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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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EDITORIAL.

The impression made upon the public mind by the conference of single tax men held in this city last week is indicated in the reports and comments of the daily press.

But even to those of us who have known the movement from the beginning and who, being at the center, as it were, have been most fully apprised of its wonderful spread and of the zeal and devotion it is arousing, this gathering was a revelation of strength.

If those of us who have been out of the country had dared to hope that so large and representative a gathering could have been assembled at this time in New York, it would have been more impressive still. For not only am I confident that Thomas G. Shearman would have shortened his holiday and Father Huntington would have foregone his rest in order to be present, but I am certain that I could have persuaded some of our leading friends on the other side of the Atlantic to cross the ocean.

But the difficulties of bringing together men from all parts of so wide a country, at such large personal expense, in a gathering involving no business interest or pecuniary return, and having no offices to nominate for, no political programme to make, no honors to bestow, have all along seemed to me so great that I have been timid about a national conference, and whenever it has been proposed have favored putting it off. This conference owes nothing to my exertion or influence. It is the work, in my absence, of more sanguine men, and its great success has amply vindicated their judgment and faith.

The success was much more than in the matter of numbers. The weight of the gathering, the confidence it inspires, and the influence it will have, is due even more to the character than to the number of the men it brought together. The high level of ability, the firm, clear comprehension of principle, the unanimity of purpose which made the conference remarkable was conspicuous in all the speeches and proceedings, and even still more conspicuous in the personal intercourse for which it gave opportunity. The "crank element" was noticeable by its absence. Here is a fact which will be of much significance to those familiar with the committee work of similar gatherings, or even of ordinary political conventions—not a single resolution was presented to the committee on resolutions that was not entirely germane to the purpose of the conference, and that has not been substantially expressed in the platform and resolutions adopted. Was such a thing ever before known in any gathering of reformers of any kind?

Of all the gratifying things of which the conference gave evidence this is perhaps the most gratifying of all. For the besetting weakness of reform movements is that they gather together men who, though having more or less touch on the ostensible purpose, are bent on linking with it other matters which they really deem of more importance. Hence strength is wasted, concentration becomes impossible, and omnibus platforms or resolutions which strive to include every grievance and give voice to every shade of dissatisfaction, become pompous proclamations of impotence. We, too, have had our day when incon-

gruous elements gathered under our standards and met in our councils, and when people who thought the land question an important question sought to link it with diverse, contradictory or foolish measures. That day has passed for good. The socialists have gone, the protectionists have gone, the people with fads have gone, and the swelling ranks of the single tax men move forward in one bond and to one end. In the struggle of parties, the conflict of opinion, and the growing strength of vague discontent, we are the men and the only men who know precisely what we want and how to get it.

Nor was this singleness of purpose, this unanimity of opinion, due to any blind following of men or unreasoning acceptance of a formula. The debate which sprang up on the consideration of the platform was one of the indications that the conference was composed of men who do their own thinking, and who can give reasons for their faith. And even the apparent divergencies it showed only more clearly indicated the underlying unity. That some may prefer to describe it by one term, and some by another, only shows how clearly all see that there is a value attaching to land with social growth that rightfully belongs to the community and is the proper source of public revenue. And the indications of difference among us as to the best way of treating railways, telegraphs, etc., only bring out more clearly the unity in the belief that such functions must be made to serve the people equally and not suffered to become the sources of special profit and special powers to favored individuals at the general expense.

The debate on this point was especially gratifying in bringing out the feeling of the conference against extending the province of government into the proper domain of individual effort, and in clearly differentiating the single tax men, not only from the avowed state socialists, but from those less thorough going socialists whose milk and water palliatives for poverty consist in governmental interferences and restrictions. The debate was largely due to a misapprehension of what the resolutions implied. Many of the members who believe that the proper solution of the railway question is to be found in governmental maintenance of roadways over which private enterprise shall be free, under proper regulations, to run trains, imagining for the moment that the platform, as reported, committed the conference to the policy of the government running trains.

This was not the intent of the committee, nor is it involved in the terms of the resolution, since control and management by and for the whole people concerned, does not imply any particular method, nor yet does it exclude any method by which general rights may be secured and special privileges be prevented.

The effect of this gathering upon the single tax movement in the United States cannot fail to be most important and most happy. Confident as we may have been before, we are all more confident now. The bringing together of so many earnest and intelligent men from all parts of the country has given them a knowledge of each other, and a faith and a pride in each other, which inspire new hope

and fresh zeal. And while it has shown us that the movement was even stronger than we imagined, the conference has given to the general public a clearer idea of our purpose, and a more intelligent comprehension of the progress our principles are making.

One of the indications of this is in the numerous press comments which assume that we have abandoned our original extravagances and have become more reasonable. The truth is that we stand precisely where our feet were first planted. The change is in public opinion. What then seemed extravagant now seems more reasonable, because it has become familiar and is better understood. And just as our work of education progresses, so will our principles appear more and more reasonable to those who at first most bitterly opposed them. But so long as men face right, we need not, to use Mr. Garrison's simile, quarrel with their impression that the points of the compass have changed.

I was grieved to learn of the sudden death of T. L. McCready, who was for so long a valued associate of mine on this paper. From the time of the starting of THE STANDARD in January, 1897, up to the time of my departure for Europe in March, 1899, our relations were of the warmest and closest, and I most deeply appreciate the ardor, devotion and brilliancy with which he worked for THE STANDARD and for the cause. During my absence an estrangement on his part grew up which finally led him into opposition to what he had before labored for so well and brilliantly. But I am sure that many of the readers of THE STANDARD will remember as I do the generous and sterling qualities of the man and the aid which the good cause received from his pen. A man, as it always seemed to me, of genius, in the popular acceptance of the phrase, Mr. McCready's varied life had been full of vicissitudes and bitter disappointments, and he was a martyr to the asthma, which, constantly seizing him at unexpected moments, left him worn and nerve-shattered. In the many times in which we have talked of it, I never heard him speak of death other than as a grateful rest. That rest is now his. And if any good wishes of the living may go beyond the grave, mine go with him.

Louis F. Post, S. B. Clarke, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, James R. Carret and myself represented the single tax at the meeting of the American social science association in Saratoga on Friday last, but the crowded state of THE STANDARD columns does not permit anything more than a mention of the meeting this week. Nor would it permit, even if the pressure on my time during the week did not forbid, of my saying some of the things I would like to say of our movement abroad. I wish, however, in this way to greet the friends I have not had opportunity to see, and to acknowledge the many kind letters and messages I have not yet been able to personally reply to.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Croasdale, who has had charge of THE STANDARD during my absence, for the admirable way in which he has conducted the paper. At my request, his management will still continue, as it will be im-

possible as yet for me to devote myself to that work.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE STANDARD seeks to pay attention to current public affairs in general, but the full report of the conference proceedings and the speeches at the dinner so fully occupy this issue that there is little room for anything else.

The senate is still wrestling with the tariff bill, and it is impossible at this time to say what the outcome will be. A well-founded fear of the wrath of the western farmer has caused the western senators to join with the democrats in putting binding twine on the free list, but the republican senators who joined in making this concession immediately stultified themselves by refusing to give the southern planters the benefit of free cotton ties and jute bagging. If any consideration of justice and fair play had influenced the western republican senators in their vote on the item of binding twine the same considerations would have compelled them to vote similar relief from taxation to the southern planters.

Of course the admission of binding twine with a view to cheapening it is a blow at the whole protectionist argument, but such blows are becoming common. Senator Sherman, while ridiculing Mr. Blaine's scheme of reciprocity with the Spanish American republics, has paid his own tribute to the excellence of free trade by proposing immediate reciprocity with Canada as to coal, and authorizing the president to declare full reciprocity with that country as soon as its parliament shall cease to impose a tariff on American products. The amendment is not likely to pass, but it is another indication of the division in the republican party counsels on the tariff question. Blaine wants free trade with all peoples except the Canadians in both the American continents. Sherman wants free trade with Canada because her trade is better worth having than is that of South America. Both admit that free trade is a good thing sometimes and with some peoples, and having admitted so much they cannot defend the proposed McKinley prohibitive tariff if they try. The finance committee will report in favor of some kind of reciprocity scheme, but it is doubtful if the report will be accepted. It is needless to speculate, however, as voting on the bill was to be done yesterday and our readers will learn the result through the daily papers before this issue of THE STANDARD reaches them. The house is sure to non-concur in the senate amendments, and the conference committee that will then be appointed will doubtless be under the influence of the protected monopolists. The bill will become a law in some fashion, but if its authors want it to be safe from overthrow by judicial decision they will have to summon the house republicans to Washington and not depend on Mr. Reed's counting of a quorum.

Our friend, the New York Press, prints in large type, on its first page, an invitation to its readers to read its "funny page" in the Sunday edition. Does the Press mean its editorial page?

REED'S TRIUMPH.

Despite all hopes and predictions to the contrary, Speaker Reed has been triumphantly re-elected, and he is entitled to claim that his course has been endorsed by the people of his district. No matter how he won, he has won, and his majority is too large to allow us to attribute it to bribery alone. So large a population of the voters can never be bribed where a constituency has been aroused to enthusiasm. Reed's triumph

will elate the protectionists everywhere, and it ought to teach their opponents a merited lesson.

The republican gains in Maine are due to something worse than democratic apathy—they are due to democratic stupidity and cowardice. Weak men, unknown to the country at large, lead a spiritless minority party in an assault on Mr. Reed for his personal conduct in the speaker's chair. Not one man in a hundred understands enough of parliamentary usage and decency to comprehend the character of Reed's offenses, and there is a perfectly natural disposition in every locality to stand by a representative who has displayed conspicuous ability, such as no one denies to Speaker Reed.

The fight in the district should have been against the system and policy, to save which Mr. Reed usurped the dictatorial power he has exercised. Instead of trying to meet corruption by corruption, and wailing over the lack of money, the Maine democrats should have fought the monstrous protection fraud and told the people why the rich manufacturers were sending money into the First district to bribe men to vote for Reed's return to the house because of the help he has given them in robbing the people. Instead of making such a fight—a splendid free trade fight against protection to robbery—the Maine democrats conducted the sneak game called a "still hunt," and they deserve the defeat they have encountered. We are sick of such men and such methods.

"FREE TRADERS, BUT—"

At the Brighton banquet last Wednesday evening Mr. L. A. Russell of Cleveland, Ohio, said that he had learned long ago that there were "free traders" and "free traders, but—" and he expressed his hearty contempt for the "free traders, but—"

The difference thus humorously indicated by the president of the Cleveland free trade club is becoming more marked as the present struggle becomes more earnest. The democratic party, despite the reluctance of many who aspire to lead it, is almost rushing toward the open declaration of free trade principles. Its so-called leaders are moving with it reluctantly, their whole energy being devoted to holding it back. They are the kind of leaders who are only fit to lead so long as the column at whose head they stand "marks time." When the line breaks into the double quick of the charge that leads to victory they sulk in the rear or seek safety in the baggage train. Such men are not fit for leadership in times like these, and the sooner their party understands this the better for it and for them. They are, in private, free traders.

In public they are free traders, but one must not say so; free traders, but governmental revenues must be raised largely by duties; free traders, but a sufficient duty must be levied to cover the difference between American and European wages, and so on. They are, as Mr. Russell says, "free traders, but —." Their time has gone by. They must march with the column, following braver leaders, fall to the rear or be run over.

The political economists of the same kind are in an even more uncomfortable position. They have not been afraid to call themselves free traders. On the contrary, they were rather proud of the title. But now that the movement for which they have sighed—and in aid of which they have done little more than sigh—has come, and is rushing forward with the impetuosity of a swollen river, they stand aghast and say they are free traders, but that the free trade they favor "is English, you know," and not the absolute freedom of trade that would abolish custom houses and leave every man free to trade

the products of his labor with any other man in the whole world. These men have pleaded guilty to the indictment of their adversaries. They favor not free trade, but the so-called English free trade, which is not free trade at all, and in making this confession they account for their past failure and pave the way for contrasting with their pseudo free trade that absolute American free trade which exists under constitutional guarantee between the states of this union. They are "free traders, but—" and they must drop that qualifying "but" or get them to the rear. The free traders of to-day are free traders without reserve or qualification, who when they say free trade mean trade that is free, and for whom the question, where are you to get the necessary revenue if you abolish the custom houses, has no terrors.

THE GAME OF BLUFF.

The farmer, the prey of the bunco man,
Who treacherously deceives;
With simple trust sat down one day,
A newly invented game to play,
With a finished gang of thieves.
A very nice and affable crowd
They were, who played the host;
They won his heart, and his money won,
But the farmer found when the game was done
Somehow that he always lost.
They talked of making a market at home,
Then of making a market abroad;
They called it by various names, the game,
But it mattered not, for just the same
He lost his little board.
'Tis the last, last deal in the game of bluff;
The players have fought so hard;
For the farmer has "seen," and made a
"raise;"
But Jim, the shrewdest gambler, "stays"
With his reciprocity card!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

AUSTRALIA AHEAD OF US.

New York Ledger.

In Victoria—the most progressive of the Australian colonies—telegraphs, railway and irrigation works, which in the United States are in private hands, are owned and managed by the state. So far as telegraphs are concerned, this is true of England also, but the rates are much lower in Victoria than in the mother country.

The Victoria railways now pay four and one-half per cent on the capital expended, and would make much larger returns were it not the policy of the colony to continually lower the fares and freights so as to encourage industries and render service to the people. This purpose is carried so far in New South Wales that school children are conveyed free of charge on colonial railways, while in Victoria remissions of fare are made to certain classes of students.

The low fares of the Victorian railways are the more surprising because the wages of labor are about twice as high as they are in England, and coal costs nearly twice as much. We should add, the street railroads in Victoria belong not to private corporations, but to the municipalities.

The eight-hour labor day has been observed throughout Victoria since 1886, so far as artisans are concerned, and in 1888 an early closing law went into operation whereby male and female clerks in shops are relieved from duty at 7 p. m. on five nights of the week, and 10 p. m. on Saturdays.

Altogether Victoria is a worker's paradise, high wages being combined with cheap food, cheap transportation and leisure for culture and amusement.

YES, WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

St. Louis Republic.

Absentee landlordism and alien ownership of land are attracting a good deal of attention in these days, but can anyone tell what difference it makes to the Missouri renter whether his landlord lives in New York or Paris? Something may be well said about the old common law precept to the effect that no one should own a part of the country to whose allegiance he was a stranger, but this deals with the relations between the nation and the land-owner. As between the landlord and the renter, what's the difference?

WE ARE ALL BECOMING TIRED.

Professor Goldwin Smith in Macmillan's Magazine.

The farmer is becoming tired of paying the cost of the protective system, and Americans generally are disposed to resent being made the laughing stock of the civilized world to please a lobby of log rollers.

THAT'S WHAT!

Boston Globe.

Brother Blaine shouldn't confine his free trade programme to South America. Why not include Canada, Mexico, the West Indies and the Bahamas? That would be something like reform.

Boston Post.

THAT'S IT.

Mrs. Blimber—"Why are they making such a fuss about tin plates?" Mr. Blimber—"Chiefly because of the political pie that's baked in it, I fancy."

NOTES FROM THE CONVENTION.

After the convention had adjourned sine die, the delegates proceeded to the front entrance to Cooper union, where they had their pictures taken by a photographer. Mr. George and the officers of the conference were seated in front at a table, while the delegates were grouped around them. A large crowd gathered in the street to witness the sight. A large number of the members then went to Coney island, where they spent the time in seeing the sights before the dinner in the evening.

The stenographic report of the convention was written by Thomas B. Preston, a news editor of the Herald, and J. R. Stevenson of the Evening News.

The press arrangements were in charge of W. E. Hicks, exchange editor of the Morning Journal, and J. T. Altemus. The long hand report in last week's STANDARD was written by these gentlemen.

H. Martin Williams of Missouri started for home last Friday. Before leaving he said: "This was the most interesting convention that I ever attended. Nothing occurred of an unpleasant character to disturb the proceedings. I think that this conference will be the means of bringing into the single tax movement thousands of people. It will add an impetus to the work, and when our next national convention is held, I think that when the reports are received there will be double the number of clubs represented that there was in this conference."

The most picturesque figure in the convention was Billy Radcliffe, the only Billy, of Ohio. He kept the members amused with his humorous and epigrammatic sayings, and during a lull in the proceeding he furnished no little amusement by singing his songs. At the dinner Billy was called on for a speech, but instead he sang "The Heathen Chinese" and several other selections.

R. G. Brown of Tennessee is quite enthusiastic over the work that is being done by the single tax men in his state. During his stay in New York he made arrangements with the American press association to furnish the papers on their lists with single tax news in plate form. He returned home on Saturday after he had seen the sights of the metropolis by night.

THE REMEDY IS AT HAND.

Meade County, South Dakota, Times.

When a man has gone on a piece of raw prairie land first in a wagon and then in a sod house, has for years gotten up at dawn and worked until after dark, has seen his wife's hands grow hard and stiff with toil and her face wrinkled with care and anxiety, has lived for years on the coarsest food and worn the cheapest clothing, whose daughters never had a bit of lace or a pretty gown, whose sons toiled on with out a hope of breaking the weary monotony—a man who has so suffered, and there are many thousands of them in Dakota, may be excused much rashness, when at last he sees that home eaten up by taxes, tariffs, transportation rates and two per cent per month interest. If there were no remedy he could be excused for becoming an anarchist. But there is a remedy, swift and sweeping.

A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME.

Indianapolis News.

It is spreading, brethren! Free trade, freer trade, reciprocity—one needn't quarrel over names. "I'll meet him at Malachi!" shouted an irate participant in a debate. "You mean 'meet him at Philippi,'" corrected a member. "Philippi or Malachi, it makes no difference; they are both good men," yelled the gentleman. They can call it what they please. The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. Mr. Blaine has apparently knocked McKinleyism "higher'n Gilderoy's kite."

DO OUR EYES DECEIVE US?

New York Press.

The individual collectors of works of art have to pay thirty per cent duty on works of art that they import for their private galleries, which they so often bequeath in their wills to some neighboring public gallery. The higher the duty the less they can buy!

WE MUST PROTECT OUR NATIVE SNAKES.

New York Commercial Advertiser.

Miss Fauny Davenport has imported two aspiks for her production of Cleopatra. This shows us one of the failings of our tariff laws. Aren't rattlesnakes good enough for stage purposes without bringing in the panper snakes of foreign clime?

A PRIZE IN EVERY PACKAGE.

Boston Post.

Blimber (agbait)—What! twenty-five cents a foot for that lumber! Why, man, just see how rocky it is! A. R. Gluskenbeimer—Yes, mein friend, it is not every body dot trows in stones for der foundation, all lying comfortable on der surface.

WHAT'S THIS?

Senator Sherman of Ohio.

The arguments for free trade between Canada and the United States are almost as strong as they are between the several states of the Union.

A BLESSING IN DISGUISE, AFTER ALL.

Boston Globe.

When McKinley's bill passes New England people will not be so much bothered with smoke from factory chimneys as they are now.

THE SINGLE TAX DINNER

A GREAT GATHERING AT CONEY ISLAND ON WEDNESDAY EVENING.

SPEECHES BY NUMEROUS DELEGATES—GENERAL REJOICING OVER THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE—A GRAND SUCCESS.

The Manhattan single tax club of New York and the Brooklyn single tax club of Brooklyn gave a banquet at Brighton Beach hotel, Coney island, on Wednesday evening, which was attended by many delegates to the conference and by hundreds of ladies and gentlemen from the metropolitan district.

It was the purpose of the committee to call on delegates who had not been heard at the conference, together with some of the principal speakers, but the necessity for returning on the special train prevented the calling of a number of names on the chairman's list.

Mr. A. H. Stephenson of Philadelphia presided. After the dinner had been served Mr. Stephenson called for order and said: Ladies and Gentlemen: We wish to hear from many of those friends whom we have not heard from, and in order to do so we must make the speeches short. I propose to set a good example by making mine very short. I have asked Mr. George to tell us something about that great branch of the English speaking people among whom he has lately been laboring. I refer to the people of Australia, and I know that the hearts of all single tax men go out to those people to-night in fraternal greeting, and look to them, very probably, for the first fruition of our hopes. I am not going to make any formal introduction to you, but will merely say that the next speaker will be Henry George of New York. (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE'S SPEECH.

Ladies and gentlemen—I cannot begin to tell you all I would like to say about Australia and the Australians in the five minutes that are allotted to me, but really I returned from that part of the world very much impressed with the country and very much impressed by the people. They are substantially our own people, and it seems to me are developing characteristics very much like those attributed to the Yankee. They are an inventive people; they are an amiable loving people; they are people who enrich the language with new words and new expressions. For instance, they talk there about a man or a thing going "bung," and it is a very good phrase. He, she or it goes, or is likely to "go bung;" to collapse; to fail; to go through; to burst up. Now it seems to me, after coming back to the United States, that the republican party and the protective system are going bung! (Applause.) And I think Mr. Blaine could do no better thing than to include in his scheme of reciprocity the Australian colonies, and to send out there either letters or a commissioner to propose to the Australians just that sort of reciprocity arrangement that he is proposing for the nations of America. I have no doubt that the Australians would accept it and give us free trade; and between the United States and Australia would grow up a commerce and an intercourse that would bring us close and enable us to know far more of each other than we do to-day. (Applause.) The United States is far, very far, from Australia, and Australia is far, very far, from the United States. It is not so much the thousands of miles of ocean that separate us as it is the tariffs. Strike them down—make them go bung, and invention will annihilate space! (Applause.)

I know of no two countries that are more interesting to each other's people; I know of no two countries that could learn more from each other. The peculiar interest and the deep interest that Australia has for an American is that there a people of the same kind have been growing up under conditions so much like our own and yet so different as to furnish the most interesting comparison. And if I could make one more suggestion to Mr. Blaine or to the administration it would be that we should send to the Australian colonies a commissioner, or a commission, charged with the duty of studying the Australian system of government ownership of railways and telegraphs. (Applause.) We can learn from them and they can learn from us, if it is only to avoid our mistakes. (Laughter.) I think no American citizen can go out in other parts of the world, with ut feeling how grand might have been the destiny of this republic. All eyes were turned to her all over the world; the steady march of democracy has warmed hearts toward her all over the world; all men have been looking to her. Could we here boast a republic in which there was not such a thing as a pauper or a tramp; could we here boast a republic in which no

man willing to work ever need to want, there would not be in my opinion a crowned head in the civilized world. (Applause.)

Australia is a new country and a young country, and yet I wish it were possible for me to bring to you as they come to my mind the single tax men of Australia. (Applause.) The men of ability, the men of strength, the men of enthusiasm, the young men who in the next decade are to be the leading men of those five colonies—orators, poets, writers, thinkers—men of the same kind that have met here in New York from all parts of the United States; men inspired by the same faith and the same enthusiasm, and men having that firm and clear intelligence and conviction that has showed itself so strongly in this conference. (Applause.)

Three years or so ago John Farrell, now the editor of the Daily Telegraph, the leading paper in New South Wales, started in Lithgow a paper intended to advocate our cause, and called it the Land Nationalizer. Now, I don't know much about American gambling, but do any of you here know what a totalizator is? (Cries of "No.") Well, it is one of the Australian inventions, and is a gambling machine. I don't understand exactly how it works. (Laughter.) My wife was the only member of the family who went to the races while we were there; but anyhow, you somehow put in your money and take out your dividends. When it was announced that Mr. Farrell was going to start this Land Nationalizer he got a letter saying: "I understand that you are about to start a land totalizator. I think it is a good thing, and I want five shares." (Laughter.) But to-day there is no man, woman or child—I was about to say kangaroo or rabbit—in New South Wales that does not know about the single tax. (Applause.)

Single tax workers of the United States, your brothers Australasia are working too; in every town, in every hamlet they are working, in all sorts of ways, and there they are going to the front just as they are here. The managing committee of the free trade association of New South Wales a little while ago thought free trade was the free trade of the Cobden club, but to-day a majority of its members are avowed single tax men. They are infusing their ideas into the free trade party there just precisely as you single tax men here are infusing your ideas and your aims into the democratic party. (Applause.)

Victoria is the hot bed of protection in Australia. Yet I never found an audience that I felt more disposed to talk to than I did in the crowded hall in Melbourne where I made my addresses. And now the fight there has begun; there has been started there a free trade democratic association. (Applause.) Up to very recently protection has been backed with democracy in the antipodes, and the strength of the protective movement has been largely democratic. The landed interests, the great squatters, the men who are contented with things as they are, they were the so called free traders. To-day the free trade standard is being raised as a democratic ensign, as it should be, as the standard of the people. (Applause.) And as a democratic movement, our movement there is going forward to that full free trade that will abolish poverty; that full free trade that all over the world will make men brothers; that will strike down the tariffs that separate them; that will disband standing armies; that will sell and dismantle the warships. (Applause.)

Ah, the great republic, sinking after the monarchies of Europe, imitating their vices and copying their curses! What do we want with these warships that have been built at the expense of the American taxpayer? (Voice: "Shame!") It ought to be the grandeur and the glory of the republic of the west that she is too strong to fear injustice from anybody; too great, too true, to do injustice to anyone else. (Great applause.) That she dare dispense with ironclads and standing armies; that she dare to set to Europe, cursed with militarism, the example of a nation that needs no army and no fleet. And now we are building sixty-seven cruisers. (Laughter.) And I read that in this harbor the sailors on board these vessels are not permitted to go ashore lest they should run away. Better that we should build ships to carry more of our citizen abroad, that they may see how rich and varied this world is; that they may see that great as America is, America is not all; that they may see the benefit that would come to us could we but have free intercourse with the rest of the world; that their prejudices may die and their sympathies expand. (Applause.) I have exceeded my five minutes. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") No, I think the best thing we could have here to-night is short speeches, such as we had last night, from the men who seldom come to New York, in order to see and to hear our brethren from other parts of the country, and if there is to be time for that we must all speak briefly. I will merely say for myself that I very much regret that I have not been able to see more of the delegates from other parts of the country, and that I shall be at home all to-morrow afternoon, and I would be very glad to see there any of the delegates whom I have only been able to see very briefly here. (Applause.)

The Chairman—The first formal toast upon our programme is "Our Single Tax Sisters." (Applause.) There is nothing unusual in having this toast upon our programme, but to us it means something

more than it usually does. It means that with us women are more than mere toys, and that there is a woman's question that must be settled and which can be settled only by putting women upon an equality before the laws with men. (Cries of "hear, hear," and applause.) But passing from the serious side of the woman question, it is most appropriate that we should have to answer this toast a lady's man, and I therefore take pleasure in introducing to you that handsome man from the Pacific coast, who first discovered the outlines of the cat, the Hon. James G. Maguire. (Applause.)

JUDGE MAGUIRE'S RESPONSE.

I had hoped that the chairman would permit me to stay in the comparative obscurity of my position, because, after his flattering introduction and his assurance that I was a handsome man and a lady's man, I hate to disappoint you. (Laughter.) The ladies are extremely kind here—they say I don't disappoint them. (Laughter.)

This is a toast to which I am ill prepared to respond. There is no man who has a higher appreciation of the nobility of character and the grandeur of woman as an element in society than I, but I never give any tally, so you need not expect anything of the ordinary matter contained in a reply to such a toast.

Woman, according to the Mosaic account, was the last thing created, and she is and ever has been, in moral worth at least, the very masterpiece of all creation. (Applause.) In devotion to duty, in gentleness, in love of justice, in enthusiasm for the right, in perseverance, in voluntary sacrifice, in the alleviation of mankind, she has been more than a teacher, more than a mother—a great moral balance wheel which has held the world's vices in check through all the generations of man. (Applause.) She has furnished countless heroines who have labored gloriously in obscurity, but in that obscurity, hidden from the gaze and the applause of men, those heroines in thousands have earned laurels eclipsing the glories of all the martial heroes that the world has worshiped through all the past ages. (Applause.) And the women heroes of the world live to-day with us and labor with us, and labor in all the noble causes in which man is engaged—they labor and lead and support in all of them. (Applause.)

I don't want to occupy your time, for I promised to give my five minutes to Mr. George, and I think he took it. (Laughter.) I wish he had taken the time of some of the other gentlemen, much as I love to hear them speak. I was so deeply interested in his discussion of that great question of the relations that ought to exist between this republic and the magnificent country which he has just been visiting. But I desire to say that in the single tax movement I have found some of the noblest and grandest women that it has ever been my good fortune to meet through my life. (Applause.) Two of the noblest of all the characters I have ever been brought into contact with are ladies or were ladies of the single tax movement in California. One of them, happily, is still with us, the sweet singer, the poetess of this great movement, Frances M. Milne of San Luis Obispo. (Applause.) The other, a lady of equal gifts, of magnificent courage, of indomitable will, of charming gentleness and lovable character, unfortunately was taken from us too early in the splendid career upon which she had entered—Miss Kate Kennedy of California. (Applause.) Living she labored with all her soul's energy for the accomplishment of our ends, and dying called upon me to carry forward as best I might the work which she would have been so glad to continue, had life been spared her, saying then that life would have but little charm for her were it not for the fact that she saw in this great movement a chance for the real emancipation of her race, and she regretted for that reason, though for that almost solely, that she must succumb untimely to the hand of the destroyer. But even then the savings of her lifetime she turned over to me—consisted of lands in San Francisco and Oakland worth about \$9,000—with the direction to devote the proceeds of all of them to the emancipation of her fellow men, through the establishment of the single tax here and elsewhere, wherever suffering humanity might require that assistance. (Applause.)

That sacred mission I shall endeavor to discharge to the best of my ability, and I feel that neither her work nor mine is likely long to be without fruition and reward. (Applause.) Oh, now her heart would be cheered if she could be here to-night and see what magnificent promise there is in the movement this day, and to see the grand galaxy of upturned faces, of earnest and devoted single tax men and women, who are merely representatives of tens of thousands who are behind them devoted to the cause, and determined to carry its banner to triumph, to victory! When placing upon my shoulders this charge she bade me carry the work forward and to remember her as the work went on; she bade me to believe ever that as we went onward with the noble work, all earth would finally aid us ere our peaceful conflict should be ended. (Applause.)

The Chairman—Our next toast is "Our

Western Colleagues," who come from the section where land should be free, but it is not. The "wild and woolly west" will be fitly represented here to-night by a typical western man, a man who to my mind fitly represents that race of men who are capable of holding their own against all the world. I refer to H. Martin Williams of St. Louis.

Mr. Williams mounted on his seat, and when the cheers had a somewhat subsided stepped from there upon the table. He said:

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I cannot get up any higher unless I climb that pillar, and I am not a good climber. (A voice cried "Ex-cuse me," and there was more cheering.)

I just want to congratulate myself upon being present upon this occasion. This is the largest feed that it has ever been my good fortune to attend. (Laughter and applause.) Not until to-night did I bend my listening ears seaward to hear what the wild waves were saying. (Applause.) Never until this evening did mine eyes behold the ocean, the only place upon God's earth that the landlord don't own and rule. (Applause.) I hardly know how I got out here to-night. We were a little late and we had Crocodile and Louis Post to guide us, and it didn't seem that either of them knew which way to go. (Laughter.) Crocodile was too hoarse to talk, and I wanted Post to put a bell on so we could follow him. (Laughter.) That is the way we do out west with a flock of sheep; we always put a bell on the bell wether and the balance of the flock follow.

I want to say to you people concerning the wild and woolly west, to which the chairman has alluded, that we poor, uneducated, uncultivated savages from the far west may not be able to throw into this movement the same amount of culture and refinement that you people who live in the east and attend claim bakes and feeds like this are able to do, but when it comes to such a struggle as we are engaged in—a war that means not only for to-day, nor to-morrow, for the next month or the next year—there ain't anything, there is no sort of diet or pabulum that is just as good, and that will so well fit you for the enduring race, as hog and hominy. (Laughter and applause.) We hog and hominy fellows of the west, who live upon the boundless prairies—but, I am sorry to say, not free like the rolling billows of the old ocean here, because the landlords have put a wire fence around them all—we men are in this struggle with you, and we have come hundreds, aye, thousands of miles to meet you and extend to you our greetings and our hand clasp, and to assure you that come weal or come woe, we are with you, as the old lady said at the Methodist experience meeting, until the "end." (Applause.)

We intend to run this race through, and we know from what we have seen during the last three days, the determination that is shown in the faces of the men who have come to this meeting from all over this boundless country of ours, that there is no power on earth, and we know that none will be exercised from on high, to prevent the triumphant success of the movement. (Applause.) I say that no power from on high, because we believe with our leader that the hand of God is in this thing. (Applause.) This is the cause of humanity, the cause of God's poor and oppressed, and therefore it is God's cause; and when the time shall come, as it will come soon—sooner than any of us have dared to hope for—when we shall be able to go to the polls in one solid phalanx, hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, heart beating against heart, and cast the ballots which shall elect legislatures and congresses to crystallize into the legislation of this country these principles that we hold so true, let me say to you, the men, aye, the women of the west will come to the aid of this cause, and they will come as the winds come when forests are roused; they will come as the waves come when navies are stranded. (Applause.) It only means that just a little while longer have we to wait; and oh! I am so glad that I can go back to my Mississippi people in the old school houses upon the plains; in the churches down in the hills, where they throw wide open the doors to single tax and free trade speakers (applause), and tell them what I have seen; tell them the kind of men and women I have met, and lift up their hands and strengthen their hearts for this fight, as my faith has been strengthened and my hope has been strengthened. (Applause.)

I thank you most kindly for your attention, and, perhaps I shall not have the opportunity to do so individually, I want to say to you, men and women of New York, good by, and God bless you all! (Applause.)

The Chairman—As an ending of the formal toasts we have three toasts on our programme, "Free Trade," "Free Land" and "Free Men." "Free Trade" is the one which comes now. I suppose we all have our eyes fixed upon an ideal state of freedom, but while we are going toward that glory we must not forget that we must accept the first practical step which comes to our hands. The first practical step toward freedom, to my mind, is free

trade. (Applause.) A few years ago I happened to be in Chicago during a political campaign. I met a number of men who all told me of the successful work and the effective work which a single tax man was doing in that campaign toward free trade. That man was John Z. White, whom I now introduce to you. (Applause.)

MR. WHITE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I never before felt nervous when I was called upon to advocate free trade, and if you were all "protects" here to-night I can assure you that my courage would return; but to such an audience as this, each one of whom understands fully as well as I the tariff question, I find it very difficult to talk. I am not gifted, with my friend from Missouri, with an unlimited fund of very applicable anecdotes.

Free trade, whom but a lunatic denies the right of each and every man to trade with whomsoever he will, the product of his individual toil? Take the farmer. He rises in the morning and lights a fire with taxed coal, in a taxed stove, with which he boils water in a taxed kettle, with which he helps to provide for his breakfast, which is eaten from a taxed table and taxed dishes. He then proceeds to his barn, built with taxed lumber; he throws a taxed harness on his horse and hitches his horse to a wagon made of taxed wood and taxed iron. He proceeds to his field, which he cultivates with a taxed plow, or a taxed harrow, and returning at night he takes his supper, which is burdened with the same load of taxation as was his breakfast, and finally from a taxed bible, resting on a taxed chair, while he himself is kneeling on a taxed carpet, he offers up thanks to the God of free trade. (Applause.) I am not going to give you any long list of statistics to-night. I do not talk the tariff question that way. I am one of those who believe it is better to study maxims than to study markets. (Applause.) If it is necessary to go through long tables of statistics; if it is necessary to follow all the intricacies of the market, in order to find the truth of the tariff question, I wish to ask how any man can ever hope that the American people, the laboring poor, and the toiling farmer, will ever learn how to vote upon that great question; and if they don't know how to vote, and cannot learn, for the reason that they have not time, is it not demonstrated that popular suffrage is a failure?

We raise barriers against trade. We say that trade is a bad thing, then we subsidize a steamship company to facilitate trade. We raise barriers against trade, and say trade is a bad thing, and we propose to dig a hole under the Detroit river through which trade may be carried on more easily with our friendly neighbor—Canada. (Applause.) A very small boy once solved the tariff question in very short order. A playmate said to him, "I am a free trader, how is it with you?" His reply was, "My pa is a free trader but I am a protectionist." This was very curious, because we all know that small boys take their politics from their fathers and their religion from their mothers without question. (Laughter.) His playmate inquired as to why he was a protectionist? He said: "I heard my father say they had raised the tax on castor oil one hundred per cent." (Laughter and applause.) That boy was a shrewd, bright fellow. He hadn't sat under the ministrations of our protectionists—mark you, I don't say republicans, because there is no longer any such thing as a republican. (Laughter.) Our protectionists have replied to the most logical and conclusive arguments with "Marching through Georgia" and a brass band, usually a very poor one. This boy had not been infected with the superstition that comes from that kind of teaching. If the tax was one hundred per cent on castor oil—knowing the old man to be stingy as he did—he knew that his mother would have a greater worry to get money to buy castor oil, and therefore the old lady would not have the same opportunity to give him a tablespoonful as before. He did not like castor oil, and therefore he wanted it highly taxed. If there is anything that you don't want, tax it; if there is anything that you do want, and it is now taxed, remove that tax. (Applause.)

We have, whenever any ill has been inflicted upon a considerable number of people, made appeals to the legislature to right the wrong. We have believed, particularly during the last generation, in "Be it enacted." The time has come when the American people must recognize fully, clearly, completely and absolutely that the road to liberty lies in "Be it repealed." (Great applause.)

