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STEADILY RECOVERING.—Henry George is steadily recovering from his recent attack, and for more than a week he has been able to go out whenever the weather has been fairly decent. He is gradually getting used to the rest cure and he will try it under favorable auspices in Bermuda, for which island he and Mrs. George expect to sail in about a week. In a climate that encourages outdoor exercise and conduces to rest he will doubtless soon recover his strength. In fact he is so nearly well now, that, but for the positive injunctions of the doctors, he would be at work again. THE STANDARD readers have good cause to rejoice in the prospects of the speedy and complete recovery of its founder.

DANGEROUS BUSINESS.—Despatches from Washington announce that the treasury department is preparing to send quite a number of revenue cutters to Behring Sea to assist those already there in the enforcement of our government's claim to regulate and control seal fishing. It is also said that the new force of revenue cutters will be backed up vigorously by an increased naval force. The result, it is feared, may be an armed conflict between some of our vessels and the British vessels sent there to maintain what the British government regards as the rights of British fishermen. Such a conflict would be greatly to be deplored, and it is absolutely without excuse, in view of the fact that Lord Salisbury has offered to submit the question in dispute to arbitration.

CROOKED TAXATION.—This is the apt title that Thomas G. Shearman gave to indirect taxation in his paper read before the American Economic Society at its recent session in Washington. Mr. Shearman justified the term "crooked taxation" as preferable to "indirect taxation," because under the system, however named, taxes are paid to the government by persons who are authorized and expected to recover the amount from some one else, with interest and profit, upon which the law places no limit. Under such a system no one can tell how much tax he pays, and it is always certain that a large portion of the final burden is perverted to private use and profit. Having thus justified his definition, Mr. Shearman proceeded to arraign "crooked taxation" for all the evils that are attributable to it.

LAWLESS COMMISSIONER COLEMAN.—The Manhattan single tax club has sent to President Coleman, of the tax department, a sharp and forcible protest against his conduct in instructing the deputy tax commissioners to disobey the law. The statute of this state provides that all real and personal estate shall be estimated and assessed by the assessors, for purposes of taxation, at its full and true value, as they would appraise the same in payment of a just debt from a solvent debtor. There can be no mistake as to the meaning of these words; and yet President Coleman has testified, under oath, before the Fassett committee that he does not obey this law, and that he does not intend to obey it, because, in his judgment, such obedience would not be for the best interests of the city. He has since then publicly instructed the deputy tax commissioners to violate the law. A Star reporter interviewed Mr. Coleman concerning the Manhattan club's protest, and he reports that official as saying that "he would retract

nothing from his views as already expressed, but on the contrary, if necessary, would reiterate them more strongly than before." Is there no way in which this defiant law breaker can be compelled to perform his sworn duty?

HOW IT HELPS LABOR.—Ever since the crazy McKinley bill became a law, announcements have been made from time to time that a great tin plate factory was to be started first here and then there. Each announcement was accompanied by a dissertation of the great benefit that was about to be conferred on "American Labor" by taxing all workmen on tin and canned goods to enable a few to engage in this industry. The latest announcement of a tin plate manufacturing enterprise comes from Chicago, where E. & C. W. Norton say they are about to start a factory. They announce at the same time that they are the happy possessors of a machine for cleaning plate which, while requiring but one man to manage it, will do the work of fifty of the pauper laborers of Wales, who now do this work by hand. If American workmen cannot compete with Welshmen, what chance have they against this machine?

OVERHEAD WIRES.—The board of electrical control now proposes to compel the telegraph and telephone companies to take down the wires that they have stretched over house-tops. We should suppose that this would be rather a difficult proceeding. Who gave the board of electrical control title to the house-tops of New York? The whole of this overhead wire trouble comes from the fact that the city did not go about removing the nuisance in the right way. If it had built proper subways for itself, and offered the companies concerned the use of them at a fair rental on their cost, there would have been no need of coercing anybody into using them. There is more than a suspicion that the existing subway is simply a job.

TAMMANY DEFIED.—The annexed district seems to be the only portion of New York city over which Tammany is not supreme. Mr. Heintz, the new Commissioner, elected as an independent under a law passed at the urgent request of Tammany, is managing affairs to suit himself, and he takes pains not to permit any Tammany man to obtain a place in his department. This seems to be in accord with the wishes of the people who defeated the Tammany candidate and elected Mr. Heintz, but nevertheless it is much more than probable that the Tammany defenders of home rule will be clamoring at Albany this year for another change in the law that will enable them to get even with the audacious Commissioner.

WINDOM THE LAW DEFIER.—When the tariff act of March 3, 1883, went into effect many collectors of customs exacted a duty of fifty per cent. ad valorem on silk ribbons imported for trimming ladies' hats and bonnets. The same tariff act admitted hat trimmings at a duty of but twenty per cent. The importers paid the additional thirty per cent. under protest, and appealed to the courts. That bright particular protectionist, John Wannamaker, of bargain counter and bribery fame, brought the suit that was made a test case. He won his case in the United States

circuit court at Philadelphia. The treasury department appealed to the supreme court, which, in turn, sustained the court below. The treasury department thereupon began refunding to the importers the money it had unlawfully exacted. The sum involved is enormous. The total value of the merchandise over-taxed was \$109,000,000, and the excessive duties exacted amounted to about \$15,000,000. At the port of New York about \$1,500,000 has already been refunded. Suddenly, on December 29, Secretary Windom issued a brief, pre-emptory order to the collector of customs to suspend the repayment of the unlawfully exacted money. This is a simple, straightforward defiance of the law as declared by the United States supreme court, such as would send an ordinary person to jail. What will be the result when the law defier is secretary of the treasury remains to be seen.

THE STATE PAPER.—Secretary of State Rice, Comptroller Wemple and State Treasurer Danforth have unanimously designated the Albany Argus as the official state paper in place of the Times, which was the recipient of this favor at the hands of the same gentlemen a year ago. Editor Callicott of the Times professes to regard this as simply the first step in an alternation of this patronage between the two journals, but the more common opinion is that the change is made at the dictation of Governor Hill, who has had reason to doubt the wisdom of the step he took a year ago in slapping so influential a paper as the Argus in the face. Whatever may have been the motive for the change, it is a proper one, and the conduct of the New York Times in dilating on the evidence it offers of Governor Hill's ingratitude is displaying a petty spite that will probably help Governor Hill.

AN UNCONTESTED ELECTION.—The republicans had a walk-over at the special election held on December 30 to fill an alleged legislative vacancy in the Rock Island district. W. C. Collins, who was chosen at the regular election, was a non-resident. He resigned to Governor Fifer, who straightway called a special election. The Democrats insist that the legislature alone can judge of Mr. Collins's qualifications, that the Governor had no power to accept his resignation, and that no election can be ordered until a vacancy has been declared by the legislature itself. Holding this position the Democrats refused to participate in the election, and the Republican candidate triumphed over the Farmers' Alliance candidate by a large majority. The legality of this election will be one of many matters of dispute when the new legislature assembles.

THE HARVESTER TRUST.—The Farmers' Alliance of Missouri is taking steps to organize a co-operative company for the purpose of manufacturing farm machinery in competition with the newly organized Harvester Trust. We fear that the farmers will discover that it would pay them better, on the whole, to stick to farming, voting from time to time, as occasion may offer, to change the conditions that make trusts inevitable. We see much more hope for them in the announcement that men of large capital, who are familiar with the manufacture of harvesters, intend to set up an active opposition to the trust.

CHEAP LINEN NO LONGER CHEAP.—The Worcester, Mass., Spy, a republican paper, announces as among the results of the new tariff that the Stevens' Linen Works, the largest of the kind in the United States, has increased its price for towels, napkins, tablecloths, etc., considerably. The Chicago Tribune, another republican paper, commenting on this fact, unkindly alludes to it as a new evidence of the "insanity"

that permitted the Ways and Means Committee to increase these duties, and it goes on to say that the "increased duty is not for the benefit of labor," since the Stevens Works, while announcing that it has raised the price of its goods, makes no accompanying announcement that it has put up wages. The remarkable thing about this is the fact that such articles are becoming common in Republican papers. This does not indicate that the process of recovery from the late defeat is yet begun.

A COUNTRY CLUB.—The handsome new home of the Union County Country Club was opened to visitors on the last day of the old year, and it is described as one of the most attractive buildings of the kind in that portion of New Jersey lying adjacent to New York. Its casino is one of the prettiest play-houses imaginable, and there are, in addition, billiard rooms, bowling alleys, tennis courts, and a fine library, all furnished in the most artistic and luxurious style. One might suppose from all this that the farmers of New Jersey are amazingly prosperous, but those who read the description to the end found tacked to it a modest announcement that most of the members of the club are New York business men. When real countrymen can enjoy the privileges of country clubs, even approximating this in convenience and elegance, there will be less complaint of the disposition of farmers' sons to come to the cities and try to be business men.

THEY WANT THE EARTH.—Mrs. Juliet Raum, wife of Pension Commissioner Green B. Raum, and John Fields, her brother, have begun suit against the town of Golconda, Ill., for the recovery of property valued at over \$200,000. They assert title as heirs of Green B. Fields, the founder of the town, and the land they claim constitutes Water street, Ohio levee and the public landing. The streets were laid out by the founder of the town, who, doubtless, was compensated for the surrender of the ground necessary by the increase in the value of his other land. He appears to have neglected to deed these streets to the public, and now these people propose to make their fellow-citizens pay dearly for his neglect. Of course the whole value of this property has been created by the people of Golconda, without whose presence the land in question would not be worth quarrelling about. This is another beautiful illustration of the justice and equity of the existing system of land tenure about which we hear so much from its interested defenders.

"THE CAT" IN BUSINESS.—Lots for sale at reasonable prices and on terms to suit the purchaser, free from taxation for improvements, is the opening announcement in an advertisement of a New Jersey land company. How the company manages this in New Jersey is not explained, but the advertisement shows that real estate speculators and developers are beginning to understand that the taxation of improvements is a serious obstacle to building and development. They are beginning to "see the cat," though "as through a glass, darkly."

AN AMUSING ECONOMIST.—The Peoria (Ill.) Journal prints, with editorial commendation, a communication from Eli C. Lisk. Mr. Lisk declares that the farmer now pays ninety-two per cent. of the taxes of this country. One reason for this is, that "all his property lies open to the assessor and it all goes on the assessor's books," whereas "the rest of the community, manufacturers and merchants excepted, have their wealth laid aside in their drawers and safes and cannot be seen by the assessor, but he has to depend on their word alone for the correctness of their listed property." Mr. Lisk is a little foggy in his English, but his

meaning is quite clear, and he sensibly declares that "this mode of assessment is all wrong." What do our readers suppose is the remedy Mr. Lisk proposes? It is to exempt land from taxation and assess improvements and property alone. Of course he suggests new and static methods for ascertaining the amount of bonds and mortgages, etc., held by each individual, and equally, of course, fails to remember that those concerned have a perfect right to move themselves and their possessions out of any state adopting such a law. Having started out by showing that personal property cannot be equitably taxed, he insists that it alone shall be taxed. The Peoria Journal sapiently remarks that "it will be observed that the writer does not espouse the theories espoused by Henry George, but, on the contrary, takes just the opposite view." Yes, this will be observed.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.—The brief record of the public services of the great Kentuckian, printed elsewhere, is from the pen of Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson, now one of the editors of the New York World, whose personal and official relations with Mr. Carlisle gave him such opportunity as few men have had to study the character and familiarize himself with the work of the fairest and ablest Speaker the House of Representatives has had for generations. Mr. Carlisle had the good fortune to be translated to the senate in time to escape any prolonged submission on his part to the brutal rule of his rowdy successor, and for some time to come that packed body is likely to present a fruitful field for his great parliamentary abilities.

THE STANDARD FOR 1891.—With the present issue THE STANDARD begins its ninth volume and enters on the fifth year of its existence. It does not seem worth while to attempt anything in the way of salutory, since the change in the ownership of the paper practically brings no change in the management under which it has been carried on for the past year. Of course every reader of the paper will naturally regret the necessity for Mr. George's retirement, but, at the same time, all recognize the greater necessity of his performance of the duties that no one else can undertake, and of his taking that perfect rest which is essential to his recovery of health.

The change in form, type and make-up is one that the present editor has always thought should be made, and though it can be only judged of and not seen at this writing, he is perfectly satisfied that it will prove agreeable to most readers. The change from eight pages to sixteen pages, made about two years ago, was a step in the right direction, but the present twenty-four page form is the right one for a modern weekly newspaper and permits the easy addition of pages if advertising or other pressure on space shall necessitate enlargement.

So far as policy is concerned it is needless to say anything. THE STANDARD will remain in the future what it has been in the past—the exponent, advocate and defender of the new political economy, first given to the world by Henry George in the pages of "Progress and Poverty," and the duties thus imposed upon it will always be recognized as paramount to all others. It will nevertheless seek to justify the new sub-title on its cover—A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, and in this its editor is confident that it will improve from week to week. He also hopes to be able to call in from time to time the services of new writers, discussing a somewhat wider range of topics than has hitherto been practicable. We simply greet our readers with the usual happy New Year, for THE STANDARD needs no introduction to them. It is merely an old and tried friend in a new suit of clothes.

THE FORCE BILL DEAD.—By a sudden movement the Democratic senators and a few western Republicans, who are in favor of the free coinage of silver, practically killed the force bill last Monday. A caucus had been called to meet that night, and it was fully anticipated that it would order the bill to be put through, at any cost, and accept Hoar's continuous session programme and Aldrich's gag law, in order to carry out its decision. This meant a long struggle which the silver men did not want. A few of them got together and concluded to settle the question before the caucus met. Senator George of Mississippi had the floor on Monday and, by mere accident, Senator Harris, a Democrat, was occupying the chair during the temporary absence of Vice-President Morton. It was at this juncture that Senator George yielded the floor to Senator Stewart for the purpose of making a motion. Mr. Stewart at once moved that the senate proceed to the consideration of the bill known as the finance bill, and in an instant it dawned on those present that something remarkable was about to happen. Poor old Hoar of Massachusetts got white and red by turns and sputtered like a tallow candle in a draught. He undertook to insist that Mr. George could not yield the floor temporarily for such a purpose, but the chair promptly overruled him and put the question on the motion of the senator from Nevada. Upon a demand for a yea and nay vote the clerk began calling the roll. The voting proceeded on party lines until Mr. Jones of Nevada was called. He voted for the motion and was shortly followed by McConnell and Shoup, the two new Idaho senators, who had just been sworn in, and by Senators Stanford, Stewart, Teller, Washburn and Walcott on the Republican side. One of the amusing things was that Mr. Hoar had been specially anxious to have the Idaho senators sworn in to assist him in his fight for the force bill, but their silver proclivities led them to assist in burying his pet measure. Vice-President Morton, who returned to the chamber during the roll call, announced that the motion to take up the finance bill was carried by 34 to 29. Poor old Hoar seemed dazed and stunned and finally sought seclusion in a cloak room. He is politically as dead as his pet bill.

The vote taken practically kills the force bill by putting it beyond reach during the present session, after which it will necessarily fall to the ground. It is at the foot of the calendar with hundreds of bills ahead of it, and one—that which the senate voted to take up—is a measure that will excite much discussion and sharp controversy, and which, by the way, will divide republican senators into eastern and western factions. There remains less than eight weeks of the session. All of the appropriation bills are yet to be acted on. We may look for some further movements by Mr. Hoar, but he can by no possibility get the bill back into the position it occupied before the fatal vote of last Monday.

Thus fortunately perishes one of the most dangerous measures ever submitted to congress—a measure which on the false pretence that it proposed to prevent the southern states from practically disfranchising the negroes, struck a deadly blow at the rights of voters everywhere, and threatened to establish partisan election boards, appointed for life and supported by an appropriation running for fifteen years. The bill was simply infamous. It was probably the most shameful attempt by a defeated minority to perpetuate its power ever made under any constitutional government, and the fact that a majority of the house passed it, and that a majority of the Republicans of the senate were willing to pass it, demonstrates conclusively that it is necessary to the preservation of our liberties, to say nothing of progress toward more perfect freedom, that the Republican party shall be stamped out in order that some party, less reck-

less and not dominated by the bitter memories and dangerous precedents of the civil war period, shall take its place.

THE STANDARD'S "PARTISANSHIP."—Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, in his admirable article, printed elsewhere, casually alludes to a complaint sometimes made by men inclined toward free trade or the single tax, that our movement and **THE STANDARD** are blindly committed to the support of the Democratic party. Such complaints have been made to others besides Mr. Garrison. The opposition of **THE STANDARD** to the pending force bill appears to be the chief count in this indictment. Those who are prone to such criticism are not numerous, and they usually are those who are still more or less attached to the Republican party, or who are inclined toward one of the new party movements. This does not matter greatly, however, if the accusation be true, though it suggests the possibility that their own party prejudices color their criticism.

Is **THE STANDARD** a partisan Democratic paper? We do not propose to answer this question affirmatively or negatively, but to state the paper's attitude, and permit those interested to answer for themselves. **THE STANDARD** does desire the success of the Democratic party. It has labored to aid that party's success ever since Mr. Cleveland sent in his tariff reform message to congress in 1887, and it proposes to continue to do so, so long as the Democratic party, through the legislation it attempts in congress, its party platforms and its choice of candidates, continues to move in the direction of free trade. The paper will pursue this course without shutting its eyes for a moment to the fact that many men in the Democratic party—and some of them still possessed of influence in its councils—are opposed to free trade and fully determined to stop the present movement when some measure of mere tariff reform has been accomplished. Even these men are helping to overthrow the superstition behind which protection has entrenched itself, and they are unconsciously urging on the flood that will either overwhelm them, or carry them with it. If such men ever do obtain control of their party, however, and cry halt, then **THE STANDARD** will have something to say that will be a sufficient answer to all charges of blind Democratic partisanship. Meanwhile no unprejudiced observer can find a single sign that the party can possibly find any stopping place short of a tariff for revenue only while the probabilities are that it will find itself engaged in devising systems, for direct taxation before it even reaches that point.

