measure is receiving no very warm support in their own party, they will introduce their budget and then appeal to the country; probably on the plea that their beneficent intentions were being frustrated by the destructive tactics of their opponents. Moreover the liberal party may determine to force a dissolution so that we may have an election early next year. It is quite true that the government, seeing how inevitable is their defeat, may cling to office with pertinacity, but there is much to be said for Mr. Parnell's view, which is that no party likes to be in a very insignificant minority, and that accordingly the Tories may go to the country in time to come back with, at all events, a respectable following. It must be remembered that the house of lords would have no justification for rejecting home rule if Mr. Gladstone should be returned to power by an overwhelming majority, whereas if he should only have a small majority the lords would be entitled to say that it was clear there was not such a preponderance of opinion in favor of home rule as would warrant them in consenting to the measure. I therefore adhere to my opinion that the government will not hold on to office until the very last moment, but that they will appeal to the country whenever it seems to them that they can hope for the minimum of disaster.

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, writing last night, makes a further reference to the possibility of an early dissolution of parliament. He says:

There are, it is admitted, two conditions, either of which, should it be reached, may lead to a dissolution in the coming session. Despairing of agreement upon the lines of any bill for the reform of Irish government, and encouraged by a prosperous revenue, the ministers may think it better to go to an election than to wait for the open revelation of their failure, or they may be beaten by the abstention of some and the desertion of others of their own party upon a material point in one of their principal bills. The majority of the ministers are, however, of opinion that the election should be deferred till 1892, when they think Mr. Gladstone's extraordinary faculty for putting the question plainly to the country may be less conspicuous.

The demand for an increase in state and municipal functions is growing with extraordinary rapidity. The London county council contemplates the purchase of the water works, and the London Times observes that "on the advantage in the abstract of public over private management we suggest no doubt," and it then proceeds to urge that time presses. "The London quinquennial valuation draws daily nearer, and if nothing is done in the internal legal charges made by the London water companies will be higher than they are now, their profits will rise correspondingly, and so, too, will the amount of the purchase money, by which they must be bought out." In every considerable center of industrial population candidates for municipal honors are being required to pledge themselves to give municipal contracts only to those firms who pay the union rate of wages prevailing in the district where the work is done. In many towns labor candidates are being run, and further demands are being made, such for example as that the number of hours of municipal employees shall be limited to eight.

The constant fall in wages is bringing our people to the verge of desperation. In the very respectable occupation of public school teacher the wages are very low. From a recent return it appears that large numbers of assistant teachers under the London school board receive, males £60 and females £30 per annum. Of course principal teachers receive more, but then there are often forty or fifty assistants to one principal.

The organization of the dock laborers has attained such dimensions and such solidarity that the employers have entered into a federation to protect themselves, and they are establishing offices to which men unconnected with unions—or union men if they like—may go for employment. They have not much hope of success in this direction, and accordingly we are being treated to a good deal of big talk about laying up ships for the winter, and so on. Nobody believes there is any danger of such a course being adopted. But the Times professes to be correctly informed that such will be the case unless the dockers' unions become more reasonable.

In Scotland the strike of blast furnace men continues. The men have offered to submit their case to arbitration, but their offer has been refused. So far the men have asked only for time and a half on Sunday and Sunday night, and the reply of the masters has been the putting out of the furnaces, with the intimation that they would not be relighted this year. The dockers' union has come to the support of the blast furnace men by offering to refuse to unload ships laden with iron. This is but a sample of the growing tendency to solidarity among the trade unionists. Indeed the new unionism is making rapid strides in the country. The old unionism, indeed, is nowhere of any importance save in Lancashire, and there are reasons to account for that.

FROM INDIA.

BOMBAY AND SATARA-ANGLO INDIAN SOCIETY—THE BOMBAY LAND SYSTEM—THE CONDITION OF THE RYOT.

SATARA, DECCAN, India, Sept. 27.—Leaving the Valetta and Mr. George at Colombo, I transhipped to the P. O. steamship Kosetta, arriving at Bombay three days later in blinding monsoon squalls. Bombay, where I stayed for a few days, is a most interesting city of some 800,000 inhabitants, founded by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century. It is divided into the native town, which is a source of inexhaustible interest to the stranger, with its narrow bazaars, crowded with numberless eastern types, and the Fort or European quarter, where modern magnificence shows itself, millions having been spent on the public buildings, parks, rows, etc. Private land owners have been enormously benefited by these im-

provements, and I was pleased to see attention drawn to the fact the other day in a letter to the Press by a Mr. Gostling, who pointed out where the corporation might and ought to raise the necessary revenue. Mr. and Mrs. Gostling are members of the English Fabian society, and recently established a kindred association in Bombay, which I hope will do good work.

On my journey to his "station," after mounting the picturesque Ghats, I had a few hours at Poona, an old Maratha city and the seat of the Bombay government during the rains, at which season the climate is excellent. The English cantonment is some little distance from the city, and as the "season" was in full swing, presented a very animated appearance with smart equipages dashing about. The new governor, Lord Harris, has made himself popular with Europeans and natives on account of his geniality and thorough good sense in all matters. The lot of the governor and high officials is indeed a happy one as regard climate, that all-important question in India. In the hot weather they go to the charming hill station of Mahaboshwar, while they spend the monsoon at Poona—only residing at Bombay during the pleasant cold weather.

Satara is a historic Maratha town of some 30,000 people, situated on the Deccan plateau. The state was formed by the British after the third Maratha war, but was annexed in 1848, on the raja dying without male issue; and his adopted son pensioned and allowed an honorary title. The place is now a civil and military station. As expected, I find Anglo-Indian society as a whole conservative to the core, and as may be supposed, my views, broadly speaking, meet with the reverse of sympathy. Yet the Bombay land system is the nearest approach to the single tax I know of in the world. The tenure is known as Ryotwar, and under it the state and holder are joint owners, as it were. I quote from Cox's capital little history of the presidency: "The ryot is not a tenant at will, he is the hereditary occupant of the land, and the government cannot eject him as long as he pays the rent for his field, which is assessed for a period of thirty years. The cultivator may sell, let or mortgage his right of occupancy, and at the end of thirty years he has an absolute right to the renewal of the lease at revised rates, fixed not with reference to any improvements that he has made, but by general considerations of the increased value of land in the district, owing to the rise of prices or facilities of communication. Under this system the absolute ownership of the land can be said to rest neither with the government nor with the ryot; it is shared between the two, an idea which, strange as it may appear to Europeans, is familiar to all Hindoos. An ignorance of this fact caused the fatal mistake of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, who, in his 'permanent settlement,' conferred the ownership of the land absolutely and permanently on the Zemindars, in imitation of the landlord system of Great Britain; thus robbing the cultivators of their rights and discounting the future claims of the state upon the revenues of the land. The greatest flaw in the system is that it applies only to agricultural land—town land not coming under its working. The Indian ryot seems to be naturally a grumbler, and there are no lack of people who agitate for a permanent settlement."

R. H. HOOPER.

MORE TRUTH THAN POETRY.

Exchange.

MY DEAR FRYE:—

Not a section or part
Of the Tariff Bill opens a mart
For a bushel of wheat
Or a barrel of meat.
Yours devotedly,

BLAINE.

My! That's neat!

PREGNANT WORDS.

Boston Globe.

"Let me ask you, under the protective system of the past twenty years, where is your commerce?" asked Congressman Crisp at Faneuil hall on Saturday night. And a voice in the crowd replied, "England has got it." That tells a great deal in a few words.

PERHAPS.

Boston Globe.

"What the monopolists put on the price of labor on account of the McKinley tariff?" asks a Springfield paper. Perhaps, when steel freezes over.

THEY ARE LEARNING.

New York World.

Between McKinley prices and trust wages the workmen are learning the full irony there is in the word "protection."

SOCIETY NOTES.

Chrysanthemums, in shaded pink, yellow and white, clustered in masses, or entwined in garlands, converted the circular ball room at Tuxedo on hallowe'en into a Japanese conservatory. The effect was wonderfully unique. The stage was set in a woodland scene, with a high group of palms on the left side, fringed flowers showing through them at intervals in three shades of pink. Ivy vines were garlanded from the bordering of ferns that edged it to the floor. The thirteen pillars that surround the rooms were so completely covered with bright tinted autumn leaves as to be scarcely discernible, the capitals being hidden under yellow-hued flowers. Hemlock, in huge fan-shaped masses, interspersed with quantities of white chrysanthemums, capped each window. The inclosed piazza surrounding a portion of the ball room, lighted with myriads of Japanese lanterns, heightened the effect produced by the combination of dazzling lights, exotic plants and innumerable chrysanthemums of unusual size. A little after 10 o'clock the Hungarian band upon the stage began one of its weird waltzes. —[New York World.]

The police found John McElligott, his wife, and their three children literally starving Monday in one room at 44 Congress street. Mrs. McElligott was partially insane, but was not at all violent. The husband has been a helpless invalid for thirteen months, and Mrs. McElligott supported the family until a week ago, when she broke down. The oldest child is seven years of age. —[New York Times.]

One down town jeweler received yesterday from a stove and furnace merchant an order unlike anything which he ever received before. This was nothing less important than a set of hot-air registers made to set in the floor. They were made primarily in solid brass from designs by the architect, and his orders were to plate them heavily in pure gold. When finished they are to submit to being walked upon in the country house of Mr. Rockefeller. —[New York World.]

James Demerell, aged fifty-eight, who for many years was well known in shipping circles in New York and at one time a wealthy member of the Maritime exchange, was committed by Justice Kullmann at Stapleton last Friday to the county house for three months as a vagrant. Demerell was found Friday night wandering aimlessly about the streets of Clifton. He was taken in charge by a policeman and conveyed to police headquarters in Stapleton. There he stated that he had no home and was without means of support. He was very weak for want of nourishment and sleep. Demerell, who has no friends on Staten island, seemed to be glad when he heard that he was to go to the county house. —[New York World.]

Ladies should always sit behind their coachmen, but the desire to see and be seen prompts them here to take the other side. —[Ward McAllister in his book on the four hundred.]

Wanted.—An office man at a boy's salary; state terms. Address P. 19, Tribune office. —[Advertisement in Chicago Tribune.]

CLEVELAND'S WORDS.

THE PARTY HAS PLANTED ITSELF ON TRUE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES—IT MUST MARCH ON.

Interview with Grover Cleveland, published in the Albany Argus, Nov. 2.

"Of course it is needless for me to express the deep interest I feel in the elections now pending, though I have sometimes feared that my repeated and enforced declination of invitations to visit different localities and address political meetings might be construed as indicating a lack of sympathy with the fortunes of the excellent candidates in the democratic field. I am sure that there never was a public question discussed more thoroughly and more intelligently than has been the subject of tariff reform by its democratic advocates. This may, perhaps, suggest that if the democratic position on this issue is the correct one, there should be immediate and ready acquiescence on the part of the people.

"But the judgment of our countrymen has been so trammeled and their perceptions have been so clouded by prejudice and appeals to self-interest that their apprehension of the true province of our government has been distorted, and they have for years been led to believe that the conduct of public affairs might properly minister to their profit, not by securing general prosperity founded on principle, but by giving direct advantage to certain classes.

"There can be no advance in tariff reform where these ideas prevail.

"It is certainly true that in such a selfish operation the interests of some of the people must be neglected. Protest on the part of these has been stifled by the most arrant deception and cajolery.

"At last, however, these neglected ones are aroused, and in spite of the clouds of misrepresentation and delusion which surround them they begin to see the light. Our agriculturists and others whose interests have been disregarded, while advantages have been accorded to a favored few, are not to be much longer deceived. They are discovering more and more clearly that the toil and uncompensated labor which should have added to their own comfort and prosperity have been diverted to the aggrandizement of others, while they have constantly grown poorer. They fail to see in the accumulation of vast fortune under such conditions any compensation for their discouraging labor or for their enforced and pinching economy.

"They will not always be silent, but will naturally and inevitably demand the justice to all and favor to none which our institutions promise.

"I am confident that we shall secure a majority in the next house of representatives. Our success may not be so sweeping and decisive as many of our sanguine friends anticipate, but it will be safe and substantial. I cannot forget how laboriously a reform moves which must break through selfish interests strongly entrenched and unscrupulously asserted, and which must overcome abuses long suffered and arrogantly maintained.

"I believe that all our gains must be the result of hard struggle against these odds. It is not, however, possible that the complete triumph of the people's cause can be much longer delayed.

"The effective inculcation of wholesome doctrine which characterizes the democratic press; the thorough discussion going on in every part of the country; the undisguised schemes of the republican party to secure its perpetuation in power through reckless enactments which stifle the results of the people's suffrage; its brutal methods of legislation, and, above all, the positive distress daily threatening our people's homes under the operation of a new and iniquitous tariff law—a law which not only enhances the cost of the necessities of life but fosters the extortions of trusts and combinations—make certain the advent of a freer, better time and the ascendancy of true democracy.

"Whatever the near result may be, I am not at all afraid that the zeal of the party will flag or that discouragement will in the least dampen its ardor or lessen its aggressiveness.

"The democratic party is thoroughly united and has planted itself on democratic principles. It will not abandon its sacred cause, but will continue the warfare until it achieves complete success.

"The party that knew no discouragement in 1888 will not waver nor falter in 1890."

A FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

Indianapolis News.

The campaign of education is just beginning to take hold. The McKinley bill affords the great object lesson. Its unparalleled outrage; its unblushing and unmerciful skinning of the poor for the rich; its infamous raid on every industry and all the consumers of the country for increased profits to a few manufacturers; its unheard-of prohibition of trade with anybody but them at monopolized prices; its invasion of every household, demanding a share of its savings, to be turned over to increase the profits of the Carnegies and the select company of the Protected Order of Manufacturers—this infamy is the point of departure for the beginning, not the ending of the battle. It is simply another fight against a new form of slavery, and like that against the old form there is but one settlement of it—freedom.

