

THE STANDARD

NO. 134---VOL. VI, NO. 4.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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

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

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

HENRY GEORGE IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, Saturday, July 13.—I expect to sail in the Umbria from Liverpool next Saturday. The Umbria is likely to get into New York harbor on Sunday, the 28th, though if she makes a specially good trip she may land us on Saturday night.

I go to London to-morrow morning, and shall be busy there, seeing various friends until Thursday, when there will be some sort of little farewell ceremonial, after which I will go to Liverpool where I am to speak for the Financial reform association in the Rotunda, and the next morning take ship. I have missed William Lloyd Garrison here, but hope he will be with us both at London and Liverpool. He will get a warm welcome from our friends here.

For four weeks now I have found it impossible to write for THE STANDARD. It is impossible to say all I would like to say, consecutively and in detail, so that I will merely jot down some notes.

The conference at Paris was a success, and accomplished all that Mr. Saunders or I expected from it and more. It would have been better, I think, to have adhered to the original intention and waited till this month, as more Americans would have been present, but as it was there were some of our single tax people present. W. E. Hicks of Brooklyn, William S. Sims of New York, and John T. Hopper of the Harlem single tax association, who, together with a number of our English friends, came forward liberally to make up the deficiency in finances. We expected nothing more than to make the acquaintance and exchange ideas with some of the continentalists who are inclined our way, and this we did, although the difficulty of tongues was very much in the way of those who, like Mr. Saunders and myself, understood but one language. A report of the conference itself has been given to the readers of THE STANDARD by Mr. Hicks. Owing to the serious illness of one of my daughters I was unable to be present during the greater part of the proceedings, but was able to make a short speech. The banquet in the evening was a really splendid and spirited affair. Of the differing schools of land reformers who were represented at the conference those who came nearest to the single tax idea seemed to be the advocates of the metrical ax, represented by MM. Simon and Toubeau, with whom I conferred a good deal during my subsequent stay in Paris. In fact, the only difference

is as to the method of assessment. What they want to accomplish is to free industry of all taxation, and to give the holder of land assurance that he may improve to the utmost without increasing his taxes. To this end they propose to divide land into different classes according to the elements of value, and impose within each class a tax according to area, so that highly improved land shall bear no greater tax than unimproved or poorly improved land, and full incentive be given to the highest cultivation and the largest improvement. These men are absolute free traders and would remove every barrier to the free play of productive forces. They would abolish monopoly, but have no fear of capital under conditions of freedom, and unlike Herr Flurscheim, who thinks that the appropriation of land values by the community would abolish interest by depriving capitalists of the opportunity to invest capital in buying land, and thus produce a plethora of capital, they believe as I do, that the vast increase in the opportunities for the profitable employment of labor would greatly increase the demand for capital and thus tend to the increase, not the decrease, of interest.

My good Hollander friend, Jan Stoffel, whose acquaintance I made in Paris, and for whom I took a great liking, has become a disciple of Herr Flurscheim. He has got up a single tax scheme for Holland which seems to me a very curious affair. I cannot remember the exact proposition, but this is the general idea: The government is to borrow at three per cent and pay all landholders a certain proportion of the value of their land. Then it is to impose a tax on land values to that proportion. This, destroying the value of land ownership to that extent as an investment, is to produce a decline in interest. Then the government is to borrow again at two and one-half per cent, pay another proportion of the value of their land to the landowners, and impose another installment of the single tax. This is to produce another fall of interest to two per cent, when the government is to borrow again, and repeat the same operation and so on until interest goes down to zero, when the government can borrow for nothing, and while the ex-landholders may be paid off in what would yield them no income, the government will have all the income which is to be derived from the ownership of the land.

I mildly suggested to Mr. Stoffel several snags which seemed to me to lie in the path of his scheme, but without making much impression. In fact I did not try very hard, for I think he will before long see them for himself.

I have met a good many men who thought interest was bad and wrong. But I have yet to meet one who has any plan for abolishing it unless the socialistic notion of making the government the sole owner and the sole user of capital can be called a plan. And if any one is disposed to think that the abolition of monopoly will bring interest to an end, it is hardly worth while to dispute about what is then a speculative matter. For if interest be unjust, that is to say unnatural, we have but to give freedom and it will disappear. If, on the contrary, it be just, that is to say natural, it is impossible to abolish it.

Of course the loose thinking as to capital and interest on the continent and

elsewhere comes from the failure to discriminate as to what is and what is not really capital, and is born of the habit of speaking of all rich men as capitalists. But there, as elsewhere, thought on such subjects is being aroused. When our ideas get fairly before the people they will make their way.

Certainly there are object lessons enough. Paris is a beautiful city, but the great improvements which have made Paris so beautiful have all exemplified how the pecuniary benefits of such improvements go to the owners of the land. Under the third Napoleon the imperial ring made enormous fortunes by buying land where avenues were to be cut or other improvements made, while a debt was piled up, the interest on which is defrayed by taxation that falls on the cost of living.

I wish Horace White and some of the other tariff-for-revenue-only men, who, at the Chicago tariff reform convention last winter were so horrified by the idea that free trade meant no tariffs at all, were to stand at the gates of Paris awhile and watch the operations of a tariff for revenue only, for that the octroi is. Not a basket can come in but what it is examined and a few coppers in duty collected; not a wagon or cart pass but what its contents are hauled over and long steel probes stuck into bags of beans or bales of hay; not a piece of meat or bottle of wine or faggot of sticks but what must pay duty for revenue only, for they do not manufacture such things in Paris, and there is no pretense of protection, except the protection of certain interests against the taxes they would have to pay if those onerous taxes were abolished.

I very much enjoyed my visit to Amsterdam. The low countries were beautiful in the glorious June weather, and the famous old city, with its canals, and sloping houses, and galliots and galliot built yachts, and great museum where the models of the ships with which Van Tromp swept the English channel, a broom at his masthead, and its pictures of old guild feasts, in which citizens dead these hundreds of years yet seem to live, was full of interest to me. I met with a warm reception there and spoke to a large and very intelligent audience in a beautiful hall. The audience seemed to fully understand me, for I presume no one who could not understand English came, and English is largely studied in Amsterdam. To make sure, however, Mr. Stoffel gave an abstract of what I said, in Dutch.

I left London for Belfast last Tuesday evening in company with Silas M. Burroughs and Charles L. Garland, president of the New South Wales single tax league. It was the worst night in the year for Belfast, for it was not merely mid-summer, but the eve of the battle of the Boyne, and the large Ulster hall was not as crowded as when I spoke here before in the winter, for the Orangemen were all busy in getting ready their drums and regalia for the great annual event of the next day. The meeting was a most sympathetic and enthusiastic one, however, and gave abundant evidence that the advance of sentiment of which my English meetings gave such proof has been going on this side of the Irish sea. Rev. Bruce Wallace presided, and both Mr. Garland and Mr. Burroughs made good speeches. We met here James P.

Archibald of New York, who is organizing branches of the Knights of Labor on this side.

Wednesday we went to Toome bridge at the foot of Lough Neagh, where, in Moore's melody, the fisherman strays as the cool, clear eve's declining, but where now-a-days Colonel Bruce pays the O'Neill family £1,200 a year for the privilege of catching eels, and where they told us how three fishermen, who had been catching eels in defiance of the legal rights of the O'Neill family, were caught between a storm on the lake and the royal Irish constabulary on the shore, and, preferring to take the risks of the waves rather than the risks of a prison, were drowned. Here we spoke in the Temple of Liberty, an edifice which it would take Mark Twain to adequately describe. It is a large hall with absolutely no ventilation except the one front door, embellished with the most astonishing frescoes of Venus, Jupiter, Mars, Samson, Solomon, and such like, and having in front of it the queerest carved dog to represent watchfulness and the queerest sheep to represent innocence, that were ever beheld. It is however a grand hall in that part of the country where halls are very scarce.

Here we talked to an audience of the kind I like to talk to—the country people of the neighborhood, most of them farmers and laborers.

On Friday Mr. Archibald went on to Derry, and Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Garland and I came back to Belfast, where we saw the great Orange celebration, after which they took the coast route while I came on direct to Dublin to attend a gathering of the Contemporary club, called to meet me.

Last night—for as I write it is Sunday morning—I spoke in the Rotunda, with Michael Davitt in the chair. The meeting was a great one, the Rotunda being packed, and nothing could exceed the warmth of the reception which they gave us, or the enthusiasm with which they received the doctrine of the land for all the people. Davitt made a speech which was all any single tax man could have desired.

This is now clear to me: Purchase and peasant proprietary cannot stop the development of the land movement in Ireland.

HENRY GEORGE.

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER.

The most important chapter of "Progress and Poverty" makes the least impression, at first, on the minds of enthusiastic readers; and some enthusiastic readers wholly neglect it. I refer to the second chapter of the eighth book, the practical chapter of the work. Being practical, this chapter has no charm for enthusiasts who expect to gain freedom by earnest longing; but to enthusiasts who expect to gain freedom by building a road to it, it is as his chart to the sailor. When I say this is the most important chapter, I do not intend an unfavorable comparison with other parts of the book. I mean that it is the most important to pioneers, because it points the way. Other chapters tell us what our objective point should be; they tell us why we should make it our objective point; they appeal to us to set out on the journey; they prophesy the glory of its completion. But here we are told where the path begins and the course it runs.

Repudiation of this chapter in some cases, and ignorance of it in others, have suggested objections to the policy it outlines. To men who repudiate it, and who, therefore, are outside of any movement

for social reform that professes to go along the lines of "Progress and Poverty," I have nothing to say at this time; but I should like to point out their error to those who, in ignorance of the neglected chapter, have thoughtlessly assumed that its policy elsewhere advocated is contrary to the principles of "Progress and Poverty."

The problem Henry George undertook to solve was, why poverty increases with material progress. He examined the then current doctrine that wages are limited by capital, and found it insufficient; and upon seeking for the source of wages, concluded that they are produced by the labor for which they are paid. A more extended analysis of the problem (in which the Malthusian theory that population tends to increase faster than subsistence was considered and refuted) proved that poverty is not due to the laws of production, and narrowed the inquiry to the laws of distribution. An examination of these laws showed that the two primary elements in distribution, rent and wages, depend on what economists call the margin of cultivation, which is an imaginary line that separates the best land to be had without rent from the poorest land that commands rent. It further appeared that as this line recedes so as to exclude land from the rent area, rent falls and wages rise; while as the line advances so as to include more land within the rent area, rent rises and wages fall. Hence, Mr. George argued that the reason material progress does not increase wages and thus diminish poverty, is that it does increase the value of land. This would be so even if speculation in future progress did not abnormally enhance the value of land; but pursuing his inquiry further, Mr. George found that confidence in growth of population and improvements in the arts, raises an expectation of increased rent, which gives to land a present selling value in excess of what it would have if based upon present rent, and that this expectation tends, with increase of productive power, to diminish the proportion of wealth that in distribution goes to wages, and to increase that that goes to rent. This completed the economic inquiry of "Progress and Poverty" and solved the problem, for it made the inference irresistible that poverty increases with material progress, or what is the same thing, with increase of productive power, because with increase of productive power land values tend to even greater increase and produce a constant tendency to the forcing down of wages.

Merely to solve the problem would have been comparatively a useless work. It remained to discover a remedy and invent a method of applying it. The remedy itself was simple. There can be but one remedy for an evil, and that is to remove its cause; and as the cause of increasing poverty with advancing wealth had been discovered to be the tendency of an increasing proportion of labor products to flow to the owners of land through rent, the obvious remedy was to make land common property so that this share in distribution should go to the whole people, to whom by nature the land belongs, and from whose presence and competition for the use of choice portions of it, it derives its value. But it is one thing to state a simple remedy for social disease after having discovered the cause, and quite another to invent a method of easily, quickly and effectually applying the remedy; and this brings me to the neglected chapter of "Progress and Poverty," in which the mode of application is presented.

There was no reason in justice why all private titles should not be abolished by one act of the law, all land declared public property, and lots let out to the highest bidders under conditions that would guard private rights to improvements; but such a plan did not commend itself to the author of "Progress and Property" as the best. It seemed to him that it "would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, which is to be avoided," and "a needless extension of governmental machinery, which is to be avoided." He saw, what at a later day in

"Protection or Free Trade" he stated, that it is necessary to "supplement the zeal of the propagandist with the skill of the politician," and appealed to that "axiom of statesmanship, which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon, that great changes can best be brought about under old forms." Of this axiom he says: "We who would free men should heed the same truth. It is the natural method. When nature would make a higher type she takes a lower one and develops it. This, also, is the law of social growth. Let us work by it. With the current we may glide fast and far. Against it, it is hard pulling and slow progress." Adopting this axiom of statesmanship, Mr. George proposed, not to abolish private titles to land, not to take rent through the public letting of lands, not to create any new machinery of government, but, by simplifying and reducing our present taxing machinery, to appropriate rent by taxation; and, "inasmuch as the taxation of rent or land values must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes," he put the proposition into practical form by proposing "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values." He recognized, as all believers in complete industrial freedom must, that "it will be necessary where rent exceeds the present governmental revenues, to commensurately increase the amount demanded in taxation, and to continue this increase as society progresses and rent advances." But this is so natural and easy a matter that he regarded it as "involved, or at least understood, in the proposition to put all taxes upon the value of the land." At any rate, and respecting the application of the remedy, this is the important consideration, he held it to be "the first step upon which the practical struggle must be made."

The essential practical proposition of "Progress and Poverty" is this method of accomplishing its ultimate object by a process of abolishing taxes on industry. Just as we abolish such taxes, public revenues must be derived from a tax upon land values. There is no other thing in the slightest degree adequate upon which to impose them, unless it be incomes, and we have had experience enough with income taxation to make it reasonably certain that the experiment will not be tried again. And just as public revenues come to be derived more and more from a tax on the value of land, do we approach nearer and nearer to the appropriation of rent by taxation.

To promote this shifting of taxation, if we intend to be more than dreamers of dreams, we must co-operate with men who go our way, no matter how short the distance they go. Every step counts. And it is far more sensible to co-operate with men who want to go a little way in our direction, but reject our ultimate object, than to co-operate with men who advocate our ultimate object, but want to go in an opposite direction or by a roundabout course. It is possible to go from New York to Chicago by way of Liverpool and the Orient, but if I were going to Chicago I would rather have the co-operation of a locomotive engineer on the Hudson river road, even though he were a Bourbon democrat and went no further than Albany or Buffalo, than that of the most enthusiastic advocate of free land who was going by way of Liverpool in a canal boat.

Violent revolutions may sometimes succeed with comparatively small numbers; but such a revolution as we propose must command the multitude, and to command the multitude we must follow Mr. George's advice to heed the axiom of statesmanship that "great changes can best be brought about under old forms." Free trade is a stride in our direction, and every one who is more or less a free trader is for the time our ally. Concentration of taxation on real estate is a proposition in our direction, and whoever favors it is our ally. In brief, any proposal to reduce or abolish taxes on industry—national, state, or local—no matter how unimportant in itself, is in our direction; and when any considerable number or influential body of people advocate it,

not only are they our allies in theory, but we owe it to the cause we would promote to add our strength to theirs. This is not a new policy. It is the policy of "Progress and Poverty."

According to the neglected chapter of "Progress and Poverty," the first step upon which our practical struggle must be made is the abolition of all taxation save that upon land values. That struggle over, it will be necessary, in the better developed communities, to increase the tax commensurately with rent, and to continue the increase as rent advances; but it will not be necessary to take the whole value, nor does "Progress and Poverty" propose to do it. In the same neglected chapter the author says: "By leaving to land owners a percentage of rent, which would probably be much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through state agency, and by making use of this existing [tax] machinery, we may without jar or shock, assert the common right to land by taking rent for public uses." And again: "When the common right to land is so far appreciated that all taxes are abolished save those which fall upon rent, there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues being left to individual landholders."

The ideal of the single tax is the taking in taxation of every penny of rent. But that is a practical impossibility; not only because the tax would inevitably be something more or something less than rent, but also because, when no margin was left to the landholder beyond wages as a tax collector, land would be without market value and there would be no basis for the single tax. If we insist upon taking for public use the entire gross rent of land, a time will come when we shall have to abandon the single tax and fall back upon public letting to the highest bidder. But to do this, as is said in the neglected chapter of "Progress and Poverty," would involve the cost of an "extension of governmental machinery," and loss from "favoritism, collusion and corruption." When the time comes, no principle will be involved in the question. It will be simply one of expediency—a question of whether the single tax or public letting will more certainly and cheaply yield the nearest approximation to the whole rent.

How public letting is regarded in "Progress and Poverty" may be seen by reading the neglected chapter. Obviously, the preference there, at least until all taxation except on land values is abolished, is for the taxation method. And a little reflection will make it clear that this preference and what it involves, the leaving of a percentage of rent in the hands of land holders, were not inconsiderately expressed. The percentage would consist of two parts; first, the land holder's compensation as a tax collector, which would be regulated by the law of wages and in the last analysis is not rent at all; and, second, the remission of rent allowed by the community in lieu of the loss and cost involved in an attempt to let lands to the highest bidder. To understand the effect of this allowance, it must be remembered that without a land market land values cannot be fairly appraised; that to have a land market, land must be bought and sold; and that land will not be bought and sold unless there is a margin of rent which the land holder is allowed to retain over and above what he retains as compensation for the labor of collection. People wanting to appropriate this margin will bid for it in the land market, and in that way the value of land will be measured regularly by the very best regulator of values—self-interest in competition—and the result will be a matter of common knowledge in every community. Upon that value the tax may be computed.

Let me use some arbitrary figures for an example. Here is a piece of land the rent value of which is \$100 a year. Eliminating speculative value for simplicity, the market value of that land would be, at twenty years' purchase,

\$2,000. A tax of five per cent would take the entire rent, and while people would be willing to pay that amount and use the land, the land would have no market value, and it would be impossible soon to tell whether five per cent on \$2,000 represented its true value or not. It would then be necessary, if we insisted on taking the whole rent value, to abandon the taxation method and resort to public letting with its chances of loss from favoritism, collusion and corruption, and its certain cost for an extension of governmental machinery. The only way to avoid this would be to leave "land owners a percentage of rent, which would probably be much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through state agency." Suppose then we calculate the tax at five per cent, or \$10, and leave to the land owner \$10, partly for wages of collection and partly as a basis of market value, which would leave us a net revenue of \$90. Next year the net rent to the owner, including compensation for collecting, would be only \$10 instead of \$100, and the market value of the land at twenty years' purchase would be \$200 instead of \$2,000. Then the tax would have to be forty-five per cent instead of five, and would so continue as long as a ten per cent margin was allowed to the owner. No matter what changes took place in selling value, forty-five per cent of selling value would always yield to the public ninety per cent of rent value. Changes in selling value, which would make new bases for computing the tax, would be shown by transactions in the land market. Suppose transactions in that or similar land should show that its selling value was \$250 instead of \$200. Then the tax at forty-five per cent of the selling value would yield \$112.50 instead of \$90 to the public revenue, and the land owner would retain ten per cent of gross rent, or \$12.50 instead of \$10, partly as compensation for collection and partly as a basis of market value.

Could state leasing or any other known system show a better result from the point of view of the single tax unlimited? I do not believe it, and therefore, favor the single tax in perpetuity. However, when the time arrives to decide for practical purposes, it may be that a better method will have been presented, and I am not disposed to quarrel about the cut of a garment before the cloth is woven or the sheep sheared. LOUIS F. POST.

CLEARING THE WAY.

It is reported that a complete draft of a constitution has been submitted to the convention of North Dakota, which is favorably considered, and which leaves the whole subject of taxation to the discretion of the legislature, with the limitation that whatever property is taxed must be taxed equally. We hope that this report is true, and that the convention will have the wisdom to adopt such a constitution, instead of tying up the hands of the legislature by a peremptory direction to tax real and personal property by uniform rules.

Indeed, the only point upon which the legislature should be restricted at all, in dealing with taxation, is in forbidding it to grant any irrevocable exemptions from taxation—in other words, from tying up the hands of any subsequent legislature. Setting aside the question of the single tax, it ought to be obvious to the most bigoted supporter of taxation on personal property that it would be for the advantage of his system to leave the legislature free to exempt real estate from taxation for state purposes, as is done in Pennsylvania; and it needs little consideration to understand that railroads cannot be effectively taxed, upon their real and personal property, by precisely the same system which is applied to individuals. On the other hand, the friends of the single tax ask nothing more of state constitutions than that they should leave the legislature free to make experiments in that direction. Leave the hands of the people untied; and let each system of taxation stand or fall, according to the practical result of its working.

Rhode Island has an admirable law,

which needs only slight amendment to make it almost all for which the advocates of the single tax could ask at present. It allows each town decide for itself how its quota of taxes shall be raised, whether from real estate alone, from personal estate alone, or from both. If the New York legislature would enact such a law we should soon abolish taxation on personal property in New York and Brooklyn, and the benefits of such a measure would be so marked that, before long, we should have a loud demand for a law permitting cities to raise their quota by taxes on land alone. If the Rhode Island statute, amended so as to permit towns or counties to decide for themselves whether land alone, or land and improvements alone, or personal property alone, or all together, should be taxed, we should speedily demonstrate the success or failure of the single tax upon a small scale; and its advocates are not afraid to put it to this test.

North Dakota should take warning by the experience of Ohio. The Ohio legislature has no idea of adopting the single tax; but the proved and manifest impossibility of collecting taxes on both real and personal property by any uniform method has induced the legislature, with substantial unanimity, to recommend a repeal of the constitutional requirement that this shall be done. The new states, if they adopt such an unwise provision, will only find, after years of waste and vain struggle with immovable facts, that it must be repealed.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

A Reception by Artists.

New York Star, July 19.

LONDON, July 18.—The farewell conversation to Henry George, the American reformer, who sails for home Saturday, took place to-day, and was very largely attended, many notables being present. The affair was under the auspices of the Society of British artists, and a large number of the members came to pay their respects to the popular leader of the land reformers.

FOREIGN NOTES.

The English correspondent of the New York World had a short interview with Henry George regarding the new move of the Parnell party in the formation of the Tenants' league. The interview took place just before Mr. George went aboard the Umbria at Liverpool, on Saturday last, preparatory to sailing for New York. Mr. George had been making speeches in Ireland during the week and therefore had a good opportunity to test public opinion on the subject. "In Belfast I heard little about it," said Mr. George, "but in Dublin and the southern counties it is a question of intense interest. Personally I don't think that the new move will please the mass of the Irish people. It is purely a class move. While providing for the tenant farmers it almost ignores the thousands of Irish laborers. The tenant farmers, after all, are only a comparatively small class. Michael Davitt declined the scheme very aptly at my Dublin meeting when he called it 'a trade union of tenants.' Well, that sort of thing is not going to fill the place of the National league or of the Land League before it. But it was necessary for Mr. Parnell to make some move, and this seemed to him to be the best step for him to take. The plan of campaign cannot be carried any further. It has become almost powerless, because the tenant farmers won't stand up to it. Mr. Parnell had to do something to preserve the organization of his party. But as I said before, the movement is merely palliative and does not touch the hearts of the whole Irish people, but only those of the tenant farmers, who form the small minority. I found by talking with the laboring people in Ireland that the original idea of 'the land for the whole people' is recovering its force. To get their rights the Irish laborers must join hands with the English democracy, and they must tax the landlords."

"What do you think of the new radical movement in England?" asked the correspondent of the World.

"The radical masses are beginning to feel their strength," said Mr. George. "They are getting away from the leading strings of the liberals. They realize that if they are to carry any of their reform measures it must be done on something more than the home rule cry. The radicals want the stronger elements of the party to break away from the weaker elements and carry out their own line of action. Mr. Philip Stanhope, their 'whip,' told me the other day that they could now control fifty votes in parliament."

The Belfast Morning News says of Henry George's lecture in that city on the 10th inst.: "Mr. Henry George appeared for the second time in his life on a Belfast platform last night. In a speech of over an hour's duration, closely reasoned throughout, and occasionally brightened by flashes of powerful eloquence, he propounded the principles with which his name has become synonymous. That there are grave objections not so much to Mr. George's theories as to the methods by which he proposes to put those theories into

effect, cannot be controverted. But though many of those who listened to him last night may dissent from some of his arguments and conclusions, there can be no doubt that the discussion of the causes of the great social inequalities that prevail must in the end prove beneficial. Mr. George may be wrong in the theories he propounds, but it is clearly evident that some remedy is required. There must be something rotten in the condition of things when the many who toil are left in poverty and have little or no share in the riches their labor has heaped up, whilst, on the other hand, the idle, privileged classes, 'who toil not, neither do they spin,' can live and wanton in luxury and wealth. It is surely not beyond the statesmanship of the age to provide a remedy for such a condition of affairs. The ventilation of the subject can at least do no harm. If Henry George's lectures should do no more than attract the attention of thinkers to this problem they will not have been altogether in vain."

This is what the Dartford, England, Express has to say of the very successful meeting, or rather meetings, which Henry George addressed in that place: "When it became known that we were likely to have a visit from Mr. Henry George, the great American orator and writer on the land question, the local conservatives were utterly horrified. The idea that Henry George could deliver an address of a non-political character they ridiculed, and in the local tory organ his doctrine was denounced as a system of downright robbery by the local agent of the conservative party. The liberal and radical association were the first to take the matter up, but the president (Mr. S. M. Burroughs) and all the members of the executive were very anxious that the proceedings should be non-political. Mr. A. S. Dixon was therefore authorized to issue a circular letter to the principal residents of the town inviting them to take part, but the replies from the leading conservatives were a decided negative—they could not for one moment lend their influence to a demonstration in which Henry George was to take part. In this way the whole affair was forced upon the liberal and radical association because the other party would have nothing to do with it. Nasty sneers have been scattered broadcast, and it was declared to be nothing more than a radical scheme. But the committee appointed to carry out the proposal were not to be daunted. They determined that the people of Dartford should hear Henry George if possible and as soon as soon as they ascertained that his services could be obtained the next question was 'where can we get a room big enough.' If the tories would but have put aside party feeling for the time being and joined in the undertaking the loan of the conservative hall might have been requested, but if the owners did not approve of the meeting, it was a foregone conclusion they would not sanction the loan of their hall. But, as luck would have it, the Phoenix mills had just undergone renovation for the reception of new plant and machinery, and it occurred to Mr. Burroughs that one of the large rooms on the ground floor would well serve the purpose. It was mentioned to the committee who jumped at the offer, and this difficulty being then surmounted the date for Mr. George's visit was soon fixed. Only about a fortnight ago another happy idea crossed the mind of Mr. Burroughs. He thought that as Mr. George was such an advocate of the interest of labor, it would be a splendid thing to ask him to open the mills, and the committee having heartily indorsed the idea, the dimensions of the original scheme were considerably enlarged. Instead of holding the meeting in the Shipping department, as first intended, it was found to be utterly inadequate to the numbers who had signified their intention to be present, and at the last minute it was resolved to utilize one of the large stores on the ground floor of the mill, which is by far the largest room in Dartford, and capable of holding considerably over a thousand people. Just sufficient tickets were sold to cover the cost of Mr. George's lecture, and then a large number of free tickets were given away to those who applied for them. During the last few days the tickets for the lecture have been in great demand, and on Wednesday several shilling tickets were sold at four and five shillings apiece.