Liberty is the watchword of the American people. I have no fear of an attack in this fact, nor on the greater one that underlies the tariff question, because so long as men are denied absolute and complete freedom to produce, the right to trade will be of little avail. The American people have learned the lesson of liberty; of late years they have merely been negligent in their application. The truth of the situation in my mind lies here: after the late rebellion the party who really held individual liberty in their trust had been whipped, and like any great body of people they absorbed the teachings, beliefs and superstitions of their conquerors. In the republican ranks was not only the abolitionist, but there was the old whig, and

that abolition party having accomplished its purpose, the old whig party got hold of the machine, and not only diffused protection all through the abolition ranks, but the democracy itself has been inoculated with the virus.

I will tell you a story that perhaps many of you have heard. It is a story that we were told during the last campaign in Illinois, and we thought it a good one for a stump speech. A man in Chicago died—they seldom die; they never resign (laughter)—and he, of course, expected to pass through the pearly gates, but his interview with St. Peter demonstrated the fact that there were certain obstacles, and he was referred to other quarters. (Laughter.) He was compelled to interview his satanic majesty, and before being assigned to his permanent quarters he craved permission to investigate the place. (Laughter.) He found his future sovereign to be very agreeable, and he was shown the workings of a number of furnaces. The first one contained a great many of those things that our Calvinist friends have been holding up to us. He was told that they were lawyers. He looked into another furnace and was told that it contained quack doctors. He looked into several furnaces and inquired their contents, and was told. Finally he saw hanging in a row close to the furnaces, certain other objects of similar form, and inquired as to the reason for this. His satanic majesty said, "Those are too green to burn, we have hung them up to dry; they are farmers who during the last presidential election voted for Harrison and protection." (Great applause.)

The Chairman—"Free Land." I believe there is one state in this Union which, I am told by single tax men, is capable of accommodating the population of the world. It is, therefore, peculiarly appropriate that a representative from that state should respond to the toast, "Free Land." I introduce to you Mr. H. F. Ring of Texas. (Applause.)

H. F. RING'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: In our single tax conference which has just closed we have adopted a platform setting forth the principles on which the single tax cause is founded. That platform contains nothing not fairly embraced within the terms of the Declaration of Independence. It differs from the Declaration of Independence only in clearly showing how practical effect can be given to the truths enunciated in that noble instrument. Thomas Jefferson said that men were created free, and we propose to keep them free by making the land free. We do not propose to do this by empty declarations or by denunciation of those who, taking advantage of existing laws, pocket the profits of land monopolies and land speculations, but we propose to do it by peacefully changing these laws.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a democrat. We are democrats—not in the narrow and contemptible sense in which David B. Hill declares himself to be a democrat, but we are democrats in the full significance of that glorious word. We are democrats in the same sense in which Abraham Lincoln was a democrat.

The Chairman—Now we will hear from the grand result of free trade and free land—"Free Men." There are various agencies at work to bring about this state of affairs, but I know of none more effective than the work of that little knot of single tax men of Memphis, who have carried on their shoulders the tremendous work of getting our principles before the American people through the small country papers of the land. I take pleasure, therefore, in introducing to you one who has been very active in that work, Mr. Bolton Smith of Memphis, Tenn. (Applause.)

BOLTON SMITH'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Not long ago, while passing on a train through the south, I noticed through a window of the car a plantation. There upon the land, brown-skinned people with bended backs were cultivating the soil; little children and grown men and women, and the aged. Now through one of those flashes of thought that come, we know not whence—it seemed to me there came through my mind the history of the world. Not that history which historians write of princes and their grandeur, but that history which is the real history—the history of the common people. (Applause.)

Behold them! The peasant of India, the fellow and the Russian serf, the German peasant, the Frenchman, the Scotchman, driven from their soil to the mart or the store, to the degrading contact with the manufactory; our own people here, degraded as we find them at Five Points, and as we find them in the bowels of the earth in Pennsylvania. But if this is all that history has to teach us; if this is the end and purpose, then, indeed, materialism is the religion which every thinking man must hold. But, no. Civilization has not said her last word. There is rising; another star; only strange to say, by astronomical wonder, it is rising in the west. (Applause.) That star which means to us that there is coming a time when not only in

speech but in actual fact there shall live free men. (Applause.)

This is not an abstraction—not a few letters to be pinned upon the wall. No, it is something that means that in every cabin in the land, in the humblest home, there shall come joys which have never been there before. (Applause.) It means that to hearts which toil and misery have dried up there shall come a life and a hope they never have known. It means that to trade and commerce there shall come a sweep and power that shall transfigure the world. It means at last that man is to carry forward these principles, with education for himself, which will make him as I firmly believe the Creator intended him to be. If all the beauties of the world and all the charms of civilization and all the joys of life and literature and art are to end, what is the good, what is the use? But no. In the future, far beyond this earth we see the souls that freedom here has given an opportunity to develop to their full size praising the road, which without that opportunity of development they could not otherwise have pursued.

Friends, in our hours of trial in the future, when we doubt, if the time comes, let us utter to ourselves these words: Let us remember that it is in order that this work may be accomplished, that men shall really be free men, that we toil, and let us never stop so long as we live until that time has come, when this land and every land shall in fact be the home of the free. (Applause.)

The Chairman—We have finished our formal toasts, but we have lots of good things in store for you yet. We will now hear from various single tax men in short speeches. Some years ago, or rather a year ago, we had in Philadelphia a series of public meetings, and I may say that some of the most enjoyable of those meetings were made so by that prince of good story-tellers, Mr. Louis F. Post.

LOUIS F. POST.

Ladies and Gentlemen: While I was presiding over the conference to-day, one of the delegates remarked on one occasion immediately after a point of order had been ruled upon that Tom Reed was in the chair. Now, as I played king during the day, it seems I am called upon to play the clown to-night. I will not undertake, gentlemen, to spring off some stories on you, but one did occur to me while Mr. White was speaking. He spoke of the democratic party having been inoculated with the superstition of protection. Well, that was the condition of the democratic party when the single tax men found the democratic party, but the protection end of the democratic party is about dead. I won't pretend to say that we killed it; I won't undertake to say that, but that is where my story comes in, and that is why I started in with this introduction. The story is this, and if you cannot make the application, so much the worse for you and the chairman:

A man who had been spending the summer in the mountains, where he was waited upon at his meals every day by a very attentive darkey waiter, found there a tame owl and made a great pet of it. The night before he was to leave the place he had to have an early breakfast prepared the next morning, and he ordered a bird for breakfast. He came down to his breakfast and there was a nice bird on toast, fixed up very delicately. While eating it he noticed his owl was missing, and he said to the waiter, "Where is the owl?" "Boss, you done satisfied with your breakfast?" "Oh, yes." "And yo' coffee is berry good?" "Where is the owl?" "De toast, you like de toast?" "Yes, it is very good, indeed; but where is the little owl?" "Bird, de bird, him done to a turn!" "Yes, oh yes." And then a horrible suspicion crept over him; said he: "My God! you didn't kill that owl for my breakfast?" "Didn't kill the owl, he die just in time." (Laughter and applause.)

The owl, after all, is not quite dead, however. I read the platform of the democratic party, I think in New Hampshire, this morning. A very good platform in many respects, but there was a suggestion in it that we ought to have only enough of the tariff for revenue and to provide for the difference in the price of labor in this country and other countries. (Laughter.) Most of the states have got over that sort of a notion, and I hope they all will soon. The difference in labor! Protect labor with tariff? How can tariff serve to protect labor? Why, the most complete protection that is known for labor is the kind of protection that Warden Brush extends in Sing Sing to the laboring gentlemen who are in his charge. There each one of them has a tariff wall on the outside, two feet thick, with an iron door and big lock, through which he must pass, if he passes at all. He is in a protected community and no one can compete with him. (Voice, "Hear, hear.") I have not been there, but they do say that they earn the lowest wages of any institution. You go a step further: imagine a tariff wall thrown around a village. How would that protect the workingman? It would ruin the village and depress wages so long as any workingmen lived there to the very lowest possible point. Extend that wall of protection around the county; not quite so bad, but still bad enough; around the state, not quite so bad; extend that protection wall around the nation, and you feel the effect of protection. The loss of wages are not so

bad as they are in Sing Sing, or as they would be in a protected village. Extend the protection wall around the inhabited globe and it is perfect free trade, and it makes no difference. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have told you a story and I have tried to give you a lesson, and I will take my seat. (Applause.)

The Chairman—My good mother used to say to me there was nothing good outside of Boston. I did not find a general tendency to agree with that doctrine about me, but I think you will agree with me that one good thing which Boston and Massachusetts has given to this country is the Garrison family. (Applause.) Now I am almost as proud of Boston as was my mother, but the thing that I am most proud of is to introduce to you Mr. William Lloyd Garrison as the representative of my native state. (Applause.)

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S SPEECH.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a mortification to a man who thinks that he is espousing an unpopular but righteous cause to find himself suddenly, and without any scars of martyrdom to exhibit, receiving the smiles of the multitude, and the feeling is intensified when he realizes that the unlooked for favor comes because of his association with a pioneer whose want of reputation first moved his sympathies and solicited his support. It was only yesterday that the political magnates and the professors of political economy and the populace were anathematizing Henry George. It seemed as if there would be no shreds of his reputation left, but the great of the earth are powerless against truth. (Applause.)

"Whatever can be known of earth we know," sneered Europe's wise men in their snail shells curled; "No," said one man of Genoa, and that "no" Out of the dark created a new world. (Applause.)

So our Columbus, undaunted, sailed the sea of poverty and suffering until he discovered the land. (Voices: "Hear, hear" and applause.) Land in a sense more true and solid than that which the Genoese, by the grace of Ferdinand and Isabella, was permitted to gaze at from his vessel's deck.

Dukes are more reticent than of yore: the political magnates have grown friendly; the professors of political economy are puzzled at the persistence of what they are pleased to denominate error, and are more respectful; while the people are eager to listen instead of rushing to mob.

We rub our eyes when we read of Sir George Grey welcoming our leader in New Zealand, the mayors of Australian cities receiving him as a public guest, and clergymen of different denominations presiding at his meetings. We have made the mistake of joining a popular cause (applause), and our only valid excuse is that reforms in this generation advance more quickly than experience has taught us to expect. But this is the electrical age. To-day abhorred—to-morrow adored.

On this occasion the gravities of our movement can well afford to give way to the cheering and festive side. We are happy to grasp again the hand of our globe-encircling friend, bid him welcome home from his wanderings, although without a promise of rest, unless the truest rest is found in active work for humanity. May I finish my remarks in rhyme?

Duke of Argyll, and Thomas Huxley, too,
Attention, if you please, behold this sight!
Here is, indeed, a pretty howdy-do,
Where's Edward Atkinson and Horace White!

Time was when juries of your weight and size
Rendered the verdict, "Guilty." "Do not spare."

The culprit tied a bandage round his eyes,
Tightened his noose and swung himself in air.

Your finding indicates the headsman's ax,
Why has the judge been slow to understand?

The reason is he saw the single tax,
Which you did not, is not a tax on land. (Applause.)

Upon land values only it is laid,
A wide distinction; the indictment's flaw,
Is this weak spot through which the breach is made,
Because you fail to comprehend the law. (Applause.)

The people occupy the judgment seat
And recognize the prisoner at the bar
As benefactor, whom they gladly greet
With love and welcome as a guiding star.

While dry as dust men delve in partial souls
And figures disconnected from their soul,
He vivifies with living words and acts
The central principles which all control. (Applause.)

"Prophet of San Francisco," though the name
Was duke-bestowed because it sounded queer,
We keep the title "prophet" all the same,
And rank a prophet far above a peer. (Applause.)

Welcome, true friend, home from the Australian seas

And English firesides, bringing hope and cheer;
Your native land, roused from her slothful ease,
Girds up her loins again for freedom dear.
(Great applause.)

The Chairman—Now we are to have the pleasure of hearing from some of those whom we have not heard from yet during this conference. We have heard from New York, from the west, and too much from Pennsylvania, but we have not yet heard from Brooklyn. I call upon Mr. Alfred R. Calhoun of Brooklyn. (Applause.)

MAJOR CALHOUN'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I really am surprised at being called upon to speak at all. I have noticed that all the speakers who have distinguished themselves this evening have been bald-headed. But I am not bald-headed. There is one thing, however, that has given me much pleasure in connection with the convention of which we have been proud, although I have been able to partake of less of its pleasure than I would have liked. I have watched with a great deal of pleasure Mr. George's tour, following the sun around the world, and I have felt that we were now reaching the point of a grander and broader humanity. When I was a boy my father's farm was in the heart of the county, the county was the best county in the state, and the state was the best state in the Union; but I feel to-day that we have a cause that banishes counties and banishes states and banishes nationality in the great, grand brotherhood of man. (Applause.) It is no longer American, no longer Englishman, Frenchman, Scotchman; on every civilized land on which God's sun shines there we should find a brother, and ask him to struggle with us in this grand cause for the salvation of the races. (Applause.)

The Chairman—We have nearly an hour yet, and have plenty of time to hear the rest of the speakers. No great cause is complete without the power of music, and I will now introduce to you Mr. William Radcliffe, whom we call "Billy," and he will now give you a song. (Applause.)

Radcliffe mounted a chair, and before beginning his song said:

I noticed in the papers to-day that I was spoken of as "Billy Radcliffe, the old minstrel." If they imagine that I have been a minstrel in my time, that I, on a stage in a hall, they are mistaken. I didn't work in a hall. I don't go into a hall and wait until the people come in. I go out on the street and catch them coming and going.

Radcliffe then sang a song in which the name of James G. Blaine recurred again and again in the refrain; and the connection in which it came never failed to elicit roars of laughter from the audience. Responding to a tremendous encore, Mr. Radcliffe came forward and sang the Chinaman's "Hoolah for Hallison, every one." At the conclusion of the last song Mr. Radcliffe was called back and requested to speak, but declined, saying:

Excuse me. I am not used to talking to people who know more than I do; but I do like to go about and talk to working people and explain to them how the tariff reduces wages, and explain it to them on a blackboard. Always before I get through with my little talk some one in the audience asks, "Who is paying you for this?" I consider, gentlemen, that I have been well paid by the cordial reception I have received here for all the talking I have ever done for the single tax and free trade; and not only that, but I can go back to Ohio and western Pennsylvania and talk as long as I live, and I don't think I will make up for what I have received. (Applause.)

The Chairman—We will now have another good thing from Massachusetts. I call on Mr. Thomas R. Fitch.

Mr. Fitch mounted the table amid cheering. He said:

MR. FITCH'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Knowing how sensitive the gentlemen from Missouri are, the gentleman who stood here before me might be troubled in his mind if he were the only one who occupied this exalted position, so I will share it with him.

Our good brother Garrison came to our town—I own a little slice of it, and may as well call it mine as anybody's—to start the wheels of our local single tax order, so you must imagine that I am talking to that audience and not to you. I said to them I could give them a principle to put into practice—a scriptural injunction, which was, "Rejoice with them that rejoice," for I am rejoicing within myself. I and Mr. Garrison have both been called "crank" on the same day, and that is honor enough for me. (Applause.) Greater and grander crank never was, for he was such a crank as Couer de Lion, sans peur et sans reproche. I told them that the crank was a useful thing; why, the wheels of time will stop when the crank breaks. Let me picture to you, I said, a

scene of dire disaster and dark despair: The swarthy, weather beaten gentleman, wandering from sunny Italy; a music box and a monkey, and no crank. (Laughter.) And then how shorn of its glory would be the majestic Cunarder without its crank to move its machinery and speed it bowling and bounding over the broad Atlantic—but not under the American flag, thanks to protection. (Applause.) Oh, for Shakespeare's pen and tongue of Homer to find a title for the baseness of the nation.

Some may wonder why we are here. A certain politician earned for himself considerable notoriety by asking his fellows in convention, "What are we here for, if it is not for the offices?" We are not here for the offices for the good and sufficient reason that there are no offices, and secondly, we are expecting no compensation, and seeking no commendation; we need make no explanation (applause), except that we are here for edification. We shall make no attempt to create a sensation, yet will plainly state without hesitation, without the slightest equivocation that our end and aim and destination, our purpose and plain expectation is the total, complete annihilation of every fact and form of taxation. (Applause.) We will vote this a forcible declaration. Some of you may inquire for information why this is called the single tax organization; simply the lexicon lacks for a suitable appellation to give to this latest, grandest revelation. (Applause.) Again you may ask, how without taxation we would raise the revenue required by the nation. The question is wise, shows cogitation, the answer simple as a student's recitation; yet first conceived in profoundest meditation in a mind of marvelous penetration, and life of transcendent exaltation. (Applause.) That I be not suspected of self adulation, and even detected in misappropriation, I will here in your presence all credit disgorge, your question's answer was born in the brain of Henry George. (Applause.) In economics, our preacher, prince and king, with whose praises some day this land will ring. The answer to your question, how without taxation we would preserve in its proud and proper station this best government in God's creation; the answer, I repeat, is simple as a schoolboy's recitation, as capable of proof as the table of multiplication—as capable of positive demonstration—and the world will bless the day of its realization. And for its complete elucidation, which I hope will meet your expectation, and furnish you food for cogitation, subject matter for conversation, and enlist your interest in this great agitation, I bespeak for our creed your consideration. And before I sit down, let me also mention my personal thanks for your kind attention. (Applause.)

The Chairman—I am happy to say that we have with us to-night a representative of that great nation north of us, which irresistible destiny declares must one day come in to form with us the greatest of all republics; but we need not wait for any scheme of annexation in order to feel at one with the single tax men of Canada. I introduce to you Mr. W. A. Douglass of Toronto. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF W. A. DOUGLASS.

I want the privilege to-night of saying sister and brother, for I feel that we are now truly learning the meaning of that word brotherhood. (Applause.) I am proud to appear here to-night as the representative of the neighbor nation, and of a friendly nation, and one that is trying to work out its destiny in this world the same as this great republic. We have similar conditions there we are developing in precisely the same way. We want the same remedies that you are looking for. (Applause.) And I am proud to think that I am here to-night among those who are proclaiming the grandest truths that have ever fallen upon the ears of man; that nations are not to be separated one from the other in a state of everlasting hostility, or by that miserable rag of superstition that has come down from the troublous times of robbery, and survives under the title of protection. Nations are all of one family, have all one father; the land all ours; the glory all ours; all one grand heritage that God has furnished for us. God made man and he made the land, and let those two freely come together. Let man touch the soil and there springs forth a rich harvest; let him touch the land with his finger and his riches are unfolded; let man touch the soil and wealth comes; keep them asunder and we have poverty everlasting. (Applause.) What God hath brought together let no hand put asunder. (Great applause.)

A few days ago I went down to Ocean Grove and walked up to Asbury Park. Vast breakers were coming from the ocean, chasing each other in great rolls, and, as I happened to live in a country where we do not see the ocean very often, as the winds blew around me I felt for awhile as if I was free and in a free nation. At last the breakers broke down a part of the breakwater and carried away a part of the sidewalk, and I saw a number of men go along putting up boards around the part that had been destroyed. I touched one man on the sleeve and said: "My good man, do you own the ocean that you are fencing it in?" Now, you have got to lift the sculp of some fellows before you can get a joke in their heads. He

said, "Did you ever read any books?" and I dared not joke any more with that man.

Our good friend Mr. George has told us how far it is from here to Australia; have you any idea how far it is from here to Canada? (Applause.) Up in Vermont you can take one step and you are in Canada; go to Minnesota and you are out of the United States and into Canada at a single step. There is an invisible line, all length and no width. You can take a bushel of wheat across the Atlantic ocean, three thousand miles, for five cents; it costs you fifteen cents to get a bushel of wheat into Canada. The distance of one step between the United States and Canada is three times the distance of the Atlantic. That is one of the beauties of protection. (Laughter.)

As I stood looking upon the ocean, I could not help thinking, what on earth were you made for? God made it the grandest highway of earth—that is the purpose for which He made it—and then we build steamships to bridge it across, and then we put up a protective tariff to stop its use. Either God made an awful mistake or the protectionists are making an awful mistake. (Applause.)

I remember some years ago a friend of mine telling me something about the tariff, and imports and exports, and the balance of trade, and that we were going to ruin as fast as we could. That set me asking a lot of questions. Up to that time they had tried to teach me Greek and Latin, and some mathematics, and a great many other things I was never going to use in this world or the next. I thought now I must find out what this thing means—this balance of trade. I kept looking out for it in history, trying to find this balance of trade. I came across a story how manna came down from heaven every morning—a fresh importation—and they sent back no exports. (Applause.)

There was an acquaintance of mine up in Canada they called Ned Hanlon. They used to preach in Canada that we could not compete, and you would hear those big, broad shouldered, six foot protectionists, with a million dollars in their pockets say: "We can't compete. We sent this one outside of Canada and he beat the whole world. He went over to Philadelphia and he led all the men who went there, and they put up their money on him to win and he won all their bets, and they brought back to Toronto a hundred thousand dollars, and didn't send any exports back to pay for it." (Laughter.) I began to lose my balance of trade ideas, and would only say to you, send all your goods over to Canada and I guarantee if you are satisfied with the bargain we won't send you a single import back to trouble you. (Applause.)

I want to call your attention to an important problem. I don't know any that strikes me more forcibly. Take the growth of population on this continent. One hundred years ago in these United States it was less than 4,000,000, to-day 70,000,000—doubling every twenty-five years. Twenty-five years hence it will be 140,000,000—this includes Canada; you see I have got them annexed. (Applause.) Twenty-five years hence, at a similar rate of increase as we have had during the last quarter of a century; fifty years hence, 280,000,000; seventy-five years hence, 560,000,000, and one century hence, 1,120,000,000.

The children who are born in the next few years will see a population of the United States and Canada of 1,000,000,000. That is one of the most important facts we have got to face in the statesmanship of this world. With increasing population the land values will increase in like proportion—\$10 will be \$100 and \$1,000 will be \$10,000. The land that is valued at \$1,000 to-day will be worth \$20,000 or \$30,000, and a value that is to-day \$1,000,000 will be \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000, \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000. It is something fearful to think about. The poor will be as poor or poorer than they are to-day, and you will see men whose fortunes will be counted at thousands of millions. You will see want and suffering; men struggling simply to keep body and soul together; women sitting at the sewing machine fourteen hours a day that they may feed their little ones, and men whose fortunes are so big that they cannot count them. Just let me ask you, if that takes place, what will be the condition first, of society; second, of politics. Our society will be such a society as gave rise to the French revolution one hundred years ago. Our politics will be a power that rules the people; great standing armies will be kept, not for fighting enemies, but to keep down the people. Our religion—the grandest thing that ever came into the soul of man, my duty to my neighbor, my duty to myself and my duty to my Creator—what will it be? It will be a driveling superstition; it will be such a defiance of the laws of God that it will have lost the spirit of religion; it will be a form—a hoax. (Applause.)

Some have wanted to know where the single tax movement is going to take the first practical step. Let me tell you that the British Columbia legislature some time ago passed an act that all municipalities can make the tax on improvements fifty per cent of their value or less, which practically abolishes taxation on improvements. The legislature of Ontario some time ago abolished the taxation on cattle, and not one farmer could be found to-day who would ask it to be put back again. The legislature of Ontario, at its last session, passed an act that municipalities, if they please, can remove the tax on stocks of merchandise. We are going to

present a petition to the legislature, at its next session, asking them to give to municipalities the power of removing taxation from improvements, and I hope we will succeed in that. I think in Canada we are making some progress in unlocking the barriers to the vast treasures of this country. When the convention takes place, five or three years hence, it will be one shout from the north people to the south people, and down in Central Illinois we will sing our great jubilee. (Applause.)

The Chairman—We have heard from almost every profession, and now we will have the pleasure of hearing from a single tax artist, Mr. Dan Beard.

MR. BEARD'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I was kindly informed this afternoon that I was going to be called upon for a few remarks, and I wrote these few remarks out and took them and had them typewritten:

We have in this country and in all countries a great many wrongs. As Tom Marshal said when pleading a case before a judge, "Your honor, please fine me for contempt of court." "You have committed no contempt," said the judge. "But if you only knew it, your honor, I have the consarnedest contempt for this here court." (Laughter.) Those laws which rob a man; those laws which make stealing legal, I have a contempt for. If I go on the plains and a giant of the plains steps up to the stage and says, "I want your watch," I say, "Yes, sir; take my watch and my pocket-book and whatever you like. Why? Because I can't help myself. If I go over into Canada and they want to look into my valise I say, look over it, gentlemen. Why? Because I can't help myself. (Applause.)

I acknowledge but one law, and that is the law I see ruling the universe; everywhere present; everywhere active and never broken. If I attempt to step off of one of the tall buildings in New York, and attempt to break the law of gravitation my mangled remains will testify that that law is unbroken. (Applause.)

Talk about martyrs to religion and martyrs to principle! I have read of them, but I have never seen them. Martyrs to crime, martyrs to sin I see everywhere. Go to our prisons, to our hospitals, to our insane asylums—all are filled with martyrs of crime, suffering the torments of hell—for what? Only because they wanted to break the plain laws of God.

When the botanist wishes an Alpine plant he climbs to the top of the mountain, and there in the track of the glacier he finds the object of his search. Why? Because the atmosphere and surroundings produce the conditions necessary for the existence of that plant. When he wishes an aquatic plant he seeks for it in the lakes and rivers and marshes, and finds the object of his search. Why? Because the atmosphere and surroundings produce the conditions necessary to its existence. Whatever animal the naturalist wishes to procure he seeks for the spot where the atmosphere and surroundings produce the conditions necessary to that animal's existence, and there he finds it. The naturalist would never go to the plains in search of a chamois, but to the tops of snow-clad mountains, because there are the conditions necessary for its existence. A detective would never come to a single tax meeting in search of a defaulting bank president, but would go to the faro table, the race course, or some place where people acquire money without work, because there the atmosphere and conditions are such as produce the defaulter.

Show me a government founded on justice and equal rights to all men and I will show you the highest type of manhood, intelligence, industry and prosperity, because the atmosphere and surroundings produce them. If in our country we find waiters cringing and bowing for a tip—railroad employes, baggage men—for the sake of the quarter that comes with it; if we find miners starving in blackened huts and shanties, while gentlemen, so-called, live lives of ease; people starving in the streets, tramps and criminals, it is because the atmosphere and surroundings produce them. (Applause.)

If you place a beautiful picture with its face to the wall and leave it there it turns the beautiful tints, and causes the glory of the coloring to fade; but if the same picture be placed in God's clear sunshine the colors will return in all their original brightness, and be deepened only by their temporary eclipse in darkness. (Cheers.)

There is a law called vested rights—a wall of protection which keeps the sunshine of nature from shining upon our fellows; but, thank God, Mr. George has cracked that wall, and through the crack comes the glimmering of light which must follow this movement, and then, and only then, will the poor tramp and beggar have a chance to show the color of the man that is in him. (Great applause. Cries of "Good.")

The Chairman—It is often said that when there are any offices to distribute Ohio always has a favored son. We haven't got any offices, but we have got a favored son of Ohio, Mr. L. A. Russell of Cleveland.

MR. RUSSELL'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Ohio, Pennsylvania and California thought at first that they had a corner on this corner

of the banquet, and as we were about to felicitate ourselves upon the position of our monopoly, we found upon the inside of our corner New York and Chicago, Texas, Tennessee, Minnesota and South Dakota, so we thought we would say no more about it and drop the subject. Don't begin to pity me now. When I considered the character of this feast and my own disposition I thought it would be necessary for me to do what I never did before—make a memorandum on a card of the points and things that I would say, and the very first thing I put down on my memorandum to say, that man from Missouri—William—said himself. (Laughter.) Now you may begin to pity me. You can imagine how surprised I was when I heard him saying, and so much better than I could say, the very thing that I intended to say. I proposed to say when I referred to our order's mighty growth all over the country, that these five hundred men here were but as the pattering of a small rain, a few drops before the storm, when single tax will come as the winds come when fests are ended, come as come the waves when navies are stranded. (Applause.) I am going to take my revenge upon that man right now and here. I am going to tell this assembly the whole truth about that man. When he came to Missouri he went from Ohio. (Applause.)

We learned pretty early in the free trade movement that there were two classes of so-called free traders. That there were free traders and there were free traders, but—and we despise the free traders, but. The free trade club of Cleveland to which I belong, more than two years ago set at its masthead the sentiment, "The tariff an injustice, the custom house a curse." (Applause.) From that we have gone forward to the statement, "To tax is to take, to take without right is to rob." (Applause.) And our governmental agency—our hired man—is engaged in the practice of robbery, and the only peculiarity about this period of time is that we have now caught him at it, and are going to make him quit. (Applause.)

Let me for a moment drop into history. Many hundreds of years ago a robber captain, cursed be his name forever more, a black man from Barbary, secured his long, rakish and black looking craft upon the gateway of the east—Gibraltar—on the sea's highway of commerce from those islands in the northern sea that are to-day Great Britain and Ireland. Vessels, the white-winged messengers of the sea, in going down from the mines of Cornwall to that lonely inland sea, passed the gateway of the Orient to trade at ports of the Mediterranean—Alexandria of old—with the native lines of transportation, those humped backed locomotives of the desert which brought the precious things of the east to meet the white-winged messengers of commerce at the meeting of the sea and land. As the vessels passed beneath the rock of Gibraltar the pirate swooped cut from behind the cliff and riddled them. All had to give him ransom. If they could give or secure to him sufficient ransom for their lives and stuff, he let them go; if not, he took of the cargo what he would, he cut their throats upon the taffrail and sank their ships. He was the first revenue cutter. (Applause.)

The memory of that pirate still lives about the rock he haunted, and not far away, in southern Spain, a town bears his name to-day. You think the pirate was a bad man. I honor him. He did his sin with the uplifted and destroying arm. We to-night sit beside the gate to the inland seas of the occident, and without his courage have framed our inquiry into a law, and not daring to rob as pirates we have become a sort of sneak thief on the road. (Great applause.) Contemptible as our character is beside his, don't think that the blame of our villainy bears a like comparison. We have stolen from the commerce of the people of the earth unto, in spite of our tremendously extravagant expenditures of our abominable civil war, the surplus in our treasury was so great that it was in dead down earnest proposed by the pirate's agents to line our coast with defenses of cast steel. (Laughter and applause.) What defenses should we need if we dared to be honest, if we dared to be free? (Applause.) Who ever knew of that man who shot a customer? (Applause.)

The hope of this movement, as some of you have observed from the character of this crowd is, lies in the young men, and after that in the children. If there is one lesson that I might direct to be inculcated in the young and upon the children in this movement it is simply this: It makes a wide difference which way you look. Too many a young American born in the environment that at present surrounds our country have learned to look up to the government. In the name of God unlearn that lesson and learn to look down to find the government or your governmental agencies. (Applause.)

Remember the words of the great prophet when he said and truly said that the land belongs in usufruct to the living, and all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The chairman announced the meeting adjourned.

EVEN SO.

The sun would have continued to rise and set even if Mr. Henry George had stayed away a little longer.

WHAT THE PRESS HAS TO SAY.

HENRY GEORGE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Brooklyn Citizen, September 2.

Henry George, the distinguished political economist, who is the father of the single tax movement, returned to New York yesterday after an absence of some months, during which he visited Australia and other remote parts of the world. A convention of his followers was held in the hall of Cooper union during the afternoon, and in the evening he was formally and with boundless enthusiasm received by the members. Mr. George gave a glowing account of what the single tax men are doing in the antipodes as well as in England. He gave the names of many men, distinguished both in politics and literature, who have come over to his way of thinking, and added that he now felt more firmly convinced than ever that "there is no power on earth that can keep this movement back." Talk of this kind sounds strangely to one who has read the provisions of the McKinley bill, and yet we believe Mr. George is, in one respect at least, correct. The McKinley bill represents not a reaction, but the expiring effort of monopolists, who for a quarter of a century have had this country by the throat. They are putting forth a last dying exertion to strangle the rising manhood of the country, but though their clutch may seem to be of iron, it is still the clutch of a waning, not a growing power. The tendency of the age is toward liberty of trade, toward the simplification of taxation, toward the breaking down of monopolists, and therefore toward that justice between man and man for which Mr. George contends, even if the precise means of redress with which his name is identified be not received with widespread favor. The spirit of the George movement rather than the letter of its platform must be taken into account by those who would see the subject afloat, and to this end the following abstract of what Mr. George said yesterday may well be laid to heart:

"Greatest land is this of ours," Mr. George said, "but is it the freest land? Think of it. I landed to day and waited two hours to have my baggage searched. I have been sailing on seas that are unfurrowed by an American keel. Why? Because Americans are not free to build ships and sail them. I have been traveling over the greatest route of the world's commerce, but I have hardly seen an American passenger, and an American merchant—never."

"Greatest and freest! Look at the spectacle presented by congress; in session in the dog days to pay by grants of spoliation from us the money raised to bribe and buy a presidential election. (Applause.) What is the republican party now? The trusts go to Washington to claim as though by right the power of fettering industry, of taking the proceeds of free laborers, as though they were theirs to take. No, I am not proud of the American republic. But I am, as never before, hopeful for the American republic. Freedom is not here yet. But she is coming, she is coming for the men whom you represent and the men who to-day stand for the principles of Thomas Jefferson." (Applause.)

The keynote of the composition is the reference to Thomas Jefferson. The triumph of Jefferson has been long deferred, but it is coming, and the sincere men in the George movement are helping it along.

THE SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.

Brooklyn Citizen, September 3.

The day has passed when the advocates of a single tax on land values were listed among the cranks and professional disturbers of law and order. The conference now being held at the Cooper union is composed of 500 men from nearly every state and territory in the union, and it would be difficult to bring together a more intelligent, earnest and dignified body of representative Americans. It is not our purpose to discuss at this time the merits of the single tax as an economic question, but rather the method of propaganda which its advocates have adopted. The movement is now crystallized; it has taken definite form, and its consideration is attracting the attention of thinkers throughout the civilized world, and no newspaper can longer afford to remain ignorant of this question or to dismiss its adherents with the cheap taunt of "fanatics," "socialists" or "cranks."

But the single taxers have made gross blunders in their time, blunders which it seems they do not propose to repeat. They foolishly began with an insane attempt to win by opposing the two great parties of four years ago and attempting to found a greater party of their own. Defeat fol-

lowed, and it produced a certain measure of contempt for the untrained men who were conspicuous in the movement. Right on the heels of this error there came a greater one, and that was the injection of a question of church government into an issue that was purely economic. No one doubts the honesty and ability of Dr. McGlynn, but many do doubt his prudence, and many more, including the single taxers themselves, now see the utter folly of arraying themselves against the church of Rome and its 10,000,000 adherents in this country.

The believers in what is known as "the George theory" cannot afford to antagonize a church or a party. Their object, for the present at least, is educational. They must invite a free, full and fair discussion of this question from an economic standpoint, and they must be prepared under the rules that govern intelligent debate to attack and defend and to rest content with the result whether it be for or against them.

The conference assembled in New York has acted very wisely on all questions discussed so far, but particularly in their decision to throw all their influence with the party that inclines most to their free trade principles, and again in their determination to acknowledge no religious body as a factor in their organization. They welcome all creeds, but indorse none, recognize none, and here they show prudence and statesmanship.

Having eliminated these elements of weakness, there remains one other to be cast out, and that is the foolish belief that humanity can be radically and immediately affected by an act of parliament or congress, that the universal acceptance of the single tax theory would be a panacea for all human ills. But it is better that man should err in thought than not think at all. The question which these enthusiasts have thrown into the arena of public discussion is sure to be modified by experience; it is purely a scientific problem; it is feasible and promises to simplify our involved methods of taxation, but even if won it will not bring about the millennium.

THE SINGLE TAX DINNER.

Brooklyn Citizen, September 4.

The single tax conference that assembled in New York on Monday closed its business very fittingly last evening with a dinner at the Hotel Brighton, Coney island. There were fully 500 people at the banquet, and about a third of these were ladies, the wives and sisters of the members. After the dinner, at which Mr. Stephenson of Philadelphia presided, Mr. George made a speech in which he gave his recent experiences in New Zealand and Australia. In the former colony the governor, Sir George Grey, is a convert to the land tax theory, and he is doing all he can to have the colonial legislature pass an act looking to the collection of all revenues from one tax. "The prophet of San Francisco's" reception in Australia partook of the nature of an ovation, and in every city he was welcomed by the authorities, and the leading public men presided at his meetings. The agitation of this problem now going on, and particularly in English speaking countries, must result in great good by leading the masses to study economic questions, even if it does not realize their hopes of an earthly Elysium. The single tax advocates made a good impression during the conference. Their early errors were largely due to inexperience and an excess of zeal; the zeal remains and the inexperience has vanished.

THE SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.

New York World, September 2.

The national conference of single tax men now in session in this city will draw public attention strongly to a movement which has quietly assumed large proportions and which represents great earnestness of conviction and purpose on the part of a large body of thinking men.

The movement is led by Henry George. Its doctrines are Mr. George's theories in the form in which he now presents them. The men active in the movement insist that the teaching is identical with that in "Progress and Poverty," and in Mr. George's earlier lectures and writings; to outside observers it seems a very much modified form of that teaching and one which does not offend the mind with suggestions of confiscation.

However that may be, the theory of the single tax as now presented is simple and easily understood. It is that the land belongs equally to all the people, by natural right; that he who occupies

any part of it should pay rent to the people in the form of a tax representing the value of the bare land for occupancy; that this tax should be the only one levied; and that all taxes upon industry or the products of industry are ethically wrong and economically destructive.

This doctrine arrays itself in special hostility to those forms of taxation which are intended to benefit one man or class at the expense of the rest of the community; its chief object of attack is the protective tariff.

The leaders of the movement are men of practical minds, who see clearly the futility of a third-party movement and who seek the accomplishment of their purposes by aiding whatever tendency they discover in political parties to what they regard as sound doctrines and policies. They see the two great parties dividing more and more sharply upon the tariff question, and have made up their minds to strengthen the hands of that party which is on the right side of it.