One thing is certain: it cannot stop short of destroying the protective system. When that shall have been accomplished the debate on the final system of taxation will really begin, under conditions impossible until that time. Hundreds of thousands of men who now believe that without protection they would starve, will find themselves still living and actually better off. They will understand that a tariff is a tax, and they will listen rationally to any proposal to substitute some less burdensome tax for it. Again, congress, itself, will then be ready for the intelligent discussion of the question of taxation, on its merits. No lobby will be there, paid to lie and scheme and bribe in support of an evil and burdensome system. Last, but by no means least, there will then be no favored interests able and willing to raise vast funds to be used in wholesale bribery and corruption, such as that which made Mr. Harrison president. No man who is able to comprehend the results sure to follow the overthrow of the protective superstition is entitled to be regarded as a useful advocate of the single tax if he fails to use every honorable effort to promote the success of the Democratic party, so long as it heads in this direction, and it is likewise the duty of all single taxers to use such opportunities

as they can find to assist those inside the Democratic party who are pressing it on, step by step, to the acceptance of more radical ideas on the tariff question.

Now what is the force bill, and why was it introduced? Is it possible that any one who claims enough intelligence to understand the single tax is foolish enough to imagine that the pending bill owes its existence to a sudden revival of republican indignation against the suppression of negro votes in the south? Such a pretense is silly. The very men who are urging the measure now, opposed a milder force bill when the negro vote was far more cruelly and effectually suppressed. They then saw that, which is even much plainer now, that outside interference only aggravated the race difficulty in the South, and events have justified their former action. The force bill would never have been heard of again had the authors of the McKinley bill not foreseen the probable revolt against them in the North, and began to cast about for some method of securing votes in the South to bolster up the protectionist conspiracy against the rights of the people. **THE STANDARD** would have shown itself a coward or a fool if, to escape the charge of partisanship, it had pretended to fall into such a trap, and made that the pretext for attacking the party whose success, for reasons openly and freely given, it desires. It is not that kind of a paper, and it has no disposition to attain a reputation for independence by seizing every opportunity to stab its allies in the back.

We are under no illusions about the democratic party. It has done many stupid things and many mean things. It is now, however, on the right side of the principal question now uppermost in American politics. So long as it occupies that attitude it deserves success, and **THE STANDARD** proposes to help it obtain its deserts. If that be partisanship, make the most of it.

THE INDIAN WAR.—There seems to be no reason to doubt that the skirmishes, murders and massacres in South Dakota that are spoken of as an Indian war are entirely due to culpable mismanagement of the federal government. The results are disgraceful to our civilization. The so-called battle, which took place last week, appears from the somewhat guarded reports to have been merely a revengeful massacre. The United States soldiers were about to disarm a body of Indians who had surrendered. The sullen and desperate warriors, with a mad disregard of consequences astonishing even in savages, before handing over the arms, fired a volley which killed and wounded a number of their captors. The vengeance of the soldiers was immediate and terrible. The Indians were followed and shot down like game, and not only the men but women, and possibly children, were massacred.

It is probably needless, and certainly painful to dwell on this horror. The occurrence, however, ought to arouse the American people to such a consideration of the Indian question as will not merely cause a change of policy, but compel an intelligent examination of the real cause of the whole trouble. This cause is hinted at in General Miles's article in the current number of the *North American Review*, which says that for four years from 1877 to 1881 the Sioux Indians, under the control of the military, had been gradually approaching a self-sustaining condition. They were disarmed and dismounted, their war ponies were sold and the proceeds were turned over to them in domestic stock. They had a large herd of cattle and wagons and cultivated fields. They were satisfied with their condition, and when an order came for their removal they begged that they might be left to gather the crops that were maturing in their fields. They were ruthlessly driven away, loaded on steamboats, and shipped down the river to the Standing Rock Agency, where they

were turned over to the management of an Indian agent. The discipline that had been introduced rapidly disappeared. Their cattle were lost and, despite the issue of government rations, there seems to be good reason to believe that there is truth in the statement that they suffered for want of food. They have naturally been a part of the force that has recently been making trouble.

What reason was there for driving these people from the land they were cultivating and undoing everything that had been done toward civilizing them and teaching them to be self-supporting? None whatever, were it not for the land grabbers, who have compelled all who seek access to natural opportunities to go further and further west, before the intervening country is half occupied, and to constantly press upon the limited area still left to the Indians. The whole long and terrible story of the treatment of the Indians by the United States government is merely one chapter in the record of crime attributable to landlordism.

A SINGLE TAX MESSAGE.—We print elsewhere the closing portion of the inaugural message of Hon. Joseph B. Sargent, the new mayor of New Haven. We could not obtain the full text in time to make a summary of the whole paper for this issue of *THE STANDARD*, and the abstracts of it printed in the daily papers were so manifestly confused and inaccurate that they could not be depended on.

Most papers that have commented on the message have represented it as thoroughly socialistic in its recommendations, but a hasty glance leads us to believe that there is little, if any, warrant for such a declaration. Few editorial writers on the daily press recognize any difference between the resumption by government of public duties, too long delegated to private persons or corporations, and the assumption by government of private business functions, which properly belong to individuals. Mayor Sargent does see this difference, however, and he clearly draws the line between functions properly public and functions properly private in the following paragraph:

I believe that all works of a public nature carried on mainly within the bounds of a municipality and for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with certain daily requirements of civilized life, and requiring special rights of eminent domain to distribute their products, should be owned and operated by the people, and in the sole interest of the people.

This is sound doctrine. It is not socialism, but the recognition of a truth, the obscuring of which has made the growth of socialistic ideas in this country possible. The confusion of that which of right belongs to all with that which of right belongs to the individual, has obliterated the line that divides public rights and duties from private rights and duties, and socialistic ideas are the natural result. Persons accustomed to seeing governmental powers used by private persons for their individual profit, not unnaturally look to paternalism—the usurpation of private rights and the performance of private duties by government—as the remedy for abuses arising from improperly delegating to a few powers belonging to all. Mr. Sargent appears to clearly see that both usurpations are wrong and that both should cease.

The latter part of his message demonstrates that he also clearly sees how the restoration of public rights and public property to the public is to be brought about almost without trenching on individual liberty or seizing individual property. He probably calls himself a single tax man, limited, but the limitation is somewhat hazy and the argument is a practical acceptance of the whole doctrine. The declaration that “the owner can annually recover from the user or renter the tax he has paid on land used or occupied” may, at first, strike some as an assertion that a tax on land values is transferable, but such is not the case. The land owner cannot add his increased tax to the rent, since he is now

obtaining all the rent that the demand for such land will warrant him in asking. Mr. Sargeant knows what he is talking about, and he is as courageous in statement as he is clear in thought.

That he is a single tax man we have long known. He practically said so long ago in one of the *New Haven papers*. His utterances in Australia, and even in Japan, have been reported to us by enthusiastic single taxers who have met him while traveling, but we did not anticipate this open proclamation of his faith, and our readers will rejoice with us in so important an accession to our ever-widening ranks. Mr. Sargent is mayor of New Haven, but he is a great deal more. He is the largest manufacturer of hardware in America. He was once a protectionist and his study and business experience have made him an absolute free trader. He is a man of marked ability who has made valuable contribution to the discussion of the tariff question, and he is likely to do as much in the broader discussion that will follow the settlement of that question. His public declaration of the true economic faith is about the best New Year's gift that our cause could have received.

RAPID TRANSIT.—The daily papers are again filled with all sorts of proposals for rapid transit, under the assumption that a serious attempt to authorize a practical plan will be made at Albany this winter. There are numerous underground plans, and the construction of a tunnel beneath Broadway to be used for subways and fast trains, while the cable road on the surface will be used for short distance travel, has been vigorously urged. It can justly be said in favor of the numerous underground schemes that they will really afford rapid transit, and that experience in London has demonstrated their practicality, but nevertheless, New Yorkers would prefer to travel above ground if that be possible. In order to meet this desire, David H. King, Jr., proposes two great viaducts along the North and East rivers, and a depressed road through what is now private property in the centre of the city. Mr. King argues that the necessary capital can readily be raised, since it can be demonstrated that the roads would earn a fair interest on their cost. He suggests, however, that the viaduct road should be built by the city, which should condemn the land and give out the construction by sections to contractors able to do the work. When completed the road could be leased to the company willing to pay the most for the franchise for ten or twenty or fifty years. The roadway should contain conduits for pneumatic tubes, electrical conductors, gas, water and steam, which would always be accessible without interference with the streets.

Numerous other schemes will doubtless be proposed, but unfortunately there is little or no sign that a hearing could be had for the true solution of the problem. Mr. King, for instance, remarks that the success of his proposed plan would bring the whole upper end of the island into the market and promote prompt improvement. No doubt he is right, but the profits thus obtained would go exclusively to the owners of the land, the value of which was thus enhanced. Why should the city bear the cost of such an improvement and give to private parties nearly or quite the whole profit?

Such a plan as Mr. King suggests would enormously increase land values, not only in the northern part of the city but everywhere within our limits, and the money requisite for carrying it out should be raised by a tax on land values. Such a tax could be levied and collected in one year without adding a cent to the rents now paid by the great mass of our people. If this be too drastic a proposition, let the city be authorized to divide the necessary tax into ten installments, sufficient

in the aggregate to pay principal and interest, and it would have no difficulty at all in raising all of the money needed without permitting private capitalists to acquire any further control of our public highways. This much can be accomplished without attempting to settle the question as to whether the roads when completed shall be operated by the public or leased under proper guarantee to an operating company.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN ONCE MORE.—In an editorial article in THE STANDARD of December 3 Professor Seligman, of Columbia College, was taken to task for some assertions in his paper read before the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga, during the single tax discussion. Special exception was taken (1), to his attempt to show that the selling value of land is a capitalization of its past rather than of its future productiveness, (2) to his notion that the single tax would cause a double loss to land owners, and (3) to his statement that a serious attempt was made by the Margrave Charles Frederick, of Baden, to naturalize the single tax in his small dominion. Professor Seligman makes the following reply:

To the Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: The editorial in your issue of December 3, entitled "A Professor or Two," has just come to my notice. I have, of course, no desire to enter into any controversy with you, and certainly not to indulge in any personalities. But I find among the complimentary allusions in the article three points which seem to call for an answer. Let us consider these three "reckless statements and illogical deductions," as you term them.

You maintain that I argue that "the selling value of land is a capitalization of its past productiveness." And you go on to argue at some length that past payments are considered, but only as an indication of future payments. But what are my words? Simply these: "If you will say that future productiveness depends on an estimate based upon a comparison of past and present productiveness, then I can have no quarrel with the assertion" (p. 90). Do we not really agree on this point? And do you not completely misunderstand the tenor of my argument?

Secondly, you take exception to my proof that the single tax would cause a double loss to existing land owners. You speak of "the confusion worse confounded" in the argument. Permit me to set you straight. What I maintained was, that if an exclusive tax, say of ten per cent. were imposed on the dividends of a class of corporations which before the tax were paying five per cent. on stock quoted at par, this would leave the stockholders only four and a half per cent., which would reduce the price of the stock to ninety. The facts you accept; the conclusion you deny. But your denial is founded on a complete misconception. You say that "when the periodical loss is capitalized into a gross sum, that sum is the total loss." But right here you make your mistake. If I had an income of \$5,000 a year, and now because of the tax get only \$4,500 a year, I lose \$500 a year. If at the end of the year or term of years I sell the stock, I get only \$90,000 instead of \$100,000, and therefore lose \$10,000. That is, I have lost not only \$500 interest every year, but also \$10,000 capital, when I finally sell. The new purchaser of course loses nothing, because \$4,500 on \$90,000 is five per cent. on the investment, just as \$5,000 is five per cent. of \$100,000. I apply my argument on page 37 specifically only to the original holder, not the new purchaser. Four and a half is indeed, as you say, to ninety what five is to one hundred. But the trouble is that the original owner paid one hundred, not ninety, for his stock. While he owns the stock he gets four and a half, not five, as long as he owns it, losing interest every year, and when he sells he loses the capitalized value of this decrease of interest. But in the meantime he has lost the interest also. Kindly note the distinction between the original holder and the new purchaser.

Let me say furthermore that this doctrine of mine is by no means a new one. What I complained of in my address was the ignorance of your single tax men on the science of finance. The doctrine presented above is known as the capitalization theory of incidence, or as applied to land is sometimes called the rent-charge theory. If you desire to study it a little more in detail, permit me to refer you to a few works on the science of finance such as Schaffle, "Grundsätze der Steuerpolitik," pp. 176-190; or Rau, "Finanzwissenschaft," vol. II., 22-27, or Pantaleoni, "Trasmissione dei Tributi," pp. 168-183. Here, as well as in countless other works, you will find the theory plainly set forth. But pray do not accuse me of "confusion of thought," when you yourself have evidently never heard of such a theory before. Mr. George, in fact, at Saratoga seemed not to know what the science of finance really is. Let me say that there are dozens of books on just this science.

Finally, as to the experiment of Charles Frederick, any of your readers who care to investigate this topic will find it fully explained in an article of sixty-three pages entitled "Carl Frederick von Baden's physiokratische Verbindungen. Bestrebungen und Versuche," by Professor A. Emminghaus in the Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, vol. XIX., p. 1, to be found in both the Astor and Columbia libraries. Charles Frederick was a follower of Quesnay and Mirabeau, and assessed the single tax in exact accordance with the physiocratic doctrine, viz., on the product net. Of course, the experiment was a crude one. But its result can be seen in a contemporary official report which states that after some years "the land owners are the most heated opponents of the system, and the

landless desire its continuance" (p. 53). This conclusion is not very surprising.

In conclusion, I would state that as a means of practical reform I am not at all averse to the introduction of a tax on land values or ground rents in our American cities. I think that it might be a good thing to abolish the tax on houses, because of its frequent shifting to the consumer or tenant. And I certainly think that the tax on personal property is a farce. But what I object to in your whole scheme, apart from the question of confiscation, is the single tax. I maintain that this is unjust because it will not reach the other forms of unearned increment, and because it will tend to the complete exemption of those who in our modern industrial society are best able to bear the burdens. In other words, a tax on land values, as J. S. Mill understood it, would be an admirable part of our system of taxation. A tax on land values as a single tax would be the height of injustice.

Columbia College.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

On the first point we cannot reach an agreement with the professor so easily as he seems to expect. Past and present productiveness is frequently an element in any estimate of future productiveness, but it is not necessarily an element, since the past and present productiveness of agricultural land, about to be turned into factory sites or building lots, would be entirely disregarded by an intending purchaser. Whether the valuation be arrived at by comparison with the past, by calculation, or by sheer guess work, it is the real or supposed future productiveness of land, and that alone, which determines the price that any one desiring to appropriate its product, or the advantages it offers, is willing to pay for it. Outside of the exceptional cases where considerations of sentiment intervene, a man no more buys land on account of what it has done in the past than he buys a horse on account of his achievements twenty years before.

As to the second proposition considered in Professor Seligman's reply, we take exception to his phraseology when he alludes to his former argument as "proof" that the single tax "would cause a double loss to existing land owners." His new illustration, instead of proving anything, merely demonstrates his own utter confusion of thought. Take the case as stated. The imposition would unquestionably decrease the net income \$500 a year. Five per cent. being the interest obtainable from other investments, the decrease in net income would of course cause the capitalized value to fall to \$90,000. In that case, if the professor was honest with himself in his bookkeeping, he would instantly charge \$10,000 to profit and loss and thus reduce the capital stock valuation on his books to \$90,000. His loss would be instantaneous and he would not thereafter lose \$500 a year, until he had nothing at all, but would be regularly drawing 5 per cent. on the full value of his capital.

If this is not clear to him let us accept his own suggestion about sale to another. He admits that the purchaser at \$90,000 would receive the full income on his investment. Then all the original seller need do, to save himself from a continuous loss of \$500 a year, is to buy from some one else \$90,000 worth of the same stock at the new market price and draw his dividends, less tax, on it, which would give him net interest of 5 per cent. "But the trouble is," says the professor, "that the original owner paid one hundred, not ninety for his stock." The real trouble is that the professor does not understand that the value he is discussing is merely the capitalization of the present or anticipated earning power of the stock. His notion that a man goes on forever losing the interest he might have drawn on the capital he has once lost is very common with the holders of the repudiated bonds and worthless stocks of railway companies, but it does not furnish a basis for any rational business transactions nor commend itself to any practical student of the question of values. Think of the hopeless ruin in which such a system of calculation would involve the future descendants of the present investors in Keely motor stock! Think of the indebtedness of mankind through the accumulated loss of interest on the capital wasted in misdirected investments, from the time of the South Sea Bubble down to the present

time! With the utmost desire to treat Prof. Seligman with unfeigned courtesy, we must counsel him, if he has been misled by German professors of lunar "finance" into the belief that a man goes on forever losing the interest that he might have earned on lost capital, that he had better abandon his books for a time and consort with mere business men and ordinary book-keepers.

And now as to the experiment by Charles Frederick. If Prof. Seligman had ever taken the trouble to understand the single tax, before proceeding to attack it, he would not have confused the theory of Quesnay with that of Henry George, nor a tax of 20 per cent. on the "produit net" with the single tax on land values. Charles Frederick's experiment was tried on only three small agricultural communities. In one of these, Dietlingen, the total amount of taxes previously paid was somewhat loosely estimated and the whole amount ordered to be raised by a tax of 20 per cent. on the net product. This net product was approximately ascertained, and the fields, meadows and vineyards were thereupon divided into first, second and third quality. A tax of three florins a year was levied on the land classed as first quality and a lower tax on the other classes. In addition to this the time-honored tithe was still continued. Furthermore, the farmers, on whom these direct taxes were laid, continued to pay indirect taxes in common with all other subjects of the Margrave. Again the farmers, who had been accustomed to pay their taxes in kind, were now called upon to pay them in money, and sometimes had to sell produce at a sacrifice to obtain cash. They were subjected to trade restrictions in the shape of licenses, guild rights and so on, while some neighboring villagers enjoyed freer trade. As was natural, there was much grumbling among the farmers, but nevertheless the system continued until the French invasion in 1790, and Professor Seligman admits that when it was finally changed, though the landowners were its heated opponents, the "landless desired its continuance."