Early on Wednesday morning operations were commenced at the Phoenix mills, and preparations being made for the opening ceremony in the evening. Streamers and flags floated from the top of the building, and at the entrance to the mill a line of streamers was suspended across the road. Soon after dinner the people began to pour into the town by road and by rail from all parts, and wended their way to the mills, where a party was engaged the whole afternoon showing the people over and explaining the details in connection with the manufacture of the most important products of the firm. Mr. Burroughs spared neither time nor money to make the undertaking a success. He was about the premises the whole day, welcoming his guests and shaking hands in good hearty fashion with everybody that came to see him. Several London and American journalists were present, eminent doctors and chemists, members of parliament, engineers, and many prominent men from all parts of the kingdom, while there was a fair sprinkling of the elite of our own neighborhood. Of course the larger number consisted of the middle and working classes and these are the people that Mr. Burroughs wanted present, in order that they might have an opportunity of hearing his old friend and countryman, Mr. George, define his views upon the nationalization of the land. During the afternoon the St. Mary Cray band (under Bandmaster Blackiston) performed a selection of choice music from the island in the center of the lake, and toward the evening the Dartford town band assisted in the musical portion of the programme.

It would appear from the following extract from an article appearing in the Australian Standard (Sydney), over the signature of

John Farrell, that our New South Wales brethren are proceeding along on much the same lines as those laid down by single tax men in the United States and Great Britain. He describes the situation in this way: The single tax party "stands on the same path upon which the so-called free trade party have entered, but it stands far in advance and beckons them to come on. It is as yet only comprised of a few guides, but is being continually reinforced from the members of those who stand halting midway. In England the most influential of the free trade organizations has led the way which others are following by unreservedly adopting Henry George's proposal to tax away all unimproved land values, and its president, himself a very large landholder, has written several vigorous letters, showing that only by following free trade to its logical conclusion in this manner can it be shown to deserve support, and made a cause worthy of the best efforts of true patriotism. In the United States the influence of the new teaching has been manifested in the recent tremendous political conflict, during which all the best thinkers and most unselfish men stood together for free trade in its full meaning. Here in New South Wales the first impulse of the coming wave is being felt. Among the members of the free trade and liberal association are a large number of uncompromising advocates of land value taxation, who lose no opportunity for straight speaking, and are regarded with some dismay by the fossilized portion of an institution whose incapability to keep up with political advancement or to place real issues before the electors of the colony, is largely responsible for the growth of protection. The now transformed free trade association, in boldly distributing Henry George's 'Protection or Free Trade?'—a book which, while relentlessly pulling every rag of concealment from the thievish and un-Christian visage of protection, should be 'as dreadful as the shout of one that sees to one that sins and thinks himself unseen' to revenue tariffists—showed that it was not afraid to follow truth wherever it might lead. In the present parliament there are a dozen members fairly conversant with the principles we teach, and prepared to vote for them when the time for for voting comes, but not one of them is on the restrictionist side. On that side there is nothing but empty, as was shown by the determined resistance offered to the bill for the taxing of land values introduced by Mr. Burns, by the stupidly malignant attacks made by the organ of one section of it upon Henry George, by the stirring appeals to oppose a land value tax and rob the public through the customs house, which were sent to prominent monopolists during the election, and by continual misrepresentation of the objects of the single tax. The protectionists are not upon the track we take at all. We started back to back from them. The free traders, pursuing their course, must some day come up to where we are; the protectionists pursuing theirs can only get further away. In the meantime we happen to know what we are about, and will neither help to bring office to political shells and husks, or lend any fellowship to those differing from us as black from white or as fire from water."

The opposition boast that they have the power to overthrow the present ministry at any hour, but will wait their own time, so that protection may grow in the country, remarks the Australian Standard. Free trade seems to be rather outstripping it, judging by what both parties have done since the election. The smashers, if they happen to be strong, had better not be too merciful. Henry George will tell the public some things about the United States which will not help them much. And there is no fear but that he will be listened to, even by protectionists themselves, and reported pretty fully.

The Sydney single tax men propose shortly to inaugurate a series of Sunday evening meetings and addresses. Mr. E. W. Foxall has taken a hand in the arrangements for getting up a concert in aid of the funds of the league, at which some of the best talent in Sydney has promised to assist.

The Goulburn Evening Penny Post says of the growth of the new political economy in Australia: "There is a strong and rapidly growing party in our midst which believes that the best way to meet the deficit would be certainly not by selling the suburban lands when there is already far too much land sold for the requirements of the people; assuredly not by the imposition of custom house duties, which check protection, reduce employment, and the burden of which falls almost entirely on the poorest class of the community; nor even by an income tax, since that is inequitable in its nature, can be easily evaded, and has been condemned by almost every political economist of note; but by the imposition of a tax on land values, irrespective of improvements, which would principally fall on a class which derives the greatest amount of benefit from the land, and which, under present arrangements, practically escapes being taxed. The whole question of taxation is now being eagerly discussed throughout the length and breadth of the country, and the views of the people generally are undergoing a serious change. So rapid is the progress of education now a days, when the pros and cons of a question are threshed out every day in the public press, and eagerly read, that it is not at all unlikely that in the course of a few short years a defender of the customs house tariff will be as rare a bird as in the Virgilian days was a black swan, and that a tax on land values, irrespective of improvements—which was specially favored by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill—not to mention Henry George—will be accepted as the only equitable way of raising the revenue required by the state."

Mr. Potter, editor of the Cork Eagle, was present at the meeting in the Dublin Rotunda which Henry George addressed and dis-

tributed a big pile of circulars containing the following matter:

LAND RESTORATION PRAYER.

Speaking at Clonakilly on the action of Mr. Smith-Barry, in connection with the Ponsoby estate, Mr. William O'Brien said: "These landlords have been offered peace and conciliation until we were sick of approaching them, and appealing to them, and imploring them to take their place as Irishmen. But it is no use. These men are incorrigible. They have no more magnanimity than tigers. They are enemies to the heart's core of their country and of their countrymen; and they are all the more desperate now because they feel that they are playing their last innings. They know that the sands in the hour glass are running out, and that the days of their domination are numbered."

The editor of the Eagle, writing on the above, says: As appeals to man have failed, we would, in all earnestness and reverence, venture to suggest the following short prayer to the Most High:

PRAYER.

"Grant, oh Lord, we beseech Thee, that the days of landlordism, so numbered, may be few—very few, and that the sands of its glass, once run out, may never be renewed to give existence again, even for one short hour, to such an unholy and iniquitous monopoly as that which the law now maintains, by supporting private ownership of the soil that Thou, oh God, created for all Thy children alike. Grant, oh most merciful Father, that this cruel, cursed system—the parent of want and misery, the creator of that grinding poverty from which flows vice of every kind, that gives to society the tramp, the harlot, the thief and the highwayman; that checks trade, commerce, and industry, nay, deprives man of that very labor by which Thou, good Lord, hast decreed that he should eat bread; grant, we beseech Thee, oh merciful God, that this evil system may be at once and forever swept away, so that the earth, with all its ever increasing gifts of nature, with all its bounties—rich and wonderful bounties—that Thou, allwise and loving Father, hast brought into existence for the good of Thy people, may be restored to the human race. And while we fervently offer up this prayer, we ask forgiveness for those landlords who so selfishly, so persistently, and so wickedly refuse to restore to the community that great inheritance vouchsafed in the emphatic words recorded in Holy Writ, 'the profit of the earth is for all.' Forgive them, oh Lord, we pray Thee, but turn their hearts and thoughts into the ways of truth and justice. Instil into their minds that this planet is not theirs, or even such portions as they have grabbed, so that they may be inclined to return that which has been stolen from the children whom Thou, oh loving Father, hast created; and, above all, we entreat Thee to make them feel that Thy vengeance will certainly fall upon the exterminators, as a just retribution for the harsh and cruel evictions that are devastating the homes of the helpless tillers of Irish soil. Grant this earnest appeal, we implore Thee, so that Thy will may be done, and that peace and happiness and prosperity may reign on earth. Grant it, we beseech Thee, for the love of Him who came to teach righteousness, and to restore to fallen man even the higher and holier gift of heaven. Amen."

"The Land of Every Country the Common Property of the People.—The land of every country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. 'Terrum autem dedit filiis hominum.' Now, as every individual in that country is a creature and child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of a country that would exclude the humblest man in that country from his share of the common inheritance would be not only an injustice and a wrong to that man, but, moreover, would be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator."—[Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath.]

Dr. Cuthbert, LL.D., on the Cause of Poverty.—"Landlordism is the cause of poverty. I defy any political economist in the three kingdoms to disprove that the cause of poverty is landlordism. If that is so, then it is perfectly clear there is no remedy for this poverty but the total eradication of landlordism, root and branch."—[Discussion on Essay read by Mr. E. A. Wright, at the Cork Scientific Society.]

When will London awake to a sense of the magnitude of the offences of the landlords in their midst? asks Reynolds's. In Kensington there is an extent of vacant land worth nearly £2,000,000, and it practically escapes rating under the landlord-made laws regulating the holding of property in this country. Other fields in the same district valued at £100,000, are rated at £62! In Paddington there is vacant land worth £150,000 which pays no rates; and in Hampstead there is land which could be sold for £1,500,000, which is rated at only a few pounds, because the landlords, waiting until the surrounding districts bear all the cost of public improvements, refuse to let it. Enfranchise the 2,000,000 still kept outside the pale of citizenship, and these evils shall be brought to an end.

Here is what the London Star has to say to the tory protectionists who are feeling their way toward some tariff legislation that will "protect" landlords: "The last article that the protectionists have taken under their wings is hops. Now the hop-growing industry is in a bad way, and if any select committee can point out a legitimate remedy everybody will be obliged to them. The hops are a valuable crop from which we all get a benefit. They find employment, as pointed out last night, for an especially large quantity of labor. Moreover, they provide a large part of the population of London with their one annual outing. But all that they are suffering from is our old friend, 'foreign competition,' no select committee will do anything for them, and the sooner Tory Kent understands that the better for all parties."

IN BELFAST.

HENRY GEORGE'S MEETING IN ULSTER HALL.

A Splendid Address and a Brilliant Speech Much Enthusiasm and a Raking Fire of Questions—Short Addresses by Miss M. Burroughs of London, England, and Charles L. Garland, M. P. of New South Wales, Australia.

The following interesting account of the meeting which greeted Henry George at Belfast, Ireland, is taken from the Belfast Morning News:

Mr. Henry George, whose fame as a land and labor advocate is world wide, and whose works on the social problems of the day have done more, perhaps, than any other intellectual agency to agitate Europe, arrived in Belfast yesterday morning, according to appointment, having traveled from London via Straumner and Larne. He was received at the Northern counties railway by a number of his sympathizers, and, after the customary greetings, the distinguished visitor drove to the residence of Mr. Charles Hunt, 28 University street, whose guest he remains during his stay in the city. After breakfast Mr. George visited the Queen's island shipbuilding yard and inspected the White Star liner Majestic, sister ship of the Teutonic, and therefore one of the two largest ships afloat. Mr. George was greatly interested with all that he saw, and expressed himself pleased that he had had an opportunity of seeing so remarkable a center of industry. He then drove through some of the principal thoroughfares.

The Ulster hall had been specially engaged for a lecture by Mr. George on the land and labor question, and the building was fairly well filled with his admirers by eight o'clock. The attendance numbered about 1,000, and included several ladies. Contrary to expectation, there was only one dissident—a young gentleman who sat in front of one of the balconies, and interjected an occasional "No" as Mr. George developed his theory of the single tax. The reception accorded Mr. George was enthusiastic in the extreme, and he was warmly applauded at frequent intervals. The friends accompanying him—Mr. Garland, a member of the New South Wales legislature, and president of the single tax league in that colony; and Mr. Burroughs, an American gentleman employing labor both in New York state and at Deptford in England—were listened to with much attention.

Among those present were: The Hon. Judge Savage, United States consul, and Mr. Savage, jr.; Mr. Samuel Young, J. P.; J. B. Killen, B. L.; J. Mulligan, B. L.; H. Hyndman, LL. D., solicitor; J. Bruce Wallace, M. A.; Thomas Adair, B. A.; O. M'Parland, M. D.; J. Keogh, M. D.; Joseph Murphy, Charles O'B. Murphy, C. V. Hunt, H. Byrne, J. Knox, Stephen M'Kenna, J. M'Ninch, Charles M'Lorinan, jr.; J. Passely, George Fisher, B. M'Glade, John Duddy, James Shone, Charles Hunt, George Trowbridge, James Johnston, John Sinton, C. Corrigan, J. Pugh, John Carson, J. Wilson, J. Meucley, J. Mulligan, William Clow, Thomas Wilson, J. M'Dowell, Andrew Hanna, Henry Creighton, W. S. Roberts, James Harrison, T. H. Stevenson, James Gears, William Gibson, J. H. Gilliland, W. M. Knox, John Murphy, E. Martin, Hugh Gordon, Charles Shanks, George Cummings, Michael O'Leary, J. E. Dougan, R. S. Jefferson and James Turner. One or two Episcopal and Presbyterian clergymen were also present, but it was found impossible to obtain their names. The arrangements for the conduct of the meeting were excellent, and the stewards rendered every assistance and courtesy. Mr. George's published works, by the way, were on sale in the vestibule, and copies of Brotherhood were placed on each seat in the hall.

Mr. George was escorted to the platform by the leading members of the reception committee, and was loudly cheered.

On the motion of Dr. Hyndman, seconded by Mr. Shone, the chair was taken by Mr. J. Bruce Wallace, M. A.

The chairman, in introducing the lecturer, said there was a movement gaining strength the world over that might be called the movement of the new conscience. It had sprung from a quickened realization in the minds and hearts of earnest men of the fatherhood of God, and of human brotherhood. The abolition of chattel slavery, with its menaces and whips and hideous immoralities, was a step in that movement—a stride forward in the march of humanity. A subtler slavery, no less cruel, disguised under the forms of freedom, came next to be dealt with. At the basis of their social fabric today they saw a stratum of workers who were but little better off than the negroes that used to cower under the lash of slave drivers in American plantations. The freedom of contract they enjoyed was found in practice to be little more than freedom to starve.

A CRUSHED, STUNTED, CREEPLESS LIFE was the lot of multitudes among them. As it came home to the conscience of Moses, in the midst of all the luxurious ease of Pharaoh's palace, that the Hebrews toiling in the brick fields and at the building of pyramids and treasure cities were his own kindred, and there arose in him the ambition and the hope to be their deliverer, so was it coming home to the conscience of many who were enjoy-

ing opportunities of culture and of comfort not available for all, that the toiling masses, burdened and crushed, were their brothers and sisters, children likewise of the All-Father, and that these must, at all cost, be emancipated from all degrading conditions, and lifted up into the enjoyment of equal opportunities with the most favored of them for healthy and happy physical, mental and moral development. The old superstition that ascribed to an inscrutable Providence the contrasts between rich and poor was giving way to a strong conviction that wherever industrious people were badly off, wherever life was for them a dreary bondage and subsistence precarious, underlying such a condition of things there was some grave injustice. The earth was amply stored with the means of yielding all its inhabitants abundant sustenance and comfort in response to a moderate amount of work. With the growth of population, making of course enlarged demands on the earth's resources, there had come also a wonderfully enlarged knowledge as to how to turn those resources to fruitful account.

ALL MIGHT BE WEALTHY.

Under a deep sense of responsibility for their down trodden fellows, earnest thinking men had been setting themselves to discover wherein precisely the injustice lies—what was the fundamental injustice of their sad social order. (Hear, hear.) No longer content with ministering mere relief to want, they were determined to sweep away its causes and to build a new order on foundations of righteousness. (Applause.) In this great world wide movement of thought and feeling and action—this new crusade—Mr. Henry George is one of the most prominent leaders. His great work, "Progress and Poverty," had not only found its way on its mission of light wherever the English tongue was spoken, but had been translated into well-nigh all the languages of Europe, and had everywhere carried conviction and kindled enthusiasm. (Applause.) The party that had gathered round him in the United States of America was indeed still in a comparatively small minority, but it was growing with extraordinary rapidity. It was coming to be recognized as the successor of the abolition party, and was attracting not a few of the best men of America to the standard. In England and in Scotland Mr. George has been received with open arms, and his lectures had given a tremendous impulse to the cause of social progress. (Hear.) At the international conference on the land question held last month at Paris, composed largely of men who in many points differed considerably from Mr. George, he was unanimously elected honorary president, in recognition of his immense services. (Applause.) He (the chairman) did not think the land nationalizers in Ireland are prepared to adopt the method—the "single tax"—which Mr. George advocates, but they accepted the principle, and claimed "the land for the people" (applause), and they honored Mr. George as a great teacher. (Applause.)

HENRY GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Henry George, on coming forward, was greeted with prolonged applause. He said if the people who were hostile to them, as the chairman had suggested, were away, he was all the more sorry, for it was to them he would rather talk than to the sympathetic people. It was, in fact, at the hostile people he wanted to get (hear, hear). There was nothing in the doctrine that they stood for, in the proposals that they made, that ought to excite the hostility of any man, and if there was hostility it was through ignorance. (A voice, "No.") Well, he, at any rate, thought so, and he had a right to show how it was and how it came that they in all they did and said stood for everything that was right and everything that was wise. They wanted to show that in every class of the community their theories were calculated to bring about a state of things in which there should be no undeserved poverty, and in which everyone should be wealthy, not in the sense that they should have more than their neighbors, for that would be impossible for all, but in the sense of having abundance of the necessities of life and a reasonable amount of the luxuries of life as well—in the sense of having a full and free development of every faculty of mind and body, and enjoying the advantages that advancing civilization brought. (Hear, hear.) He had been to see that day a most suggestive and a most glorious thing. He went to the works of their great shipbuilding firm of Harland & Wolff and saw that great ship, the White Star liner Majestic, the largest ship, he believed, that had been built with the exception of the Great Eastern, and he expressed a hope that the reputation of the great firm by which she was built would be maintained in her. (Applause.) That great vessel typified to his imagination that quality in man which made him really

THE CHILD OF GOD,

that quality which proved to them that man was indeed in the likeness of the Creator. Such a ship as that clearing her way against wind and sea across the Atlantic typified to him the earnestness and power of man. It led them to think of the insignificance of man. If they thought of man in the water, how slowly he went! Yet by his power of adjusting things it was possible for him to lift himself above the animals that lived in the sea and to build a ship which could cross the wide expanse of the At-

lantic in less than six days—by this great ship the journey might be made in five days, a distance of 3,000 miles! Let them look back at the ships of Nelson's time, or, going further back, at the rude canoes of early war, and think of the development that man had made, his growing power of adapting means to ends, and asserting his will. It was to him (Mr. George) significant that

THESE GREAT SHIPS WERE BUILT IN IRELAND, Here in Belfast. Thirty years ago he fancied they had not any shipbuilding in Belfast. The firm of Harland & Wolff was not then in existence. The firm was now known over all the seas of the world. In the time of which he spoke, thirty years ago, his people, the Americans, were the great shipbuilders, and American ships were sent to every part of the civilized world. Where were they now? Why, the great army of Americans who crossed the ocean every summer not one of them crossed in an American vessel. They came in vessels built in Belfast or on the Clyde. What was the reason? It was not that the American mechanics had lost their cunning or American seamen their skill. It was merely that they in America had applied a baby act, and that a protective tariff had so taxed everything in connection with ships that they could not build them. Especially significant to him was it that the best ships in the world were built in Ireland. That was a significant answer to those who said that Irish industry could not be developed without a protective tariff. (Cheers.) It was an answer, too, to those in the United States who said that a protective tariff could not be done without. From what he saw in Belfast he held that it was

NOT RESTRICTION BUT FREEDOM

they wanted in the development of industry. (Cheers.) The law of liberty was the law of life and the law of development. Let them think of that marvelous product of human skill traveling 500 miles per day across the wastes of the Atlantic. Could they think that a human creature of the very same kind—a man like to the man whose ingenuity constructed and contrived that ship—could suffer for want of the primary necessities of life? Could they think that men who could produce such works would pass their lives in a struggle for mere existence, in bitter want and poverty? Yet it was so—there were men so situated. He asked them to suppose that if the Majestic was crossing the Atlantic, and that every man, woman and child on board were counting the days, hours and minutes to the time of her arrival beyond, and a woman or child was seen clinging to a raft in mid ocean, would it not be expected—nay, would there not be an outcry of indignation if it were not done—that the engines would be reversed, and that every effort would be made to save the woman and child? (Hear.) Well, here in their so-called Christian cities, under the very shadows of their churches,

WOMEN AND CHILDREN DIED WEEKLY,

died nightly, the worst deaths—deaths not only of the body, but of the soul. Was it not their duty to rescue these? And how were they to do it? How did man construct such mighty engines as the Majestic? It was by seeking out the laws of matter and of mind and exercising them by the highest quality of adapting means to ends. Let them think of the advance of civilization in our times—only yesterday he was speaking to an old friend of his, a man who rode on the first railway train that ever ran. Let them think of the advance in human industry, and invention, and discovery, and of the wonderful progress that had been made, and yet there was vice and crime born of poverty, and there was a great majority who by the hardest toil only got a bare living, while all the advantages of progress were enjoyed by a few. Was it not time that they gave thought to the social questions that surrounded them, and that they sought out the laws that governed the production and distribution of wealth, just as the laws of matter and mind—the physical laws—had been sought out. (Cheers.)

WHAT WAS THE CAUSE OF POVERTY?

Their chairman had told them it was not the fault of the Creator. If there were any of their fellowmen who did not get wealth enough it was not because of any scarcity in the elements of wealth. What were the factors of wealth? He answered, labor and land. It was only by a metaphorical phrase they could speak of man as a creator. He was only the producer, and his productive work consisted merely in the union of his labor with the raw material of the land. Man made the ships by taking the iron and the wood and shaping them together, and he made the sails by growing the cotton and changing its form into the required shape. Without land, as they saw, he would be absolutely helpless. Without land he could not exist. His very body was drawn from the soil, and to the soil it returned again. He was, therefore, not the creator but the producer, and all his production consisted in modifying land by labor. (Cheers.) Capital was but a secondary factor. It could only be that, for at the beginning there was simply man, and the union of labor with land led to production.

THE CREATOR SUPPLIED THE LAND,

and gave to man the power to labor on the land and to modify the raw material to his own purposes. Everywhere there was plenty of land to spare; yet they had men crying out

that they wanted work. They saw men going about their streets earning a living by holding boards, one in front, and one behind; and they built ships in which their men were sent across the ocean in search of work. He called their attention to this question, and put it to them whether when they examined it, they did not find a great injustice, a great wrong, a monstrous violation of the laws of the Creator. (Cheers.) They were all land animals. To every human being land was absolutely indispensable; to his life it was absolutely necessary. They could not live without the use of land. They found themselves here in the world with land adapted to their needs and hands for the adaptation of that land to their needs. Had they not clearly and plainly equal rights to the use of the earth? Was not the title of each human being to use the earth as his workshop, reservoir—was it not proved by the very fact of his existence, was it not the natural right conferred on him by the power, was it not an inalienable right that could not be sold, and that he could not be deprived of by the edict of any king or by the act of any parliament? (Cheers.)

LOOK AT IRELAND,

at the monstrous injustice involved in the fact—that of the people of Ireland only some had a right to the use of Ireland (a voice—"Quite right"). They saw the same in England and Scotland and elsewhere, and in that they saw the cause of the social evils of to-day. That was the reason why the laboring classes were always the poorer classes—because labor without land was absolutely hopeless. Here was the great fundamental wrong, here was the primary injustice they had to deal with. They proposed to take from no one that which was originally his. So far from denying the rights of property he and his friends were sticklers for the rights of property. They believed there was a sacred right of property—that whatever a man produced from the reservoir placed at his disposal, and whatever he adapted to human use was and ought to be his—his, to use himself, to sell if he pleased, or to give by gift or devise to anyone else. (Cheers.)

THERE WAS A SACRED RIGHT OF PROPERTY—the right framed by the command "Thou shalt not steal." No one had a right to claim the ocean or the air, and no one could assert a right to them without denying the sacred right of property. (Cheers.) If the Western ocean between Ireland and America had been parcelled out by kings and held as private property, a ship like the Majestic could not cross without paying toll to the owners of the ocean. (Laughter.) Would it not amount to a robbery of labor that the owners of the Majestic should have to pay for the right of crossing the ocean? Fortunately no one had laid claim to the ocean. (Laughter.) When the salmon that lived in the sea came near certain coasts they became the property of private individuals. (Laughter.) It was at one time tried to put herring in the same category, but that failed. (Laughter.) Did not the same principle apply to land? The Majestic must burn coal, and the royalty paid upon coal for her, he was told, would amount to more than the wages of the seamen and the men in the engineer's department. What was the difference between royalty for coal and the

ROYALTY FOR THE OCEAN!