"THE HISTORY OF THE CARPET TRADE."

New York Herald.

The history of the carpet trade in the United States furnishes conclusive evidence of the benefits of a protective tariff. —[Philadelphia Press.]

Of course it does. That is what we have been telling you all along. The protective tariff has benefited the carpet and woolen mills so much that a great many of them are for sale and can be had at almost any price you will offer. Will you take half a dozen and so reap these bon-a-ted benefits?

BUT IF SOMEBODY OWNED THOSE BEACHES—WHAT THEN?

Boston Globe.

The broad acres of seaweed piled up on Crescent and Revere beaches will prove a bonanza to the farmers for miles around as a fertilizer. It is a conspicuous example of property which belongs to nobody and to everybody; it has also stolen a march on the McKinley schedules.

IT WON'T WORK ANYWHERE NOW.

Boston Globe.

Possibly Mr. Balfour, while he is in Ireland, will recall Jay Gould's great idea, and try to console the starving tenants of Galway, Donegal and Keshmure by reminding them that if potatoes are dear they have only leg to use of them.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

TO SOL F. CLARK.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Please tell Mr. Sol F. Clark that in the state of Alabama land and improvements are assessed together, and it is only a matter of conjecture as to the relative values of each. It is hoped a constitutional convention will be held in this state before long, and then this, with other questions, will come up for discussion.

EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

Mobile, Ala., Oct. 17.

ANOTHER ANSWER TO SOL F. CLARK.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: With reference to Sol F. Clark's inquiry I find that in South Dakota there is no provision made for assessing improvements separate from the land. The constitution requires that "all taxes to be raised in this state shall be uniform on all real and personal property," and it goes on to name everything imaginable. Our first legislature adopted the old territorial laws, and then proceeded to amend them. The last territorial auditor's report gives "acres of land," "value of land," and "average value per acre," also "value of town lots," but that seems to include all that the words "real estate" usually do, as no provision is made for the assessment of improvements separately. It is about as bunglingly done as possible. "The law emphatically requires the listing of property, under oath, at its full value. Anything less than this is perjury," is pointed among assessors' instructions. Yet our state board of equalization has increased assessments this year an average of twenty-five per cent! The governor is a member of the board.

W. E. BROKAW.

Watertown, S. D., Oct. 15.

SUGGESTION FOR MICHAEL DAVITT.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Between sixty and eighty years since there was introduced into parliament and passed, a number of bills to inclose common lands (the land of the commoners) all over England. These common lands had been used by the parishioners in the fall to pasture their cattle, colts, etc. The argument used was that that style of use was waste. The lords of the manors and other potentials obtained the privilege, by these bills, of inclosing the lands and renting them as farms. It seems that if Mr. Davitt would work on this line it would attract much attention, as it would expose a recent wrong.

Chicago, Ill.

E. HOLENSHADE.

FOR MR. BENGOUGH.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I was so well pleased with the concise manner your correspondent, D. Webster Groh, treated the protection folly in THE STANDARD of October 23, that I cut it out and pasted it in my pocket memorandum book for ready use. In the following week's issue Mr. Groh intimated that a certain cartoon would be likely to exemplify a state of things which needs illustration.

This leads me to picture in my mind's eye how an artist could bring Senator Sherman's absurd notion that a man needing a wagon worth \$100, rather than send elsewhere for it had better go to work and make it himself, as then he would have his vehicle and his money also. Two scenes could illustrate this by sketching a home made wagon with the farmer on the road to market, his farm neglected; a wheel gives out, his load is tipped in the mud, a few bunches of last year's onions and a bundle of straw are dumped in the mud, and his harness a few knotted ropes. The other picture is that of a snug and tidy outfit; horses in trim, wagon of modern make, heaped with market products, man in perfect trim. See? GEORGE F. MARSHALL.

Cleveland, Ohio.

A CRITICISM.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Having been for some years a single taxer and a constant reader of THE STANDARD, I have of late become greatly interested and not a little puzzled in reading of the numerous attempts on the part of single taxers to bring about a policy of special assessment of betterments caused by the making of public improvements. After reading in THE STANDARD of October 1 the article "Municipal Improvements," which tells of the action of the "Gem City" club of single taxers of Quincy, Ill., and also the

editorial comments approving the same, I can no longer remain silent.

These editorial comments speak of the argument of said club as "a good argument in behalf of a just and sensible system of taxation." Now, to my mind it is no such thing. It is simply a plea for putting upon land holders a double burden.

It is unjustifiable from the standpoint of single taxers. Let me be understood. I wish to affirm that the policy of assessing upon land holders, in a lump sum, the whole cost (see article "Municipal Improvements," etc., paragraph 4) of betterments caused by public improvements is a policy based upon false principles, and will result in gross injustice to land holders and delay the adoption of genuine single tax principles. It must result in double taxation of the most pronounced type.

It is true that the land holder should pay for all betterments conferred upon his land by public improvements; but he should not be compelled to pay for them twice. Single taxers propose to compel land holders to pay annually the full value of all unearned increment. If we compel them to pay for it in a lump sum, we must ever afterward exempt it from the annual tax. This would be impracticable and I do not understand that it is proposed.

The obvious inference is that we must adhere to the annual tax and let alone the lump tax.

Single taxers say our ancestors made a mistake in allowing the capitalization of the unearned increment in land value. They say they propose to correct the mistake as soon as possible, as far as the future is concerned, by taking annually the full annual value of the increment. How can this be accomplished by the adoption of measures which compels a still further capitalization of unearned increment?

IRA COPELAND.

Brockton, Mass., Oct. 6, 1890.

WORK FOR WOMEN.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: It is extremely gratifying to note the awakened interest in our cause among our sisters, the single tax women of America. Already we begin to enjoy that stimulating comradeship so happily alluded to at the conference by Mrs. Brennan. The single tax men of Chicago feel that this comradeship is well worth the trifling sacrifice of foregoing cigars at their weekly meetings, so that the necessity or desirability of a separate organization for women is not so apparent here as it may be elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that while the ladies are discussing the matter of organization they will not fail to do the next thing. Our most effectual work has been and will for a long time be done by individuals, and women are particularly adapted to these quiet, but effectual methods. A woman going out in the afternoon to make calls can set a half dozen families to discussing the single tax at the supper table. The general advance in prices resulting from the McKinley bill makes the present time particularly favorable for this work. And why should the women not push our petition among women? The single tax is a matter of vital concern to every man, woman and child in the community, and there is no apparent reason why it should not be signed by all who are old enough to understand it. Again, why cannot some of our gifted single tax women write some tracts especially adapted for women? J. T. RIPLEY.

Chicago, Ill.

CARLYLE ON LAND.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In his "Past and Present," book III, chap. 8, Thomas Carlyle says: "The land is mother of us all; nourishes, shelters, gladdens, lovingly enriches us all; in how many ways, from our first waking to our last sleep on her blessed mother-bosom, does she, as with blessed mother-arms, enfold us all! . . . Men talk of 'selling' land, Land, it is true, like epic poems and even higher things, in such a trading world, has to be presented in the market for what it will bring, and as we say, be 'sold'; but the notion of 'selling,' for certain bits of metal, the 'liad' of Homer, how much more the land of the World-Creator, is a ridiculous impossibility! We buy what is salable of it; nothing more was ever buyable. Who can or could sell it to us? Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God, and to all His children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever

work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell land on any other principle: it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it."

While it is probable that Carlyle had no method of getting the land back to the people, nor contemplated any such attempt, it is interesting to see what the great thinker thought of the ownership of land, and of what transcendent importance he regarded its possession. On the same page he says: "Whoever possesses the land, he, more emphatically than any other, is the governor, viceking of the people on the land."

St. Louis, Mo.

J. H. D.

WILL JAY GOULD ANSWER?

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: It is reported that Jay Gould said that the McKinley high tariff bill would not do any harm, because if it did raise the price of clothing, people could wear their old clothing longer. They could wear one suit as long as they formerly wore two. That might do very well for Jay Gould, but I know a good many who, if they attempted to do this, would be put in jail for indecent exposure of their persons.

But will Jay Gould explain how, if the McKinley tariff bill lessens consumption, it is also going to furnish more work and higher wages to laboring men? That is what the bill is said to be for. No protectionist believes that the tariff is intended to benefit anybody but the laboring men. But if it should cause people to buy fifty per cent less clothing, and of course fifty per cent less of everything, then how is it going to furnish more work and higher wages?

J. G. MALCOLM.

Hutchinson, Kan.

FOR THE LETTER WRITERS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I would suggest Rev. S. G. Weiskotten of this town as a fit person to be addressed by the single tax letter writers. He is the pastor of the English Lutheran church (the church using the English language; we have two other Lutheran churches, but the Swedish is used), is an earnest, able and progressive minister; is now delivering, every Sunday evening, a series of discourses on "The tendencies of the times." Please ask the letter writers to dwell upon the insufficiency of all other reforms and the justice of the single tax. If enough influence was brought to bear upon him I think he might be won over to the single tax. I should very much desire to have his name suggested in next week's STANDARD, so that he might be influenced to say something on this subject during his series of discourses on the tendencies of the times. Mr. Weiskotten's address is corner of West Fourth and Jefferson streets. F. G. ANDERSON.

Jamestown, N. Y., Oct. 30.

SO FAR AND YET SO NEAR.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: How clearly some people can see things three thousand miles away! Take the case of Ireland for instance: I have shown the cut in this week's STANDARD, republished from Michael Davitt's Labour World, to people who are not single taxers and who, I suppose, abhor my ideas of "no property in land" as being too anarchistic and revolutionary for anything, yet they see with perfect clearness how it is just across the Atlantic.

But the double robbery of the wealth producer in this country by the sneak thieving system, mis-called protection, in addition to all the exactions of the land claimants, does not seem to impress them very profoundly. But, blessed be McKinley; I think his matchless bill will remove the scales from many of the blind eyes, and although the American people, unlike a certain other animal, may require more than nine days to get its eyes open, let us trust the power of vision to come at length, and then good by protection.

N. P. BROWN.

Jersey City, Nov. 1.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE IS WORSE THAN USELESS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Although I have completed over half the allotted span, I had not until some two years since devoted much attention to political machinery, but just having become friends with "the cat," I have been carefully nosing my way along the government trail, until I have reached

what to me is a stumbling block, viz., the senate.

In countries like America and Canada, where it is understood that the "people's will" is the "supreme law," why should a senate, a body independently above the people's reach, be required? What can such an institution accomplish for the public good, which could not be secured by the house of representatives alone?

Is it not a farce for the house to enact laws embodying the people's wishes, while this "irresponsible senate" can refuse to ratify such laws and thus effectually thwart the public will. Until I am enlightened I must think that such expressions as "free people," "free institutions," "uncrowned kings," etc., etc., are but fitting shadows.

J. M. READE.

Victoria, B. C., Oct. 26.

NORTH DAKOTA TAX LAW.

A correspondent sends THE STANDARD section 28 of the North Dakota tax law, which supplies the information Mr. Sol F. Clark of Arkansas wanted from that state. The section reads as follows:

All property shall be assessed at its true and full value in money. In determining the true and full value of real and personal property, the assessor shall not adopt a lower or different standard of value, because the same is to serve as a basis of taxation; nor shall he adopt as a criterion of value the price at which said property would sell at auction or forced sale, or in the aggregate with all the property in the town or district; but he shall value each article or description of property by itself, and at such sum or price as he believes the same to be fairly worth in money. In assessing any tract or lot of real property the value of the land, exclusive of improvements, shall be determined; also, the value of all improvements and structures thereon, and the aggregate value of property, including all structures and other improvements, excluding the value of crops growing upon cultivated lands. In valuing any real property upon which there is a coal or other mine, or stone or other quarry, the same shall be valued at such price as such property, including the mine or quarry, would sell at a fair voluntary sale for cash. Money, whether in possession or on deposit, shall be entered in the statement at the full amount thereof. Every credit for a sum certain, payable either in money, property of any kind, labor or services, shall be valued at the full price of the same so payable; if for a specific article or a specific number or quantity of any article of property, or for a certain amount of labor, or for services of any kind, it shall be valued at the current price of such property, or for such labor or services at the place where payable.

PERSONAL.

On Wednesday, October 15, Dr. M. R. Levenson delivered an address in Charlottesville, Va. A gentleman who was present has written a letter to the Charlottesville Jeffersonian highly commending the doctor's speech, and asking why the democrats of that state should not nominate him for congress.

Charles Prizer, a prominent single tax man of Reading, Pa., has been nominated for the legislature by the independent party of his city, and the probabilities are that he will receive a large vote, even if he is not elected. Mr. Prizer was present as a delegate to the national single tax conference.

PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CONFERENCE.

The photograph of the delegates to the recent single tax conference in New York is finished. Copies may be ordered through THE STANDARD. Price, 75 cents.

THE SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.

A. J. Aucutt in The New Earth.

We publish below the platform adopted by the National single tax conference held in this city last month. This platform is one of the most significant documents ever put forth by any body of men. As a declaration of the principles which ought to govern our communal relations, and of the methods by which a practical application of these principles to present conditions of life can be effected, it has no equal.

NO, NOR DOES FREE TRADE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Boston Globe.

The New York Sun charges the Hon. Roger Q. Mills with making speeches in which he avows his platform to be "Cleveland, free trade and an income tax." We don't know whether the charge is true or not, but anyhow it doesn't scare people as much as it would have done two or three years ago.

A TRUTHFUL PROTECTIONIST.

New York Tribune, Nov. 5.

If the democrats have captured the next house it is by a majority so poor and feeble that they will have hard work to hold it.

BUT A BAD DAY FOR PROTECTION.

New York Tribune on the elections.

It was a great day for football, anyway.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

WILLIAM T. CROASDALE.