Professor Seligman really owes an apology to the American Social Science Association and to the advocates of the single tax for drawing a false deduction from this experiment by Charles Frederick. Enninghaus, himself, though opposed to the Physiocrats, in the article quoted says that the experiment was so crude in its details that no conclusion could be drawn from it against the theories of Turgot and Quesnay. Why then should Professor Seligman attempt to quote it as a demonstration of the failure of that system, to say nothing of his attempt to show that it was a demonstration of the failure of the single tax. Taxing agricultural land on its estimated yield is a vastly different thing from the proposal to tax all land values, urban as well as rural, for the benefit of the community calling such values into being.

We repeat our expression of a sincere desire to treat all opponents of the single tax, and especially college professors, with courtesy, for this is a question that deserves to be debated with calmness and dignity; but we must insist on courtesy and fairness on the other side. The science of taxation is becoming a question of practical politics. For weal or for woe, it must be decided by the votes of the common people. It can never be finally settled until it is settled rightly. If we are not to purchase wisdom by more of costly experience than would otherwise be necessary, we must discuss the subject in such a common sense fashion that the great mass of the thoughtful people can understand the argument and verify for themselves the facts we ask them to accept. College professors can, if they will, play an important part in this debate. They must not, however, misuse their learning to misstate history not easily accessible to English-speaking people, nor attempt to offer theories of book-keeping that would not

delude a Park row newsboy, on the authority of German philosophers who have been known to evolve camels from their inner consciousness rather than hunt a specimen. Furthermore, and finally, college professors, if they are to command the respect of the jury before which the question of the true theory of taxation is to be argued, must get rid of the conceit born of their constant contact, in an authoritative way, with immature minds, and treat Mr. George and his co-laborers in this cause with the courtesy and respect to which their growing hold on the thought of the practical and grown-up men of this and all other English-speaking countries entitles them.

PARNELL MUST GO.—The utmost secrecy is maintained as to the result of the recent conference between Mr. Parnell and O'Brien, in France. Immediately after his return home, Mr. Parnell declared his intention to resume his speaking tour in Ireland, but he has apparently not yet begun it. Meanwhile a rumor is current that he offered to retire, provided O'Brien is made the leader of the Irish party in Parliament. How such an arrangement could be made, in view of the fact that Mr. O'Brien must go to jail for a year as soon as he re-enters Ireland or Great Britain, is not explained. The story is probably merely the result of some eager newsgatherer's imagination.

Harold Frederic, in his cable letter to the Sunday New York Times, says that it is obvious that if Parnell has made such a proposition, it is his purpose to set up a leader who can easily be undermined by intrigue and overthrown by treachery, and he further says that Parnell's opponents would not consent to such an arrangement. They regard their late leader as "an ingrained traitor," and laugh at the idea of attaching any importance to his most solemn promises. "They believe," says Mr. Frederic, "that he will never surrender while he lives and keeps out of a madhouse," and they intend to fight him "mercilessly and remorselessly out of the field."

In this they show their sense. Compromise is impossible and the only hope of renewed union among Irish members of parliament lies in the political destruction of the author of their present disunion. If the frequent intimations that the mad ex-leader is really insane are well founded, his elimination as a disturbing factor in Irish politics may come sooner than now appears likely; but, for the present, the Irish home rule movement is at an end, and no real union of the Irish people is practicable, in behalf of any purpose, through concession or compromise. Parnell must go.

"REFORMS WHICH DO NOT REFORM."

While advocates of the single tax should always assist in effecting partial reforms which either help to bring about the abolition of other taxes or which will alleviate the evils of the present system, they need to use great care to avoid apparent reforms which will really do neither of these things, but which will, in the contrary, delay true progress. Thus, in Ireland, all land purchase schemes are positive obstructions to real reform, as all American land and tax reformers know. But there are other plausible schemes in America which are equally objectionable. Still others are, to say the least, not helpful, but rather the contrary.

The popular demand for the exclusion of aliens and corporations from the ownership of land is, from the single tax point of view, a mistake. If nine-tenths of all the land in this country were owned by corporations and non-resident aliens the single tax would be adopted within two years, because the vast majority of voters would have no real or imaginary interest in opposing it and could readily see that it would relieve them from

all taxes. It is commonly supposed, however, that such landlords are harsher and more exacting than others, and that, during the long period which might elapse before the single tax could be adopted, tenants would be grievously oppressed. This is a mistake. Foreigners, and especially foreign corporations, have always been, as a general rule, among the least exacting landlords in America. Of course there are exceptions, like Mr. Scully, but they are few.

Every increase of such forms of landowning, therefore, should be welcomed by single tax men, because it hastens the day when the only adequate remedy will be adopted, without adding anything to the burdens which the mass of the people must bear meantime.

New York.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DEMOCRACY.

It is a matter of congratulation that THE STANDARD is to continue its useful mission, even though its founder feels called to devote himself to other important departments of the great cause. For, wonderful as has been the progress of the single tax idea, and impossible as it is for the press generally to avoid its discussion, our representative organ is of immense importance. It not only keeps the widely-scattered members of the league in touch with one another, but, true to its name, holds aloft unflinchingly and uncompromisingly the principles of the reform.

This function cannot be left to party journals nor intrusted to politicians, even though the advocacy of justice happens to serve their purpose and ambition for the hour. They are ever ready to use a public sentiment created by reformers, but, in the nature of things, are themselves debarred from espousing unpopular, though righteous movements.

Nor can we, who are careless of party affiliations, yet alert to the use of parties as instruments to forward our work, be too careful to keep distinctions clear and to discriminate wisely. So, to conduct our cause as to appear merged in mere party strife, or committed to the advocacy of certain men to office, because nominated by the political organization most in sympathy with us, would ill comport with the dignity and position of our movement. It is for the needle to follow the magnet, not for the magnet to concern itself with the needle, which must, perforce, obey the natural law.

At present, thanks to the courage of Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic party has taken an important step in our direction and forced the Republican leaders to champion a wrong. Inevitably our sympathies are with the former in the present issue. It is well to remember, however, that many sympathizers with us still cling to the Republican party, in spite of its corrupt leaders, because of the injustice done to the colored voters of the South by Democrats. My urgent appeals to old friends to join us in striking off the shackles of trade, and in bringing about the single tax, are again and again met with the reply: "We should like to work with you in the just reforms mentioned, but while the South is made solid by force and fraud in behalf of the party you act with, we must decline association with it."

Of course, they do not see the scope of the single tax for freedom or comprehend that the color line will be emphasized and perpetuated by such shifty political devices as the Federal Elections Bill, but they are sincere in their conviction that untrammelled suffrage is an issue paramount to ours, which they consider merely a question of economics. Moreover, they interpret our denunciation of the Force Bill as an approval of the existing southern injustice. I fear that the omission to couple a protest against intimidation and ballot-box stuffing, whenever the Lodge device has been arraigned,

has given color to the mistaken idea that we condone the wrong ostensibly aimed at. Nor should we wonder that the oft-expressed and unqualified admiration for Thomas Jefferson, because he believed that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," and could pen the immortal sentiments of the Declaration, naturally jars on those who remember that he was a slaveholder and the reputed father of a slave daughter.

Our ranks are recruited from all political associations and include independent thinkers of diverse views on many matters of public interest, while united in their belief and advocacy of the single tax. Their individual judgments and convictions will dictate most efficiently the candidate for whom to vote. The best political wisdom is often folly. The defeat of Cleveland was a sore disappointment, but who believes that, with the best intentions, he could have served our cause as efficiently as have Harrison and McKinley?

Speaking for myself, I care little for the party successes, important as they are, compared with the propagation of principles and the change of minds through reason and the moral appeal to the higher sentiments of mankind. If the wind be made to blow from the right quarter the weathercocks will point truly. It is the ethical and religious glow of Progress and Poverty that stirs the enthusiasm of readers who would be unimpressed by the purely economic treatment of the great subject, and makes it a living evangel to the world.

As a platform for free discussion, no reader of THE STANDARD need be reminded of its breadth and catholicity. It deserves the earnest support of all who adopt the motto of Selden, "Before all things, Liberty," and who can say with Milton, "Let Truth and Falshood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?"

Boston, Mass.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE.

It has so often fallen to my lot to state in the press my knowledge of Senator Carlisle and my estimate of his character and abilities, that, in once more writing of him at the request of the editor of THE STANDARD, I can only repeat what I have said again and again.

Mr. Carlisle is not only easily the first Democrat of his time, he is the ablest and most accomplished legislator of the country. I doubt if there has been in the history of congress a member of it so thoroughly equipped as Mr. Carlisle on all the subjects that come before the legislative branch of the government. Whether the question is one of constitutional law, of the still deeper and more intricate and important traditions and principles of popular liberty and self-government, of parliamentary practice, of treasury management, of taxation, of foreign relations or domestic economy, Mr. Carlisle is prepared to discuss it, not only with a view to general principles but with a knowledge of special laws and precedent, and in a broad philosophic spirit, in which he is the superior of all his contemporaries.

From his first entrance into public life Mr. Carlisle's great abilities have been dedicated to the cause of popular government. He is, and has been, a consistent champion of local self-government, always contending that the nearer the people are to the government the larger the part they play in its functions, the less friction will there be, the less galling the yoke, the more efficiently and honestly will the public business be conducted. Mr. Carlisle's first notable speech in congress was made in 1879. It was in defence of the people against the interference of the federal government in their elections. It was in tone, in spirit, and in logic repeated by him at the recent public dinner of the Reform Club of New York on December 23d last. In the

more than eleven years intervening between the first and last speech he has not uttered a single word inconsistent with the great political principles that underlie both.

Mr. Carlisle is best known for his efforts in behalf of tariff reform. This is because the enormities of the present system have framed the issue of his time. But Mr. Carlisle is an opponent of the excesses of protection because he is a Democrat, and holds that government has no right to enact unequal laws, to enable the few at the expense of the many, to levy taxes for any but the general welfare. The protectionists have been building up a moneyed oligarchy, and, as a Democrat, Mr. Carlisle opposed their system. That system involved a preference by the government for one set of citizens over all their fellow-citizens, and, therefore, it is hostile to the theory that government is by the people and for the people, and that all are equal before the law.

That Mr. Carlisle has become an expert exponent of tariff laws is due to the fact that not only is he a sound political philosopher, but also a practical legislator. The tariff was the instrument which he found the enemies of democracy employing against the liberties and rights of the people. In this age and country parliamentary victories are not won on general principles. Nothing can be gained by demonstrating that a proposed measure or an existing statute is contrary to the fundamental principles of the government. It must be shown that, in practice, the measure or the law must work injustice, must be an oppressive burden upon the people.

Mr. Carlisle, therefore, became familiar with the operations of the tariff law in all its details. He studied it in all its ramifications. He mastered as many trade secrets as may be discovered by those who are not actually engaged in business, who are not the makers of the secrets themselves. His knowledge of details of manufacture on both sides of the water, of the business of importation, of the effect of the tariff upon business, and, above all, upon the people who are the consumers, has often excited the wonder and admiration of experts in various arts and trades, and whose experience taught them that a congressman has usually to be instructed in the elementary facts of any practical question which he professes to discuss.

Mr. Carlisle was the friend and champion of the consumers, who are the people, and whose fundamental political rights were invaded by the law that taxes them for the benefit of other private citizens. But Mr. Carlisle has not rested his case on a general principle, the distortion of which would undoubtedly work a terrible disaster in time, too remote, however, to be patiently waited for, and too serious not to be anticipated and averted if possible. He has therefore made a scientific analysis of the tariff. He has demonstrated the seriousness of the burdens, their injustice and their ineffectiveness. In all the history of tariff tax discussion in this country no one has taken broader ground than Mr. Carlisle, and no one has been so minutely informed.

But Mr. Carlisle does not exist for tariff debate. He is not a one-sided man. He has contributed to the discussion of many subjects, and he has been the only Speaker who has within the recollection of living men exercised the functions of his office in a judicial spirit.

If Mr. Carlisle on his entrance into federal politics had found any other question marking the issue between the friends and enemies of popular government, he would have applied to its discussion and solution the great political principles which are his guide, and which inevitably determined his course on the tariff question, for no intelligent believer in a true democracy can hold to the theory that has guided Mr. McKinley and his supporters to their political destruction. He would have also made of the practical question that painstaking

study which he has bestowed upon the subject of tariff taxation, and of the relations of the government to the business of banking. Finally, he would have attained to the same pre-eminence among his fellow-congressmen that he reached when he debated the relations of the federal government to the states, and when he discussed fiscal and economic problems. Mr. Carlisle is a partisan, because he believes in certain principles. If his party should abandon those principles it would not be his any longer. He has never sought a party advantage, however, at the expense of the public business. He has never made a partisan speech on the floor, nor a partisan ruling in the speaker's chair. As a legislator he has devoted himself to the business of the country. As a democrat he has sought with all his great talents to have that business transacted in accordance with the immutable principles of civil liberty and popular rights, which lie at the base of our institutions, which Thomas Jefferson illustrated, which Andrew Jackson asserted, and for which thousands upon thousands of human beings have laid down their lives. And in all the long line of the great defenders of these principles no one has been more consistent and no one abler than Mr. Carlisle.

As a public man he has never suggested himself as a candidate. He has been content to assume and perform to the uttermost of his ability any duty with which he has been charged. Not one of his predecessors or his contemporaries has been more honorable, more faithful, more industrious, more loyal to the country and to his principles. Very few have been so efficient.

Mr. Carlisle is a great American character. There is no public station within the gift of the elective or appointing powers which he would not adorn.

New York City.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM.

The early grants to railway companies provided that the roads built pursuant to such grants should be public highways over which any one might run trains by the payment of a certain toll.

As improvements were made in the rolling stock of railways, the company owning a roadbed could earn more cheaply than other companies that had to pay toll, thus enabling the company owning the road to secure monopoly of the carrying trade.

In my opinion the simple and effective solution of the present railway problem is to be found in restoring the railroad to its original condition as a public highway owned by the people, instead of by an individual or corporation—a public highway, free to any one who may see fit to adjust his rolling stock to the tracks and engage in the carrying trade thereon. Tolls should not be collected any more than we collect tolls on our public streets. Tolls necessarily require a horde of officials to collect them, beside increasing the necessary expense to common carriers, and thus tending to check free competition and encourage monopoly.

We now have free natural highways on ocean, a lake, bay and river, free canals, free country roads and city streets. Place the railways upon the same footing with all other public highways; make them free like the others for every one to use, subject to no tolls and the least possible restriction and regulation, and free competition will reduce the cost of transportation to a minimum.

C. J. BUELL

Minneapolis, Minn.

AND THE SUN, TOO.

Mobile Register.

The best evidence that Mr. Cleveland made a good speech at banquet of the Tariff Reform Club is the fact that pretty nearly of the republican press is very much displeased with its tone matter.

Notes and Queries.

In response to a letter written by L. W. Hoch, of Adrian, Mich., the Detroit Free Press defends the income tax as a step toward compelling the very rich to bear their share of the burden of taxation, and in answer to a question concerning the single tax the paper says:

"As to what the effect would be of the operation of the 'single tax' it is pure speculation, and involves so many considerations that in the absence of any pressing question of its present adoption it can hardly be worth while for us to take the time and space necessary to discuss it. One thing, at least, can be said for it. It is the only method of taxation, probably, which would enable the government to collect the entire amount of the tax levy without any discrimination between those on whom the levy falls. We are inclined to think, moreover, that the imposition of the entire tax on land—not necessarily in the Henry George fashion—would eventually make the burden of taxation press more evenly all around than can be done in any other way. This is a hard doctrine for the farmer to accept with his present notion that the exemption of personal property from taxation would make him pay the tax of the merchant, who has only personal property. It is not improbable, however, that at a comparatively early day the farmer will be foremost among those asking for the single tax on land as the only method of compelling the dwellers in cities to bear their just share of the burden of taxation."

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Governor-elect Russell, of Massachusetts, had to have his wife hastily transfer to him five thousand dollars worth of real estate before he could be inaugurated, owing to the unearthing of a fool clause in the Massachusetts constitution. If there had been no one ready to do this for him we presume that the brains, character and courage of the young governor would have counted for naught, and the voice of the people who elected him would have been defied. It is about time that some new blood was getting hold of Massachusetts politics and taking a grip on its constitution and laws.

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A Minnesota man has invented a spirit level which may not be quite so good for levelling as some others, but which can, however, be used for that purpose and for the sometimes unlevelling process of filling a man full of whiskey. The tube is extra large and contains several drinks. The inventor expects to sell it as an original package in prohibition states.

* * * *

The county democracy is reorganizing and selecting new district leaders. This is a step in the right direction, and if it can be followed up by obtaining new followers for the new leaders the county democracy may once more become a factor in politics. We doubt, however, if it is practicable to successfully resume business under the old name.

* * * *

There is an anti-republican majority in the South Dakota legislature composed of independents and democrats. The latter complain that the independents want all of the best offices and the chairmanship of all the best committees, and propose to demand also the United States senatorship. The democrats are kicking and say that the independents must support the democratic candidate, Trip, for United States senator or they will not assist them in attaining their other ends. The unsophisticated farmer carries an indurated cheek into politics.

* * * *

Some of the mercenary democrats of Chicago are beginning to lament that General John M. Palmer is so poor that he can "do nothing," even if he were so disposed, for the people who support him for the United States senate. These rascals are looking around for a competition by millionaires for the place. As the election of Palmer was the issue before the people in the late campaign in Illinois, such a proposition as that of these mercenaries is simply treason to the sovereign power. The democrats of Illinois could almost afford to lose a senator if they could thereby unmask these rascals and drive them out of their party. The democratic party has got to shed a good many such adherents before it can finally capture states until recently republican. In a time of political transition people are not inclined to swap rascals.

* * * *

The English upper ten are greatly excited over a race that is shortly to be driven by Henry Cecil, fifth Earl of Lonsdale, and Charles Henry John, twentieth Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot. As the race is to be driven on the public roads common people will probably have a chance to watch it and regale their eyes by the sight of two earls in a single day. This may be the beginning of the solution of the problem what to do with the English aristocracy. Let them afford sport for the people on whose earnings they have hitherto lived.