In the call for the present conference this thought and purpose are frankly avowed. The call declares that "the two great parties are about to enter on a struggle for the control of the house of representatives;" that "one of them tends to the logical demand for the absolute prohibition of importation; the other is rapidly tending to the opposing logical demand for absolute free trade. One tends to become more and more the instrument and mouthpiece of a reckless and arrogant plutocracy, determined to use governmental power for the increase of the privilege and undue wealth it already enjoys; the other necessarily tends to assert the rights of the masses as against the classes."

With this statement of the political situation the call proceeds to summon the conference "to consider the best means of securing united action in behalf of free trade in the coming congressional elections."

The single tax men, in the present condition of politics, are therefore a sort of radical democrats upon conviction and for practical reasons. The refinements of their theory will be proper subjects for press discussion when they present themselves in concrete form as practical issues in politics.

A MAN OF THE TIME.

New York Evening Sun, September 1.

A crank who gets the ear of his fellow men is a personage, and a personage has landed in New York to-day, by name Henry George. It is a melancholy mistake to measure the consequence of a man's personality by his political following. Least of all can such following as he does obtain be estimated by a count of noses. In fact, a numerous political following at an early period of a crank's preaching is ominous of collapse. The acceptance of any new doctrine in a permanent sense seems to require from thirty to seventy years. The inference from this fact is that mankind in the large is nearly inaccessible to new beliefs after years of maturity are attained. The political doctrines of abolition, labor organization, parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation variously required from thirty to seventy years to obtain recognition. The doctrines of socialism have not obtained acceptance yet. This is not to say that they ever will obtain acceptance; it is only to say that the collapse of the Henry George politics is a thing apart from the interest that reasonably attaches to the Henry George human being.

A national conference of his followers has assembled to meet Mr. George, and the composition of this conference represents an order of intelligence that commands respect. This fact can be construed to intimate that the George doctrines fifty years hence may come to perplex the then existing order of things; but the same fact intimates that the same doctrines are unlikely to cause much perplexity sooner. Doctrines in economics are caviare to the general. Measures themselves are disposed of according to men's interests as they understand them. Real mischief is done only when a man sacrifices his own interest, which he really understands, to the interest of somebody else, which he is certain not to understand. Should this principle come to govern the American people in their politico-economic policy, it is conceivable that George's single tax doctrine should then present a plausible aspect in practical politics. Meantime, the whole question is one of speculative interest only, and the interest attaching to Mr. George

is grounded mainly in the gratitude due to all who give their fellows a new thing to dispute over.

WORDS INTENDED TO BE SEVERE.
New York Tribune, September 2.

The return of Henry George from a tour around the world is the signal for the organization of the single tax societies of various cities and states into a national league. The leader of this movement is reticent respecting his plans of future work, but bluntly announces that he is not a candidate either for the mayoralty or for congress. With the democracy rapidly advancing toward free trade, as he confidently asserts, he probably consoles himself with the reflection that he will have sufficient occupation in national politics even if the single tax party does not give him much to do at once. Mr. George's intimation that the anti-poverty movement is to receive active support from the Salvation army does not interest his followers so much as the chance of securing the co-operation of the democracy. The single tax convention is making advances in that direction and greeting Mr. Cleveland's name with cheers. We trust that the president of the league will lose no time in drawing out the William street statesman's views on the single tax.

THE DAY IS DAWNING.
The Christian, New York.

The remarkable gathering of single tax men in New York speaks for itself. Mr. George says, "The hand of God is in this movement." As we looked at the faces of the thoughtful men last Wednesday evening, and listened to their words of, in some cases, passionate eloquence, we could not doubt it. Clergymen, doctors, lawyers, editors, au hors and poets, were there. They came "from the east, from the north, from the west and the south"—what for? For the cause of suffering humanity. These men declare emphatically that we are the children of one common Father, and that He made the earth for all of us, not for a few. Men and women of America, the day is dawning. Right shall conquer might, and so the "kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our God."

THE SINGLE TAX CONVENTION.
Boston Globe.

The convention of the followers of Henry George, which for the past three days has packed Cooper union, day and evening, will call renewed attention to a plan of economic reform which seems to be steadily gaining in public favor, both in this country and abroad. Mr. George has just returned from a tour around the globe, undertaken with the special purpose of stimulating the growth of the single tax idea in Australia, at the invitation of the liberal party there. He was received with great distinction by governors, mayors and legislatures. He remained there several months, speaking to immense audiences nearly every night. The Australian newspapers printed verbatim reports of his speeches and long editorials commenting upon them. In England Mr. George found a remarkable growth of his plan in popular favor, as well as among educated people who have given long and careful attention to the more fundamental problems of government. The single tax conference in New York was called at this time to celebrate the homecoming of the founder and leader of the movement. Delegates were present from almost every state.

There are abundant evidences that the single tax plan, in a somewhat modified form, is rapidly gaining ground. The whole tendency of the times is toward the simplification of taxation. In this city so conservative a citizen as Mr. Jonathan A. Lane has made a close approach to the single tax in the dual tax which he advocates on land and buildings. Mr. William Lloyd Garrison is an outspoken advocate of the single tax, pure and simple—a tax on land values only, with all other taxes abolished. In New York the bitter prejudice which was aroused by the George-Hewitt campaign for the mayoralty in 1886, and by subsequent events, has been much allayed. The other day so conservative a paper as the New York Times editorially indorsed the single tax as "the ideal system of taxation; unattainable without long agitation, but resting on irrefragable logic." In Pennsylvania Chauncey F. Black, democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, is the leader of the movement, and many of the democratic societies indorse it. The Knights of Labor have incorporated it in their platform, and

some of the Farmers' alliances in the west and south have done the same. Many democratic members of congress are known to be in favor of it. It is claimed that the single tax theory is really an extension of Jeffersonian democracy. Some of Jefferson's utterances are quoted in support of it.

The convention formulated a national platform, which begins by "asserting as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." But among these "inalienable rights" the single taxers include the right to the use of land, that being an essential of every man's existence. Lands, mines and all natural opportunities belong equally to all the people, they say, and the value, rent or revenues from them should go into the public treasury as taxes, instead of into private pockets. But there should be no tax on any of the products of labor. They would abolish the tariff and the internal revenue system, as well as all state, city and town taxes, excepting only the single tax on the value of land, which they would raise as high as might be necessary to provide the revenues. Some of them would raise it still higher, until all ground rent should be absorbed into the public treasury, and land became valueless except for use. The railroads and telegraphs would be run by the state.

This is a very interesting programme, and in some respects ideal, but the New York Times is probably right in saying that it is unattainable without long agitation.

THE SINGLE TAXERS.
Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

Mr. Henry George is one of the celebrated men of our times; his great work, "Progress and Poverty," is famous, and has been translated into many languages. To the general public, however, he is but one of the many thousands of agitators scattered throughout the country, and his single tax organization is simply one among a host of crank parties. His activity is incomparably less a factor in politics here in his native land than in either England or Australia. The free trade aspect of his movement gives it more claim upon popular attention than its essential characteristic of the single tax, and he is often vaguely lumped with Edward Bellamy as belonging to the class of impracticable social reformers, when, as a matter of fact, they are at opposite poles of thought.

In this country, where the agricultural interest predominates, a proposal to concentrate all taxation upon land is not likely to attract the attention of practical politicians. The aim of every state legislature, the struggle of every tax commissioner, is to get at personal property; and yet when it is perceived that all the transactions of agriculture, manufactures and commerce may be resolved into the working over and sorting of the bounties of nature by adding thereto the art and industry of man, it will be understood that there is a philosophical basis for a scheme of taxation which reaches the source of all wealth at the fountain head. Free trade is simply an incident of the scheme; for all revenue being derived from the natural value of the land irrespective of improvements, there is no place for duties or imports of any kind upon the products of labor. It is a thoroughly cosmopolitan scheme which contemplates all mankind as belonging to the same family, and ignores the possibility of hostile national interests.

In England, where there has been an immense development of population within a small area, and where land monopoly has had so arrogant a growth, the land question is in the rank of practical issues, and Henry George's doctrine is receiving serious consideration. His speeches in that country are fully reported in the papers, and single tax meetings call out huge audiences. There, if anywhere, experimentation in that direction is most likely to begin. In this country the natural resources are still so vast that the social circumstances of the nation as a whole are analogous to those of the southern planters before the war, who were good humoredly indifferent to the waste and negligence that marked their style of living, because they had plenty and to spare.

ABOLITION OR REFORM?
St. Louis Republic, September 2.

At the New York meeting of the Single tax league Mr. Henry George expresses the confident, but we think mistaken,

opinion that the democratic party will soon be in favor of the complete abolition of the tariff. Under Mr. George's plan, many features of which he has borrowed from Jefferson, the taxes for the support of the federal government would have to be raised by apportionment among the states. The custom house and the internal revenue system would be abolished together, and all federal taxes would be raised in the states by the state and county officers who now collect state and county taxes. Undoubtedly this would greatly simplify the federal system and would remove the enormous pressure from the federal treasury. If the people of the states raised their direct tax rate every time they huzzed for "the old flag" and an appropriation they would learn to stand by the old flag without the appropriation. Under the system of direct taxes, apportioned among the states, federal expenses would undoubtedly be cut down from a third to a half of the present rate, and the prices of the manufactured necessities of life would be reduced at least forty per cent.

Mr. George is so impressed with these advantages that they make him over sanguine in his judgment. He is mistaken in believing that the democratic party is ready for tariff abolition, and the apportionment of direct taxes among the states in the ratio of population as provided for in the constitution. When the issue is squarely joined between the prohibitory tariff, proposed in the Chicago platform and illustrated in the McKinley bill, and complete abolition of all custom houses, all who have sense enough to favor liberty, justice and decency will be ready to stand for abolition. But as long as there is any hope of reforming the tariff to a revenue basis, and so ridding it of its worst injustice and greatest oppression, the democratic party is in favor of tariff reform and the maintenance of an average tariff rate not exceeding thirty per cent. It may be that abolition will be forced as the issue by those who are determined that there shall be no reform; but, in the meantime, men who, like Mr. George and Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, insist that abolition is already the issue, are anticipating the doubtful possibilities of the future. It is altogether probable that if the republicans are soundly whipped in November they will become so much more reasonable than they are now that they will consent to a reduction instead of the outrageous increase of taxation they propose in the McKinley bill.

THE SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.
St. Paul Globe.

The single tax conference held in New York yesterday and the day before is a notable event, and yet its results are not liable to have a disturbing effect on national politics for a good many years to come. The single tax is a remote ideal; still, the results of the New York conference will lead to a discussion and agitation of the Henry George theory, and perhaps will serve to make it better understood.

It must have been gratifying to Mr. George, on his return from a trip around the world, to discover the growth of his single tax idea. When he went away he was the only public advocate of his hobby. He came back to be greeted by a convention of four or five hundred representatives of single tax leagues, representing about thirty different states. It was the evidence of the progress his ideas have been making within the last few years.

It is noteworthy, however, that Mr. George's doctrines have undergone a good deal of revision and modification since he first put them forward. The former denunciation of the private ownership of land, the contention that all land belonged by right to the community, and the proposition that the state should confiscate and hold in its own possession all land regardless of the vested rights of individuals—all these theories have been abandoned, and the single tax idea reduced to a more practical form. As now announced it is not so visionary or revolutionary. The single tax as now interpreted ignores or neglects the question of title and ownership in land, and simply maintains that all revenue should be derived from a tax upon land values apart from their improvements.

As we have stated, the single tax proposition is a remote ideal. It is too full of subtleties to commend itself to popular approval without a vast deal of argument and explanation. There must be a long agitation and many progressive advances before it can become popular,

And yet, despite the popular prejudice against it, the single tax proposition possesses some advantages. Although unattainable for a good while to come, it presents more nearly than anything else that has yet been suggested the ideal system of taxation. It would reduce taxation to absolute simplicity, and would bring the greatest ratio of revenue with the smallest cost and difficulty of collection. In these respects, at least, it would remove serious defects in the existing system of taxation. We fail to see how it could accomplish that relief from poverty which its advocates claim, but we do see that it must afford the very largest measure of individual and commercial freedom. It would at least establish a free trade which would be exempt from restriction and perversion by public authority.

In view of these facts, the single tax movement inaugurated in New York yesterday promises to bring Mr. George's theory within the range of practical discussion and feasible legislation. The great masses of the people are always willing to listen and to learn. The organization of a national league is done for the purpose of bringing this question directly to public notice, and to make the effort to revolutionize public sentiment in favor of Mr. George's scheme. Still, there must be a vast deal of this process of revolutionizing public sentiment before the single tax proposition can become a practical question in politics and legislation.

SINGLE TAX AND FREE TRADE.
Minneapolis Tribune, September 2.

The single tax advocates had a great gathering in New York yesterday. The meeting was timed so as to welcome the chief apostle of the faith, Henry George, on his return from Australia, and to secure his leadership in forming a national organization. The single taxers seem to be a growing faction, although they are not yet numerous enough to aspire to having their own presidential ticket, so they have decided to put none in the field in 1892, but to throw their vote for the candidate and party that comes nearest to their ideal. There were 420 delegates who assembled in Cooper union, representing constituencies in nearly all the states. The irrepressible Minneapolis agitator, C. J. Buell, was there, so was Brokaw, of South Dakota, who so ably conducts the single tax department of the Watertown Journal. The single tax fad has not made any very great headway in the northwest, as land here is yet plenty, and is largely held in speculative hands; but the new creed numbers some very strong adherents among the business men of the cities. As the country becomes more densely settled and land harder to obtain, it may be expected to make more rapid progress, as it has done in the eastern states, and more notably still in England and Scotland. The drawback to the movement under Henry George's leadership is that it is coupled with unadulterated and uncompromising free trade. One of the prominent delegates yesterday averred that it was nonsense to talk of tariff reform, but that the whole talk should be of free trade, pure and simple. This country has hardly got to the point yet where it is ready to abandon the protective idea altogether—specially not just as the magnificent idea of reciprocity, or of getting trade concessions from foreign governments in return for the repeal of duties, has been opened up by Mr. Blaine and is in a fair way of adoption by the republican party. This idea, if carried to its logical conclusion, will give us ultimate free trade, but free trade under which our own products and manufactures will move without restriction to foreign markets. With this prospect in view, the mass of American voters are not going to hasten to join Henry George and his disciples in a crusade for the unconditional repeal of all duties on foreign imports coupled with a proposition to raise all the revenue required for both national and local purposes by the imposition of a single tax on land values. The single taxers might make more rapid progress if they would disassociate their propaganda from the ultra free trade agitation. Both together make rather a strong dose for a conservative stomach.

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT.
Minneapolis Journal.

The organization of the National single tax league in New York yesterday will call public attention more directly, perhaps, to this Georgian movement which has been quietly gathering strength for the past few years. Single tax propaganda has been rather quiet of late,

There has been no bubbling enthusiasm in this country. It is not a noisy movement.

But it seems to be gaining ground. Single tax clubs abound in thirty states of the Union. There are fifteen in Pennsylvania, twenty-five in New York, fifteen in Ohio, thirteen in Massachusetts, and so on. The movement as seen in the single tax clubs does not champion George's compulsory nationalization-of-land scheme. The single tax man is a reformer with a plausible economic platform. He proposes to abolish all taxes upon labor and its products; in fact, the programme is to abolish all taxes, national, state and municipal, except the one tax levied on the value of land irrespective of improvements. All values created by improvement or use of the land are relieved of taxation, so that land owners would pay just as much for holding land idle as for utilizing or improving it.

This saddles the heaviest taxation on the urban property. The scheme, analyzed, is a discrimination against land owners. Thus, while the equalization of taxation is very desirable, in this scheme, land values must pay the whole expense of government. To meet the objections Henry George parades, with much insistence, his land nationalization scheme. He keeps it out of the single tax movement; but it does not require an extraordinary intellect to perceive that land nationalization is the corollary and complement of the single tax scheme. In no way can land taxation be equalized save by making the government the landlord and making one common pool of the land of the country so that each individual, as in the Russian land system, shall have his land rights.

Now, land nationalization, talk as Henry George will in its favor, is virtual conscription. He begins with the plausible single tax theory and winds up with the nationalization, under which the people pay land rent to the state.

You do not find nationalization in the single tax platform, but it is imbedded in the spirit of the scheme. The ultimate of single tax exploitation is land nationalization.

Henry George needn't have come back to America to discover that its inhabitants succeeded in sitting down on his single tax without hurting themselves.—[Philadelphia Times.]

The single tax convention at New York has received a good deal of newspaper notice, but the time seems far distant when any considerable portion of the people of this country will consent to see land bear all the burdens of taxation. Unhappily that is now the practical effect of a good deal of republican tariff legislation, and is just the thing against which the toiling masses are most vigorously protesting.—[Richmond, Va., Dispatch.]

The growth of the single tax movement is one of the most remarkable among the movements of the day. It is the most radical departure, perhaps, of modern times, and it is concrete. It is not in the air, a statement of things to be desired like Bellamy's "Looking Backward." It is a direct effort to do something. Its progress is emphasized by the reception given to Henry George in New York last night on the occasion of his return from his world tour and by the convention of single tax clubs which is held there, 420 delegates, representing single tax clubs from thirty-two states and the District of Columbia being present.—[Indianapolis News.]

Henry George has been welcomed back from his trip around the world with much enthusiasm, his presence at a Cooper institute meeting night before last assuming the shape of an ovation. Mr. George was very pessimistic as to the present, but optimistic as to the future. He was introduced by Judge Maguire of California and was greeted with tremendous applause. He had returned, he said, with a firmer faith and a clearer hope. He was not proud, however, of the republic, and he gave some reasons why, one being the spectacle presented by the present congress in paying for the money which was raised "to buy the last presidential election." But he had a strong hope for the future. "Freedom is not here yet," he said, "but she will come; yes, she is coming."—[Albany Press and Knickerbocker.]

A PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILLMENT.
St. Louis Freedom.

1870.

Look around to-day. Lo, here, now, in our civilized society, the old allegories

yet have a meaning, the old myths are still true. Into the Valley of the Shadow of Death yet often leads the path of duty, through the streets of Vanity Fair walk Christian and Faithful, and on Great-heart's armor ring the clanging blows. Ormuzd still fights with Ahriman—the Prince of Light with the Powers of Darkness. He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call.

How they call, and call, and call till the heart swells that hears them! Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now. Beauty still lies imprisoned, and iron wheels go over the good and true and beautiful that might spring from human lives.

And they who fight with Ormuzd, though they may not know each other—somewhere, sometime, will the muster roll be rolled.—[Progress and Poverty, 1890.]

Next Monday, September 1, the national single tax conference convenes in New York. Five hundred delegates, representing nearly every state and territory in the Union, will be present. Truly, the duke of Argyll unwittingly gave utterance to a great truth when he derisively named Mr. George "The Prophet of San Francisco."

PERSONAL.

Mr. W. D. Williams, treasurer of the Manhattan single tax club, who nine weeks ago went to Europe on a vacation, returned home last Sunday evening. He visited the rooms of the club shortly after his arrival, and was enthusiastically welcomed by his friends. He says he enjoyed himself hugely while on his trip; but, sad to say, he brought back none of the promised golden club wealth.

Mr. F. Latus of Creamery, Montana, has in the current number of the Creamery Chronicle a carefully and well written article on the single tax, which is highly approved by the editor, who invites those holding contrary opinions to submit their views to his paper for publication.

The Weekly News of Woodsville, N. H., says that Eder Hammond of Swiftwater "once in a while verges toward secularism in the pulpit. Some time ago he 'woke up' his congregations in favor of the Australian ballot, and last Sunday he gave the 'single tax' a rousing send-off."

LUXURY AND HARD LUCK.

TWO ITEMS FROM A CITY PAPER THAT FORM DELICIOUS CONTRASTS OF LIGHT AND SHADE.
New York World.

There is a pretty blonde at the Mansion who, while ignoring any personal adornment with jewels herself, lavishes a wealth of beautiful diamonds on an ugly and diminutive pug dog, which is her inseparable companion. She is decidedly masculine in her dress, and treats the seashore dude with a haughty air which borders on contempt. Her home is in Germantown, Philadelphia, and her acquaintances there know her as an expert questrienne and a crack shot. She never wears jewelry of any kind, although her collection of diamonds easily exceeds \$5,000 in value. But her "dear puggie" fairly glitters when he is dressed for the promenade, and besides wearing diamond earrings that would be the envy of any society belle, he has a collar around his puny neck which is studded with no less than sixteen pure white gems. This aristocratic little canine has a number of outfits which are liberally sprinkled with diamonds, and altogether would be a rich prize for a smart sneak thief.

Edward North, a match peddler, was arraigned before Justice Kenna in the Gates avenue police court yesterday on the charge of peddling without a license.

"Why, North," said the magistrate, "I've seen you before."

"Yes, sir," was the reply.

"When and under what circumstances?" asked the magistrate.

"Early last week. But, your honor, I just got out of jail and was trying to sell the matches in order to get money for a license. I didn't have time to go to the man that gives the license," pleaded North.

"Very sorry for you," said Justice Kenna, "but the law must be obeyed. The last time I gave you five days. Now you will pay a fine of \$10 or go back to jail for ten days."

"Judge, I haven't got the money and don't want to go to jail. These matches are worth \$13, and if you will take them and let me off, all right," said the peddler.

"This is not a pawnbroker's shop," said the magistrate, "and the clerk whose duty it is to collect fines is not a licensed auctioneer, consequently the matches cannot be sold."

And the poor peddler went back to the pen and wept as if his heart would break.

A SIGHT TO MARVEL AT.

Louisville Courier-Journal.

Christopher Colon Columbus Columbus, if he were to revisit the earth, would be very much astonished to see preparations for a world's fair in a country whose policy is to keep out everything produced by foreigners.

HER FATE TO-DAY.

Frances M. Mine in Weekly Star, San Francisco.

A plain pine box in a small ante-room at the morgue has attracted much attention during the past few days. The body was that of a medium sized, divinely formed young girl of eighteen years, who was known as Edith M. Cook. It was clad in a linen shroud, and the rich, soft, wavy, brown tresses formed the setting to a face that in death was one of surpassing loveliness. "That child," said Keeper White yesterday, "is the loveliest body that has ever been brought to the morgue; I could not bear to put her among the common herd, so I placed her by herself," which accounts for her story being published. The little orphan secured a position as nursery governess in a family in Philadelphia. Her beauty led to her discharge, after a refusal to listen to the proposals of the master of the household. She came to New York and became a waitress in a Nassau street restaurant, at a salary of \$3 a week and board. She hired a small room uptown, for which she paid \$2 a week. As this, with her car fare, consumed more than her salary, little by little she was forced to part with her clothing. One cold day she came to work clad in a thin dress, with no sack. Pneumonia set in, and she died at the hospital Thursday. The body was removed to the morgue.—[New York Herald.]

Where airy height on height in church towers soaring,

Chime answers chime,
Where the great organ's solemn anthem telleth

Of love sublime;
Where, hushed in reverent priestly intonation,

Low voices pray;
How should it be thy shame, O, Christian city—

Her fate to-day!

Where wealth of mine, of loom, of golden harvest,
Within thy gates

Is richly stored—all labor's varied treasure
Thy call awaits;

Where earth, and air, and sea, are largess pouring
For outstretched palm,

How should it be to this fair child thou givest
One boon—death's calm!

Where, square on square, thy spacious homes out-rival

A regal state;
And wealth and pleasure, like the genii olden,
Attendant wait;

Where the soft couch invites to softer sleeping;
Where feast is spread:

How should there be this tardy shelter only,
For dying head?

Look on that form of Nature's finest moulding—
That perfect face!

Where woman's loveliness and thought are blending
With childhood's grace;

More terrible than loudest imprecation,
Those silenced lips

Witness against thee, Christian city!—telling
Thy pride's eclipse.

O, God! requite it not—her youth's dread anguish!

The hollow show,
In which we worship Thee with pompous seeming,

Rebuke—lay low!
Awake, O soul of man! 'Tis Justice calls thee!

Wake! ere too late.
For even now, within the storm cloud's throbbing,

The lightnings wait!

LONG LEASES AND TAXATION.

THE TENDENCY IS TO LESSEN TAXES ON IMPROVEMENTS AND INCREASE THEM ON LAND VALUES—LET THE LEASE HOLDERS BEWARE.
Chicago News.

The ninety-nine-year lease is becoming the special feature of real estate transactions. Its popularity rapidly increases, and it is the occasion of considerable discussion in and out of speculative circles. Some very notable "deals" of this nature have recently been made in Chicago, and many others are in contemplation, owners having caught a fancy for the long-time lease, which has such obvious advantages over the old-wright alienation of the fee simple, while investors and users also see attractive possibilities in the system.

But there is one phase of this business which no one seems to have noticed, although it is extremely important, or at least likely to become so. We refer to the matter of taxation. By the usual terms of the ninety-nine-year leases, or a majority of them, as it appears, the lessees are bound to pay the taxes. The owner exacts a given percentage on a fixed valuation, and expressly stipulates that all assessments, general and special, shall be paid by the party of the second part. As far as the special assessments go this provision need not involve any particular hardship, but the general tax may come to mean a good deal more than it does at present.

It now means very little comparatively, but the tendency in Chicago, and in fact, throughout this country and the British empire, is toward a heavier tax on the value of land. In Boston the Merchants' association has seriously considered the advisability of removing all taxes on personal property (including money, merchandise, machinery, etc.), and in Portland, Oregon, the board of trade has adopted resolutions in favor of taxing only land values, exempting all other forms of property. The Knights of Labor advocate this proposition, and the Texas federation of labor, the Missouri farmers, and the majority of the alliances throughout the country take a somewhat similar ground, while such newspapers as the New York Times, the Toronto Globe, the Detroit Evening News, the Harrisburg Patriot, the Memphis Appeal, the Memphis Avalanche, the Evansville Courier, the Hamilton, Ont., Times, and the Buffalo Times sedulously discredit the existing methods of

taxation, and with more or less directness advocate the abolition of all taxes on labor or the products of labor. Over 1,000 rural papers are now printing matter bearing in the same direction, and there are scores of active clubs throughout the United States whose energies are concentrated in favor of the taxation of land values alone.

Further than this, there is now a petition preparing to be presented to the next congress praying that honorable body to appoint "a special committee for the purpose of making a full inquiry into, and report upon, the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax on the value of land, exclusive of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise." Nearly 100,000 persons have signed this petition, and the signatures continue to pour in from every quarter of the Union. But this proposed inquiry is to be anticipated by one on the same lines which the United States commissioner of labor has decided to undertake, and it is probable that within a year or two people will have abundant data to draw upon in the discussion of this interesting question of taxation.

Of course all these facts and circumstances have a bearing. They show an economic tendency that is decidedly interesting, and that may lead to changes of a vital character. It therefore becomes a matter of present importance to consider the probable effects of the new principle which it is proposed to introduce. One thing is obvious. If taxes on other things are to be lessened or abolished, the tax on land values must be increased. We see right here in Chicago how the agitation has begun to work. The tax on private property is dwindling; that on bare land values is more than correspondingly increasing. It is merely a question of keeping on until there will be no tax on personal property, and the whole burden will rest on land and its improvements, it, meanwhile, even improvements do not escape by legal enactment or the force of public opinion. Then what must be the effect in the case of the lessee under a ninety-nine year lease or under any other lease which binds the lessee to pay all the taxes? Obviously his burden must become very heavy, perhaps unbearable. He will be paying to the landlord presumably the full annual ground rent, and on top of this the state will pile a heavy weight of taxes, which he may not find it easy to shift.

To the community at large such a change in the incidence of taxation might be beneficial. It would certainly be in the direction of simplicity and economy, but to the lessee it could be little less than crushing. His only escape would be in suffering his lease to fall in, thus putting the burden over upon the shoulders of the owner. This would involve litigation and loss, unless a plan could be devised for legally annulling the terms of the contract between lessor and lessee. The latter can raise no valid objection to an increase of taxation. He has taken the property subject to the implied conditions of every title to land which has been given by the government, and if he finds that as between the landlord and the state he is being crushed to death, he will have only his own folly to blame, for he might have read the signs of the times, if he had cared to do so, and these all indicate that land values are to be taxed more and other things less or not at all.

SOMEWHAT "SARCASMIC."

Chicago News.

The farmers who had a pretty good lot of silver bars on hand when the silver bill was passed, are certainly entitled to the congratulations of the country. As we told them in advance, the price of silver has jumped right up, and it is still booming, with a good prospect that it will touch high water mark within a few weeks. Of course, this is just what the farmers have been longing for, and most of them will undoubtedly take advantage of this sudden wave of prosperity to float clear of debt. If they don't, then let them hold their peace. The silver bill was passed for their especial benefit, and if they neglect to unload their silver when a good market has been supplied by Uncle Sam himself, they certainly will have no title to sympathy.

GREAT IS PROTECTION—FOR THE SHERIFF.

Chicago Herald.

The sheriffs of Kansas are doing a very large real estate business. Their specialty is acre property—farm lands. During the first six months of this year they sold 1,103 farms—a number much in excess of any previous half year. If the McKinley bill should pass they can see no reason why the boom should not continue right along. Protection is a great thing for the sheriffs.

SENSIBLE ADVICE.

York, Pa., Gazette.

It seems to us that the frequent failure of strikes to bring to strikers desired results, to bring to them ought but disappointment, discomfiture, chagrin and serious pecuniary loss, should prompt them, not to cower in despair before the often brazen front of concentrated capital, but to seek other means of redress for their wrongs.

A FULL FIELD.

New York World.

A missionary, just arrived from the east, met, at the outskirts of a Kansas settlement, a boy with a pole on his shoulder.

"Ah, my boy," said the good man, "going fishing I see? I, too, am something of a fisherman—I am a fisher of men."

"Y u won't catch much in this town," replied the boy; "thar's seven real estate agents here now."

LET'S KEEP THEM FOR OUR HOME MARKET.

London Illustrated News.

Americans are complaining that their heiresses all leave them to marry English peers, and a syndicate has actually been formed, with the motto, "American Girls for American Men" to check what they call "free trade in heiresses."

THE CONFERENCE.

A TRULY NATIONAL GATHERING
OF ABLE AND EARNEST MEN.

FULL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS—NAMES
OF THE DELEGATES—ROUSING RECEPTION TO
HENRY GEORGE—A GREAT FREE TRADE SIN-
GLE TAX MASS MEETING—SPEECHES MADE AT
THE CLOSING SESSION—THE PLATFORM—THE
DINNER AT CONEY ISLAND.

The first national conference of the single tax clubs of the United States convened at Cooper union on Monday afternoon, September 1. Nearly every state in the Union was represented, and the reports made by the delegates showed that the movement is rapidly spreading.

It was 2:30 o'clock when William T. Croasdale, chairman of the enrolment committee, called the convention to order.

Mr. Croasdale said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my privilege, and a privilege of which I am proud, to call to order the first single tax national conference ever assembled in the United States. (Applause.) This conference, as you know—and it is not necessary that we should go into elaborate explanations about it—is called by the single tax enrolment committee, at the request of the various single tax organizations, to whom the question of a conference was submitted. The single tax enrolment committee has always assured people of the fact that it was a voluntary association, claiming no authority whatever. But as various organizations and individuals had intimated from time to time a desire for a gathering of single tax men that would enable us to consult together as to the best means of promoting our cause, in course of time and at the direct suggestion of a man whose suggestions we are accustomed to heed, Mr. Henry George (applause and cheers), the committee issued to the various clubs a request to state their desire on the subject.

There came from a majority of the most active clubs a request that that committee should call this conference, and the committee acceded to the request. It is therefore as representing the various single tax organizations, that I stand here, as chairman of the enrolment committee, to call this conference to order and to take the first initiatory steps toward its organization. The call required not that every man who came into this conference should be himself a representative of some single tax organization. It called rather for a gathering of single tax men and proposed a form of representation that should give to the men gathered together a proper guarantee that all here come as single tax men. And for that reason the committee suggested that credentials should be sent by the various clubs, and it offered, of its own motion, to certify to the single tax men's single taxism who did not live in towns where organizations existed.

Now that is the extent of our powers in this matter—to enable this conference to find out what it consists of. The conference will make rules, which shall govern its deliberations and doubtless take action that will pave the way for carrying our principles forward to victory. But for a time you are a sort of infant industry. (Laughter.) The enrolment committee has therefore selected from the best known single tax men who came here a committee on credentials to which those who have credentials can send them and prepare the way for work by a report which will certify that such and such men constitute the roll of this conference. It seemed necessary to take initiatory steps somewhere, and therefore the enrolment committee met this morning and selected as a committee to examine the credentials Mr. George, St. John Leavens of Connecticut, Mr. James R. Carret of Boston, Mr. William McCabe of New York, Mr. A. J. Moxham of Pennsylvania, Mr. Chas. S. Walker of Cincinnati, Mr. J. G. Ripley of Chicago, Dr. W. N. Hill of Baltimore, Mr. H. L. Buss of San Francisco, Cal., and Mr. William Callaghan of Camden, N. J. If that committee will retire to the ante-room here at the left and the gentlemen of the conference will send in whatever they have in the shape of credentials, the committee will be able to prepare in a short time the official roll of the conference. Let those who are isolated and do not come from clubs send in their names. I will now ask that order be maintained so that the secretary of the enrolment committee may read the call for the conference.

Mr. G. St. J. Leavens read the call while the committee named retired to receive the names of the members of the conference.

Mr. Croasdale announced that he had received a telegram from Dr. Hill that he could not be present immediately, and therefore named Mr. J. W. Jones of Baltimore to serve on the committee on credentials in his stead. Mr. Croasdale then delivered an address of welcome to the delegates. He said:

We have not been tempted to follow the customary rules of political parties, and I must plead that as an excuse for failing to open this conference with the usual address of welcome, I thought it would be better to facilitate the retirement of the committee on credentials. You have now listened to the call which represents the purpose of those who proposed this conference. It is for the conference to decide for itself as to the scope of its work. The call was issued to those who believe not merely in the single tax, but in the policy which during the past two or three years has made the single tax more and more the one great topic of conversation among all the men who look outside of mere partisan politics to the principles that underlie government. (Applause.) During the time that this committee is absent I doubt if I can do better than substitute for the usual formal address of welcome a very brief suggestion, at least, of the history of this movement during the time that it has borne the name of the single tax. In "Progress and Poverty" is laid down the gospel that we believe, and is pointed out the way in which that gospel should be applied. (Applause.) Had Henry George (applause) written a mere essay to show that labor, and capital as well, are growing more and more depressed under an economic condition that calls for a change, he would have done that which hundreds have done or attempted to do. Had he merely undertaken to search as a philosopher for the cause of this evil, he would have rendered a far greater service, in proportion to the success he achieved. But whatever other men may say, we single taxers at least claim, and we are proud to make the claim, that Henry George (applause) first put his finger on the sore spot in the body politic; that he found the cause of the evil that is drawing down human society, that has wrecked empires and that will wreck this republic if it be not remedied. But we hold further that, not stopping at pointing out that evil, not stopping with the work of the mere philosopher, Henry George became the constructive statesman who showed the world the remedy for the evil. (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, the man who pointed out that remedy declared in the very book, of which some who have professed to accept it have forgotten one chapter, that the way to apply practically the principles that he then proclaimed was not to engage in some vague sort of war declaring in favor of the common ownership of the earth that we inhabit, but to get there by levying a tax on land values. And the test of the appreciation of that philosopher, the test of the man's fitness to apply it, and to be of use in applying it, is that he does understand the single tax and proposes to work for the single tax. (Applause.) I therefore take it that this conference is not called merely in order to formulate the doctrines that we hold in common. That is a necessary portion of its duty, not for our instruction, but in order to tell the men, who ignorantly reject them, because they do not understand them, again and again what they mean. But this conference, if I understand it rightly, has met here in order that it may undertake to say to this country, "These are the principles that we believe in, and this is the plan on which we propose to work for these principles." And so please God, we will work together on that plan (great applause), not until this man and that man and the other man may agree with our ideas, but until they are written finally in the laws of this country and the world. (Applause.)

There are various ways in which this can be attempted. How does the conference propose to accomplish it? What way does it propose to adopt? If we were to sit here and say, "This is what we believe in, and we think it ought to be accomplished in some way," we might go home feeling good, but you would have wasted the money you paid to come here. We must come to an understanding as to what we propose to do under existing circumstances to help along the cause to which we are devoted. We are not here a conference of dreamers, we are a conference of men drawn together not by mere dreams, nor even by mere theories, but by the conscious fellowship that comes from working shoulder to shoulder in a definite direction for a good cause. (Applause.) When the single tax enrolment committee came into existence the work had already been begun. After the disastrous campaign of 1887 in this state—and it is not necessary for me to tell you how deep that disaster was—after this disastrous campaign it became evident to every man who worked for the single tax and wanted to see the single tax succeed by American methods, through the ballot, that two things were necessary; that we must have a pure ballot (great applause), and that we should work along lines which gave us the hope of influencing our fellow men to work with us for so much of the truth as they could see. Out of that consciousness had already come through our New York platform and otherwise from single tax men the declaration in favor of the Australian system of voting. (Applause.) And I tell you that wherever you look in the history of the successes that have been won in behalf of that system you will find cropping up the names of the very men who sit here and the men with whom they worked in the several states. I have a personal knowledge of this matter, and I proclaim it as a fact that no man will attempt to deny, that the single tax men of New York fought for and won ballot

reform. (Applause.) If my knowledge were equal I have no doubt that I could speak with as much positiveness for the single tax men in every state in which ballot reform has been accomplished.