As the readers of THE STANDARD know, William T. Croasdale was nominated for congress by the county democracy of the Seventh district. He made his own campaign, aided almost exclusively by the free traders of the Reform club and the Manhattan single tax club, and by a few active free traders in his district.

The county democracy organization was too deeply interested in the municipal contest to greatly serve in the congressional fight. Against Mr. Croasdale was a man of inferior qualifications for a congressman, who had made no record, and who showed his political disqualification in the present crisis by asking support for himself on the ground that Mr. Croasdale was a free trader.

An active educational campaign was carried on in the district by means of meetings, both in halls and in the open streets with carts for platforms. The cart meetings were successful, if interested crowds and good speaking are any indications of success, and some of the hall meetings, especially that in the large hall of Cooper union, were remarkable as district meetings, for the large numbers that attended and the enthusiasm that characterized them. Had the contest been an open fight with a protectionist, the interest manifested and the results elsewhere go to prove that Mr. Croasdale would have carried the election. But as it was, the municipal campaign was overshadowing, and the sweeping victory for Tammany hall carried Mr. Croasdale's adversary with it. The vote was as follows:

William T. Croasdale 2,713
William Morgan (Republican) 4,701
Edward J. Dunphy (Tammany) 11,633

The combined vote of Mr. Croasdale and Mr. Morgan was about the same as that cast for Mr. Scott, the fusion nominee for mayor, which would indicate upon the surface that Mr. Croasdale polled the county democracy vote. This is not true, however. So far as the Seventh congressional district is concerned, the county democracy do not seem to have had any vote to speak of. Fully two-thirds of Mr. Croasdale's vote, as reported by his watchers, was made up not of the county democracy ballot on which his name appeared officially, but of republican and Tammany hall ballots, on which the voter had placed Mr. Croasdale's individual name, and of Municipal league ballots, in the blank spaces of which voters had written his name.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

John De Witt Warner, chairman of the tariff reform committee of the Reform club, was nominated for congress by the county democracy of the Eleventh congressional district at the same time that Mr. Croasdale was nominated in the Seventh. The Eleventh congressional district was one of the districts in which the democratic state committee ordered the two democratic organizations to unite upon a candidate, while in the Seventh they were allowed to fight it out. In effecting a union it was agreed that the county democracy should have the candidate from the Eleventh and Tammany hall the candidate from the Tenth, and pursuant to this arrangement, Mr. Warner, who was nominated by the county democracy, was endorsed by Tammany hall. The democratic majority in this district in 1888 was over 4,000. This year the republicans relied upon the large manufacturing interests in the district for an increased protection vote, but in that they were disappointed, for Mr. Warner increased the democratic majority by about 3,000, polling a majority of 7,333 votes out of a total of nearly 25,000, the vote for him being 16,155. Mr. Warner, as the readers of THE STANDARD know, is an absolute free trader and a single tax man limited.

NO "PROTECTION" WANTED.

THE CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF BUFFALO DECLARES ITSELF ON THE TARIFF QUESTION—THE WORKMAN BUYS GOODS AND SELLS LABOR; THEREFORE, IF THE WORKMAN IS TO BE PROTECTED, TAKE THE DUTY OFF GOODS AND PUT IT ON LABOR—A UNANIMOUS VOICE FOR ABSOLUTE FREE TRADE.

Buffalo Times, Oct. 27.

It is very significant—the action of the Central labor union of Buffalo yesterday. The attendance of delegates was unusually large, and by a unanimous vote—essentially a non-political organization—not only adopted the democratic policy, but "went" the old party one better.

Three weeks ago Stephen's assembly No. 3,629 propounded a series of questions as to the effect of the tariff upon the wage earners. These questions were submitted to the legislative committee, consisting of

Dr. T. M. Crowe and Frank N. Ho'zer. The report was presented and published and a full and free discussion of it was had. At yesterday's meeting the report was unanimously adopted. The report of the committee is particularly important at this time, showing that the wage earners have cut loose from any affiliations with the republican party, which has duped and defrauded them in so many instances. Here are a few extracts from the important report:

Q. 5. What do workmen sell, goods or labor? If they are sellers of labor and buyers of goods, and if a tariff duty raises the price of the thing protected, would it not be good policy to take the duty off what the workman has to buy and put it on what he has to sell?

A. Workmen are sellers of labor and buyers of goods. If you want to protect the workman as against the manufacturer, just reverse the present policy of protecting the manufacturer as against the workman, and the thing is done. Think this out a little. Take the duty off all imported articles, provide absolute free trade in goods, while allowing the manufacturers, if they want it, a little rubber "foreign contract goods" law to sharpen their eye teeth on—do that to begin with. Now put a specific duty of \$100 on every workman coming into the country, and an ad valorem duty of fifty per cent of the value of his labor, to be collected from each and every purchaser of his labor under the same penalties that customs duties are now collected, and when you have gone this far with your plan, go to a meeting of manufacturers, explain the change of duties, and tell them that from the manufacturer standpoint the old plan was absurd and destructive; that what the manufacturers most needed was the market for their goods; that the workmen make up the mass of consumers; that the higher their wages the better will be the prices they will pay; that the increased importation of goods will increase home production, since we must pay for imports with exports; that though the manufacturers will pay higher wages, they will make bigger profits, and as a consequence of increased trade and bigger returns, they will grow rich faster and faster—how many of your auditors would believe you? Not one, for their eternal vigilance in maintaining the duties on what they have to sell demonstrates that you could not delude them with a scheme so transparent.

You don't protect the iron ore and coal producers when you make these articles free and put a high duty on steel rails, and you don't protect the steel rail manufacturers when you put steel rails on the free list and a high duty on his raw material—iron ore and coal. As food, clothing, houses, etc., are the indispensable factors in the production of labor, it is evident that the raw material of the workman is the goods he uses; and, as it is in every other industry, his profits will be determined by the difference between what he pays for his raw material and what he gets for his product. Therefore, if you want to protect our workmen, take the duty off goods and put it on importations of foreign labor.

Q. 6. What objection is there to international commercial reciprocity?

A. There can be no honest objection to this economic proposition. International commercial reciprocity would weld the nations of the earth into one grand industrial republic, and give to every producer and trader the world for a market.

Why should we seek to prevent trade?

"If to prevent free trade were to stimulate industry and promote prosperity, then the localities where he was most isolated would show the first advance of man. The natural protection to home industry afforded by rugged mountain chains, by burning deserts, by seas too wide and tempestuous for the frail bark of the early mariner, would have given us the first glimmerings of civilization and shown its most rapid growth. But, in fact, it is when trade could best be carried on that we find wealth first accumulating and civilization beginning. It is on accessible harbors, by navigable rivers, and much traveled highways, that we find cities arising and the arts and sciences developing, and as trade becomes free and extensive, as roads are made and navigation improved, as pirates and robbers are extirpated, and treaties of peace put an end to chronic warfare—so does wealth augment and civilization grow. All our great labor-saving inventions, from that of money to that of the steam engine, spring from trade and pro-

mote its extension. Trade has ever been the extinguisher of war, the eradicator of prejudice, the diffuser of knowledge. It is by trade that useful seeds and animals, useful arts and inventions have been carried over the world, and that men in one place have been enabled not only to obtain the products, but to profit by the observations, discoveries and inventions of men in other places."

Q. 7. Explain the nature of international commerce. If it is or if it is not mere barter, and the effect on American production of an increased trade with foreign nations.

A. "International commerce is in the last analysis but pure barter, an exchange of goods for goods. Money plays no part in international trade, and the world has yet to reach that stage of civilization which will give us international money. The paper currency which in all civilized nations now constitutes the larger part of their money, is never exported to settle balances; and when gold or silver is exported or imported, it is as a commodity, and its value is estimated at that of the bullion contained. What each nation imports is paid for in the commodities in exports, unless received as loans or investments, or as interest, rent or tribute. Before commerce had reached its present refinement of division and sub-division this was, in many individual cases, clear enough. A vessel sailed from New York, Philadelphia or Boston, carrying, on account of owner or shipper, a cargo of flour, lumber and stores to the West Indies, where it was sold, and the proceeds invested in sugar, rum and molasses, which were brought back, or which, perhaps, were carried to Europe, there sold, and the proceeds invested in European goods, which were brought home. At present the exporter and importer are usually different persons, but the bills of exchange drawn by one against goods exported are bought by the other, and used to pay for goods imported. So far as the country is concerned, the transaction is the same as though the importers and exporters were the same persons; and that imports exceed exports in value is no more proof of a losing trade than that in the old times a trading ship brought home a cargo worth more than she carried out was proof of an unprofitable voyage."

"Free trade means a larger volume of trade; that means larger production; that means a greater demand for labor; that means higher wages for work; that means a wider distribution of wealth, comforts and happiness. Freedom is the fundamental condition of prosperity. Freedom, in all its phases, is the ideal of our government. And our trade, bound and manacled by trusts and monopolies, is no more in harmony with our system of government than an enslaved citizen in a galley or a dungeon."

THE MCKINLEY MILLENNIUM.

Puck.

Well, the McKinley millennium is at hand. The tariff has been "revised by its friends," and it wouldn't know itself from a Chinese wall. Everybody must pay more for everything, and so everybody is going to be better off. The farmer must pay more for the necessities of life; so, of course, he is going to pay his hands more—for they, also, have to pay more for the necessities of life. The artisan, the mechanic, the shopkeeper, must all pay more for what they buy. Of course they will restore the natural balance of things by paying their employees better. It is perfectly simple, isn't it?—as simple as anything in "Alice in Wonderland."

It is so simple that a plain citizen is driven to wonder why, if the McKinley theory is correct, and high prices and prosperity must necessarily walk hand in hand, the republican majority in congress did not bring about the glorious result that they have achieved, by the far simpler means of a law decreeing that a dollar shall hereafter be called an eagle, and a dime a dollar, and a cent a dime. It would really have been a much more popular measure. Think how grateful a dollar-a-day workman would feel if he could realize that, by grace of the republican party, he walked home every payday with sixty dollars in his pocket, instead of the six he got before!

Of course, he would not feel so grateful when he came to the further realization of the facts that his two dollars for rent must thereafter be twenty; and that chuck steak was sixty cents a pound, instead of six; and that a seventy-five cent shirt was \$7.50 under the new system. But then these little drawbacks are inseparable from the McKinley idea. The old scheme of lifting yourself up by your boot straps works just the same way in finance that it works in any other application.

Artificial values will remain artificial val-

ues so long as a pint is a pound, the world around. Congress may say to the manufacturer of a certain article: "Here, you may charge a dollar more for your product than you now charge; and we will see that no foreign manufacturer undersells you." But congress only raises the price of the article. Congress cannot increase its value a dollar's worth to the man who has to buy it. He is out of pocket by the transaction, when he buys the article at the new price—and he is out of pocket just one dollar. You see, it is the old bootstrap theory, so far as national prosperity is involved. Congress has not added a dollar to the common stock. It has merely shifted a dollar from one man's pocket to another's. Of course, the man with the empty pocket is less prosperous. Andrew Carnegie is richer. Pain John Smith is poorer. Great is McKinley!

But, the manufacturer being the richer by a dollar, perhaps he will divide that dollar with his employees? Perhaps he will. But congress, singularly enough, has omitted to pass a law instructing him to do so. Until that law is passed, it is unlikely that the employer will go back on the principle that has guided his course for a lifetime, and buy his labor at any higher rate than the market rate. Perhaps, too, the manufacturer being a dollar's worth richer, he will buy more bread, and put up prices in the wheat market, and so benefit the farmer—if the farmer is ever able to get within six months of the ruling prices in the wheat market. Perhaps he will. But we are of the opinion that he has all the bread—and all the cake—that he wants, already.

A PERTINENT ILLUSTRATION.

SHOWING, IN A PLAIN AND HOMELY WAY, HOW THE TARIFF WORKS.

Captain John Codman in Salt Lake Herald.

Old Uncle Samuel States has a large family of twenty sons. Many of them are married, and they all live in Uniontown. They number sixty-five all told. One of the sons is a tailor, another a blacksmith and another keeps a grocery store. The other seventeen are employed in various occupations, all trying to earn a living for themselves. Several of them are farmers who would be glad to sell their produce to the people in the neighboring towns if they could make satisfactory arrangements with them in the way of trade. But the old gentleman has very peculiar notions on that subject. He tells them, "All right; sell all you can for cash, but don't you take anything you need for your family from them in exchange." The result is that they sell all they can in Uniontown and soon overstock the market, so that their crops do not yield a profit. Nor is this all. Uncle Samuel tells them that even if they have ready money they shall not buy anything with it outside. If they want clothes they must go to their brother Jim for them, even if he charges them forty per cent more than the Bulltown tailor would charge. If they want wagons they must buy them of John, who charges thirty per cent more for them than the Sawneyville mechanic, so that they cannot do any freighting out of town because their wagons are so dear, and if they want groceries they must go to Tom, who, having the market to himself, charges fifty per cent more than the price either in Bulltown or Sawneyville.

"The reason for this is," he says, "that I don't want you to bring their pauper labor into competition with our own."

"But," says Charley, "I am a farmer and I don't see how their pauper labor affects me, and why I should pay Jim, John and Tom so much money for what I can get so much cheaper elsewhere?"

"Nor I, either," says Ned, the mason.

"Nor I," says Bill, the plumber.

"Nor I," join in the carpenter, the brick-maker, the car driver, the shoemaker, the dentist, the lawyer, the doctor, the parson, the editor, and all the balance of the seventeen who see no reason why they should be called upon to support the favored three.

Now, this is exactly the condition of things in the United States. By the census of 1880 there were 20,000,000 people here engaged in the various industries and professions. They are all enumerated in "Spofford's Almanac." Examine the list carefully and you will find that by the utmost stretch of allowance not 3,000,000 of the whole are engaged in any occupation dependent upon "protection." Moreover, many of this minority would be better off and their number would be increased by a reduction of the tariff. Consider that the miners are a very small proportion of the men who work on iron in Pennsylvania; that the sheep growers of Ohio are few in number compared with the men who work in woolen factories. Cheaper foreign iron and cheaper foreign wool would vastly increase the number of those operatives to whom protection is really a bane.