* * * *

Worcester, Mass., architects are much interested in a new door recently patented by a citizen of that city, says the Lumber World. The door is an adaptation of the principle of the roller top desk and cover, and it is described as follows: The door consists of a series of slats, about one and a half inches wide and three-quarters of an inch thick, joined together by wooden "spindles," one revolving

within another. In the roller top desks the slats are joined by ribbons of steel or canvas. When the door is opened it is wound up on a spiral drum at top and bottom, and all is inclosed within the door casing. An ordinary three-foot door winds up in a roll seven inches in diameter. A wire, or cord, or steel ribbon, as the case may be, runs from the outer edge of the door at the top and bottom, and is wound upon a spiral drum in the casing opposite the side on which the door itself is wound up. A three-foot door occupies about fourteen square feet in swinging, when there is nothing in the way. And this rolling door enables the builder to economize all that space.

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The plan of Funk & Wagnall's new "Standard Dictionary of the English Language" seems to be a sensible one, despite the fact that a small number of newspapers in New York miss no occasion to sneer at the enterprise. The new dictionary will lack nothing demanded by the scholar, if the publishers carry out their intentions, but it will be far more convenient for consultation by the ordinary person than most of the existing dictionaries. The plan will be to first give the word, then the pronunciation, using for the latter purpose the scientific alphabet adopted by the American Philological Association, and next the present meaning of the word, bringing in the etymology later and following this by statements concerning former meaning, disputed pronunciation, and so on. This will prove of great convenience to most people, since the thing that a man ordinarily looks at the dictionary for is to find out the spelling and meaning of a word, and in probably nine cases out of ten he pays no attention to the etymology. Another unusual feature of the new dictionary will be the location of the quotations, commonly used in all dictionaries to illustrate the meaning of words. In most cases the name of the author of the sentence quoted is given, but no attempt has ever been made to show in what part of his works it can be found. The sample pages thus far issued give promise of a really valuable dictionary.

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Our treasury department has decided that "natural gas is a manufactured article." On which the Chicago Herald wittily remarks: "It follows that McKinley protects the princely labor of America against the pauper labor of nature!" The Herald places this decision under the heading, "Beauties of McKinleyism." Very appropriate.

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Speaking of natural gas reminds us that State Geologist Orton, of Ohio, has just submitted his annual report—which he devotes entirely to natural gas—in which he declares that it is a stored deposit, and certain of rapid exhaustion; and that when the supply of any territory is once used, it is gone forever. This will be bad news for the natural gas supply companies of Findlay, Toledo and Pittsburg, who have built large pipe lines for carrying it where it is to be used.

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Before an Australian ballot bill can pass the California legislature eight more votes are needed in the assembly and four in the senate. The democrats in both houses are pledged to it, while the republicans are split up. It is thought the farmers' organizations of California, which are enthusiastic advocates of the reform, will have sufficient influence among the doubtful republican representatives to secure the votes necessary to pass the bill. That much done, Governor Markham will sign the bill, for he has repeatedly expressed himself in favor of such a law.

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It is given out as an item of news that the Mormons are going to Mexico. There is nothing new about it. As far back as 1874 they began preparations for such a move, and since then these people have established what may be called "food stations" at intervals clear into the new promised land. The Mormon children have, for sixteen years, been taught in the schools to speak Spanish and the Mexican dialect, so as to fit them for their new home. The Mexican government has been, and is still, anxious to add such an industrious and thrifty people to its population; and when the exodus does take place, the United States will be the loser, Colonel Shepherd and other narrow religious fanatics to the contrary notwithstanding. The reclaiming of an alkali waste and turing it into a garden full of happy homes will speak eloquently of the good work done by the Mormons long after their critics will have been forgotten.

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Indian Territory has a population of 315,000, or more than twice as many as the new states of Idaho and Wyoming combined. Probably, says the San Francisco Examiner, two-thirds of its inhabitants are white, or nearly so, and the Indians are mostly civilized, and have had such long experience of self-government as would fully fit them for statehood if they desired to try that experiment. A state formed out of the Indian Territory would be the most interesting political curiosity in America, if not in the world. The separate government of each tribe, of course, would be preserved as far as possible. Instead of having counties, the state would probably be divided into nations, each with its independent control over its own affairs. One might develop into a socialistic

community; another would probably try the single tax experiment, and others might imitate the ordinary American polity. Each would elect its representatives to the state legislature, and the debates of that body would have a variety and interest that are not often found in such assemblies. The state would be entitled to send two senators and two representatives to Washington. We do not know which party would be reinforced by this contingent, but it is certain that its members would have some original ideas to present, and that congress would be the gainer by their presence.

* * * *

Such of our single tax friends as intend to cash in a million dollars' worth of government bonds for a similar amount in silver dollars are informed that they will have to get some one to help them to carry their money away from the treasury. A million dollars in silver weighs twenty-seven tons.

* * * *

The commanding officer of the Mail and Express has been getting into trouble over his Fifth avenue stage line. The society for the prevention of cruelty to animals had to get after the colonel with a sharp stick on New Year's day because he was trying to make two horses do the work of four in drawing the stages. The colonel ended the day by being merciful to his poor dumb beasts, but, as the Sun said, he was "merciful by compulsion" only.

* * * *

It is said out west that the Scully selected by Parnell to make the parliamentary fight in Kilkenny against John Pope Hennessy, is the same Scully who has gained such a malodorous reputation in Illinois and Kansas by his use of the most cruel methods in rack-renting his tenants. Parnell must, indeed, have been hard pushed for a candidate when he selected "Irish Lord" Scully.

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The Springfield, Mass., Republican prophecy is already fulfilled. Sitting Bull has Force Bill for company."

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Frank Leslie's wants one-cent postage, and seems to want it bad; while the Farm and Home, of Springfield, Mass., says that farmers want better postal facilities and better service. Consequently Frank Leslie's will have to wait until the new element in our politics has been placated.

* * * *

A murder trial had ended in Wichita, Kansas, and the jury had been out fifty-two hours. The judge got tired of waiting and had a minister sent into the jury room, where he commenced religious services, the jury joining in the singing. Then the reverend gentleman delivered an hour's discourse, and, after a closing prayer, left the jury to themselves. Soon after the jury announced that they had arrived at an agreement, and when they came into court, reported that they found the defendant "guilty!" This is conceded to be a wonderful tribute to the efficacy of prayer; but the result hardly shows that prayer had turned the jurymen's hearts toward mercy.

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The January number of the Paterson, N. J., Lance is unusually bright. Dr. Bowan, of Texas, has a letter in which he advocates the concentration of the single tax forces upon New Jersey and so compel the adoption of the single tax there. Mr. Craig does not see the necessity for doing it. Mr. Craig tells how the third party movement is trying to make headway among the newly organized farmers and mechanics of the West and Southwest. He thinks it is a pity there should be so much wasted energy. Mr. Craig says that the men who are posing as the leaders and organizers of this movement will bear watching. Ralph Beaumont, who used to be known in this state as the "Learned Shoemaker," is one of them. He is the secretary of the proposed third party organization. He used to be a greenbacker, and for several years he has been the chairman of the Knights of Labor committee in Washington, which position, it is said, was given him on condition that he cease his "kicking" against the officers of the order. He did not seem to be eager for the third party movement in 1888, for during the presidential campaign of that year he asked to be relieved of his Knights of Labor duties so that he could take the stump for Harrison and protection. He is not representing the order at Washington now, so he has plenty of time to devote to the side political movement. L. P. Wild of Washington is the treasurer of the new movement. He has, says Mr. Craig, written a number of "declarations of independence," and done his best to make the movement for reform a general revival affair. These are the big guns of the third party movement. "This movement," continues Mr. Craig, "presents just the opportunity that the republican managers need to extricate themselves from their present difficulties, and these leaders (Beaumont and Wild) can be trusted to assist them.

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Speaking of this third party movement, the Kansas alliance representatives who lately traveled through the southern states feeling the pulse of the southern farmers in behalf of Beaumont's movement, have reported adversely on the proposition. This will give Mr. Beaumont an opportunity to take up one of his republican

party slogans about the rebel democrats, and may make it possible for him to form a third party on prejudice if he fails to form one on principle.

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By the way, Mr. Craig has for months past been wrestling with the editor of the Journal of the Knights of Labor on the questions of the single tax and protection. Evidently the Journal editor has got the worst of the argument, because of late he has been getting angry. However, Mr. Craig speaks kindly to the erring editor, and propounds several questions regarding the condition of English workers and workers in protected European countries which the Journal editor will find it, we opine, somewhat difficult to answer.

* * * *

E. W. Nellis has a series of interesting paragraphs in the Lance. He speaks of the disgruntled and those who were "red hot" in the movement up to the time matters began to assume practical shape, when they "petered out" and began to make faces and call their former allies names. In regard to politics, Mr. Nellis is against third party movements. He says that there are but two schools of politics, one of which teaches that the masses of the people cannot take care of themselves, while the other believes that "the people are sufficient unto themselves." He has allied himself to the second of these (the democratic party) notwithstanding that it contains such misrepresentatives as D. B. Hill, Dana, and such like, because he is a free trader; and, so long as the democratic party shows up the absurdity and rascality which are necessarily involved in the protective tariff delusion he will stay with it and work for it.

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The Detroit Free Press does us the honor to admit that the "single tax idea has much excellence." It goes on to say that the system might be applied with good results, "although not necessarily in Henry George's way." Perhaps not. All we ask of the Free Press is to advocate its application in some way that appears to it to be good.

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The December issue of the Liverpool Financial Reformer has arrived. It prints the speech delivered by A. J. Moxham at Johnstown, on the "Taxation of Land Values," and speaks of the great service done by him at the time of the Johnstown flood. Mr. Moxham is a member of the Financial Reform Association, of Liverpool, and the Reformer hopes before long to hear of him in the English house of commons. The Reformer apologizes for the delay in issuing the Financial Reform Almanack, which promises to be an unusually interesting book. It will contain full particulars of local government and imperial finances; free trade statistics and statistics of Ireland, labor and social statistics, statistics of India and the colonies, commercial statistics and statistics upon subjects of general interest. An article will appear from the pen of Henry George, stating what his programme really is, together with other interesting matter. The price will be one shilling.

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The Reformer announces with regret the death of Lord Tolle-mache, who was one of the very few landlords who did not look upon land as a mere rent producing machine. His action many years ago in providing the whole of his cottage tenants with three acres and a cow is said to have been the origin of that historical phrase.

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The American federation of labor, at its late convention, pronounced in favor of woman suffrage, and petitions for signatures have been sent to all the labor unions under its jurisdiction. When these are signed they are to be returned to headquarters, and when all are in they are to be presented to congress. The president of the federation announces that the proceedings of the recent convention have been printed and are for sale at ten cents a copy or nine dollars a hundred.

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The Rev. Dr. Pickard, of the First Baptist Church of Birmingham, Alabama, said in a sermon a short time ago that "to assist men out on strike is to encourage organized vagrancy." There is a grain of truth in this. Strikes in themselves are bad things; and the promise of relief during strikes encourages such methods and draws to the relief headquarters of the trade on strike all the vultures and bummers that come to the front on such occasions. But how, we would ask the reverend gentleman, are such methods to be changed under present conditions? Labor unions are organized to maintain decent wages; and in order to do this a system of petty tyranny and cajoling has to be resorted to. The first consists in taking away from individuals in the interest of the whole organization the right to judge for themselves whether they will take a certain rate of wages; the second is given in the shape of money reliefs and promises of work to weak-kneed members, in order to hold them in the organization, which they would otherwise leave and thus cripple it. Before the good doctor goes further in his criticism, let him find a better method than the present trade union organization; and when he has found it let him advocate it man fashion, from his pulpit and wherever he can get the opportunity.

The Fight for Free Trade.

The Baltimore Sun predicts that the next political contest in this country will be "a conflict of ideas and principles, of policies and measures, rather than of mere parties and men." Amen.

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The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette (strong protectionist), is trimming its high tariff sails on binding twine. It demands that the duty be reduced.

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The great dry goods firm of Marshall, Field & Co., of Chicago, intend to test the constitutionality of the McKinley tariff bill. They have begun suit for the recovery of certain duties paid by them, such duties having been paid under protest in the first instance. The firm's attorney has been engaged for some time in a close examination of the law and compilation of authorities, and now gives it as his opinion that it will be set aside by the United States Supreme Court if it shall ever be brought before that tribunal. In speaking of this move by Marshall, Field & Co. the Kansas City Star says:

The constitution of the United States empowers congress to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." Only this and nothing more. Neither the payment of debts, the common defence of the country nor the general welfare of the people demanded an increase of taxation. The purpose of the McKinley bill was avowedly to promote certain class interests to the detriment of the general welfare. The supreme court has already said, in a famous opinion delivered by the late Justice Miller, that to take money from the pocket of one man to transfer it to the pocket of another is none the less robbery because it is done under the form of taxation. The same principle applied to the McKinley bill would wipe it from the statute books and serve notice on congress that it has no power under the constitution to use the form of taxation as a blind for enabling one class of the people to rob another.

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The firm behind this case has plenty of money with which to follow it up, and they promise to prosecute it to the fullest extent. If they succeed they will be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of all people who have to work for a living. The firm of Marshall, Field & Co. is the one that inaugurated the system of advertising their wares—copied by other dry goods firms—that brought down upon the McKinley bill such crushing condemnation at the hands of the women of this country, and made so popular the answers by salesmen that "The prices are increased on account of the McKinley bill." THE STANDARD wishes Marshall, Field & Co. success in their efforts to kill the protection jackal.

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Despite the protection papers to the contrary the prices of cigars of every grade have gone up. The cigar smoker has now three courses open to him: First, to pay more for his regular smokes; second, to smoke a poorer grade of goods and pay the old price for them, and third, to give up cigars and smoke a pipe. The result will be that less cigars will be smoked; the result of that will be that fewer cigar makers will be needed; the result of that will be that the demand for work by cigar makers will cause a reduction of their wages. And then will be seen one of the beauties of the protective system in its most beautiful beauty.

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The good wife who is now obliged to pay a dollar and a quarter for a dozen "one dollar" towels, will not be comforted by the news that a linen factory is to be started in Minnesota on the strength of the extra quarter of a dollar which she is obliged to pay in order to keep it running.

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How the McKinley bill "raised" wages can be seen by the few nubs of news which we have gathered from various sources:

The Pullman Car Company on January 1 made an average cut of 10 per cent. in the wages of its 1,500 employees.

A large manufacturing establishment in Buffalo was subjected to an increased duty on its raw materials. It promptly cut the wages of its workmen, and continued to import material as before.

In Paterson, N. J., the weavers in the silk mills are striking against a reduction in wages of 20 to 25 per cent.

The Trenton pottery manufacturers, who are given an absolute monopoly of their trade by the McKinley bill, have reduced wages by from 10 to 40 per cent.—the largest reduction since the establishment of the business. Their workmen have acquired skill in that special occupation and know nothing of any other, so they have to take what they can get.

In Newark the Clark thread works have temporarily shut down, throwing 3,000 people out of employment.

When we come to consider how the increased cost of food and clothing has decreased the purchasing power of the hard-earned dollars, we can see that, though some wages have not been reduced so far as the number of dollars received is concerned, yet all wages have as a matter of fact been reduced.

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The miners and coke workers of the Connellsville region, Pennsylvania, met by delegates at Scottdale last week to formulate certain demands on their employers. After agreeing to demand cer-

tain things, interesting only to their industry, they made one demand that is of universal interest. They demanded that their house rent shall not exceed 12 per cent. per annum of the assessed value of the house. It would seem that they do not consider the land worth anything, only the house. If we could make that method of paying house rent the rule in this city, how soon the tenement houses would be emptied, and how soon everybody would be looking out for larger quarters! Yet that thing will happen here one of these days.

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The Harrisburg Patriot of a late date says:

"The wages of about 1,500 working men at the Homestead steel works of Andrew Carnegie are to be reduced on January 1, in order, probably, that Andrew may donate a library or a hall of some kind to a town in Scotland with the money that ought to go to his employees. Mr. Carnegie has been made wealthy by a protective tariff. It gives him the privilege of making all the money he can, but it doesn't stipulate the amount which his workmen shall receive. It isn't at all difficult to see who reaps the benefit of a high tariff."

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Mr. George W. Knight, dealer in watches, musical instruments, etc., at San Marcos, Texas, sends us a trade circular saying that the new tariff law is very indefinite as to whether gut strings for musical instruments pay 25 per cent. or are free of duty. Pending final decision the merchant says he will go back to the old prices, but, should the law be interpreted to demand 25 per cent. duty, he reserves the right to advance prices 25 per cent. without notice. Mr. Knight says that he is constantly receiving such circulars and that he is now paying for some goods he sells exactly double the price he paid last September.

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The Washington correspondent of the Boston Post says:

Captain John Codman, the well-known advocate of free ships, had an amusing encounter with one of the agents of the subsidy lobby while the bounty bill was under consideration last week. He was standing in one of the corridors of the house when he was approached by one of these gentry with the delicate insinuation that the latter could "help your friends" in procuring a bill for free ships. Captain Codman was a little taken aback at this way of approaching him, but made up his mind that he would have a little fun out of it. "My friends! who are they?" he asked.

"The shipbuilders on the Clyde, who employ you, as I am informed," said the lobbyist.

"Who says that?" asked the captain.

"Oh, Mr. Thurber and the Marine Journal, of New York, say so," was the answer.

"Do you know what my salary is?" asked the captain.

"They say it is \$5,000 a year."

"Well," said the captain, after musing a moment, "what will you attend to the interests of my employers for at this session?"

The lobbyist thought it would be worth about \$300, whereupon Captain Codman sat down and wrote an order purporting to be drawn on the associated shipbuilders of the Clyde for that sum, the amount to be deducted from his salary. The lobbyist said he would a little rather have it cashed.

"Oh," said the captain, "you take it to Mr. Thurber, of New York, and no doubt he will discount it for you, as he seems to know just what my salary is and I get the information from him."