But we also saw that there was something else to be done. As our good friend and faithful soldier, Louis F. Post (applause), told us, Mr. George after the disastrous election of 1887 had said: "There is a wall before us; we can go no further in that direction." And that was in the direction of political independent action through a third party movement. Some of you gentlemen have not been in that. I tell you to take counsel with the burned fingers of the New York men who have been in it. (Laughter.) It was perfectly clear that in that direction we could go no further. On the cast of that die depended the success of the single tax. President Cleveland's message (great applause and repeated cheers) came to the democratic party, constituting nearly one half the people of the United States, precisely as came the fiat of Almighty God to the clay of which Adam was made, saying: "Rise up and be a man!" (Great applause.) And it was when that came that Henry George saw the sunburst and proclaimed the fact that here at last is a path which leads our way with certainty, however little. He then proclaimed the doctrine and the policy out of which grew this single tax movement, which up to that time never had had such a name. I want you to remember that history because it is important in order to consider the ways and means of effective work. We have the light of experience to guide us. I tell you, gentlemen, there has been something more than a mere increase in the interest taken in the single tax movement. There has been a breaking down of the blind, besotted prejudices that have stood like a wall in our way. There has been a growing receptivity for our doctrines. There has been a growing sympathy for what they represent.

And so when we went into that campaign for the man you so wisely cheered, President Cleveland, to whose courage we owe the fact that the present economic discussion is raging through this country, then began the movement out of which sprang the clubs that are represented in this conference to-day. I speak with some knowledge, because before that enrolment committee began its work I did my best to find out how many single tax clubs there were. I do not remember how many now, but I do know this, that there were not twenty in the United States. There are over a hundred to-day represented in this conference. (Applause.) There are double that number not represented here, because, though active, they have not the means to send men so far. And never before were there such a body of workers for the cause we believe in as can be found in the United States to-day. (Applause.)

Tested, then, by the fruits of experience, trusting to no tradition, we know that the lines on which we have worked, and on which the clubs constituting this conference were organized, are the lines that bring results, that advance the single tax, and the evidences of it are beginning to accumulate.

In the district represented by Congressman Scott Wike, Mr. C. F. Perry, who cannot be here, I am sorry to say, a democrat who espoused the single tax cause without leaving the democratic party, as chairman of the committee on resolutions secured the adoption of a platform which contains as clear cut free trade doctrine as could be asked for by any of us. (Applause.) And in Indiana, whose delegation at Chicago some years ago I myself saw protest, "For heaven's sake, whatever else you do, don't do anything to offend the protectionists!" (Laughter.) that same state of Indiana, in democratic convention the other day, adopted a resolution declaring that so long as any part of the expenses of the United States are still met by tariff taxes, we insist that such taxation shall be on luxuries rather than on necessities. (Applause.)

And again, but a day or two ago, when the democracy of Minneapolis met they were not satisfied with that. Mr. C. J. Buell, as good a single tax man as ever lived in my sense of the word—by which I mean a man who does something for the single tax—Mr. Buell came forward in that convention and reported not merely a free trade resolution, but a declaration favoring the public ownership of highways and that the taxation of the city should be so adjusted as to promote the growth of building and increase the burdens on vacant land, and thereby give employment to men out of work. (Applause.)

This conference could almost take those planks out of that platform and adopt them as its own.

Are these things not evidence that we are getting along? I take the opportunity that now offers me, because this is my only chance (laughter), to speak as a man who has seen this thing grow, who has worked for it, and who believes that there is no labor problem, except that which calls for the giving to every man free access to that which nature has offered and equal freedom to exchange what he produces for what any other man produces. As a man who would not lower the flag which we have erected on single inch, who is prepared to claim with Jefferson that "this earth belongs in usufruct to the living" (applause), I will say to this conference, put not your trust en-

tirely or chiefly in the best ways of saying, or stating that doctrine, but in endeavoring to do practical work on lines which experience has shown to be the safest to incorporate this doctrine into our laws. Put aside from you all thoughts of attempting to look backward or finding why or wherefore we may have blundered in the past. But having found that through even this pitiful attempt at tariff reform lies the way to free trade, and that free trade is the open door to the single tax (applause), let us lift this banner of "Free Trade, Free Land, Free Men," and stand shoulder to shoulder in working for them, or for whatever measure of either that we can obtain in the order in which they have been put.

And now gentlemen, not having been able to talk as long as the committee on credentials can sit (laughter), I will undertake to suggest that we use the intervening time in speeches, and seeing Mr. Ring of Texas over there, I now call upon him for a speech.

Mr. H. F. Ring of Texas came upon the platform and spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I hardly expected to be called upon to make a speech on this occasion, and especially in such a sudden and unexpected manner. I am sure that I cannot say much that will entertain you, and yet it is possible that I can do a little bit to while away the time until the committee is ready to report. The idea that has brought us together here took possession of me a number of years ago, as I doubt not it has come to many and in fact to all of you—because I can see it in the earnestness which shines from your faces—on reading that great work, "Progress and Poverty." (Applause.) It seemed to me as though a revelation from heaven had pointed out to me the solution of those great evils, which before had baffled any attempts of mine to solve them, and which I had given up as something hopeless and unsolvable. And with the inspiration with which that has inspired me, as it has inspired you, I have been impelled by an irresistible force to do what I could to advance this great cause. (Applause.)

I come from a state which I am proud to say is most favorably situated to receive this doctrine and in which it has already taken deep root. That great state is the paradise of the speculator. In it we have but 12,000,000 of acres in cultivation as against 160,000,000 of acres owned by the speculator. It is the state in which the doctrine of making men who hold land for the purposes of extorting blackmail from their fellow men ("That's the word!" and applause) pay for the privileges which they enjoy, has much support. The conditions there are most favorable for the spread of this doctrine, and thank God, it is spreading.

As to the practical measures by which this movement can be carried forward I, of course, can only speak for those conditions with which I am familiar and which I see around me there. We see there can be no movement of any benefit there otherwise than within the lines of the democratic party. (Applause.)

On account of the race issue, there is drawn a dead line against anything like a third party movement. Nor do we have any difficulty there in carrying on this agitation and spreading the light within that party. We do not experience any disadvantage by reason of our being single tax men or Henry George men as members of that party. On the contrary, if anything we are welcomed additionally up on that ground, and instead of its being a matter rendering one unpopular it tends even now to give popularity to those leaders who have adopted it. (Applause.)

We have in Texas, as all over the south, what is called the Farmers' alliance organization. It is made up of small farmers, of renters in large part. They hold their meetings once in two weeks. Their object is both to benefit themselves by co-operation and matters of that kind, and also for the purpose of discussion and enlightenment upon political measures. These organizations are extremely powerful. They are organized in such a way as makes them grand institutions, so far as political machinery is concerned, and by means of these organizations, in which there are probably fifty or seventy-five thousand members in Texas, they have been enabled, in one of the most exciting canvasses that has been closed in that state, to place in the governor's chair a man who is the representative of the people. (Applause.) I am glad to say that the leaders of these organizations take very favorably to our ideas. I am proud to say that among a great many of them there are avowed and ardent advocates of our cause, and gradually that number is increasing. They have opportunities for discussion and they are embracing those opportunities, and you know by experience, I trust, that it only requires a hearing in order to carry conviction to the hearers.

Then we have our Knights of Labor organizations which are also taking an active part in politics. (Applause.) In many sections they are committed to the single tax. The master workmen are active in our cause, and the single tax doctrine is explained as part of the initiatory ceremonies in those organizations in many places. (Applause.) There is a widespread feeling that something is wrong, that there must be found a remedy for it, and there is a determination to find that remedy by political means and measures. These people propose

to go into politics. They propose to become active participants in controlling and managing the machinery by which political parties are governed and their platforms ultimately dictated. They are in politics for that purpose, and they propose to stay there, and I have no question of our ability within a very short time, an astonishingly short time, to turn this element of dissatisfaction, this element that is looking for a remedy, conclusively and overwhelmingly in our direction. And for one it seems to me that that is the proper course to pursue elsewhere. One man at the primaries is worth a dozen or twenty at other places. There is no way by which you can make the politician respect you so much as by being able to go to the primaries and make your power felt there. (Applause.)

We cannot have political parties with platforms which agree with us at once. Progress is made slowly. It is made practically. It is not made simply by formulating a platform that exactly suits us, and then working for that alone. We must take the best that we can get, and it seems to me that we shall find that in working in harmony with that party which is most nearly with us, that party that is advancing along our line, we are doing the work that should be before us, and so far as I am concerned it seems to me that that is the thing to do. (Applause.)

On the conclusion of Mr. Ring's speech loud calls were made for Judge Maguire, of San Francisco, who, however, merely rose in his seat and bowed his acknowledgment. Dr. Chase, of St. Louis, better known as Pa Chase, or as he is called by the Missourians, "Pa" Chase, was loudly called for, from all parts of the hall.

Dr. Chase said:

Ladies and gentlemen, I didn't expect to be called upon on this occasion, but I have my speech in my pocket. (Laughter.)

Dr. Chase then drew from his pocket a printed address, which he read as follows:

Single Tax Men, My Brothers in the Cause of Freedom: Face to face and hand to hand, we at last meet and exchange thoughts and feelings that have long burned in our hearts.

Taking our education from the prophet of San Francisco, and our inspiration from the God of the universe, we have grown from a very little band, without notice, without heraldry, by the inherent truth of our doctrines, to a body of men who are to day quoted and placed by the politicians among those influences to be feared by partisans and political tricksters.

The great political party in power to-day detests us. (Applause.)

The democratic party looks at us with questioning eyes. (Laughter.) It knows that we touch them kindly at many points, but it fears us as something too radical to indorse.

We single tax men ask no indorsement from any party. We only demand freedom to think, to speak, and to act out those great principles which will, in the near future, establish justice as the standard by which all legislation will be measured.

We single tax men are not a party, and do not propose to form a party, until present parties have dropped to pieces from their own rottenness.

But we do intend to bring all our influence to bear on the democratic party, to force it onward toward the goal dreamed of, thought of, and written about, by the immortal Jefferson. (Applause.)

The republican party is committing suicide. A few months more and it will be buried. To take its place an honest but uneducated party is rapidly forming which sees the disastrous legislation of the republican party, and its utter demoralization in regard to true political economy.

This party is the party of labor; composed of farmers, artisans, and honest producers of wealth in other vocations.

This party must not be opposed; but it must be instructed and held in close sympathy with the democratic party, or the democratic party will be trodden under its feet, in a triumphal march to the front.

The democratic party must be instructed by the single tax men in true political principles; which are nothing more than honesty and reason.

But will that party take advice from the outside? It must, it must, or go back to its bed, where it has been asleep most of the time for fifty years.

The democratic party, child of Thomas Jefferson, has not earned its salt since the days of Andrew Jackson. It has lived on the reputation of its father ever since.

President Cleveland (great applause) took it by the hair and gave it a good shaking, saying, "Wake up, lazy boy, and go to work." And the lazy boy got angry, and said he was more used to being asleep than awake, and so would not obey the summons.

But the republican party, marching that way in offensive pride, gave the democratic party a kick, which sent it out of bed, sprawling.

The kick was a blessing to the party—let us hope it may be to the country.

What, therefore, is the mission of the single tax men?

Their mission is as an educator for all parties; and earnest co-operation with whatever party leads to free trade, free land and free men.

With these principles as the basis of our

mission work, the Benton school of social science has taught that all taxation must be done away with, and the rental value of land, or economic rent, be taken by the community, by whom it is produced, and put into the treasuries of the people.

For the rent of land and government expenses are both caused by population; let one pay for the other.

The Benton school is an abolitionist; and as such demands the abolition of private ownership of land; the abolition of custom houses; the abolition of internal revenue; the abolition of national banks; the abolition of gold and silver money; the abolition of United States bonds; the abolition of the patent office; the abolition of copyright; the abolition of trade marks; the abolition of all laws supporting monopolies; the abolition of all laws for the collection of debts; the abolition of federal interference with the ballot; the abolition of censorship of the press and the mails; the abolition of legal murder.

We demand a national paper currency, having a steady volume per capita, of the people of the United States, a legal tender for all public and private debts.

We demand the Australian system of voting. (Applause.)

We demand that the federal government cease to act as broker or merchant in the products of labor.

And we demand these things because we feel the bonds of slavery.

We are industrial slaves.

In the year 1860 there were 4,000,000 negro slaves in the United States.

The number of industrial slaves were, then, too few to attract attention.

Now there are no negro slaves! but only a century after the Declaration of Independence there are 30,000,000 industrial slaves.

A civil war abolished negro slavery! Shall a civil war abolish industrial slavery? We hope not, and for that reason we are resolved to preach, to work and to vote for justice to all mankind.

But why this conference? Why all this time and money spent in the education of the people?

Did not Thomas Jefferson and the other fathers of the republic make us freemen for all time?

Alas! no! no! and we cannot be free, or give freedom to our children until the bells ring out, the country over, the joyful news—

The land is free!
The land is free!

Why do we single tax men wish the land to be free? It is because we want the wealth. Wealth? Is there not wealth enough? Look around and behold the magnificence of this great city. Does not wealth abound? See its lines of busy streets; fine houses, elegant palaces, towering public buildings, warehouses filled with all the precious things that art can produce, or the human heart desire; clothing, food, adornments.

On the blue waters of the bay, riding at anchor or steaming over its surface, are the most wonderful ships of any age. Beyond are hills, valleys, prairies, beautiful in the varied hues of autumn fields of ripened grain; orchards bending with loads of fruit, delightful to the eye and taste.

Villages, hamlets, cottages surrounded by shrubbery; trees and forest; bountiful gifts of nature. The great plains of the west, alive with the music of the reapers and threshers; and long lines of black smoke indicate the longer lines of freight trains exchanging the labor products between the east and the west.

Beneath the surface of this fair land lie treasures of iron, tin, coal, silver, gold and beautiful stones. Labor, and nothing but labor, makes these gifts of nature valuable to mankind.

The threat of a robber cannot produce wealth. A bond or a mortgage cannot produce wealth. The sneak thieves who water the "stock" of a corporation cannot, thus, produce wealth. Hands and brains, applied to "natural opportunities," produce wealth.

And so it has come; for labor has been busy night and day, in storm and sunshine, in sickness and health, in tears and in joy, day after day, year after year, until now we have the glorious announcement that sixty-five millions of people in these United States have saved, beyond their uses, wealth to the bewildering amount of sixty-five thousand millions of dollars.

Ah, how rich we all are! How comfortable we all are! Yes, yes; it is a happy people who can live in comfort, nay, in luxury, and have left five thousand dollars' worth of wealth for every family of five persons!

What is that I hear? Low murmurs of discontent from the most distant portions of our country; it grows louder and louder and breaks upon my ear in unmistakable words: It's not true that we are rich; it's not true; it's a lie, it's a lie. We are poor, we are very poor; we are oppressed; we have been robbed of all our wealth. There 30,000,000 of us in distress. There are 30,000,000 more of us robbed of half of our wealth. The plutocrats have taken away both our wealth and our liberties.

They say we are lazy, vicious and intemperate. It's a lie, it's a lie, and they know it. They hate us because they have robbed us, and we are ashamed of our poverty and of our chains. In despair we have cried unto the Lord: O Lord, how long shall the oppressor triumph. And the oppressors laugh us to scorn, and say: Go to work, be content

with a starved existence. Hell! This is hell. There is no other. We will rebel, we will boycott, we will strike, we will die rather than live thus.

Alas, alas! This is the wall that daily ascends to heaven from this fair spot of God's earth, day after day, year after year. Shall it stop? Soon? Yes. For the thought of the world is waking out of its long sleep. The God of the universe in His own good time is unfolding the harmony of human existence. Even as the evolution of a plant, or a fragrant rose, will He unfold social conditions to the minds of His children, which shall, step by step, make a paradise of His earth.

With this faith, single tax men, we will not falter in our work, for love is greater than faith, and with love in our hearts we can endure all things, and accomplish all things, for God's children on earth.

Mr. H. Martin Williams of Missouri was the next speaker. He said:

Brethren ("and sisters" suggested a voice)—and Sisters (laughter): When I tell you that I have not slept for the past week, you will understand why I did not see the sisters, because there happened to be so few of them. I generally have an eye for them. (Laughter.) This is the first time we have ever known "Pa Chase" to make a speech. He never makes speeches out of Missouri, but he comes here to New York and astonishes himself and everybody who knows him by making what I consider the best speech that has been made. You must not suppose that because we call him "Pa Chase" he is an old man. He is a younger man than I am, but we call him "Pa Chase" because he is a father to all of the young people, and especially to all of the young ladies. (Laughter.)

Now, gentlemen, we are here from "poor old Missouri"—that is what the Globe-Democrat calls our state—but I say we are here from grand old Missouri (applause), a state among whose people the truths of the single tax have taken deep root, and which are fructifying and growing in a way that will produce such a crop of voters when the time comes that we can cast our ballots for our principles as will astonish and put to shame the state of New York. (Applause.) The reason there are so few of us here to-day is because it is a long way from home, and we are poor people out there.

A voice—"You have got the Iron mountain out there."

Yes, we have got the Iron mountain, but they are not working it any more. Under the beautiful system of protection they have discontinued working the Iron mountain and we are not working much of anything over there, except our mouths, and we are doing that pretty effectually for "Free Trade, Free Land and Free Men." (Applause.) Brother Ring told you that if men believe in the single tax, in the doctrine of our great apostle, Henry George, they do not take upon themselves any disability as democrats in the state of Texas. No more do they in the state of Missouri. (Applause.) At the meeting of the state committee on last Saturday they sent for your humble talker. They wanted to consult with me about the campaign, and wanted to know what time I could give them between now and the November election. I told them every day, and Sunday too, after I got back from the national single tax conference. (Great applause and cheers.) You may want to know what the democrats did in Missouri at their last state convention?

Voices—"Tell us."

They declared in favor of the most radical doctrine of tariff reform—that is, they put it in their platform, but their speakers in the convention and their chairman talked free trade. (Applause.) And the time has passed in Missouri when any man can hold the attention of an audience for five minutes by talking that miserable rot called tariff reform. (Great applause.) I never did talk it; I didn't have the time. I didn't talk it two years ago, when the campaign was one in favor of tariff reform. I gave them free trade, blood raw. Now let me tell you what they did. They declared for something that no democratic state convention, to my knowledge, has yet declared for in this country. They declared in favor of taxing all land held for speculative purposes at its full value. (Great applause.) That is pretty good evidence that the single tax schoolmaster has been abroad in the land. It is not one or two of us, but the heaven is working all over that state. Every time I go over the state—and I am going over it almost constantly—I find men who have seen the light that I never dreamed of. If you go down among the hills in the Gasconade and Osage country, in that God-forsaken region where you would suppose the people never heard of Henry George or the single tax, you will find four single tax clubs, aggregating 575 members, and every one of them a farmer. Every one of these clubs was organized by a young, green, gawky-looking nineteen year old Methodist preacher. (Applause.) His name is J. W. Swaw. He works at the carpenter business for a living and preaches the gospel for fun. We wanted to bring him along with us, but it was as much the rest of us could do to bring ourselves. I did not know whether I could come, but the train started on the track, and I thank God I am here and able to look into your faces and see that earnestness of purpose that comes of the vision of a great living truth.

The men who are sitting here to-day are

not here because they hope to get an office they are not here because they think it will aid somebody else in getting office, but they are here because they are conscious in their hearts that there is something radically, fundamentally wrong at the bottom of human society, and they are here by the help of God to try and devise some ways and means of remedying it. (Applause.) That is what we are here for.

Now you will excuse me; the speech from Missouri was made by Dr. Chase, and I do not know that I shall have occasion to say anything more during the conference. I want to thank you very kindly, indeed, on behalf of my state, and on behalf of the single tax men of Missouri, and I assure you that they are many and that they are earnest, and will feel very much gratified at the reception you have extended to the doctor and myself to-day. (Applause.)

A delegate here moved that the convention telegraph to the Rev. J. W. Swaw, recognizing the efficacious work he has done for the single tax in his locality. The motion was seconded, but the chairman declined to entertain any motions until the conference was organized.

Mr. J. Z. White of Chicago, who was next called for, rose and bowed to the convention, saying:

Gentlemen: I turn my face to the audience in order that you may see me, as I suppose we all should get acquainted with each other. But I would like to ask if the committee on credentials is not ready to report.

The chair answered that they were ready and Mr. James R. Carret of Boston, secretary of committee on credentials, read the roll call of the convention as ascertained by the committee:

LIST OF DELEGATES.

ALABAMA.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile.

CALIFORNIA.

Hon. James G. Maguire, John A. Maynard, H. L. Pierce, Mrs. M. E. Rice, Miss Emmie Williams, John O'Gorman, San Francisco single tax society and Oakland.

COLORADO.

G. Frank Otis, Oscar J. Frost, Denver, Colorado, state S. T. association.

George Champion, John N. Lloyd, Denver single tax association.

Jas. W. Bucklin, Mesa county S. T. and ballot reform club of Grand Junction.

CONNECTICUT.

W. C. Miner, David Wagner, Wm. H. Talmadge, Noah Pomeroy, John W. Lane, Willard D. Warren, Tax reform club, New Haven. Lawrence Dunham, J. J. Ryan, A. J. Bostwick, George St. J. Leaven, Sharon single tax committee.

Oliver Rule, Meriden committee.

Thos. Corcoran, New Britain.

J. N. Belden, W. J. Gorsuch, Bridgeport.

DELAWARE.

Geo. W. Kreer, Cornelia Kreer, S. T. society, Wilmington.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Charles F. Adams, William Geddes, M. D., C. B. Hemingway, S. T. club Washington.

ILLINOIS.

E. O. Brown, W. W. Bailey, J. T. Ripley, J. Z. White, Jas. Malcolm, E. J. Foord, S. T. club, Chicago.

Geo. J. Guenther, Galloway.

INDIANA.

C. A. Kersey, M. D.; C. S. Schneider, Single tax club, Richmond.

E. F. Fellows, Indianapolis.

IOWA.

Frank S. Churchill, A. O. Pitcher, M. D.; Single tax club, Burlington.

LOUISIANA.

James Middleton, Louisiana S. T. club, New Orleans.

KENTUCKY.

Samuel H. Edgar, Louisville.

MAINE.

A. C. Dunning, Thos. Marsden, S. T. league, Auburn.

MARYLAND.

Henry R. Hall, Wm. J. Ogden, John W. Jones, I. M. Pruzan, David Wassergut, W. N. Hill, M. D.; George N. Numson, S. T. league of Maryland, Baltimore.

James T. Kelly, J. G. Schonfarber, Charles Watson, J. Hicks Wrightson, David Bachrach, Baltimore single tax society.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Mark W. Cross, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Louis Frang, E. M. Chamberlain, Ham in Garland, J. K. Hiseock, W. B. Pendleton, E. H. Underhill, G. K. Anderson, W. Burhenne, S. T. state central committee.

Chas. K. Cutter, M. D., S. T. state central committee, Boston.

John Waterous, S. T. club, Sandersfield.

Jas. R. Carret, Wm. E. Bell, W. L. Crossman, C. S. Mitton, W. A. Verney, Roxbury S. T. club.

John Adams, S. W. Burnett, Ed. Frost, Israel Hey, John Lavis, C. B. Totman, Dorchester single tax club.

Q. A. Lothrop, Neponset single tax league, Thomas H. Fitch, Braintree.

Edwin T. Clark, Malden single tax club.

Charles N. Cottrell, Willard W. Gray, L. M. Marston, Israel A. Trask, Lynn single tax league.

Wm. Chapman, Horace L. Dunnell, Dr. E. Allenwood, Rev. John Gregson, T. J. Hast-

ings, S. H. Howe, F. W. Morton, Edwin K. Page, C. W. Estabrook, Tenth district single tax league of Worcester.

Charles H. Cooke, J. Whiddon Graham, Boston unattached.

MICHIGAN.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian.

MINNESOTA.

Oliver T. Erickson, C. J. Buell, William Donaldson, W. A. Carpenter, Rev. S. W. Sample, Minneapolis single tax league.

R. J. Brown, St. Paul.

MISSOURI.

H. Martin Williams, H. H. Hoffman, C. B. Keeler, St. Louis single tax league.

Dr. Henry S. Chase, Lee Merriweather, Benton school of social science, St. Louis.

Charles E. Reid, Kansas City S. T. club.

NEW JERSEY.

John W. Jakeway, Joseph Dana Miller, C. Merquillan, P. Merquillan, Wm. Wellstood, John Moley, J. Blacklock, John Cronin, R. Campbell, E. Nobis, E. N. Jackson, Wm. Lindsay, Jas. McGregor, Wm. Langstaff, B. Eonis, P. Garrihan, Edward McQuillan, Robt. Eonis, Standard single tax club of Jersey City.

Henry Bradshaw, Wm. M. Callingham, Louis M. Randall, John Essler, Camden county single tax club of Camden.

Delisle Zimmerman, East Irons single tax club.

Porter, T. J. Werner, Herbert Boggs, C. B. Rathbun, M. T. Gaffney, Post, Meistle, Wm. Kirkpatrick, Newark single tax club.

David L. Thompson, J. L. Anderson, J. H. McCulloch, G. H. Neal, Mrs. A. Stirling, Plainfield.

J. J. Streeter, Vineland single tax and ballot reform club.

Jos. Reppetti, Vineland S. T. club.

E. W. Nellis, Martin Hughes, Richard Carroll, Wm. Gray, John T. Abbott, Wm. Mosley, John Ridgeway, Jas. Hill, Geo. Adams, Jas. MacNamara, Hugh Watson, Jacob Nick, jr., Paul Breen, J. A. Craig, David White, Passaic county single tax club, Paterson.

Winam B. DuBois, Bayonne single tax committee.

James Taylor, at large.

Henry W. Churchill, John Henry Brooks, Benjamin Urner, Thomas Thorp, Read Gordon, Thomas Flynn, Robert Welch, Edward Houlihan, Elizabeth.

Frank Proirer, at large.

W. C. Kip, Morristown.

George M. Vescehus, Thomas H. Potter, H. C. Kirby, John H. Edelman, Essex county single tax and ballot reform club of Forest Hill.

Robert Butterworth, at large.

A. W. Davis, at large.

H. R. Mathews, at large.

N. W. Gage, Cherry Hill.

J. W. H. MacLagim, at large.

Timothy Barrett, at large.

Nicholas Schneider, at large.

Robert Leslie, H. F. Haase, A. Mooney, E. A. Wallace, South Orange single tax club.

Edward C. Alphonse, East Orange.

George R. Webb, Orange.

W. B. Judd, Cranford.

John McKechnie, Rahway.

Richard F. George, Englewood.

O. D. Wood, Passaic.

James Mackintosh, at large.

Joe Gros, Morristown.

John Morrison, H. L. Beaty, Warren county single tax association, Washington.

NEW YORK.

Henry George, J. T. Altemus, J. H. Babcock, William Britigan, George Bruaswick, James Beggs, William T. Croasdale, Holbrook Cavanaugh, Daniel Cavanagh, Benjamin Doblin, J. A. B. Dilworth, G. W. Everett, Henry George, jr., George Harnwell, William E. Hicks, John J. Hopper, Charles P. Kelly, August Lewis, Walter Mendelson, M. D., William H. Mathews, Louis Morris, William McCabe, Thomas H. McGeoch, Jerome O'Neill, Louis F. Post, Gaston Protin, Richard Passmore, Edward J. Striver, George Simon, A. J. Steers, J. H. Scully, William F. Sherlock, W. B. Scott, Lindley Vinton, Morris Van Veen, John Weish, Alfred J. Wolf, William D. Williams, John F. Winter, Manhattan single tax club.

Miss Alice Thacher, Miss A. A. Chapman, Miss Emma Smith, Albert Smith, A. J. Auchterlome, L. E. Wilmarth, George Watson, John Finer, Rev. J. B. Parmelee, Geo. Coleman, E. B. Swinney, G. W. Hopping, Charles Maginn, Edward L. Ryder, New Churchman's single tax league.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Thackeray, Rev. John Anketell, Rev. Dr. W. F. George, Rev. Dr. J. W. Kramer, Rev. A. Whitaker, Single tax brotherhood of religious teachers.

Patrick Murray, George Newton, North New York single tax club.

A. H. Cameron, G. F. Jones, Harry A. Du Souchet, J. B. Sabine, Telegraphers' single tax club.

Henry L. Hinton, Grand View-on-Hudson.

John J. Murray, F. W. Crook, M. W. Norwalk, Joseph C. Roshirt, Joseph McDonough, James J. Mahoney, Albany single tax club, Albany, N. Y.

Edward Ferguson, Gustav W. Thompson, Alfred R. Cathoun, George White, Peter Aiken, John Hickling, E. O. Riscoe, A. L. Sessions, Robt. Baker, George N. Olcott, Kenneth R. Cranford, Brooklyn single tax club, Brooklyn, N. Y.

James T. O'Neill, R. C. Uless, W. J. Horan, C. W. Hughes, Chas. Simpson, Brooklyn single tax club alternates.

Thomas B. Preston, Brooklyn, N. Y.

H. B. Brown, Bay Shore, L. I.

George R. Gage, H. Camps, Joseph McGuinness, Whereley, Rev. Henry Sharp, Fred J. Deverall, Morris Cohen, Martin Battle, George Helme, H. C. Turphey, Titus, Noldenberg, Eastern District single tax club, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Jas. B. Connell, Adolph Pettinkofer, J. J. Faulkner, Chas. H. Govan, East Brooklyn single tax club, Brooklyn, N. Y.

John H. Bakeney, Binghamton, N. Y.

Anthony Schram, Charles Blackhall, S. C. Rogers, C. W. Rogers, Tax reform club, Buffalo, N. Y.

J. S. Crane, Bernard Manning, Cohoes single tax committee, Cohoes, N. Y.

A. M. Molina, James F. Darmour, Daniel Beard, Theodore Lane, Dr. Fox, James F. Connor, Henry Stahner, Andrew Craig, Edward Richardson, Single tax club, Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.

George E. Bedell, Herkimer, N. Y.

Dr. J. J. Smythe, Jeffersonian single tax club, Kingston, N. Y.

George Winter, Thomas M. Hyatt, R. M. Rosty and Charles H. Fuller, Middletown, N. Y.

J. K. Rudyard, Northport, N. Y.

James Ryan, J. D. Foster, James C. Murray, Pioneer single tax club, Oswego, N. Y.

J. H. Root, Port Byron, N. Y.

John Rix, George Rix, Ithaca, N. Y.

John M. Campbell, Rochester, N. Y.

John S. Cogan, W. Dession, A. B. Stoddard, John H. Schilling, Lester M. Clark, Martin Gay, Richmond county single tax league.

M. J. Mehan, Syracuse L. A. 8,575, K. of L.

Charles S. Hopkins, Syracuse single tax club.

Charles Huie, Henry Sterling, L. B. Perry, Single tax club, Troy.

Fuldin Gow, John Forsyth, John Woodruff, William Yung, D. Mackenzie, John McCarthy, John Howarth, Jefferson single tax club, Yonkers.

OHIO.

Tom L. Johnson, L. E. Siemon, W. K. Field, John Quinlan, Colonel A. W. Johnson, L. A. Russell, Central single tax club, Cleveland.

Cliff S. Walker, Thomas Huat, Joseph L. Schraer, James Sample, Cincinnati single tax club.

Billy Radcliffe, Richard Hughes, Youngstown single tax club.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo.

S. G. Rogers, Akron.

PENNSYLVANIA.

P. D. Tangney, Bradford single tax club.

A. E. Wagner, Grater's Ford.

Claude M. Johnson, Richard Eyre, A. J. Moxham, Johnstown.

Dr. Edward G. Rhoads, William J. Atkinson, Michael Gelselman, James Ashton, J. L. Snoemaker, Arthur H. Stephenson, Samuel E. Clarkson, C. Brinton, Herman V. Hetzel, David R. Emsley, R. L. Atkinson, George F. Stephens, Daniel S. Brown, Oscar F. Pollar, Dr. H. J. Woodhouse, Samuel Shouls, U. C. Munch, Louis Klein, H. D. Albright, A. D. Fraim, Dr. J. W. Dick, G. F. Stephens, Sing e tax society, Philadelphia.

I. J. Quinn, Thomas Malady, C. F. Knight, Mark Roberts, Single tax league, Pittsburg.

J. H. Moyer, H. O. Skinner, Charles S. Prizer, Charles Corkhill, Reading Single tax society, Reading.

J. J. Smythe, Jeffersonian single tax club, Edwardsville.

John H. Jones, Slatington.

Duncan Wright, Scranton single tax club.

William Hancock, Wyoming.

RHODE ISLAND.

William Howarth, John J. Reavy, Pawtucket single tax club.

George D. Riddell, David Harrower, Single tax association, Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.

TENNESSEE.

J. S. Menken, Bolton Smith, M. H. McDowell, R. G. Brown, Memphis single tax club.

TEXAS.

H. F. Ring, Houston.

VIRGINIA.

S. J. Conroy, Danville.

Edward K. Robertson, Norfolk.

Alexander Cruikshank, single tax club No. 1, Richmond.

WEST VIRGINIA.

W. E. Sugden, W. H. Curry, W. F. Thayer, W. I. Boreman, Parkersburg branch of the West Virginia single tax league.

Mr. H. Martin Williams of Missouri then moved that committees on organization, rules and order of business be appointed, to consist of one member from each state and territory represented on the floor.

The chairman ruled that until the temporary organization had been effected it was not in order to make a permanent one. Mr. Williams withdrew his motion.

Mr. L. A. Russell of Ohio moved that the officers of the single tax enrolment committee who had been hitherto acting should constitute the temporary officers of the conference. Carried.

Mr. Williams of Missouri then renewed his motion for committees to consider the organization, rules and order of business.

Mr. E. O. Brown of Chicago said:

While it may not be customary in the ordinary course of parliamentary procedure,

why would it not be the best thing for the temporary chairman to appoint a similar committee of seven to select permanent officers? I make that motion.

Mr. Williams said that he thought that the members from the different states were best qualified to appoint their own committee members on the committee to select permanent officers, and therefore he opposed the suggestion of Mr. Brown.

Mr. Moxham of Pennsylvania:

I think we should not bind ourselves to follow the ordinary custom of political gatherings, but should direct our efforts to the simplest and quickest way of doing business. We should go to work as quickly as possible.

Mr. Jakeway of New Jersey:

I stand with Henry Martin Williams for this reason. I think that in the preliminary organization every state in this Union should be mentioned by name.

Mr. Post of New York:

In the national committee to conduct business there should be a representative from every state. But this motion under consideration is a mere matter of detail to get this body into shape to do the work for which it was called. If we undertake to have this committee appointed from the various states we won't have the work done before midnight. Cannot we trust the chairman to appoint a committee? Cannot you raise a protest if anything is wrong? We had better organize now and go to the work before us.

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey:

I would like to state that in the present condition of the conference it would cause a very great delay for the delegates of the different states to meet and select committee members. For that reason, while I should otherwise favor the motion of Mr. Williams, I shall cast my vote against it.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota:

I move, as a substitute for the pending motion, that this convention do now elect Louis F. Post as permanent chairman.

The substitute was seconded, but Mr. Brown of Illinois withdrew his amendment and Mr. Williams of Missouri accepted the substitute in place of his own motion.

The chairman:

The only motion, then, before the conference is: Shall Louis F. Post be elected permanent chairman?

This motion was put and carried unanimously. Mr. Williams of Missouri, Judge Maguire of California and Mr. Brown of Illinois were appointed a committee to escort the chairman to the platform, which was done amid great cheering and enthusiasm.

Mr. Croasdale in leaving the chair handed the gavel to Mr. Post, saying to the conference, "Here is your chairman and here is his gavel."

Mr. Post on taking the chair said:

Gentlemen: I can assure you that this is an unexpected honor. To be selected permanent chairman of this gathering is an honor which I most deeply appreciate. I believe that this is the second beginning as it were of one of the greatest political movements, or rather the greatest political movement, that has ever agitated this country. (Applause.) The public speakers of New York, even those who are not single tax men, have come to learn that when they want to get applause in a New York audience they need only mention the name of Henry George. (Applause.) And I should judge from what I have heard today that single tax speakers in single tax gatherings will hereafter feel that they can alternate between Henry George and Grover Cleveland. (Applause.) That spontaneous applause which we heard a little while ago for the name of Grover Cleveland reminds me of the very first meeting that was ever held in this particular single tax movement, a meeting held upstairs in a little room that would not seat two hundred and fifty people. It must have been nearly half full on that occasion. It was a meeting called to endorse the plan of enrolment which has been carried on ever since, thanks very largely to Mr. Croasdale. (Applause.) It was called early in the campaign of 1888, and after we had performed the business that lay before us we were all of us somewhat doubtful as to the policy we were entering upon. It occurred to one of the men there, and he in a timid way moved that we should give three cheers for Grover Cleveland. That motion was seconded (laughter) in silence. I happened to be chairman of that meeting, and feeling, as I always do, that it is the business of the chairman to see to it that the sense of the meeting has expression, I put the motion, and by an almost unanimous vote, not quite—there were three or four votes in the negative—we decided to give three cheers for Grover Cleveland. And then some one relieved the chair of his embarrassment by getting up and saying, "Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!" (laughter) and then somebody said, "Tiger" as they always do in New York. That was the first round of applause that Grover Cleveland ever got in

a single tax audience. We didn't have to pass a motion to-day.