Still further, taking the balance that would remain of the laboring men (not of the small fraction of employers who are in truth the only men benefited by protection), it will be found that the average of their wages is very much lower than that of the vast majority of laborers who derive no benefit whatever from protection, but whose expenses are enormously increased not to keep "pauper labor" away from themselves nor from any part of the minority of nominally protected laborers, but solely to roll up the profits of the many, though in comparison with the whole population, the infinitesimal few, to

whom protection is really an advantage for which they can afford to pay liberally to a subsidized press and to an election fund.

CRAKING THE SHELL

It would be difficult to name a legislative measure that has caused more general dissatisfaction the world over than this McKinley tariff bill, and yet this is the measure the republican party asks the people of the country to endorse at the coming election by giving them a further lease of power to concoct other measures equally hurtful to the general welfare.—(New Orleans Picayune.)

It is now easy to see that it would have been winning politics to let the republicans put the McKinley bill into operation at the earliest possible moment. Another month beneath the practical workings of that measure wouldn't have left a poor man from San Diego to Madawaska who was not in favor of tariff reform.—(Kansas City Times.)

There is a great awakening. The people see it now, and robbery under the forms of tariff law must go. Again we thank McKinley.—(Boston Globe.)

It is not for their employees that the republican monopolists are laboring. Strikes are likely to become more frequent than ever. They are engaged in feathering their own nests.—(Memphis Avalanche.)

There can be but one logical result, absolute free trade, of the democratic policy, and the men of courage and candor in that party do not hesitate to admit this.—(Omaha Bee.)

One good indication that the McKinley bill is an outrage on the public lies in the fact that the high tariff organs have been apologizing for its passage ever since it became a law.—(Duluth News.)

Of McKinley prices the newspapers are full; but one never hears anything of McKinley wages. While prices of necessities rise, rates of wages are at a standstill.—(Philadelphia Record.)

THE TIME CALLS FOR ACTION.

The present time calls loudly for action, and none can afford to ignore the urgency of the call, for our fellow creatures by the millions are being ground beneath the heels of tyrants as cruel in intent as any that ever swayed scepter over subjugated kingdoms or drove their peaceful inhabitants from their homes by fire and sword. I say as cruel in intent, for they go as far in their methods of oppression as the laws will allow them, and are sparing no efforts to nullify or wipe out what statutes stand in their way.

We need not give any illustrations; unfortunately the daily papers are full of them—so full that humane and justice loving people are beginning to tremble for the perpetuity of republicanism; for with the histories of past republics and ruined civilizations to warn them, they know the dire results that must follow a persistent and continued practice of present injustices. To such the palliatives that are ever and anon thrust forward by well-meaning reformers as panaceas for all social ills give little comfort, and can afford them no satisfactory hope. Not until we apprehend the real cause of any trouble or disease can we pretend to apply the correct remedy.

We single taxers feel satisfied that no very great amount of learning is requisite to diagnose correctly the nature and source of the manifold ills that afflict the body politic.

The principal thing to do in starting on a search for truth in any field is to drop the prejudices that have almost insensibly but none the less surely been formed in our minds, and which cause a severe mental astigmatism so long as we harbor them—prejudices so strong that they prevent us seeing the simple truth till we resolutely cut loose from them and determine to think and reason from logical, because natural, premises.

How the honest investigator rejoices when he finds the true path and sees the shining light ahead grow brighter with each advancing step! How full of hope the single taxer feels when, after beating about among false guides till weary and footsore, he strikes the right trail! How the great depths of human sympathy in his soul are broken up when he sees the awful, cruel wrongs inflicted upon his helpless fellow beings! He sees they have been disinherited and enslaved by a process so long-continued and heavily buttressed that the great robbery has been hidden by statute law and priestly sanction. Brother reformers and investigators, read the platform setting forth

the principles we single taxers believe in, and you cannot fail to see that when they shall become incorporated into the laws of our land they will open the way to possibilities of good for the human family such as in our present handicapped and crippled condition we dare scarcely dream of by giving man access to the inexhaustible storehouse of nature—the land—where he shall be able to gather the fruits of his toil according to the measure of his industry and skill by restoring to all their God-given rights to a use of the earth. How vain to boast of being a great nation and calling attention to our rapidly increasing population while millions are suffering want and misery that drag them down socially, morally and physically, to the deepest depths, and all because nature's simple laws have been isolated by society, and they have been disinherited in the names of law and vested rights! Such a civilization cannot stand. Something must be done, and done soon, to save society from violent though really merited retribution.

Let us who see the way to peacefully bring about a reign of justice use every means in our power to usher in the golden age for which the world so long has sighed. We are sure we are right, for we work on the line of natural law, and that is God's law. The cry of poverty's victims, as they vainly struggle for the comforts their labor entitles them to, the wails of remorse that ascend from prison pens and dens of infamy—the shrieks of despair with which some, frenzied by grief, launch themselves unbidden upon the sea of eternity, are only the natural concomitants of unnatural conditions, and demand of us that first of all we do justice. Then we can "love mercy and walk humbly before God."

Victoria, B. C. JAMES MALLET.

GIVE US OUR DAILY BREAD.

From the lips of One whose heart went out in sympathy to all mankind sprang these words; it is the prayer to the Father of all that this earth, our mother, should produce substance to nourish her children. Who that preaches the gospel of Christ could presume that these words were intended to ask the Almighty to provide for a portion and leave a portion in want? To store to overflowing the warehouses of the few and leave the larders of the many empty? "Give us this day our daily bread;" what more can man have in the journey from birth to death? For the bread is the emblem of subsistence, and every want and every joy and every necessity is here included. It is the prayer for raiment as well as food, it is the supplication for everything that goes to make up the desires of our race. May the fields bring forth their harvest and the flocks their increase; may the forests grow in strength and the forces of nature never cease—this is the petition of Him who lived and died for all. For whom is this daily bread if not for all; to whom does the earth belong if not to all?

A proposition is always proved by carrying it to its conclusion. To-day, in all countries a few own the opportunities—own the land. Let us suppose the few were reduced to one; that one man alone was the sole landlord of this earth, and all its productions were his. Then in accordance with the conditions that now exist, there need be but one petition to the Most High, which would be, "Give me this day my daily bread." If all the rest of mankind were his slaves, he would use but the few he needed to produce for his own wants; and while he might reward these few with enough to subsist on, the balance could have no access to the daily bread. The bringing of this proposition to such a conclusion would certainly disclose the wrongful condition of affairs to the rest of mankind. Perhaps the nearing of this proposition to such a conclusion is now showing the cause of poverty as it exists. No decree is more manifest in the laws of nature than this. He who labors shall have; for the earth will respond to the toiler as the day follows the night. In his primitive state, nature alone furnished supplies for the wants of man; in his civilized state,

and with vastly increased knowledge of the means of production, more can be produced than can be consumed. The markets can be glutted with the necessities and the luxuries of life. "Give us this day our daily bread," prayed the Friend of the lowly; and the centuries since have more than answered the prayer; and the few have taken the bread intended for all; and the many have struggled in vain.

There is one fundamental law in the economy of nature—every effect has had a cause. When a being is willing to take advantage of the opportunities that naturally exist, that he may obtain that which he needs, and those opportunities are denied him, the cause of his want is self-evident—the poverty that follows is but the effect. These truths are certainly self-evident; no being can exist without land and the products of land; no being can produce without the opportunity to produce; and that the right to produce in order that he may live is inherited from the Creator at the moment of the birth of every human creature. God never drew up a deed of this earth and gave it to one man, nor to twenty men, nor to a thousand men, but to all of His children that would eat their bread by the sweat of their brow. How simple are all great problems when the true solution is found.

"I want the opportunity to labor," has been the cry of thousands for ages past, and while the opportunities are locked up the cry is in vain. Open the opportunities to all, and want cannot exist. Want! it is terrible to realize that it does exist in a world of plenty. Want! that dwarfs the nature of man and woman till the criminal is their offspring; want! that spreads disease and lunacy and brings the highest to the level of the lowest; want! that pinches the heart and crushes the soul and sends forth the tramp!

"Give us this day our daily bread."

Give us this earth, our inheritance, and let the products of labor be by him who toils.

Then the darkness of night will roll away; then the cry of "Give me work" will cease in the land, and the wan and weary face of poverty shall depart from earth and progress still roll on.

H. M. TICHENOR.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

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

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

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

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

THE STANDARD,

No. 12 Union square, New York city.

MASSACHUSETTS'S NEXT GOVERNOR
James E. Russell at democratic mass meeting, Marlboro, Mass., Oct. 26.

If we get free sugar next year it will take off \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000. It makes a difference of \$1 or \$2 to each person, but the bounty paid for sugar growing offsets it.

The government taxes are laid on the consumption of the people, and not on the property. A man like Gould or Vanderbilt may live and not pay any more tax than a shoe-maker.

The country cannot be more prosperous when twenty-five or thirty such people own all the property. If property paid the tax, and a corps of assessors were appointed to lay a tax on it, whoever owned the land would have to pay the taxes.

THE DEAD PROPHET.

Your fathers killed the prophets, and ye build their sepulchers.—Jesus.

M. J. Savage.
"No man great to his valet?" That's because a valet sees with but a valet's eyes. Great is that nation, and secure its laws, Where there is wisdom to discern the wise.

Know'st thou, O Boston, there hath trod thy street

A single, plain, untitled citizen,
One who, with level eye, the gods might greet,

A saul of fire, a hero among men!

When freedom was in chains, in abject state,
With sad voice wailing her long unheard cry—

"Oh! who will plead my cause against the great?"

This young man leaped, and answered,
"Here am I!"

Society, with all its cultured power,
Old vested rights, and wealth with all its greed,

These and the church took sides in that dark hour

While wise ones sheered in that dread time of need.

He turned away from lure of wealth and page,
The great ones' patronage, his honored name;

For liberty and man, he chose disgrace,
Cast out with God and branded with His shame.

Then rose his voice in that lone wilderness
Where he with Christ and truth were wanderers long,

Snapping such music from the slave's distress
That all the world soon listened to his song.

With that rare instrument, his wondrous voice,
He played 'till, Orpheus like, all souls he charmed;

The abject sinner, prisoned ones rejoice:
His words turn men, all marshaled and all armed.

The strong-towered Jericho of ancient wrong,
They then beleaguer, marching round its walls,

His voice still chanting freedom's deathless song.
And lo, the grim inclosure shakes and falls!

When he who was cast out in his fresh youth,
While church and power and wealth be-smear'd his name,

Saw all caps flung aloft to greet his truth
And found that obloquy was now spelled fame!

Then crown him, men of Boston, 'mong the few
Who dared be right when right meant shame and loss;

He did not stand debating false and true
Till public favor glorified the cross.

Go, build his monument, ye sons of those
Who buried their stones, and words more hard to bear,

He needs it not; but as the tall shaft grows,
Learn ye the lesson that such lives declare.

WHAT HE WILL LEAVE HIS CHILDREN.

From a recent speech by General Butler before the Boston Mining Exchange.

I am invited here to make a speech, apparently by a large number of highly complimentary orators, who have left their daily business to meet me here. What shall I say to you upon subjects of which you know more than I ought to know or can know. You are children of the most remarkable city and of the most remarkable state in these forty-four United States. The wealth of your state is untold and apparently inexhaustible. In its agricultural resources it is capable of sustaining the flocks and herds necessary to feed almost the world, and would seem to be inexhaustible. No state can aim greater or more ambitious in that regard. I foresaw that condition of things, and feeling that the most valuable things to leave to my children would not be gold or silver to tempt them to spend it, or manufactures, which in many branches must quit New England, I became by purchase the owner of a very considerable ranch near Pueblo, which I, if I can, propose to hold and leave to them—showing that they can grow rich by the growth of your state, whether they do anything more than leave the land where it is.

YE, RAIN IS YET ON THE FREE LIST.

Boston Globe.

To the Editor of the Globe: Will you please let an anxious public know if rain is on McKinley's free list?

X.

Yes, and must continue to be, until the country is roofed over as well as walled in. Then the republicans will build custom houses on the roof, and put a prohibitory duty on rain, to protect the irrigation companies against the cheap competition of the clouds.

MR. GOULD'S ADVICE APPLIES TO COFFINS.

Chicago Herald.

The price of coffins has been largely increased by the McKinley bill, and Mr. Gould's advice as to suits of clothes will now have to be followed as to coffins. Whereas at the old prices a person might have had two coffins, he must now get along with only one.

RIGET YOU ARE, JAMES.

From speech by James G. Blaine.

The contest that is now waging for membership of the next congress is not properly a contest between the republican and democratic ideas. It is a contest between protectionists and free traders.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

THE POST-ELECTRIC SYSTEM.

The transportation system, known as the post-electric, consisting of an iron cylinder ten inches in diameter, and twelve feet long, running between two parallel tracks, one suspended over the other, and driven by electricity, has recently been tried with great success in an experimental plant in the suburbs of Boston. In spite of many difficulties the car was made to maintain a speed of forty-five feet a second. On spurts this speed was accelerated to the rate of two miles a minute. Much is craved about this post-electric system as yet, but experts expect to see such improvements made that will develop a marvelously swift means of freight transportation.

ELECTROPLATING FLOWERS.

The Electro-metallizing company is exhibiting natural flowers and leaves electroplated at the American institute fair in this city. By plating on roses, carnations, ears of grain and leaves, beautiful objects for decoration have been produced. The leaf or flower forming the vegetable core was burned out. If it be desired, the aperture can be filled with lead or an alloy.