The men who took up the coal from the earth had a right to demand payment for their exertion; the men who furnished capital had a right to a return; but the men who owned the coal—what had they to do with it? (Laughter.) Coal he described as merely the sun's heat stored in the earth for the use of man, not for the use or profit of an individual man—the duke of Newcastle or the marquis of Bute, or, as in his own country, the Leigh coal and navigation company, or Messrs. Pardee and Cox. Consider the grants made by kings—what right had any man to give away this world or any portion of it? He might as well give away the sun. (Laughter.) What right had a dead man to bind generations of people? What right had a dead man to this world, anyhow? The world was for the living. When a man died they hoped that he went to a better world; this was intended for living men. Now, he and his sympathizers proposed to end the wrong which was perpetrated by the system of which he had been speaking to them. They did not propose charity, or benevolence, or help for the poor, or to do anything for the working classes in particular. What they proposed was

SIMPLY TO HAVE FAIR PLAY,

to put all on an equality, and to leave individual power to do the rest. They wanted the land that was not in use put to proper use. They wanted a man who made improvements to be secured the value of his improvements. They wished to take over all land for the use of the community, and to impose a single tax on the land for the purpose of raising revenue—that, they were convinced was the easiest way of dispensing with taxes, on industry, or labor, or the production of labor. They called it the single tax, as they would abolish all other taxes, and they would raise all revenue by its means, irrespective of improvements. (Applause.) He explained at some length the advantages which would arise from this system in the abolition of monopoly of land, of speculation in land, of which they had had some experience in Ire-

land. They could not do away with injustice in Ireland by increasing the number of owners of land; so long as one Irishman was denied the right to his native soil, so long would there be injustice. If they took the national credit or the national money, it did not matter which, and gave it to one special class, the landlords, as the price of their unjust privileges, and then turned a greater number of people into owners.

WHAT DID THAT DO FOR ARTISANS AND LABORERS?

(Cheers.) Why, if they bought farms for the farmers, should they not buy boats for the fishermen, printing presses for the compositors, donkeys for the costermongers, goods and chattels for the clerks? (Laughter.) Why not buy every man a house? (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. George elaborated this argument to some extent, and afterward concluded by impressing on his audience the benefits which should result from the adoption of the single tax. He had intended to address them at greater length, but he was desirous that other gentlemen should be enabled to state their views. He hoped afterward to answer any question that might be written and sent up to the chairman. (Cheers.)

MR. GARLAND'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Garland, M. P., New South Wales, next addressed the meeting. He said that though he had touched Irish soil for the first time on that morning he was indebted in some degree to the city of Belfast for his political existence. Some five years ago, when he first entered the parliament of New South Wales, Mr. Robert Lindsay (applause), a Belfast man, came a distance of forty miles to vote for him. (Applause.) There were only a few Europeans in Australasia when the British government or the British people gave them possession of a territory as big as Europe. Such an example of magnanimity had never been given by any other country in the world; and under the system of government which was called in this country home rule (applause) they had made such progress that the population of the country now numbered 1,400,000 people, with a territory of 200,000,000 acres of land. They had now established in New South Wales

A SINGLE TAX LEAGUE,

and he (the speaker) was asked some time ago to take the presidency of that league, and he had accepted that position at great personal inconvenience and some considerable sacrifice. They had divorced church and state in New South Wales. They had no state church. (Applause.) And the result of that was that there existed a better feeling among the people toward each other, and they had none of those petty differences that existed in some other countries. He experienced some difficulty in speaking there, being a stranger in presence of a strange audience, but he could say to them that if anyone of them thought of going out to New South Wales the people there would give them a hearty welcome. They would be glad to have them there, and six months after they arrived in the country they would be in the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as they themselves possessed. (Cheers.)

ADDRESS BY MR. S. M. BURROUGHS.

Mr. Burroughs, who was introduced by the chairman as a gentleman who had a stake on the country, being the proprietor of certain factories near London, where he had introduced the eight hours' system, received a very warm reception. He said that if as Mr. George had stated the birds of the air and the fishes of the sea would gaze with wonder and admiration—if they were capable of doing so—upon the spectacle of a ship crossing the Atlantic, he thought that there were some things of which they could not teach them anything. They never heard of any bird claiming a monopoly of the air (laughter) or a fish claiming a monopoly of a particular portion of a pond (renewed laughter). Yet the man who claimed any portion of the land of a country as his own exclusive property made, he asserted, as ridiculous a claim as the fish that claimed the ownership of the pond or the bird the ownership of the air. He believed in the doctrines enunciated by Mr. Henry George, and he would always be prepared to give them his advocacy and support. (Cheers.)

Several written questions addressed to Mr. George were then taken up and read by the chairman:

ANSWERING QUESTIONS.

The first was—Suppose a man had bought an estate with capital that he had saved from his earnings, would he think it just to tax what that man had bought any more than a ship, a watch, or a horse, that another man might buy with his money?

Mr. George—Oh! certainly, as a horse, an estate, or a watch were the production of labor, they were the production of individual exertion to which the right of individual ownership properly attached. Land was not the production of exertion, and its value was not produced by individual exertion, but by the growth and improvement of the whole community. It therefore belonged to the whole community, and in taking it for the whole community, they were merely taking for the community what rightfully belonged to them. The fact that a man had bought that which belonged to the community had nothing to do with the question. (Applause.)

The second question was—Would not the

landlord make the tenant pay the taxes after all?

Mr. George—No; and whoever might think that, the landlords would not think so. (Laughter.) If they did they would not object to the taxes. It was a settled principle of political economy that taxes on land value or rent must be paid by the rent owner, and could not be thrown upon the raiser of rent. Taxes upon capital must fall ultimately upon the consumer, because the prices of such things were determined by the equation between supply and demand.

The third question was—Would not Christianity, if properly understood, especially in its social aspect, solve the social and industrial problem?

Mr. George—Unquestionably, because the first principle of Christianity was justice. (Cheers.) That was the first principle of true Christianity, not the Christianity that prayed to God to relieve poverty, but did nothing itself to relieve it. (Cheers.) That blamed every class of poverty upon the inscrutable decrees of Providence. The Christianity of those who said when a poor man died that he had gone to a place where there was more room for him, because that was a place where no one was allowed to take up too much. (Laughter.)

The fourth question was—Did the land tenure of the Jews—the only system of land tenure that had ever received the divine sanction—not stand in the way of the single tax method of land tenure, as it seemed based on the same principle as the various systems of peasant proprietor?

Mr. George said the laws of the Almighty remained always the same, and the Bible never said men were to take lands because they conquered them or got them by grant, but always "Take thou the land the Lord thy God giveth thee." (Applause.)

The fifth question was—Would the abolition of Irish landlordism benefit the working classes of Belfast?

Mr. George—It would certainly benefit the working classes of Belfast. What was the rate of wages paid to the artisans of Belfast fixed by? It was fixed by the number of workmen who offered their services to the employer of labor. He (Mr. George) had been in Donegal some years ago, and he had followed one of those eviction armies, and he had seen them throwing out on the roadside the people who had lived there from time immemorial—old men and women and little children, and this at the instigation of a man who had never set his foot in Ireland—(shame)—a Scotchman, living on the other side of the Channel, and some months afterwards, in one of their Belfast slums, he had been taken by a good priest to these very families who had been driven from their homes into this city to sell their labor at what price they could get in their factories. (Cheers.) Why were wages higher in New South Wales than they were in Ireland? Simply because the access to the land there was less difficult than here. How was it that when gold had been discovered abroad the rate of wages increased so enormously? If gold had been discovered in this country when the land was private property wages would not have gone up at all. But wages had gone up in that country, because then the land was let to people so long as they worked it, and only so long as they did work it. (Cheers.)

The seventh question was—What would you pay the purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's act of 1887, or how would you deal with them?

Mr. George said he would deal with them as he would deal with everybody else. He thought that the people purchasing under this act should understand perfectly what they were doing. A friend had suggested to him that these people were not purchasing their farms with their own money. He did not think that that made any difference. It was value all the same.

The eighth question was—Under the Parnell scheme of buying land at seven years' purchase, how would he deal with the purchasers in case his scheme should come into law in this country?

Mr. George said he would not make any distinction between the man who purchased land under the Land act and the man who got it by inheritance, or the man who just took it. (Laughter.) The mere purchase of anything did not give possession. That was the argument used in the slavery days. It was said it would be all right if they could get the men who had brought over the niggers, but what were they to do with the men who had purchased their niggers? Were they going to rob them of what they had purchased? They did not propose to take anything from anybody, but they were going to take from land owners that which belonged to the community.

The ninth question was—Do you deny the law enunciated by Charles Darwin—that in all animated nature there is a constant struggle for existence? If not, why claim for your single tax system that it is in itself the cure for our social evils? Do you not recognize the fact that even if your system obtained here to-day the operation of this law would involve us in a generation or two in the same evils, which are, in reality, not due to landlordism but to the non-intelligent use of man's reproductive powers?

Mr. George said that his idea was that man had the means of increasing his subsistence, and that Providence had not created more creatures than there was food to maintain.

The next question was—Do you respect vested interests?

Mr. George said that he did not recognize vested interests.

In reply to the question—Would you sacrifice the natural beauties of the earth for factories, works, etc.?

Mr. George said the natural beauties of the earth would be preserved by his theory, and instead of having parks closed for the special benefit of individuals they would have people's parks, and in a great many instances gardens would surround the houses of the owners of the land.

Asked how many members of the United States senate supported his views,

Mr. George said he could not exactly tell, but he was aware that many of them did, and also that many members of the English and other parliaments agreed with him. It was not improbable that the whole question would be put to the test at the next election, and if it should be, they would find that it had thousands of supporters more than they thought; at all events that he predicted it was the burning question of the immediate future.

In reply to further questions, he said that his views in regard to trades unionism had not changed since he had written his chapter on that subject. As to arbitration on trades disputes it had only the advantage of bringing about an amicable settlement where a difference existed. He would not interfere with the moneyed people who had no land in connection with his theory if it were put in practice, money being a created property.

The different questions having been answered,

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. George on the motion of Mr. George Hunt, seconded by Mr. Shipperbottom.

Mr. George acknowledged the compliment, and moved a similar vote to the chairman, which having been acknowledged,

The meeting concluded with cheers for Mr. George and Mr. Wallace.

Mr. George lectures this (Thursday) evening in the Temple of Liberty, Toomebridge, on "The Land and the People."

In the Grove at Jersey City—The Meeting Devoted to a Consideration of the Condition of the Scotch Crofters.

It was Scotchman's day at the grove meeting held by the Standard single tax club of Jersey City on Sunday, July 21, at Salter's Woodbine grove on the Fairport shore of Newark bay. Not a seat was vacant and the audience listened closely to all that was said. John W. Jakeway, the president of club, was in the chair. John Molley entertained the audience with a number of songs and Colin Campbell recited in excellent style a number of selections from Burns and Scott.

The speaker of the day was Robert Ireland of New York, the champion Scotch piper of America, who described the conditions of the crofters of Scotland. Mr. Ireland is an enthusiastic single tax man, and a very earnest speaker. Having seen the sufferings of the Scottish highlanders and lived among them he was well able to tell about what they are compelled to bear under a cruel land system, which is worse than the slavery that existed in the south. The crofters, he said, are only just awakening to an understanding of their condition. Some of the huts where they live are unfit even for cattle.

Mr. Ireland said there was a day when the Highlanders' land was free. The patriarchal system under which their ancestors became a typical race of freemen, recognized the equal right of every clansman to the soil from which he drew his subsistence. The chief was but the administrator of an estate to which the humblest of his clan was equally an heir. There was no such thing among them as involuntary poverty. To-day sheep and deer rove over vast tracts of the finest parts of Scotland.

The blight and misery which ever accompanies the institution of private property in land has fallen with more than its usual weight upon the crofters, for it has taken away their ambition, which is the foundation of discontent.

Mr. Ireland told of the work that was being done in and out of parliament to break down this condition of affairs, and declared the day was not far distant when every Scotchman would have secured to him his natural rights.

Mr. A. P. Brown, a member of the club, closed the exercises of the day with an address upon the ethical side of the single tax movement. Incidentally, he dwelt upon the tariff and criticised an editorial upon the single tax which was written by Major Z. K. Faughorn, and which appeared in a recent issue of a local paper.

Next Sunday Mr. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, city editor of the New York Daily News, will address the meeting upon the relation of the single tax to building and loan associations.

Protectionists Our Natural Opponents.

DALLAS, Texas.—I find that most of those who oppose the single tax in Texas are those who worship the high tariff fetish. However, when it is explained to them that the single tax is both protection and free trade they seem to shed their fetish and delusion of tariffs protecting the rights of labor and agree that it is justice and not protection that labor wants. J. C. BURKE.

SPOKE IN NINETEEN TOWNS.

And Now Billy Radcliffe Is Taking a Little Rest Preparatory to Starting Off Again—He Says the Protectionists Feel Unwell—A Somewhat Unusual Proposition to the Mayor of a Town.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, July 15.—I am at home for a few days; will be on the road again the last of this week. I have talked in nineteen towns and cities and found single tax men in most of them.

The protectionists all along the route are very tame. They cannot account for the reductions in wages and labor troubles.

In one town the mayor told me the George theory would not work. "For," said he, "if you divide the wealth up it won't be long till everything will be just as it is now." I asked him if he had read any of Mr. George's writings. He said he had. I did not like to tell him what I thought, but I gave him a few tracts.

He is a protectionist and says the foreigner pays the tariff. I told him if he would go with me to the next town, only four miles away, and ask me questions from the crowd I would pay his expenses. But he wouldn't go.

I have a good opportunity to distribute tracts, but cannot afford to pay for all I would like to circulate. If single tax men of Ohio will send me tracts, or what money they can spare for the purchase of tracts, I can make a good showing in Ohio. I buy up what STANDARDS the newsdealers have left over and give them out where they will do the most good. BILLY RADCLIFFE, S. T.

A Question Very Much to the Point.

PITTSBURG, Pa., July 19.—The great strike against a reduction of wages at Carnegie's Homestead mills has finally been settled by "concessions on both sides," and this is described by the protectionist press of this locality as a "very satisfactory settlement." Very satisfactory, indeed. If strikes against wage reductions are to be satisfactorily settled by "concessions on both sides," where will it land the workingman eventually? It would be interesting to know how many such strikes under "the great American system of protection" have been settled by "concessions on both sides," and also what proportion the successful strikes for advance in wages bear to the unsuccessful ones against a reduction. GERALD E. FLANAGAN.

Interest Being Awakened in Brooklyn, E. D.

At the regular Wednesday night meeting of the Eastern district single tax club, held at 316 Bedford avenue, the proceedings were enlivened by a spirited debate on the question of restricting immigration. Nearly all present—including some strangers—took part. It was freely conceded that those in favor of keeping the bars down had the best of the argument. It is encouraging to the members to find that their effort to interest strangers in the club debates is now meeting with fair success. The question to be discussed at the next meeting, 24th inst., should be of special interest to single tax men: "Resolved, That in taxing land values the tax should be so levied as to absorb the entire rental value of land, to the end that landlordism shall be abolished." J. MCG.

Talking to Lawyers of the Single Tax.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The single tax was discussed last week before the State bar association of Tennessee. R. G. Brown of Memphis spoke in the affirmative and Francis Fentress of Bolivar in the negative. Mr. Brown's address consisted of the familiar argument, and he was warmly congratulated at its conclusion. Mr. Fentress is a warm supporter of the principle of the private ownership of land. He declared that without it the human family would degenerate into nomads; that it lay at the foundation of our civilization; and that to disturb it would stop the march of progress. Mr. Fentress may change his mind after further examination. X.

Gives Some Idea of What the Single Tax Would Amount To.

KANSAS CITY, July 12.—The Times prints the statement that the Cherokee cattle association, the present lessee of the Cherokee strip, will make a proposition to the next Cherokee council to extend its lease for ten years beyond its termination. The present lease has five years more to run. The company offers to pay in all \$5,000,000 for the use of the strip for the ten years, paying at the rate of \$400,000 per annum for the first five years and \$700,000 per annum for the second five years. The total would almost be as much as the government offers to pay the Indians for an outright sale of the land.

See the Point?

Andrew Carnegie, October, 1888.

Protection means happy homes and high wages and security for the workingmen.

Andrew Carnegie, June, 1889.

Under the new scale wages will be reduced about fifteen per cent.

Another Protected Industry.

New York Tribune, July 18.

At a meeting of the New York and New Jersey association of brick manufacturers yesterday it was unanimously agreed that no brick should be made after September 30 until next year.

NOTEBOOK JOTTINGS.

What loads of English capital are to be sent over here! Syndicates are buying up all sorts of big concerns, from breweries to composing machine patents. England is the rich country of the world. Yet they're poor enough there, too, with idle land enough to give them all employment.

New York is well described in the phrase, "a rich, mighty, incapable town." It lacks nearly all the public improvements enjoyed by the citizens of old world capitals. As one imperfection now leads to another, so would one improvement, if made, give rise to more. For instance, if gas pipes, water pipes, wires, sewers, &c., were all run through tunnels, the streets might be beautified. The poles would come down, smooth pavements might be laid, an end would be put to the continual ditching, and last, but far from least, successful tree-planting along the curbs would become possible. Ah! New York, quiet, clean and well shaded. What a place to live in!

It is noticeable that while large strikes abroad are just now often successful, those taking place in America usually hang on and end oftener in compromise or defeat than in success. While Braidwood and Homestead news is being read daily, and news comes of wages rising in the English iron trade, it will hardly do to sympathize too much with the foreigner who does not come to this country to better his condition.

It is announced that A. M. Dewey, editor of the Journal of United Labor, has retired from that position, and will take a place in the bureau of public printing. Tom O'Reilly, who is in temporary charge of the journal, is well known in New York, and has many friends in our school of political economy.

"Selling the climate" is what they are doing at a place on Long Island, down below Fort Hamilton. The locality is advertised as being "warmer in winter and cooler in summer" than either New York or Brooklyn.

A speaker at a recent meeting of radical thinkers compared his little party to those men who stray by ones and twos along the lines of telephone and telegraph poles, with spiked shoes on their feet and wires in their hands, ready to work on the poles, above the heads of men in the ordinary businesses of life. Their lives are lonely, and people do not appreciate their assistance in the movement of light and intelligence. But through them light does reach the dark places of the city and the world does receive its passing intelligence.

In the United States, of 1,402 towns reporting to the American Economic association on the subject, 544 own their water works, 675 have private works, and 183 did not report the character of ownership. Of places containing over 10,000 inhabitants, 67 per cent own their water works. A careful estimate has been made which seems to show that the people of this country are paying 10 per cent dividends on \$150,000,000 of fictitious gas stock. Only five cities own their gas works. No American city manages a street car line. Baltimore provides for a tax on the gross receipts of its street car companies. It used to be 20 per cent, but has been cut down to 9 per cent. It has yielded \$100,000 per annum for the past ten years.

In Great Britain, from municipal gas works alone, nearly \$17,000,000 is received annually.

At the close of last year, there were completed and in the course of construction, in this country, eighty-five electric railways, with about 450 miles of track. In the previous twelve-month they had carried over 18,000,000 passengers.

The Engineering and Mining Journal, through its technical knowledge, has been enabled to correct an error made by an enterprising associated press agent. The manager of the Standard oil company at Media, Pa., telegraphed to Philadelphia for "two hundred bull dogs." The alert press agent, somehow catching wind of the dispatch, developed facts enough out of it for this item: "The Standard oil company has introduced a new style of watchman. The company has suffered a good deal by tramps and loafers getting

too near its tanks and smoking, and thus setting fire to the gas generated by the oil, which ignites easily. Two hundred bull dogs, to range in age from six months to a year, the price to be \$15 each, have been ordered of a dog fanciers' association. The dogs are to be placed about the company's distributing stations and used in the field to guard the large iron tanks that are full of oil." As a matter of fact, the "bull dogs" wanted were harmless iron lifting jacks of a certain pattern.

The American Machinist, as noted in these columns, lately directed attention to the increased use of soft coal in New York. It has since received communications on the matter, the writers of some of which believed this use natural, as due to the restricted supply of anthracite, while others attributed it to onerous rates of transportation. The Machinist replies that the railroad companies are themselves the producers of anthracite coal. They are the restricters and rate raisers. Controlling the production, they fix the prices. The story is old, but it seems it must be repeated many times by many agencies of instruction before all the people shall know it.

While on the subject, the Machinist thinks it may be as well to remark that the condition of affairs in Pennsylvania revealed by the testimony taken in the investigations of the congressional committee, the report of which has just been printed, "is sufficient to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of any American citizen who, having the least power to assist in remedying them, fails to exert that power to the fullest extent possible. Not only is the general public systematically and outrageously robbed by these monopolizers of nature's bounties, and a heavy tax laid upon all forms of productive industry, but human beings capable under decent conditions of development into citizens in every way desirable for a great republic, are rendered a standing menace to the security of republican institutions and are reduced to a condition of hopeless misery, compared with which the slavery of former days was far more merciful and desirable." GRIFFE.

Glory Enough For One Day.

NEWCASTLE, Pa.—How easy it is, after all, to get music when you strike the right chord? At the farmer's picnic on the Fourth all I had to do was to read my paper. Then—think of it—a minister, who is a doctor of divinity, a doctor of medicine, and a number of keen farmers taking up the cudgel and annihilating the only man who raised his voice against the single tax! They gathered about the platform and laughed in derision at him when he opposed the single tax because it would destroy a man's chance to invest his money in land for speculative gain.

They saw the cat, these professional men and farmers; and one of the most influential ministers in the county expressed his pleasure that there was a man who dared to speak the truth. Think of it! And imagine my surprise to hear a farmer—perhaps sixty years of age—begin with the settlement of the county and show how the men who cleared the land and gave it its economic value were taxed on everything, while the city speculator who bought land and kept it out of use was taxed at a nominal figure and got rich out of the values created by the farmers!

They saw clearly enough how taxes on corporations, capital and personal property are shifted to the man who is next to the soil. They could see how taxes on plows and mowing machines, on stocks of goods, &c., increased the cost to the consumer. They felt the injustice of being taxed on the expenditure of money in making improvements; and saw how that taking taxes from industry and placing them on land values would compel the dogs in the manger to let go; and how the farmer's market would absorb all he could raise at good prices. And in this solid republican county, within ten miles of a lot of blast furnaces, they accepted the free trade doctrine.

What our objector thought to be his strongest point proved to be one of the strongest for us. He had been a tax collector; he had found that men would not make improvements because they knew their taxes would be increased—"and is it manly for a man who makes improvements to kick against paying taxes on them?" I did not say a word, for there were a dozen clear intellects to expose the fallacy.

It was glory enough for one day.

C. M. MORSE.

Weekly Discussions in Poughkeepsie.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—The Single tax club meets every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. in the hall at 226 Union street. The subject for discussion on Thursday evening, July 18, will be: "The maintenance of laborers not drawn from capital." See "Progress and Poverty," page 54-61. Ex. Com. SINGLE TAX CLUB.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, July 23.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 60,983
Received during week ending July 23. 768

Total 61,751

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

John M. Doyle, Denver, Col. \$1 00
Single Tax Men, Passaic, N. J. 1 50
I. L. Shoemaker, Philadelphia, Pa. 1 00
Adolph M. Segin, Hebron, Neb. 40
Emil Dermal, Burlington, Mont. 60
Edwin Platt, Irving, Ill. 25
A Lady 50
C. H. Vorhes, Cedar Rapids, Iowa 3 25
R. G. Dixon, Rock Springs, Wyo. 1 00
Sundry stamps 65

Total \$10 15

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

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

Francis H. Clark, Rapid City, Dak.—The principal objection offered here to the single tax is not that it is not right, but that life is too short to be used up in advocating it. Since such a mark has been made by the first low wash of the sea of justice and popular favor, we feel wonderfully hopeful for future success when the great waves of the same sea shall roll in upon us, as soon they must.

Benjamin Hamer, Bartonville, Ill.—Single tax is beginning to take a hold here. People are thinking and talking about it. We will organize a club here next Sunday.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile, Ala.—Last night I gave a chalk talk before the Knights of Labor here and illustrated on a blackboard the points made. They requested another dose. I have sent for fifty copies of "Progress and Poverty," and twenty-five on the land question and am determined to sow some seed before I leave Mobile.

D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.—Of the seventeen additional names inclosed the most are of business men of our city. A few are men of wealth who own considerable real estate. Much attention is being paid to the matter of taxation in our city. The lately created board of public works is discussing the question of bonding the city for money to use in making improvements, and persons are thinking carefully on the subject, all of which will tend to a consideration of the single tax. On the 11th inst, a meeting was held at the office of the Equity building and loan association and there were found to be present fourteen out and out single tax men full of zeal for active work. It was unanimously decided to proceed to the immediate formation of "The Oakland single tax club No. 1," which was done by the election of president and secretary and an additional committee for executive work. We now hope to begin in earnest to spread the light, as there are some experienced workers among our small number, and a good deal of earnestness is manifest.

Charles G. Bennett, Evansville, Ind.—We are gaining strength here and holding what we gain. We expect Judge Reid of Nashville to speak here in a few weeks.

R. H. Thompson, Portland, Ore.—We have been making much progress since Thomas G. Shearman was with us. We are steadily adding new names to our roll of membership, and hope as well as expect to have an enrollment of several hundred in our club by fall.

John Mulrooney, Plymouth, Mass.—I can report the most encouraging progress in the dissemination of the single tax idea here. I cannot help noticing how people's ideas have changed in the last two years. Those who used to call me a crank are now anxious to learn all they can of the single tax.

J. T. Schimpf, Sacramento, Cal.—I obtained fifty-three signatures in twenty minutes crossing from Oakland to San Francisco. I work the boat every other night, and as these people go to all points, it helps to spread the light very fast. I mail you 100 more signatures to-day, making 600 in all.

W. E. Brokaw, Bristol, Dak.—The other night an old schoolmate dropped in to see me. He was a member of the committee on resolutions at the tariff reform convention in Chicago last winter, representing Dakota—C. N. Keith, of Watertown. I speak of him to show the benefit of that convention. He went there a tariff reformer, afraid that "free trade was too much of a good thing." He came away an absolute free trader, believing in the abolition of custom houses. He signed a petition, bought "Progress and Poverty," and promised to do what he could for us. Have recently received a letter from the editor of the Chicago Leader which is full of good cheer to single taxers.

M. W. Norwalk, Albany, N. Y.—Last Sunday we had a large preliminary meeting at my house. Messrs. Zielman and Murphy and myself hired club rooms at 68 State street, a few doors above the capitol, and invited the rest of the boys to help us fix them up, and I hope that by the last of the week we will be ready to invite the public to our fortifications.