Gentlemen, I don't want to take up time in making a speech, even though the chairman is supposed to make a speech when he takes the chair, but I shall have to use a few minutes in simply reminding you—though I do not think it probable that you need any grave reminder—of the exact cause of our gathering here, from what it led and to what it points. In the state of New York we had, some four years ago, a tremendous political upheaval that brought the question of the single tax, though in a somewhat different form, not only before this community in the mayoralty contest, but before the public of the United States, yes, the people of the civilized world. We thought at that time that we were on the road to immediate success. But experience showed us that we were in error. In less than fourteen months after that upheaval the organization that had begun it had sunk almost out of sight. On the night the returns came in, in 1887, I rode up on the car with Mr. George. Mr. George had always had a profound faith, a profound conviction that the hand of the Lord is in this movement. As we went home on the front of a Fourth Avenue car we didn't have much to say for several blocks. At last I said to him, "Mr. George, do you see the hand of the Lord in this?" "No," he said, "no, I don't see it; but it is there. (Applause.) It seems that we have come up against a wall. We have come up against an impassable wall in this path, but another path will open." He could hardly have supposed that his prophesy would have been so soon fulfilled, but before two months had gone by it was fulfilled and the new path was opened, a narrow path, but it has broadened ever since. It is broadening still. It will become still broader till we have swept the whole democratic party into this movement. (Applause.)

Sharp and clear is the issue between the superstition of protection on the one hand and the true liberty of free trade on the other. (Applause.) That is the issue we are approaching. That is the issue that has already entered deeply into the politics of the United States. That is the issue the settlement of which—in the only way in which it can be settled—means the triumph of the single tax and the land for the people. (Applause.) We are now about to carry on that movement. A grave responsibility rests upon this gathering. It needs all the time that it can have for the purpose of formulating its programme, and I shall take no more of the time it needs now for its permanent organization. I am before you now, gentlemen. I have no rules to guide me, no officers to assist me. What is your further pleasure?

On motion, Mr. William E. Brokaw of South Dakota was elected recording secretary, and R. G. Brown of Tennessee and John Z. White of Illinois assistant and reading secretaries.

A delegate moved the adoption of the rules of the house of representatives.

The chair:

There is only one man who understands the rules of the house of representatives. (Laughter.)

The chair suggested that some vice-chairman be selected.

Mr. Bolton Smith of Tennessee:

Following the advice of the chairman I nominate H. F. Ring of Texas, William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts, Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, A. H. Stephenson of Pennsylvania, H. Martin Williams of Missouri and Judge Maguire of California as vice-chairmen.

Messrs. Johnson, Williams and Maguire declined and the other three gentlemen were elected unanimously.

Secretary Brown then read the following telegram:

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 1, 1890.

Chairman Single Tax Conference, Cooper Union, New York—Regret not to be able to come, but as earnest of my wishes for the success of the conference I send by telegraph fifty dollars through Drexel, Morgan & Co. Gerschow.

Inquiries were made as to who the donor was, and Judge Maguire of San Francisco said:

He is the man who almost at the outset of this movement translated "Progress and Poverty" into German.

A round of applause followed this announcement. The secretary proceeded to read another telegram, as follows:

HINSDALE, NEW YORK, Sept. 1, 1890.

Single Tax Conference, New York: Hail to the apostle of liberty, the world's champion of labor's rights. Congratulations on his safe return. May the greatest measure of success crown the proceedings of this conference. Greeting to you all.

H. B. BUDDENBERG.

On motion, Cushing's manual was adopted as the guide in parliamentary procedure.

Mr. Thompson of Brooklyn moved that a committee of eleven be appointed on the organization of a national committee

and committees of eleven on resolutions and platform.

Mr. Brown of Illinois:

I move as a substitute that the chairman of this conference appoint a committee to consist of one member from each state and territory, who shall select a committee upon resolutions, platform and address.

Mr. Croasdale of New York:

It seems to me that if we want to get the work of this convention done, the first thing to do is to get a committee on resolutions. Let the chairman pick out one man from each state, and let that constitute the committee, and let them report to this conference to-morrow morning early a practical plan for carrying on the work.

Mr. Maguire of California:

I am opposed to that motion. In all matters which affect the states, localities and districts from which we come I favor having a representative elected from each district. But in matters that concern general purposes, upon which we are all agreed, we should have the best working committees that the chairman can select from the whole conference. That applies to the platform or address and also to all resolutions concerning the business before this organization. The result of that committee's work will not be final or binding, but will be subject to amendment and discussion. Let us proceed upon some general plan to select local representatives from each state for the national committee. But outside of that I am in favor of comparatively small working committees, selected from the very best men for the work that can be found upon the floor.

Mr. Williams of Missouri:

I agree with the gentleman from California entirely.

Mr. Hastings of Massachusetts:

I do not entirely agree with the gentleman from California. It seems to me that a platform or declaration of principles is something which does concern our organizations locally. I propose a committee at large be appointed and that one representative from each state be elected.

Mr. Boggs of New Jersey thought that the selection of the committee men should be made by clubs and not by state organizations.

Judge Maguire moved as a substitute for all pending motions, that a committee of nine members be appointed by the chair on platform and address. Carried unanimously.

The chair:

The chair will select that committee after adjournment.

Judge Maguire moved that a committee on resolutions consisting of seven members be appointed by the chair, to which all resolutions shall be referred.

Mr. Boggs of New Jersey did not think that any committee was needed whose object was to smother resolutions.

Judge Maguire:

My only reason for the motion is that the committee on platform and address will have all the work they can do in the time we can give them without considering resolutions. It is customary to refer resolutions to another committee, to relieve the committee on platform.

Mr. McCabe of New York moved the previous question.

The previous question was ordered, Judge Maguire's motion was carried and the chairman announced that he would name the committee later.

Mr. Croasdale of New York moved that when the conference adjourned it be to meet the next morning at 10 o'clock. Carried.

Secretary Brown then read the following letter from Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston to Mr. Croasdale:

BOSTON, Aug. 26, 1890.

Dear Mr. Croasdale: It would give me great pleasure to be present at the conference of the single tax men in New York, but it is out of the question. It is as much as I can do to get away for the 4th and 5th of September in order to be at Stratoga. I am to give an address to the bankers' association on the 4th, and to take part in the circus on the single tax on the 5th.

Thanking you for your kind attention, I am, yours very truly,

EDW. ATKINSON.

William T. Croasdale, Esq.,

12 Union square, N. Y.

Mr. Williams of Missouri offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the selection of a national committee, to consist of one member from each state or territory and the District of Columbia, for work of propaganda and organization, be made a special order for to-morrow at 8 o'clock, and that the member of said committee be chosen from each state and territory by name, by the delegation or delegate from the same, upon a roll call of the states.

Mr. Baker of New York moved to

amend by making the hour half-past 10, and Mr. Williams accepted the amendment. The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. J. Atkinson of New Jersey suggested that the state delegations should hold meetings in the meantime and select their committee members.

Mr. Ferguson of Brooklyn offered to the visiting delegates the hospitality of the Brooklyn single tax club.

The business session then adjourned until Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock.

During the interval the chair named the following committees:

Committee on platform and address: Henry George of New York, James G. Maguire of San Francisco, L. A. Russell of Ohio, Warren Worth Bailey of Illinois, H. Martin Williams of Missouri, Bolton Smith of Tennessee, C. J. Buell of Minnesota and Edward O. Good Brown of Illinois.

Committee on resolutions: T. L. Johnson of Ohio, John Z. White of Illinois, L. W. Hoch of Michigan, W. J. Ogden of Maryland, George White of New York, Herbert Boggs of New Jersey and C. S. Walker of Ohio.

RECEPTION TO HENRY GEORGE.

MONSTER MASS MEETING AT COOPER UNION.

Monday evening the large hall was crowded to overflowing, and it is estimated that 3,500 people were present. It was a great demonstration, and when Mr. George came upon the platform the house went wild with enthusiasm. William T. Croasdale called the meeting to order, and introduced Judge Maguire as the presiding officer, who was received with hearty applause.

Judge Maguire said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The pleasant duty has been imposed upon me of voicing the welcome of single tax men and women of America to the Prophet of San Francisco upon the completion of his triumphal voyage around the world. (Applause.) I had the privilege of being among the last who bade him God-speed upon his journey as he left the shores of our Union a few months ago to answer the call of our single tax brethren in New South Wales, and to do the mighty work, which as you have seen by telegraphic reports and by the letters which have come—all too short they were—that his tour was in every way successful, and that the great cause which he so truly and so grandly represents was to our infinite satisfaction forwarded vastly by his tour. (Applause.)

Now, I have a little disappointment for you. I have been directed to do something more than to introduce Mr. George. The programme requires that I shall make a speech before introducing him, and for this once, although I have always steadily denied it, I am a programme man, and have got to do it. (Laughter.) What kind of a speech to make to a body of the most intelligent representatives of the most intelligent men now to be found in the civilized world I don't exactly know. I suppose, however, you would like to hear me begin with some statement of what we are doing on the other side of the continent and what I have observed in crossing and recrossing the continent on my single tax visits to this city. Before that, however, a couple of things occurred to-day which suggested thoughts that I do not desire to be passed. Mr. Croasdale, presiding this afternoon, spoke of our conference as an "infant industry." (A voice said, "How will we protect it?") I am going to tell you. It is a gratification to know that the infant industry was beautifully protected this morning. Mr. George, in coming ashore, was obliged to have all his baggage searched lest he should bring anything here that might be useful. (Applause.) Anything that is useful that is brought into this country is considered dangerous to the best interests of the country. (Laughter.) A great many ridiculous things occurred this morning. We stood there as a sort of body guard awaiting the lawful customs inspectors. While we were waiting for them to come to his baggage we saw them searching the baggage of some other people, and in one case they found a little picture that was dutiable. It was a picture about twice the size of the palm of your hand. The inspector was stumped as to how much the duty on it would be, and delayed the work of examining the baggage six or seven minutes to go to his superior officer and see what rate, or what tariff duty, would be imposed on that man for bringing that picture in here. I did not see what the picture was, but it must have been a nice picture, something that the American people would have liked to look at, and therefore the policy of the government was to keep it out or make him pay a duty on it. The inspector did not dare to take the risk of fixing the tariff it should pay.

I noticed another thing. An inspector picked up something that looked to me like a pair of socks and examined them with some little care. I wondered what it was for, and so I inquired. A gentleman said if they have never been worn they are dutiable. (Laughter.) If you want to bring goods or clothing of any kind into this country the best and safest way is to wear them awhile and get them dirty, and then they will be admitted. (Laughter.)

Our good, zealous and earnest friend, Warren W. Bailey of Chicago, came rushing in, and he encountered the laws of the nation. For a moment he forgot that he was crossing the dead line, and so he carried his gripsack in his hand. The minute it got inside the line it had to be searched. (Laughter.) I don't know what Bailey had in the grip, but he was awfully worried at the idea that it was going to be searched.

I noticed this afternoon the picture which our enrolment committee secured for this platform, and it occurred to me in examining it that the old and glorious banner of our country never floated over nobler sentiments than those which are inscribed upon the picture. A gentleman sitting behind me thought it his duty to whisper to me, when he saw the cat clinging to the robes of Columbia, "I guess, judge, that the cat wants to whisper something in Columbia's ear." I told him I thought not; that from the inscription upon the banner which Columbia was holding aloft the cat had whispered all he wanted to whisper in her ear. (Applause.)

I saw to-day in New York a magnificent sight, which is seldom accorded to the isolated people of the Pacific coast. A vast and mighty army of the best and most useful citizens of this great metropolis marching, it is said, to the number of some 50,000 through your streets. (Applause.) Marching through the streets in that vast body to proclaim to the world that they were standing united and determined for the vindication of their rights. (Applause.) And it was to me a grand spectacle; a grand and noble labor on their part on behalf of a just and worthy cause; but I feel bound in the interest of humanity and in the cause—the same great cause which they represented to-day and for which they are banded together—to say that such a mighty force might accomplish the ends and results at which they aim much more speedily, much more easily, much more completely, by changing the plan of action. (Great applause.) I say this not for the purpose of disparaging in the slightest the great work which they are doing, for the work which they are doing must in the nature of things precede the work which we would have them do. They were marching in order to voice and emphasize their protest against the oppression and robbery of labor; they were marching for the purpose of showing to the world, and especially to those whom they regard as their oppressors, that they were at last banded in solid phalanx, determined to resist further oppression, and to stand for their rights. (Applause.)

An example of the thing against which our organization has been established, against which it has been organized to lift its power, is furnished as an object lesson now by the attitude of the contending parties of employers and employees on the New York Central railroad. (Hisses.) Let us consider the matter philosophically. Let us not heap unmixt hatred upon the New York Central railroad company and its representatives until we have fully considered the positions of the contending parties. I believe from all that I have learned of the strike, that it was occasioned by the arbitrary and un-American and tyrannical action of the representatives of that company. (Great applause.) I believe from all that I have learned that men were being discharged from the employ of that company who were faithful and efficient men, solely because they exercised one of the most undoubted rights of American citizens—to organize in fraternal effort to protect their rights. (Applause.) I am bound to say that I regard the conduct of the railroad officials under such circumstances as a menace to the liberties and institutions of this country (applause), and regard the men thus engaged in tyranny and oppression over those whom circumstances have placed within their power as dangerous classes in the community. (Great applause.) That is equal, perhaps, to saying, "You are another," because they have said that the workmen who organize are dangerous classes, but to that I attach no importance, and reiterate, "You are another." That don't prove anything. But I have stated in full my position on that question upon the facts as I understand them. And yet the New York Central railroad company is only doing that which it has abundant precedent for doing; that which, perhaps, its environment largely drives it to do. And what are the men contending for? For the rights of labor, they say. Yes. What are the rights of labor? Well, I apprehend that the rights of labor are: First, in a world in which the Creator has supplied ample and abundant raw material for the production of all things that are either necessary or desirable to the existence of human life; in a world such as this, amply and bountifully provided with all things that are necessary, and that under the inspiration of labor will yield all that man requires to satisfy his reasonable wants, the rights of labor are two: First, the right of access to all opportunities for labor. (Applause.) Second, the

right when he does labor to get the fair value of his labor. (Applause.)

What is the fair value of the workingman's labor applied to the raw materials of nature? For all wealth is produced by the application of labor to the raw materials of the earth. These are the two primary elements in all wealth production. Capital may be brought to the assistance of labor, and it is a mighty assistant when it is in proper control, and in its proper place of assistant, and not "boss." (Applause.) What is the fair return for the workman's labor? The fair return for the workman's labor is exactly what his labor produces. (Applause.) Any social condition which compels a man to accept less than his labor produces is a system of robbery of labor (applause), and is manifestly wrong. Mark you here, I don't charge the men who employ laborers and give them less for their labor than the value it produces with being robbers, necessarily. They may be the victims of the same environment that compels the laborer to accept less than is his due. (Applause.) The employer is often the victim, and as completely and utterly bound by his environment as the laborer himself. Hence we should not war against employers; indeed, it is absurd. There are employers who are unrighteous; who act tyrannically when they are not compelled so to do—when they are not driven or forced to it—but do it voluntarily. Such men are wicked at heart, and fall within the category of those whom the law denominates as possessing wicked and malignant hearts; but it is unjust to apply such epithets or such condemnation to employers generally. It is the duty of all men to look over the whole field and ascertain before he strikes at his employer for pushing him further, is not somebody behind pushing his employer? (Applause.)

After a desperate effort, somewhere back in the '70s, I succeeded in getting into a California theater to hear a Fourth of July oration by Henry George. There was a tremendous crush, as there is on such occasions, and there was a cantankerous fellow in the crowd who could not bear to be pushed. He turned around to a fellow who was standing beside him and said: "Confound you, if you push me again I will hit you on the nose." The fellow behind was no more able to avoid pushing the fellow who was going to hit him than he was able to withstand the pressure of three hundred men behind him, for that was exactly what he had to resist. Now, the laborer in striking the employer in the face because the employer pushes the laborer is, unless the employer is voluntarily playing the tyrant, as unjust to his employer as that man was to his innocent neighbor in that crowd (applause), for the crowd was surging, and the man complained of was simply being swayed by the crowd against the other, exactly as in most cases the employers are being driven to press their employees—by unjust pressure behind themselves. This, of course, does not excuse tyranny of any kind in this country. Who-over plans or attempts to plant the seed of tyranny upon the soil that was devoted to our free institutions commits as great a crime as the man who lifts his hand in treason against the flag and institutions of liberty. (Applause.)

I know you will laugh at me for saying this, but there may be some here who do not know it. You single tax people might answer my question, but let me go on, will you? Why is it in this land of varied and unlimited resources, so far as we know; unlimited, certainly, so far as the needs and requirements of the present generation in the world are concerned; with two great central valleys in the United States capable of supporting the entire population of the world at the present time; why is it that any man should be denied or excluded from the opportunity when he desires to labor? No matter if he has been lazy and shiftless in the past, he is entitled to labor when he wants to; he is entitled to produce a living when he wants to reform and live in the condition his Creator fixed as the condition of life—why should any man in such a country be excluded from an effort to labor, or find himself so pressed upon by his social environment that when he has labored he is obliged to give up a large proportion of what he has produced? Is he required to do so? Most assuredly. I will cite a single illustration: Carroll D. Wright, our national commissioner of labor statistics, and certainly one of the best authorities on that question now living, tells us that within the last forty years the productive power of labor in all departments of industry has on an average increased elevenfold, so that one man to-day can on an average in all industries produce as much wealth in a day as eleven men could have produced in the same time forty years ago. Have the returns to labor increased proportionally during the forty years? No; they have, on the contrary, become proportionally less, proportionally lower, as the proportion of the wealth producing power has increased, and as wealth has gone on multiplying as it never multiplied under the inspiration of labor at any period in the world's history before. I shall say no more, but assume that the men who strike say truly that they are not getting what their labor is worth, that they are not getting the value of what they produce.

The evil that drives them to the necessity of working for less than their labor is worth is that the conditions of the labor market are such that the large proportion of laborers

who need work and want to get work are compelled to remain in enforced idleness or to underbid their more fortunate fellows who have employment. It is the fact that an army of unemployed men is kept constantly in the labor market bidding for opportunities to labor, and as their necessities drive them to fiercer and fiercer efforts to obtain it they are constantly underbidding their fellows and attempting to get their places, even upon harder conditions than those upon which they are working, or for a smaller proportion of the wealth which their labor produces. (Applause.) It is the presence of that army of unemployed men which gives rise to the fallacious idea that competition in the labor market is the evil against which all effort should be directed. Competition under such circumstances is certainly unfortunate, is certainly outrageous; it is enslaving and degrading. Because so long as there are competent men in enforced idleness and facing misery and want they will bid against all of their employed brethren, and gradually bring the wages of all down to the lowest level at which the most unfortunate will be willing to subsist, and labor wages thus, by the fact of the presence of the unemployed army of laborers bidding for work, are being, as we see everywhere, driven down to what the laborers themselves have aptly called "the starvation point;" to the last point at which laborers can live, and that without attempting to live according to what protectionists used to tell us was the American standard of labor. You know what that means. (Laughter.) The labor unions say that there is only one way to get rid of that, and that is to get all laborers into unions representing their respective trades and callings, supporting those who are out of employment while they are out of employment, and preventing any of them from taking the places of their fellows when they strike for their rights. This, I have no doubt, has had some effect, and has a temporary effect in many cases in keeping up the wages of labor, but it is enormously expensive. It involves an enormous waste of energy, while a struggle in a single year would be sufficient, if rightly directed, to entirely and forever put an end to the cause of this. (Great applause.) It is therefore in no spirit of cavilling or hostility or want of appreciation that I say emphatically that the work of labor organizations, as now directed, can never permanently or finally accomplish the ends at which they aim, and that while they continue the advantages which they secure are very largely and often entirely absorbed in the tremendous cost and waste of energy involved in their form of warfare against the tyranny of capital. I have suggested to some on many occasions, as it is the duty of every single tax man who thinks he sees the true, simple and natural remedy for all these evils, to suggest that if the single tax measure were taken up, and the mighty army of labor, strong enough if its power were rightly directed could establish the single tax within the period of a single campaign in almost any state where constitutional barriers would not have first to be removed by constitutional amendments. I have pointed this out, and so have our single tax brethren everywhere; and such pointing and such assurance must in the end tell, as the thing presented is a fundamental and simple truth. If the policy of the government were to take by taxation the entire rental value of all the lands, whether in use or out of use, land monopoly would cease; the closing of natural opportunities against labor would cease; and so long as that should be the declared policy of the government the inducement to land monopoly would be entirely removed, and idle land would be practically free and open to all who desired either to work it or to make homes upon it, the single requirement being that as the land should increase in value it should be required to pay a tax equal to the value which the community gives to that land. (Applause.)

But they say, We don't want land, we want work. How many times have you heard that? We don't want land; we would not go out and farm. I assume that they would not; but I believe that among the men who are now involved in the warfare with the New York Central railroad there are tens of thousands who, if the opportunity were given to them to make independent homes upon the vacant lands that he around this metropolis and along the line of that road, there would be nobody competing for the places of the striking switchmen. (Great applause.) Nobody would bid for the places of those switchmen until the railroad company should offer a little more than the work was worth; then the fellows who would be comfortably housed upon the lands now held in barrenness by speculators would come in and say: "You are offering more than I can make by my independent exertion; I will be glad to take the place." There would be no harm to anybody in such competition as that, but the fact is that all companies and all employers, if the labor market were freed of the army of unemployed men by their being drawn off to homes, to independent employment, to independent labor upon the natural opportunities that are now closed by monopoly, all companies would speedily get to paying just what the work was worth; and they would keep first class men, men working upon the standard that was formerly regarded as the true standard of American labor; and labor

would become more independent, and laborers would be as much more intelligent and as much more interested in the employer's interests than they are now, as American labor was superior in this respect to foreign labor through the first three-quarters of the century of our nation's existence. (Applause.)

It is said by men who have been all their lives living as tenants, who have been all their lives working as employees in special trades and industries, that they don't want land, that what they want is employment at their trades at fair wages; but it would be a terrible reflection upon the whole laboring class to say that they all felt that way. I think it was Dickens who said, "Home is but a name; only a word; but to those who have felt the sacred influence of home it is a strong word; stronger than any word ever spoken by magician, or ever given by spirit in answer to the strongest conjuration." (Applause.) The idea of home, the sentiments and the sacred feelings that attach to the very idea of home among men and women who have ever felt or enjoyed its sacred influence is natural, and it prevails among all those who ever felt it. Those who have been all their lives half tenants and half slaves cannot appreciate it, but they would rise to it, and rise to it speedily. If the single tax were adopted I verily believe that the entire surplus of labor in the labor markets of every labor center in this country would be speedily drawn off, and the contest between labor and capital would cease, and cease forever, and labor and capital would then find, as we think we have already found, that the true enemy of both is the monopolization of natural opportunities. (Applause.)

I know laborers who would be glad to go out upon the vacant lots and put up tents there and live in independence with their families rather than live as tenants in brown stone fronts with the pressure and oppression of land monopoly upon them. (Applause.) I tell you the American people and American citizenship were grander, infinitely, when the people were poorly housed in houses of their own, where they recognized no master but Creating Heaven, than they have ever been since the opportunity for that kind of life has been taken away. (Applause.) And I would rather trust the glorious institutions and the destiny of this freest and best country on the face of the earth, this freest and best country that the sun has ever shone upon, I would rather trust these institutions to rest upon the hearts and hands of independent homes, though those homes consisted only of tents, than to trust the destinies of this nation to what are now coming to be known as "the better classes." (Applause.)

I have about talked my time, and now I have only a few words to say about our work in California. We are getting along splendidly there. The single tax idea is growing, and growing rapidly, and what is better, everybody wants to hear about it now. The old prejudice against it has vanished, so that it would actually surprise a man who has been called a crank in California to have men come and shake him by the hand and say, "By George, sir, I would like to talk an hour or two with you about that single tax." (Applause.) I have had men do that. I have an invitation now to go down and spend the night with a millionaire in California who about four years ago met me on the street and said: "Look here, Maguire, you are wasting your life. You have made a pretty good record as a judge, and I'd like to see you stay there." (You had better believe he would rather see me stay there than to be here talking this way.) He said, "You are getting to be a regular crank; I am beginning to think you are a crank," and so on, warning me and urging me not to go into such a ridiculous, absurd and Utopian movement, as he called it. A few weeks before I came on here he noticed that I was talked of as a delegate, and that something was said of my coming on to New York, and he came to me and said: "By George, sir, I would like to have you come down and spend the night at my house, so we could talk over this single tax. I never really understood it." I gave him the best advice I could, and I hope he will follow it, although he said his eyesight was not good. I advised him to read "Progress and Poverty." (Applause.) If he don't read "Progress and Poverty" I will make him see the "cat" before I get through with him. (Applause.)

We could not reach the farmers out there. They are a factor in all our movements there. We could not get at them, and everybody in opposition to the single tax were telling terrible things about the proposed single tax laws. The national convention of grangers met at Scranton last year, and they thought they would do something to offset the outrageous agitation in favor of single tax, so they adopted a very strong resolution denouncing the single tax. They could not have rendered us a greater service if they had tried. The Pacific rural press published it with comments, and called attention to it. It was practically the only part of the platform or of the series of resolutions that the press did call attention to. Then the Watsonville grange—that is my own home, and some of the farmers down there have had a special grudge against me for turning against my old farmer friends and working for the single tax—adopted a strong resolution denouncing single tax, and calling attention to the fact that a powerful organization was growing rapidly; that one of the men had actually seen "the thing,"

and knew that it was growing, and had heard them talk about the growth of it. (Laughter.) That was published in the rural press, and three or four fellows wrote letters to the rural press asking Judge Maguire to answer certain questions. I went down there and told the editor I didn't think it was quite fair to permit correspondents to go for me without giving me a chance to reply. He was a pretty fair sort of fellow, and he didn't think so himself. I asked him if he would give space to a communication. He said yes; if it did not exceed a page he would. (Laughter.) You see, I have the reputation of being long-winded even out there. Well, I didn't give him a page the first time, but I gave him three columns, and he published it, and it went all through the granges of the Pacific coast, and it set everyone discussing the single tax. They never would have heard the other side if the national grange had not undertaken to denounce it, and now they are anxious to hear the question discussed, and there are a lot of single tax farmers in California.

Then we concluded that nothing satisfactory could be done until the Australian ballot was adopted. (Applause.) So we went to work on that with a will. A double committee from the federation of trades—for the federation of trades is a progressive body and a fine representative body of laboring men—took the question up, and a joint committee from the single tax society assisted the federation of trades and went before the legislature at its last session. That legislature was called "Chris Buckley's legislature," but I found a great many independent and fair minded men there, and before they knew it we had succeeded in getting a favorable report of the committee on elections of both houses, and the bill actually passed the lower house before the opposition began to see they were in danger at all. They got to work then, causing a reconsideration of the measure in the lower house and preventing its passage in the upper house. This year there is to be a state election in California, and the same organizations, aided by the powerful young organization there known as the Young men's democratic league, prepared an amended ballot law and presented it with an address to the republican state convention. That august body rejected it and did not care to hear us for more than a limited time. The democratic convention was similarly approached, and the democratic convention finally adopted it by a very large majority and pledged the party to support the Australian ballot (applause), according to the form in which it was adopted in Massachusetts. This, I think, is one of the best ballot reform laws that has been passed.

Well, we have secured that, and I suppose somebody will say that it is a trade, because I am going back now to help the democrats to get the offices on condition that they help us get the ballot law.

There are three forces in society that are ever operating and having different tendencies. There is ever in society a retrogressive element, an element that desires to go backward. There is another element that thinks the world is perfectly lovely, and that the best thing in the world is to stand still. (Laughter.) There is another element, an active element, an energetic element, and an element that is growing tremendous in power at the present time; that believes in going forward; that believes that the world is getting better, and that it is the duty of every man, woman and child to press forward to better and higher conditions; and single tax men, coupled with the tariff reform men of the present time, seem to represent that element of progress. (Applause.) Our worthy guest this evening, your distinguished citizen—I am sorry to say he is your citizen now; he was ours. Not he is not your citizen. He probably votes here, but he is a citizen of the world! (Great applause.) He is the acknowledged leader and representative of that idea. I might feel called upon to say more than I shall say in introducing him to-night were it not for the fact that our beloved friend and co-worker, Mrs. Frances M. Milne of San Louis Obispo, and the sweetest singer of the movement, has supplemented the beautiful work which she did in bidding farewell to Henry George when he left our western shore by writing and forwarding to us an address of welcome which Mr. Hamlin Garland has kindly consented to read. (Great applause.)

Mr. Garland's address:

I take the lesser part of this greeting as belonging to me, because this magnificent woman who has written so much and so well of our cause, is in fact the one you are greeting in greeting me. I am very glad to have been chosen to read this poem, because I want to stand, in a way, for the women in our movement. (Applause.) This conference thus far has just one weak point, it has not women enough in it. (Applause.) Some of the finest minds in the single tax movement, as I know from personal experience and personal acquaintance, are women, and if they had the courage to stand here, they have the intellectual grasp to present the single tax conclusively and logically to any audience (applause), and I wish I could add tonight to the reading of this poem the feminine voice.

JANUARY—SEPTEMBER, 1890.

From heart to heart, the tidings sped;
From lip to lip, the message rang.

Oh, never Hope, since time began,
A sweeter, gladder pæon sang!
Earth smiled upon her Prophet's way:
The skies of winter softer shone;
And balmy were the ocean gales
That gently urged his fleet barque on.
The listening air hushed silence kept,
Then thrilled with answering bugles clear,
While o'er the swelling Austral seas
We heard our brothers' welcoming cheer!
Oh, soul to soul, we felt your joy,
Dear brothers! whom we may not see.
And, hand to hand, with you we pledge
Our lives in sacred fealty.
Beneath the glow of Egypt's skies,
The fellah toils—a hopeless slave;
And fettered earth reward withholds,
That once with lavish hand she gave.
Dread empire of the ages gone!
We tremble in thy shadowed air:
Death-shrouded city, sterile plain,
The irrevocable doom declare.

Gray desert reaches—silent, vast!
Thou, to the spirit's ear, canst tell
Of power, that awe nor pity know;
Of pride, that deep as hades fell.
O Seer of the elder time,
Who led thy captive people forth!
We, too, have heard our Prophet's voice,
And message of a grander worth.

Did we not follow where he passed?
With spirit vision undenied.
Did not our hearts within us burn,
Even as we felt him by our side?
Aye, to the nations wrapped in death,
Now, as of old, the light hath shone!
And stirred with vague unrest their dark—

To blaze with noontide's fire, anon.
Peter! thy dome attesting stands—
The glory and the shame of faith!
And Memory flits from shrine to shrine,
A pallid self-accusing wraith.
Italia—wake! the hour is here!
A greater than thy poets dreamed.
Thy land, expectant, waits to be
From ashes of the grave redeemed.

Hast thou not welcome, sunny France?
The immortal Past invokes thee now!
Imperishable glory gleams,
To crown thy City's jewelled brow.
Thy history's page hath record bright,
America can ne'er forget:
Her Prophet bears thee gift divine—
A gift to cancel all the debt!

From Scotland's glen, and England's mart,
And Ireland's green, forsaken vale,
They gather—trusted hearts and true—
To bid, God-speed his homebound sail.
Dear mother-isle! full oft, of old,
Thy sons, undaunted, bled for thee;
And sons as loyal name thee now—
The Islands of the Blest, to be.

O country nearest to his heart—
Proud star of empire's western bound!
Thy glory trembles to eclipse:
Is there no balm to heal thy wound?
Man's fairest heritage of earth!
From thy free soil shall justice spring;
And once again, with purer tone,
Thy Bell of Liberty shall ring!

A thousand, thousand welcomes home!
Our Prophet friend from journeyings far.

From thy imperial city's gates,
To San Francisco's harbor bar,
The throbbing heart-tides swell and meet
A tidal wave of joy and love;
Leader of souls! to thy high call,
Not all unworthy would we prove.

At the conclusion of the reading of the poem by Mr. Garland, Judge Maguire came forward amid vociferous cheering, and introduced Mr. George to the audience in the following words:

I said of our beloved leader that he stood at the head of the great, rising army of progress, but it is unnecessary for me to say that to-day he ranks among all thinking men as the first political economist of his time. (Applause.) A profound philosopher, with more than philosophy to his credit, having had the keenness and intelligence and untiring energy and devotion to discover great natural truths, he had the courage and tenacity, relying upon the immutable and eternal power that sustains all truth, to press them forward among his fellow men, until to-day he is more than philosopher, and wields in the councils of the nations of the modern world a greater influence and greater poten-

cy than any living man of his generation. (Applause.) It affords me infinite pleasure, after testifying my appreciation of his work—not to convince you, for you know it already—to introduce the prophet of San Francisco and the leader of the great and soon to be victorious single tax movement for the emancipation of mankind.

As Mr. George came forward to the front of the stage every eye in the great hall rose to his feet and stood waving hats and handkerchiefs and cheering wildly for several minutes, while the recipient of the ovation stood awaiting the opportunity to begin his address. Wave after wave of applause swept over the audience before it finally subsided sufficient for Mr. George to proceed. Mr. George said:

Single Tax Men and Single Tax Women of the Great American Republic: In your applause that greets me there arises in my memory the parting cheers that bade me God speed from the men of Australia. (Cheers.) I wish that it were in my power to give you the hand grip; I wish it were possible that I could convey to you that electric thrill of brotherhood that I know they would feel of whom I am thinking could they stand here to-night. There is nothing else like it—this union in a noble cause all over the world. The men who see the truth we see, the men who struggle in the fight we struggle in, are one all over the world. (Applause.)

I have come back to you from around the world. I come back to you with a firmer faith and a clearer hope; I come back, too, with the assurance that we are on the march to victory. (Applause.) We struggle to-day, the morrow is ours. There is no greeting that I could receive, no sight that could meet my eyes so inspiring as this sight of single tax men from all parts of the country. (Applause.) Not single tax men of New York, not single tax men of the American metropolis of the Empire state. The men who sit on this platform to-night, and the men who sit on these benches are from every state in the Union; every state in the Union, from Maine to Texas and from the Atlantic to the Pacific is represented here, and these are the men who represent the vanguard of those who will save the republic. (Applause.)

Greatest and freest land under the sun! Our friend spoke the words of his love, and not, I think, of his cool judgment. Great land it is; fair land is it; but freest land? Think of it! (Laughter.)

I landed to-day, as you said, four hundred and fifty of us, on the wharf, and we waited there two hours to have our baggage searched. (Hisses.) I have been sailing seas that when I was a boy were white with American sails; seas to-day unfurrowed by an American keel. Why? Because Americans are not free to build ships or to sail them. (Applause.) I have been traveling over the greatest route of the world's commerce, where you hardly see an American passenger, and an American merchant never. Myself and my wife the sole Americans on a great ship; and on the Fourth of July the subject of an effete monarchy stuck under my eyes an English paper containing an account of how "Boss Buckley" ruled San Francisco. (Applause.) And I knew as you know that it was true.

Greatest and freest country! Why, you are not free to buy half a peck of apples and go out and try to sell them without a license. The greatest and freest country in the world! Look at the picture that is presented in the capital of the American republic to-day. Congress, the congress of the United States, protracting its session into the dog days. For what? To pay by grants of spoliation from us for money that was raised to bribe and buy a presidential election. (Applause.) Greatest and freest country under the sun! I remember when the republican party was born; I remember, as William Lloyd Garrison remembers, what hopes flashed up; I remember the promises of its youth. What is this party, as represented in the three great departments in Washington to-day, doing? Why, the trusts come there to claim, as though by right, the power of fettering the industry, to claim the power of taking the proceeds of the labor of Americans from Americans, as though it was theirs to take and no man's to deny. (Applause.) No, I am not proud of the American republic, and no man who loves his country, no man who has ever realized what that banner might represent, no man who has ever felt what was the height of her destiny, how she might lead in all good things in the world, can be proud to-day of the American republic. (Applause.) But I am as never before hopeful of the American republic. (Applause.) Not yet. Freedom is not here yet, but she will come, aye, she is coming. (Applause.) And the men whom you represent, the men who to-day stand for the principles of Thomas Jefferson, the men who to-day strive not for the rights of a class, not for the rights of labor, but for the rights of men (applause); the men whose motto is there, "free trade, free land, free men" (applause), are the van guard of the men who will yet make the American republic what she ought to be; the men who will make her a beacon light to all the world, and carry her to her true place, the leadership of nations. (Applause.) Why, if we had done nothing

more than to secure, as far as it has yet gone, the triumph of honesty in the adoption of the Australian ballot system, we should have done something that would give us hope for all the future, and I congratulate you, men of New York, I congratulate you especially, upon the victory that has been won in your state; the victory that has been won in forcing by sheer force of appeals to public intelligence and to public spirit and to public virtue that reform into law with the signature of David B. Hill. (Applause.) A voice cried, "It was up-hill work," which created much laughter. More the honor then for its accomplishment, and there is still more up-hill work to be done. (Applause.) But that work is being done faster than we dared to anticipate, and of that this conference is one of the proofs to me. People constantly tell me that I am over sanguine. I did not think that it would be possible at this time to assemble at one end of the United States a representation of the active single tax men from all parts of the country as has been assembled here to-day and as will assemble here to-morrow. (Voice, "Don't forget Canada." Applause.) No, I ought not to forget Canada when I speak of the United States. In these respects I include Canada. (Applause.) I hope the time may come and come soon when between Canada and the United States there will be nothing more than the line which divides Pennsylvania from New Jersey. (Applause.) And as the single tax men would annex Canada, so would I annex the Australian colonies and annex the English speaking countries on the other side of the water. (Applause.)

What is the real thing that divides us to-day? Different forms of government? Simply the tariff line. Throw down the tariff line; give between Canada and the United States the same freedom of exchange that exists between the states of the American Union, and we would rapidly become in all respects one. Do the same thing between the United States and the Australian colonies, and in spite of the distance, so great would be the commerce, so large the intercourse, that we would essentially become one people. (Applause.)

Strike down the tariff between us and our brethren on the other side of the water and you would have to take your choice on every day of the week between an afternoon and a morning boat. (Applause.)