The lobbyist by this time began to see the point and walked away without seeming to care, for the liberal slice assigned him of Captain Codman's alleged salary. In view of the tightness of the money market just now, Mr. Thurber would probably not care to cash a draft upon a deposit which exists only in his own imagination.

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A straw wrapping paper trust is the latest addition to the institutions to which the Bellamyites look as the forerunners of their socialistic industrial republic.

A NEW SERIES OF REPUBLICANS.

New York Evening Post.

A new kind of Republican club is starting up in Massachusetts, which takes for its creed on the tariff question the following resolution:

"We believe in a protective tariff that shall impose duties where they are needed, and only where needed, to equalize the labor cost of production and to develop American resources and American commerce, but not to relieve favored corporations or individuals from foreign competition."

This is not McKinleyism. It is the kind of republicanism represented by the Chicago Tribune, the St. Paul Pioneer Press, the Omaha Bee, the Keokuk Gate City, etc., in the West. It has one representative journal in Boston, however, in the Transcript, which says:

"The McKinley prices for all household supplies, from dry goods to provisions, are the true educators of the people on the tariff question, and ex-congressmen are not needed to instruct them. The lesson is a severe one, and its severity is daily increasing, but it is getting in some most important work for the good of the country."

"THE REDS" ARE LEFT OUT.

New York World.

"All persons"—not red—"born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." "The right of the people"—not red—"to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." So reads the constitution, revised in crimson.

Current Thought,

MR. GEORGE ON AUSTRALIA.

Henry George has an article on Australia in the *Cosmopolitan* for January. The opening phrase catches the attention which the rest of the article holds—"Connected with us by 7,000 miles of ocean and separated from us by a high tariff wall." Here is a country with as large an area as our own, and but one-twentieth of our population. "They have the Australian ballot; they have responsible government; they have a permanent, non-political civil service; they have a most admirable and simple system of land registration and transfer; they have government ownership and operation of railroads and telegraphs. Trades-unionism has with them reached a more powerful development than anywhere else, and they have come nearer to the adoption of the eight-hour working day. They have state statisticians that shame our national and state bureaus, and they have carried paternalism in some respects to a length unknown in any other English-speaking country. They have, too, the same social and economic problems. They have great public debts. They have land monopoly in gigantic form. They have had land speculations that would equal, if not surpass, those of any 'boom town' of our west. And (for it follows) they have their 'unemployed,' their charity organizations, and strikes, that in relative magnitude and importance, are the greatest that have anywhere yet taken place."

This is a lesson for the Socialist. With far more than we have of what the Socialist cries for, labor troubles are worse than with us, and 58.05 per cent. of the population is in the cities. The reason of the excellence of the government is perhaps explained in a later remark: "Fortunate above all other countries, Australia has never known war." Wakefield's plan of colonization by selling the land so high that the poor could not buy it and using the proceeds to assist emigration is described. Its history and results are already known to the readers of *THE STANDARD*.

Mr. George gives a short and entertaining lesson in geography, with a map. To those who are long from school the facts seem fresh. Intelligent appreciation of institutions requires ability and constitutes the main interest of this paper. Mr. George thinks the Australians are much like the Americans. Though nominally under British rule and really independent, "they are tariff sundered from the mother country as well as from the rest of the world."

The "Literary Development of California," also in this number, contains an excellent portrait of Mr. George. It has, besides, some forcible words by Edward E. Hale on "Education of Public Spirit," in which he takes the ground that government should come from the people up, not from the "upper classes" down.

THE LONDON PEOPLE'S PALACE.

The *Cosmopolitan* has a readable account of the "People's Palace" in London.

Miss Bisland, the author, is the lady who was prevented only by one accident from beating Nellie Bly in her trip around the world. The "Palace" is one of those palliatives which, as its prospectus says, aim to prevent the people of East London from becoming "the blind servants of demagogues, and thus be taught to seek rights and not duties and become enemies of social unity."

Miss Bisland says: "Careful tabulation of exhaustive investigations, recently made, gives the number of those in this quarter who belong to the lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers and semi-criminals at 11,000. The very poor, whose earnings are casual, are put down at 100,000. The class earning good but intermittent wages numbers 75,000, while those in receipt of moderate regular wages mount up to 127,000, and regular standard earnings are made by 368,000."

As the great hall will seat but 5,000 and the attendance at the reading room "on Sundays mounts to 1,750," it is clear that this does not get quite to the root of the social sores. There is a technical school attached, which appears to be as good a charity as ever hid the want of justice. The enterprise, like the present form of nationalism, is the outgrowth of a story. "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," by Besant, which "shocked and aroused the conscience of all England." The illustrations are good, but like the beautiful colored frontispiece, are somewhat purposeless.

OUR NEW NAVY.

Henry George, Jr., on "How long will our Navy be effective?" in *Belford's Magazine*, gives a clear and concise account of the course of naval administration since 1882. "Not one of the new vessels is fit for war purposes," say Admiral Porter. Mr. George thinks we should not have any navy and as a support to that position shows that the ships begun fifteen years ago are still undergoing modifications of plan and are often antiquated before completion. He states all the arguments for his theory with great force, quoting Secretary Tracy as saying, "The ships most essential to protection could not be supplied in less than twelve years; and Secretary Whitney that, "A first-class modern iron clad could safely anchor sur-

rounded by a fleet of these monitors without any danger of injury to herself, and any one of her guns could send a projectile clean through the monitor from stem to stern." The expenditures from 1864 to 1886 are quoted at \$70,000,000.

Mr. George describes the marvelous Sims-Edison diving locomotive torpedo, gives an appalling list of recent war-like patents, and concludes that torpedoes and American inventions can be trusted to take care of our coast and that had we a mercantile marine we could quickly make ourselves felt on the sea.

He does not go into the question of what we could actually do were Mr. Blaine to get us into a broil with England, and were an iron clad to anchor outside Coney Island and shell New York.

A MALTHUSIAN SURVIVAL.

A paper on the ideas of Mr. Walters in *Belford's Magazine* under the heading of "Interest and Usury Laws," sheds no light on that subject whatever, except to show, if his quotations are correct, that Mr. Walters had no light to shed either. The author, F. T. Jones, alleges that "it is estimated that the machinery of Great Britain does the work of 800,000,000 human beings." He alludes to "Mr. George's fallacious and pernicious book, 'Progress and Poverty' as the probable source whence Mr. Walters has derived his ideas on political economy, except those regarding interest."

Instead of pointing out the fallacies and evils of this book, Mr. Jones devotes his space to adding the weight of his authority to the Malthusian theory; also without giving his reasons. And then states clearly the mischiefs occasioned by usury laws, which he says "have been pointed out by numerous writers during the past three hundred years."

GENERAL MILES ON THE INDIAN QUESTION.

General Miles contributes to the *North American Review* a soldierly essay on the "Indian Question." He has little sympathy for the "savage fiends," as he calls them, but nevertheless throws the blame of the present uprising almost entirely on the whites. He tells us that "The fact that the Cheyennes have not received sufficient food is admitted by the agents and the officers who have had opportunities of knowing." That "The Sioux claim that they have suffered for want of food, and the evidence of this is beyond question." This is not wonderful as we find it incidentally mentioned that the Sioux "were ordered to be sent down the Yellowstone, and although they implored the different officers to write or telegraph to the authorities at Washington to leave them where their crops were developing in the fields, they were loaded on steamboats and shipped down the river." Then the Bannocks and Pi-utes were told by a "certain religious people," that they were all an oppressed people, that the whites and the Indians were all the same. With arms in their hands they naturally fight.

The General concludes, as he begins, with a plea for more military force and the same old story—coercion instead of justice.

LECKY ON IRELAND.

Lecky, the historian, writes in the same magazine about "Ireland in the light of History." The article is principally remarkable for ignoring the land question as a cause of trouble. Mr. Lecky thinks the disturbed state of that country is primarily due to the fact that the conquest of Ireland under Elizabeth took place just after the reformation. He says that the result of this was that the conquerors became Protestants, and the conquered remained Roman Catholics, but that, nevertheless, all breaches might have been healed by a union of the countries about 1700. He does not explain how this could have reconciled the religious differences.

The land question shows itself, nevertheless, in such incidental phrases as the following: "When population pressed closely on subsistence the system of middlemen produced a fierce competition, which raised rent in the lower grades to an enormous height." It would be more consistent were the disturbances attributed to the ownership of the land by Protestants whose tenants are Roman Catholics.

RESTRICTION ON IMMIGRATION.

Henry C. Lodge bends his powerful little mind to the "Restriction of Immigration." He adduces tables of figures and five consular reports to show that, while our immigration is increasing it has at the same time a marked tendency to deteriorate in character. Statistics prove nothing except to the statistician, so that it is impossible for the ordinary reader to judge of the accuracy of this conclusion. Mr. Lodge speaks of the Chinese exclusion act, "the wisdom of which everybody now admits," and the alien contract labor law of which he writes: "No one doubts to-day that the general principle is sound, although its details are defective and so imperfect that it has little practical effect." Rabbi Solomon Schendler demonstrates the contrary in the *Arena*. Mr. Lodge does not count him—probably because he does not come from Boston. He continues: "We no longer have endless tracts of fertile land crying for settlement," and he advocates still more complicated laws to "protect our labor," and to "help to maintain the rate of American wages."

MAYOR SARGENT'S MESSAGE.

One of the most remarkable inaugural addresses ever made by the mayor of a city was that of Hon. Joseph B. Sargent, who, on January 1, was sworn into office as mayor of New Haven, Conn. Mr. Sargent is a well-known manufacturer and an outspoken free-trader, but he is a student of political economy who has advanced views on social questions, and he evidently has the courage of his opinions. The first part of the message relates to the improvements necessary to New Haven's growth and prosperity. He recommends the ownership by the municipality of gas, water and other works and the street car lines, and the establishment of new public parks and public comforts and conveniences. The full text of the message has come to hand too late to permit the summarizing of this portion of it, but this will be done in the next issue of THE STANDARD.

The message closes with a discussion of the relations of labor and capital, and a flat-footed declaration for the single tax in the following words:

"Capital is absolutely necessary to the civilized employment of labor.

"None of the operations of business, manufactures, building or farming can be carried on successfully without the friendly union of the three elements. Labor without capital is the labor of the crude barbarian working without tools.

"A country with no capital, but with labor and directors of labor (or chiefs), is in a savage stage. A country with all three of the elements harmoniously united is civilized, enlightened and prosperous. Civilization cannot exist without capital.

"No civilized community would for a moment think of taxing labor nor managing ability. No intelligent community would attempt to tax either of those two elements of all successful industry and business for fear of driving them away. Why should civilized society punish successful industry by taxing the results of it? Why should civilized society punish capital, the savings from successful labor, and try to banish it and leave labor unemployed?

"Capital is timid and flies away on the first approach, or apprehension of danger. It 'worketh where it listeth and we know not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth.' It surely will not remain when in danger, nor will it work in any community except at market prices over and above all charges and risks.

"It seems to me that it would be for the benefit of all labor and all enterprise in the city of New Haven and would greatly increase its growth in business, population and capital, if capital were as free of taxation as is labor and as is managing ability. If such were the permanent policy of New Haven, capital would make its home here and work at a lower rate with labor, securely free from punishment for coming here and feeling safe in abiding here. Neither labor nor enterprise is taxed, nor should capital be taxed.

"Land, as our forefathers found it, is not capital. It was not created by the labor of the hand or head of man. Nature's God gave it to humanity and to the animals without price. It should supply funds for all needs of government, and the rate of taxation on the land in the various localities should be in proportion to market price. It cannot be concealed and all owners can be served with exact justice. No encouragement should be given, through low taxation, for the holding of land out of use in order to compel the land-needy to pay profits to the early possessor.

"In the taxation of land only, for all necessary public revenues, the distribution of the tax over the whole community would be equitable and in proportion as nature's God intended.

"Capital may be driven away and labor paralyzed by the taxing of capital, but the land cannot be driven away. The owner can annually or monthly recover from the user or renter the tax he has paid on lands used or occupied, but the tax on lands not in use, but held waiting till the increase in population compels its purchase at an expensive price, cannot be recouped by distribution over the people in the form of rents or otherwise. The owner of unprofitably used or vacant lands would be thus tempted to sell for occupancy or use, and thus poor men might get homes and the city would grow in consequence.

"It is claimed by students on the subject of taxation that the taxation of capital and all other personal property is unequal and unjust to the conscientious and truthful, because only the few give true statements of their personal wealth. One of the commissioners of taxes in the city of New York has recently testified, under oath, that 'the taxation of personal property is almost an entire failure; that it leads to efforts, and very strenuous efforts, on the part of capitalists (all owners of personal property are capitalists) to remove their property beyond the jurisdiction of the city and state. It offers no encouragement for capital to come here; that the law, as construed by the courts, enables any one who chooses to so dispose of his personal property that the tax department cannot reach it. Those who understand the law and can take advantage of it, do so in a majority of cases. Those who are ignorant of the law and do not understand their rights pay taxes.' The foregoing testimony was given concerning the present tax laws of New York which were made for the express purpose of increasing and equalizing the taxes on capital or other personal property, but resulting, as usual, in harm to enterprise and labor, and in no corresponding gain to any other property nor to the body politic in morals or wealth.

"It is claimed by investigators that the tax on buildings discourages the erection of buildings, and that old, small and unsuitable buildings are allowed to remain on valuable city land, because of the fear of taxes on expensive and more useful buildings, and thus building enterprise and employment of builders' labor is not encouraged, and the land not put to the best use for the interests of the whole public. Chapel, State and Church streets in New Haven are evidences.

"It is claimed that by the taxation of personal property, liberal expendi-

tures in proper articles of use, or art in all forms, and home adornment are discouraged to the injury of labor.

"That if personal property in a city were free from taxation more people of wealth would permanently reside in that city, and there expend their income and invest, or lend, their capital for use there, to the great benefit of labor.

"That much capital now invested in other states or foreign countries would come to the place of security and of freedom from taxation, to the great benefit of enterprise, labor and permanent wealth.

"That all mechanical, manufacturing and commercial industries would increase, to the great benefit of labor, the necessary co-partner of capital in all such enterprises.

"Any disadvantage or harm attempted to be put upon capital always reacts upon labor, while capital silently flies away to a place of security if not of profit.

"I do not point out nor consider what is sometimes claimed to be the inherent wickedness of forestalling the distribution of land to the whole people, but only its remedy, and the good of the city as a whole.

"Equitable taxation is most surely and easily arrived at by putting all taxation upon one article of such universal use that no person can exist without its direct or indirect use. Pig iron might be selected as the article, or pig iron and other metals. The taxes, if all of them were collected from metals, would be immediately and equitably spread over the whole community in just proportions. But the difficulty in taxation upon metals is first that there might be concealment of quantity, and, second, it would interfere with the manufacture of metal goods for export.

"Taxation of land only has no valid objection in equity, cannot interfere with manufactures and labor, and would tend to wider distribution of land and homes among the people.

"But whatever may be the future methods of taxation or sources of revenue for the support of local, state or national governments, let us hope that there may be no more collected than is absolutely necessary for the proper and economical administration of governmental affairs, and that there may be no direct nor indirect imposition of unnatural and therefore unjust burdens upon the whole for the benefit of any favored or grasping few."

Personal.

Congressman-elect Jere Simpson, of Kansas, has taken an oath that he will wear no socks until the tariff tax (70 per cent.) is taken off.

George G. Guenther, of Ottawa, Ill., has written for the St. Louis Journal of Agriculture an exposition of the single tax in its relation to farmers, which will shortly appear in that paper.

H. L. Pleace, who was a delegate to the national conference from California, intends to start a weekly journal in San Francisco, to be devoted to the single tax. The San Francisco Star wishes Mr. Pleace all the success in the world, but advises him not to give up his old trade until he has familiarized himself with the new.

Edward Quincy Norton has a letter in the Mobile Item of the 27th ult. against an income tax and in advocacy of the single tax.

Mr. De Lancy Nicoll, the new District-attorney, has made several excellent appointments and a number of poor ones. One of the very best is that of Henry B. B. Stapler to be an Assistant District-attorney. This is an appointment based on merit, with no element of the political "pull" in it.

Mr. Edward Grosse, who was one of the most efficient Assistant District-attorneys under Colonel Fellows, has retired and engaged in private practice at 38 Park row.

Sergius Stepniak, the Russian revolutionist, exile and author, arrived in New York on December 30, and he will deliver a number of lectures in this country. He is accompanied by Mrs. Stepniak. He is described as a mild-mannered Nihilist, sympathetic and overflowing with good nature. He is about five feet eleven inches in height and weighs 190 pounds. He has black whiskers, bushy black hair and black eyes and talks with great animation. Mr. Stepniak comes to this country as a representative of Free Russia, a paper published in England for the express purpose of awakening the public sentiment of civilized nations against the cruel course of the Russian government. Mr. Stepniak confesses that his name is an assumed one, but he does not care to be known by any other under existing circumstances.

Jose Gros and Henry J. Wingardner have letters on the single tax in the January number of the Locomotive Fireman's Magazine.

It is to be regretted that Eugene V. Debs, grand secretary and treasurer of the brotherhood of locomotive firemen, and editor of their magazine, has announced his intention of resigning from his various offices in the order. Since his attention was called to the single tax as a remedy for our labor troubles he has been an eager student of the question, and has admitted into the columns of the magazine he controls many articles and letters from our single tax friends. We hope his successor will be as earnest in his search for the truth.

"THE MISTAKES OF MR. PALLÉN'S HENRY GEORGE."