J. F. McQuade, East Cambridge, Mass.—The free traders are at work here hammer and tongs. I met them everywhere—even on Boston common—explaining to large num-

bers of workingmen and others the cause of the present manifest shrinkage in opportunity. They are compelling thought, and we may expect to hear "something drop" at our next state election.

A. G. Burman, Marinette, Wis.—I have just come home from Minnesota, where I had an opportunity to agitate free trade and single tax among the farmers. One of them told me to write him down as a free trader, spelled the same way as Mr. George spells it; the others left in a profound thinking mood. The moral side of the question, together with fiscal advantages, will bring the people into line with us without fail.

Dr. H. S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—The last meeting of the Benton single tax club was the best of all. Mr. White of Chicago held the attention of the members and some new inquirers fast for two and one-half hours, and the new faces said they would come every Sunday hereafter.

J. A. Hamm, Wymore, Neb.—Republicans and all seem to be anxious to learn about this land question, and old soldiers who would rather die than be called democrats are willing to be called single tax men.

Robert M. Quirk, Oronoque, Kan.—The absorbing question in this semi-arid land is "How can I raise money to meet my interest?" Little attention is paid to those who rob the farmer of his birth-right—a fair return for his labor. Land here is steadily going into the hands of the eastern capitalists, who, greatly to the detriment of the country, let it lapse into its wild state to burn with hot winds the crops of the poor settler. I suppose you are aware that nearly every settler who takes a homestead is compelled to mortgage by the time he is ready to make final proof in support of his claim, and as a consequence is always in a state of financial embarrassment. It is hard to emancipate such a class crammed full of grand old party doctrines, and ground down with poverty.

Sol F. Clark, Little Rock, Ark.—We are taking steps to organize a single tax club here, and find more friends who take an interest than we thought we had. We shall meet and appoint officers on Sunday, the 21st inst.

William W. Rose, Kansas City, Kan.—The Athenaeum society of this city held a discussion two weeks ago on "Protection versus Free Trade," which last until 1:30 a. m., and was decided in favor of free trade. The Athenaeum society is one of the most intellectual bodies of young men in this country.

Dr. B. Cornick, Mascoutah, Ill.—The News-Democrat of Belleville has opened its columns to a discussion of the single tax, and I have contributed four letters in its advocacy. Judge Nathaniel Niles of Belleville also took a hand in its behalf, and altogether we have every reason to believe that not a few people have been set to thinking. Dr. William N. Hill of Baltimore states in THE STANDARD of the 6th inst. that an item has recently appeared in the New York Medical Record concerning the single tax. A paper of some length, discussing that topic from the standpoint of the medical profession, was read by me before the St. Clair county (Illinois) medical society last December and appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association of May 4. It may be my paper occasioned the item in the Medical Record. At any rate it reached the offices of nearly ten thousand physicians. Our ideas are spreading, and when once a convert is made he immediately sets out to tell others of the truth he has learned. I inclose you the signatures of our mayor and city marshal.

M. Lorentz, Aspen, Col.—Our most successful work here has been through personal propaganda. Our movement is growing slowly but surely, and a general feeling is beginning to take hold that land monopoly is at the root of our social difficulties. Many, however, who realize this do not yet see that the single tax will decapitate that monopoly. They cannot realize that men monopolize land because it is profitable, and that by killing the profit the monopoly itself would be buried. Others get confused by imagining that the monopoly consists in having paper titles instead of the power to rob. Still others do not think enough to see that the imaginary land owner, under the single tax, could not add the tax to the rent. The mass of men do not really think.

C. D. Hemming, Little Rock, Ark.—At an informal gathering of single tax men this afternoon an organization was effected which is to be known as "The Single tax club of Little Rock." From what transpired there I have small fears but that we shall be well known soon. Everybody present took a real interest in the proceedings. The enthusiasm was more than encouraging. With our "pastures new," (Arkansas has been the last to fall in line, I believe) you may look for great results in the near future.

Ed. M. Harris, Lincoln, Kansas.—We are making some headway and feel greatly encouraged.

W. C. Kempton, Los Angeles, Cal.—I inclose \$4.50, a little collection I took up for the cause. Perhaps others could do the same, as many would give a little if someone would only take interest enough to solicit it.

Melvin H. Palmer, St. Louis, Mo.—Twenty-seven of the inclosed petitions are the result of a trip into the country on the Fourth.

Van Dorn Erlekson in Nashville Herald.

What a devil's gospel that doctrine of Malthus is—that the growth of population outstrips the means of subsistence, and that

Certainly Professor Huxley is right in the statement that the presence of widespread body and soul destroying and ever increasing poverty in the midst of abounding wealth is the true sphinx enigma which this civilization must solve or else be devoured by the monster itself has generated. But what answer does this eminent savant suggest should be returned to the question of the sphinx? He is indifferent to the fate of all nations and peoples save his own. He is only solicitous that his own country, that England, shall escape being devoured. And as the only way to escape that catastrophe he advises that the British workingman be furnished such a technical education as will enable him to produce better work at cheaper cost than any of his rivals, and so control the markets of the world. If somebody is to be starved, and that is the fixed decree of fate, let it be some one else than John Bull, and Professor Huxley will be content, even though, as the condition of escaping from such starvation it is required that John Bull should imbrue his hands in the blood of the victim. As a friend said to me the other day, "you have got to run over or be run over, and of the two I prefer the first." Such is the voice of nineteenth century Christianity; John L. Sullivan wearing "the seamless garment," and a white necktie. It is the doctrine of death and hell, of unadulterated selfishness. It is the doctrine which justifies itself behind the Pharisee's and the murderer's exclamation, "who made me my brother's keeper!" It is the doctrine the principle of which underlies our protective tariff system, that all nations are enemies, not members of one and the same family, and should fence each other out by a Chinese wall of custom houses. Its latest and most logical manifestation is the cry, "America for the Americans;" in infamy surpassing even the cry of "Crucify him, crucify him!" It is the doctrine by which the devil, the father of lies, has been able for centuries past to nullify the teaching of the wisest political economist that ever walked the earth, the soul of whose teaching is, "Love your neighbor as yourself," and by which he has been able to fill the world with liars and hypocrites professing themselves Christians.

Tell me, does a God or a devil rule this universe? The whole question lies right there. Or are God and the devil partners? Or if you have concluded, as is likely, that there is neither God nor devil, then tell me, does obedience to the moral law work out health or disease? Does the violation of the moral law produce the one or the other? If you refuse to conform your manner of living to the physical law, doubtless you know from bitter experience what the certain result will be. Are the laws which govern matter the only laws that obtain in this universe? If you en-

Carlyle was right when in 1850 he said: "America's battle is yet to fight. New spiritual pythons, plenty of them, enormous megatheriums, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight future on America." Already a vulgar moneybag aristocracy—the basest sort of aristocracy that ever appeared on this earth—and sansculotism confront and look each other in the eye, and there is neither the strength of religious sentiment nor a standing army to keep them apart or to check their ferocity when once their lips shall have tasted blood.

Unless we can imbue this marvelous material civilization of ours with a soul its disastrous overthrow in the near future is certain. We will but accumulate testimony to the truth of the poet's gloomy ejaculation: "First virtue, and then glory; when these fail
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;
And History with all her volumes vast
Hath but one page."

freshness and glory of dawns; the parting
look of sadness, yet of hope, which dying
day, each pang imbuing with a new color,
throws back from all the western sky; the
hush of twilight "as of a nun breathless with
adoration;" the weird serenity of midnight;
the color and perfume of flowers, exiles from
that lost garden of Paradise, thank God, yet
to be regained; music, that language of the
angels; the look of peace, of that peace
which passeth all understanding, which death
leaves on the faces of the broken hearted
whom he has kissed to sleep; the still, small
voice that whispers in the hero's heart, and
bids wear the crown of thorns; the strength
that comes in that dark hour, and the
prayer, his face like unto an angel's. "Hail not

Result of Trying to Tax what They Can-not See.

About eighteen months ago a circular was issued from the office of the attorney general addressed to each county and each district attorney in the state, directing the criminal prosecution of every citizen who had rendered property for taxes at less than a cash valuation. The offense to be charged against the citizen was perjury. It was a startling proposition. These attorneys were instructed to consult tax assessors, ascertain the names of those guilty of undervaluations, and present the same to the grand juries for indictment. The occasion of this remarkable circular was said to be that the fraud was commonly practiced. The object was stated to be to effect a salutary reform. But there have been no indictments, no prosecutions, no salutary reform. Were the taxpayers of Texas libeled, or will the attorney general denounce prosecuting attorneys, tax assessors and grand juries as false to their official oaths and obligations?

Nine-tenths of all the monopoly trusts we have are the logical creation of excessive tariff taxes; and it is worthy of note that trusts have multiplied rapidly since the last election, because monopoly tariff taxes are regarded as secure against reduction. It is worthy of note, also, that while monopoly combines have rapidly increased since the election to increase needless taxes upon consumers, there has been a steady and almost universal reduction of the wages of labor in our highly protected industries. The people now see the truth because it can be no longer hidden from them, and one of two things the republican power of to-day must choose—either the complete overthrow of monopoly tariff taxes or the complete overthrow of republicanism. Which will it choose?

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

Akron O.—Jas R Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N Y—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J C Rosshirt, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon.—Mrs Josephine Spahr.
Alhambra, Pa.—L Ishler, pres; D L Munro, recording secretary single tax club.
Amsterdam, N Y—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D C—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Antioch, Ohio.—H H Goss, 61 Veterans' am.
Ashtabula, Ohio.—A D Strong.
Athens, Pa.—Arthur L Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C Reed, lawyer, 15-1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H G Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Austin, N Y—Daniel Peacock, president; H W Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—L A Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N Y—Homer Sabin.
Baldwin Spa, N Y—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—Wm M Whitte, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 145 E Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Matthew C Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N Y—Antonio M Molina.
Beaumont, Tex.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Dak.—W E Isrokaw.
Brightington, N Y—E W Dundon, 33 Malden lane.
Buffalo, Mass.—Edwin M White, 38 Main street; Charles J R Roche, 39 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain; John Davis, 13 Leonard st., Harrison square.
Brooklyn, N Y—George E West, M D, 49 Clermont avenue, president single tax club.
Buffalo, N Y—H B Whittemore, pres. Tax reform club.
C43 Clinton st.; C C Whittemore, sec, 383 Washington street.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N Y—H W Johnson, P O box 265.
Canon City, Colo.—Frank P Blake, M D.
Cape Can.—O S J Harmond, M D, president single tax club.
Cape May City.—Wm Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Peterson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Cullen, 306 Second street; single tax club, 426 Milwaukee ave; Warren Worth Bailey, pres S T club, 125 5th av.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, Oriz building, 5 and 6 Fourth and Symamore.
Clinton, Minn.—Ralph Alex G Duke.
Cleveland, O.—C W Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—I. O Bishop, editor Argus.
Coloos N Y—J S Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hymanen, 348-1-2 South High street.
Black Diamond, Cal.—Jeff A Bailey.
Conover Hill, Calif.—J. J. Kisson, pres Chas P Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A Mann, 34 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—W W Kile, 33 E Fifth street; J G Galloway, 268 Samuel street.
Denver, Col.—Andrew W Elder.
Des Moines, Iowa.—J J Kisson, president Single tax club, 1000 Grand street.
Detroit, Mich.—J K Finchart, 45 Waterloo street; J I Duncan, 29—Third street, secretary Tax reform association; B G Howe, 54 14th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J V Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—G. W. H. Brown.
Dunkirk, N Y—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.
East Orange, N J—Edw C Althouse, 333 Main st.
East Portland, Long Island, N Y—J K Rudyard.
East Rindge, N Y—Edward J Lewett.
Elizabeth, N Y—Benjamin Unger.
Elmira, N Y—William Bergeman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W H Steers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—R D Torrey.
Washington Iowa.—F W Rockaway.
Foxcroft, Me.—E Libby.
Gardner, Ill.—T Cummings.
Glion Cove, Long Island, N Y—Herbert Loomer.
Glendora, Mont.—J. W. Sawyer.

Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H. Quintan, Glensville, N. Y.—Wm. C. Wood, M. D. Grand View on the Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton, Harrison, Tex.—J. M. Collum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Fieber.
Haverhill, Mass.—J. C. Chase.
Helena, Mont.—John J. McLeenus, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornelsville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Hotton, Kan.—J. J. Avery.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. A. Albert Chapman.
Hosack Falls, N. Y.—E. S. Hamman.
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas.—G. A. Malcolm, M. D.
Illon, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. C. Chase, president. Single tax league, N. Y. L. Co., Charles H. Krause, bookkeeper, Von negut' hardware store, E. Washington street.
Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N. J.—S. B. Wabbe.
Jersew City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Millr, secretary Standard League of N. Y. L. Co., 147 Broadway.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 2121 Highland avenue.
Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quigley.
Kelltsburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—J. M. McKinn, 21 Elmwood st.
Lansdale, Pa.—D. S. Jarvis.
Lexington, Me.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Barwin.
Little Rock, Ark.—S. T. Clark.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, West street.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dodge, 30 North Alameda street.
W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Vlnetto, P. O. Station E.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Mottel block, Kidder street.
Lytle, Minn.—C. F. Whom.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos. Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—H. H. Evenson.
Madison City, Va.—J. N. Becker, president. Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich.—Albert Wakley or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Alec A. E. Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Ballin.
Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Ralston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Mauldin, O.—Victor Barnett, 78 East South street.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—H. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 23 Alabama street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 580.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas. H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Pitcher, M. D.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—J. B. Luttberg.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 255 N. High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Rev. Hugo O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm. R. Whitmore, secretary Merced League office.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S. Waiters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax club, 247 Southgate street; Wm. C. James, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex. Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club.
Norman, Okla.—Wm. C. Adams, president.
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; B. S. Myers, P. O. box 337.
North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.
Oakville, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw. H. Haskell.
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres. Single tax association.
Timothy Horan, sec. 85 Railroad street.
Olmvina, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John H. Embler, 323 Virginia avenue; Percy W. Quinn, pres. single tax club, 1512 S. 5th street; C. F. Rockett, sec. n. w. cor 2nd and Blondo streets.
Ordway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex. Skillen, 160 West First street.
Owego, N. Y.—M. J. Adams, 18 Main st.
Painesville, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, 181 Washington place.
Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax club.
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm. J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary of the George Washington club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles K. Hood, P. O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Rlgen, 48 Stark street; R. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Aldro.
Poughkeepsie, R. I.—Robert Grieve, 32 Button street; Dr. Wm. Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—O. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Orman.
Reading, Pa.—Chas. S. Prizer, 1011 Penn. street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N. 6th street.
Reynolds' Bridge, Conn.—John Carroer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—M. Kitchie, 913 South A street; J. E. Little, 116 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. G. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Averil, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Reed Gordon.
Routland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Diego, Cal.—H. W. Gann, 129 10th street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Gispso, Cal.—Mrs. Frances M. Milne.
Seattle, Wash. Ter.—Alex. de la Walle.
Bessie Falls, Pa.—Wm. H. Addison, P. O. box 55.
Seymour, Conn.—A. J. Bostwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos. Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
South Gaston, N. C.—L. L. Perkins.
Sparks, N. Y.—Wm. Canning, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, sec. retary.
Spurn Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCrear, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 623 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. W. J. Jueman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—H. H. Hoffman, president Single tax league; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 919 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
Stonetham, Mass.—Dr. W. Symington Brown, Secretary II.—George Q. Guenther.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seynour street; H. R. Perry, 18 Gay St.; Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 150 State street; or James H. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Seaback, Wash. Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
Toledo, O.—J. P. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No. 1 12 Summit street.
Troy, N. Y.—F. C. Clarke, 138 K st.
Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. H. Albert.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—M. M. O'Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAdill.
Utah, N. T.—Thos. Mas Swenson, 116 Elizabeth street, or Wm. M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon. Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 3 Opera block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakarusa, R. I.—David Harrower.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, I. W., secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—Bryan M. Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Grant, 2 5/8 Eoff street.
Whitesboro, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harriwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C. P. Bellin, cigar store; Thos. Douglass, president Single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—H. W. Gann.
Worcester, Mass.—E. R. Kuter, Lako View.
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O.—Hilly Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Yonkersville, Ohio.—W. H. Longwell, 27 Van Buren street.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.

A CLUB of three or more yearly subscriptions, sent in at one time, will be received at \$2.00 each.

ADVERTISING rate thirty cents per square inch insertion.

COMMUNICATIONS and contributions invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

CONTRIBUTIONS and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD, and not at any time to individuals.

REMITTANCES should be made payable to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

SIGNATURES should be in full, with full address on every communication, to prevent errors.

RECEIPTS.—The correct filling of orders is evidence of receipt of remittance.

ERRORS.—Notice should be promptly given of undue delay or incorrect filling of orders.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.—When changing address send old as well as new address.

Sample copies sent free on application.

Henry George sailed from Liverpool on the Cunard steamship Umbria on Saturday last for his native land, and will, if all goes well, be in New York on Sunday morning next. Delegations from single tax clubs in New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City and other places expect to meet him at the steamer's pier, North river, foot of Houston street, and accord him a hearty welcome.

Preparations have also been completed by a joint committee of these clubs for a further demonstration of good fellowship at an informal dinner at Brighton Beach hotel, Coney Island, on Monday evening, July 29. Further particulars relative to this may be obtained in another column. All those who are desirous of taking part in this honoring Mr. George are urged to at once enter into communication with the proper persons and signify their intention of attending the dinner.

If the World is not misinformed an important meeting of leaders of the democratic party took place in New York a few days ago. Their object was to harmonize differences between factions, the existence of which can no longer be concealed. It is said that the practical politicians are anxious to avoid the free trade issue in the campaign of 1892. This is not true. There are more practical politicians in the party who are hot to enter that campaign under the tariff reform banner than there are of those who want to avoid the free trade issue. The practical politicians who want to avoid the issue are protectionists, who are animated, not by their views of party expediency, but by their convictions or interests. Of this class are ex-Secretary Whitney, Senator Gorman, and Congressman Randall, and the New York Sun is their organ. There need be no fear, and among the practical politicians of the party there is none, that a tariff reform fight will weaken the democratic party. It will lose it voters no doubt, and it will lose it some leaders, but it will gain from the independent and republican vote more than it loses from its own. There are localities that to-day are hopelessly republican which would swing into the doubtful column the instant confidence in the sincerity of democratic free trade declarations was established. It is not good politics for a party out of power to play second fiddle to the party in power, and practical politicians know it; and when a practical politician in the democratic party wants to make the party a protection party it may be safely assumed that for some reason or another he is more anxious to keep up the protective tariff than he is to put his party in power.

The World's informant says it has come to the knowledge of democratic chiefs that if the party will not espouse tariff reform, a new party will spring up under the banner of free trade, which will find recruits in the ranks of both parties. This is quite possible, and its very possibility

ought to make the policy of the democratic party clear.

It seems impossible to prevent the mental confusion that makes country papers suppose, when they first hear of the single tax, that it will be a peculiar burden upon farmers. This is due to a failure to distinguish between land and the value of land. The Saratoga Union is an example. It says the single tax would be unfair to farmers "for in most cases their land already pays no rent." How then could the tax be unfair to them? The Union is in great degree right in saying that most farming land pays only the cost of maintenance and fair wages to the farmer; but from that it follows that the farmer would be taxed very little or not at all.

To avoid natural error, however, it should be explained that, while it is true that farming communities would be comparatively untaxed, yet not all farming land would be untaxed, because all farming land would not be wholly valueless. Go into any farming community and you will find that while no land has much value, or to use the remark of the Union, while most of it pays only the cost of maintenance and fair wages to the farmer, some has greater value than the rest. That is to say, with given outlay of capital and given labor on some land, the farmer will get a larger return acre for acre than he would get from the same outlay and labor on other land. This is matter of common observation. Now, under the single tax in such a community the very best land would still have a value and the farmer would have to pay a tax, though not so high a tax as he pays now, because his improvements and products would be exempt; the very poorest land now cultivated would be abandoned because there would be better land all around to be had for nothing; and the intermediate land would be free of taxation, because it would yield to the farmer only the cost of working and current wages.

At the state convention of the Texas labor organizations which met at Dallas early this month, action was taken which will specially interest single tax men. In the series of resolutions presented by the committee on platform and adopted, was the following: "Whereas the land is the basis of all monopoly, the land being the chief and most essential of all natural opportunities; resolved, that we favor a single tax, or a tax upon land values, and the repeal of all other taxes whatsoever, because all other taxation is a fine placed upon intelligence, energy and labor." It was formally moved to reconsider this, among other economic propositions, and after a long discussion, in which H. F. Ring took part by invitation of the convention, the motion was lost. The Galveston News regards this declaration for the single tax with a degree of satisfaction that would horrify some of our conservative papers in the east, and wishes that all farmers and laborers could share its view "that equal opportunities should be had by disestablishing whatever exists of legal favoritism and restriction upon equitable and just rights." That is our policy precisely. We believe that opportunities to produce from the land and to trade the products are rights which should be equal, and that equality respecting them is to be obtained and secured by disestablishing the restriction of taxation which now rests upon both production and trade.

During the sessions of the Farmers' alliance and the Agricultural wheel at Memphis, Tenn., a prominent member who was interviewed by the Appeal predicted the inevitable reduction of the western farmer to the condition of a mere tenant at will of eastern money lenders unless something be done to prevent it. To prevent it he regarded as one of the objects of agricultural organizations, and if they could not prevent it he thought the calamity would probably be prevented by farmers becoming tenants of the state "by the adoption of the George, or single tax theory." No doubt farmers are

attempted at the first to regard the single tax as a system of state tenancy, and to compare it with landlord tenancy as something slightly preferable. But if they will consider it with a little more care, as in their own interests they should, they will find that there is no comparison between it and the system of landlord tenancy under which so many of them now produce. Under the single tax the state would not take possession of all land and rent to farmers as landlords do. Any one would be free to take any land he found unclaimed without other condition than that when the right to work on that land was worth something, he should pay taxes on its value. Meantime and thereafter, he would pay no taxes on his improvements or produce, and he would be as independent as any farmer who owns his own farm.

Delegates Maginnis, Lewis and Clarke, are urging the Montana constitutional convention to petition congress to grant to the state of Montana, instead of swamp lands usually granted to new states, the arid lands within her boundaries, "on such conditions as may provide that the value of such lands shall be devoted to purposes of constructing and maintaining reservoirs, agencies, ditches, and other modes of reclaiming the same by irrigation and making them productive and valuable." Here is an opportunity for people who are tender of the vested rights of landlords, and say the single tax idea would be all right if it had been started before lands were sold. Such people ought to encourage these delegates, ought to help them to get the petition through, and ought to appeal to congress to grant it. It would permit a trial of the single tax principle on a small scale to be sure, but without interference with "vested rights." The resolution has been referred in the convention to the committee on irrigation.

The silk operatives at Paterson were urged to vote for protection last fall to keep up the wages of their trade, and whenever a protectionist was asked to give any instance of the benefit of protection to American industry he pointed with pride to the silk industry at Paterson. And now there is a strike in the Paterson mills against reduction of wages. Free trade could not have been worse! When the next protection campaign opens the spell binders will find it harder than ever to address labor audiences. And if the banners of the late campaign are brought out in any manufacturing center it will take the boldness of a veteran liar to carry them between the double ranks of a jeering multitude.

The glass workers were another class who were relied upon as a body guard of protection. And now they threaten to strike against the agreement of the eastern association of glass manufacturers to reduce wages on the 1st of September. When the protectionists announced that free trade was killed last fall, they could hardly have expected that the fruits of protection would be so soon reaped by workingmen and women. Free trade can survive several death blows of the kind it has been recently favored with.

Shares in companies are often pointed to as proof that personal property as well as land has its unearned increment. An illustration afforded by the shares of a London company, the par value of which is £100, but which paid a dividend last year of over two thousand per cent, and a single share of which was sold at auction the other day for £192,800. At first blush that looks like an unearned increment large enough to throw the unearned increment of land far into the shade. But when we consider that the business of this company is the supply of water to half of London, for which purpose it has an exclusive franchise and owns large landed estates, the unearned increment appears after all to be an unearned increment of land. It is a monopoly value and nothing else. The truth is, and it is quiet clear, that an unearned increment cannot attach to anything that is in free course of reproduction. The only value that can

attach to such a thing is labor value. The so-called unearned increment is not a labor value but a scarcity value, and such is the kind of value that has attached to this London water supply stock.

Every year the cry against tips goes up and every year the burden of tips becomes heavier to the man of moderate means. One correspondent of a daily paper suspects that hotel proprietors connive at the practice by paying their help so little that the latter must either starve or compel the payment of tips. The hotel proprietors do nothing of the kind. Hotel proprietors, like other employers, own opportunities to work, and they farm out these opportunities, as do other employers, to the best advantage to themselves. If there were no tips hotel proprietors would have to pay wages in proportion to other wages, but the tips are a valuable privilege which nominally belongs to the hotel servant, but really to the hotel proprietor, and which the proprietor sells to his servants. On account of these tips hotel servants are willing to work for lower wages than they otherwise would, and in the long run the hotel servant gets, wages, tips and all, about as much as he would get directly from the proprietor if there were no tips. The hotel proprietor does not connive. He simply gets his servants for market wages, and allows his guests to pay part of the wages because they are willing to do it. Tips are part of the wages. There is no remedy for it short of the remedy for the whole industrial disease. When opportunities to work are so plentiful that none need beg for them, no man will work for a hotel proprietor who expects him to eke out his wages with tips. Time was in this country when it would insult a hotel servant to offer him a tip. If it is not so now, the reason is not that hotel servants are naturally less self-respecting, but that opportunities are comparatively so scarce that a man seeking a situation cannot afford to be too tender of his self-respect.

Judge Jacobs of Seattle contributes to the Times of that city a series of articles in favor of selling instead of leasing the school lands of Washington. Considering his premises it is astounding that he should reach the conclusion he does. "The landlord system," he says, "is not suited to the genius of a free people or a free government," and therefore he is for the sale of the school lands. We do not dispute his proposition that the landlord system is not suited to the genius of a free people or a free government. On the contrary, we go so far as to assert that it is destructive of liberty. But we should like to know why Judge Jacobs, if he believes this, wants to lay the foundation of landlordism as to the school lands by turning them over to landlords in perpetuity.