Aye, the destiny of this republic ought to be something more than to merely carve into states of her Union the country that lies between Canada and Mexico and the Atlantic and Pacific. It ought to be hers to lead in that greatest of great political movements—the federation of the entire English speaking race. (Applause.) And she could do it were she simply true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, did she simply not try to restrict liberty under the name of giving protection, but to give freedom, to trust liberty and to hold fast to her. Nor is this mere sentiment. I would have that freedom of intercourse between all the nations of the earth, beginning with the English speaking nations, provided a beginning was to be made, not merely for the sake of the great league that would be represented, but for the sake of the individuals of whom our nations are composed.

I think the more a man travels the more he sees of the world; the more he realizes that the whole earth and not any little part of it was created for man. (Applause.) And his tastes and desires can only be satisfied where he can take the best from every clime; where he can enjoy the instruction that comes from seeing all parts of it. I think the more a man travels the more he sees of this world; the more he sees that it is not a poor world but a rich world; that if there is poverty to-day all over the world it is not from want of productive force; it is not because the Creator has been a niggard; it is simply because everywhere men's energies are restricted; it is simply because everywhere men are denied the most fundamental of the natural rights of man. (Applause.)

Our aim, and it is the same everywhere, is not merely to banish animosities, to still prejudice, to unite the nations; it is to abolish poverty; it is to take away forever that unnatural thing, undeserved poverty. (Applause.) And that, too, not by protecting men, not by coddling men, not by condescendingly attempting to do something for any class, but by the simple means of assuring to all men equal rights, by the simple means of opening to all men those opportunities for the employment of their powers that the Creator of this world has given to them. (Applause.)

As you may see from this meeting the rapid growth our principles are making all over the United States, so it is all over the English speaking world. In Australia the movement is going forward as steadily and as rapidly as it is going forward here. Their course has been very much like our course. At the first raising of the standard men came around it who did not fully understand what it represented. All sorts of plans and half way measures were suggested, and there was for a long time a desire to hold together two sets of men who cannot possibly work together—the men who wanted freedom and the men who wanted protection. That day has passed in Australia. (Applause.) As you may see from the changing of the names of the league from Land nationalization league to the Single Tax league. Under that simple but expressive name the single tax men of

Australia, the men who hold our principles and stand for our purposes, are banded together to fight all forms of monopoly and to strike down wherever they can protection, and through that to lead to the striking down of the last robber, the robber who takes all that is left, the monopolist of the soil. (Applause.)

In England, during the time that elapsed since I was there before, I found a steady and a rapid advance going on. Why, in London, "you know" (laughter), they actually passed through the council and almost passed through parliament an edict to strike down the bars and gates with which the aristocratic owners of certain portions of London protected the streets, but at the last moment the defenders of property rallied, and they got a clause in the bill providing for compensation to the owners of these bars and barricades. (Laughter.) Good thing. Under that proposal to compensate owners for barriers and gates—and why not as well make a proposal to compensate the owners of public houses for taking away their licenses—lies a larger question. The question is whether the owners, or the gentlemen who please to call themselves owners of the land of England, are to be compensated whenever the rest of the people of England put in their claim for their share of it. It is now absolutely certain that no such compensation will ever be given. (Applause.)

All along the varying lines by which advances are being made to some settlement of the social question, to some solution of the labor difficulty, effort is converging, either intelligently or without knowing it, to the simple plan of taxing land values. (Applause.) Even the socialists, the most active and intelligent of them, at least, in their agitation are as a practical measure steadily putting forward this idea of taxing the land values. (Applause.)

Here, in England, in Scotland, in Australia, men say to me what country will be first? The Australians think it will be Australia, and they have reason to think so. The first country to impose a tax upon land values irrespective of improvements was South Australia. (Applause.) In Great Britain, both in England and in Scotland, the men think their country will be first. Perhaps they may. If one of the Australian colonies steps to the van so much the more glory for her. If, indeed, the first carrying out of our principles is to be beneath the Southern Cross, it will become a cross of promise to us. (Applause.) If it is to be in Great Britain, then we of the United States will glory in the leadership of the men of Great Britain. (Applause.) But I have always had faith that in spite of everything, every force to the contrary, that the men of the United States would have the glory of being first in the lead. (Great applause.) The numbers and the character of the men who have come to this conference; the knowledge of the men that they left behind them, but who are represented in their presence; the knowledge of the energy, the intelligence, the determination, the patience and the unwearied industry that is being given to this movement in every state, aye, in every hamlet in the United States to-day, are to me the promise that the movement that we have begun is to go forward to victory here faster than we have dared to dream. (Applause.) See how much has already been accomplished in the conversion of leading men of the democratic party to democratic principles. (Applause and laughter.) They are absolutely becoming careless of whether they are called revenue reformers or free traders. (Applause.) And at last, at last, we have reached the American farmer. (Applause.) At last the American farmer is beginning to ask, and to ask with some intelligent idea of the answer, whether he is as prosperous as he ought to be in such a well protected country, where everything is protected. (Applause.)

The judge is right. Whether they oppose us or whether they support us, they are still doing our work and aiding our movement. Denounce the single tax and men will want to know what this single tax is; and no man who does want to help his fellows; no man who realizes that his best interests are the interests of his neighbors and of his fellow citizens; no man who has the good of the community at heart; no man who is governed by fairness, can know what the single tax is without becoming a believer in single tax doctrines. (Applause.)

All over the great civilized world, as here, the labor question becomes more and more pressing. All over the civilized world to-day, in the newest of countries as in the oldest, in Australia as in Great Britain, the feeling is deepening. The present constitution of society is unjust, and it is becoming more and more unsupportable. The only thing that can remedy that injustice; the only thing that can settle the labor question, is the thing that we propose. (Applause.) Labor combinations won't do it; strikes won't do it; profit sharing won't do it; co-operation won't do it; the dealing out of cold victuals to the masses won't do it. (Applause.) The only thing that will do it is justice. (Applause.) The only thing that will do it is to carry into effect the gospel of every people; to give to every man that which belongs to him as a man; to leave to every man that which his own energy, his own skill, his own industry added to the sum of wealth. That is simply single tax. (Applause.)

What we propose is no nostrum; what we propose is simply the taking for the com-

munity that value which belongs to the community, because created by the community; and of leaving to the individual, be he capitalist or be he laborer, be he rich or be he poor, fully and unimpaired, the entire reward for his labors. (Applause.)

All over the world men are, as it were, crowded together—to take up and carry on the similitude suggested by our chairman—crowded together, pressed together; wanting order, wanting light; under conditions which make it impossible that they should develop their faculties. They are crowded and pressed together so close that other men walk on their heads. (Applause.) The way of combinations, the way of trust unionism, the way of banding together in little organizations and fighting the pressing up army will do a little for the men who are in the ring with the forces; but it cannot do anything for the whole body. The way of single tax is that of striking down all barriers that crowd men together; the casting down the fences and letting them out on God's soil, in God's fresh air, and under God's sunshine. (Applause.) As this way and that way proves insufficient; as this way and that way, this palliative and that palliative, are considered and found wanting, men must concentrate upon the true way; the way of liberty, the way of equal rights, the way of assuring to every individual the full right to use his powers, and the full security that he shall enjoy their result. (Applause.) I feel to-night, and in this gathering more than I ever felt before, that there is now no power on earth that can keep back this movement—that it must go on to victory. (Long continued applause.)

Before the meeting closed the chairman said:

There will be another meeting in this hall to-morrow evening, held for the purpose of enabling us single tax people to get better acquainted and to hear from various eloquent speakers who have come from the different states to attend this conference. There are brilliant and eloquent men among us of whom we have heard and whom we wish to hear more of.

I forgot for a moment when I spoke of the grandeur and freedom of this country, the fact that Mr. George had so recently had such a striking example of its backwardness in various regards, and I make this remark simply for the purpose of telling you a little story that was related to me. I don't know whether it is true or not. We expected the Servia in last night and it was said that if she came in after the sunset gun was fired her baggage would not be inspected and her health list examined until after sunrise in the morning, and in talking of that a gentleman said the reason of that was that the Goddess of Liberty that stands in the harbor's awake at night and sleeps in the day time; that while the Goddess of Liberty is watching and guarding the harbor and shedding her beautiful light over it, the custom house baggage ransackers do not care to engage in their traffic. (Great laughter and applause.)

TUESDAY'S SESSIONS.

The conference re-assembled on Tuesday morning, September 2, and was called to order by Chairman Post, who suggested a recess of fifteen minutes to enable the delegates from out of town to have their railway certificates signed by the agent of the railway companies, who was present in the committee room.

The recess was taken, and upon its conclusion Chairman Post again called the conference to order and announced that the first business was the special order relating to the best means of the permanent organization of the movement and the selection of a national committee.

The chair:

The secretary will read a proposed plan that has been submitted and which is laid before the conference for consideration under the special order.

Secretary Brown then read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this conference elect a committee of — members to form a federation of the single tax clubs of the United States and to conduct the affairs thereof, such committee to hold office until its successors are appointed, and to have power to fill vacancies.

Resolved, That any single tax club now or hereafter organized in the United States which subscribes to the platform adopted at this conference, and applies to said committee, shall be a member of said federation.

Resolved, That said committee shall have power to appoint, subject to approval of this conference, an executive committee, and to adopt rules consistent with the platform and address adopted at this conference.

Resolved, That said federation of clubs be called —

Resolved, That the said national committee shall call a convention upon the demand of — of the clubs associated in said federation.

Mr. Thomas Carscaden of Connecticut offered the following resolution as an amendment:

Resolved, 1. That the single tax organizations and single tax men represented in this conference do hereby constitute this body as "the national league of the single tax clubs of the United States."

2. That to this league be intrusted the direction of the work of propagating single tax principles.

3. That to further this work a national committee of one person from each state and territory here represented proposed by the delegates thereof be appointed by this league.

4. That this committee may in its discretion appoint one additional member from each state and territory not here represented.

5. That each member of this committee shall have therein a vote proportional to the number of single tax organizations represented by him.

6. That this committee shall determine the time and place and representation therein of future conventions of the national league of single tax clubs of the United States.

Mr. Jakeway of New Jersey seconded the amendment, and Mr. Carscaden said:

I will not claim after hearing the reading of the original proposition, that this amendment is an improvement, although I think that the amendment provides for a committee which will be a proper representative of the clubs of the United States. It is a question, of course, as to how far we shall particularize the duties and powers of any committee which we will appoint. But it did seem to me that in proposing this particular method we would have a committee which the single tax men of the United States could intrust with the general scope of the work which this conference is called to further.

Mr. Jakeway of New Jersey:

In seconding the amendment, I have been moved by an observation of the actions of political parties and their tendency to get out of control of those who create them. It has been the history of all movements that they have been manipulated from the top down. Now, I believe that the people of this country want an institution that is to be manipulated from the bottom up. Therefore, I am in favor of a method of procedure that will express the ideas of the men who compose this conference. I propose to establish the precedent here that the power lies in the people, and I hope for that reason that the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. Knight of Pennsylvania:

I believe, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the object of the substitute as read is a good one. We might make a little change in the clause which provides that the committee appoint a representative from states or territories not now represented here. I believe that should be left to the states and territories concerned.

Mr. Ward of Illinois:

I would like to add to that amendment a clause which shall read, "who shall serve on the national committee until their successors are chosen by the organizations of the state or territory which they represent."

Mr. Hammill of New York:

I consider that we are discussing the most important resolution that could emanate from this conference—the appointment of a national committee. The safer way is to have the members elected in open conference. I understand the original proposition to be that the committee appointed shall suggest a national committee which the conference in open meeting can decide to accept or reject. The original proposition meets with my support. There is one point I wish to call attention to and that is the manner in which emphasis has been placed upon the states and territories represented in this conference. There are many organizations who would willingly have sent delegates to this conference, but were prevented from doing so through want of means.

Mr. Warren of New Hampshire:

I agree with the remarks of the gentleman who preceded me. We do not want to have the organizations in states and territories who are out in the cold through want of means governed entirely by an executive committee over which they have no control. I think we can do better at this time by voting for the substitute than for the original.

Mr. McDowell of Tennessee:

I would like to make a motion that a committee of three or five be appointed to consult together and modify the original motion and amendment.

The chair:

It is moved and seconded that the proposition be referred to a committee for revision.

Mr. Carscaden of Connecticut:

It seems to me that this business is taking the proper way. In submitting my amendment I would expressly urge upon the attention of the committee the fact that this amendment provides for a committee of general powers and scope, but at the same time one which, by the limitations of its appointment, will always be a representative of the single tax men of the United States assembled in their clubs, large or small.

Mr. Norton of Alabama suggested that no member be allowed to speak more than once upon the same subject, owing to lack of time.

Mr. Barrett of New Jersey moved that the matter be referred to the regular committee on resolutions.

The chair:

These propositions are not resolutions within the sense of matters within the province of that committee.

Mr. Moxham of Pennsylvania:

A good many of us would like to hear the amendment stated again.

The chairman then asked the secretary to read the resolutions, which was done, and announced that the pending motion was one to refer them to a committee.

Dr. W. S. Thackeray of New York next obtained the floor, and coming to the platform spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have asked permission on this occasion to come forward and to come upon the platform in order that I might make somewhat clearer perhaps to everybody here than I could have done if I stayed in my seat the exact reason why I am here at all. I am here as the representative of a body of single tax supporters of whom probably few of you have heard anything at all, and those of you who have heard of us have heard very little. I am secretary of the Single tax brotherhood of religious teachers. This brotherhood has not been formed very long, but since its formation its time has been taken up very largely in laying what I hope will prove to be a very suitable foundation for a very useful and powerful structure in furthering the work which all of us are engaged in. I wish to take up a few moments and I shall not, perhaps, trouble you further in speaking of this organization before referring directly to the subject matter of the resolution. As I said, we are a brotherhood that has been formed for the purpose of indicating to the world that the single tax principle and the principles of free trade and ballot reform, and other allied reforms which I may include under the general name of single taxism, are of a religious nature. The members of this brotherhood have bound themselves together for this purpose. We are mainly ministers of the gospel, but not exclusively. Our great friend, whom I believe no one respects more than we ministers do, our great leader, Henry George, has on very many occasions appealed to the ministers who have been present at his various meetings, asking them to come forward if they already understood the subject, and if they did not understand it to lose no time in endeavoring to understand it, and when they had so far understood it that they were able to subscribe to it and not merely able to subscribe to it for their own individual selves, but likewise felt themselves competent to stand up before the world and express their opinions, he called upon them to use their power and influence as soon as they had reached that point.

Mr. Henry George at this moment entered the hall, and he was received with loud cheers, after which Dr. Thackeray continued his address as follows:

Mr. George will bear witness that I am making a statement which is not one whit behind the truth. Mr. George, I have just been stating that on various occasions when ministers were present in meetings addressed by you, you have appealed to them to interest themselves and to work for these principles, and when they had understood this doctrine so far that they were qualified also to undertake to explain it to others that it was their right and proper function to come forward before the world and take it upon themselves as religious men and religious teachers to explain this question of the single tax in its religious aspect, and in the face of the whole world to indorse it. (Applause.) Now that, my good friends, is the reason why I am here to-day, and I thought it was only right as I am but one of a considerable number who were here yesterday, and a number of whom also are here to-day, and whose presence perhaps is not so clearly manifest in the organizations of states and territories, I thought it was well that I, as the secretary of this brotherhood, should undertake to call your attention to the fact that here in the first single tax national conference which has ever been called together we ministers are not to be hereafter reproached as having been conspicuous by our absence. (Applause.) That is a fact which has been very frequently charged against us, and I wish to say in defense not merely of myself, but of all other ministers, that there is perhaps a very good reason and a very special reason why we should not be too hasty in coming to a conclusion about the single tax or in putting ourselves too readily forward as advocates of it. You must remember that you as individual laymen are responsible for your own individual opinions and happily for very little else besides. We, as ministers, if we announce ourselves as having adopted and received a certain opinion, are not merely required to be satisfied within our own conscience of the truth of that opinion, but we are expected to be ready to face all comers, and not merely to explain it to those who are willing and favorably disposed to hear about it, but we are required to be ready to meet every opponent and every objection that may be brought forward. If we announce ourselves in favor

of a certain thing we must be prepared on the moment we are called upon to answer any and every objection anybody makes against it. For that reason you will readily understand that it is no light matter. He must hesitate and think over it very seriously in his own mind before he can be prepared to take that position. I am not now speaking of myself, because this is a matter that I have thought about for a good many years, and I did not hesitate in private to argue the question with all opponents that I came across in my private social relations. But as a matter of public announcement it is a thing that everybody must weigh very cautiously and carefully and must feel in his own mind that confidence which does not come from enthusiasm merely, but from thoroughly weighing and understanding on every side the issue that is contained in the problem. (Applause.) That is the reason why I now come forward to declare exactly what our position and function in this work of the single tax is. You gentlemen, laymen, study the question largely as a matter of political economy. Mr. Henry George, than whom, as was said yesterday, there is no one more competent and no one who has done more to clear up the foggy points of political economy in this our day, has a special function in putting this question before the world as a question of political economy.

A point of order was raised that the speaker was not speaking directly to the motion before the house, but general consent was given, and Dr. Thackeray proceeded as follows:

I was going on to say that Mr. Henry George does not argue this question on exclusively the same grounds as we ministers may do it. We are the official exponents of the single tax as a religious question. By our presence here we therefore occupy a peculiar position, and that is the point which will make it clear to our friend, Mr. Molina, who has raised this point of order, why I am endeavoring to make this matter perhaps a little more obvious than it has been. We are here to expound the single tax as a religious question, and to show that it has a religious basis, that it is founded fundamentally upon a religious truth. That is our special function, and if anybody questions it I wish to ask him to bear in mind the fact that this brotherhood is in existence and has undertaken the function of expounding it as a religious question. (Applause.) Now I will point out exactly what is the point that has special reference to the motion. Our brotherhood is not confined to any one state in this country. We have members scattered all over the United States. We shall have some also in Canada. When you come therefore to a matter of organization, as I observe in these resolutions you propose to organize on the basis of states and territories, I wish merely to call your attention to the fact that we will be practically excluded. The Single tax brotherhood of religious teachers, in order to have a proper position such as they desire to occupy, do not desire to have a merely nominal connection with this single tax federation. We feel that we have a large field before us, and desire, therefore, to be placed in a position whereby we will be able to make ourselves felt as ministers and religious teachers who have one special department of the single tax within our special care. With reference to these resolutions we think it would be better not to be entirely excluded from a position upon this national committee, as we will be unless there be some provision made not dependent exclusively upon an organization by states and territories. I have another suggestion to make. I think we ministers should not be counted as so many single units without any representation, and I therefore ask that the single tax conference be willing to allow us to have a voice in this committee of management. (Applause.)

Mr. Geiselman of Pennsylvania—I move that debate upon this subject now close and the vote be taken upon its reference to a special committee.

Secretary Brown then read two other propositions relative to national committee, as follows:

From Mr. Charles F. Adams of Washington City—I suggest that every member of the national committee have therein one vote for every single tax constituent represented by him at the time.

Also from Mr. R. G. Brown the following:

Resolved, That the national committee consist of one member from every state, territory and District of Columbia and five members from the country at large, said five members to be located in the immediate vicinity of New York city, so as to be within easy communication for cases of emergency requiring immediate action.

Resolved, That every proposed measure be submitted to each member of said committee in writing, and that no measure be adopted by the committee until a majority of the members thereof shall have forwarded to the secretary their votes in writing in favor of said measure, the committeemen appointed by the national committee from states or territories, not represented here, to serve until their successors are chosen by the single tax leagues of said state or territory.

Mr. Erickson of Minnesota—The question before the house seems to me one of the gravest importance. The committee to formulate these resolutions seems to me absolutely necessary. If such a committee is appointed I want to offer a motion that five hundred copies of the report be printed to circulate among the members of this conference, so that we can sit right down and look it over, and if we have any fault to find or suggestions to make we will be prepared to make them. It seems to me that there has been an effort made here to stop the making of suggestions. The committee ought undoubtedly be appointed from the floor, and if anyone had any suggestions to make now is the accepted time, and I hope that the chair will give any member here who wants to speak on this question full opportunity.

Mr. H. Martin Williams of Missouri—I would like to suggest that in the case of states and territories not represented the committee member be named by the enrolment committee from among well known and reliable single tax workers. I would also like to suggest that the members of this committee need not necessarily be members present at this conference.

Mr. Thompson of New York—I desire to make the suggestion that the delegates meet by states and elect members of said committee; that the delegates vote by clubs, each club to have one vote.

Mr. Conroy of Virginia—In my part of the country there are no single tax clubs, although there are many single tax men there. I came here at their personal request and would respectfully ask the committee, when selected, to take us into consideration.

Mr. Norton of Alabama—I understand that this committee is simply to report to the conference, and the conference may adopt their report or not as it sees fit.

The Chairman—According to the pending motion the report of the committee will not be final.

Mr. Norton of Alabama—I wish to say that I favor reference of this whole matter immediately and without further delay to a committee, who shall take this question from the somewhat chaotic state in which it is now in and put it in such shape that this conference shall pass upon it section by section.

Mr. Croasdale of New York—I have necessarily been absent a good deal, as this is the day THE STANDARD goes to press. I wish to say one or two things, not by way of objection to any of the propositions pending, but to offer suggestions called up by Mr. Williams's resolution. It is the expectation and hope of the enrolment committee that this conference will organize an authoritative committee prepared to take charge of this work which will be able to relieve it and let the enrolment committee pass out of existence. We are a self-constituted body of people who work at this enrolment business, and during the first year of our existence at least ninety per cent of all the expenses were met by about three individuals. We made an appeal to the country, and when it was necessary to make the appeal we felt at once that it was necessary that there should be a representative body authorized to make the appeal. I am also informed that the committee which has done such splendid work in Tennessee (applause), of which our secretary is a member and a man who has done a great deal of the work, Mr. Smith

tells me, are likewise anxious to transfer the burden and responsibility now resting upon them. Now, had I been able to be here without neglecting other duties, it was my purpose to propose a motion for the appointment of a committee on organization and plan of work. I thought that such a committee should take all the indigestible plans which were first brought before us and put them in shape. Do we want to form a national league of single tax clubs? That is the question. It seems to me we ought to be able to vote on that with comparatively little debate. Do we further want a national committee? I think we ought to have a national committee of one from each state. Then, also, by way of suggestion, I would like to say that I think there should be an executive committee of that body, composed of men who are near to whatever state is selected as their headquarters, because of the work involved in such a thing. I know by personal experience, it involves a great deal. I know what it has involved for the secretary of the enrolment committee, Mr. George St. John Leavens, a man who has had the good fortune to have a comfortable home in the country, but who has given up his home and worked in this hot city all summer, in order that the work of this conference might be well done. (Applause.) In constituting this committee, while it is necessary that it should have a national character, you should find four or five men who will agree to do the work, and you should also find as many men as there are states and territories in this Union who will engage to find the money to do that work. Speaking for myself, I am more than confident that I cannot afford and I will not afford to give so much of my personal service to this cause hereafter because I cannot afford it. These are things that somebody must think about. We must understand the difficulty. I think therefore there should be a motion to refer these various propositions to a special committee. That is practically the only way in which this conference can get the matter into such a shape that it can act upon it intelligently. A mere national committee without knowing what the conference wants to do will practically amount to nothing. Above all things I want to say to this conference—get together and resolve upon a line of action, appoint a national committee, competent and eager to carry out the work.

Mr. Ripley of Illinois—I offer a resolution that to the body of delegates provided for under the motion pending be added representatives of the Brotherhood of religious teachers and the New churchmen's single tax league.

Mr. John Filmer of New York offered the following additional resolutions and suggestions:

Resolved, That the national committee consist of one member from every state, territory and District of Columbia, and five members from the country at large, said five members to be located in the immediate vicinity of New York city, so as to be within easy communication for cases of emergency requiring immediate action.

Resolved, That every proposed measure be submitted to each member of said committee in writing, and that no measure be adopted by the committee until a majority of the members thereof shall have forwarded to the secretary their votes in writing in favor of said measure; the committeemen appointed by the national committee from states or territories not represented here to serve until their successors are chosen by the single tax leagues of said state or territory.

Suggestion to committee:

That all associations of men or women who are working for the propagation of the single tax doctrine, instead of meeting by name of the Brotherhood of religious teachers and the New Churchmen's single tax league, should be inserted in Mr. Ripley's amendment.

Mr. Shriver of New York—I do not like to see any resolution passed which is in the nature of instructions to the committee. I refer to the proposition that a delegate from the clergymen's organizations shall be added to the national committee. While we are all very glad to have the aid of these organizations, this movement is a political one, and it seems to me we should work on the lines of representation by states or localities, and

should not establish the precedent of recognizing associations which cover the entire country. We would open a very wide door if such associations were to be admitted to the single tax league.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—It seems to me that this thing is going now in the direction of a great big machine. I have no use for machines. My friend Erickson and I helped to smash a machine the other day before we came here. It seems to me that the resolution to permit every single tax club to have a vote through its member of the national committee puts a direct premium upon the organization of bogus single tax clubs. (Applause.) If you will permit me to say it I do not think this national committee should ever be so organized as to take this matter of enrolment out of the hands of the men that have had it for the last two years. (Applause.) Neither do I believe, Mr. Chairman, that any national committee should ever be so organized as to take the other matter out of the hands of the Memphis single tax club. Those men of Memphis have started the matter voluntarily. They have carried it on to the point where it is now reaching success, and the best we can do is to put our hands down in our pockets and help them to carry it on. Let them keep it. They are its natural custodians. But let us help them financially to do their work. Let us help Mr. Croasdale and Mr. St. John Leavens to carry on the work which they have undertaken. Suppose it was undertaken by them voluntarily. Suppose they did take the initiative. What has been the history of this whole movement if it has not been the history of voluntary initiation? Do you suppose "Progress and Poverty" would have been written if Henry George had waited for a national conference? (Applause.) No, Mr. Chairman, the men of each locality have got to carry on the work that they themselves find that they are competent to carry on. We men of Minnesota do not want any national committee to dictate what we will do, and we won't have it. We may not be doing very much, but we are doing a good deal more than we could if we had any bosses over us. Now we are prepared to sustain and support these men from Memphis and here in New York, but we are not prepared to see their work turned over to a national committee composed of one member from each state.

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey—Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Buell is perhaps too vehement in denouncing machines. It is by machinery that we have made our material progress, and it is by machinery that we must attempt to make our moral progress. We single tax men of this country cannot afford to ignore any means. While heartily agreeing with Mr. Buell in what he said about leaving the Memphis and New York work in the hands of the gentlemen who have carried it on, I think the time has come for a national conference to extend the work of both those committees on national lines. I think the men of Memphis themselves desire that. There is no to be any attempt, as I understand it, to interfere with local work. It is merely that local work has outgrown the localities where it started and can only be extended by a national organization. And I would move an amendment to the motion now pending to the effect that it is the sense of this conference that a national committee be formed to consist of such membership as is thought most desirable to carry on these matters.

The chairman—The pending motion is one to refer the subject to a special committee.

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey—But the special committee would have no instructions from this conference, no guide.

Mr. Smith of Tennessee—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The Memphis single tax association is much obliged for the kindly words that have been spoken. I would like to say that the importance of that work in Memphis depends absolutely upon the continued life and health of Mr. R. G. Brown, who is doing that work. I have been engaged so much for the past six months that I could not give my time to it, and Mr. McDowell has been similar-

ly occupied. If Mr. Brown had become ill during that time the work would have gone down and the copy would not have been furnished. It seems to me that no supposed fear of machines ought to prevent us from putting the work on such a basis that it will be done as certainly as THE STANDARD is issued every Wednesday. It must be made the business of practical men who, if they drop out, can be replaced by others. I believe in machines that will work for the right. You will never accomplish anything without machines. Those states which have done work for the single tax are the states that have machines. I mean by that organizations that have adopted business methods. It is plain that the single tax men of Memphis cannot give their time to this work, and it is vitally important that the work should be centered in some great center of the Union, where the work could be done near THE STANDARD office, because, among many reasons, the information that comes in there can be selected more easily. New York is the center of the world. We all come here sooner or later. It seems to me that what we want is a national committee composed of one member for each state and territory and the District of Columbia, and in addition to that, five men who shall be selected by us, but whose residence shall be so close to the center of operation as will enable them to meet easily in the city of New York. And if there are no representatives except from the different states, then I tell you that Tennessee would choose for its representative some man who lives in New York, because we know that there are several gentlemen whose names it is of vital importance to have on that committee. The gentleman from Minnesota said he wanted to have no one dictate to him. With regard to local work this committee would not dictate. I can see many advantages in the plan I have suggested.

Mr. Brown of Tennessee—I want to say one word about the work in Memphis. It originated with the gentleman who has just taken his seat. From his brain sprang the idea, and it is a great one. (Applause.) Owing to circumstances, the practical carrying out of the work was intrusted to me. I thank God that during the time it has been in my hands I have enjoyed excellent health, and have been able to give to it about six or seven hours a day. We had a little machine in Memphis, but it was very efficient. But, as Mr. Croasdale said, I am unwilling and unable to give my time and sacrifice my business interests, as I have done since last December, to this work; I can carry it on no more. And if it does not fall into the hands of the national committee, or a special committee appointed by this conference, I fear that it will wane from day to day and finally die away. Since last December the Memphis association has been able to get two columns of single tax matter of the best that has appeared in THE STANDARD during that time in 700 newspapers scattered throughout the west and northwest. These single tax communications are being published in 700 papers with an average circulation of 525 to the paper and an average number of six readers to each copy. So that they have thereby reached from week to week two and a half millions of people. I can no longer do this work, and I will turn it over to this conference, to do with it as it seems best. I have no fear of machines, provided we have proper men at the head. Machinery will be as powerful to aid our industry as other machinery is to aid the material production of wealth, which, as Judge Maguire of San Francisco has stated, has increased the efficiency of labor elevenfold.

Mr. Adams of the District of Columbia—When a pent-up reservoir of Minnesota eloquence breaks loose, it takes a great deal of courage to get in the way of the current. But, Mr. President, even Minnesota eloquence and the fiery outbreak of our esteemed friend, Mr. Buell, can stand sometimes a little bit of criticism. His protestations that he will not be bulldozed or dictated to, and that Mr. Bolton Smith of Tennessee shall not be inter-

fered with, reminds me of the emphatic declaration of Mrs. Micawber, that she never would desert Mr. Micawber. Nobody had asked her, nobody had threatened to wean away her tender affections from Mr. Micawber. (Laughter and applause.) It is a nihilistic, anarchistic doctrine which our friend puts forward when he wants to call our national committee a machine. It is part of the work we are called upon to do. A long time has been taken in proposing plans for the constitution of that committee, and there need be no fear of the dictation of a machine. The spirit of the American people would prevent any machine from interfering with Mr. Bolton Smith, and I do not think any machinery in the world would prevent Mr. George from writing another "Progress and Poverty" if he so desired. To say that machinery is ipso facto bad and tyrannical, is to say that no government shall exist. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. Everytime that any machine appointed by us proves to have the tricks of the old machine we must smash it, and go back to the original material, the single tax men of the country. The question is not between organization and anarchy, but between one kind of organization and another. Shall it be democratic, in which every member can be controlled by his constituents? I hope it shall be so, and I look to see our friend from Minnesota one of the most brilliant members of it.

Mr. Bucklin of Colorado—Gentlemen of the convention: There are certain things which make necessary a general machine. It is impossible to carry on the single tax movement effectively without having some organization. So while there may be certain local interests which the national committee should not interfere with, yet as to the general single tax movement it certainly is necessary that there should be a general organization. I am not afraid that this general committee will attempt to interfere with local matters.

Mr. Hiscock of Massachusetts—I believe that organization on a national basis is a necessity. Since it has been shown that many men here have exhausted all their powers for carrying on certain work and can no longer continue it on those lines, it becomes necessary to turn it over to those who are able to carry it on and place it under control of this national committee. I hope we shall see the necessity of referring this matter to a committee which shall be able to put the whole subject in shape.

Mr. White of Illinois—I would not interrupt a discussion at this point except to refer to Mr. Buell. It seems to have been understood that he was opposed to organization. But Mr. Buell, as I understand it, only opposed certain features in some of the resolutions presented.

Mr. Buell—That's it.

Mr. White—And Mr. Buell's position makes clear the absolute necessity of referring the whole matter to a committee in order to have it straightened out.

The motion that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to whom shall be referred all the propositions that have been read was then put and carried unanimously.

The chair appointed on the committee Mr. McDowell of Tennessee, Mr. Buell of Minnesota, Mr. Croasdale of New York, Mr. Ripley of Illinois, and Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey.

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey moved to instruct the committee that it is the sense of the conference that a federation of clubs be formed and a national committee appointed.

The question was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Croasdale of New York moved that as soon as the business on the secretary's table be cleared a recess be taken until 2 o'clock. Carried.

The names of the committees upon platform and resolutions, already announced by the chair, were again read by Secretary Brown.

The secretary also read the following letter from the Kansas City single tax club:

SINGLE TAX HEADQUARTERS,
KANSAS CITY, MO., Aug. 20.
To the Chairman and Members of the First

National Single Tax Conference, Cooper union, New York, Greeting—Gentlemen: It is now, at the last moment, apparent that I cannot attend the conference, and it is with the deepest regret that I am compelled to say so. But we single tax men of Kansas City are with you, and we are in the movement to stay, through thick and thin, to the end.

From the nebulous stage—all along the years 1881 till 1886—the spirit of the grand principles of "Progress and Poverty" finally took shape, were born, in the mayoralty campaign of the year 1886, and the infant has grown with a healthy and prodigious growth. Now has arrived an epoch which marks the beginning of a more virile—a broader growth. Gentlemen, this is the initial act of the movement as a national one, and it is the desire, the hope of our club, that you take such measures as will establish a permanent national committee. Like Pallas Athene, who stepped forth fully armed from the head of Jupiter, may a national single tax committee—a truly representative organization—after the conference has dissolved, remain to begin a task that it alone can successfully assume. The time is ripe for it; its creation should not be delayed. I voice the sentiments of our club.

With the warmest congratulations to our distinguished leader, whom providence in its goodness and wisdom has returned safe to us after his long journey, and to all our brothers assembled in Cooper union, I have the honor to be, gentlemen, in the name of the Single tax club of Kansas City, fraternally yours,
CHARLES E. REED,
Delegate-elect to the national single tax conference.

P. S.—Our club is unanimously opposed to any third party movement.

The morning session then adjourned.

The afternoon session was called to order by Chairman Post at half past 2 o'clock.

Mr. William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts—I rise to move that the roll of states be called, in order that one or more of the delegates shall address us in speeches not to exceed ten minutes, giving each section a chance to be heard from.

The motion was carried, and Mr. E. Q. Norton of Alabama was called for and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I shall trespass on your time but a very few moments. I have a rather formidable looking book here, but do not propose to read all there is in it. I may read nothing, but I may possibly want to refer to it. I will briefly state the condition of things in Alabama as I found them a little over three years ago, and the condition of things as they appear now to me. On my going to Alabama I took the same interest in political matters that I had taken for years past, wherever my home has been. I had been for years a republican. I was looked upon by the majority of the democratic party in the south as a republican, and it was stated that I was there for the purpose of uniting the colored vote with the labor element to the disadvantage of the democratic party. The best way for me to act in regard to a story of that kind was to take no notice of it, but to simply go on about my business and advocate the single tax and free trade and all that they involved. A very few months after going to Alabama they organized what was called a labor party, which, as I understood it, was not so much to be an active party as to be a menace to the two parties then in existence in the state of Alabama. Those of you who have not lived in the south cannot understand the situation there with regard to the race problem, and I wish to say now that what is called the race problem in my estimation will be settled, if it is ever settled, most effectually by the single tax. I challenge any paper to bring forward one single instance of injustice or wrong that is done to the colored man of the south, that is not done equally to the poor whites. (Applause.) There is no more scruple on the part of the managers of the south in throwing out a white man's vote than there is in throwing out a colored man's vote, if it is not on the right side and does not suit them. I have heard it stated by one of the most prominent men in the south that he had stuffed many a ballot box, and would do it again if occasion called for it. I have advocated, ever since being there, the Australian system of voting. I have the honor of being the first man in Alabama to pub-

licly advocate that measure. Our leading daily in Mobile a few years ago criticized and derided me on account of it. They had never heard of it before I explained it at the labor convention. They also ridiculed the single tax and said that it was a plan by which some persons hoped that roasted pigs would be running round with knives and forks stuck in them, and every man would be invited to come and take a slice to suit himself. To show you the progress made in the ideas of the people there, I have also in this scrap book from this same daily an editorial printed in February last, in fact, three editorials in different issues, speaking in the highest terms of the Australian system of voting. At our last meeting of the legislature, what was known as the Lawson bill was introduced and found considerable favor, but not sufficient to become a law. But rest assured that Alabama will have the Australian system of voting before two years are out.