Some time ago, through a fortunate accident, Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, of this city, was in St. Louis at the time when Conde B. Pallén, professor of philosophy in the Jesuit college in that city, had prepared himself to demolish the single tax doctrine and the theories of Henry George generally. As Professor Pallén had elaborately armed himself with statistics as his weapons of attack and defense, the St. Louis club was most fortunate in having Mr. Shearman on hand to take care of him. Mr. Shearman certainly did so to the satisfaction of the audience; and the Republic, in its account of the discussion, declared that Mr. Shearman, in response to Professor Pallén's quotation of Mullhall's figures, "proceeded to give quotations from English inland revenue returns which completely reversed the conclusion of Professor Pallén." The latter protests against this statement, and, in a communication addressed to the editor of the Republic, let himself loose in this somewhat remarkable style:

"Owing to the lateness of the hour and the impatience of the audience I had no opportunity of replying to Mr. Shearman's manipulation of the statistics quoted by me. But I beg to state very explicitly that the quotations Mr. Shearman employed as an offset to mine, so far from reversing my conclusions, are equally satisfactory to me in confirming them. I will fully accept them and demonstrate that they do not in the least invalidate my conclusions. The issue I made against the single tax was to the effect that Henry George's assumption that all the increased produce of the world is absorbed by land rent, to the exclusion of labor from the proper fruits of its industry and to the exclusion of capital from the interest that properly accrues to it, was not in accordance with facts. I undertook to show this by statistics taken from Mullhall's Dictionary. The total income of Great Britain for the year 1882 I compared with the total income of the year 1842. By subtracting the one set of figures, £540,000,000 (the income of the year 1842), from the other, £1,240,000,000 (the income of the year 1882), the difference gave the increased income of Great Britain at £700,000,000.

"This £700,000,000, if Mr. George's theory be true, should have gone to the landlords of Great Britain in the shape of rent. But did it? Let us see. The income from land rent in Great Britain in 1842 was £55,914,000, and in 1882, £69,439,000. The difference between the two sets of figures gives us, as increase in land rent, £13,525,000. According to these figures, land rent so far from absorbing all the increased product of Great Britain for the year 1882, viz., £700,000,000, actually took only £13,525,000, or not quite 2 per cent., leaving the other 98 per cent. to interest and wages. Such was my statement of the facts in contradiction to Mr. George's theory.

"Mr. Shearman proceeded to deny the value of my statistics on the ground that I had understated the income from ground rent for the year 1882, inasmuch as my figures £69,439,000 took into consideration rent for agricultural lands only, leaving out of my estimate altogether the ground rent for, and occupied by houses, railways, waterways, as well as land used as game and fish preserves. Including these factors land rent for the year 1882 amounted to £186,000,000, an increase over my figures of £117,000,000. I might very properly dispute some of the elements brought into this computation of Mr. Shearman, and also restrict him logically to the consideration of agrarian land rents alone, in accordance with certain fundamental postulates of Mr. George's theory. But in order to make my position more formidable than before, I will concede all that he has here claimed. I can afford to generously give him £100,000,000 or more out of the superabundance of figures at my disposal, and out of the wealth of my cause bestow that much in charity to the poverty of his. In truth, I care not whether he hang himself with a long or a short rope, so that he hang himself. I will, therefore, willingly donate him the £117,000,000 he claims over and above my figures, and admit that the total income from land rents in Great Britain for the year 1882 was £186,000,000. Now, Mr. Shearman altogether overlooked the fact that I was giving comparative statistics, and that the very gist of my argument lay in the comparison of the two sets of statistics for the two different periods of 1882 and 1842. Did Mr. Shearman forget this important point in the heat of the argument or in his anxiety of mind to get rid of the stubborn facts confronting him, or did he leave it out of consideration in order to throw dust in the eyes of his audience? How be it, as my figures of agricultural land rent for the year 1882 had no bearing whatever on the question except in contrast with the agricultural land rent for the year 1842, in order that this increased rent might be brought into comparison with the increase in total income for the same periods, so should his estimate of £186,000,000 for all ground rents in the year 1882 be compared for the same purpose with the figures for all ground rents in the year 1842. This point Mr. Shearman complacently ignored, but as the meat of the issue is involved in it, I will make the fatal comparison for him.

"By a simple proportion upon the legitimate ground that the excess of all land rent over agricultural land rent in 1842 was in about the same ratio as the excess of all land rent over agricultural land rent in 1882, we discover that the land rent from all sources in 1842 reached the figures £148,000,000 in round numbers. Now these are the figures which Mr. Shearman so inadvertently neglected to compare with his own figures, £186,000,000 land rent in the year 1882. Their difference will give just £38,000,000 as the increase in the total land income of Great Britain for the year 1882 over the year 1842. Now, what are the conclusions to be drawn from Mr. Shearman's own figures? The entire land income of Great Britain absorbed a fraction over five per cent. of the entire increased product for the same year, leaving the other ninety-five per cent. to the starving capitalists and the pauper wage-earner! What a tragedy there is in one's own figures when they tell the truth on the other side! Where is Mr. George's theory

in the presence of Mr. Shearman's figures? What a pity that a statistician's figures should be loaded at his own end.

"But I will make another contribution to Mr. Shearman's side. I will make him a present of £48,000,000 more. I will deduct that amount from the entire land rent of 1842, in order that there may be no possible chance of a material overstatement on my part and in order that Mr. Shearman may enjoy a longer rope than ever in hanging himself. This will give us £86,000,000 increase in the land rent of Great Britain for the year 1882, still leaving £614,000,000 increase out of £700,000,000 to be divided between interest and wages! Is this anything like eating up the entire increased produce of Great Britain, as land rent should do according to Henry George's wild theory? Not only has land rent not devoured the total increase but it has not even consumed its proportional share of the increased product of Great Britain for the year 1882. Placing the entire land rent at the low figure of £100,000,000 for the year 1842, we discover the percentage of total income appropriated by landlords to be a little over 18½ per cent. Placing the entire land rent for the year 1882 at £186,000,000 we find its proportion of the total income just 15 per cent. Here we have in land rents a decline of over 3½ per cent. in proportion to the increased income for the year 1882. In other words, according to these figures, the rise in land rents in Great Britain has not kept proportional pace with the increased product of that country. Mr. George's theory is a chimera as fabulous as the beast of the ancient fable. His book, 'Progress and Poverty,' is addressed, not to reason, but to the imagination of the discontented. His premises are pure socialism, but he has not the logic or the audacity to go to their ultimate conclusion. Like all other socialistic theories of the day, it is suited to men who think feebly or imagine wildly. All fanatics are sincere, and dangerous in proportion to their sincerity. Honest they may be, but honesty is no criterion of capacity, and honesty lacking knowledge, like a child armed with a dangerous weapon, may do more damage than even the vicious-minded.

To this astonishing letter Mr. Shearman has replied, through the St. Louis Republic, under the title which heads this article, as follows:

"In a recent debate at St. Louis, in which I took part, Mr. C. B. Pallén claimed that while Henry George had asserted that rent absorbed all the increase of product, English statistics showed (1) that the rent of land in 1840 was £55,914,000, and in 1877 was £69,439,000, being an increase of only £13,525,000; and (2), that the increase of British production in the same time had been £700,000,000. This, he insisted, as I understood him, proved that rent is constantly diminishing in its relative demands upon the community, and is at all times a trivial item.

"The hour being very late, I contented myself with proving that British and Irish ground rents, instead of being only £69,439,000 were actually, at least, £186,000,000.

"Mr. Pallén is dissatisfied, and has written a letter to the St. Louis Republic, couched in the lordly terms of superiority which usually characterize arguments upon his side, and which are especially appropriate when addressed to one so much his inferior in intellect and social position as myself.

"Some friends in St. Louis want me to reply. But I dread to encounter so potent an adversary as Mr. Pallén: and besides, it would be presumptuous in me to answer a rebuke from one so vastly my superior. That he is thus superior, is undeniable; for every line of his letter shows that he is thoroughly convinced of the fact, and who could possibly be a better judge?

"So I will not reply to Mr. Pallén. But as he condescended to borrow this particular argument from other people, I will reply to the argument.

"First. I was not aware before that Henry George ever said that rent swallowed up the entire increase of product. He must have said so; because Mr. Pallén says that he said so; and Mr. Pallén is infallible. Obviously Mr. George has said this in some private conversation with Mr. Pallén. Wine must have been flowing freely at the table, and its effect upon Mr. George must have been disastrous. Or (happy thought) Mr. Pallén met some other 'Henry George,' who had just escaped from the St. Louis lunatic asylum.

"For 'Henry George's assumption that all the increased produce of the world is absorbed by land rent' (vide Pallén, witness), is a transparent and ludicrous absurdity. If it were true, then, as population doubled, all the people would have to live upon the same income which sufficed to support half of them, and so on, indefinitely. A city like New York, beginning with 20,000 families would divide income as follows:

1800, 20,000 families.....	Earnings, \$4,000,000. Rent, say \$1,000,000.
1850, 100,000 families.....	Earnings, \$40,000,000. Rent, \$37,000,000.
1900, 500,000 families.....	Earnings, \$300,000,000. Rent, \$297,000,000.

"Thus the allowance to each family for food and clothing, etc., would fall from \$150 in 1800 to \$6 in 1900, and indeed the average allowance to each family to-day could only be \$10 a year.

"The 'Henry George' whom Mr. Pallén met undoubtedly asserted some such nonsense as this. The Henry George whom we know never said or dreamed of it. I remand Mr. Pallén's 'Henry George' to the lunatic asylum from which he has emerged without hesitation or regret.

"Second. But our Henry George has said that 'with increase in productive power, rent tends to even greater increase.' ('Progress and Poverty,' p. 254.) This is not equivalent to saying that rent gets all the increase or anything like it, or even that rent actually increases faster in proportion than productive power. It tends to do so; but this tendency is resisted by other causes.

"This statement, moreover, refers to the civilized world as a whole. The natural tendency of British rents to rise has been hindered by the opening of American and Australian lands. Include all these, and the increase of rent would be found vastly greater in proportion than in Great Britain alone.

"Nevertheless, how is it in Great Britain? We have the statistics (not including Ireland) of the gross income from real estate from 1842 to 1884,

as actually returned to the tax collectors. Of course this is much less than the reality. But the proportions are probably unaffected by this. And, as the rent of mere land bore about the same proportion to the so-called "rent" of buildings at each date, these figures will answer the purpose in view.

The taxed income from British real estate, including land, houses, railways, mines, etc., was, in 1842, £35,284,497; in 1884, £37,657,392; increase, 149 per cent. The taxed income from all other sources was, in 1842, £155,728,506; in 1884, £356,880,590; increase, 128 per cent. Estimating the rent of mere land at 60 per cent. of all the income from real estate, which is moderate, the result would be as follows:

	Gross Income.	Rent.	Per cent.
1842.....	£251,013,003	£57,170,698	22 3/4
1884.....	594,575,982	142,605,225	24

"These official figures prove that, notwithstanding the strong counteracting influence of cheap land in America, which has actually reduced British farm rents, the tendency of rent in general to 'even greater increase than the increase in productive power' is so strong that, in Great Britain, rent has increased at a rate one-sixth greater than the rate of increase in production.

THE COMING ISSUE.

John Filmer in The New Earth.

The people of the United States will soon have to face a more serious crisis than any that has occurred since 1861. The reckless extravagance of the last congress has left as a legacy to its successor the duty of raising possibly as much as \$100,000,000 to meet deficiencies.

How can this be done?

Not by means of the tariff, for protectionists cannot consent to any change in it that will produce more revenue, nor can free traders reimpose duties on articles now free without surrendering the principles they are contending for. The choice must be narrowed down to an increase in the public debt or direct taxation. The former will not be seriously entertained by either protectionist or free trader. Direct taxation must then be resorted to.

What is there to tax?

Incomes? Many poor farmers and others who are engaged in occupations that do not yield an income large enough to tax, will at first favor such a tax, not merely because it would be to their self-interest, but because it would appear to them to be the way to reach the rich. But the discussion that will follow the introduction of such a measure, will lead them to see that there is one object to tax, which if taxed to the full will not only relieve them of their present unjust burdens of direct and indirect taxation, but will most effectually reach the wealthy classes, not by taking from these their present riches, but by taking the value of the natural opportunities, the possession of which has enabled them to unjustly acquire the wealth of others. And no doubt at the right time some member of congress will be ready to propose as a substitute for a tax on incomes, a tax on the value of land. And although at the outset there may be many free traders who would favor an income tax, and likewise many protectionists who would prefer a tax on the value of land, yet as the issue between restriction and freedom becomes more clearly defined the division of the people must be on the following lines:

Reciprocity.	Free Trade.
Do unto others as they do unto you.	Do unto others as you would have them do to you.
Tax on Incomes.	Single Tax on Land Values.
Taking private property for public use.	Taking public property for public use.
Choose ye then whom ye will serve,	
MAMMON	GOD.

JIM'S STRADDLE.

BLAINE.

To get a mart for flour and pork
To other countries sent,
We'll lift the tax some day, some day,
If the foreigners consent!

THE PEOPLE.

But if the tax is really good,
(Thus all the people cried),
Why should it be removed at all?
And never one replied.

THE BENEFICIARIES, ET AL.

Alas! that this reform should move
With Jimmy Blaine incog;
We see a reciprocity tail
Wagging a free trade dog!

THE MORAL.

The moral of all is simply this:
If you get two legs astride
Of a fence, it isn't possible
To stand well on either side!

1887 City.

J. D. MILLER.

Letters to the Editor.

MORE BALLOT BOXES.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: I am still trying to think of some way to effectually defeat the various devices projected, and in some instances practiced, to evade our present election laws by the mercenary class of politicians.

This, I believe, could be done by resuming the use of several ballot boxes, as was the custom before the passage of the present law; one each for the official stub, the state, the county, the city, etc.

My proposition is, that when the voter comes from the booth with his ballot prepared and properly folded, it shall be the duty of the officer designated to receive the ballots, and, before depositing them, in the presence of the voter, separate them into as many parts as there are offices to be filled, and then deposit them in their respective boxes. To enable him to detach and deposit each in its proper box the insignia of each office must be printed on the outside fold, and between each there must be a perforated line, such as there is now below the official stub. This would render a tell-tale candidate impossible and facilitate counting the votes. Should anyone deface or spoil his ballot, only that portion actually spoiled would be thrown out.

ROBERT WHITE.

Buffalo, N. Y.

THAT "NEEDLESS GATHERING."

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Your position with reference to "A Needless Gathering" is correct. Single tax men are men with convictions, and the single tax is itself a proposition to abolish poverty in the world by depriving injustice of its only potent weapon. The proposition is clear and distinct, and it is equally clear that there is no other plan that could approximate any of the claims of the single tax.

Single tax men can yield nothing. They can submit the doctrine to their fellow men, who can accept or reject according to their heads or their hearts.

My impression is that the great majority of men see the cat dimly. The trouble with them is that they class the monopolization of land along with other monopolies, and fail to realize the incomparable magnitude of land monopoly.

No, we have no concessions to make to the men who are trying to exploit ideas that were exploded before the book of Genesis was written.

R. S. CAMERON.

Colfax, La.

WOMAN AN ENTITY.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: You may put me down as a single tax man who recognizes that women have a right to the ballot, owing to the fact that a woman is as much an individual entity as a man. Any argument in favor of manhood suffrage is equally strong for woman suffrage.

B. G. BROWN.

Memphis, Tenn.

THE DEATH OF MARK W. CROSS.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: The single tax cause in Massachusetts has suffered a loss in the death of Mark W. Cross of Boston, who passed away after a brief illness on December 26th last. I can give no better illustration of his character than to state that his illness was contracted while taking care of a sick friend, and that its fatal termination was doubtless due to his exhaustion by night after night of watching with his friend. My own acquaintance with him came about through a mutual friend, and our common belief in the principles of the single tax had drawn us together. Mr. Cross was lately elected treasurer of the Massachusetts Single Tax League and I had looked forward to closer association with him in active work for the single tax cause. He was not a speaker or writer, and so had not come prominently before the public, but his work for the cause took the form of personal influence for the conversion of others and the circulation of single tax literature. I have reason to believe that he contributed liberally to the funds in aid of single tax work. An intimate friend tells me that he was one who in his benefactions paid particular regard to the injunction of scripture, "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth." He was one of those sincere and straightforward men willing to spend themselves to help others, by whose example and work the world is made better and his untimely death has made a gap which cannot be filled.

JAMES R. CARRET.

Boston, Mass.

THE ONE THING THAT WAS NOT RAISED.

Harper's Weekly.

Proprietor—Have ye marked up everything so as to conform with the new tariff?

Cashier—Yes, sir; all but one thing.

Proprietor—What's that?

Cashier—My salary, sir.

Proprietor—Oh, that's one of the few things McKinley didn't raise, and it can remain in statu quo for the present.

Single Tax News.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK, January 6, 1891.

We publish this week in our STANDARD club list, only such clubs as have endorsed the platform adopted at the national conference and applied for enrollment in the league.

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

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

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

Since our last report, our subscription list has been increased by subscription from:

Chas. R. McGinnis, Pullman, Ill.	\$ 2
Subscriptions previously acknowledged	1,325
Total	\$1,335

Cash contributions for the same period are as follows:

G. F. Stevens, Philadelphia, Pa.	\$5 00
J. H. Root, State College, Pa.	1 50
W. H. Hannaford, West Medford, Mass.	25
E. M. Mitchell, Detroit, Mich.	1 00
Robert Aitchison, South Chibago, Ill.	50
Adolph Segin, Memphis, Tenn.	1 00
George Davenport, Westerly, R. I.	1 00
Wm. J. Campbell, Philadelphia, Pa.	1 25
A. J. Leibert, Mobile, Ala.	1 00
Chas. H. Cutter, M. D., Charlestown, Mass.	1 75
M. J. Hill, Saxton's River, Vt.	50
M. S. Homans, New York City	1 00
A. G. Reid, Colmesneil, Texas	25
L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.	1 00
James R. Carret (add), Boston, Mass.	5 00
Billy Radcliffe, S. T., Youngstown, O.	2 00
Harold Harmer, Ottawa, Ont.	25
O. L. Long, San Jose, Cal.	30

	\$24 55
Contributions previously acknowledged	\$65 01
Total	\$895 56

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	\$95,068
Signatures received since last report	101
Total	\$95,669

For news budget, see roll of states.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

W. A. Candler, D. D., Pres. Emory College (Methodist), Oxford, Georgia, is a young, active, brainy, fearless man—an absolute free trader—in discussing the land question before his class in political economy said, "A man undoubtedly has a right to what he makes if he makes it fairly. Henry George was right about the Lord's having made land as common property. But it was not in the Lord's plan to improve it, and the man who improved it deserves the reward of his labor. The Lord made the silk worm and hung him on a mulberry tree. Somebody goes there, takes the cocoon, cultivates it, gets the silk; somebody else weaves it into cloth; another party makes the cloth into a shirt; the shirt finally gets into a retail store and I buy it. Now, its all foolishness to talk to me about the original cocoon, and the Lord's having made the silk worm common property—that shirt's mine. There isn't much danger in land's getting unreasonably high. If it does people will quit buying lands and put their money into stocks and bonds. The equality is pretty apt to be preserved."