NICKEL-IN-THE-SLOT PHOTOGRAPHS.

Another interesting exhibit at the American institute fair is the slot machine for taking photographs. On sitting in position, dropping a "nickel in the slot" and executing some manipulations, a photograph of the sitter is passed out.

GRANITE COMPOSITION.

A new composition is now made from finely crushed granite, which when formed into shapes by molding, and afterward burned and hardened, is to all appearances as hard and strong and durable as the solid stone itself, which it also closely resembles. It is claimed by those who have brought forward this process that all kinds of ornaments for architectural purposes, such as window caps or sills, cornices, freizes and all other articles of this nature, can be molded to accurate shapes and forms, and manufactured by this process at one-tenth the cost of cutting the same out of solid rock. They can also be vitrified so that they take on a permanent gloss as fine as polished granite, and at a mere fraction of its cost. The composition follows closely the color and texture of the stone from which it is made, Roxbury granite making a light colored block, Quincy granite a darker one, and so on. The composition can be produced from waste stone, of course, as well as any, and the process is applicable to other stones as well as granite, the stone, of whatever description, being first crushed in a stone crusher, and afterward more finely powdered by passing between iron rollers.

UTILIZATION OF FIBERS.

A new mode of treating hemp, jute and other fibers provides a cheap and useful material for the manufacture of such things as tiles and slabs and for the construction of cisterns and boats. The fibers are cut and boiled four to six hours in a strong solution of lime by steam. When thoroughly washed, the material is passed to a pulping machine, where it is treated with alum, and in some cases with animal size, and in others with vegetable or other oils. From the pulping machine it is run into receiving or storing tanks, fitted with machinery for keeping the pulp in agitation, and while therein it can be dyed. Then the pulp is pumped into vats, and from thence into wire molds, to be formed into slabs, blocks, etc., the liquor being extracted by suitable pressure. The slabs, blocks, etc., are brought into the drying room, and when dry passed through solid steel rollers four to twelve times, steeped in a warm solution of alum, and again subjected to hydraulic pressure. Then they are brought into a bath of vegetable or other oil for four to six hours, and again pressed and steam-rolled as many times as necessary. To finish the process they are dried in hot air, and in some cases passed through the rollers once more.

ARTIFICIAL SILK.

Mr. Vivier's new method of making silk out of cotton or wood cellulose, it is thought, bids fair to rival the already well known process of M. Chardonnet. The material is obtained by heating nitro-cellulose, obtained by nitration and nitridation of cotton, with a mix-

ture of acetic acid and gelatine, or other equivalent reagents. This material is transformed into pure filaments, which are a little less tenacious than natural silk, but quite as lustrous, and cost, according to the inventor, about sixty-eight cents per kilogramme, or about thirty-two cents per pound, of yarn.

IMPROVEMENTS ON STEAMSHIPS.

Sir Charles Palmer says, thirty years ago, 7,47 men were employed in British steamers per 100 tons, whereas to-day the ratio is 2.88 men per 100 tons. In 1850 the total of steam tonnage owned in Britain was 167,698 tons, and last year 4,717,730 tons.

WASHING DISHES BY ELECTRICITY.

In the Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, says the New York Evening Telegram, an electric motor is used to wash dishes. There are two tanks about twenty inches deep. The first one is filled with hot and the second with boiling water. On the sides are two propellers, exactly in shape like those of a steamship. Above is a disc and lever, such as was used in Kemler's electrocution. The dishes are put on edge in wicker crates very much like lobster pots. The attendant throws the lever across the disc, the circuit is completed and the propellers with great rapidity revolve, throwing two powerful currents from opposite directions. Soap and lye are put into the tanks and the water fairly seethes. The boiling water tank is used for rinsing and the dishes come out bright and clean.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

EXTRACT FROM HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE MELROSE, MASS., TARIFF REFORM CLUB.

The progress of our cause is manifest in the shifting positions of the advocates of protection. A free trader has ceased to be the synonyme for traitor. The home market has gained an elasticity of definition that bids fair to destroy the clubs that conjure on its name. According to Mr. Blaine, "the United States has reached the point where one of its highest duties is to enlarge the area of its foreign trade," and an extension of reciprocal exchange to other countries "is not in conflict with a protective tariff, but supplementary thereto, presenting a field of enterprise that will richly repay the effort and energy of the American people." Amen! How gracefully the English language lends itself to a reconciliation of conflicting ideas and allows a politician, under a cloud of rhetoric, to face from south to north with the assertion that it is the points of the compass that have changed. And the New York Tribune, founded by Horace Greeley, echoing Mr. Blaine, is urging "broader protection," the euphemism for freer commerce. Sherman, Hoar, Colonel Codman or Dr. Everett may ask for untrammelled trade with Canada and they will be accused of wanting to injure American labor, and it will be in order to insinuate that the Cobden club is paying the expenses of their campaign.

But Mr. Blaine can say the same thing as a protectionist, and Mr. Butterworth may urge a reciprocity treaty with all his might, and Edward L. Pierce may affirm that "the free potato is far more essential to the laboring man's breakfast than free tea and coffee, and that the same is true of eggs, as everybody knows." I have a sympathy and pity for the able men who are forced by party exigency to go through the ordeal of a political campaign attempting the task of defending the indefensible. One would think that the servitude of a term in congress would ill requite such sacrifice of sincerity which this service implies. Alas, that the biographer of Webster should imitate the weaknesses of his subject, which he so clearly saw and deprecated. The great expounder of the constitution closed his career when the party of his love and lifelong devotion was itself undergoing dissolution. If Emerson's dictum be true that "there is a speedy limit to profligate politics," is it not time that the party of Mr. Lodge should be preparing for its closing obsequies or for a change of heart? We have a singular illustration of the protective mind to the Ninth district. In 1869 John W. Candler, the present member of congress from that district, spoke these words at Chickering hall in Boston:

"Potatoes can be purchased in the provinces for about 20 cents a bushel; the duty upon them is 25 cents gold, 125 per cent tax on the first cost, and collected from the classes in the community who can least afford to pay it for their food. All of them are in a great measure cut off from commerce by this greatest humbug of the times, the tariff of the United States. * * * It seems to me more than a question of trade—it is a call of humanity for the reformer to consider. And it seems to me to be the duty of New England to enter the lists of a reform that will bring people polit-

ically divided into closer communion for the benefit of the whole. Let us commence our work by overthrowing the barriers that a mistaken policy has established between our neighbors on this continent and ourselves."

If Mr. Candler had honestly undergone a change of opinions and had replied when his speech was quoted against him, "Whereas I was once blind I now see," criticism would be disarmed. We all hold to the right to change our opinion in response to better information or an awakened conscience. But Mr. Candler says: "I have nothing to retract. I hold to the spirit of the speech if not the letter, for it is the letter that killeth." No, Mr. Candler, in this case it is not the letter that killeth, but the love of office that killeth many great and bright men. You are leaving no record of which your children will be proud, but are illustrating the "seamy side of American politics." What! extol the advantages of intercourse with our neighbors, and then vote for Chinese walls to keep us asunder! Grow sentimental over the laboring man's breakfast and the children for whom the potato goes round the table, and then support the party that shuts out the needed food! If the people have virtue they will send such candidates to Coventry instead of giving them the votes they are hoping to buy with such counterfeit coin.

You are represented in this district by a man of letters, one who is widely known as a scholar, perhaps more widely known as a "scholar in politics." We need men of letters and scholars in politics, but we may be pardoned if we exact a higher service in consequence of their advantages and culture. I do not come to sit in judgment on the scholar of Nahant, but I ask permission to quote a few sentences from the greater scholar of Concord, Ralph Waldo Emerson, which I leave you to apply without comment.

"A scholar defending the cause of slavery, of arbitrary government, of monopoly, of the oppressor, is a traitor to his profession. He has ceased to be a scholar. He is not company for clean people." * * * "The scholar is bound to stand for all the virtues and all the liberties—liberty of trade, liberty of the press, liberty of religion—and he should open all roads of nature to free competition." * * * "Reading! Do you mean that this senator or this lawyer, who stood by and allowed the passage of infamous laws, was a reader of Greek books? That is not the question; but to what purpose did they read? * * * They read that they might know, did they not? Well, these men did not know. They blundered: they were utterly ignorant of that which every boy or girl of fifteen knows perfectly—the right of men and women! * * * There is always the previous question, 'How came you on that side? You are a very elegant writer, but you can't write up what gravitates down.'"

THE SOUTHERN VIEW.

Memphis Appeal.

Every now and then the ozone is agitated by the mellifluous monotone of those jubilee singers who sound the praises of Governor Hill and magnify the volume of the Hill boom, but somehow or other there is no echo to it. Our esteemed and always outspoken confere, Mr. Charles Gordon Newman, the talented high tariff editor of the Pine Bluff Commercial, always "strikes the tune" as soon as the words of the psalm are given out, and he sings it with a vigor and persistency that is admirable, but he sings it alone. Governor Hill is a great man, a good democrat, barring his tariff ideas, and he would make a good president. He would be infinitely better than any republican that could be nominated or elected and he would make a good democratic president, but not as good as would some others. People know this, and admire the man, and if he should, by hook or crook, secure the democratic nomination, they would cheerfully support him. When his name is mentioned democratic voices are raised in his praise, but when the sober second thought comes the eyes of the people turn instinctively and with hope and confidence to the one great name, the owner of which has recently been pronounced by the first republican orator in the country, "a typical American." Grover Cleveland is the man and the great body of the democracy believe that only in this name will we conquer. He has the confidence of every man and of every party. He is the embodiment of democratic principles, and he is honest enough to proclaim them boldly, and will not alter or stoop to temporize with the enemy, nor bow to expediency while trampling upon principle. Mr. Cleveland has been cautious—too cautious and honest, perhaps—and there are those who blame him for not playing the partisan when he had the power. He did not turn the rascals out with sufficient alacrity; he did not turn the New York post office over to the hungry maw of Tammany; he did not do a good many things which he might have done, and

which some think he should have done; but one thing certain, and conspicuously to his credit, he did not sink the patriot in the partisan, nor subordinate the statesman to the politician. In the eyes of the people his omissions, instead of being sins, are shining virtues. And in spite of Hill and Tammany and tariff, he will go into the next democratic national convention with such a following as to make opposition to him futile and absurd. He is the man, and he will be the next president.

SHORT TALK FOR FARMERS.

TAXES THAT CAN KILL DOGS CAN KILL MEN.

Pa Chase is St. Louis Farmer and Breeder.

Farmers are "taxed to death." They are often taxed out of their occupation.

In old times, in Vermont the dogs were killing off our sheep. So we got the legislature to put a heavy tax on dogs.

That tax killed off the dogs and let the sheep live.

It looks as though congress, and our state legislature, were in a conspiracy to kill off the farmer for the benefit of the monopolists.

In 1857 I left Vermont and moved to Iowa. Two years before I had gone out there and bought raw prairie land.

My taxes on that 160 acres was \$8 per year.

In the spring of '57 the land was fenced, eighty acres broken, a good frame house built, and a barn.

In the fall the assessor came around and made the following inquiries.

How many acres fenced?

How many acres plowed?

How many bushels of wheat raised;

how many of corn; potatoes; tons of hay cut and in stack?

How many cows, horses and hogs?

Value of reaper, mower, plows, harrows, corn sheller, winnowing machine, etc.

Value of house, barn and furniture of house?

I did not like to have him ask these questions, because I did not like to answer them.

But I must tell the truth. Telling the truth cost me \$52. My taxes next year were \$60, and increased every year for five years, by which time I had been "taxed to death!" Yes, taxed out of my occupation, by the addition of these taxes to tariff taxes!

So I quit.

I had been punished by the state of Iowa for doing a good thing for the community.

AGAINST PROTECTION AND PLUTOCRACY.

New York Times.

Mr. Thos. B. Reed was elected speaker of the house in the present congress by a majority of 7. When the house adjourned the dictator had succeeded in making that majority 24. When the house meets in December, 1891, Mr. Reed, if he is the candidate of his party for speaker, will be defeated by a majority of at least 70. That is the response of the country to his insolent challenge to accept a house of representatives which he thanked God was no longer a deliberative body. It is the answer of the country, also, to the tariff policy of the republican party, put upon the statute book just in time to be voted on by the people, and to the force bill postponed "until after the elections." It is not so much the reversal as the indignant repudiation of the "popular verdict," which Mr. Hiscock claimed had been given in advance in favor of the McKinley bill. It is the rebuke of the nation to the party managers who had set up the golden calf of monopoly and called on the people to bow down and worship it. It is the notice to Mr. Harrison and his administration that the government of the United States cannot be bought with money or with patronage more than once by the same purchaser. In this revolution—for it is nothing less—New York takes a part proportioned to its population and its great interests. The delegation, which in the present congress was eighteen republicans to fifteen democrats, in the next will be twenty democrats to fourteen republicans, a change more than sufficient to wipe out the legitimate majority of the republicans in the present house.

THE TARIFF'S BEAUTY SPOT.

Chicago Evening Post.

Now since the tariff bill has sent The price of clothes up seven per cent, And all apparel's very sure to cost the public more, 'Tis safe to say the people will, Because of the McKinley bill, Now wear their garments somewhat longer than they have before.

And it is likely we shall see That soon the threadbare suit will be The reigning style, with seedy hat and ancient shoes to match;

While on each garment here and there In spots that have the greatest wear, 'Twill be the proper thing to have a quaking beauty patch.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

THERE ARE IN AMERICA WOMEN AND CHILDREN DYING WITH HUNGER—WITH HUNGER MADE BY THE LAWS—WORK WITH US AND WE WILL NOT REST TILL WE HAVE REPEALED THOSE LAWS.

Artemus Ward, business manager Enoch Morgan's Sons Company, New York.—In Printer's Ink, October 8, addressing advertising solicitors, says: "You sell space in papers just as legitimately as a real estate agent sells the land which Henry George dispossesses your right to transfer." We should write him explaining what it is Henry George proposes.