There is a great race problem in Alabama, and it is such a problem as no human scheme can ever solve. There is but one thing that will solve it, and that is justice, and that alone. When we settle this single tax question I need not say how that will open opportunities for all our labor there, and we all know that the tendency is for men to do right when they are doing well. Let us have prosperity in Alabama as we might have it, and we would find nothing but peace, harmony and plenty. That state, containing 52,000 square miles more than the state of Ohio, has within it wealth sufficient to support the entire world. Over 2,000,000 acres of land to-day are unoccupied. For these and many other reasons it becomes difficult for us to press home the single tax question upon those people. They say "There is plenty of land to be had. What are you talking about? You are crazy to say that people want access to natural opportunities when there is all this land vacant." I have had, I suppose, not less than 30,000 acres of land offered to me if I would go and live upon it, as a form of argument that the single tax would be no solution of this question, because there was plenty of land to be had free. But I ask you, what is the land worth if you cannot market your products? We want something besides cotton and provisions. We want freedom of exchange. We want to sell what we can raise there best for what we need. We have heard of orators in both parties advocating that what the south needs is to raise their own products. They say, let us raise our own corn and wheat, and don't get them from the north. But they don't talk that way in the south. They know what that means. Never was any section of the country so well protected and forced to diversify its industries as the south was during the late rebellion. They made everything and were obliged to raise everything that they subsisted on, and they are amused at hearing of people telling them how protection diversifies industry. (Laughter and applause.) There are some things we can raise in Alabama to greater advantage and less cost than anywhere else in the world. What Pennsylvania and Ohio and other iron and steel producing states will want soon is not protection from abroad but protection from Alabama. We can make to-day in Alabama iron for less than \$7 a ton, and we can make steel for \$9. Now if protection is a good thing I don't see why the Pennsylvania protectionists don't take that into consideration and draw a tariff line between Alabama and Pittsburgh. (Applause.) We need in the south factories to manufacture the cotton that we raise there. There are certain products that we can manufacture in Mobile to the greatest advantage, owing to its peculiar situation. I was told to-day that a New England city had increased fifteen thousand in population within the last few years on account of factories being established there, because of its being such a peculiarly bad place favorable to the production of a certain kind of cotton goods. Now Mobile is better situated than any place in the world for certain manufactures on account of its humidity,

To briefly illustrate the change in public opinion there, I will speak of my first experience and the condition of things to-day. So far as I know, I am the only person in Alabama who has publicly advocated the single tax and does so now. When I first went there I was active in politics, supposing that I had a perfect right to be so. I received threatening notices tucked under my store at night. My store door was made a receptacle of all the filth that could be put there. I kept these things to myself, and very few people knew of them. They did not stop there. I had men come into my store who told me, with apparent interest in my welfare, that I had better drop this matter; that I didn't understand the temper of the south. The people would not submit to it. I must remain years and prove what my intentions were before they would permit me to take part in anything of that kind. When they found they could not persuade me to desist, they began to threaten me. I have been threatened with violence, and have escaped it with difficulty. But in spite of all this, I say that life and property to-day in the south are just as free as in the north. You may think that an apparent contradiction. But I believe that the men who did do these things, the men who sent me threatening notes, do not represent the people of the south. (Applause.) There is nothing strange in the fact that they should mistrust me at first. I was willing to hide my time, let them see what I wanted, and give me credit for honesty. Now, I say, there is intimidation in the south, but not of the shotgun kind. There is just the same kind of intimidation that is practiced all over the north, the west, and the northwest.

You may hold up before the workingman at a New England factory town a ticket in which are his wages, and printed on that ticket are certain suggestions that if he does not vote and work for a certain party his services will be no longer required. That is just as effectual as to stand a man up before a shotgun. As I understand it it does not matter how a man is intimidated if his vote is suppressed or diverted from the way he wants to cast it. What I have said is that you might understand the situation in Alabama. I want this single tax conference to give us assistance and encouragement. I have never asked for a cent from the central committee in New York or from any other source. I have spent freely over \$2,000 and have twice had my business destroyed, and would do it gladly again and spend quite as much. I have been comforted in my struggle by one who has done more to help me than a thousand men could do, and that is my wife. (Applause.) While I was chairman of the labor committee there devolved upon me a duty of writing to every prominent man in the state, including candidates for office. I sent them a copy of our platform and asked them to what extent they would advocate the reforms we demanded. I got a great many replies, some persons offering to sell out. One man wrote me, "If I should ever be so lucky or unlucky as to be sent back to Montgomery again by the voters of my county I will say this much: if I sell the labor party knowingly I will get the worth of them and divide with you equally." (Laughter.) But the labor party in Alabama though small is not made of that material. We neither buy nor sell. Now, as I said, I could never have accomplished one one-hundredth part of what we did succeed in doing if I had not had the assistance of my wife. One day she wrote and directed 255 letters, and it took her from early morning until 3 o'clock the next morning before she got them off. She is to-day alone by herself in my house without protection but a little colored girl and a revolver, which she knows well how to use. I would not have consented to come and leave her alone if I had not felt that on the whole life in the south is as safe as anywhere in this country.

With regard to the political movement there democrats and republicans alike are deserting the protectionist idea. Yesterday Mr. Post spoke of sweeping the dem-

ocratic party into free trade. I am well aware of the fact that he has no objections to sweep the republican party there, too. With the fact staring us in the face that Mr. Blaine comes as near to free trade as he can, qualifying it by only one word, was a fact that the manufacturers of the New England states, led by ex-Governor Ames, are favoring more and more a reduction of the tariff; with the fact that the ablest men of the republican party are really and truly free traders; with the fact that Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio, among the republicans, is a free trader at heart; with the fact that the republicans of Ohio to-day are forcing McKinley to call off his dogs of war, I say this tendency goes to show that the republican party is verging dangerously near to free trade. That being the case I don't see how the other party can help being swept in. For my part I do not want the expression here to be so unanimous on the democratic side that the democratic party will think that they are sure of the single tax men. I do not want them to think they have a mortgage on us, and that we are bound to go with them. (Applause.) They have got to come our way, and they must understand so. (Great applause.) The last thing said to me by some democrats there was, "Don't push the free trade idea too hard." They were perfectly satisfied in their own minds, but were in fear of the masses. I have confidence enough in the masses to trust them. I believe that the masses are fast being educated to free trade. The most bitter opposition that I have had in the south has come from some of the labor men there. We first had a land and labor club, and got forty-two persons to sign the constitution, and every one paid ten cents as his first week's dues. But before the first month was out, when they began to understand that the single tax involved absolute free trade, our club was busted. And these men are now coming back. There are only one or two left who are still sticking about absolute free trade, and they are on the fence, and say they want to study the question a little more. Take it as a fact that the same questions that interest the north interest the people of the south. The people of the north and west are going south and investing money. We feel that the surest guarantee of peace, we single tax men, feel is international trade. And trade among ourselves between northern men and southern men is the surest guarantee that there will be no further trouble between the sections. The only thing we have to face of a very serious character is the colored question. My fixed opinion is that, instead of attempting to solve the race problem, we must solve the labor problem, and I believe that will solve the other issue.

The state of California was next called, and Judge Maguire said he thought he would reserve his speech for the evening, as he was one of the regular speakers then and had also spoken the night before. But he had with him in the delegation an ex-president of the San Francisco single tax society, Mr. H. L. Pleace, whom he took pleasure in introducing. Mr. Pleace spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is with great pleasure I meet you here on this occasion. I am from among the ranks of the workers. I realized that there was a great injustice being done to the working people, and I searched for a number of years to find what was best for the masses. Thinking, as I at first did, in the way of protection and republicanism, I realized, after a little while, that they did not fill the bill; I found that other countries had protection and did not pay the same amount of wages or give the same return for labor as nations that did not consider protection a means of salvation. As a result I became freed from that idea. Then I became more or less of a prohibitionist; I thought that that would be a means of bettering the condition of the mass of the people. For two years I worked as zealously as I have worked for the promulgation for the single tax until I came to the conclusion that there was something else to be done,

I do not wish to indicate in any manner whatever that I failed to realize that in the whisky business there is a great stumbling block in the way of this nation, not only from individual excesses, but from the political power on the part of the rumsellers to virtually disfranchise you and me. After some little talk, I came to the conclusion that prohibition was not the means of solving this problem. I realized that if we put out all the men engaged in the liquor business without opening up natural opportunities our condition would be worse off to-morrow. Let loose all the men that are engaged in the liquor business into the cramped up natural opportunities that we have to-day and it would cause a regular panic in the labor market. I came back to first principles to try to establish justice between man and man, to give every person opportunities to enter the labor market free and untrammelled. The result has been that I have felt a satisfaction in my mind that we have entered into a fight which is bound to be victorious because we are standing on the earth for foundation, have justice as a principle, and hope to guide us on to future victory.

There is one thing I wish to speak about; that is how to meet the masses. I do not know any better way than taking hold of a man's hand, looking right into his face, and talking to him about the justice of the single tax. It carries with it such a power, such an influence that I care not what kind of a man he is; if he has the power of reason or one particle of conscience, he is bound to come our way, and we want no other power than justice to get the people to come our way. The best and most potent factor which we can use for the spread of the single tax is personal appeal. Talk to a man upon this subject. I have been actually surprised at the wonderful progress that seems to be making in the minds of the people round about San Francisco. They are coming to the conclusion that our remedy is the best and the only way, and what do you think? One man who had the pleasure of listening to Dr. McGlynn when he talked at the Metropolitan theatre, became a thorough single tax man. I am pleased that the delegates think so highly of that esteemed man. He made among us in San Francisco some wonderfully warm personal friends. This man of whom I am speaking, Mr. Martin of San Francisco, said, "I was a single tax man the morning after I heard Dr. McGlynn. I hear you are going to the single tax conference. Just put me down for \$5 to help send you there." This shows the power in truth. We have a number of phases of this question to present. There is no doubt that from a Christian standpoint there is a wonderful magnetism in spreading this single tax idea; and then there is the fiscal side. There are many phases and we ought to keep all of them and work along to the idea of getting back to natural opportunities. I thank you, gentlemen, for the opportunity of speaking here. (Applause.)

The committee appointed at the morning session then appeared and announced that they were ready to report. The order of business for the making of speeches was suspended for the purpose of taking up the report of the committee on permanent organization. Secretary Brown then read the report as follows:

Resolved, That the delegates here assembled be and are hereby organized into the single tax league of the United States. All organizations subscribing to the national single tax platform shall be eligible for membership.

Resolved, That the national committee of the single tax league of the United States shall consist of one member from each state and territory and the District of Columbia; such members to be elected by the delegates thereof, and five members at large to be elected by this conference.

Resolved, That this committee shall have power to elect known single tax men from states and territories not represented in this conference. Members thus elected to fill vacancies shall serve only until the single tax organizations of their respective localities elect their successors. Said national committee shall have power to fill all vacancies in their membership. Each member of this committee shall have one vote. The national committee may elect such officers and ap-

point such employees and sub-committees as they may deem necessary.

Resolved, That while the league is an organization that seeks to incorporate its economic views in law through political action, we gladly recognize the religious feeling that animates our desire for justice, and recommend that the national committee be urged to encourage the co-operation of such parties in full accord with our views as may be organized to advocate the single tax on ethical grounds.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—Before we come to a consideration of this report clause by clause I wish to move that Mr. E. L. Ryder of Sing Sing be made a member of this conference. He is a member of the Manhattan single tax club, and was formerly secretary of the Minneapolis club, and is a thoroughbred single tax man.

Mr. Croasdale seconded the motion, and Mr. Post ruled that it was unnecessary to make the motion, as the gentleman would be constituted a delegate from New York.

Mr. Boggs of New Jersey moved the adoption of the report as a whole.

Mr. Hemingway of the District of Columbia moved to amend the report by substituting the words "land values" in place of the words "ethical grounds" at the end of the resolutions.

Judge Maguire of California—I suppose, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman wants to have real grounds instead of ethical grounds put in. (Applause and laughter.)

The Chair—I suppose he wants substantial ground.

The secretary then read the last resolution with the amendment substituted.

Judge Maguire of San Francisco—That reminds me of a very common practice among opponents of legislative measures. They move to amend by striking out the enacting clause. The resolution would be absolutely meaningless if adopted in that form. Of course it was brought here to include the organization of ministers, of religious teachers, without giving their names, but extending our recognition by a general resolution to all organizations that confine themselves to the advocacy of the single tax on religious grounds. Of course we all advocate the single tax on ethical grounds. If we didn't we would be very poor advocates of it. (Applause.) If we acknowledge it to be wrong, but claim it to be expedient, we would find very little room for action and very little efficacy in our work. I do not like the resolution in the form it has been presented, and I certainly should hope that we would not pass the resolution in the form in which it is proposed to amend it.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—I think that the joke of the gentleman from Washington is very good, but I shall nevertheless move to lay the amendment upon the table.

Dr. Thackeray of N. Y.—I wish to speak on behalf of the single tax brotherhood of religious teachers, reference to which was made this morning. Since the speech, I have consulted with others of the brotherhood about the special point which I endeavored to explain. We as ministers are prepared on the invitation of Mr. Henry George and a number of other prominent single tax men to come forward and give our indorsement as religious teachers to the single tax. We are undertaking an important function, and we must ask from you that we be recognized also as having a voice in the management of the national committee. (Applause.) This proposition now put forward to extend recognition to us I regard as very polite, but if we speak strictly, we view it as an evasion of our proposition. We have to go before the country as religious teachers who have undertaken to declare that the single tax is something which they can defend on a religious basis. We must, therefore, have a reasonable influence in the representation of the committee. I am expressing my view and that of my colleagues in saying that a simple recognition will not satisfy them. My view is that you are to explain the single tax as a question of political economy, but you are not competent, you will allow me to say, with all due respect to you, to give an explanation of this as being a question which has a religious basis. We have under-

taken as official representatives of religion to supply that in which you are lacking, ignoring altogether deductions from political economy. When we ask that we shall in some way be permitted to have a voice in the management of this committee, we do so on the ground that we may not be held responsible for resolutions put forward as authoritative on the part of a committee in which we are practically denied a voice. If that is the position we shall be compelled to occupy we must say simply that we will do the work which we have undertaken to as ministers, but will also make it clear that we are in no way responsible for any statements which may be made by the national committee. I would suggest therefore by way of meeting the difficulty that in addition to the roll of states we add also a delegate from the United States, to be chosen from our organization as one which, though not numerically great now, is apt to make itself felt throughout every state in the Union. We cannot undertake as religious teachers to father statements which are supposed to be on a religious basis unless we are allowed some position in which we are recognized. I move therefore that the words "and from the United States" be added to the resolutions.

Rev. Mr. Anketell of New York—Let me say that is the view of every one of the delegates here from the Brotherhood of religious teachers. Not that we wish personal representation, but for the reasons that Dr. Thackeray states. Three years ago we were stigmatized as anarchists and socialists and bore all sorts of abuse because we advocated this measure of justice. And we know what it has done for Dr. McGlynn, who lost his place and position for the sake of advocating this doctrine. We have all more or less experienced abuse, but now times are different. The measure is bound soon to prevail. I think that we who bore the burdens and heat of the day should have at least one member.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—I make the point of order that there is already in the report of the committee a provision for the appointment of five members at large, and there is nothing to prevent us from electing one or all of them from the religious brotherhood.

The chair ruled that the point of order was not well taken, because such an election would not be an official recognition of the religious brotherhood as such.

Mr. Croasdale of New York—It seems to me, before a general debate is gone into, that some member of the committee ought to have opportunity to state precisely why that plank was reported. We desired to gratify the gentlemen who are represented in this request of Dr. Thackeray's. The very fact that this resolution was adopted shows that we sincerely desired this. But it also shows that the committee understood what they were sent out to do, and that was to report a plan for forming a national organization to carry on the work of this conference by definite means. Now then, we propose in the plan of representation that every state shall be represented by a man of its own choice so far as we are able to get at that choice. We propose to recognize local self-government in that system. We propose that the committee shall be organized for definite work, and we declare in that resolution that that work is the work of incorporating economic doctrine into law by political action. (Applause.) I believe that that is what this conference is held for, and if it isn't we have come here in vain. This movement has failed if we do not propose to go to work by practical means to bring about the single tax and write it in the statutes of this country. Such being the case, the committee, seeing the manifest desire of Dr. Thackeray to have a position on that committee, nevertheless concluded that unless he came as a representative of a state they would not do violence to every other state represented on the committee. There is necessity for extra work, and the committee reported in favor of allowing this convention to appoint extra members of the national committee to do

that extra work. On the other hand, we put in a cordial recognition of what we supposed the religious body would do for religion's sake in behalf of the truth. We do not propose to ask the reverend clergy to be sponsors for the acts of that committee. (Applause.) We would not be Americans if we asked any religious body to be the sponsors for the acts of our representatives. We did, however, propose to recognize, as we put it, the religious feeling necessarily underlying this movement, and to hold out to these gentlemen the right hand of fellowship and to say to them: "We will gladly assist you to the best of our power in doing a work that seems to you to be right." We did not think of attempting to involve them in responsibility for the action of the national committee of the single tax men. Mr. Thackeray's speech indicates how dangerous it would be. (Applause.) He suggests that without a representation on that committee, the religious brotherhood might not be willing to be responsible for some of our economic utterances. How could a representation on that committee, unless it were a majority representation, make them willing to be responsible for our economic utterances? We represent in this movement in America what is understood by the word "state." They represent what is here understood by the word "church." The sound American doctrine and good common sense is to let the church stand on its own bottom (great applause and cheers), and let the state stand on its own bottom, each doing the work for which they are appointed without any danger of complication or other responsibility by one for the other. These considerations led us to go out of the way and put in this report a resolution of courtesy and kindness which these gentlemen say they must reject. All I have to say is that I believe from what I know of them, that so far as they are influenced by a desire to do good because it is good, they will go on doing it without any regard to the recognition of this convention. But I do ask this convention to unquestionably put itself in the position of not making any alliance with or any antagonism to any religious organization. (Great cheering and applause.)

Mr. Mahoney of New York—While I thoroughly agree with Mr. Croasdale in many of his remarks, I think that some of them are slightly out of the way. I admit that this convention or conference is a national body. We desire the earnest co-operation of this religious brotherhood, yet at the same time no religious body can be expected to cast their strength with us and be recognized as official allies of the movement unless they have some direct representation. And while it is true, we hope that none of us will ever do anything that may cast reflections upon our actions; nevertheless all movements at different times are liable to go wrong and to make mistakes. The future may not always be smooth. Where there is any conflict of opinion I think the reverend gentlemen should be entitled to some sound and fair representation, so that they may say whether they favor a certain policy or not. Give them no representation with ourselves on that board, and this body of religious teachers would undoubtedly stand before the world as sanctioning that to which they were opposed without the privilege of casting their vote against it. I am opposed to an alliance of church and state, but I think that this brotherhood is entitled to representation.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—It seems to me that this brotherhood of religious teachers has exactly the same representation now in this conference, and will have exactly the same chance for representation upon the national committee that any other single tax club has. A distinct representation upon the national committee, or some veto which the reverend gentleman seems to desire, would make them much more responsible than if they were not so represented. We, as Mr. Croasdale has well said, are not going to hold them responsible for our own utterances, but if they should be successful in securing place as a distinctively religious body on

our national committee people would be bound to consider them responsible in so far as the action of this body could make any man responsible. Do the physicians and doctors of this country (applause), who advocate the adoption of the single tax upon physiological grounds (applause), do they desire a member on the national committee? (Applause.) I am a lawyer myself, and I have upon one occasion said that the single tax ought to be established because it represented in its finest spirit the essence, the idea of law and justice. (Applause.) Do we go upon a national committee as judges and lawyers? We shall be glad to see lawyers there, and clergymen. I shall be glad to see any clergymen on the national committee who is thoroughly in sympathy with our movement and who will work for its accomplishment, but should hope that clergymen would not come there exercising supervision over us, and would not suggest to the national committee that none of us are competent to express an opinion upon morals or religion.

Mr. John Filmer of New York—I stand here as a delegate of the New churchman's single tax club to say that no member of that league, be he man or woman, seeks recognition here on any other ground than manhood or womanhood. (Great cheering and applause.)

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey proposed three cheers for the New churchman's single tax league, which were given with a will.

Rev. J. W. Kramer of New York—If I should speak after the applause which my friend Mr. Croasdale of New York, has received, and after the applause of the gentleman who has just taken his seat, and if I should find myself somewhat in antagonism I hope that I may be awarded the credit of having the courage of my convictions. I agree very much with the arguments that Mr. Croasdale made, but I am free to say that I do not like the spirit in which he seemed to offer his arguments nor the spirit in which it seemed to be received. With the gentleman who has just taken his seat I ask no recognition here as a clergyman, but as a citizen of the state of New York. I desire that the end shall be accomplished that my friend Dr. Thackeray has sought, not on the grounds on which he put the desire, nor upon the grounds of my brother, who seconded the amendment, but because it seemed to me that there were associations here, not only these clerical gentlemen but other associations not bound by state limitations.

In our brotherhood we have men from New York, New Jersey, and I believe from Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and it seemed to me that a single tax club taking in a broad area of the country might have a representation. And while I would not, as a clergyman, ask for any particular representation, yet you all will admit that the most universal sentiment in this conference, and one upon which we would be most clearly decided, is that it is not only a question of political economy that brings us together; it is a religious sentiment. (Applause.) We are all children of God whether every man here claims that it is his right to be a child of God or not. There are some of us who remember four years ago that the strongest appeal that was made in behalf of the rights of the workingmen, that which received the most support from New York, was the appeal to them as children of God, when the prayer was uttered: "Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." (Applause.)

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey—Dr. Thackeray intimated that some one was endeavoring to abridge the right of free speech. Whoever attempted it will have a considerable job. The hearing that has been accorded to Dr. Thackeray on two occasions should show him that. I yield to no man in my respect for the cloth, but because of that very respect, I would not have religion dragged into politics. I would have the cloth held up as a shield before this movement. As I have been taught to believe the clergy in this country

are engaged in a noble work, not for place or power through either of the old political bodies or this convention. It would be a disgrace to a member of the cloth to seek political recognition in behalf of a cause for which they are promised heavenly recognition. The gentleman who has just spoken referred to the cry which went up some years ago. What is the brotherhood which he represents doing that that cry is not going up to-day? We welcome Dr. Thackeray and his fellow advocates to this convention not as clergymen, but as men.

I stand here to-day a Baptist, but I do not come to this convention as a Baptist, but as a single tax man. The spirit that spoke through the New churchman's single tax league is the spirit that shall yet carry our banner to triumph. The committee, as Mr. Croasdale has well said, fully considered this subject, and resolved that the plank offered by these gentlemen would narrow this movement to one religion. We have here representatives, I believe, of every shade of religious opinion. We have here representatives of every occupation which Americans can follow, but we welcome them all, not because of their occupations, but because they are believers with us in the single tax; and if the Rev. Dr. Thackeray or any one else in this hall has his voice stifled I for one would be glad to assist him in having the same recognition as every one here present.

Mr. Smythe of Pennsylvania—I for one would like to see all religions represented in aiding this great cause, but we do not want any one sect of religious belief to come in here as a representative of that belief. Our object is to try to redeem humanity from the position in which it is placed. In my opinion there is no possible means outside of the single tax for restoring humanity to its proper position. We have had religious men advocating various causes of humanity for hundreds of years, and what have they done? Henry George has done more in ten years. (Applause.) Oh, for God's sake, and for humanity's sake, let us advance this great question of the interests of the people and not of any sect or denomination.

A delegate made the point of order that the gentleman was not speaking to the question before the house, which was on the appointment of a national committee.

The Chair—I am inclined to consider the criticism well founded.

Mr. Brown of Illinois moved the previous question.

Judge Maguire of California—I desire to know if the committee has not already provided for five representatives from the United States at large, to be elected by this conference.

The Chair—They have.

Rev. W. P. George of New Jersey—We are represented here as delegates from the single tax brotherhood of religious teachers, and not as representatives of any one church or denomination. We are simply asking recognition as men and citizens of the United States. Our organization stretches over the whole of the United States, and we claim that we have a right as an organization to be also represented.

The Chair—The previous question has been called for. Shall the main question be put?

The main question was ordered and carried.

The Chair—The question is now upon the amendment to the report of the committee. The motion is to add to that report one delegate from the United States.

The question was put and the amendment was defeated by a large majority.

The Chair—The question is now on the adoption of the report as presented by the committee.

This was carried with only a few dissenting votes and the report was adopted.

The Chair—Are there any other delegates wishing to speak under the call of states?

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey moved that the call of states be further suspended and the convention proceed to the

election of five members of the national committee at large.

The call of states was then suspended, and the motion was carried.

Nominations were then in order. Mr. Jakeway of New Jersey nominated Joseph Dana Miller of the Jersey City single tax club. Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey nominated Mr. Henry George of New York, Mr. Lane of Connecticut, Mr. George St. John Leavens. Mr. Joseph Dana Miller declined the nomination and proceeded to nominate Dr. S. W. Thackeray. Mr. C. S. Walker of Ohio nominated Mr. Thomas G. Shearman. Mr. Fellows of Indiana nominated W. W. Folk of Richmond. Mr. Ogden of Maryland nominated Mr. Louis F. Post of New York. Mr. Clark of Massachusetts nominated Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Mr. Smith of Tennessee nominated W. T. Croasdale of New York. A delegate inquired if the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington was not also a member of the religious brotherhood, and on being informed that he was, nominated him.

Mr. T. L. Johnson of Ohio—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The object of having five men from the United States at large on this committee was that they could act as an executive committee who could be gotten together quickly near its headquarters. New York is the only place for that headquarters. The men who have been the enrolment committee for the last two years are the best men that we could possibly have. (Applause.) The five gentlemen who have steered us thus far, who brought this movement up to the point of calling this convention, these men can be trusted, and I say the wisest thing to do is to elect these five men as the members of the committee at large.

Mr. Williams of Missouri—The gentleman of Ohio anticipated me. Certain gentlemen have been placed in nomination. No better men live in this world than the men who have been nominated for this place, but the time has come for us to do something practical, to get down to business, and I think the best thing for us to do is to place on the executive committee the gentlemen who have constituted the enrolment committee. I therefore second Mr. Johnson's motion.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—I move that this convention elect as the five members at large of the national committee Louis F. Post, William T. Croasdale, Read Gordon, G. St. John Leavens, and Mr. August Lewis, the gentlemen who have composed the enrolment committee.

Mr. Kavanagh of New York—I believe that we should give the society of the religious brotherhood a chance. I believe that Dr. Thackeray should be a member.

Rev. John Gregson of Massachusetts—I also am a clergyman, but I do not want any recognition as such. I hope there will be nothing more said about the matter.

Mr. Smythe of Pennsylvania—I ask that these five gentlemen be elected by acclamation. It would be wrong to take the work out of the hands of these men, who know all the ramifications of the movement. We will be taking the very spirit of the organization away from them. If we want to do what is right let us elect them by acclamation.

The question was put, and the five gentlemen named were elected by acclamation, amid great cheering and enthusiasm.

Mr. Matthews of New Jersey—I move the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to draft a special address to labor organizations setting forth the principles of the single tax and showing the reason why the adoption of the single tax will secure the rights both of labor and capital.

Referred to the committee on resolutions without debate.

Mr. Shriver of New York—I move that the convention take a recess for the purpose of electing members of the national committee from the various states.

Mr. Lane of Connecticut seconded the motion and it was carried.

During the recess the secretary presented a letter from Dr. Levenson of the university of Virginia enclosing \$5 for the expenses of the convention.

The following letter from Louis Prang was also received:

7 PARK STREET, BOSTON, Sept. 2.

To the Secretary of the Single Tax Conference, 12 Union square, New York—Dear Sir: I am detained here and cannot join you at the conference or even at the proposed dinner given to the delegates. This is quite a disappointment to me. I wish, however, not to allow this occasion to pass without giving expression to my thorough faith in the single tax (unlimited), as in my opinion it is the only rational and practical measure to get the foundation for other necessary reforms on which to rear a regenerated social structure.

The moral degradation which society in general has undergone through monopolies of all sorts, created and fostered by special legislation, is so widespread and deep-seated, that it is not even recognized by most men as evidence of an abnormal or diseased social condition. To such persons it seems only natural that the masses should suffer, that it is their destiny to suffer, and to serve as willing, working cattle under the iron rule of monopoly which tends to feed the unhealthy stream of accumulating wealth in the hands of the few.

By a change of these tendencies every one of us, be he millionaire or day laborer, will be the gainer—true happiness depends on seeing those around us happy.

The abolition of the monopoly in land, the most far-reaching of all monopolies, can be effected by the introduction of the single tax on land values. The beginning of a better era may be expected to date from the establishment of such a tax.

I bid a hearty welcome to our friend and teacher, Henry George. His glorious campaign throughout the Australian colonies reflects great credit on his head and heart as a worker in the cause of humanity. His work there can but help to set the world thinking on the greatest problem of the time, and through thinking in the direction indicated by him, the conviction will gain ground that monopoly in land tenure must be abolished. Truly yours, LOUIS PRANG.

During the recess the different state delegations met in different parts of the hall and selected the following gentlemen to form the national committee:

Alabama—E. Q. Norton of Mobile.

California—H. L. Pleace of San Francisco.

Colorado—James W. Bucklin of Grand Junction.

Connecticut—Lawrence Dunham of Sharon.

Delaware—George W. Kreer, Wilmington.

District of Columbia—Robert J. Boyd, of Washington.

Illinois—W. W. Bailey of Chicago.

Indiana—Henry Rawie of Indianapolis.

Iowa—R. Spencer of Burlington.

Kentucky—Samuel H. Edgar of Louisville.

Louisiana—James Middleton of New Orleans.

Maine—F. D. Lyford of Lewiston.

Maryland—Dr. W. N. Hill of Baltimore.

Massachusetts—James F. Carret of Boston.

Michigan—A. F. Wettlaufer of Detroit.

Minnesota—Oliver T. Erickson of Minneapolis.

Missouri—H. Martin Williams of St. Louis.

New Jersey—John W. Jakeway of Jersey City.

New York—Thomas G. Shearman of Brooklyn.

Ohio—L. E. Simon of Cleveland.

Pennsylvania—A. H. Stephenson of Philadelphia.

Rhode Island—David Harrower of Wakefield.

Tennessee—Bolton Smith of Memphis.

Texas—H. F. Ring of Houston.

Virginia—F. J. Conroy of Danville.

The chair announced that it was intended to take a photograph of all the members of the conference, and the photographing was made a special order for the following day at the conclusion of the session.

"Billy" Radcliffe of Ohio was called upon, and after considerable urging took the platform and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the convention—I wanted to ask what is the matter with West Virginia? why wasn't that state called? That's all. (Laughter.)

There were loud cries for a song from "Billy" Radcliffe, and he continued:

I think a song would be out of order. (A voice, "A dance, then.") Well, I can't dance. (A voice, "How is Ohio?") Ohio is all right! (Calls of "Speech, speech.")

I live at Youngstown, a strong protectionist town in Ohio. It is not much of a town; but they have reached out into the country and taken in all the section about there that had a house to the acre so as to have a population large enough to beat other towns. We have one man in Youngstown who is a school teacher, and has one way of working the single tax. He meets a banker and says, "I understood you are taking lots of territory here. What is that for?" "Oh, says the banker, our property will increase and benefit the town in that way." "Well, will the bank building be worth any more money?" Well, he didn't know that the bank would be worth any more, and then the school teacher would say, "Well, will the dry goods in Youngstown be worth any more, and the boots and shoes and clothing and such things?" Well, he didn't know that they would be worth any more. "What do you mean, then," the school teacher asks, "when you say the property would be worth more?" Well, the banker didn't know. "Oh," said the school teacher, "you meant that the land will increase in value. That is the only thing that will increase, isn't it?" "Well, I guess that's so," the banker would answer. "Well," said the school teacher, "I want you to think that over and let me know in a few days what you think about it." The school teacher don't tell him he is a single tax man, but that is the way he works. I can't work that way. I travel over the state and make a business of peddling patent medicines. I take people and physic them. I get the people together by playing the banjo and singing songs and telling jokes. After I get all the money I can get out of them I hold up a blackboard and tell them to watch and see this blackboard talk, and then I do the best I can to talk down our present system of taxation (applause), and talk up the single tax. I don't tell them it is the single tax until I get pretty well along, and then I say a word or two on the tariff. And somebody will say, "He's a democrat," and wants to get away. But others will hold him back, and I say, gentlemen, you mustn't be scared of me, I am a free trader (applause). I am not a tariff reformer; I don't believe in tariff reform, because, as I understand it, it can be reformed both ways, up or down. And I tell them I am ready to stand up with my blackboard and show them that the tariff decreases wages.

There were loud cries for a song, and Mr. Radcliffe favored the audience with a humorous poem on the poor Chinese in Mongolian dialect, which was received with bursts of laughter and applause.

It was then announced that the Manhattan single tax club desired to preserve autographs of the visiting delegates.

Mr. A. J. Wolf made the following announcement:

W. E. Brokaw of South Dakota is one who by self-sacrifice, and absolute devotion to a sense of duty, is doing a work in the northwest that entitles him to the special recognition of this conference. No better way of showing this is presented than by asking every single tax man who can afford it, to subscribe for three months to the Watertown, South Dakota, Journal—cost fifty cents. Subscriptions will be received by Alfred J. Wolf, here or at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club.

It was announced that the committee on resolutions had sent back two of the resolutions that had been offered. One was to draw up an address to the Knights of Labor, on which the committee reported adversely "for the sole reason that the issuance of the address is the work of the executive committee, and the appointment of another committee was unnecessary."

It was moved to refer the matter to the executive committee.

Mr. Altemus of New Jersey—I think the proper thing would be to refer to a special committee who are members of the Knights of Labor.

On motion the matter was referred to the executive committee, with the request that they issue an address to labor organizations generally.

The second resolution was one that "urged all believers in the single tax to ally themselves to the nearest organiza-

tion having for its object the propagation of the principles of the single tax. Adopted.

Mr. Croasdale moved that the vote by which the proposition ordering an address to organized labor was carried, be reconsidered, as the executive committee did not yet exist.

The motion was reconsidered, and the subject was referred to the national committee, without instruction.

Mr. Ripley of Illinois moved that congratulations be sent by telegraph to Father Huntington and Thomas G. Shearman, now in Europe. Carried.

Mr. Dunham of Connecticut moved that the conference adjourn till the next day at 10 o'clock.

After adjournment the meeting of the national committee was held, and H. F. Ring of Texas was elected temporary chairman and E. Q. Norton of Alabama temporary secretary, after which the committee adjourned.

FREE TRADE SINGLE TAX MASS MEETING.

PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL OF THE SINGLE TAX BY ELOQUENT SPEAKERS.

Long before the hour of 8 o'clock on Tuesday evening the hall commenced to fill up. The platform had on it members of the New York reform club and other free trade bodies, as well as prominent members of the cause and a large number of Mr. George's friends.

Louis F. Post, chairman of the convention, called the meeting to order, and introduced the first speaker of the evening in the following words: "This meeting is in favor of single tax and free trade, and it gives you the opportunity of hearing from the lips of some of our eloquent members something about the propagation of the gospel of single tax and free trade. As the presiding officer of this meeting, I have the honor of naming Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago, Ill. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen: It seemed to me when at first I was asked to preside at this meeting to-night, that it was most presumptuous for me, in this great metropolitan city, a stranger from the province, so to speak as I am, to take the chair at a meeting composed largely of the citizens of New York; but then when I thought again, I thought it might be justified in those things which called us together. The interests of the whole country are the interests of New York, and the interests of New York are the interests of the whole country. (Cheers.) And, then again, you are by no means all residents of this great metropolitan city, for from the golden gate of California, from the pampas of Texas, from the pine forests of Michigan and Maine, many of you have come here to confer how best and most efficiently you can hasten the change in our present deplorable social condition; how most strongly and effectively you can strike the blow together for justice and right reason in the fiscal and financial policy of the government.

To-night you, gentlemen of the conference, have paused in your deliberations to hear words of inspiration and encouragement from each other and to mingle your enthusiasm with that of your brothers and friends in New York. This is called, as I see in the programme, a single tax and free trade meeting, but after all that second description is superfluous, for a single tax meeting must of necessity be a free trade meeting. The single tax means the absolute freedom of industry and the absolute freedom of exchange. (Applause.) I think it may safely be assumed that in this free trade meeting, however, there are no people afraid of being called free traders and all that that name implies. (Applause.) The last time I was in a free trade conference was in my own city of Chicago, but I thank God I saw there some of the people whom I see around me on this platform to-night. I saw and heard them there in a spirited debate as to whether that convention should declare for free trade or for some limited measure of revenue reform. I say, I thank God that they were there, for I verily believe that it was through their presence, and through the bold words then and there spoken that, directly or indirectly, it is due that over the entire country to-day the men who were tariff reformers merely have become, or are fast becoming, tariff abolitionists (applause), and that instead of apologies to protectionists within its ranks for daring to speak of tariff reduction at all, the democracy offers its apologies now, when it has any to offer, to the absolute free traders, upon whose support it relies, and these apologies are for its theory of tariff for revenue only. (Applause.) So long, says the democratic party to the state of Indiana in its late democratic state convention, as the government depends for support in any degree upon a tariff, we demand that it be levied for revenue only. (Applause.) That

is their creed now, but it is a very different creed from that contained in the refrain to which some alleged democrats marched about two years ago:

No, no, no, do not be afraid,
Revenue reform is not free trade.

(Laughter and applause.)

I think that by the time another presidential campaign is upon us, the democratic party will have learned in its entirety the lesson that he who dallies is a dastard and he who doubts is damned. (Cheers.) That the way to win the fight is to nail your colors to the mast; to welcome recruits but to shoot deserters. (Applause.)

In one of the great metropolitan dailies of this city, of which I think New York may be justly proud, there appeared a day or two ago an elaborate leader upon the single tax as a fiscal reform. Nothing could be more satisfactory to us than the position therein taken—that upon its economic side, as a fiscal measure merely, and on grounds of expediency alone, the method of raising all the necessary revenues of government by a tax on land values is an ideally perfect system, just in its results and practicable of execution. (Applause.) We also believe that fully. (Applause.) Nor have we any quarrel with the position in that article contained, that our great reform is made more acceptable to the writer and to those who may agree with him by what he and they conceive is its adequate development.