The Workman, of Grand Rapids, Mich., a most efficient advocate of the single tax, has driven an adversary into the corner of declaring that "man has no right to the earth, or any part of it, except the right of conquest," and that "his dominion will last no longer than he is able to maintain it by force." The Workman aptly replies that this is but a paraphrase of Proudhon's misquoted sentence that "property is robbery." When opponents of the single tax are compelled to adopt such sentiments to logically fortify their opposition, it is evident that the logical fight is nearing its conclusion.

RAISINS AND PAUPERS.

A protected California grape grower says we must have more paupers or there will be no money in growing raisins.

Colonel William Forsyth, a noted California raisin grower, has been over to Spain, studying raisin growing in Malaga, and since his return he has unbosomed himself in a most lugubrious strain to a reporter of the San Francisco Daily Report. He says the Malaga grapes are finer than those of California because the vines are older, but that time will make the California vines as good as those of

Spain. The greatest advantage enjoyed by the Spaniards is the minute care given by them to the raising and curing of the grapes. Labor is abundant there at thirty cents a day and Colonel Forsyth sees in this fact the reason why these people can carefully examine each bunch and put their raisins into such condition that they command \$4 a box in the New York market (duty included) while the California raisins command but \$2.10 a box.

Colonel Forsyth says that the soil of Fresno county is superior to that of Malaga, and that we are far ahead of the Spaniards in appliances for packing and curing and for cheaply obtaining water, but he complains that every raisin grower here wants to do his own packing, and that hence it is not skillfully done and proper care is not taken to exclude poor grapes. There seems to be here considerable margin for an improvement in quality that would advance the price of California raisins, but the colonel attributes the whole difficulty to dear labor, and he sadly declares that it is "a very difficult thing to compete with the pauper labor in Europe without a good supply of pauper labor in America to draw from."

He admitted that Chinese labor is the next best thing. Chinamen can be moved around "in car load lots," but even the Chinamen are getting cunning and are holding off from making contracts. The colonel is down hearted and declares that it is his deliberate opinion that California "will be bankrupted in seven years for lack of labor." Perhaps Colonel Forsyth has got it into his head that he and California are one. It is just possible that if he and others were to become "bankrupt" and go to work at skillfully packing none but good grapes that little vineyards of four or five acres like those of Malaga would spring up in Fresno that would furnish the carefully tended grapes such packers would need and be able to pay for. Certainly if this plan will not work it may prove difficult to induce the American people to consciously increase the number of paupers for the purpose of promoting raisin culture. Many of them, rather than do this, would actually go without raisins.

Mr. W. G. Sellers, one of our single tax friends in San Francisco, makes Colonel Forsyth's letter the text for a caustic communication to the Report in which he calls attention to the fact that the raisin growers of Fresno were clamoring during the last campaign for the defeat of the democratic party in order that the tariff on raisins might be maintained in the interest of American labor. Mr. Sellers says:

One thing that looks a little strange is that the cry for cheap labor almost always comes from those who are protected from foreign competition, ostensibly to enable them to pay American wages. The grain farmers are forced to compete with grain raised by so-called "pauper labor," without any protection whatever, yet they manage to pay from \$2 to \$4 a day in many places in harvest time, while those engaged in protected industries complain that they still "can't compete" without cheaper labor.

Land adapted to fruit growing is extravagantly "boomed" in price, while that used for grain raising remains comparatively cheap, but the higher their land goes the louder they howl for cheap labor. Is not the idea that they must obtain interest on these extravagant boom prices at the bottom of the trouble? And if they were willing to content themselves with a reasonable return for the use of their land, and pay a reasonable price for labor, would it not be better in the long run for the prosperity of the state?

It is only a few years since the best of Fresno lands could be bought very cheap, and it strikes me that its present owners are asking too much when they expect less fortunate mortals to continue a high tariff for their protection, ostensibly to enable them to pay good wages, and then turn around and complain that the state will be bankrupted if something is not done to enable them to obtain cheap labor.

Then She Will Lead all the Sister States.
Boulder, Mon. Ago.

Let Montana adopt the single tax system—the system of taxing land values only—and she will make a stride forward such as can not be dreamed of under the present system.

He May Also Convert an Editor or Two.

Minneapolis Tribune

Henry George is going to Australia in November to preach the gospel of single tax. He may convert the kangaroos.

MEN AND THINGS.

I went, on Sunday morning last, to the Holy Cross mission church, on the corner of Fourth street and Avenue C. It is something I do very seldom—this going to church. A week ago, I might have said that it was something of which I had given up the habit altogether. For as I have learned to have profounder faith in that glorious unswerving Harmony of the universe, which men call God, and dress in creeds, churches have become even more distasteful to me than they were in the days when the universe seemed out of tune, and man irrevocably doomed to soul destroying poverty, with a rich feast of plenty ever mocking him in its nearness and its unattainability. The lofty aisles, the noble spaciousness, the pleasant quietude of God's houses, somehow repel, where they are meant to encourage, the idea of nearness to Him. I cannot think of a loving Father being so luxuriously housed, while his children gasp and stifle in the loathsome slough which foolish men call competition, but wiser heaven knows is poverty and nothing else. Nor can the hunger of my soul find any satisfaction by association in worship with those who praise God for having declared a gospel whose most direct teachings they deride and reject as flagrantly impracticable.

Yet I went to the Holy Cross Mission church, and I went there gladly. I had met Father Huntington the afternoon before, and had heard from him the story of his recent work in central New York—toiling as a farm laborer during the week, and preaching in three different villages each Sunday the gospel of the coming kingdom, when truth and justice shall prevail, and God's will be done on earth. The story was a very simple one, but it interested me mightily. It filled my mind with thoughts of the marvels that might be wrought if all the sworn preachers of Christ would but believe and proclaim Christ's teachings. And with these thoughts in my mind, I went to Father Huntington's church on Sunday morning.

It was a small church, and a small congregation. But it seemed to me there was more genuine worship there than in many a vast cathedral. The people—they were mostly young folks—seemed to have come because they were really soul-hungry, and not from any reluctant sense of duty, or any petty desire for the respect of their fellows. There was much of the service whose symbolism I could not understand, and yet, as a whole, it was perfectly comprehensible and perfectly satisfactory to me. Were I asked if I believe in the details of Father Huntington's creed, I should have to answer, No. And yet I cannot feel that his faith and mine are very far apart.

The sermon was upon the application of principle to the daily affairs of life; and pointed out the worse than folly of expediency where questions of right and wrong are involved. It was delivered in plain language, and with a directness of application to the individual members of the congregation that was absolutely startling. Expediency, the preacher pointed out, has its uses. It is the principle of experimentation. It has enabled man to harness the forces of nature to his work. It points the way to invention and discovery. It has done great things; and, wisely applied, it may do greater still. But with the moral universe expediency has nothing whatever to do. In man's dealings with his fellow man, the first and only principle to be consulted is the principle of right. Do right without regard to consequences. Do right because it is right. Do right because, in justice to your own soul, you can do no otherwise.

"This is not a question," said Father Huntington—I may not be quoting his exact words, but the spirit of his preaching burned itself into my mind—"this is not a question for the future. It is a question that confronts you now, at every present moment, and cannot be postponed or put aside for a more convenient season. Many of you,"—and here he paused, and looked slowly round the congregation, as if about to speak to each one individually—"have told me that you cannot obey the laws of God in your daily vocations—that you must tell lies, and act dishonestly, or lose your situations. Well, you can take your choice. You can follow Christ

or you can deny him. But don't delude yourselves with the notion that you can do both, or do one one day in the week, and the other all the rest of the time. If you really believe in Christ—if you really want to follow Him—you will say to yourselves: 'I can do a great many things; I can lose my situation, I can walk the streets looking for work, I can go hungry, I can even die. But there is just one thing I cannot do—the thing my soul tells me would be wrong.'"

And then he told them of the early Christians; how, simply refusing to have anything to do with expediency—by simply disregarding consequences, suffering in patience all that the most ingenious cruelty could inflict upon them, sooner than be untrue to their own consciences in the least particular, they kept the flame of faith alive for centuries, burning brighter all the time.

I wish I could reproduce on paper the earnest voice, the kindling eye, brightening with the enthusiasm of truth. I wish I could even give the words of the discourse. For it impressed me very deeply. As I listened, there grew upon me a vision of what the believers in a great truth might accomplish, if only they could bring themselves to accept it absolutely, in all its fullness—to accept it so sincerely that it would be impossible for them to do otherwise than to square their conduct to it. And I saw, more clearly than ever before, that in that way alone, and not in any other, is freedom to be established.

History records few things more curious than the investigation now going on before a referee as to whether killing by electricity is a cruel or unusual mode of punishment or not. A man has been found guilty of deliberately killing another man, and the law, with a view to the discouragement of deliberate killing, has decided to deliberately kill him, with a deliberateness far exceeding the deliberateness of any ordinary murderer. And all the people say amen.

But then a lawyer comes forward with a piece of paper bearing words regarding which a little lot of men, years ago, had some sort of a debate, and says to the law embodied in the person of a single man: "Look here. It's perfectly right and proper that you should kill this man. Some fellows said it was moral once, and of course that makes it moral. But I insist that it would be highly immoral for you to kill him in this particular way in which you have told him you are going to kill him." "Not so," says law, "I have a perfect right to kill him in that fashion. Indeed, it would be wrong to kill him in any other. Don't you remember that a lot of men met last year, and wrote it down on paper, that if I wanted to kill anybody I must do it by electricity, and not in any other way?" "Oh, yes," says Mr. Lawyer, "I know all about that. But you must remember that these other fellows, years ago, before electricity was thought of as a thing to kill people with, decided that it should be wrong for you to kill anybody in a cruel or unusual manner. Now I say that to kill a man by electricity is both unusual and cruel, and therefore this piece of paper makes it wicked for you to do so. And so you mustn't do it." "All right," says Law, "go and talk to Mr. So-and-So, and see what he thinks about the matter. If he says it's wrong, why I suppose I'll have to let the poor man go, and not kill anybody else, until some more men write another piece of paper making it virtuous for me to do so." And so experts are being examined and all sorts of fairy tales listened to, by way of settling whether the deliberate killing of a man is a virtuous or wicked action.

I said there had been few things more curious than this investigation. But I think there is one thing that is vastly more curious. And that is the way in which men take for granted that a few individuals, who have had the luck or smartness to get ballots cast or counted for them, can usurp an attribute of God, and make it wrong for one man to kill another, but right for other men to kill him. It is just this superstition that makes industrial slavery possible. Men would never submit to be robbed of their natural rights, had they not learned to believe that actions are right or wrong, according to the say so of a lot of men who are generally rather below the average of humanity in respect to morals.

T. L. M'CREADY.

SOCIETY NOTES.

New York is socially so dead just now that club windows are not even glanced at by the few stragglers who come to town for a day's business or shopping, and hurry through the avenue as if they were Wall street defaulters on their way to Canada. Sunday begins for city people about 1 p. m. on Saturday when express trains start and excursion boats load up with human freight, and there is no let up in the stillness that reigns over streets and squares until Monday morning. Although visitors to the different watering places tell the same story of dullness in action and a deplorable scarcity of men, one thing is very certain—that there is no one left in town.—(New York Sun.)

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 20.—Frank Kalonbha, a penniless Bohemian immigrant, 35 years old, en route to Cleveland, where he has friends, attempted to commit suicide with a pocket knife last night. The blade, however, was not sharp enough to penetrate far and the chances are that he will recover. Kalonbha left his home two months ago, leaving behind a wife and three children. When he reached New York he was penniless and the authorities there furnished him with means to get as far as Buffalo. Becoming despondent here he tried to end his life.

The charm of the great houses of Newport, says a New York paper, is their individuality. Each one is the outcome of an enormous expenditure of money, but of money laid out under totally different conditions and directed by individual tastes and preferences. Hence sameness and monotony are unknown. The mansion only just begun for Mr. William K. Vanderbilt, with it is said, be absolutely unique in its style of architecture and decoration. It is to be of white marble and modeled after the buildings and temples of ancient Greece. Marble will also enter largely into the finish of its interior, and it is rumored that exquisite carvings and sculpture have been ordered for the ornamentation of the lower floors.

The body of an unknown man, about thirty years old, five feet eight inches in height, dark hair and mustache, and dressed in a new suit of black clothes, was found floating in the Central park reservoir, opposite West Ninety-third street, shortly after 5 o'clock last evening. The body was taken to the morgue.

Plans were filed in the building bureau last week for the erection of two new churches, parsonages, etc., one by the Trinity church corporation at Ninety second street, near Ninth avenue, to cost \$350,000; the other a Lutheran church at Madison avenue and Seventy-third street, to cost \$145,000.

Welcome Home!

Oh, tell us the message again!
We listened with straining ear,
While the isle of the sea refused
That marvelous word to hear.
Forever, unto his own,
Shall the Prophet unhonored come!
Oh, answer, ye chosen hearts,
And lips with your gladness dumb.

Earth's snow-bound slumber is past;
The summer her pledge fulfills;
The brook in the sunlight laughs
To the opulent vales and hills;
The depths of the forest stir
With a thousand flashing wings,
And the grassy coverts hide
A myriad happy things.

And our souls from a darker trance
Have awakened, the light to see—
The affluent joy we hold,
The glory that yet shall be.
O, Father Almighty! thy love
Again is our refuge sure;
Forgive us the blinded eyes,
And the trust that could not endure.

By the chill of the icy past,
By the faith we deemed was dead;
By the stony earth we trod,
And the heaven of brass o'erhead;
By the hope new born that springs
As the day star's beaming ray;
By the bitter, silenced curse,
And the lips that learn to pray—

We would own our debt to thee,
Apostle and Prophet dear!
This day is the scripture fulfilled
In the world's expectant ear.
Oh, true to thy high behest,
From the wilderness lead us on,
Till—Moab and Jordan passed—
The land of delight is won!

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, Cal.

RECEPTION AND DINNER

to

HENRY GEORGE

at

BRIGHTON BEACH HOTEL,

Coney Island.

MONDAY, JULY 29,

At 6 O'Clock.

PRICE OF TICKETS \$2.

Tickets may be obtained from members of the committee, at THE STANDARD office, 12 Union square, the Manhattan Single Tax Club, 36 Clinton place, or at the Brooklyn Central Single Tax Club, 66 Livingston st.

ARCHIMEDES.

Twark Main in the Australian Standard.

"Give me whereon to stand," said Archimedes, "and I will move the earth." The boast was a pretty safe one, for he knew quite well that the standing place was wanting, and always would be wanting. But supposed he had moved the earth, what then? What benefit would it have been to anybody? The job would never have paid working expenses, let alone dividends, and so what was the use of talking about it? From what astronomers tell us, I should reckon that the earth moved quite fast enough already, and if there happened to be a few cranks who were dissatisfied with its rate of progress, as far as I am concerned, they might push it along for themselves; I would not move a finger or subscribe a penny piece to assist in anything of the kind. Why such a fellow as Archimedes should be looked upon as a genius I never could understand; I never heard that he made a pile, or did anything else worth talking about. As for that last contract he took in hand, it was the worst bungle I ever knew; he undertook to keep the Romans out of Syracuse; he tried first one dodge and then another, but they got in after all, and when it came to fair fighting he was out of it altogether, a common soldier in a very businesslike sort of way settling all his pretensions.

It is evident that he was an over-rated man. He was in the habit of making a lot of fuss about his screws and levers, but his knowledge of mechanics was in reality of a very limited character. I have never set up for a genius myself, but I know of a mechanical force more powerful than anything the vaunting engineer of Syracuse ever dreamt of. It is the force of land monopoly; it is a screw and lever all in one; it will screw the last penny out of a man's pocket, and bend everything on earth to its own despotic will. Give me the private ownership of all the land, and will I move the earth? No; but I will do more. I will undertake to make slaves of all the human beings on the face of it. Not chattel slaves exactly, but slaves nevertheless. What an idiot I would be to make chattel slaves of them. I would have to find them salts and senna when they were sick, and whip them to work when they were lazy. No, it is not good enough. Under the system I propose the fools would imagine they were all free. I would get a maximum of results, and have no responsibility whatever. They would cultivate the soil; they would dive into the bowels of the earth for its hidden treasures; they would build cities and construct railways and telegraphs; their ships would navigate the ocean; they would work and work, and invent and contrive; their warehouses would be full, their markets glutted, and the beauty of the whole concern would be that everything they made would belong to me.

It would be this way, you see: As I owned all the land, they would, of course, have to pay me rent. They could not reasonably expect me to allow them the use of the land for nothing. I am not a hard man, and in fixing the rent I would be very liberal with them. I would allow them, in fact, to fix it themselves. What could be fairer? Here is a piece of land, let us say, it might be a farm, it might be a building site, or it might be something else—if there was only one man who wanted it, of course he would not offer me much, but if the land be really worth anything such a circumstance is not likely to happen. On the contrary, there would be a number who would want it, and they would go on bidding and bidding one against the other, in order to get it. I should accept the highest offer—what could be fairer? Every increase of population, extension of trade, every advance in the arts and sciences would, as we all know, increase the value of land, and the competition that would naturally arise would continue to force rents upward, so much so, that in many cases the tenants would have little or nothing left for themselves. In this case a number of those who were hard pushed would seek to borrow, and as for those who were not so hard pushed, they would, as a matter of course, get the idea into their heads that if they only had more capital they could extend their operations, and thereby make their businesses more profitable. Here I am again. The very man they stand in need of, a regular benefactor of my species, and always ready to oblige them. With such an enormous rent-roll I could furnish them with funds up to the full extent of the

available security; they would not expect me to do more, and in the matter of interest I would be equally generous. I would allow them to fix the rate of it themselves in precisely the same manner as they had fixed the rent. I should then have them by the wool, and if they failed in their payments it would be the easiest thing in the world to sell them out. They might bewail their lot, but business is business. They should have worked harder and been more provident. Whatever inconvenience they might suffer, it would be their concern, and not mine. What a glorious time I would have of it! rent and interest, interest and rent, and no limit to either, excepting the ability of the workers to pay. Rents would go up and up, and they would continue to pledge and mortgage, and as they went bung, bung, one after another, it would be the finest sport ever seen. Thus, from the simple leverage of land monopoly, not only the great globe itself, but everything on the face of it would eventually belong to me. I would be king and lord of all, and the rest of mankind would be my most willing slaves.

It hardly needs to be said that it would not be consistent with my dignity to associate with the common rank and file of humanity; it would not be politic to say so, but, as a matter of fact, I not only hate work but I hate those who do work, and I would not have their stinking carcasses near me at any price. High above the contemptible herd I would sit enthroned amid a circle of devoted worshippers. I would choose for myself companions after my own heart. I would deck them with ribbons and gewgaws to tickle their vanity; they would esteem it an honor to kiss my glove, and would pay homage to the very chair that I sat upon; brave men would die for me; parsons would pray for me, and bright-eyed beauty would pander to my pleasures. For the proper management of public affairs I would have a parliament, and for the preservation of law and order there would be soldiers and policemen, all sworn to serve me faithfully; their pay would not be much, but their high sense of duty would be a sufficient guarantee that they would fulfil the terms of the contract. Outside the charmed circle of my society would be others eagerly pressing forward in the hope of sharing my favors; outside of these would be others again who would be for ever seeking to wriggle themselves into the ranks of those in front of them, and so on, outward and downward, until we reach the deep ranks of the workers for ever toiling and for ever struggling merely to live, and with the hell of poverty for ever threatening to engulf them. The hell of poverty, that outer realm of darkness where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth—the social Gehenna, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched—here is a whip more effective by far than the keenest lash of the chattel slave owner, urging them on by day, haunting their dreams by night, draining without stint the life blood from their veins, and pursuing them with relentless constancy to their very graves. In the buoyancy of youth many would start full of hope and with high expectations; but, as they journeyed along, disappointment would follow disappointment, hope would gradually give place to despair, the promised cup of joy would be turned to bitterness, and the holiest affection would become a poisoned arrow quivering in the heart!

What a beautiful arrangement—ambition urging in front, want and the fear of want bringing up the rear! In the conflicting interests that would be involved, in the throat-cutting competition that would prevail, in the bitterness that would be engendered between man and man, husband and wife, father and son, I should, of course, have no part. There would be lying and cheating, harsh treatment by masters, dishonesty of servants, strikes and lockouts, assaults and intimidation, family feuds and interminable broils; but they would not concern me. In the serene atmosphere of my earthly paradise I would be safe from all evil. I would feast on the daintiest of dishes, and sip wines of the choicest vintage; my gardens would have the most magnificent terraces and the finest walks. I would roam mid the umbrageous foliage of the trees, the blooming flowers, the warbling of birds, the jetting of fountains, and the plashing of pellucid waters; my palace would have its walls of alabaster and domes of crystal, there would be furniture of the most exquisite workmanship,

carpets and hangings of the richest fabrics and finest textures, carvings and paintings that were miracles of art, vessels of gold and silver, gems of the purest ray glittering in their settings, the voluptuous strains of the sweetest music, the perfume of roses, the softest of couches, a horde of titled lackeys to come and go at my bidding, and a perfect galaxy of beauty to stimulate desire, and administer to my enjoyment. Thus would I pass the happy hours away, while throughout the world it would be a hall mark of respectability to extol my virtues, and anthems would be everywhere sung in praise.

Archimedes never dreamt of anything like that. Yet, with the earth for my fulcrum and its private ownership for my lever, it is all possible. If it should be said that the people would eventually detect the fraud, and with swift vengeance hurl me and all my courtly parasites to perdition, I answer, "Nothing of the kind, the people are as good as gold, and would stand it like bricks, and I appeal to the facts of to-day to bear me witness."

THE KEYNOTE.

Henry George's Address at the Paris Conference.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen:—I thank you very much for the honor you have accorded me, by electing me the honorary president of the conference which meets tomorrow. All we have hoped to do is for some of us, who in different countries and in different tongues are pushing on the great work, to take advantage of the opportunity of the time to come together, to know each other and to lay the foundation of that friendship which may help us to do better work in time to come. Some sixty congresses are arranged to be held during the exhibition. Some of them will perhaps be larger than this; none of them will discuss a subject of greater importance. Among those who have never considered the subject there is an idea that the land question is merely a question for farmers. Lived there ever a man without the land, or could a man live without it? The land question: why it is to man what the water question might be to fishes or the air question to birds! The land is the reservoir from which man must draw for all his needs; it is the standing place upon which alone he can live and work; his very body is drawn from it, and to it returns. Man is a land animal. He can only live on and from land. All his producing is but the working up of land. The land question has therefore always been and always will be the fundamental social question. The land question is but another name for the labor question.

A century ago the French convention declared the rights of men and citizens. They declared what we believe to be true, that public misfortunes come from ignorance, contempt, or neglect of the rights of man. A century ago in France the equal rights of man were decreed. More than a century ago another older republic had also decreed the equal rights of man—the equal right of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet, although we in America enjoy equality before the law, although we have no hereditary governors, and have abolished chattel slavery, yet from the Atlantic to the Pacific we know of the millionaire and the tramp.

This century has learned that political rights are not all, that the equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness involves the equal right to the means of life, the equal right to the use of land. We meet together here of different countries and of different tongues to consider, not a local, but a world-wide question. All over the civilized world this most significant fact is seen, that the marvellous advances of industry and of productive science have nowhere made the lot of the toiler easier. We, representing many thousands of our countrymen, believe that the great cause of the fact that all over the world labor—the producer of all wealth—seems to be a drug, is simply this, that the natural elements which are necessary to all labor and to all production have been made the absolute property of some. So long as men can only live on land and produce from land, the man who is denied an equal legal right to the use of land is disinherited; he is as great a monstrosity as a fish without water, or a bird without air. The slavery which makes property of the flesh and blood of man is but a coarse form of slavery. Men may be made slaves just as much by making property of that which is necessary to the existence of their bodies as by making property of the bodies themselves. We come here holding as to details different views, but we all unite on one or two great principles. We all unite in upholding what the French convention of '89 called the "Sacred Right of Property." It is our belief that that which anyone by his exertion has produced from natural elements is by right his property. And we unite, too, I think, upon the converse of that proposition, that that which is not the result of human labor, which existed before man came, which is necessary to all production, cannot rightly be placed in individual ownership. The land, which is the

storehouse of labor for future generations as well as for us, can only be the property in usufruct of any particular generation. Inland all men's rights are equal. We unite, too, in the belief that no matter how important may be other things which it may be good to do, the most important is to recognize the right of all men to a foothold and a resting place upon the earth. There may be other monopolies than the land monopoly, but the monopoly of the element which is essential to all production, must be the most fatal, and therefore whoever would enfranchise labor, and bring about a just system of production and distribution, must begin by working for a just relation between men and the land.

What we wish to do, in the first place, is to restore to men their natural rights. We see the path of reform not in the line of new restrictions, but in the sweeping away of restrictions, in a fuller and larger liberty. We would not help the poor; what we wish to do is to give the poor their natural opportunity to help themselves. We do not propose to create a great machinery for the purpose of elevating labor. What we ask for labor is not condescension but justice. In seeking justice, in seeking to put all men upon a plane not of equal conditions but of equal opportunities, we seek to injure none. We believe that this great reform, which will give all men equal opportunities, will be to the advantage even of those classes which now seem relatively to profit by injustice. We believe that justice will give such an impetus to the production of wealth, and bring about so much juster a distribution, that the advantages which are now the exclusive privilege of the few, will be extended to all.

Our spirit is the same as burst forth a century ago and sought not merely to establish a French republic, but to regulate the whole world on a basis of liberty, equality and fraternity.