L. O. David, Montreal, Canada.—A leader of the national party there, and an earnest student of the labor problem. Ex-sheriff, ex member of parliament, ex-cabinet minister, though still young.

Rev. Joseph H. Allen, editor Unitarian Review, Boston, Mass.—Calls Mr. George a sophist and the single tax a scheme to throw "all the burden of taxation on farmers and homesteads."

The Christian Register, Boston, Mass.—Recently referred to a poor boy who saved part of his \$30 a month wage, bought land and recently died worth \$1,500,000, as showing "the possibilities of honest labor." We might show the Register whose honest labor it is that creates these land values and ask why it should still be given to those who do not earn it.

Rev. S. G. Weiskotten, 525 West Third street, Jamestown, N. Y.—A Lutheran, talented and progressive. Is delivering a series of sermons on "the tendencies of the times." If we impress on him the justice of the single tax, and that our Father wills that we should be equal partakers of his bounty, he will prove a valuable ally.

Frank H. Hurd, Toledo, Ohio.—Will be remembered as an eloquent advocate of absolute free trade when a free trader was thought by many a freak fit only for a museum. He recently said: "I would raise the revenues by excise taxes, by a tax on incomes over \$5,000, and if that does not produce enough, by tariff duties on articles not produced in this country, such as tea and coffee." We should show him how much better the single tax is.

Rev. J. M. Buckley, D. D., 150 Fifth avenue, New York city.—Is editor of the Christian Advocate (Methodist), which published an article on the single tax by Henry George some weeks ago. Though Mr. Buckley is not fully convinced of the feasibility of the single tax, he commented favorably on the article.

Mr. H. N. Higginbotham, northwest corner of Twenty-ninth and Michigan avenue, Chicago, Ill.

John T. Chumaseiro, 1932 Calumet avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Lyman J. Gage, 140 North State street, Chicago, Ill.

These gentlemen favor a programme recently outlined for greatly increasing the desirability of Chicago both for residence and business purposes, but "don't see where the money is to come from." We can show them that all that is needed can be drawn from the values annually created by the community.

Rev. Arthur Edwards, D. D., editor Northwestern Christian Advocate (Methodist), 57 East Washington street, Chicago, Ill.—In an editorial said: "The larger part of human suffering, and much of the vice it engenders, are preventable by improved social and industrial conditions." "When a starving family has been fed, the next duty is to ascertain whether the destitution results from any fault in the social system, or any unjust advantage over the weak taken by the strong, by which the poor are deprived of their share of nature's bounty and the product of their toil." We should assist Dr. Edwards in showing his readers that he has touched on the cause of destitution and that the single tax is its cure.

A member of our corps writes from Canada to suggest that all single taxers should ask themselves each week as they read THE STANDARD, "Who in my own circle of personal influence can I rouse to take an interest in our cause?" I hope this hint will be heeded as our triumph can be materially hastened by using to the utmost every weapon we have. It costs nothing now to join us, merely a pledge to write one letter weekly to one of

our targets and to urge all the single taxers to do the same. Illness and absence have put me away behind in my correspondence. As I will have no chance to catch up till I return from this month's trip, I trust that new recruits and those sending information will accept this as the welcome and thanks they are entitled to. W. J. ATKINSON, Box 271, Haddonfield, N. J.

CALLING FOR ORGANIZATION IN ILLINOIS.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY ISSUES A CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE SINGLE TAXERS OF HIS STATE.

Warren Worth Bailey of Chicago, member of the national committee of the Single tax league of the United States, representing Illinois, has issued the following circular letter to the single taxers of his state:

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES, NATIONAL COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, NOV. 1, 1890.

Dear Sir: The Illinois delegation to the national single tax conference at New York, September 1, did me the honor to select me to represent this state on the national committee. I cheerfully accepted the responsibility thus thrown upon me, and it is my purpose to do all that lies in my power to promote the work in Illinois and prepare the way for the great economic reform for which we stand.

But I can do nothing alone. I must have and I most earnestly bespeak the co-operation of every single tax man and woman in the state. With their assistance much can be accomplished; without it, my hands will be tied.

There is a way in which you can aid me immediately. I want to ascertain what our actual strength is. I rely upon you to give me a list of all who are with us in your county, with their addresses. Do not fear the duplication of information. Give me all the facts in your possession relating to the movement. What papers in your county and vicinity are favorable to the single tax? What ones print single tax matter? Are there papers that you know of which might be induced to give some space to a discussion of our doctrines? What has been done in your county toward organizing? Is there any reason why organization should be delayed?

I should also be pleased to have the names of single tax men who are public speakers. Information on this and other points will be received in strict confidence. You will appreciate my reasons for desiring to know who are doing and can do the talking for us.

It is the purpose of the Chicago single tax club to push an amendment to the constitution of the state on the subject of taxation. Just what form the amendment will take is not yet settled, the matter being now in the hands of a competent committee, which will report at the earliest possible moment. Meanwhile, it is desired that our friends throughout the state take up the agitation for state revenue reform, and push the subject into public notice. Let the present effort be directed to the discrediting of the existing law. It will be time enough to propose a definite plan for reform when the people get their eyes open to the viciousness of the present abortion. The farmers are already discussing taxation, and they will be ceptive to our arguments. We should find means before the assembling of the next legislature for reaching them with our literature. Whenever the opportunity presents, the alliances should be approached. They ought to be given a chance to understand what we propose, and special efforts should be directed to getting our speakers before their meetings and our arguments into their papers. The country papers should be plied incessantly with letters. I hope that you will bear this constantly in mind, and do what you can to get the tax question fairly before the farmers' organizations, with especial reference to the proposed constitutional amendment.

In my opinion the congressional petition should be vigorously pushed. Its usefulness has been great, and it may be made still greater. Do not fail to impress upon single tax men and women in your vicinity the importance of this particular work. It is one that all of us can do, and it is one whose good results are incalculable.

It was the universal expression among the members of the conference that organization was the supreme need at this juncture. Our forces should be rallied, and the standard advanced. There is certainly need of organization in this state. Illinois is far behind New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio and Indiana in this respect. Are you willing that it shall remain so? I am not, and I therefore wish to urge most strenuously on all our friends to meet and form clubs which may become affiliated with the National single tax league of the United States. Where there are only three or four single tax men in a town or locality, a committee should be formed pending the organization of a club. The name of every club and committee should appear in THE STANDARD directory.

It may be desirable at a later time this fall or early this winter to have a conference of single tax men to consider questions of immediate concern, particularly as to the proposed amendment. The Chicago club will doubtless want to get all the advice and assistance in the task of formulating the amendment

that can be had, and a conference would meet the emergency, and give us all a chance to get better acquainted and better organized for state work. Do you think such a conference advisable? If so, when do you think it should meet, and where?

Let me hear from you at once, with all the facts you can obtain and keep me posted as fully as possible as to future work and movements. If we will all pull together, we can capture this state in less than ten years; and in less than five years we can begin to enter into our heritage.

Hoping that you will give me the benefit of your advice and sympathy, so that I may be able to discharge my duties to the satisfaction of the single tax men of Illinois and of the nation, I remain yours fraternally,

WARREN WORTH BAILEY, Member for Illinois, 333 Hudson avenue.

FOR A WOMEN'S CLUB.

A CALL FOR AN ORGANIZATION MEETING ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

The discussion that has followed the convention of single tax clubs on woman's relation to the single tax has made it clear that her part in the movement ought not to be second to that of men. We believe the time has come to enlist the organized support of all single tax women. We speak not for ourselves alone, but for a number of women who recently met at the Brooklyn single tax club. They unanimously decided that a woman's organization should be formed and appointed as a committee to make the preliminary arrangements. We therefore issue the following call:

All single tax women of the city of Brooklyn and vicinity are requested to meet at the Brooklyn single tax club, 198 Livingston street, Friday afternoon, November 7, at 3 o'clock, to effect such organization.

MISS E. L. SMITH,
MRS. L. THOMPSON,
MRS. ROBT. BAKER,
MISS ELLA ROGERS.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COM., 12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, NOV. 5, 1890.

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

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

Subscriptions toward expenses of the committee's work since the last report are as follows:

A. M. Blessing, Cleveland, Ohio	\$6
W. L. Garrison, Boston, Mass.	24
James R. Carret, Boston, Mass.	60
Mark W. Cross, Boston, Mass.	60
Thomas Williamson, Lexington, Ky.	3 00
Edwin T. Clark, Malden, Mass.	3 00
Daniel J. McNally, Charlestown, Mass.	1 50
Charles G. Schaedel, Melrose, Mass.	3 00
Thomas Rushton, Sr., Malden, Mass.	3 00
Thomas Rushton, Jr., Malden, Mass.	3 00

\$166 50

Subscriptions previously acknowledged 970 40

Total \$1,136 90

Cash contributions from October 29 to November 6, are as follows:

Thomas G. Shearman, New York city	\$30 00
Miss S. M. Gay, West Brighton	1 70
Thomas W. Lodge, Gunter, Mo.	60
"M. D.," Philadelphia, Pa.	60
James R. Carret, Boston, Mass. (add)	7 00
F. M. Marquis, Grass Valley, Ore.	3 00
Miss J. A. Kellogg, Auburndale, Mass.	25

\$43 15

Contributions previously acknowledged 644 50

Total \$687 65

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	91,564
Signatures received since last report	276

Total 91,840

For news budget see "Roll of States."

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

BROOKLYN.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN TELLS OF THINGS THAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

W. F. Wilbers—in spite of the threatening clouds, every seat in Avon hall was occupied last Sunday evening, a great many of the occupants being ladies.

The address was prophetic; very encouraging to single tax advocates, especially because coming from so careful and exact a calculator as Thomas G. Shearman. Mr. Shearman's subject was "The future." He

takes an optimistic view of the present political situation.

True progress, he says, is always slow, and a step backward generally precedes any great reform. Communities, like individuals, must profit by their own mistakes. The policy of protection is now undoubtedly fastened upon the country for several years to come; and not only is the surplus of income exhausted, but unless the next congress shall devise some scheme for raising additional revenue, there will be an annual deficit of fifty millions. A tariff for revenue is now impossible. The people will never consent to raise the money by duties on tea, coffee and sugar. Therefore, the only practical plan is direct taxation; and until the people of the country are sufficiently enlightened to see the equity of the single tax on land values, this unavoidable deficit will have to be met by an income and a succession tax.

Of course such taxes will fall principally upon wealthy men, who, realizing the injustice of them, will make it their business to instruct the masses of the people in the advantages of the tax on land values, which, beside being the only equitable tax, will have the effect of forcing the improvement of the valuable lands now held out of use, thus creating an immense demand for labor, increasing wages and abolishing involuntary poverty. Thus he thinks will our present opponents become our future allies. Next Sunday night Mr. Louis F. Post will speak at the same place on protection.

J. Hickling, Brooklyn.—Mr. Thomas G. Shearman will be tendered an informal reception by the Brooklyn single tax club at No. 193 Livingston street, next Tuesday evening, November 11, at 8 p. m., when the members of neighboring clubs, their friends and ladies are cordially invited to be present.

Altona A. Chapman.—I send herewith the second installment (ten this time) on that second fifty. Prospects look good for completing the hundred by Christmas, if not sooner. Lack of time is my greatest hindrance.

NEW YORK STATE.

T. Wheaton, Troy.—I am making a campaign on Billy Radcliffe's plan. I buy two copies of THE STANDARD every week, and have four copies of "Progress and Poverty" in circulation. I am fifty-six, work ten hours a day, speak three or four nights a week, and all of us, seven in family, are fighters.

E. L. Ryder, Sing Sing.—Inclosed find four signatures which were obtained by Mr. James Malcom, an enthusiastic single tax man who is known locally as Henry George. A few hundred more men like Mr. Malcom and the single tax would be just around the corner.

WEST VIRGINIA.

SOMETHING ABOUT THE CONFERENCE PICTURE AND ABOUT THE FENCE MOTTO BRIGADE.

W. I. Boreman, Parkersburg, Oct. 27.—I received the photographs of the recent New York single tax conference this morning all safely and in good order. I see you have only one of our four West Virginia delegates. Tell THE STANDARD readers to mark on their pictures as follows: No. 131 is W. H. Curry. He is our club president, is 7 feet high lacking 1½ inches, and gained great renown in Blaine's 1884 campaign as being, with the help of a kerosene torch, a shining light for protection and America for the Americans. He now poses as a reformed republican. No. 149 is our club secretary, W. F. Thayer, and is on the single tax national committee for West Virginia. He is a washed democrat. No. 152 is W. E. Sugden. He comes by his social kicking propensities honestly, as his pa and his grandpa had to skin out of this commonwealth in "before-the-wab" days for saying out loud that nobody should own anybody else. Sugden is high boss of the fence motto brigade that between now and 1892 will cut a great figure in propaganda work. His latest efforts consist in putting a thirty-foot statement on a board fence with black and white paint, that:

THE SINGLE TAX WILL DO IT. WHAT? WHY, RAISE WAGES, DUMMY.

Then there are others of this sort: PROTECTION FOR THE MANUFACTURERS. THE POOR HOUSE FOR THE REST OF US. TARIFF ON EGGS, FIVE CENTS A DOZEN. WHOOP 'ER UP, OLD HEN, AND VOTE FOR LAIRD.

LaIRD is the protectionist lawyer candidate for legislature. He is going to ruin the man who put that last motto up.

A NEW GAME CALLED PROTECTION, OR FLEECE THE FARMER.

FARMERS' REAL ESTATE ASSESSED AT SIXTY-FIVE PER CENT, AND TOWN LOT SPECULATORS' VACANT LAND ASSESSED AT TEN PER CENT. VOTE FOR THE IMPROVEMENTS AND MORE TAXES.