We can easily correct his misunderstanding and thereby obtain an ally whose aid in Georgia will be invaluable.

The Metal Worker, 68 Duane street, New York, N. Y., on December 6, published an advertisement headed, "The McKinley Tariff Bill," giving a table of the amount of tax per box levied on tin plate by that act which runs from \$2.38 per box on plates 10x14 to \$8.73 per box on plates 20x28. The advertisement then stated, "By deducting this excessive tax from the cost of your plates you can ascertain what you would pay if tin plates were admitted free as a raw material." This has brought a number of protectionist protests to the Metal Worker's letter box. One from Ezra C. Williams, of Orange, N. J., says, "The primal idea is to sell one's labor at a high price. The man who will buy it must be right here, and not 3,000 miles away where he is no employer of mine. We are buying the labor of 30,000 men, and they are not buying ours; therefore we want them here where they must buy our labor. The McKinley bill is an invitation to tin plate makers to come here. The old duty was ten cents a head for each inhabi-

tant, the new duty will be 20 cents per head if imported, but if made here no duty at all." Such statements should not be permitted to go to the Metal Worker's readers uncontradicted.

Florida Agriculturist, Dehand, Florida, December 10, had an editorial headed, "A tax on industry," which objected vigorously to the discrimination by assessors in favor of the land speculators as against land users. Approval and brief single tax letters would be in order.

Patriot (Democratic), Lebanon, Ohio, published December 18, an address from Newton L. Bunnell to the Warren County Farmers' Alliance in which he reviewed the past history of the farmers and the dark outlook before them, as evidenced by statistics gathered by the alliance, showing the rapid increase in the numbers of renters and the amounts of farm mortgages. His remedy was organization in alliances which he claimed would lead to more intelligent political action, and a return to the principles on which the government was founded: equal rights and equal chances to all, and special privileges to none. Short letters showing the benefits farmers will derive from the single tax should be sent to the Patriot, and also to Newton L. Bunnell, Waynesville, Ohio.

John Brisben Walker, editor the Cosmopolitan, New York.—The December number of the Cosmopolitan had at foot of each page cuts designed by Dan Beard, many of which were quite radical and well calculated to rouse thought. Such work tells directly in our favor, and if we wish the magazines to continue it we should show our approval.

W. J. ATKINSON.

42 University Place, New York.

NEW YORK CITY.

The new managing board of the Manhattan single tax club organized last Friday evening by electing Wm. McCabe chairman and J. J. Pender secretary. The chairmen of committees for the coming year are: John Brown, house; Benj. Doblin, agitation; Jerome O'Neill, finance; J. J. Pender, membership; G. W. Everett, library.

There had been considerable adverse criticism by the members of the club of Tax Commissioner Coleman's instructions to his deputies not to increase real estate valuations this year, notwithstanding the fact that such values had been steadily increasing during the year just past. The managing board concluded that Mr. Coleman ought to be told what his duties were under the law, and also what the rights of the people were; so Mr. Doblin was instructed to prepare a letter on the matter, which he did, as follows:

MR. M. COLEMAN, Tax Commissioner:

DEAR SIR: Good government is possible only where the judgment of the citizen is incorporated into law and binding alike on him and the official intrusted with the duty of executing it. Official opinion can play no part in interpreting the law. If it were otherwise the citizen would be subject to the whim of the servant.

We emphatically dispute your right or power to instruct the deputy tax commissioners not to assess realty at its market value (2 R. S. Part I, ch. xiii., title II, art. 2, L. 1851, ch. 176, sec. 8, amended ch. 201, page 364, L. 1885). This law is clear and mandatory, and we insist upon its enforcement. If your judgment brings you to the conclusion that the law is injurious, we submit that the proper course for you to pursue is to agitate for its appeal or amendment. You are simply an executive, and bound to execute the law regardless of results.

We note further that your department makes an unauthorized undervaluation of unimproved real estate, and thereby increases the burden of the improver and householder. Speculators in unimproved realty are apparently the subject of your tender solicitude. We have no objection to your holding such benevolent sentiments, but when such sentiments cause an added burden to be put upon the improver we feel justified in making a protest.

The speculator in unimproved realty is retarding the growth and development of this city, withholding from use land that is demanded by the necessities of the people. Builders stand ready to utilize sites at much higher value than your department assesses them at for the purpose of taxation.

We submit that the improvement of New York city sites is of more importance to the community than any consideration of the speculator, who aims to clear a fortune without effort. Our duty is to our city, not to our speculators. If the unimproved realty in this city were assessed according to law, the owners would be compelled to improve or sell at market figures to those who would improve.

It would stimulate improvement, beautify our city and afford employment for a multitude of mechanics now in enforced idleness, not to mention the greater accommodation for our rapidly increasing population, which is now compelled to seek homes in the suburbs, thus losing to the city the advantages which naturally belong to it.

The letter was unanimously approved and the signatures of the officers of the club appended. Copies were made for the newspapers. The original was to be presented to Mr. Coleman last Monday, but, when the committee called at the commissioner's office they were told that he was out.

The Sunday papers, however, printed the text of the letter, and Mr. Coleman told the Star, which interviewed him on the matter that, notwithstanding the points made, he would not change his orders to his deputies. The whole question will be brought up at the business meeting, which takes place to-morrow (Thursday) evening, when the board hopes some plan will be offered which will result in compelling the tax commissioner to obey the law. All the members of the club are asked to be present, especially those connected with the legal fraternity. Thursday evening, January 23, Julien T. Davies, Esq., will deliver before the club his long promised lecture on "The absolute liberation of personal property from taxation." Mr. Davies is a protectionist, a leading member of the republican party in this city, and a member of the Union League club; therefore, it is considered that his position on the personal property tax question will have considerable influence among his associates. The address promises to be an unusually interesting one, and the members of the club and their friends are all invited to be present. Commencing with February, the club will resume its Sunday night lectures. The programme for the month will be announced hereafter.

BROOKLYN.

G. W.—"The annual election for officers took place at the Brooklyn single tax club on Wednesday last. Robert Baker was unanimously elected president, and made a speech which gave promise of a vigorous administration. The other offices were filled as follows: first vice-president, G. W. Thompson; second vice-president, J. T. O'Neill; treasurer, John

Hickling; recording secretary, J. F. Dollard; corresponding secretary, George White. The regular committee work will be in charge of the following gentlemen: E. S. Doubleday, membership; R. C. Utess, agitation; W. J. Horan, library; E. K. Morris, house; W. L. Thompson, entertainment; E. Pearson, finance; A. L. Sessions, lecture. A committee was appointed to draft an open letter to William Ziegler, a city taxpayer, who is trying to enjoin the mayor and others from purchasing the franchise of a private water company at a cost of a million dollars. The company, of course, got the franchise for nothing. Mr. Ziegler will be encouraged to continue his opposition. Our club has adopted the platform."

Altona A. Chapman.—"Twenty-four petitions (Christmas installment). Single tax men, full of interest and enthusiasm, keep bobbing up in the most unexpected places, and I am more and more convinced that when the single tax becomes a party, if it ever does, it will prove stronger in numbers than we think."

NEW YORK STATE.

James C. Murray, Oswego.—"Twenty-eight petitions. We have adopted the platform."

John P. McCarthy, Cortland.—"I send one dollar for the use of the national committee, and will try and send one dollar a month for this year. This town is badly in need of light on the land and labor question."

MASSACHUSETTS.

James K. Carrel, Boston.—By invitation of the Brockton Central Labor Union I lectured to them on the single tax on the evening of Friday, January 2. Notwithstanding bad weather there was a fair-sized audience, which gave the subject intelligent and favorable consideration. After speaking about three-quarters of an hour I answered questions, and a discussion took place, in which different persons in the audience joined. Among those who spoke was Mr. Ira Copeland of Brockton, who should be known to readers of THE STANDARD as a thorough-going single tax man. Mr. Copeland made a good point, obvious when stated, yet which impresses one as a fresh contribution to single tax arguments. As he put it, the state pursues and punishes men who make and circulate counterfeit money. Yet it grants to certain persons monopoly privileges in land, and permits them to form corporations and make and circulate counterfeit capital, on which the community is compelled to pay the holders an income. For shares in corporations, which hold such privileges, are in no true sense capital, that being wealth which is devoted to procuring more wealth. The state should as well forbid and try to prevent the making of the latter form of counterfeit as the former.

The union expects to have two more lectures on the subject—one on the 9th inst., from the Rev. J. G. Brooks of Brockton, at whose suggestion the course was established. I understood that Mr. Brooks' subject will be: "Why I am not a single tax man." The lecturer for the third evening is not yet engaged. I hear of movements in one or two places looking to the formation of single tax clubs. I expect that the remaining delegate to the general committee of the Massachusetts single tax league needed to enable the organization to be completed will be elected this week, and that the single tax men here will then be able to do more work, both for the aid of the national committee and for pushing the cause in the state.

At the request of a friend of the late Mark W. Cross, who is attending to the settlement of his affairs, I have taken charge of the funds and subscription cards held by Mr. Cross as treasurer of the Massachusetts single tax league, to hold temporarily until a new treasurer can be elected by the league.

W. L. Crosman, Roxbury.—I was very much surprised to see by yesterday's papers that a good single tax man is dead—Mark W. Cross. He was elected treasurer of the Massachusetts single tax league at its recent organization. He attended the conference, and his number on the photograph is 232. He did not take a very active part in single tax work, but did what was best to him—contributed liberally his money.

E. T. Turner, Boston.—The Boston single tax league held its annual meeting for the election of officers Sunday, December 28, at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington street. The following officers were elected: President, Edwin M. White; vice-presidents, Sylvester C. Fay, Hamlin Garland, G. K. Anderson, Moses True Brown, William Lloyd Garrison; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Emily T. Turner; recording secretary, Mrs. C. Rich; press secretary, Levi H. Turner; treasurer, William E. Bell; executive committee, D. Webster Groh, Andrew Garbutt, Edward Doherty.

William Burienne was elected delegate to the Massachusetts State League.

It was voted to appropriate ten dollars for advance order of "Protection or Free Trade." A committee of three was appointed to aid in the further circulation of this book. The platform of the National Single Tax League was adopted.

It was voted to hold meetings in this hall the second and fourth Sundays in each month at 2:30 P. M. for the ensuing four months.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, death has removed from our midst our member and co-worker, Mark W. Cross; in view of the active interest of the deceased in the measures of practical reform advanced by our own and other organizations, and his engagement in many works of philanthropy and public spirit, be it

Resolved, That the Boston Single Tax League expresses its deep sorrow at the loss of its vice-president, and extends its warm sympathy and condolence to his bereaved relatives.

John Adams, Dorchester.—There will be a meeting of the Dorchester club January 16, 1891, at Fields building, Fields Corner, at 8 P. M., at which all members are requested to be present, as the election of officers and other important business will be transacted.

F. Berry, Haverhill.—"Five petitions. By an error I am announced as chairman of the single tax committee of this city. I am not; we have no chairman."

RHODE ISLAND.

David Harrower, Wakefield.—"To supply the committee with funds and extend the circulation of THE STANDARD is, in my estimation, the most essential work the single tax men generally can do."

NEW JERSEY.

John Morrison, Washington.—"Thirty-one petitions. Our club has adopted the platform. Brother Corling has been very ill. The following are our officers for the coming term: president, A. W. Davis, of Oxford; vice-president, H. L. Beatty, Portmurry; treasurer, N. Beatty, Beattystown; secretary, John Morrison, Washington, box 272.

"We have called a special meeting to elect delegates to the industrial senate, which meets in Trenton in February, and we hope all single tax clubs will send delegates, so as the single tax will be heard in the hall of the legislature this winter at Trenton. We have members who are single tax men in the lower house, but do not think they will be heard."

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—"Our club has adopted the platform."

PENNSYLVANIA.

Thomas Leary, Quay, Elk County.—"Everything looks encouraging here. I am circulating 'Protection or Free Trade?' and want 25 copies of the cheap edition."

J. Barber, Bradford.—"We have adopted the platform and ask to be enrolled in the league."

J. M. Wilson, Cochranton.—"Six petitions. I have got the editor of our local paper to publish the platform."

C. Estella Bachman, Mauch Chunk.—"I realize the importance of having as many signatures as possible to the petition, that their number may of itself bear down opposition. As an individual I might not be worth much to the cause, but as secretary of the single tax women's enrollment committee, I can get many other women to work for signatures to the petition, besides doing what I can personally."

A. H. Stephenson, Philadelphia.—"Our society has adopted the platform."

Wm. W. Wiles, New Brighton.—"Thirteen petitions. I regard the petition as the best plan yet devised to get the single tax before the people."

H. L. Buzzell, Meadville.—"I feel a little lonely here, as I don't know of any single tax men in town, although I have been informed that there are several of them around. As a theological student I do not have so much time to devote to the cause as I should like. I have been a cat worshipper for some three years. The different phases of the social question have been aired this year in good shape, much to the disgust of many who think that the minister should not mention the evils of society nor dispute the justice of the present abominable constitution. If the Christian ministry does not stand for justice, and if the minister must hold his peace on social topics in these stirring times, Christianity becomes hypocrisy, and the clergy spiritual frauds. I would request every single taxer in town to drop me a postal and I will call upon him and see what can be done. Address H. L. Buzzell, box 473, Meadville, Pa."

MARYLAND.

Francis Mooney, Baltimore.—"Five petitions. I have been rather slow in my labors for the cause but promise to labor with more zeal in the future. Our society hails with delight the issuing of 'Protection or Free Trade?' in cheap form as a means of effecting enormous propaganda work."

MISSISSIPPI.

W. A. Harris, Vicksburg.—"Ten petitions. The most of the signers are men who have recently been making improvements on their city property, and they feel the burden of the increase of the tax. One of the signers, Mr. Samuel French, can make about as good a single tax talk as if he had been in the business for years, and others are strong republicans, whose eyes have been opened by the McKinley tariff bill. I would not take a thousand dollars for the good the tariff bill has done in this locality as an eye-opener."

TEXAS.

Albert Philpot, Saint Jo.—"Thirty petitions. Our people are wakening up as never before, I think, on the question of taxation. While all recognize that something is wrong, the single tax is generally new to them, having heard nothing of it except garbled reports from the country press."

OHIO.

L. E. Siemon, Cleveland.—"Our club has ratified the platform and subscribed ten dollars per annum to the funds of the league, payable half in January and half in July."

Miss M. B. Hunt, Kennedy.—"Enclosed please find one dollar for the national committee."

Billy Radcliffe, S. T., Youngstown.—"Our club has adopted the platform and re-elected the old set of officers."

"Our club is still in the field and doing work whenever the opportunity presents itself. Our meetings at present are somewhat irregular, but every Sunday night finds a few of the faithful together at my hotel, where we talk over the doings of the week and stir up or convert the guests if there be any. Sickness has kept our secretary and other members close to their homes, as Youngstown, like other places, is well blessed with landlords and mud."

"There is a great deal of live kicking around the court house by tax payers, and I find it a good place to distribute tracts. One man, after having paid his taxes, showed his receipt to the clerk and asked, 'What's this dollar for?' 'For a dog,' said the clerk. 'I've got no dog,' says the taxpayer. 'Go see the auditor,' says the clerk. The taxpayer then went to the auditor, who told him to go the assessor, and after spending all his spare time for a week running about from place to place, he at last got an order for his dollar, which he not having the time to attend to gave me to collect; at last I got the dollar, and now the taxpayer tells me to invest it in 'Protection or Free Trade?' and I'll do it."

"I have my conference picture framed and hanging near the door, so that all my customers will see it as they are leaving. I find it takes their eye, and they carry off a single tax platform, a supply of which I have hanging under the picture."

"The Farmers Alliance fever will break out here Monday, January 5th. I expect to be in the neighborhood and if the 'natural opportunity' pre-

sents itself, I'll say something, if nothing more than to welcome them into the arena of discussion, and ask them to look into the single tax. All the members of our club, as far as I have examined, are satisfied to 'let the women vote.'"

INDIANA.

Noah Harris, Indianapolis.—"Seven petitions. Two of the signers are blacksmiths, two house painters, one bricklayer, one is the owner of three tenement houses, who sees the justice of the single tax and one is a farmer, whose wealth has recently been augmented by increased land values in the natural gas belt. I loaned him 'Social Problems,' will next send him 'Progress and Poverty.' He is anxious to see and hear Mr. George. In the near future I expect to hear of the formation of a single tax club—through his efforts—at the city of Kokomo, for he will not fail to water the seed that I sowed broadcast through that hot-bed of protection."

R. F. Schermerhorn, Quincy.—"Our club has adopted the platform."

James H. Risdon, Elgin.—"Four petitions. No. 1 sees plainly the advantage of the tax on land values and exempting improvements from taxation: No. 2 is a bright young man and thinks the single tax principle is all right if the people are ready for free trade: No. 3 is a young man and a democrat, and is the owner of two houses and lots; No. 4 is a straight out single tax man."

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Dec. 26.—The present week has been a quiet one in single tax circles owing to the holiday season, but I have at least one or two bits of interesting news showing the progress of our ideas. On Tuesday evening I was invited to attend a ballot reform meeting at the rooms of the personal rights league. About a dozen gentlemen were present, including County Commissioner Lieb, President Jesse Cox, of the Nationalist club; Mr. Jenkins, of the Union League Club; W. H. Dyrenforth, Charles Borg, and one or two representatives of organized labor. Judge Murray F. Tuley, Chancellor of the circuit court, presided, and Mr. James T. Healy, a prominent Republican, acted as secretary. Scores of letters from leading citizens of both parties were read, the universal sentiment being one of approval of the step in favor of the Australian system.