When a man once sees that the evils which afflict the world arise, not from the niggardliness of nature, but from the ignorance or injustice which deprives men of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, he becomes in very truth a citizen of the world. A century has passed, and it is clear that a new struggle is preparing all over the civilized world. In the land question lies the true path for the relief of suffering humanity. In taking hold of that first we take hold of the social question, as M. Simon has said, at the right end. The importance of this little conference is not to be measured by the numbers which attend it, but by the greatness of the truth they grasp. In the English-speaking countries reform is taking this line. The masses are being aroused to the injustice which makes the common property of all the private monopoly of some—which makes the mere laborer helpless because he is disinherited. Among the English-speaking peoples the movement goes forward with a marvellous rapidity, such as I never expected to see. In the United States we already stand where the abolitionists stood in 1856. As to England, I can also say, from personal observation, having recently spoken at some sixty places in Great Britain, that a movement is in progress, the full effect of which will not be felt till the next parliamentary election. A peaceful revolution is in progress which, wherever the English tongue is spoken, will abolish involuntary poverty by establishing the equal right of all to the use of the earth. And we hope that by your effort and aid this will become a world-wide movement.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Henry George is doing yeoman work for the single tax theory in France and England. Those who called him "little harry" when he was pegging away on the post cannot say too much in favor of his genius now. They have transposed the field glasses, and he is at the big end, they at the little.—[Sacramento, Cal., Bee.

The thing to be done to solve the labor problem is so to increase the opportunities for employment or self employment that the margin of the unemployed will disappear. Then there will be no difficulty in raising wages; in fact, all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't keep wages from rising under those circumstances. There is no natural reason why the general rate of wages should not be much higher than it is now, because never in the history of the world was the productiveness of labor so great in proportion to the number of laborers.—[Boston Globe.

In 1866 five-eighths of the people owned their homes, and only three-eighths were the prey of landlordism. In 1886 only three-eighths owned their own homes and five-eighths were reduced to the rank of tenants. Since that time the confiscations of homes by the money power has gone on in an increased ratio, and it cannot be a great while before the final result will be reached, and the entire industrial population become homeless and landless.—[Economist.

If the whole population of the United States were concentrated in the valley of the Mississippi there would be only forty-eight persons to the square mile. Yet our senators gravely talk of over-population and are devising prohibitive laws against further immigration, and talk learnedly about the pressure of population against the means of subsistence. Krapotkine has, on the other hand, clearly demonstrated that a self-supporting population of 1,000 to the square mile is a scientific possibility.

COMMON LANDS IN ENGLAND.

An Instance of How They Were Filched From the People—The Case of Holmesfield in Derbyshire Considered.

Mr. Edward Carpenter has addressed a remarkable letter to the parishioners of Holmesfield, Derbyshire, where the duke of Rutland holds sway, and where he or his ancestors have contrived, like other land owners, to filch nearly the whole of the 2,570 acres of common land in the parish. The leaflet has made a very deep impression. We print a large part of it:

Fellow Parishioners—When one is inside a coppice or planting it is difficult to see its shape; as they say, one cannot see the wood for the trees. So it is difficult for some of us to get a true idea of the circumstances and conditions in which we live, because we are in the midst of them, and accustomed to them. I want to say a few words about our parish. As you know, it is a rather large and straggling parish of 4,600 acres in extent—with a comparatively small population, 500 souls all told. We consist mostly of farmers and farm laborers, with a few miners, woodmen, small tradesmen, etc.; and we consider ourselves a pretty hard working, industrious lot. It is true we sometimes get too much beer; but I suppose that is because we cannot get wine. Sometimes we have a tea and a dance, but on the whole we lead a very quiet life. We like custom, and do things in the same old way as our fathers and grandfathers did; and as far as I can make out we like to bear the same old burdens that they bore. Our backs are broad, and for the matter of that, they are bent too; some of them indeed so much so that we can no longer look up to heaven, but only at the earth on which we toil.

In short, notwithstanding that we have plenty of land, and not such bad land either, we are very poor in this parish of ours and can hardly do more than just keep going. What is the reason of this state of affairs and how long is it to continue?

There may be several reasons for our poverty, but one is very clear. It is this: We have to pay more than £2,200 in rent to our dukes and other landlords every year. In fact, the gross estimated rental of the parish is put at £3,201, but since we have a good many small freeholders the amount actually paid is reduced to £2,200. Nearly the whole of this goes straight off out of the parish and never comes back again. Every year we have to pay this great tax before we can feed and clothe ourselves. Of course, it falls most directly on the farmers, but since what they pay in rent they cannot pay in wages, etc., it particularly falls, one way or other, on the whole parish. There are about 100 families in the parish; thus each family has on the average to contribute over £20 a year to keep the landlords going. How about the bent backs? Considering that the average income per family is probably under £50, a tax of £20 a year is sufficient by itself to account for them, I think. In the old feudal times there was a custom called *corvée*, by which the cultivators of the land were forced to give three days' work out of the six to the barons, but it appears that we give two out of five to our landlords.

The old word duke means a leader, and dukes were once really leaders. Duke William of Normandy, who conquered England, was a leader. He was a rough sort of chap, but, at any rate, he was a man. When his troops, exhausted with fatigue on the road to Chester, were stopped by a snowdrift, Duke William jumped off his horse and shovelled the snow away himself from before them; but I don't find that our dukes nowadays shovel much snow away for us.

In the year 1820 a great event happened in the parish of Holmesfield. That was the enclosure of the commons; and it forms another reason for our poverty. Before that time there were 2,570 acres of common land in our parish—think of it, more than half of the whole parish!—very valuable, of course, to cottagers and small farmers. Here was pasture for cows, sheep, pigs, geese; here in the woods was firewood to be got, and bracken for bedding; on the moors, rabbits, bilberries, turf for fuel, &c. But the dukes and the landlords coveted this 2,570 acres; they said (and there was truth in the statement) that being common land it was not so well cultivated as it would be if in the hands of private individuals; and that therefore (but I am not so sure that there was any truth in that) it ought to be divided up, and that they were the parties to whom it should be given! Besides, they said they had rights of tithes, &c., over the parish, which they would give up if the land was divided among them. Anyhow they got it; and in the year 1820 the Holmesfield enclosure act came into operation, and the commons "went in." If you look in the Enclosure award book which Mr. Anthony Morgan keeps for us at Holmesfield you will see the details of the proceeding. As it says in the Bible: "To him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he (thinketh he) hath." The then Duke of Rutland, being a great haver, got the lion's share. A lion's claws have only five points; but the duke's clause in the award book had six! They are given as follows:

1. Full compensation for all manner of tithes both great and small" (a tithe is a tenth part—if the duke had got a tenth part of the whole land of the parish it would have been 460 acres, but he got) . . . 1,281 3
2. "As lord of the manor" and in compensation for certain manorial rights, "and for the consent to the said enclosure" . . . 108 2
3. For chief rents" amounting in the whole to £14 . . . 28 2
4. "For enfranchisement of copyholds" . . . 11 3
5. "As proprietor" . . . 18 2
6. "By sale to defray the expenses of the act" (which he had so kindly consented to get passed for us) . . . 449 1

1,889 1

Thus did the duke of Rutland manage to get nearly 2,000 acres for himself—the remaining 570 going to the other landlords. That was a fine stroke for a leader of the people! But the other leaders of the people in other parts of the kingdom were doing likewise, and so we find that in the 120 years, from 1760 to 1880, acts of parliament were passed by which 10,000,000 of acres of common lands were inclosed for private use. And now to-day in this parish there is not a little field or corner left—absolutely not a solitary acre out of all the vast domain which once belonged to the people—on which the village boys can play their game of cricket.

Indeed, most valuable tracts were inclosed in the very center of Holmesfield itself—i. e., the "common," the "castle," and many bits of land with cottages on by the roadside—and went curiously enough to the "duke" of Rutland and "Squire" George Greaves, the two people one would think who had the least need to condescend to such petty robbery. It is worth noticing, too, that although the said duke took such a vast extent of common land from the people, he and his successors have managed to shirk nearly all their share of their rates, for while our lands are assessed at an average of 20s. per acre, the duke's moorlands are only assessed at 2s. 6d. Of course the moorlands are below the average in value, but many of the farm lands along the moor edges—hardly differing from the moors—are rated at 10s. per acre; and when a piece of the duke's land is wanted by us for a public improvement—as to-day for the proposed reservoir—then it appears to be quite up to the average in value, for he refuses to let us have it under £50 an acre! Before 1820, I may mention there was a footpath over the moors from the top of Car-lane to Curbar—a great convenience to our parish—but after the enclosure the footpath was stopped for the sake of the grouse, and no one, I suppose, in that time dared to say a word.

Nor is this the end of it all. The parishioners, impoverished by the yearly drain on their resources and by the seizure of the common lands which once belonged to them, can no longer do justice to the lands which remain, and of which they are tenants. We write to the steward of one or other lord under whom we live, to ask for an abatement of our rent. The steward replies that he cannot grant it. In fact, his business is to get as good a rent as he can for his lord; that is what he is put in his place for; we cannot expect any leniency from him. Then we write to the duke, and his reply is that he leaves all these matters in the hands of his steward. Thus are we tossed about from one to the other without redress. Meanwhile our land is starved for want of help, our capital is dwindling. They ask us why we do not go. But when a man has lived on a farm all his life, and perhaps his fathers before him, when he has to face the uprooting of his family and the sale of all his stock—these are things that give him pause; besides, the seasons have been bad, they may be better; there are other methods of conducting the farm which may be tried, possibly with success; hope springs eternal in the human breast; and not till the last sixpence has been wrung from him, till the farmer is reduced to a position no better than that of his own laborers, need the landlord fear that his prey will slip through his fingers.

With our agriculture thus heavily handicapped in this country, do we still wonder that our markets are supplied to the extent they are with foreign produce? How can it be otherwise?

It is certain that this state of affairs cannot and will not last very much longer.

Why They All Rush Down to Washington.

I have not read the North American Review for July, and so know nothing about General Collis's article, 'A Plague of Office Seeking,' except what I find in a brief commentary in THE STANDARD of July 13. From that I gather that General Collis considers the scene he encountered on visiting several of the departments, "ridiculous" and "absurd." There is a general impression abroad, I think, that never were applications for office so numerous, nor applicants so eager. I believe such to be the fact. But I not believe the correct reason has been given by any of the few who have deemed it worth while to cease sneering long enough to attempt to render a reason. The impression ordinarily conveyed is that the American people are becoming demoralized; that increasing numbers of them are becoming anxious to escape, honest, hard work, and

want to be supported out of the public treasury.

I think I have an opportunity to know something upon this subject. As stenographer for a congressman, from the 1st of last December to the 1st of May an average of thirty-five to fifty letters per day from applicants for office passed through my hands. Both before and since that date, occupying an humble position in one of the departments here where I am brought daily and hourly into close contact with the throng of clamorous office seekers, I have made it my business to inquire why they have come here, and to urge them to return to their homes and seek some other employment. I have portrayed to them that a position here was of uncertain tenure, the occupant being liable to find himself stranded upon the incoming of a new administration, thrust out into the world unqualified for other employment—a surplus peg in the business world, with no hole to fit into.

To all of which the usual reply is, "That is precisely my condition now."

One is a printer—but the filling in of the columns of county newspapers with stereotype "blocks" led to his being "dropped" out of employment, and he has never since been able to find a permanent place. One was bookkeeper in a bagging factory, but the factory was subsidized and closed up by a "trust," so his occupation is gone. One was engineer on a railroad, but joined in a strike and was "blacklisted," he has high recommendations on file, and while awaiting a decision he is working in a village a few miles out for \$1.25 a day and boarding himself, while his two children are living with his sister.

Within a week a man who is better equipped intellectually, by nature and education, than half the chiefs of divisions in the executive departments here, was arrested by the police for sleeping in one of our parks, because he had spent his last cent and could pay for lodgings nowhere else.

These are but specimen instances out of hundreds with which I am personally acquainted, tending to show that a general lack of employment elsewhere is the principal cause of the concentration of applicants here as a last resort. In this condition of affairs I find nothing provocative of laughter or sneering; it is symptomatic of a condition of things both deplorable and threatening.

J. L. MCCREERY.

Boom! Boom! Business Boom!

Journal of United Labor.

Cedar Mines, Iowa.—Miners and mine laborers are requested to stay away from this place.

Kentucky.—Miners and mine laborers are warned to stay away from Star furnace and the Rush mines in this state. The former have shut down and the latter are well played out. There are crowds of idle men at both places.

St. Louis, Mo.—All shoemakers are requested to stay away from this city as there is a strike at Hamilton & Brown's, and the place is crowded with unemployed shoemakers. There is no prospect of an early settlement of the trouble.

Baldwin, Col.—Coal miners are requested to stay away from Baldwin on account of a general reduction in prices and because the place is crowded with idle men. Everything is at a standstill at present and the outlook is not very encouraging.

Kensie, Ky.—Miners and mine laborers are warned to stay away from this place. The trouble caused by a threatened reduction in wages has not yet been settled, and there are large numbers of idle men in the neighborhood at present.

Oliver Springs, Tenn.—Miners and mine laborers are requested to stay away from this place as everything is at a standstill because of a reduction in prices. There is no prospect of an early settlement. Many who came here in search of work are now starving and are unable to pay their way back.

Streator, Ill.—Miners and mine laborers are requested to stay away from this place as the trouble which was forced upon the men by the operators on the 1st of May has not yet settled. We have offered to arbitrate the difficulty, but have been ignored and locked out. Give no heed to misleading advertisements.

Gordon, Texas.—The condition of affairs still remains unchanged. The strike is still on, and there are crowds of idle men in this vicinity. Miners and mine laborers are requested to stay away from here. Should a settlement be effected with the operators in time will be given through the columns of the Journal.

A Sudden Fall in Value.

The Epoch.

Stranger—Have you any choice lots on hand?

Land owner—Yes, sir; yes, sir, something fine! The nicest lots that ever laid outdoors! There are two; all improvements, convenient to cars, clear title, etc. They are choice, but I will make them fifteen hundred for cash.

Stranger—Well, I'm not buying; I'm making assessments—did you say fifteen hundred each for the lots?

Land owner—(hastily)—No, oh, no, for the two!

Stranger—Any more choice lots?

Land owner—That's all; just about sold out.

TARIFF NOTES.

P. T. Barnum is looking for that republican "protected manufacturer" in Pennsylvania who was reported in November to have raised the wages of his employees ten cents a week when he heard that Harrison was elected. The bearded lady is beginning to pall on the public taste, and Barnum wants a substitute. —[Albany News.

Now that the locked out miners have been compelled to eat horse meat, the protectionists should at once seek to increase the tariff on imported horse flesh and give American equines the best of it.—[Chicago Herald.

In our United States this tax strikes hardest on our farmers. Why? Simply because they are the great exporters here. Everyone knows that nearly every bit of our exports are cotton, grain, meats, flour, and the like. —[Hayes Valley, Cal., Advertiser.

Strange as it may seem, the Braidwood miners are now left to starve by the very fellows who last fall sent slippery-tongued orators among them to stuff them full of the glorious effects of protective tariff. Last fall they said to the miners, vote for protective tariff and you shall be rewarded with high wages. Now the same company tell the same miners to "starve and be damned!" —[Dubuque, Iowa, Industrial West.

The protected wheat growers are anxious to have the protected miners buy flour, and the protected miners are anxious to have the protected wheat growers buy coal. But in spite of all their anxiety the miners are compelled to till large gardens and cheat the farmers out of a home market and the farmers are obliged to burn corn cobs for fuel and cheat the miners out of a home market. This whole protection theory is a cheat and a suicidal boycott.—[Dubuque, Iowa, Industrial West.

With the wages of labor declining and work scarcer, the prices of the necessities of life are getting higher. This is practically the result of high protection. Big wages, abundance of work and cheap living are the theoretical results pictured to the working classes just before the elections.—[Middletown, Ohio, Signal.

"Protection" and the "home market" theory are the most colossal humbugs and the most indefensible delusions of the nineteenth century.—[Pendleton, Ore., East Oregonian.

Monopoly and the Money Devil roost on the fence like two chancellors and crow themselves hoarse with glee. Workingmen are gradually getting down to starvation wages. The number of unemployed is rapidly on the increase. That is the logical result of the last election. All right, if the people like it. —[New York Herald.

A sugar refinery at St. Joseph, Mo., gets \$18,000 from the trust to suspend production and throw 175 men out of employment, in order that the trust may levy a blackmail on the consumers of this country. This trust is the result of "protection to American labor." —[Colfax, Iowa, Banner.

The poor laborers of the Carnegie iron and steel factories of Pennsylvania who voted for Harrison and protection with such enthusiasm, under the delusion that high tariff would give them constant employment at good wages, are now, after a most terrible experience of some weeks' lock-out and strike, able to resume work at twenty per cent reduction—that being a compromise from thirty-five per cent demanded by Carnegie.—[Norfolk, Va., Landmark.

The whole system of taxing labor and the products of labor is wrong, and doubly so when there is no necessity for it—when the necessary taxes could be raised more justly, more easily and more cheaply.—[Boulder, Mon., Age.

Protection gives the farmer a nickel for his dollar.—[Louisville Courier-Journal.

Five hundred protected silk workers at Paterson, N. J., have struck against a ten per cent reduction in wages. Last fall these highly protected workingmen got their pay in envelopes bearing printed statements to the effect that Harrison's election would bring higher wages, while Cleveland's re-election would cause a reduction of wages. If they have preserved these envelopes they must enjoy reading them now.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

Protection (to capital) has driven American labor out of Massachusetts. In the factories where thirty or forty years ago the bright and refined American girls used to find employment they are known no more forever. Such is the sacrifice offered to false gods on the altar of Plymouth rock.—[Anacostia, D. C., Herald.

If this unlawful and extortionate combination is allowed full swing it will outstrip the Standard oil company in its profits. Sugar is a necessary of life in these days, and when it comes to the consumer the least shade of advance in price is an immense sum in the aggregate. The next congress should take this matter in hand. The present tariff affords protection to producers, and it is entirely competent for congress to so adjust and condition duties as to break up this monopolistic trust.—[Chicago Inter Ocean.

The shop worn argument of "protection to American industries" is to be revamped in the new states this fall, which elect five members of congress. The tariff reformers can well afford to go into the fight on that on that issue. Protection has furnished some object lessons since the last presidential election, in Pennsylvania, New England, Illinois and Indiana, which the friends of the low tax movement will be able to elucidate with good effect in the two Dakotas, Montana and Washington.—[Kansas City Star.

A. R.

1. "As impropiator for tithes of corn, grain and hay; and in lieu of

THEIR RIGHT TO THE SOIL.

Washington, Irving in Knickerbocker's "History of New York."

The question which has thus suddenly arisen, is, what right had the first discoverers of America to land and take possession of a country, without first gaining the consent of its inhabitants, or yielding them an adequate compensation for their territory?—a question which has withstood many fierce assaults and has given much distress of mind to multitudes of kind hearted folk. And, indeed, until it be totally vanquished and put to rest, the worthy people of America can by no means enjoy the soil they inhabit, with clear right and title, and quiet, un-sullied consciences.

The first source of right, by which property is acquired in a country, is discovery. For as all mankind have an equal right to anything which has never before been appropriated, so any nation that discovers an uninhabited country, and takes possession thereof, is considered as enjoying full property, and absolute, unquestionable empire therein (1).

This proposition being admitted, it follows clearly that the Europeans who first visited America were the real discoverers of the same; nothing being necessary to the establishment of this fact, but simply to prove that it was totally uninhabited by man. This would at first, appear to be a point of some difficulty, for it is well known that this quarter of the world abounded with certain animals that walked erect on two feet, had something of the human countenance, uttered certain unintelligible sounds very much like language; in short, had a marvelous resemblance to human beings. But the zealous and enlightened fathers, who accompanied the discoverers, for the purpose of promoting the kingdom of heaven by establishing fat monasteries and bishoprics on earth, soon cleared up this point, greatly to the satisfaction of his holiness the pope, and of all Christian voyagers and discoverers.

They plainly proved, and as there were no Indian writers arose on the other side, the fact was considered as fully admitted and established, that the two-legged race of animals before mentioned were mere cannibals, detestable monsters, and many of them giants—which last description of vagrants have, since the time of Gog, Magog, and Goliath, been considered as outlaws, and have received no quarter in either history, chivalry, or song. Indeed, even the philosophic Bacon declared the Americans to be people proscribed by the laws of nature, inasmuch as they had a barbarous custom of sacrificing men and feeding upon man's flesh.

Nor are these all the proofs of their utter barbarism; among many other writers of discernment, Ulloa tells us, "their imbecility is so visible, that one can hardly form an idea of them different from what one has of the brutes. Nothing disturbs the tranquillity of their souls, equally insensible to disasters and to prosperity. Though half naked, they are as contented as a monarch in his most splendid array. Fear makes no impression on them, and respect as little." All this is furthermore supported by the authority of M. Bouguer: "It is not easy," says he, "to describe the degree of their indifference for wealth and all its advantages. One does not well know what motives to propose to them, when one would persuade them to any service. It is vain to offer them money; they answer that they are not hungry." And Vanegas confirms the whole, assuring us that "ambition they have none, and are more desirous of being thought strong than valiant. The objects of ambition with us—honor, fame, reputation, riches, posts, and distinctions—are unknown among them. So that this powerful spring of action, the cause of so much seeming good and real evil in the world, has no power over them. In a word, these unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the development of reason is not completed."

Now all these peculiarities, although in the unenlightened states of Greece they would have entitled their possessors to immortal honor, as having reduced to practice those rigid and abstemious maxims, the mere talking about which acquired certain old Greeks the reputation of sages and philosophers—yet, they were clearly proved in the present instance to betoken a most abject and brutified nature, totally beneath the human character. But the benevolent fathers, who had undertaken to turn these unhappy sava-

ges into dumb beasts, by dint of argument advanced still stronger proofs; for as certain divines of the sixteenth century, and among the rest, Lullus, affirm—the Americans go naked and have no beards!—"They have nothing," says Lullus, "of the reasonable animal except the mask." And even that mask was allowed to avail them but little, for it was soon found that they were of a hideous copper complexion—and being of a copper complexion, it was all the same as if they were negroes—and negroes are black, "and black," said the pious fathers, devoutly crossing themselves, "is the color of the devil." Therefore, so far from being able to own property, they had no right even to personal freedom—for liberty is too radiant a deity to inhabit such gloomy temples. All which circumstances plainly convinced the righteous followers of Cortez and Pizarro, that these miscreants had no title to the soil that they infested—that they were a perverse, illiterate, dumb, beardless, black-seed—mere wild beasts of the forests, and, like them, should either be subdued or exterminated.

From the foregoing arguments, therefore, and a variety of others equally conclusive, which I forbear to enumerate, it is clearly evident that this fair quarter of the globe, when first visited by Europeans, was a howling wilderness, inhabited by nothing but wild beasts; and that the transatlantic visitors acquired an incontrovertible property therein, by the rights of discovery.

This right being fully established, we now come to the next, which is the right acquired by cultivation. "The cultivation of the soil," we are told, "is an obligation imposed by nature on mankind. The whole world is appointed for the nourishment of its inhabitants; but it would be incapable of doing it was it uncultivated. Every nation is then obliged by the law of nature to cultivate the ground that has fallen to its share. Those people, like the ancient Germans and modern Tartars, who, having fertile countries, disdain to cultivate the earth, and choose to live by rapine, are wanting to themselves, and deserve to be exterminated as savages and pernicious beasts." (1)

Now, it is notorious, that they knew nothing of agriculture, when first discovered by the Europeans, but lived a most vagabond, disorderly, unrighteous life—rambling from place to place, and prodigally rioting upon the spontaneous luxuries of nature, without asking her generosity to yield them anything more; whereas it has been most unquestionably shown that heaven intended the earth should be plowed and sown, and manured, and laid out into cities, and towns, and farms, and country seats, and pleasure grounds, and public gardens, all of which the Indians knew nothing about—therefore they did not improve the talents Providence had bestowed on them—therefore, they were careless stewards—therefore, they had no right to the soil—therefore, they deserved to be exterminated.

It is true, the savages might plead that they drew all the benefits from the land which their simple wants required—they found plenty of game to hunt, which, together with the roots and uncultivated fruits of the earth, furnished a sufficient variety for their frugal repasts; and that as heaven merely designed the earth to form the abode, and satisfy the wants of man; so long as those purposes were answered, the will of heaven was accomplished. But this only proves how undeserving they were of the blessings around them—they were so much the more savages, for not having more wants; for knowledge is in some degree an increase of desires, and it is this superiority, both in the number and magnitude of his desires that distinguishes the man from the beast. Therefore, the Indians, in not having more wants, were very unreasonable animals; and it was but just that they should make way for the Europeans, who had a thousand wants to their one, and, therefore, would turn the earth to more account, and by cultivating it, more truly fulfill the will of heaven. Besides, Grotius and Lauterbach, and Puffendorf, and Titus, and many wise men beside, who have considered the matter properly, have determined that the property of a country cannot be acquired by hunting, cutting wood or drawing water in it—nothing but precise demarcation of limits, and the intention of cultivation can establish the possession. Now, as the savages (probably from never having read the authors above quoted) had never complied with any of these necessary forms,

it plainly followed that they had no right to the soil, but that it was completely at the disposal of the first comers, who had more knowledge, more wants, and more elegant, that is to say, artificial desires than themselves.

In entering upon a newly discovered, uncultivated country, therefore, the new comers were but taking possession of what, according to the aforesaid doctrine, was their own property—therefore, in opposing them, the savages were invading their just rights, infringing the immutable laws of nature and counteracting the will of heaven—therefore, they were guilty of impiety, burglary and trespass on the case—therefore, they were hardened offenders against God and man—therefore, they ought to be exterminated.

But a more irresistible right than either that I have mentioned, and one which will be the most readily admitted by my reader, provided he be blessed with bowels of charity and philanthropy, is the right acquired by civilization. All the world knows the lamentable state in which these poor savages were found—not only deficient in the comforts of life, but what is still worse, most piteously and unfortunately blind to the miseries of their situation. But no sooner did the benevolent inhabitants of Europe behold their sad condition, than they immediately went to work to meliorate and improve it. They introduced among them rum, gin, brandy and the other comforts of life—and it is astonishing to read how soon the poor savages learned to estimate these blessings—they likewise made known to them a thousand remedies, by which the most inveterate diseases are alleviated and healed; and that they might comprehend the benefits and enjoy the comforts of these medicines, they previously introduced among them the diseases which they were calculated to cure. By these, and a variety of other methods was the condition of these poor savages wonderfully improved; they acquired a thousand wants, of which they had before been ignorant; and as he has most sources of happiness who has most wants to be gratified, they were doubtless rendered a much happier race of beings.