Not one farmer in ten takes a paper, and if he does like enough it is a lying protectionist one; but the fence mottoes stare him in the face on every county road leading into town.

We are working a boss scheme in this state in regard to assessments. The farmers will all be on our side now. We are using the fences and the county democratic paper to show up the unfair assessments on land in the country compared to assessments made on town lots. We also dwell on the point that taxes should be laid where the benefit goes. The better class of farmers are already writing letters to the papers here, and it is having a good

effect. The democratic county convention contained a plank promising a reform in this matter, and we single taxers are expecting a lively, hot fight on it. We'll do the "sic-'em-on" act to the best of our ability.

We have a single tax man on the democratic legislative ticket. The "protectors" are working the single tax racket against him for all it's worth, which just suits us, you may be sure.

Tell Mr. Altemus (in the conference picture) that if he will get off of No. 19's left shoulder with about fifty pounds of his avoirdupois that No. 19 will not throw such a lock of anguish in his countenance, nor let the reflex action from the junction of the cobblestones with his glutei maximi muscles histe up his (No. 19's) big toe so high. W. I. BOREMAN.

Thad. A. Dean, Parkersburg.—Single taxers are coming to the front here much to the disgust of machine politicians of both old parties.

Thomas Hulton, Fire Creek.—The people whom I approach sign the petition as fast as I show it. To say it goes like hot cakes wouldn't half explain it.

MICHIGAN.

MARTIN WILLIAMS CONVERTING THE MICHIGANDERS.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian.—I am sure some of our friends want to know something of the work of H. Martin Williams in Michigan. Here is a message I received from Palmyra, the morning after he made his first speech in Lenawee county:

Had the best meeting last night we have ever had in this village. Larger by more than one hundred than any meeting held here this year. Two hitherto strong republicans tell me they can now vote for free trade with a clear conscience, and if the election was held to-morrow the village would go democratic—usually 125 republican.

I drove thirty-five miles yesterday with Mr. Williams, covering two townships. He makes two speeches a day. His evening meeting at Addison was one of the best he has yet addressed. He talked the purest kind of free trade for two straight hours, and made a remarkable impression. At the conclusion of his speech a young man arose from the audience and said: "Mr. Williams, you have said you would abolish all tariffs, custom houses, etc., and after hearing your argument I am with you up to that point. But now tell me, how would you then raise the revenue needed for governmental expense?"

And all your readers know what followed—a clear, concise statement of the single tax theory, expounded for the first time in that locality; and of the three or four hundred farmers present not one "took to the brush."

Mr. Williams closes Saturday night at Clinton, making ten speeches in all.

N. Markle, Detroit.—Though I have been silent and have not sent any slips for some time, I have not been idle, nor have I left any stone unturned that I was able to turn. The single tax is growing here beyond our comprehension. People are getting anxious to understand it. I congratulate you upon the success of the conference, and herewith send you twenty-four slips.

TEXAS.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM McLENNAN COUNTY ASKS THE ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION—H. F. RING DELIGHTED WITH THE CONFERENCE.

J. L. Caldwell, Mart.—Inclosed find several petitions. It is no trouble to get them when I can think to ask for them. I would suggest the plan of having a book of blanks at all times in the pocket, and resolve that every time the single tax is mentioned to ask for signatures.

Our cause is gaining—many quietly swinging into line hereabouts. Many expressions of taxing the land and exempting improvements are heard from persons who would refuse to be called Henry George men or single taxers. Being in the air they catch the infection, but don't know how. Some of us do, though.

Our presiding elder, Sam P. Wright, recently preached his "four T's" sermon, "Time, Talents, Tongue and land Titles," at a joint quarterly and holiness meeting, to a very large and intelligent congregation. He said he was no Henry George man, though Mr. George has said a great many good things; but—well it was as good a single tax sermon as the most ardent would require, and two or three of us on the right responded with hearty and very audible Amens. He turned to the other side, and said, "Why don't you on the left say Amen, too? Well, in less than five years you will."

The Waco board of trade, on the night of 2d, met to help build a new railroad, and the following is part of the proceedings, as given in the Evening News:

Mr. Bart Moore agreed with Mr. Brenstedt as to the assessment being on real estate only. He thought as real estate reaped the most benefit, the assessment should be levied on real estate only. Colonel Prather was of the same opinion.

Mr. Moore is the principal wholesale grocer of the city; Mr. Brenstedt the leading hardware merchant, and Mr. Prather a leading lawyer and land owner, and all are level headed business men.

Right here let me say is a need which



The Century Magazine in 1891.

The recent remarkable serial successes of this magazine,—the famous War Papers, Kennan's Siberian Articles, and the Life of Lincoln,—will be continued in the coming volume (the forty-first) by "The Gold Hunters of California," a series of separate illustrated papers on the gold fever of '49, telling of the discovery of gold, the movement to California (by survivors of various expeditions), life in the mines, the Vigilance Committees (by the chairman of both committees), and many other incidents of that exciting period, including a paper by General Fremont.

Another notable feature will be the publication of extracts from advance sheets of the Talleyrand Memoirs soon to be issued in book-form in Paris, the manuscript of which has been secretly preserved for more than half a century,—to be printed first in an American magazine.

Other interesting serials include "An American in Tibet," papers describing a remarkable journey, 700

miles of which was over ground never before traveled by a white man; "Personal Traits of Lincoln," by his private secretaries, Messrs. Nicolay and Hay; "Adventures of War Prisoners," experiences of Union and Confederate soldiers during the civil war; "American Newspapers," described by noted journalists; "American and English Frigates in the War of 1812"; "Indian Fights and Fighters," by officers who served with Custer, Mackenzie, Crook and Miles; "The Court of the Czar Nicholas," by an ex-minister to Russia; suggestive papers on the Government of Cities; a series of engravings of noted pictures by American Artists; the "Present-Day Papers," by Bishop Potter, Seth Low, and others. Fiction includes "The Faith Doctor," a serial novel of New-York life by Edward Eggleston; "The Squirrel Inn" by Frank R. Stockton, and novellettes and short stories by nearly all the leading writers, Joel Chandler Harris, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Brander Matthews and many others.

The November Number.

which begins the new volume, contains opening chapters of several important serials, including General John Bidwell's account of "The First Emigrant Train to California" (1841), "An American in Tibet," "Early Victories of the American Navy," and "Colonel Carter of Cartersville," a delightful illustrated novelette by F. Hopkinson Smith. Also "Life in the White House in the Time of Lincoln" by Col. John Hay, "On the Andersonville Circuit" by an ex-Union prisoner, "How London is Governed," "The Printing of THE CENTURY," two complete stories, etc. Nearly one hundred illustrations. Ready everywhere Nov. 1st. Begin subscriptions with November; \$1.00 a year, single numbers 35 cents. Subscribe through dealers and postmasters, or send remittance directly to the publishers.

THE CENTURY CO. 33 EAST 17TH STREET N.Y.

should be supplied—that is, a tract got up for boards of trade. It should show the advantages of exempting merchandise, houses, factories, and all industries that receive no benefit from public improvements, and putting the tax on land values only, which do receive all the benefits of such improvements. I know of no better way of working, for the amount of cost. Boards of trade are composed mainly of merchants, and the most intelligent of their calling, and the single tax being altogether to their interest—directly and indirectly—we might reasonably hope for rapid spread of our doctrine through that channel, by a carefully prepared appeal to them. Being out of order to discuss a question not before the house, I beg to offer the following:

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

The architect of the Minneapolis democratic platform and the author of the worldwide "Case Plainly Stated," and the rustling paralyzer of the hostile Dakotas, ought to form a committee equal to the occasion. Let Brother Buell write it up and submit it to the others for amendment and approval. Are you ready for question?

I hope there are a large supply of THE STANDARD double number. I shall want myself a hundred copies.

Our Mr. Ring was so delighted with the conference that he has remitted to the association the funds supplied him to pay his expenses to the conference. He said it was worth a good deal more than it cost. No better appointment on the national committee could have been made from Texas. Friend Ring has not only been an indefatigable worker, but a discreet, wise and efficient one.

James Charlton, Houston.—I inclose you four more signatures to the congressional petition from this city. We are working slowly. We single taxers have, led by the undaunted H. F. Ring, just scored first blood in a fight against a grasping street railway company and its friends and beneficiaries, the property (land) owners. They asked for an extension of their franchise of twenty-six years, making it, with present grant inclusive, to expire fifty years from date, on consideration of their putting in electricity in places of mules as motive power. We raised such a racket about their ears that they were glad to compromise on a reduction of fifteen years, and an agreement on the cost of keeping up two are lights at all bridges they cross, and to pay for all paving within, and twelve inches outside, of their rails. We believe our effort as single taxers, by the reduction of time of the grant, will be worth to

the inhabitants of this city hundreds of thousands of dollars. We are anxiously looking to the coming of the prophet of San Francisco.

R. B. Hollingsworth, Shiner.—Twenty-nine petitions. No. 1 is a prominent lawyer of San Antonio and an ex-attorney-general of this state; also an ex-United States district judge of Montana; also an old schoolmate of mine. No. 2 is a Methodist minister (German). No. 3 is a merchant and landowner. No. 4 is father of one of the largest landowners in this part of the state, a prominent Methodist and eighty-six years old. No. 5 is tax assessor of his county; I met him at San Antonio. No. 6 is a railroad agent. No. 7 is a merchant. I went to the San Antonio fair. Advocating the cause led to pleasant conversation. I distributed a few tracts and all the STANDARDS I had on hand; and also had a copy of "Progress and Poverty" along, which I handed to a popular real estate man, asking him to read the comments of the press, published on a fly leaf. I sold to a large landowner and lumber merchant of Shiner, and the most outspoken and bitterest opponent I have met of the single tax, a copy of "Progress and Poverty." He says he has read some papers I have furnished him. He wishes to investigate further, for he says these single taxers are either very smart or have a good cause.

MAINE.

F. D. Lyford, Auburn.—At a meeting of the Auburn single tax club the platform adopted by the national convention was indorsed, and it was voted that the club join the national league of single tax clubs.

MASSACHUSETTS.

R. Scott, Whitman.—We are going to chip in and have some petitions printed asking our local papers to publish single tax matter, and we are going to circulate them for signatures. We shall keep on meeting every week, chipping in what we can till we get enough to hire a hall and get a speaker, where we shall invite the co-operation of sympathizers. There are many single tax men in town, but we can't seem to get our hands on them. I think after we have had our speaker we can report a good club. I think a cut badge or button would be a good thing. I would not be surprised if our local assembly of the Knights of Labor would instruct the secretary to ask our local papers to publish single tax matter.

J. N. Ryder, Wakefield.—Inclosed you will find two petitions. One of these you will see is from your state—a peddler. I go for all of those kind when they come into the shop where I work.

D. Webster Groh, Boston.—The last few meetings our Question club has been crowded

to the door to hear the debate on the tariff. At the Boston young men's congress last Monday evening, a resolution to indorse the McKinley bill and the first session of the Fifty-first congress was defeated by a vote of 28 to 15, after having been debated three evenings. A few years ago the congress was strongly republican. This is a strong showing how the wind blows among the young men.

Sunday, a week, the rain interrupted our single tax meeting on the common, but last Sunday being fair, though cool, we put in a full afternoon there again, talking single tax to a large and interested audience.

RHODE ISLAND.

S. T., Providence.—The Evening Telegram of October 29 published our petition to congress at the request of a Boston letter writer, giving the printed matter on both sides. It was at head of column, next editorial matter. A letter from Ambrose Strong, Cincinnati, was also published in the same issue.

Dr. William Barker, Providence.—Dr. L. F. C. Garvin and I are to make a team for propaganda work this winter, lecturing wherever we can get an opportunity on the great question. We shall soon begin our campaign, and we hope to set some sluggish minds to thinking.

CONNECTICUT.

Thomas Fisher, Snaker Station.—I have done all that is in my power to do to help the cause up to the present time, and will continue to do so, God helping me.

NEW JERSEY.

George R. Webb, S. T., Orange.—Please find inclosed eight signed petitions to the single tax. You will see they are from different places—Orange, West Orange, Newark and Brookfield. You can see that I present them wherever I am, and as a general thing meet with success.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BRADFORD, Pa., Oct. 27.—My father was a Lincoln republican, and I was brought up in that faith and voted that ticket. I honestly believed in a protective tariff, chiefly because it was the policy of the party, and I repelled any doubt or question as to its justice and the benefits resulting from it. But now after three years of reading and study I am thoroughly in favor of free trade. But I cannot be a republican and believe in free trade. A recent article in the Philadelphia Enquirer on the "Free trade exodus" forces free traders out of the republican party with these words: "Not the least important result of Mr. Cleveland's candor, for which the republicans are duly thankful, is that free traders have now no excuse for remaining in the republican party. There was a time when free traders might vote the republican ticket because the democrats hedged on the free trade question. * * * Here and there they (free traders) are dropping out of the republican lines, and it must be said that republicans are as glad to have them go as the democrats are to get them." Therefore, I shall vote with the democrats.

E. J. BOYLSTON.

J. A. Stout, Custer City.—Please find inclosed twelve petitions to show for ten minutes' work. There is no trouble to get signatures at present.

DELAWARE.

George W. Kreer, Wilmington.—We held a meeting here last Monday night for the purpose of forming a single tax club. The meeting was rather small, but we formed an organization all the same, naming it the Single tax association of Wilmington. Your humble servant was elected president and Mr. Frank L. Reardon secretary. I would thank you to see that these facts are inserted in the next issue of THE STANDARD, together with the request that all single tax men are urgently requested to be present at our next meeting, which takes place Monday evening, November 10 at 8 o'clock, at 604 Market street, and that Mr. McWilliams of Rockland, with every single tax man of that place, will be present.