I was called on to say a few words and, after referring to the fact that the ballot reform movement was begun by Mr. George, and that it had been steadily and enthusiastically supported by all single tax men, I directed attention to an objectionable feature of the bill prepared by the league as follows:

"The state and county auditors and city clerks shall respectively place upon the several ballots printed by them the name of each candidate for office who shall have been nominated as hereinbefore provided and whose certificate of nomination has been presented within the time specified and on payment of the fee prescribed by law, which shall be for the white ticket fifty (\$50) for each name tendered, to be paid into the state treasury; for the blue ticket, ten (\$10) for each name tendered, to be paid into the county treasury; for the red ticket, five (\$5) for each name tendered, to be paid into the city treasury."

My objection to this provision was that, if adopted, it would give an excuse to the party machine for levying blackmail on the candidates, ostensibly or really as an offset to the cost of conducting the official ballot. I held that it was the duty of the state to pay the entire expense attaching to the election of its servants. I expressed the opinion that the Massachusetts law was the best one yet adopted in this country, and voiced the hope that the ballot reformers of Illinois would not fall behind that commonwealth in providing for a free, fair and secret method of ascertaining the popular will. My position was sustained by one or two gentlemen, and the bill will go for final revision before submission to the general assembly to a committee of conference and co-operation, in which representatives of the Single Tax Club, the Union League and Iroquois Clubs, the labor organizations and many other prominent associations will be invited to take part.

At the conclusion of this meeting I had the pleasure of meeting Judge Tuley for the first time. He told me he was a constant reader of THE STANDARD, and when I said I had heard that he was slightly inclined to our views, he replied that it would be impossible for one to read THE STANDARD long without becoming more or less indoctrinated with its views. "I agree with these to a considerable extent," said he, "but I am not yet prepared to accept the whole single tax doctrine. However, I believe Mr. George has done more to advance the cause of ballot reform than any other man in America, and he deserves the thanks of all lovers of pure government."

But if Judge Tuley is not yet prepared to accept the single tax, there is one of his confreres of the bench who is at least prepared to say that he "is not certain that the single tax is not the best system ever yet devised." Judge Altgeld made this remark to me recently, and he expressed the further opinion that the present revenue law of Illinois ought to be wiped off the statute books entirely. He likewise said that he regarded Mr. George as one of the greatest men of the time.

Nor is Judge Altgeld alone, among the judiciary of Chicago, in his high regard for Mr. George. I am informed that Judge Samuel P. McConnell goes even further. A conversation between him and several members of the bar was recently repeated to me. I do not now remember the details, but the substance was this, that Judge McConnell, who has a world-wide renown as the occupant of the bench during the celebrated trial of the Cronin murder case, explicitly and in set terms declared his belief in the single tax. I have no reason to question the accuracy of the report of this conversation, and I suspect that Judge Perry, of Quincy, and Judge Maguire, of San Francisco, are to be credited in great measure for the accession of so able a convert. For Judge McConnell is easily one of the strongest men on the Chicago bench, and should he cast in his lot openly with our movement it would receive a tremendous impetus.

Mr. James A. Herne on Tuesday evening attended a reception at the Iroquois club in honor of the newly elected Democratic congressmen. Mr. Herne went as the guest of Mr. Edward Osgood Brown.

Announcements.—January 8, Charles W. Phillips: "What is Socialism and Who are Socialists?" January 15, Henry D. Lloyd: "A Conservative View of the Labor Question," January 22, James Malcolm: "Personal

Property Taxation in Illinois." February 12, Edward Osgood Brown: "Andrew Napier DuQuoin." Our friend Robert Cummings discussed the question of anarchy here the other day with Mr. George Ward.

The club gave a reception to Mr. Herne New Year's eve, which drew out one of the largest crowds we ever had.

TENNESSEE.

Adolph Seguin, Memphis.—"Two petitions; also a dollar bill toward the expenses of the national committee. Would like to make it more, but circumstances will not allow."

MISSOURI.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis.—"I shall during the next two weeks write to a hundred or more single tax men in this state, and urge them to subscribe directly for THE STANDARD, and also to contribute to the committee fund. There is this obstacle in the way of both these necessary things, and that is the poverty of our people, especially those in the rural districts, but I think I will be able to do something here in the city that will supply the committee with some of the sinews of war. I think I may safely say that after the next two or three months this state will be able to send you at least fifty dollars a month. I shall be at the state capital during the session of the legislature, which will last seventy days."

R. F. Young, Kansas City.—"The officers of our club for the coming term are as follows: President, Charles E. Reid; vice-president, Hermann Hermelink; secretary, R. F. Young. We have adopted the platform."

MINNESOTA.

E. Herrmann, St. Paul.—"This city is getting to the front on economic questions. About five weeks ago the labor lyceum was inaugurated for the purpose of discussing economic questions in their relation to the wealth producing masses. These meetings, held every Sunday afternoon, are attracting the attention of the intelligent citizens."

"The following questions have thus far been under discussion:

"1. 'Education and its bearing upon child labor.' 2. 'The single tax.' 3. 'Labor organizations.' 4. 'Co-operations.' 5. 'Causes of wealth.' In all these discussions the single tax doctrines are the leading arguments."

"At the People's Lyceum every fourteen days the following subjects have passed review:

"1. 'The Guilds of the Middle Ages.' 2. 'Taxes.' 3. 'Interest.'"

"To-night 'Wages,' by Miss Eva McDonald, a prominent single tax alliance and labor speaker and organizer. Judging from the interest taken in this last subject by the people, I expect very interesting and lively discussions will follow the paper. On all of these occasions a few of us single tax advocates are on hand to preach the new political economy and with remarkably good success, apparently because single tax advocates are getting as thick as bees."

NORTH DAKOTA.

S. W. Bradford, Ayr.—"We have kept things bustling here, and I am now trying to organize a state league for the purpose of carrying on the free trade propaganda with renewed vigor. The fight here for congress was made exclusively on the tariff issue. The republican candidate was a Norwegian, who got the whole Scandinavian vote. Benton, the democratic candidate, was assailed in a most outrageous manner by the Fargo Argus, between whose editor and Benton there exists a personal quarrel of years standing; and yet the republican majority was cut down in one year from over 14,000 to a little over 6,000. If we can organize and get in some work such as we should be able to do, North Dakota will be all right for anybody the democrats may nominate, except Hill. We look on Hill as a traitor. If the west could be sure that Cleveland would be in favor of more currency, he would get there, no matter how New York might go. We are against national banks out here, and we want money to be cheaper."

SOUTH DAKOTA.

R. Hill, Mellette.—"I sent a dollar for the national committee."

IDAHO.

P. J. McLean, Gem.—"Four petitions. I can't do much here with the petition, but hope to do something by spring. Business is paralyzed. Four banks have suspended. Many poor workingmen have lost their little savings. We look for hard times this winter."

CALIFORNIA.

R. W. Kennedy, San Jose.—"Single taxers are becoming quite numerous here. Many who know nothing about the single tax complain bitterly of present methods and say that something must be done."

OREGON.

L. W. Hyland, Portland.—"Two petitions."

Wm. E. Norton, Monroe.—"At our Christmas tree celebration, Christmas eve, I received from the tree 'one pair of single tacks.' They were made of wood, about fourteen inches long, with heads four inches in diameter, and were painted a steel color. They looked very pretty, tied together with a pink bow, and in answer to the applause and laughter, I accepted them with a few appropriate sentences. The occurrence that created the next greatest merriment was the presentation of a large white cat to Master Edmund C. Norton, who is the youngest single taxer in the county (ten and a half months), with this inscription: 'Single tax cat,' 'Have you seen the cat?' on it. The heaven is still working, and there will be good results from it in the future."

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee Nation.—"Seventy-five petitions. One of the signers was minister to Liberia under Grant's administration."

CANADA.

R. T., S. T., Toronto.—"I think the proposed change in the subscription price and size of THE STANDARD is a good thing, and I, for my part, am very willing to pay the increased price. I also want to put myself on record as another single tax man who is in favor of woman suffrage. The single tax association meets every Friday, with an average attendance of about

thirty. A part of the proceedings is really in the nature of committee work. The association watches municipal, provincial and dominion public proceedings, and embraces any opportunity of furthering its principles which these events may afford. It is now circulating a petition to the legislative assembly of the province of Ontario, asking that the municipalities be permitted to assess buildings, machinery and improvements to real estate at 50 per cent. or less of their actual value.

Steady and persistent work is being done in a quiet way to spread single tax principles. One of the signs of the times is a remarkable sermon which was preached by the Rev. E. A. Oliver, M. A., at St. Simon's (Anglican) Church, Toronto, on the Sunday before Christmas Day. His subject was "The Church and Social Problems," and his text Matthew vi., 10, "Thy Kingdom Come." It is reported in full in the conservative daily of this city, the Empire, which says regarding it: "The discourse created widespread interest and discussion, more so, probably, than any sermon delivered in Toronto for years." The Empire then proceeds to publish a full report of the sermon, occupying two columns and a half.

Rev. Dr. Burns, of Hamilton, recently delivered an address in London, Ont., on "The Church and Poverty, or 'Thoughts on Labor and Land.'" It was a good single tax discourse. Rev. Dr. Burns is a well-known Methodist divine.

Our political situation in Canada is an interesting one. Our two political parties are the conservatives or Tories, and the reformers or Grigs. The former is the high protection party. They went into power several years ago on a protection wave, and inaugurated a high tariff under the name of the national policy. The usual effect—impoverishing farmers and workingmen—has followed. The reformers, who have advocated, generally speaking, a lowering of the tariff, have now settled down into the definite policy of advocating unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. I have heard objections to this from members of the reform party, on the grounds that it would be simply exchanging Canadian protection for American protection; that we would have to raise still higher our tariff wall against England; and that our tariff would be practically dictated from Washington. All this is, of course, on the assumption that the United States will continue a highly protected country. But if the Canadian public could be brought to believe, as you and I believe, that the people of the United States have turned their faces towards free trade and will not look back, it would immensely help the cause of the reform party in this country, and would consequently help Canadian free trade also. For as Sir Richard Cartwright, one of the reform leaders, said recently, "We believe in free trade: unrestricted reciprocity is but a flank movement in that direction."

I wish we could circulate half a million copies of "Protection or Free Trade" in Canada. Our farmers need education on this subject even more than yours. This is shown by the return of another protectionist candidate to the dominion parliament at a recent by-election in the agricultural county of South Victoria. The Canadian farmers have got to suffer still more before they get their eyes opened, I fear. The general elections for the dominion will come on some time within the next fifteen months, and at that election the tariff and our trade policy will be the leading issue.

J. L. Dawkins, Toronto.—Father Huntington is to lecture here under the auspices of the single tax association on June 20, and will speak in several other cities in Ontario before and after that date. As the father is not widely known in Canada we intend advertising his visit rather extensively.

AUSTRALIA.

The legislative assembly of Queensland has passed a bill for the imposition of a tax of three pence in the pound on capital land values, irrespective of improvements. The upper house, however, threw out the bill on the second reading. This is the first start of the single tax in Queensland, and a good one it is. The landlords of the upper chamber may resist for a little while, but will soon have to give way.

Sir Henry Parks for the government of New South Wales has introduced a most sweeping elective reform bill, which provides for all that the most thorough democrats have asked. It gives female suffrage, provides for single electoral district, abolishes property qualification and cumulative voting, does away with hustings nominations, provides stringent provisions against fraud, and compels the closing of liquor saloons on election day. The bill also admits the military and police to the franchise. This is the most sweepingly radical measure that has ever yet been proposed, but it is likely that it will go through. The government have not yet announced specifically their financial proposals, but they have hinted at sweeping reductions in the tariff and the imposition of taxes on land values and on property to supply the loss of customs revenue. The single tax men welcome the proposition but will fight the property tax.

The single tax men throughout Australia seem to be in the highest spirits. Although the great strikes have resulted in much loss, they have done a great deal to call public attention to the social problem. The government of New South Wales has appointed a royal commission to take evidence and report upon the cause of the conflict between labor and capital, and the best means of preventing labor disputes. Several single tax men have been named on this commission, Mr. Frank Cotton being of the number. The Rev. Dr. Roseby, of Sydney, chairman of the Congregational union, the leading man of the Congregational clergy of New South Wales, has delivered an address upon the relations of Christianity to the social question which has attracted much attention. He declares that it is hopeless to attempt to elevate men so long as they are placed in conditions where their integrity is impossible. Hence the most urgent reform is the adjustment of the land laws on the basis of justice to all.

The result of the American elections has produced a profound effect in Australia, delighting the single tax men and depressing the protectionists.

THE TRUTH IN AN OYSTER SHELL.

Mauch Chunk Democrat.

The real truth is that the McKinley tariff is rapidly raising prices whilst the working people's earnings are growing less all the time. The rich and strong luxuriate on the protective oyster all to themselves, whilst the working people are only permitted to smell at the shell from afar off!

FARMERS COMPLAINING OF UNEQUAL TAXATION.

Boston Globe.

The New England farmer is not so much troubled about the currency question as is the western farmer, from the fact that existing conditions make him chiefly anxious to keep what he has rather than to invest more in farming.

With the view of not being taxed out of existence, we find the chief theme of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire state granges to be that of equitable taxation.

It is no secret that under existing statutes those best able to bear the expense of government manage to shirk taxation to a scandalous extent. The farmers' property is largely in visible terra firma, and cannot escape the search of the assessor. That of the manufacturer and merchant consists to a large extent in personal property, mortgages, notes and various certificates of value, which it is easy to keep out of sight when it is desired to evade taxation. When Vanderbilt recently asserted that he had "no political interest in New York," he meant that he did not care who presided over the city's affairs, so long as he was able to shield the great bulk of his personal property from taxation.

The complaint of the Massachusetts grange, which finds an echo in every other New England state, is that taxation is not uniform—ranging from \$5 per \$1,000 in some towns to \$25 in others. This might, under some circumstances, be due to natural causes, but usually is not. Capitalists in some towns, having the means to make the sacrifice, induce the town to invite manufacturers in, under the promise of tax exemption. The law of 1881, which practically exempts from taxation money loaned on mortgages, is also held by many to be unjust. Above all, complaint is made against the lax administration of the tax assessments, whereby tax evaders find escape comparatively easy. All these causes acting together, say the committee on unequal taxation of the Massachusetts grange, produce the net result that whereas the average rate of taxation in the state is \$15 per \$1,000, it would be only \$8.44 if those who are able to evade taxation paid their just share.

Such a showing is certainly not creditable to the state. If conservative people do not wish to see the poorer classes driven into endorsing Henry George schemes, and the more rash communistic proposals of the farmers' alliance, the legislature should be moved to revise the whole system of levying and collecting taxes, so as to make them as uniform and equitable as possible.

MARY'S LITTLE LAMB, AND THE TAX THAT KILLED IT.

J. D. MILLER, IN PUCK.

Mary had a little lamb,
Its wool was white as snow;
We used to weave it into cloth,
But that was long ago.
They put a tariff on one day,
The woolen mills shut down,
And why the stocks have ceased to pay
Ask Mr. Ammidown!
Oh, Mary and her little lamb!
How charming were their ways!
She took the lamb to school with her
In those low-tariff days.
Now little maidens' wraps are wove
Not as they were of yore—
The lamb that went to school one day
Now goes to school no more.
The wool from off dear Mary's lamb
Once Mary's figure graced:
Now Mary wears a cotton gown,
And clothes of shoddy waste.
If you will calculate the tax,
And are not quite a clam,
You'll learn a lesson at the school
From Mary and her lamb!

IT NEEDS TO BE SHELTERED.

Chicago Tribune (rep.)

It is pleasant to see the solicitude with which Major McKinley protects his tender young offspring, the McKinley bill, from exposure to the rough winds of argument and blows of amendment. He fears that in its present feeble condition either of these might prove disastrous to it. From present appearances it is unlikely that anything on which a tariff amendment can be plastered will be allowed to come up at this session if the McKinleyites can help it. No republican congressman will be given a chance to amend the precious bill or say a hard word against it. That suits the democrats perfectly. They want the new law to stay just as it is, so that they can "work it for all it is worth" in 1892.

THE TARIFF AS A LOCAL ISSUE.

Puck.

Mr. Mainstreet (of any American city)—That McKinley is a nice man! Eggs are forty cents a dozen!

Mr. Rutherford B. Henkoop (an American farmer)—That McKinley is a nice man! Eggs are forty cents a dozen!

HARD TO FIND.

New York Weekly.

First Astronomer—Is there any mention of comets in the McKinley bill?

Second Astronomer—I don't know. Why?

First Astronomer—They seem to be unusually scarce and high.

THEIR CASE IS SAD INDEED.

Puck.

The protection papers are feeling very much distressed, because they cannot tell any more lies that people will believe.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

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

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Leavens, Secretary of the National Committee, at No. 42 University place, New York.)

COLORADO.

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

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific Hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Meets every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 5th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South 3d st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 5th st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 920 Hedge av.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolf; sec., W. W. Daniel, 303 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

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

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading-room open every evening. Pres., Thomas Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 122 7th st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m., in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; sec. sec., John W. Jones, 29 North Caroline st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m., at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec. Emily T. Turner, 5 Cambridge st.

Neponset single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st court, Neponset.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 959 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MISSOURI.

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Charles E. Reid; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

NEW JERSEY.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 169 Market st.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting first Thursday of each month at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings; club house, 198 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., Robert Baker; cor. sec., George White, 52 Concord st.

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 253 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pattenkofer, 253 Evergreen av.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OSWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minehaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwalenberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., G. W. A. King, 680 Academy st.

OHIO.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 302 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Siemon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 South Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 13 Public sq.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring road and Clymer st.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club. Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3:30 p. m.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec. E. D. Burleigh, 13 Willow st.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten, Watertown.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres., Jno. B. Hanten; sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S. Menken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

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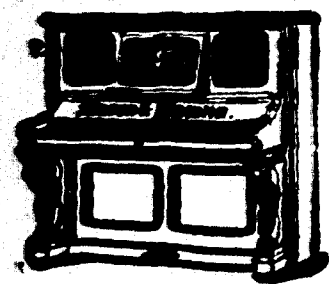
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