But the most important branch of civilization, and which has most strenuously been extolled by the zealous and pious fathers of the Romish church, is the introduction of the Christian faith. It was truly a sight that might well inspire horror, to behold these savages stumbling among the dark mountains of paganism, and guilty of the most horrible ignorance of religion. It is true, they neither stole nor defrauded; they were sober, frugal, continent and faithful to their word; but though they acted right habitually, it was all in vain, unless they acted so from precept. The new comers, therefore, used every method to induce them to embrace and practice the true religion—except indeed that of setting them the example.

But notwithstanding all these complicated labors for their good, such was the unparalleled obstinacy of these stubborn wretches that they ungratefully refused to acknowledge the strangers as their benefactors, and persisted in disbelieving the doctrines they endeavored to inculcate; most insolently alleging, that from their conduct, the advocates of Christianity did not seem to believe in it themselves. Was not this too much for human patience? Would one not suppose that the benign visitants from Europe, provoked at the incredulity, and discouraged by their stiff-necked obstinacy, would forever have abandoned their shores and consigned them to their original ignorance and misery? But no; so zealous were they to effect the temporal comfort and eternal salvation of these pagan infidels, that they even proceeded from the milder means of persuasion to the more painful and troublesome one of persecution, let loose among them whole troops of fiery monks and furious bloodhounds—purified them by fire and sword, by stake and fagot; in consequence of which indefatigable measures, the cause of Christian love and charity was so rapidly advanced that in a few years not one-fifth of the number of unbelievers existed in South America that were found there at the time of its discovery.

What stronger right need the European settlers advance to the country than this? Have not whole nations of uniformed savages been made acquainted with a thousand imperious wants and indispensable comforts, of which they were before wholly ignorant? Have they not been literally hunted and smoked out of the dens and lurking places of ignorance

and infidelity, and absolutely scourged into the right path? Have not the temporal things, the vain baubles and filthy lucre of this world, which were too apt to engage their worldly and selfish thoughts, been benevolently taken from them? And have they not, instead thereof, been taught to set their affections on things above? And finally, to use the words of a reverend Spanish father, in a letter to his superior in Spain, "Can anyone have the presumption to say that these savage pagans have yielded anything more than an inconsiderable recompense to their benefactors in surrendering to them a little pitiful tract of this dirty sublunary planet, in exchange for a glorious inheritance in the kingdom of heaven?"

Here, then, are three complete and undeniable sources of right established, any one of which was more than ample to establish a property in the newly discovered regions of America. Now, so it has happened in certain parts of this delightful quarter of the globe, that the right of discovery has been so strenuously asserted—the influence of cultivation so industriously extended, and the progress of salvation and civilization so zealously prosecuted that, what with their attendant wars, persecutions, oppressions, diseases, and other partial evils that often hang on the skirts of great benefits—the savage aborigines have, somehow or another, been utterly annihilated—and this all at once brings me to a fourth right, which is worth all the others put together. For the original claimants to the soil being all dead and buried, and no one remaining to inherit or dispute the soil, the Spaniards, as the next immediate occupants, entered upon the possession as clearly as the hangman succeeds to the clothes of the malefactor—and as they have Blackstone, (1) and all the learned expounders of the law on their side, they may set all actions of ejectment at defiance—and this last right may be entitled the right by extermination, or, in other words, the right by gunpowder.

But lest any scruples of conscience should remain on this head, and to settle the question of right forever, his holiness Pope Alexander VI issued a bull, by which he generously granted the newly discovered quarter of the globe to the Spaniards and Portuguese; who, thus having law gospel on their side, and being inflamed with great spiritual zeal, showed the pagan savages neither favor nor affection, but prosecuted the work of discovery, colonization, civilization and extermination, with ten times more fury than ever.

Thus were the European worthies who first discovered America, clearly entitled to the soil; and not only entitled to the soil, but likewise to the eternal thanks of these infidel savages for having come so far, endured so many perils by sea and land, and taken such unwearied pains, for no other purpose but to improve their forlorn, uncivilized and heathenish condition—for having made them acquainted with the comforts of life; for having introduced among them the light of religion; and, finally, for having hurried them out of the world, to enjoy its reward!

But as argument is never so well understood by us selfish mortals as when it comes home to ourselves, and as I am particularly anxious that this question should be put to rest forever, I will suppose a parallel case, by way of arousing the candid attention of my readers.

Let us suppose, then, that the inhabitants of the moon, by astonishing advancement in science, and by profound insight into that lunar philosophy, the mere flickerings of which have of late years dazzled the feeble optics, and added the shallow brains of the good people of our globe—let us suppose, I say, that the inhabitants of the moon, by these means, had arrived at such a command of their energies, such an enviable state of perfectibility, as to control the elements and navigate the boundless regions of space. Let us suppose a roving crew of these soaring philosophers, in the course of an aerial voyage of discovery among the stars, should chance to alight upon this outlandish planet.

And here I beg my readers will not have the uncharitableness to smile, as is too frequently the fault of volatile readers, when perusing the grave speculations of philosophers. I am far from indulging in any sportive vein at present; nor is the supposition I have been making so wild as many may deem it. It has long been a very serious and anxious question with me, and many a time and oft, in the

(1) Grotius Puffendorf, b. v. c. 4. Vattel, b. 1. c. 18, etc.

(1) Vattel, b. 1. ch. 17.

(1) Bl. Com. bk. ii. c. 1.

course of my overwhelming cares and contrivances for the welfare and protection of this, my native planet, have I lain awake whole nights debating in my mind whether it were most probable we should first discover and civilize the moon, or the moon discover and civilize our globe. Neither would the prodigy of sailing in the air and cruising among the stars be a whit more astonishing and incomprehensible to us than was the European mystery of navigating floating castles through the world of waters to the simple savages. We have already discovered the art of coasting along the aerial shores of our planet, by means of balloons, as the savages had of venturing along their sea coasts in canoes; and the disparity between the former, and the aerial vehicles of the philosophers from the moon, might not be greater than that between the bark canoes of the savages and the mighty ships of their discoverers. I might here pursue an endless chain of similar speculations; but as they would be unimportant to my subject, I abandon them to my reader, particularly if he be a philosopher, as matters well worthy of his attentive consideration.

To return then to my supposition—let us suppose that the aerial visitants I have mentioned, possessed of vastly superior knowledge to ourselves; that is to say, possessed of superior knowledge in the art of extermination—riding on hippogriffs—defended with impenetrable armor—armed with concentrated sunbeams, and provided with vast engines, to hurl enormous moonstones; in short, let us suppose them, if our vanity will permit the supposition, as superior to us in knowledge, and consequently in power, as the Europeans were to the Indians, when they first discovered them. All this is very possible; it is only our self-sufficiency that makes us think otherwise; and I warrant the poor savages, before they had any knowledge of the white men, armed in all the terrors of glittering steel and tremendous gunpowder, were as perfectly convinced that they themselves were the wisest, the most virtuous, powerful, and perfect of created beings, as are at this present moment the lordly inhabitants of Old England, the volatile populace of France, or even the self-satisfied citizens of this most enlightened republic.

Let us suppose, moreover, that the aerial voyagers, finding this planet to be nothing but a howling wilderness, inhabited by us, poor savages and wild beasts, shall take formal possession of it in the name of his most gracious and philosophic excellency, the man in the moon. Finding, however, that their numbers are incompetent to hold it in complete subjection, on account of the ferocious barbarity of its inhabitants, they shall take our worthy president, the king of England, the emperor of Hayti, the mighty Bonaparte, and the great king of Bantam, and returning to their native planet, shall carry them to court, as were the Indian chiefs led about as spectacles in the courts of Europe.

Then making such obeisance as the etiquette of the court requires, they shall address the puissant man in the moon, in, as near as I can conjecture, the following terms:

"Most serene and mighty potentate, whose dominions extend as far as eye can reach, who rideth on the Great Bear, useth the sun as a looking glass, and maintaineth unrivaled control over tides, madmen, and sea crabs: We, thy liege subjects, have just returned from a voyage of discovery, in the course of which we have landed and taken possession of that obscure little dirty planet which thou beholdest rolling at a distance. The five uncouth monsters which we have brought into this august presence were once very important chiefs among their fellow savages, who are a race of beings totally destitute of the common attributes of humanity; and differing in everything from the inhabitants of the moon, inasmuch as they carry their heads upon their shoulders, instead of under their arm—have two eyes instead of one—are utterly destitute of tails, and of a variety of unseemly complexions, particularly of a horrible whiteness—instead of pea green.

"We have, moreover, found these miserable savages sunk into a state of the utmost ignorance and depravity every man shamelessly living with his own wife, and rearing his own children, instead of indulging in that community of wives enjoined by the law of nature, as expounded by the philosophers of the moon. In a

word, they have scarcely a gleam of true philosophy among them, but are, in fact, utter heretics, ignoramuses, and barbarians. Taking compassion, therefore, on the sad condition of these sublimity wretches, we have endeavored, while we remained on their planet, to introduce among them the light of reason—and the comforts of the moon. We have treated them to mouthfuls of moonshine, and draughts of nitrous oxide, which they swallowed with incredible voracity, particularly the females; and we have likewise endeavored to instill into them the precepts of lunar philosophy. We have insisted upon their renouncing the contemptible shackles of religion and common sense, and adoring the profound, omnipotent, and all-perfect energy, and the ecstatic, immutable, immovable perfection. But such was the unparalleled obstinacy of these wretched savages, that they persisted in cleaving to their wives, and adhering to their religion, and absolutely set at naught the sublime doctrines of the moon—nay, among other abominable heresies, they even went so far as blasphemously to declare, that this ineffable planet was made of nothing more nor less than green cheese!"

At these words, the great man in the moon (being a very profound philosopher) shall fall into a terrible passion, and possessing equal authority over things that do not belong to him, as did Ithome his holiness the pope, shall forth issue a formidable bull, specifying, "That, whereas a certain crew of lunatics have lately discovered, and taken possession of, a newly discovered planet called the earth—and that whereas it is inhabited by none but a race of two-legged animals, that carry their heads on their shoulders instead of under their arms; cannot talk the Lunatic language; have two eyes instead of one; are destitute of tails, and of a horrible whiteness, instead of pea green—therefore, and for a variety of other excellent reasons, they are considered incapable of possessing any property in the planet they infest, and the right and title to it are confirmed to its original discoverers. And furthermore, the colonists who are now about to depart to the aforesaid planet are authorized and commanded to use every means to convert these infidel savages from the darkness of Christianity, and make them thorough and absolute Lunatics."

In consequence of this benevolent bull, our philosophic benefactors go to work with hearty zeal. They seize upon our fertile territories, scourge us from our rightful possessions, relieve us from our wives, and when we are unreasonable enough to complain, they will turn upon us and say: "Miserable barbarians! ungrateful wretches! have we not come thousands of miles to improve your worthless planet? have we not fed you with moonshine? have we not intoxicated you with nitrous oxide? does not our moon give you light every night, and have you the baseness to murmur, when we claim a pitiful return for all these benefits?" But finding that we not only persist in absolute contempt of their reasoning and disbelief in their philosophy, but even go so far as daringly to defend our property, their patience shall be exhausted, and they shall resort to their superior powers of argument; hunt us with hippogriffs, transfix us with concentrated sun beams, demolish our cities with moon stones; until having, by main force, converted us to the true faith, they shall graciously permit us to exist in the torrid deserts of Arabia, or the frozen regions of Lapland, there to enjoy the blessings of civilization and the charms of lunar philosophy, in much the same manner as the reformed and enlightened savages of this country kindly suffered to inhabit the inhospitable forests of the north or the impenetrable wilderness of South America.

Thus, I hope, I have clearly proved, and strikingly illustrated, the right of the early colonists to the possession of this country; and thus is the gigantic question completely vanquished; so having manfully surmounted all obstacles, and subdued all opposition, what remains but that I should forthwith conduct my readers into the city which we have been so long in a manner besieging? But hold—before I proceed another step, I must pause to take breath, and recover from the excessive fatigue I have undergone, in preparing to begin this most accurate of histories. And in this I but imitate the example of a renowned Dutch tumbler of antiquity, who took a start of three miles for the purpose of jumping over a hill, but having run himself out of breath by the time he reached the foot, sat him-

self quietly down for a few moments to blow, and then walked over it at his leisure.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Edison's Magnetic Ore Separator.

The New York Sun of July 18 has a communication from Reading, Pa., which says: Inventor Thomas A. Edison, Samuel Insull and Mr. Kennell of the London electric light company, after eight days of hard work, today completed their survey of vast magnetic iron ore leases in this county and returned home, after seeing their new plant for separating ore by electricity in operation. During the survey the party were attired like cowboys, wearing straw hats with immense brims. Their work frequently extended until 2 o'clock in the morning. Each carried a cylindrical brass box fitted with a magnetic needle. The dipping of the needle indicated the depth of the ore and thickness of the vein.

The new magnetic ore separator is located on Gilbert's hill, on a ten acre tract near Bechtelville. Iron stone is found here in large quantities. The stone and ore that hitherto was handled at heavy cost is now utilized at greatly reduced figures. The plant just erected to experiment with cost \$35,000. It is 120 feet long, 34 feet wide and is divided into three sections. Immense engines, ore crushers and dynamos do the work. The iron ore is crushed into fine sand. It is then carried along to belts and up into the third story, where it drops into a hopper. The crushed ore is then shaken out and dropped some eight feet, where it comes in contact with a powerful magnet, which draws all the iron ore to one side, swerving its falling course into a trough leading to a large bin, while the particles of matter containing no ore descend perpendicularly and drop into a refuse bin. The magnet draws the crushed particles of iron completely out of the sand and dirt as it falls from its height, and it is very interesting to watch the stream of fine iron being swerved from its course by the magnet. The refuse sand is run past the magnet a second time to secure all the iron that remains in it. Where the "separator" is located, the dust is so fine and profuse that every person who goes into that portion of the building, which is 20 by 30 feet and three stories in height, wears a patent rubber mask over his mouth and nose, and breathes through a wet sponge. Rock ore is being taken out which yields fifty per cent of ore. This invention can only be applied to magnetic ore.

At the present time 150 tons of rock are on an average mined and separated per day of fifteen hours. One ton of prepared ore ready for the furnace is obtained from seven to nine tons of rock. It is said that ore prepared by this separator requires about one-third less fuel than the ordinary ore to smelt. No. 1 pig metal is the result of the smelting of this magnetic separated ore. The refuse sand is said to be worth about \$1 a ton, and the intention is to use it in the manufacture of an artificial stone for monuments, paving blocks, &c.

Electricity More Powerful Than Steam.

The results of the experiments with the Daft motor on the Ninth avenue elevated road show that an electric motor weighing ten tons can do the work of a steam locomotive of eighteen tons.

Electric Land and Marine Carriage.

A combination electric land and marine carriage, a very novel invention, is an object of not a little curious interest to those who have seen it. The inventor is a Mrs. Truax. Her invention, resembles a two-seated side-bar surrey wagon, with top, and of about the same length and truck. The wheels are like those of a bicycle, but heavier. The steering apparatus is placed in front, and connects with the front axle. The propelling power is connected with and turns the hind axle by a system of gears. The electric motor in this invention is the important feature, and it is with greatest pride that the inventor speaks of it. It is placed in the bottom of the carriage, and takes up but little room. It has a "vibrating" armature instead of rotary; and this is where the inventor looks for the greatest results in her electrical motor, claiming that more power can be obtained than from any other form of rotary motor, and that the horse power can be increased without the necessity of constructing a larger motor by simply using more battery. With an eight-volt battery a constant current can be kept up for three hours, and this, too, at a test speed of fifteen miles an hour. A dry primary battery is to be used. Underneath the carriage are air-tight metal tubes, cigar shaped, of suitable size to buoy up the carriage and its load while crossing deep streams, and to the spokes of the hind wheels are ingeniously secured little brass paddles to propel the carriage through the water, and so neatly arranged that they are in no way liable to injury, nor do they interfere with road travel. The carriage has many novel features, such as electric lights, tent, electric stove for cooking and heating, and is altogether a wonderful affair. A speed of fifteen miles an hour is now easily obtained, and the fair inventor is confident of being able to increase it to thirty. Mrs. Truax thinks she can apply all these principles to aerial navigation, and she expects to skim the air yet on electric wings. (Progressive Age.)

Fancy It, if You Can.

C. G. Bennett in Evansville Courier.

Fancy an audience of those starving Clay county miners listening to the reading of Jefferson's ringing words: "All men are created free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

WHITHER ARE WE TENDING?

The Beauties of the Protective System as Noted by a Practical and Protected Farmer.

Timothy Hasebe in Indianapolis Sentinel.

To the Editor—Sir: Harvest being over and the farmer having a moment to catch his breath while changing the horses from reaper to plow, a few thoughts on the profits of wheat culture under the protection of the Harrison regime and the Home market club may be noted.

Let fifty acres represent the amount of land cultivated and the sowing of the seed the beginning of expenses. The work of putting it in, allowing but \$2 per day for man and team (this is America where "pauper labor" is unknown, with the sarcastic man), will be \$80, and sixty-six bushels of seed wheat, which sold last fall at 80 cents per bushel, will be \$52.80. It was drilled in with a forty-dollar drill (protected). This drill will last, if very well cared for, about sixteen years, making a cost of \$2.50 a year for drilling. No allowances made for wear and tear on protected plows, harrows, harness, etc.

The wheat is in at a cost of \$133.30. The next question is "what shall the harvest be?" It runs the gauntlet of frost and wet, drought, chinch bugs, aphides, army worms and other dangers and is at last ready for the reaper. The unprotected granger goes to town in this momentous year one of the Harrison dynasty to buy him a self-binding reaper. He finds it about twenty dollars higher than last year and lays down \$150 in hard earned cash for a machine that wears out in about seven years, thus adding \$20 more to his expenses per annum. The interest lost on money invested in drill and reaper would be about \$11.40 and the tax on them about \$2 per annum. It takes about five days to cut and shock the fifty acres. One man at \$1.50 and three horses at fifty cents each per day (compare living prices for use of horses) for cutting, and two shockers each at \$1.50 per day, would be \$30. The protected binding twine monopoly has claimed about thirty cents per acre for twine.

Now, for thrashing! Let us allow a yield of twelve bushels per acre; though farmers say, averaging our county over year after year, it will not go over eleven. The cost of thrashing 600 bushels at four cents per bushel will be \$24. Eighteen men at \$1.50 per day, with four teams for hauling grain from field to thrasher (50 cents a horse, \$4) will amount to \$31. Board for men at 25 cents a meal, each three meals, \$13.15; for eight horses, \$2. The tax on the land, valued at \$50 per acre, will be \$35 more. The 600 bushels of wheat, sold at 75 cents per bushel—this is more than farmers generally expect—will be \$450. The total expenses, allowing nothing for tax on either wheat or the amount received for it, is \$317.80. Subtract this from \$150 and we have \$167.20. But that is not the worst of the matter. A tariff law enacted by a United States assembly has diminished the purchasing power of this \$167.20 fully 47 per cent. Subtract that and we have left \$76.60, less than 3 per cent on the farmer's invested capital of \$2,500. Talk of "pauper labor!" Talk of meager returns for invested capital! Need you go farther than Indiana to find both? Do you wonder that the farmer is unable in many cases to make "both ends meet" when the year rolls round, or that mortgages grow thicker and heavier?

Another question: Why do the boys want to leave the farms? Simply because they do not want to become the most complete slaves. There is more drudgery to the square inch on a farm than in almost any other occupation. The laboring men engaged in trades, manufactures, etc., have their eight-hour law. There are farmers, not a few, and farmers' wives, who throughout early spring, summer and late autumn toil from 4 o'clock in the morning until 10 at night, and from ten to twelve hours per day the remainder of the year.

A word to labor unions and to tradesmen all would not come amiss here since a word to the wise is sufficient. It would be well for them to unite with the farmers against the extortions of trusts, monopolies and high tariff taxation, for as these are grinding the farmers down their boys and girls are flocking to the cities and manufacturing centers to compete in higher priced labor with these men who are already in stern struggle with oppression and imported foreign labor. If the present policy is pursued in our government the farms will be abandoned by the male population and we will reach the state of protected Germany, where over fifty per cent of the farming is done by the women, girls, cows and dogs. The more unprofitable agricultural pursuits become the more competition will laboring men in other occupations meet, and the tighter will the grip of the capitalists become on their employees. "These things are spoken, and these things are true."

Two Interesting Items for Workmen from Two Protection Papers.

Pittsburg Telegraph, July 8.

The tariff does maintain the American scale of wages, as witness the triumph of the Amalgamated association of iron and steel workers, certain of having their scale adopted by their employers. These workmen, who are mostly directed protected by the tariff, can because of it actually fix their own wage rate for an entire year in advance.

New York Tribune, July 12.

Pittsburg, July 10 (Special).—The greatest struggle of the year between labor and capital began to-day with a personal encounter. The employees of Carnegie, Phipps & Co.'s steel mill at Homestead have refused to accept the firm's sliding scale of wages, and the company will employ non-union men, if they can get them. The firm's scale of wages is to be in force for three years, and makes an average reduction of about twenty per cent on the wages of all skilled workmen, while it gives the unskilled laborers an advance of ten per cent.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

How Will It Benefit a Poor Man?

GRAND VIEW ON THE HUDSON.—In the article "A Prosperous Town," published in THE STANDARD of July 13, there are two points I would like to have explained:

(1) How was the "land company" benefited by holding the land?

(2) How would the single tax, by transferring all taxation to the land, cheapen the latter sufficiently to place it within reach of those men who otherwise "were turned to tramps?"

A SYMPATHIZER.

(1) Every piece of land they held out of use squeezed up the selling value of the pieces they were willing to sell, for the less land there is for sale the more it brings.

(2) The single tax which would take the full annual value, or anywhere near the full annual value of the empty lots, would force the owners to drop them like hot coals. The land market then would be glutted with lots and speculative values would disappear. Every lot could then be had for the payment of the actual annual value in the form of a tax, for there would be no selling value. When a man has to pay the full rental value of a lot every year he will not in addition pay a purchase price too. Selling value is based on rental value and if you tax away rent from the landowner then the selling value of his land disappears. Thus you see a poor man could get a house lot without paying any purchase price and at a rent fixed by free competition and not squeezed up by speculation. Business men could erect stores; manufacturers, factories; and further out, market gardeners would use all the available land. This would mean that he who wished to work and live decently could do so. If any man were temporarily too poor to erect a comfortable house it would be but temporarily; where capital and labor have access to natural opportunities, as in a new country, the constant demand is for workers, not for work.

W. B. S.

The Small House Owner's Taxes.

MILFORD, Conn.—I have had a friend reading the "Land Question" until now he says he is a free trader, but he saw in THE STANDARD of June 8 the reply of W. B. S. to James D. McDade. He thinks W. B. S. is wrong in taking the full rental value of land if the amount is as I tell him it is. I told him if a man pays for land \$1,000 and puts \$3,000 more in improvements, he will have to pay the same as the legal interest on \$1,000—say at six per cent, or \$60. Please give us the right view of it.

L. B. DAVISON.

If the bare lot is worth now \$1,000, as you say, then the tax would perhaps be say \$50 or \$60. Of course you know that when land speculation is destroyed and all valuable land is open to users, there will be a great changing about of values. Lots will decrease in value, temporarily at least, for they now bring more than they are worth because the supply of land is diminished by speculators who hold land out of use. Suppose then the tax was \$50. What does the man pay now? He pays say 2½ per cent on ¾ the value of the house and lot, that is, 2½ per cent on \$2,666, or \$66 a year. He also probably pays some personal property tax and he unquestionably pays in tariff taxes and increased prices resulting from "shifted" indirect taxes, anywhere from \$30 to \$150 a year. Now, would he be better or worse off under the single tax?

W. B. S.

Notes.

Friend, Lincoln, Neb.—The object of the Irish national league of America is to aid the nationalist movement of Ireland; that is, the political rather than the social reform movement.

EXPERIENCE HIS TEACHER.

A Farmer Tells How He Came to Have a Warm Spot in His Heart for the Single Tax Doctrine.

The following communication from a farmer is taken from the columns of the Dayton, Ohio, Daily Monitor (democratic). The truthfulness of the statement is vouched for.

I have been reading your paper, which lately has had a number of communications on the single tax. I do not pretend to understand fully what is meant by single tax, but I do see how just and fair such a tax would be. If I understand properly what is meant by this method, it is simply to tax the land value regardless of improvement; or, that improvements shall not be taxed. This idea has forcibly impressed me with its justice. If you will give me a little space I will state my case, as it is the same as many of my neighbors, who, like myself, suffer from the injustice imposed upon us by the state, county, and by the landlord. I hope you will give me the space for the benefit of the many who now suffer and do not know what hurts them.

Three years ago I came to Montgomery

county from Kansas, at the request of friends. I rented sixty acres of land with a poor house, barn and sheds on it. The farm was so run down that it was absolutely worthless. But Mr. —, a resident of your town, who owns the land, and also sixty acres more adjoining, offered me the farm cheap as an inducement, and we agreed for three years, at the expiration of three years or sooner I could re-rent it or buy the farm. This I thought a fair offer and moved on the farm and took possession on the first of September, 1886, three years ago next September. I had some money and I spent in cash one hundred dollars in fixing up the house, barn and fences. I did nearly all the work myself, paying only twenty-five dollars for carpenters. The seventy-five dollars was for material. I and my boy (who is a stout boy for his age) and my wife worked hard, early and late, to get the farm in good shape to make it pay. We looked forward to the time when we could buy it. I also stocked the farm with the necessary horses, cattle, hogs, etc. In all I laid out cash money to the amount of five hundred dollars, and have since spent about three hundred a year, making eleven hundred dollars in cash, besides my labor and that of my wife and boy, the first year. I did not make more than a living out of it, and had to borrow money to help me make more additional improvements but I was satisfied that all would be right next year and so it was. I not only got clear of debt, but added some to my stock and also spent \$300 to further improve. The third (this year) I will have when all is sold that I can spare, some money left, and I felt satisfied that I could buy and pay for the farm if a reasonable time was given me to pay for it; so I came to town and told the landlord that I would take the farm if he would give me a reasonable time to pay for it. He seemed glad and said he was pleased that I was doing so well. He said the neighbors had told him how well I was doing and how the farm now looked, since I had improved it both in looks and fertility. He said he would come out and look at it and then we could fix up the matter of sale. This seemed a little queer to me but I thought it all right. He came out, looked all over the place, complimenting me on my good management, industry and thrift. After dinner he said he would go over to a neighbor's house and see him and be back again.