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Oct. 31.—Mr. Benjamin Reese, who was to have addressed our club yesterday evening on "The Railroad Problem," was called out of the city on business a few days ago and was obliged on that account to postpone his lecture until November 20. In his absence, the club engaged in a general discussion that took a pretty wide range and became exceedingly interesting. Messrs. Phillips, White, Malcolm, Place, Ripley, Devanion and others participating, the question at issue being: How far may one go toward state socialism and remain a single taxer? The conclusion from the argument seemed to be very clear that in going toward socialism at all one was going away from the principle of the single tax. The one meant restriction, the other freedom; and it was impossible to travel toward one without deserting the other. Several strangers were present, and one or two of them joined in the debate.

A few replies have been received to the letter of inquiry sent out by the club to candidates for the legislature regarding a constitutional amendment on the subject of

taxation. The replies were altogether favorable and I believe if the inquiry had been sent out sooner that the results would have been very encouraging. But even as the case stands the outlook for some changes for the better in our revenue system is quite hopeful, and I desire again to urge our friends throughout the state to look alive. The issue is upon us and it will be our own fault if we do not get action from the incoming legislature which will repay us for all our exertions. The farmers have already declared emphatically for state revenue reform; the labor organizations are with us; several prominent newspapers are outspokenly in favor of a new method of taxation; and it will require only a determined push on our part to get the whole question into practical politics, with the chances flittingly on our side.

Mr. E. O. Brown was at Peoria last week, and partial arrangements were made for him to speak there, but the circumstances were rather against the brethren, and they missed a treat. Mr. Brown spoke before the Social science club Wednesday evening to a critical audience, and fairly outdid himself. Mr. Brown will go to Washington in a few days to argue a case before the supreme court. The brethren in that city should take the hint and get him to speak for them while he is there. I understand that he is always willing to talk when the opportunity is afforded him.

The dates filed for lectures before our club are: November 6 Mr. Charles Newburgh of Washington, D. C., on "The Malthusian Theory," November 20, Mr. Benjamin Reese on "The Railroad Problem."

Charles J. Johnson, Chicago.—It is some time since you have heard from me but I have not given up the work, though I can not do much; but I intend to do all I can for the cause. I send you twenty-five more signatures and will send more as soon as I can get them.

KENTUCKY.

Ivy H. Teel, Bowling Green.—I have tracts in the hands of quite a number of district school teachers attending the Normal school, as well as among prominent members of the Knights of Labor and among a few ministers and prominent laymen. I have just received a letter from a young school teacher, who says he has lost all his republican ideas (protection ideas), and is a thorough convert of the single tax, for which he blames me.

TENNESSEE.

Bolton Smith, Memphis.—When THE STANDARD printed my circular to the single tax men of Tennessee you cut off the heading. The result is that such friends as might desire to open correspondence with me knew of no place to address me. I would all friends interested in organization in Tennessee to write me at room 4, Collier block, Memphis, Tenn.

IOWA.

J. Hagerty, Burlington.—Find within eight signatures to the petition to congress. The following resolution passed by the board of trade speaks for itself:

Which is the wiser policy, to provide employment for our producing classes so that they may during the winter support themselves and furnish employment for all of us, or support them in idleness by charity.

Resolved, That every member of the board of trade be, and he is hereby invited to bring his answer, oral or written, at the next meeting of this board.

This resolution was unanimously adopted. I being a member of the board made my answer in a fifteen minutes' address and got in good work for the single tax. The dailies of both political parties spoke of it as "eloquent," "forceful," "logical," "original," and so forth. During its delivery a couple of speculating "owners" of good slices of Burlington conversed audibly, but I shouted so as to be heard, and was heartily applauded by the business element which largely predominate in the board. I would recommend to our friends everywhere the advantage of joining business organizations for the opportunities they give of drawing attention to unjust and stupid laws.

J. Hagerty, Burlington.—Following W. J. Atkinson's index, I fired at the fifteen targets named in THE STANDARD of 15th, and the first echo heard from was Hon. Albert Schaffer, St. Paul, Minn., whose signature was promptly placed on the blank petition I sent him. I trust that the same signature will ere long be written under an act of the Minnesota legislature, enacting the single tax a law of that progressive young commonwealth.

A petition blank makes good wadding for a shot at most of our targets. Ladies, who might otherwise be deterred from writing to strangers, might simply inclose a blank with a polite request that it be read and returned signed. No gentleman will ignore such request from a lady. Woman is, as she ever has been, a most valuable ally in reform movements. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was a mighty help to the abolitionists of a generation ago.

MISSOURI.

Thomas W. Lodge, Gunter.—How poor the majority of us out here are you have no conception; many have even less than I, and yet I've only thirty-seven acres in all of good arable land, off which you'll admit it is hard work to feed and clothe twelve people!

And it looks as if "the Lord" was going to add another "olive branch or two" to our bundle in three or four months; but, being a good Irishman, I'm no ways skeered at that! I inclose sixty cents in postage stamps, and only leave it to yourself whether you put it to the enrolment fund, or just what you consider best for our cause. God knows when I'll be able to send you even as much again. We haven't had a hog to sell, or a bushel of corn or wheat either, off this farm for the last six or seven years, over and beyond what just bought the coarsest and cheapest of clothing and shoes for our selves and children. The half of them at present have to go "bare foot" to school yet; but fortunately the school house isn't over one-quarter of a mile off across the fields. Now, you may easily see how Tom Lodge, for one, is not and has not been for these many years a victim of "over production!" Nor are my neighbors, either; yet lots of them still worship "the grand old party!"

Dr. L. C. Stolte, Kansas City.—Inclosed please find eight signatures. I suppose I have sent in at least 200 signers so far. Single tax booming here; have no trouble getting signers.

Tom Lodge, Gunter.—I walked in to hear Representative Heard of this district talk on "The burning issues," at Linn Creek, on the 25th inst., and was greatly pleased. He is a young man lately from Nevada, who has opened store at Linn Creek, and he and his partner, Mr. A., are "Cleveland democrats." They took much interest in what I said about the single tax, and Mr. M. asked me to get him a copy of "Protection or Free Trade."

GEORGIA.

F. Warder, Brunswick.—The inclosed signatures to the petition are mostly from K. of L. Most of the signers are only transient residents of this place. The probabilities are that within twelve months the majority will have gone away. This seems to be the case with all mechanics through the south.

The two signatures with corners turned down are the most important. Number 1 has great influence among workmen, and is a fairly able speaker. He will leave in the spring probably for New York. But No. 2 is the best man secured yet. He sees the cat, is enthusiastic and is getting many signatures. He is an alliance man, and has all my farmers' tracts, which he goes out of his way to distribute. Being a Methodist and a member of McKay F. McCook's (a single taxer) church, he sees the ethical side of the question, and I think as long as he lives he will stand for our principles through thick and thin. It was only yesterday I heard a man charge him with being a "regular Henry George" man. "Yes," he replied, "and I am proud of it," and he looked proud, too.

ALABAMA.

Wm. L. Keife, Birmingham.—Birmingham will very soon have a single tax club; and rest assured the good cause will march to the front on every possible occasion. We are proud to have Mr. Cleveland to honor us Alabamians by opening up, by telegraph, our state fair. We hope to have him return to the White house when the country has decided the fate of protectionists.

CALIFORNIA.

C. A. Rohrabacher, San Francisco.—It occurs to me some of your readers will be interested to know how the McKinley exclusion bill works out on the Pacific coast. Grape growers have been told that the sweet wine clause was designed for their especial benefit. At Irvington, Alameda county, one of the leading sweet wine makers of the state pays \$10 per ton for Muscat grapes. A ton makes 100 gallons of wine. This is, I learn, the lowest price every paid for the kind and quality of grape in California. The Mission grape, from which brandy is made, sells as low as \$8 per ton and produces about 100 gallons of brandy. I have seen no part of our country so greatly in need of the single tax as California. Idle land, which, touched by the magic hand of labor, would produce prunes, is valued at from \$300 to \$500 per acre.

I am but a sojourner here, and have not met the well known single taxers of the coast; but I have met some earnest thinking men who are spreading the new gospel. In fact, I have learned to expect to find them everywhere. Verily the light is breaking.

NEW MEXICO.

R. M. Gilbert, Seven Rivers.—I am doing good at every chance. Men are beginning to think as they see all of the best lands and the water gobbled up by rich land stealers.

A NOBLE SENTIMENT.

In his letter accepting the democratic nomination for the Seventh Massachusetts congressional district, Hon. Jonas H. French said:

I accept your nomination, and should it be ratified at the polls, I pledge you my earnest effort to promote your material interests, and to do what I can in my humble way to bring back the government to the foundations of genuine Jeffersonian democracy.

WHAT HE BELIEVES IN.

From the Minneapolis speech by Congressman Mills, I believe in free trade, free labor, free speech and a free press.

RALSTON.

SAN FRANCISCO, 1872.

A. Werner in A Time and Times.

What were his thoughts as he went that day,
With the swinging step and the quiet eye,
Down to Potrero by the bay—
Down to the shore at noon to die!

Not a man to pity, maybe,
Not a life that you'd think so fair;
Not a tragedy hero he,
This California millionaire.

He'd played with his thousands as they were
dust;

He'd staked and won, and had had his
fling;

And the end had come, as ever it must,
And this was his day of reckoning.

He stepped to the Bank that day from his
house,

Handed in his resignation, they say,
And crushed his hat down over his brows,
And then he went down to the baths in the
bay.

A strong, bold man, and he loved the sea—
And the salt spray would cool his weary
brain—

So they said who watched him—but he
Never swam to the shore again.

Cowardice?—maybe—but who shall dare
To track the way that his wild thoughts
ran?

Was it the pride that could not bear
To face the world as a ruined man?

Or was it that, in his bitter shame
For the good he'd meant, and the ill he'd
done,

He would be beforehand with this world's
blame,

Nor longer live in the face of the sun?

Was it . . . ? He's past our wonderings:
Needs not our verdict on either side . . .
Wonder what now he thinks of these things,
Lying so still in the wash of the tide!

ITS EFFECT UPON THE SOUTH.

Boston Post.

One effect of the McKinley bill of considerable moment is its influence upon the south. In 1888 there existed an undoubted sentiment in that section in opposition to tariff reform as presented by President Cleveland and the Mills bill. This sentiment was strongest in those sections where manufacturing industries were being developed. Now the Atlanta Constitution, the most influential representative of the high protection sentiment of two years ago, declares that the belief upon which it was based exists no longer. "It was a fond belief," says the Constitution, "but it has been cured by this infamous measure. Hereafter the whole south must stand together in favor of a reform of the tariff that shall be as extreme in the direction of removing from the people and from all business interests the burdens of tariff taxation as this McKinley law is in the direction of imposing them."

SCOTT'S EMULSION

DOES CURE CONSUMPTION

In its First Stages.

Be sure you get the genuine.

LOVELY AS A ROSE!

As we gaze upon a new-blown rose, we involuntarily exclaim, "How lovely!" Our admiration is excited by the color and delicate tints of the flower. So it is with

A Beautiful Maiden.

Her clear velvet-like skin and peach-bloom complexion fascinate us. These exquisite charms always result from the use of

GLENN'S SULPHUR SOAP.

A never-failing remedy for removing all imperfections from the skin and making the complexion

PEERLESSLY BEAUTIFUL.

FOR SALE BY ALL DRUGGISTS. BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.
Glenn's Soap will be sent by mail for 30 cts. for one cake, or 75 cts. for three cakes by G. N. CHITTENTON, Sole Proprietor, 115 Fulton Street, New York City.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

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

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

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

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

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

COLORADO.

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

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

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

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

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

CONNECTICUT.

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

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 104 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day.

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 604 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

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

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

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

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

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 165 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

CLINTON.—Single tax club. Sunday afternoon, 8 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McWhinnery; vice-pres., J. M. Scherzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Sunday, 8 p. m., Manor hall, N. E. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., A. V. Hahn; sec., Chas. Kraus.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. E. Schneider, 105 South 3d st.; sec., M. Riche, 915 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 N. 5th st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wm. A. Hanna, 300 Hedge ave.

ALBION.—Single tax club. Pres., H. H. Albion; box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club. Second and fourth Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m.; 7th Sixth st. Pres., Chas. G. Bennett; sec., J. E. Hadden, 386 W. 10th st.

ALLERTON.—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirley.

MARSHALLTOWN.—Single tax committee. Pres., James Hagg; sec., Hans Erickson.

MAISON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osburn's office. Pres., J. A. Noraman; sec., J. R. Mott.

SIoux CITY.—Single tax committee, first and third Monday each month. Pres., Jas. A. Ford, 216 Nebraska st.; sec., E. H. Hoffman, Hotel Boaga.

KANSAS.

ABILENE.—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

GROVE HILL.—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday night at 8 p. m. at Natchez st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 128 7th st.

LEWISTON.—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p. m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John W. Jones, 29 N. Caroline st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1433 Baltimore st.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Industrial hall, 313 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax association of East Baltimore. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. Pres., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st., Boston; sec., G. K. Anderson, 30 Hanover st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st.

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

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Pres., Ed. Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carre, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Roman, 250 Ruggles st.

STONEHAM.—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 381 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

WORCESTER.—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

LAWRENCE.—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Meetings first Monday evening of each month in Lyric hall, Bank building. Pres., A. H. Grimke, 60 Milton av.; sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

MARLBORO.—Single tax club. Pres., G. A. E. Reynolds, 14 Franklin st.; sec., Chas. E. Hayes.

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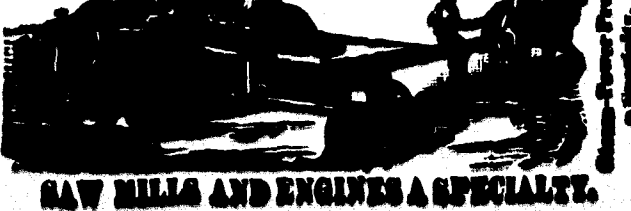
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