After coming back he said to me, "Well, Mr. —, I agreed with you nearly three years ago or thereabout to give you the option of buying or re-renting the farm. Now what do you think is a fair price for the farm, taking all things into consideration?" This stunned me for a moment, but I said that he offered me the farm for \$5,000, when I first took it, and I would take it at those figures, provided he gave me time to pay it in, say four or five years. He laughed heartily at this, and asked me if I did not think the farm worth double that amount. I admitted it was worth considerable more; but that I had made it what it was; had spent \$1,100 in cash, and my labor and that of my wife and boy together was all sunk in the farm.

He said that was all right, but the farm was his, and was worth \$10,000; if I wanted it I could have it at those figures, or re-rent it at \$700 a year. I need not tell you, Mr. Editor, how I felt. Here was a scoundrel of a landlord who had not done a lick to improve his place for years—till it went down. Now, after I had improved it, spent my money and labor, he claimed all this as his own. It is a terrible outrage, a robbing injustice. Now I must either pay him double rent or pay him double the price for the farm or leave, with barely any more than when I came.

Since I have talked to other farmers, and they all say I was a fool in doing what I did; that landlords everywhere did that very thing. I had some faith in the justice and in humanity, especially in Mr. —, who is, or pretends to be, a Christian, but I don't know what to think or say. I find upon inquiry that the laws protect him and not me. I find that, bold as is this robbery of my hard labor for three years, yet this man walks your streets proudly, and is honored as a gentleman and a Christian.

To me the single tax has a powerful significance for the ends of justice, as it also has for those few who read what is going on. We hail the time when the stars and stripes means in earnest (not a sham) the protector of human rights, even the humblest. We hail the time when honesty and worth will be looked up to and honored and respected. Farmers, take time to study and read and learn how you are made the tools of these designing, oily tongued politicians and a goody goody people. This last year of my life has cost me much to learn, but I now see the many ways we farmers are blindfolded, fooled and robbed. Again I say to farmers, let us get together and learn how these men fleece us, and then at the ballot box put in our protest, for that is the only place it will tell.

I hope, Mr. Editor, you will call the attention of farmers to my case. There are many like myself. You would do a good deed if you can arouse them to look into their own condition, and learn to protect their own homes and families.

N. B.—For fear of making myself ridiculous and to be laughed at by these scoundrels, please sign

A FARMER.

TAKING A STEP FORWARD.

A Great Trade Paper Doubts the Wisdom of Private Control of Monopolies.

St. Louis Age of Steel.

Competition is to be desired where it can be had. There are, however, certain pursuits in which it cannot live save for a brief period, because in these the tendency is naturally and irresistibly toward conditions of monopoly. For instance, the business of furnishing gas, water, electric light or transportation for cities, or of controlling and operating telegraph, telephone or express lines is a monopoly, pure and simple, by virtue of extraordinary privileges, opportunities and power. In no sense is it or can it be on the competitive basis illustrated in the industries of agriculture, in the manufacture of pig iron, the tanning of leather, or in the conduct of the many branches of the retail business throughout the country.

Looking at the matter in this light, the question straightway suggests itself—Is it well that such quasi-public enterprises, monopolies as they are, be left to private ownership and direction, or should they come within the legitimate sphere of co-operative self-help? The beneficiary of monopoly, and many intelligent people who have a dread of anything smacking of government paternalism, would say "No;" but the motives prompting the answer might differ widely in the one case from the other. The financially disinterested reply would be grounded in convictions wholly republican and patriotic in the highest degree, and for that reason would possess great weight.

But it should be insisted at this point that paternalism is not vitally concerned with the elucidation of the problem presented by the ordinary municipal monopoly. That is the mistake of the opponents of paternalism; not the weakness of the proposed reform. As Professor Ely has well said in this connection, "When the czar of Russia is graciously pleased to construct a railroad for his people, you may call that beneficent paternalism, but when the people of an American town meet together and resolve that rather than be dependent on a private corporation for light, they will, in their organic capacity, construct their own electric lighting or gas works, this is a noble form of co-operative self help. The arguments on the subject of natural monopolies bring this out clearly. Those who favor private undertakings do so because they accuse the people of incompetence. I have in mind the introduction of a water works in a certain village where the enterprise was successfully inaugurated, and where it has been admirably managed ever since by the village authorities. It was opposed by some citizens on the ground that the people collectively were too dishonest and inefficient in managing their own affairs. The arguments, when analyzed, all insulted the character of the citizens of this village. Now that the water works have been introduced by the village for a good deal less than any private corporation would have charged, and now that the annual charges for water are only about forty per cent as much as private corporations usually charge under similar circumstances, I call this a triumph of the principle of municipal self help."

Principles apart, there is the merit of economy and cheapness to commend public ownership of quasi-public works. The proof of this is afforded by many examples of the successful operation of electric light, gas and water plants by cities all over the country. Philadelphia, Pa., Richmond and Alexandria, Va., Wheeling, W. Va., and numerous towns in the west interested in gas manufacture might be named in this connection. The experience with electric light is still more striking. Bay City, Mich., Lewiston, Me., Madison, Ind., and Dunkirk, N. Y., are supplying electric lights of ample candle power for from 13½ to 16 cents a night, whereas cities are paying private corporations from 20 to 90 cents. The following

table will be interesting at this point as showing the net cost of arc lighting, per lamp, at eighteen cities engaged in the business:

	Cts.
Aurora, Ill.	15.3
Bay City, Mich.	16
Champaign, Ill.	12.3
Chicago, Ill.	15
Decatur, Ill.	13.7
Dunkirk, N. Y.	13.5
Easton, Pa.	27.3
Grand Ledge, Mich.	11.8
Huntington, Ind.	13.7
Lewiston, Me.	14
Lyons, Iowa.	8.2
Madison, Ind.	16
Michigan City, Ind.	12
Painesville, Ohio	10.6
Paris, Ill.	10.4
Portsmouth, Ohio	10
Topeka, Kan.	20
Xpsilanti, Mich.	11.2

Average cost per night 13.4

The low net cost in Lyons, Iowa, and in Grand Ledge, Michigan, is due to the fact that these towns own and operate commercial wires from which they derive a profit. Five of these cities named above were supplied with lights by private enterprise before they assumed control of their own works. The cost of each arc light per night under both systems of control is given below:

	Private.	City.
	Cents.	Cents.
Bay City, Mich.	27.5	16
Painesville, Ohio	19.7	10.6
Huntington, Ind.	39	13.7
Lewiston, Me.	50	14
Aurora, Ill.	50.5	15.3

Average per night 45.1 13.9

Returns from twenty-five cities, which are supplied with light by private corporations, give 42 cents as the average cost per light, or 3 cents less than the average cost of the five cities mentioned in the above comparison. Moreover, it is remarked in the same connection that politics is a less factor of disturbance and demoralization than it would be if the business were in the hands of private parties.

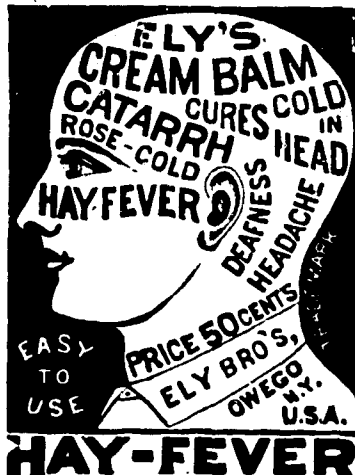
An Item Which Ought to be Interesting to the American Federation of Labor.

The following resolution has been adopted by the Texas federation of labor:

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

HAY FEVER. CATARRH

Ely's Cream Balm was recommended to me for hay fever. I have found it a specific for that dreadful disease. For ten years I have been a great sufferer. Cream Balm is the only preventive I have ever found.—F. B. Ainsworth, Publisher, Indianapolis, Ind.



A particle is applied into each nostril and is agreeable. Price, 50 cents at drugists; \$1 by mail, registered, 60 cents. ELY BROTHERS, 53 Warren St., New York.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD

to spend a dollar on watches without getting full particulars about the best watches made, our Keystone Dust-Proof and our mode of selling them in Clubs at \$1 a Week. We guarantee you absolutely against loss. Exclusive territory given to Active Agents. Prices, \$7 to \$100. Our special \$43 Watch is the best watch made for Railroad use. We guarantee our prices to be the very lowest at which any watches of equal quality can be sold, and we protect our customers fully. We refer to any commercial agency. Full Paid Capital, \$300,000. We have selling agents in every large city. We want AGENTS everywhere. Write at once to THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO., 904 Walnut St., Philadelphia.



PAINLESS BEECHAM'S GREAT ENGLISH PILLS EFFECTUAL WORTH A GUINEA A BOX

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Dizziness, Fatigue, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Brownness of the Face, Flatulence of the Stomach, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Nervous, Blotches on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, and all Nervous and Debility. These pills are the most powerful and reliable in the world. They will give relief in TWENTY MINUTES. This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a Wonderful Medicine.—"Worth a guinea a box."

BEECHAM'S PILLS, taken as directed, will quickly restore females to complete health. For a WEAK STOMACH; IMPAIRED DIGESTION; DISORDERED LIVER;

they ACT LIKE MAGIC—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; Strengthening the muscular system; restoring long lost Complexion; bringing back the keen edge of appetite; and arousing with the BLOOD OF HEALTH the whole physical energy of the human frame. These are "facts" admitted by thousands, in all classes of society, and one of the best guarantees to the Nervous and Debility is that BEECHAM'S PILLS HAVE THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Full directions with each box.

Prepared only by THOMAS BEECHAM, St. Helens, Lancashire, England. Sold by Druggists generally. N. B. ALLEN & CO., 345 and 367 Canal St., New York Sole Agents for the United States, who, if your druggist does not keep them, WILL MAIL BEECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX. But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention THE STANDARD.

THE PANACEA.

The Single Tax Would Prevent Strikes and Lockouts and Solve the Labor Problem—To Advocate It is the Duty of All Knights of Labor.

Judge C. F. Perry of Quincy, Ill., in the Journal of United Labor, the organ of the Knights of Labor.

To the Editor of the Journal of United Labor: In the preamble to the constitution of our order occurs the following declaration:

Among the higher duties that should be taught in every local assembly are man's inalienable inheritance and right to a share, for use, of the soil; that the right to life carries with it the right to the means of living; and that all statutes that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust and must give way.

Now, that declaration was not drawn by dreamers, nor yet by mere politicians. It was drawn by practical men for practical people, and must have been intended for practical application. Those men did not dodge or hedge. They brushed aside all technicalities and went to the root of the matter at once. Let us see what it is they solemnly declared to be among the higher duties that should be taught in every local assembly of the Knights of Labor.

Not merely that man has the right to a share, for use, of the soil by buying that right. That was not their meaning. No one would deny that right. Last month a lot sold in the city of New York at the rate of thirteen million dollars an acre. Last March a lot sold in Chicago at the rate of eight million dollars an acre. But the framers of our declaration clearly did not mean such a right to the use of the soil as must be obtained in this way. They no more meant a right to the soil to be bought at the rate of \$8,000,000 than they meant a right to be bought at the rate of a dollar and a quarter an acre. Neither did they mean such a right as would necessitate the turning over of a share of what was produced to some one else. It was not a right to be paid for with so many dollars per year. They meant none of these sorts of rights. What they did clearly mean was that man has the same right to the soil that he has to air and water—a free right, a right without money or price. That they meant this kind of a right is evident from their description of its origin. It is a right by "inheritance."

Not an inheritance from man himself, nor from any king or government, but an inheritance from the only Workman who could create land—from God. But as God bequeathed this inheritance to all human beings alike it is evident that no one is entitled to more land than he can use, for this would lead to monopoly of land, and the result would be that some would be left without their share. This is why in the declaration the share claimed is a "share for use." Not the right to hold land in idleness for purchase money or rent, nor to hold land so as to require others to pay us for their using it. Just the right to what man can use, whether much or little. Now see the reason given for this right. The declaration states the reason very plainly. "The right to life carries with it the right to the means of living." There is the reason clear as clear can be. No one can dispute it. If God had not intended man to live, why let man be born? Consider, then, these two facts: Man is born; he looks about him and sees ample means with which, by merely applying his labor, he can supply every want. Be he hungered, athirst, does he feel the heat or cold, around him is a world full of material to satisfy these needs; his labor only is required. Having satisfied these animal wants, does he desire to satisfy higher longings, to progress intellectually and morally, there, out of the same materials furnished free by nature, he may make all these things; all that is required is for him to apply his own power to land—to the materials, forces and opportunities of nature. His achievements are limited only by his knowledge as to how to labor, and his will to apply that labor. Without these natural materials what could man's labor produce? How could he even apply his labor except on the land? Where, in all the whole world, is there one solitary thing produced by human labor which has not been produced from the land? Where one single occupation which does not rest upon the land? Not one; not one. From the catching of a fish on up to the majestic achievements of science, the grand works of art, the glorious results of literature; all the materials have come from the land. They are the fruits of the application of man's powers to nature—all of them. The land is the material; man is the workman. The land is the means and the only means by which man can labor; therefore it is the only means by which he can live. Deprive man of land and he cannot labor; without labor he must starve. Require him to beg or buy land and he is thereby compelled to beg or buy the privilege of working; this makes him a slave. No matter what he calls himself or be called; no matter what else may be done to make the slave's condition more bearable, he is none the less a slave. He may be allowed to vote and

to hold the highest offices; perfect religious equality; his hours of labor shortened; he may become a model of learning, industry, economy, thrift and temperance; receive his wages in a share of the profits instead of money; his government may issue all the currency and own all the railroads and telegraphs; but man would still remain a slave as long as he must beg or buy the privilege of applying his labor to land. I will grant that some of the measures alluded to would benefit the slaves very much. Shortening the hours of labor, for instance, would not only furnish employment to a greater number, but would benefit otherwise. So profit sharing would lessen strikes and lockouts for a time at least. But man being deprived of his right to go to nature and make a living, would still be a slave, with his wages still tending to a bare living. But our grand declaration says further: "All statutes which obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust and must give way." Let us apply that now. It is perfectly clear that man does not enjoy this right to a share, for use, of the soil. But it is equally clear that he has been deprived of that right according to law; he has been robbed of this inheritance strictly according to statutes. Then, what is the plan for teaching in that declaration? It is to require these wrong and unjust statutes to "give away," is it not? But when is this to be done? Surely, it must be as soon as we know how. At the time of that declaration the remedy was not made known. Had the remedy been known then, who can doubt that it would have been advocated in that declaration? But we know now what the remedy is. It is the single tax.

The method by which these wrongs and unjust statutes which deprive man of his right to the use of the soil must be made to give way is the single tax.

That the single tax will do this is certain. The single tax means to abolish all taxation on every kind of improvement and all sorts of personal property, and make all taxes to consist of a single tax on bare land, according to the value of the bare land. Idle or poorly improved land of equal value would be taxed just the same as land which was covered with the most useful improvements. Now see what would follow this: There being no taxes on anything except land the present owners, whether of city lots or country land, would (1) put all of their land possible to productive use. This would call for a tremendous amount of labor everywhere. (2) Of the land yet on hand they would sell all they could, and, of course, those who would buy would do so only to put this land into productive use. Here would be another immense demand for labor, and wages would tend still higher. (3) The owners, finding land yet on hand which they could neither use nor sell, they would abandon this land rather than hold it in idleness and pay the taxes, which would be just as high as if the land were highly improved. But there would be such an immense amount of this land abandoned that there would be far more than would be needed by all those who wanted to have a "share for use." There is the last "inheritance." Man, then, need not go; he need not see his wife and tender children go and toil in the slave pen factory, or the mine, or elsewhere for starvation wages. He would be a free man because he could at any time go upon this free land and make at least a living.

No capitalist in all the world could oppress labor then, for every laborer would have mother nature at his back. Here is the great central truth, and the great truth which ought to be pushed right to the front and kept there. The single tax is the first great reform because it will make man free. It will give him leverage which will make all other reforms easy. It will make abundant work and at the highest wages; it will make business prosperous, with profitable returns.

Look at the declaration I have been analyzing and then look at the single tax. Does not the former naturally and logically, does it not irresistibly, lead to a belief in the latter? I think so. Then is it not our plain duty to teach the single tax along with that declaration as "among the higher duties in every local assembly" of our order? Everywhere we may see the wisest and best taking up the single tax. Our order should no longer delay in the good work. It is not only right and consistent to take it up as individuals, but, as I have shown, it is right and consistent to take it up as an order. It is a duty.

Depression in Business and the Reason for It.

The reason why manufacturing industries in the United States are so frequently depressed is that raw materials are heavily taxed. The taxation of the raw material makes the finished products so costly that they cannot be sold in foreign markets in competition with the products of countries which do not tax raw materials. The whole product is therefore thrown upon the home market, which becomes glutted at intervals, and the factories have to be closed or run upon short time, to wait until consumption overtakes production.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HANDY BINDERS
FOR
THE STANDARD.

A lot of Handy binders, made especially for filing THE STANDARD, are now ready.
Price 75 cents. Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square, New York City.

THE TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. 1,000 octavo pages, cloth. Mailed prepaid for \$1.30 by the American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, 20 Cooper Union, New York city.

HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS
IN FINE BINDINGS.

In Half Calf and Half Morocco:
Progress and Poverty.....\$2.50
Social Problems.....2.50
Protection or Free Trade.....3.00
In sets of three, bound alike.....7.00

ASSORTMENTS OF TRACTS.

During the late campaign quantities of our best tracts were assorted for special work, and many of these not having been used, we now place them, with some of a more recent date, in convenient packages, at a low price.

Five packages may be had at 50c. and \$1.00.
Address, THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square,
NEW YORK.

VOLUME FIVE OF THE STANDARD.
NOW READY.

A limited number of bound volumes of THE STANDARD, in heavy boards, are offered for sale at the following prices:

Separate volumes.....\$3.50
Volumes 3 and 4, bound together.....4.50
Volumes 2, 3 and 4.....9.00
Volumes 2, 3, 4 and 5.....12.00
(Expressage extra.)

Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square, New York.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want With Increase of Wealth—The Remedy.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

250 pages.
Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

342 pages.
Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

Cloth, \$1.50. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$3.00.

THE LAND QUESTION.

What It Involves, and How Alone It Can Be Settled.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

87 pages.
Paper covers, 10 cents.

PROPERTY IN LAND.

A Passage-at-Arms Between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George.

77 pages.
Paper covers, 15 cents.

Fortschritt und Armuth.

(Progress and Poverty in German.)

TRANSLATION OF C. D. F. GUTSCHOW.

430 pages.
Paper covers, 35 cents.

PROGRES ET PAUVRETE.

(Progress and Poverty in French.)

TRANSLATION OF P. L. LEMONNIER.

448 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROTECTION OU LIBRE-ECHANGE?

(Protection or Free Trade in French.)

TRANSLATION OF LOUIS VOSSION.

436 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROGRESSO E POVERTA.

(Progress and Poverty in Italian.)

TRANSLATION OF LUDOVICO EUSEBIO.

352 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.50.

For sale by all booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt of price. Foreign editions of these books imported on order.
HENRY GEORGE, 12 Union Square, New York

MONEY FOR YOU

In buying or selling our Watches, either all cash or in Clubs, at \$1.00 a week. Reliable Agents wanted. Lowest prices guaranteed. Exclusive territory given.



ANY PERSON CAN PLAY THE PIANO AND ORGAN WITHOUT A TEACHER, by using "Soper's Instantaneous Guide to the Keys." Price, \$1.00. No previous knowledge of music whatever required. Send for book of testimonials free. Address The Dorcas Magazine, 19 Park Place, New York.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

PRANG'S

NON-POISONOUS COLORS

for the use of children learning to paint. These paints represent all the latest art colors and tints, and can be given to even the youngest children with absolute safety. They come mounted upon neat, tin palettes, or in tin boxes. They are all specially prepared for us by the most eminent manufacturer of colors in Europe—Mr. Gunther Wagner, of Hanover, Germany. They must not be classed with ordinary children's paints, put up in cheap form and made of injurious and poisonous materials. They are really fine art colors in convenient form for use and especially non-poisonous for the needs of children.

PRANG'S OUTLINE PICTURES.

With these non-poisonous colors for children we issue several series of outline illustrations of familiar subjects as practice sheets. The original design is furnished in each case by some leading artist, and is strictly correct in form and detail. Directions how to paint them are furnished with every series. One specimen sheet of each series is furnished, colored by hand, in order to serve the children as a guide for harmonious coloring, and as an example of artistic work is the foundation of taste. The instruction is all the more successful because supplied in the form of amusement.

PRICE OF PRANG'S NON-POISONOUS COLORS:

Palette Colors—
Palette A, containing six colors with brush, 10 cents.
Palette B, containing nine colors with brush, 15 cents.

Eagle Colors—
Box No. 2, containing eight colors and brush, 25 cents.
Box No. 4, containing twelve colors and two brushes, 40 cents.

One box No. 2 of Prang's non-poisonous colors and one package of Prang's outline pictures (eight in a package with an extra copy of one of them painted by hand and full directions) 50 cents.

Or one box No. 2 of Prang's non-poisonous colors and three packages of Prang's outline pictures (each package different in design), \$1.00.

To be found at all leading stationers, or will be sent by mail postpaid on receipt of price.

A RARE OPPORTUNITY.

PORTRAIT OF HENRY GEORGE IN COLORS.

Only One Dollar.

The man whose right principles and deep convictions have made the great movement for the single tax on land values thus far successful, must be dear to thousands who watch and approve his course.

But his features are not so familiar, and the esteem in which he is held has prompted many requests for the publication of his picture in worthy and permanent form.

Realizing this urgent demand, we beg to announce the publication of an entirely new and very striking portrait of

HENRY GEORGE.

It is in colors and is full life size, designed to be framed to an outside measurement of 17x22 inches.

This picture will be sent, on receipt of price, by mail postpaid. Remittances may be made either by check post office order, registered letter, or postal note.

L. PRANG & CO., ART PUBLISHERS
Boston, Mass.

NEW YORK—38 Bond Street.
CHICAGO—79 Wabash Avenue.
SAN FRANCISCO—220 Commercial Street.

THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY.

1. A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. Louis F. Post, 8 pages.
2. Australia System. Louis F. Post, 4 pages.
3. First Principles. Henry George, 4 pages.
4. The Right to the Use of the Earth. Herbert Spencer, 4 pages.
5. Farmers and the Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman, 8 pages.
6. The Canons of Taxation. Henry George, 4 pages.
7. A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms. Samuel B. Clarke, 16 pages.
8. Back to the Land. Bishop Nulty, 16 pages.
9. The Single Tax. Thos. G. Shearman, 8 pages.
10. The American Farmer. Henry George, 4 pages.
11. Unemployed Labor. Henry George, 4 pages.
12. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 8 pages.
13. Social Problems. 342 pages, 12mo. Paper, 35c.
14. Objections to the Land Tax. Thos. G. Shearman, 4 pages.
15. Land Taxation. A Conversation Between David Dudley Field and Henry George, 4 pages.
16. How to Increase Profits. A. J. Steers, 2 pages.
17. The New Political Economy. E. O. Brown, 4 pages.
18. Thy Kingdom Come. Henry George, 4 pages.
Prices of Single Tax Library: Two page tracts—1 copy, 1 cent; 40 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 20 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
Four-page tracts—1 copy, 2 cents; 20 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 40 cents; 1,000 copies, \$3.
Eight-page tracts—1 copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$6.
Sixteen-page tracts—1 copy, 4 cents; 4 cents, 5 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, \$1.50; 1,000 copies, \$12.
No extra charge by mail.
The following numbers of the "Land and Labor Library" are still in stock:

6. Settlers' Nightmare. Louis F. Post, 4 pages.
7. New York's Docks. J. W. Sullivan, 4 pages.
10. Mysterious Disappearance. Lewis Ireland, 6 pp.
13. Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm. W. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.
14. The Collegiate Church and Shoemaker's Field. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.
15. Only a Dream. Abner C. Thomas, 4 pages.
18. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer, 4 pp.
21. Christianity and Poverty. Father Huntington 4 pp.
22. Poverty and Christianity. H. O. Pentecost, 8 pages.
26. Religion vs. Robbery. Rev. Dr. McGlynn, 8 pages.
28. Anti-slavery and Anti-poverty. H. O. Pentecost, 8 pp.
29. Tenement House Morality. J. O. S. Huntington, 4 pp.
33. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George, 4 pages.
38. "God Will It." Henry George, 4 pages.
42. How John's Father Saw the Light. W. C. Woods, 2 pp.
51. Ten Thoughts for Christian Thinkers. Rev. John A. Kramer, 4 pages.
54. What the United Labor Party Wants. Henry George, 2 pages.
61. Hints as to What You Can Do. Henry George, 4 pp.
71. My Butcher Woman and My Grocery Man. William McCabe, 4 pages.
84. A Republican's Reasons for Supporting Cleveland. Judge Frank T. Reid, 2 pages.
88. Jefferson and Hamilton. Chauncy F. Black, 8

GERMAN TRACTS.

42. First Principles. Henry George, 4 pages.
43. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George, 4 pages.
44. Taking Land Values. Henry George, 5 pages.
47. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer, 4 pages.
48. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 8 pages.
53. Sailors' Snug Harbor. Wm. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.

SWEDISH.

52. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 8 pages.

TARIFF TRACTS.

57. Protection as a Universal Need. Henry George, 4 pages.
60. The Tariff Question. Henry George, 4 pages.
64. American Protection and British Free Trade. Henry George, 4 pages.
66. Protection and Wages. Henry George, 8 pages.
70. The Common Sense of the Tariff Question. Thos. G. Shearman, 3 pages.
72. Protection the Friend of Labor? Thomas G. Shearman, 8 pages.
74. A Short Tariff History. Thomas G. Shearman, 4 pages.
76. Plain Talk to Protectionists. Thomas G. Shearman, 4 pages.
77. An Address to Workmen on the Tariff Question. Henry George, 4 pages.
A set of Tariff Tracts will be sent to any address on ten cents.

Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square, New York City