At this point Mr. George appeared on the stage, and was greeted with tremendous applause. The chairman, continuing, said:

Has Mr. George come in? I knew very well that there was but one thing that could cause that applause, yet I could not see Mr. George. I say we have no quarrel with the proposition therein contained that our great reform is made more acceptable to the writer and to those who may agree with him, by what he and they conceive is the more adequate development of our theories in the last few years upon that side alone, rather than in their moral and physical aspects; if it appeals more strongly to them; if it is easier for them to think; if it is easier for them to accept the right and the just because they can be proven, as they always can be, to be the most expedient also, then we are very glad when such a one admits that they have been so proven. But I think I can safely say for the men who are here in this single tax conference—I am sure I can say it for those who are from Illinois, whom I in some special way represent on this platform to-night—that we have by no means, as this editorial writer rather seems to think, relegated the moral and ethical principles upon which our cause stands to any limbo of forgotten creeds. (Applause.) Our hearts and souls are in this cause because it stands upon the immutable bases of justice and ethics. (Applause.) We hold to the divine right of men to these, and that means their divine right to liberty and to the fruits of their own labors. (Applause.) We believe in the right of property in no half-hearted or compromising sense. We deny to the government or to the community the moral right by the pernicious influence of the taxgatherer or taxidwaiter to take for its own purposes from any man that which is truly his own. (Applause.) On that principle all taxes on the products of industry and on their free exchange must fall. Of all taxation in the true sense we have only to say, in the language of Hamlet to the players, "Oh, reform it altogether!" (Applause.)

But we hold society to be something more than the mere sum and aggregation of its individual units. It has a separate existence and a being of its own, and it has common laws and agencies of development, and there has been provided for it its own means of existence. It has its own source of revenue belonging to it as certainly and as truly as the whole of a man's earnings belong to him individually. Right reason applied to the experience of the world points out what the source of that revenue is.

The advance of arts and the progress of civilization demand that there should be guaranteed by the community to some men special franchises and special privileges in matters where it is impossible for all men to fare alike, but the immutable laws of justice demand just as clearly that for every such privilege the community grants or guarantees a fair and full compensation should be made to the community by the men who enjoy them, and the most important of all those privileges so granted by society for which full compensation should be made is the right to the individual possession and use of land. For we believe that the land—the natural opportunities of the earth—is God's gift to all men and not to a few. (Applause.) All the earth belongs to all the people on it. We acknowledge the necessity which exists for permanency and continuity in individual tenure, but men who have thought about the subject at all deny any natural right of property in such tenure, and assert that it is but a privilege granted or guaranteed by society as a matter of expediency, and we are unlike some of them only in asserting that for this grant and guarantee the person enjoying it should pay a full and just equivalent, and in so doing we are emphasizing our belief in the right of property. (Cheers.) Organized society, the state, the community,

should no more be plundered by the individual of that which rightfully belongs to it than should the individual be robbed by the czar or a king or an aristocracy of that which comes of the fruits of his own labor. (Applause.)

The ethical doctrine of the single tax on its economic side was stated long centuries ago on the hills of Palestine: "Render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's, and unto God the things that be God's." Render unto God the things that are God's, that is, respect the sacred right of every man to liberty and the enjoyment of his liberty; do not rob him and call it taxation. (Applause.) Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, that is, give to the state—to organized society—that which belongs to the state, to organized society. Let not the mounting brain or the forceful arm of the individual take for selfish uses that which belongs to all. Do not legalize robbery and piracy and call them vested rights. (Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have been and am very grateful for the honor of being called upon to preside over this meeting to-night, at which you may expect to hear from single tax men from all over the country. I think I have set them a pretty good example, for I want them to be equally mindful of the fact that there are a good many of them from whom we wish to hear.

Some thirty years ago I was a boy in a quiet New England town, and it was then that I learned to admire that devotion to principle, that enthusiasm for justice which made the William Lloyd Garrison of that day one of the heralds of the gospel of liberty to millions of black slaves. (Applause.) To-day I admire that same devotion to principle and that same love of justice which makes the William Lloyd Garrison of to-day one of the heralds of the gospel of liberty to many more millions of white slaves. (Applause.)

I now have the great pleasure of introducing to you Mr. William Lloyd Garrison. (Great applause.)

William Lloyd Garrison said:

In this conference for the furtherance of our great movement—the first decade of which, dating from the publication of "Progress and Poverty," is now complete—a brief retrospect cannot fail to give us comfort and hope. A late comer myself in this reform, and not unfamiliar with other great efforts to uplift humanity, the dominant feeling that possesses me is one of wonder at the rapid advance of the single tax idea.

Although ten years are but as yesterday, how crowded with events and history a single year is now! Before the days of telegraphs and Atlantic steamers that bridge the ocean in six days—when communities were isolated and communication rare—a new idea, like an infant, was confined a long time to its cradle. But our infant of 1880 is to-day a giant with seven-league boots, who strides with ease from one continent to another, and girdles the globe before one realizes that the journey has begun.

In the years under review, how many schemes and schemers which were hailed with popular acclaim have vanished with hardly a trace! The staying quality was not in them, an evidence that the basis of truth was wanting. And while persistence is not conclusive proof of the justice of a movement, because delusions like protectionism are long lived, yet the fact that the propaganda of Henry George gains fresh momentum at every step indicates its vitality.

It has passed the day of contemptuous neglect. It has survived the era of ridicule. It has outlived the sneers of economic professors and can count its friends among them. It has withstood the arguments that promised to annihilate it. The wooden navies of monopoly, with guns trained and powder anything but noiseless, have borne down upon the little ironclad monitor, "Progress and Poverty," and to-day it will take a microscope to detect their fragments.

That method of assault has ceased. The reckless critic or the statistical manipulator who was to wipe out the land heresy now reconstructs his style of address, and adopts courtesy in the place of denunciation. The agitator has achieved respect and compelled a treatment appealing to reason and not to prejudice.

Not only have the bitter opponents of the single tax been silenced but, guided by a sagacity and skill which deserve the name of statesmanship, the movement has surmounted many of its own elements of weakness. The novelty of a new reform inevitably draws to its ranks a temporary following which obscures its merits. Sentiment, personal ambition, love of notoriety and individual eccentricity, all contribute their quota; and who can be denied admission, coming in the name of the cause?

It was the same with the anti-slavery movement, and whoever reads carefully its history to grasp its philosophy, will mark the internal dissensions and broken friendships which strew its pathway. The Peters who denied their master and the Judases who would betray him for a consideration, are among all apostles.

I hold that the conduct of this reform has been marked with consummate wisdom up to date. Its course has been in a straight line, and it has refused to compromise the truth. It has had the saving courage to decline the

folly of instituting a third political party, adhering to its true mission of untrammelled utterance and using for its instruments the established parties, absolutely independent of each. Its power has been felt against the spurious democracy of New York state, and against national republicanism that is the essence of oligarchy.

It has lost adherents like Dr. McGlynn, sincere and powerful believers in its fundamental truth, but tangled in the allurements of a separate political organization. The moment a moral reform organizes itself into a political party, so surely is its standard lowered, its creed diluted, its clearness of sight forever gone. Politics is the science of numbers. Its aim is to count noses and control elections. It cannot afford to speak the uttermost truth. It must consult policy and cultivate ambiguity of expression. It produces statesmen of the Evarts type, who pour out a plethora of words diluted with the one-thousandth potency of an idea, and, afraid to ask what is right, it substitutes the question, what is expedient? Its downward descent is easy. The last lesson, if not the impossible one for politicians to learn, is that right is always expedient.

It is the custom to point to the free soil, and to its successor, the republican party, as the force which abolished slavery. The claim is a bladder which history will prick. The principle which was only strong enough to ask that slavery should be restricted from polluting fresh territory, and which acknowledged as binding the pro-slavery compromises of an immoral constitution, never had the vitality to free a slave. Behind the party, uncompromising, resolute, firm as Gibraltar, stood the reformers who molded majorities and furnished the issues of campaigns. Our function is similar to that of the abolitionists. It is our ideas that make voters, and in our keeping we are bound that they shall suffer no loss. To weaken them for party success is to betray the cause.

We have lost other workers, among them some who are sure that the pioneer is not radical enough, and who, in their eagerness to exhibit his flaws, forget to attack the common enemy. Indeed, the enemy could afford to retain them as allies. Human as a reformer is, no true friend of the cause will take occasion to attack a fellow soldier under fire. At such time a professed friend is more damaging than an open enemy.

A few, who have discovered with an attendant shock that other thinkers besides Henry George have seen and denounced the iniquity of land monopoly, hold up their hands in holy horror at the plagiarist! Do they suppose that their own thoughts are given to the world for the first time?

Solonon was a writer of wisdom more than twenty centuries ago, and at that remote period he proclaimed that there was nothing new under the sun. I doubt if the discovery caused him to lose faith in earnest friends, "draw backward with averted face and hide the shame." I commend to such carpers the utterance of another wise man of this century, John Fiske, whom I will quote and leave you to make the application:

"The thinker who elaborates a new system of philosophy, deeper and more comprehensive than any yet known to mankind, though he may work in solitude, nevertheless does not work alone. The very fact which makes his great scheme of thought a success, and not a failure, is the fact that it puts into definite and coherent shape the ideas which many people are more or less vaguely and loosely entertaining, and that it carries to a grand and triumphant conclusion processes of reasoning in which many persons have already begun taking earlier steps. This community in mental trend between the immortal discoverer and many of the brightest contemporary minds, so far from diminishing the originality of his work, constitutes the feature of it, which makes it a permanent acquisition for mankind, and distinguishes it from the eccentric philosophies which now and then come up to startle the world for a while, and are presently discarded and forgotten."

Still other comrades, misled because their logic is weaker than their zeal, have left us for the Bellamy procession, with its music and banners and indulgences which are to come when government shall tell us what to do and how to do it. It is encouraging to know that the single tax ranks are filled faster than they are depleted, and we have the faith that shall "march conquering," albeit without the presence of our temporary friends.

Our gain has been in the solidarity and homogeneity of our widely scattered workers. The machine grows in effectiveness. The column is not turned because detachments have swerved from it.

Leaving the consideration of the internal evolution of our young movement, what can be more inspiring than the changed condition of the public press toward our struggle? When the Liberator was started in 1831, its editor, after carefully searching the exchange papers of the country, with meager results, for allusions to slavery, found his diminutive weekly paper more than ample to reproduce them all. Twenty-five years later he affirmed that if the Liberator were as large as the parlor carpet, and issued daily, he should still be pressed for room to insert his clippings.

So with the single tax and its cognate question of the tariff. Before the message of

President Cleveland—following an inherited habit—for years I clipped from the papers, for my scrap book, all that related to free trade, and my accumulation was slow and small. Since then I am literally overwhelmed with material, to the embarrassment of orderly housekeeping. Do not understand me to say that Mr. Cleveland caused this universal discussion, although he was its worthy occasion. Without the agitation of the question by such agencies as this we represent, the message would have died still born. But how little I ever expected to hoard among my treasures the utterances of Blaine and Butterworth and Senator Plumb—a late specimen of the fruit, but full of flavor and promise, an offshoot from the tree of Henry George's single tax!

A free trader has ceased to be a synonym for traitor. The home market has gained an elasticity of definition that bids fair to destroy the clubs that conjure in its name. According to Mr. Blaine, "the United States has reached the point where one of its highest duties is to enlarge the area of its foreign trade," and an extension of reciprocal exchange to other countries "is not in conflict with a protective tariff, but supplementary thereto, presenting a field of enterprise that will richly repay the effort and energy of the American people." Amen!

How gracefully the English language lends itself to a reconciliation of conflicting ideas and allows a politician, under a cloud of rhetoric, to face from south to north with the assertion that it is the points of compass that have changed.

And the Tribune, founded by Horace Greeley, echoing Mr. Blaine, is urging "broader protection," the euphemism for freer commerce. Thus is protection slain in the house of its friends, and the party of Benjamin Harrison, preparing to claim, in due season, the credit of abolishing restrictive tariffs. It is only a question of time when such men and organs will be wresting the crown of laurel from Henry George, insisting that they originated the single tax, and that it was contemplated by the founders of the republican party. When moral breezes are making such activity among the political weathercocks it is a comfort to stand fixed on the foundation of principle and see the winds of controversy blow.

In view of the progress noted and the atmospheric change in our area, it might be well to stop in the region of congratulation. But our gospel is not that of looking backward. We must press on to the goal, our road still stretching far away, perhaps beyond the horizon of the youngest in this audience. What matter though we may not see the full accomplishment of the work, if the world is better for the furrow that we draw?

"After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvest yellow."

Indulge me therefore in a few present and future considerations. I wish that our dear friends and critics would treat our contention as they would be pleased to have their own treated. Certainly if a theory is worth attacking it is worth understanding, and this ought not to escape the notice of the bright minds which cannot help playing about the subject. A want of thoroughness certainly ought not to attach to professed economic students and teachers, but they manage to miss the clear distinctions of right and wrong so plain to persons of fewer pretensions and advantages. Their habit of evolving principles from imperfect tables of figures may make them distrust intuitive minds, which discard mathematics in deciding a question of morals, but that is no excuse for a superficial treatment of economic propositions.

In conclusion, I beg to offer a practical suggestion for helping the cause we have at heart. It relates to our need of women workers. We have them now as writers and poets, and, far and near, we know of individual coadjutors who labor quietly and unselfishly for the single tax. We need them in the still more prominent capacity of speakers upon our platforms and sharers in our councils. I doubt if we realize the tremendous force of womanhood waiting to be evoked upon our side. More than ever before in history its power is felt in shaping laws and institutions. To overlook the importance of such aid is to reject the most potent of allies. They reckon ill who leave woman out of their calculation. With equal suffrage in Wyoming, with municipal suffrage in Kansas, and with women's increasing participation in governmental affairs throughout the country, the time is inevitably brief when the distinction of sex in politics will be unknown.

When I recall the inestimable assistance that women rendered to the anti-slavery cause—noble women on both sides of the Atlantic—I cannot help coveting their active participation in our regenerating work. I need but mention the names of Maria Weston Chapman, Abby Kelley Foster, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child and other anti-slavery women "on fame's eternal bead roll worthy to be filed," to touch the secret of success. If effective organization, masterly management and ardor in the propagation of ideas are desirable, where will you find them more forcibly combined than in the Woman's Christian temperance union, under the leadership of Frances E. Willard?

It happened to me last winter to find myself for a day or two in a large boarding house in Philadelphia, kept by a quiet and re-

tiring woman, by birthright a member of the Society of Friends. To my surprise, the conspicuous books upon her parlor table were "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade," "Social Problems," and late copies of THE STANDARD, with special articles and sentiments plainly marked in pencil. "This is a hobby of hers," the boarders whispered, "and she preaches the single tax whenever she can." Unobtrusive and yet persistent in her faith, I found her glad enough to gain my sympathetic response. "Do you know Henry George?" I asked. "No, I have never seen him." "Do you know any single tax friends in Philadelphia?" "Not one," she answered. "I did attend one meeting, but found a small gathering entirely of men, and felt out of place. So I work in my own way. When I read 'Progress and Poverty' it made the universe seem brighter, and the perplexity that comes from the conviction that the Creator is responsible for human poverty vanished." And, cheered with the new gospel, she was working with the inspiration of hope and confidence. How many such there are to whom fellowship would give a double value!

I read with unfeigned delight the announcement in THE STANDARD, that women are invited to the dinner at Brighton Beach. I always feel condemned for participating in reform dinners where my wife and daughters, equally concerned with me, are forbidden to enter. I trust this departure is to mark the rule of single tax gatherings hereafter, and not the exception.

"The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink

Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free;
For she that out of Lethe scales with man
The shining steps of nature, shares with man
His nights, his days, moves with him to one goal."

I hope that all of you are readers, and that you have become familiar with that very excellent course of reading which goes under the name of "The Single Tax Library." If you have I think you will understand my allusion and be glad for my announcement. I beg leave to introduce to you Mr. H. F. Ring of Texas, when you will have "The Case Plainly Stated."

H. F. Ring's address:

Ladies and Gentlemen: We have met together in convention, some of us having traveled thousands of miles, for the purpose of conferring together and devising practical methods of advancing our cause. And I trust, and am assured from the result of our action so far, that we are practical men, coming together to devise a practical method of advance and practical measures. (Applause.) The single tax, while it appeals to the noblest impulses that can actuate man, at the same time appeals as powerfully as can be conceived of to his selfish motives. It has the advantage of combining selfishness and generosity and enthusiasm. I for one, in propagating or attempting to propagate the single tax idea, do not hesitate to appeal to the selfish motive. I for one do not hesitate, in the advancement of this cause, to show hard headed business men, the toiling, economical farmer, the hard working mechanic, how this great movement will, in its very incipency, and in the very first of the steps which we propose to take, benefit him, and I do not have any hesitation whatever in appealing to his selfish motives. (Applause.) Let us show this practically by an illustration, and you will pardon me if I refer to facts within my own knowledge and in my own locality.

We have in the city of Houston, in Texas, a place of some 32,000 inhabitants by the last census, a debt of \$1,600,000 that was placed upon us during the carpet bag reign. Four years ago we did not have hardly a paved street in the city, hardly any sidewalks, and no prospect of a sewerage system. Our taxes are about two per cent. We are burdened with the heaviest debt by far of any city in the state, and our business men have felt as though there was a cloud over them that would keep the city back and not enable it to take the advantages which its location and the ten or a dozen railroads that are centering into it, at the head of navigation, as it is on the bayou. They have been fearful that this great debt would prevent them from taking the place among the cities of that state which its position would justify or should lead to. Now this is our opportunity. It is easy enough for us to show it to any man of business, I care not though he may care nothing for our theories, and the average business man does not. It is easy enough for us to show him how this debt instead of being a curse to us, may really become almost an advantage. We go to the hard headed man of business and say to him: We must levy our taxes in this city in such a way as not to burden enterprise. It won't do for us to assess improvements upon land high, because if we do it will discourage people from building here. We cannot afford to tax manufacturing establishments heavily by giving them a high assessment in fixing the valuation, and therefore we must put assessments low; for if we don't do that we will scare them away, and they will go somewhere else. Now, there is one thing, we can tell them, we can tax that won't go off. If we tax stocks of goods; if we assess the

merchant's goods at a high valuation, or even a moderate valuation, he becomes restless and goes to Galveston or Dallas or somewhere else. He is liable to go there, but he is deterred from coming to us, therefore we should not assess personal property high. We should assess it low. We cannot afford to do it. We will ruin the town. We must put our assessed valuation upon improvements and personal property low, otherwise we cannot compete with other cities. A man is interested in that. He sees the point. Well, what are you going to levy your taxes upon then? How are you going to get your revenue? We have got to raise \$200,000. Now what difference does it make how you get it as long as it is got to be paid by the people here. That is probably what he says, but he might just as sensibly say that it makes no difference whether you fasten the load to the horse's tail or to his shoulder. (Laughter.) There is one thing, we tell him, you can tax that will not go away; that cannot go off to Dallas or anywhere else, and that is the value of the land. (Applause.) Therefore, what you want to do if you would have your town prosperous, if you would avoid the effect of this debt upon us, is to increase the valuation upon your land and decrease assessments upon your improvements and your personal property. Don't you see that if we increase the tax upon the land, if we raise the assessed valuation of the lots, the only effect will be that the little jobbers and speculators who hold them now will want to sell them for a little less than they otherwise would. We have been hurt the business of the town has been hurt by the present system, but we may tax land values as high as we please and we won't hurt any enterprise; we won't deter a man from putting up a house; we won't drive away a single manufacturing establishment, but on the contrary we will make it easier for them to come there, because it is said that the raising of the valuation will have a tendency to lessen the selling price. (Applause.) Where is the man of hard business sense that won't listen to such talk. They certainly would do so ordinarily. They will finally come down to the bottom of your theory; but let us first get it to them. How they shall first do something that will benefit them, that will interest them, that will do them some good, and in that little reason that we can preach so effectively under such circumstances, and which we do preach so effectively, we enter the wedge that will lead on to broader and grander results. We have made a starting point. Once in a while you will meet a man who when you talk to him about increasing the tax upon land decreasing the tax upon improvements, will say that is not fair, that is not right. When you meet a man who says that thing, you have an opportunity to put in your ethical argument. (Applause.) Then you ask who created that lot there? Who made the land? Who gave value to that vacant piece of land that cannot be bought for \$20,000? Who places those values there but the people of this community, and when we increase the tax on that land what are we doing but simply taking for this community values that the whole community creates? (Applause.) I might say that this line of argument has been pursued by us, and while I cannot attribute the results that have been accomplished entirely to the efforts of single tax men, although they have been active in the matter, it has resulted from the fact that the single tax is in the air.

Our entire assessed value of improvements in that city as shown by the assessment rolls—and we include there an improvement value over the land value—in a city of now 32,000 inhabitants, the assessed valuation of its improved property stands upon the rolls as at about \$1,500,000, and yet we have single institutions, we have single manufacturing concerns whose shops are worth \$750,000, and we have five great compresses, each of them worth \$100,000, and there is no question but that our improvement values there are five or six times as great as they stand upon the assessment rolls. The personal property valuation is \$2,500,000, and the land valuation is \$9,000,000. Now we have this basis to go upon. In this town we have \$9,000,000 of land values, and they have been fixing them each year higher and higher than the year preceding. Suppose we should abolish taxes on improvements and personal property in this town. Suppose our constitution had that in it, then we could come to these same property men and propose that to them. Let us quit fixing people for coming here and building the houses we need. Let us sweep away everything that is a tax upon industry and put it upon our land values. We will only have to increase the percentage about thirty per cent; that ain't going to ruin anybody, and it's going to benefit you. It is going to benefit you with your little home there, in which the improvements are worth two or three thousand dollars, and your land, not worth more than one-third of that. It is going to benefit you in this way, you who have not got homes, because it will tend to make the speculators turn them loose on more moderate terms. And so we could go on, and we would have no trouble in showing how it is to the interest of all those people who are doing something to produce wealth and to give employment to labor to adjust their local taxation in this way. I contend, while I would not surrender one jot or tittle of the principle for which we contend, that these values that society creates belong wholly to

society, nevertheless, I would not despise such moderate and slow methods as these. They are not slow, they are most rapid of all; and it is along this line that I call attention to here, as well as along the line of the tariff question, that I believe our country's victory can be advanced. (Applause.) It is a very easy thing to explain our doctrine to people in this way. It appeals, as I say, to their selfish motives; it interests them as practical men, and the first lesson is easily learned, and the last and greatest of all will quickly follow. (Applause.)

We have a good many people to hear from, and I must cut short your applause. There are some gentlemen whom I will not, stranger as I am, attempt to introduce to you, a single tax audience of New York. One of these gentlemen will now speak to you, and though I won't attempt to introduce him, his name is James G. Maguire. (Applause.)

Judge Maguire's address:

Ladies and Gentlemen: My hope of the speedy and ultimate triumph of this movement has for some years been strong and growing, but not until I met the grand galaxy of representative orators from most of the states of the Union attending this convention have I become assured that nothing on earth can prevent its accomplishment within a marvelously short time. (Applause.)

When I heard some months ago that William Lloyd Garrison of Boston had determined to join with us in this struggle for the emancipation of the American people from industrial slavery, though I knew nothing of the magnificent powers which he possesses, I held his coming as something more than a mere acquisition to our ranks—as an omen of the victory to win. (Applause.) I am glad that his attention was called to this work, for I can conceive of nothing more fitting than that he should be engaged in completing the grand work of emancipation to which his noble father, the lion hearted, devoted his whole manhood and finally saw triumphant in the emancipation of the African slaves from chattel slavery. (Applause.)

I shall say but little to-night, for there are other gentlemen from whom you all desire to hear, and a number of them who are to say a few words each to you on this question, but I desire, as a sort of lawyer from the west, to say something about the question of "vested rights." (Applause.)

It is urged that the single tax means practically the confiscation of landed estates; that it would destroy the market value of lands for which so many speculators and investors have paid large sums of money, and it is said that the moneys invested in lands were invested under the sanction of existing laws which treated land as private property in the same sense in which chattels were treated as private property; that it would be most outrageous and unjust to cause their speculations to fail now by exercising the power of taxing as we propose to do it. You hear those complaints all around, and nearly every fellow who would be thus affected by the single tax is now complaining. Why of earth don't he get rid of his investment now? (Laughter. A voice—"He sees the cat.") Yes, he sees the cat or he would not complain. I tell them all that about three years ago I gave my valuable legal advice without charge to all the land owners of America on that subject, and told them what the law was and what risk they were taking in investing in lands. (Applause.) And the risk is simply this: that the people of every state in the American Union have a reserved constitutional right as against all lands that have ever gone into private ownership to take the rental value by taxation whenever it may seem expedient to the state so to do. (Applause.) Fortunately, I have not been obliged to rely upon my own legal acumen or power of analysis of the constitution in order to reach this conclusion or to give this advice. The supreme court of the United States in 1825, John Marshall, the greatest of all our chief justices, writing the opinion, so declared. The supreme court of the United States has at least on half a dozen occasions since that time declared that this is the unalienable and reserved right of the state—that it is an essential part of the very sovereignty of the state that it has the right to take by taxation for public purposes whenever it shall seem to the people or to the legislature of the state that it is expedient or necessary for public purposes to take any part or all of in such values. (Applause.) More than that, in the present supreme court, shortly before the death of Justice Clifford, who wrote the opinion, it was decided in the case of the state of Missouri against Maguire—that is another Maguire, not me—I knew too much about that part of the law to ever take such a case to the supreme court (laughter)—that it is a matter over which neither the courts of the state nor of the United States had any control; that it is a matter of purely public policy and expediency, to be determined by the legislature of the state in the absence of constitutional restriction on their legislature in that behalf; and the only appeal from carrying taxation to the extent of destroying the property right is the appeal of not sending the fellows to the legislature again. (Laughter.)

That disposes entirely of the question of legal vested rights, but the supreme court

said something more—I think it was in the Maguire case—that the right of the people of each state in their sovereign capacity to tax to the extent of destroying, if they deem it expedient, was a reserved right to be construed as if it were incorporated as a condition in a deed. Well, I apprehend there will be very few innocent purchasers who will suffer when this single tax comes into operation, and they are the only ones who are entitled to any equitable consideration in the matter. (Applause.)

I met a gentleman about four years ago who was a large land owner, and I talked this matter over with him, and gave him my views more elaborately than I have given them to you to-night. I met him a few weeks ago, and he urged the same argument he urged four years ago, and I told him of the legal advice that he had received four years before, and called attention to the statement he made, that most of the lands he owned had been purchased since he got that advice; and he said he knew in the meanwhile, or believed my statement, that the state had the right to take by taxation the rental value of land for public purposes. Then I said, I don't see any use of your complaining; you bought the land knowing these considerations. He speculated upon the probability that the people would not enforce that right until he had made money out of the land. And that is what they are all doing. Compensation if he speculates with the hope of making by a failure of the people to assert the unquestionable reserved rights over that land before he makes money out of it! Then if the people adopt the policy of the law which makes his speculation inoperative or a loss, why that is one of the things which every speculator contemplates when he invests his money. (Applause.) Compensation to be made by the people for changing their minds upon a question of public policy to be made to those whose speculations fail by reason of the change? Nonsense, absolute nonsense. (Applause.)

Let me give you an instance in which speculators, working upon something which is as uncertain, more uncertain than popular action in this behalf, would certainly be entitled to compensation for any injurious effect upon their speculations by the single tax.

I was in Port Moody, British Columbia, a few years ago, and the Canadian Pacific railroad company had established a terminus there, and that made land values which had previously been about forty cents an acre go up to \$2,000 a lot in a single week. Men had invested immense sums of money in Port Moody lands, and I was seriously and strongly advised to join the boom and buy some lands. Well, I did not happen to buy any, but I had scarcely got home to San Francisco from that enthusiastic boom town when I saw that the directors and parties in control of the Canadian Pacific railway had adopted a four line resolution which knocked spots out of the Port Moody boom. They simply sat down and by a vote of four to three, I think it was a bare majority of one, they decided that night to change the terminus seven miles below Port Moody, and land values fell almost to the very trifling value that attached to them before the directors had decided to establish the terminus there at all. Now, weren't they entitled to compensation? (Applause.) Weren't they entitled to \$2,000 from the Canadian Pacific railway? Hadn't they invested their money upon the faith and belief that the resolution that had previously been adopted would not be repealed or rescinded? Is not that precisely the kind of reliance that land speculators are always placing upon the action of the people?

Well, I have talked long enough. I was going to say something about the moral side of the question, but there are others beside me who have something to say about that. I shall simply say that there is no moral right in the land owner to get the rent of tomorrow; no moral right of any kind. There is no such thing as an accrued rental value of land. There will be no rental value of any land to-morrow that is not caused entirely by to-morrow's efforts on the part of the community. (Applause.)

There has been a much abused individual abroad in this land and in others, denominated the "tramp," but there has been one tramp abroad who was a very entertaining and instructive one, and that tramp is at home and his name is Lee Merriwether. (Applause.)

Lee Merriwether's address:

Mr. Chairman, Single Tax Men and Single Tax Women of America: Five minutes before I came upon this platform, when your chairman honored me with an invitation to make a few remarks here, he cautioned me not to be over ten minutes upon the platform, and I shall show my appreciation of the honor conferred upon me by taking of your time not ten minutes, not more than two or three minutes, because I am here as a student of this movement and not as a teacher. My investigations and studies as a student of the labor problem have made me so keenly aware of the poverty and even suffering still endured by the great majority of our fellow beings on this earth that I can but feel the deepest interest in any movement which looks toward the removal of this poverty, which I am sure the great Creator of this earth could

not have meant to exist. (Great applause.) There is somewhere in that good book that we have all read, a saying to the effect that they that toil not neither shall they eat, but I must say, ladies and gentlemen, that as a student of the labor problem I have often found exactly the reverse of that saying to be true. So far from they that toil not having nothing to eat, it often seems to me that they who toil not have more to eat than they can eat in a thousand years; and not only that, but they who toil often have nothing at all to eat. (Applause.)

It seems to me that the wisdom of man should at least be sufficient to devise a social system wise enough and perfect enough to permit each and every man to at least have the wealth for his own use which he himself creates. (Applause.) I have no objection to that little biblical proverb being reversed, and they that toil not having something to eat if they can get it, but I will insist that they who toil must have something to eat. (Applause.)

When I have mentioned these doubts to some of my friends they have said to me: "Oh, why the earth is getting too crowded. Why, haven't you read Malthus? Well, my friends, ever since I read Henry George's chapter on the Malthusian theory I have taken but little stock in that theory, and a trip which it was my pleasure to take about two years ago to the Sandwich islands impressed it upon me that the Malthusian theory was knocked higher than a cocked hat by Henry George. (Applause.) I found there an example so striking that it seemed to me that those who ran, or even those who fly, might read. There on those islands, where, in the first, nature provided almost everything that man can use, when the population was some three or four hundred thousands, every man had all that he could eat. They had all that they could wear because they did not wear anything. (Laughter.) All that a man need do was to go out and pluck bread from the trees, or he could bring milk from the trees; he could have coconuts, bananas and other fruits as free as the air. When there were three or four thousand on this island there was no one who had not enough to eat; there are only forty thousand to-day, and they suffer poverty as you see here in New York. Why is it? I will call attention to one example, and that is the island of Maui. One individual citizen from California went over there and by some hocus pocus got the king to grant him 20,000 acres of land, and he drew a line around it and said to the natives, "You keep out," and the result is they have not enough to eat now, when there are only forty thousand inhabitants, while formerly it supported four hundred thousand.

As I said in the beginning of my remarks, I am only a student of these principles. I do not set up to be a teacher of them. I have, however, faith in this thought, all discussion will lead to the truth, and it seems to me that this single tax is going to treat the men who toil not, yet who have all the eating, like an old farmer out my way treated a certain familiar fowl of his. This is the story: There was a friend of mine out there who did not know much about farming, but he went out to the country and bought some hens, and some guinea fowls, and among others he bought one old duck with a very wide bill. This old fellow used to go out in the morning and throw grain on the ground to the hens. They tried to get something to eat, but this old duck with the very wide bill invariably got about fifteen grains where the others got one. The result of it was that the duck kept getting fatter and fatter while the hens and other sharp billed fowls got thinner and thinner. This friend of mine decided that things were not exactly fair and equal, so he took his old jack knife and picked the duck up and whittled her bill down to a fine point. (Laughter.) After he had whittled it down to a point like the other fowls he threw her down and said: "Now, durn you, peck with the balance of them." (Laughter.) If this single tax doctrine is to be the knife that is to whittle down to a sharp point the bills of the land monopolists and the land speculators, and they who take what is called the unearned increment, and throw them out in the world to work with the balance of us, I am for it, first, last and all the time. (Great applause.)

The Chairman—A gentleman from Missouri here in the conference the other day informed us that under the beneficent and benignant influence of protection they had out there pretty well ceased doing any work except working their mouths. (Laughter.) I think that such specimens of Missouri as I have seen here in New York can do that to pretty good effect. (Applause.) You have just had a taste of Missouri eloquence, and I will allow you to enjoy another dose. I will introduce to you Mr. H. Martin Williams of St. Louis. (Applause.)

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS'S ADDRESS

Mr. Chairman, Sisters and Brothers of the Single Tax Cause, and Fellow Citizens of New York: It seems to me that poor old Missouri is just a little bit too obtrusive here to-night. It seems to me that you should be satisfied with having one Missourian talk to you instead of calling upon another one, especially when that one has acquitted himself so mag-

nificently, and made an impression upon you that I am afraid I shall spoil before I get through. (Laughter.)

I believe that it was myself who remarked on yesterday that owing to the beneficent effects of the beautiful protective tariff system, we don't work much of anything over there now but our mouths. (Laughter.) This reminds me of an editorial paragraph printed in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch some years ago by my good friend Colonel John Cockerell, who is now the managing editor on one of your great metropolitan dailies; and to the everlasting credit of that paper be it said that it has a warm side toward us single tax pilgrims, and has accorded us not only courteous, but fair treatment. (Applause.) Colonel Cockerell said that upon one occasion I was making a speech up in the north Missouri, and I opened the speech with this remark: "My fellow citizens, my business is to talk." Whereupon an old, gaunt, hungry-looking Missourian got up. "Yes," he says, "and durin' the whole ten years I've known ye your place of business has never been closed." (Laughter and applause.) You can understand now why the hills and prairies of the state of Missouri are full of single tax men and women; it is simply because a few of us single tax people have never closed our places of business. (Applause.) And I for one desire to say here to-night that so long as God gives me strength I intend to do business at the old stand. (Applause.) And not until we have consummated our desires and crystallized into legislation of this country, state and national, the fundamental, bed-rock principles that underlie the single tax doctrine, shall I take down the sign, put up the shutters and retire from business. (Applause.)

I am not here to make an argument to-night. An argument upon the single tax is simply wasted upon this audience, because nearly all of you know more about the single tax than I do; you know almost as much about it as most of us who attempt to teach you except our great exemplar and teacher. (Applause.) But I want to say a few things for the encouragement of you single tax people who don't belong to this conference—you men and women of New York. When I left home on Saturday night I felt as though I was going a long way from home and among strangers; but do you know, I never felt more at home in my life than I do at this moment. (Applause.) When I look into the sparkling eyes of the fair women of this city (laughter and applause), and recognize the faces of the honest men who have taken up the cross of this new crusade, I feel very much at home and tolerable well, I thank you. (Great applause.)

I woke up this morning with a chill, followed by a burning fever. My friend Ring and I, I guess, have got the same complaint. They call it malaria up in this country, and we proceeded to fill ourselves full of quinine; but now the speeches I have heard to-night have acted as a tonic, and I ain't a bit sick. I am all right. (Applause.)

Now, I want to say this for your encouragement. You know it was always customary out in my country to have an exhortation thrown in. I am not going to preach a sermon; as I said a little while ago, it is not necessary to make an argument here, because it is the sinners and not the righteous that we come to bring to repentance; and blessed be the Lord there are not any sinners here to-night, I think; at least you don't look like it. (Applause.) If you are, you are in a fair way to be saved, because you can't sit here under the drippings of the sanctuary and not go away from here convicted sinners at least, and conviction is the first step towards real true conversion. (Applause.)

Out in Missouri we had a few people a couple of years ago who thought they were going to do something with a little bit of a side-show of a third party arrangement, and they undertook to keep alive and galvanize a corpse called the united labor party. Well, we discovered that you could no more galvanize a dead political carcass than you could apply the process of galvanism to a human corpse, and make it stand up and talk and walk. (Applause.) This business of sitting up at a wake ain't a very pleasant one (laughter), and for one I am done sitting up with political corpses. (Laughter.)

John Z. White of Chicago, whom I tried to get to talk to-night in my place because he is so much better a talker than I am, says that our mission on earth is to convert the democratic party. Well, I think that is true; not because I think the body of the democratic party or the masses of the democratic party are any nearer or any better than those of the republican party, I don't think that; but I do know that the bulk of the democratic voters of this country believe in their heart of hearts in the traditions and the principles of the old democratic party that we single tax people are to-day vitalizing and revivifying with sound democratic doctrine. (Great applause.) Because I know there is more of the spirit of Thomas Jefferson abroad in the ranks of that party than at any time within the last thirty years. (Applause.) I know that whether it will or not, in spite of the fellows who generally have the leading of it, the great masses of the party are moving forward, and these self-constituted leaders are only the followers of the honest masses that constitute the party, and in spite of them that party is marching toward free

trade, and that is the first step toward the single tax. (Applause.)

One of the gentlemen who preceded me spoke of the message of President Cleveland. (Applause.) I will tell you what that utterance did, coming at the opportune time it did from the pen of the bravest, manliest man who has occupied the White House since the days of that old rock-ribbed, iron-sided democrat, Andrew Jackson. (Applause.) It turned this country into a debating society. (Laughter.) I don't know how you do things in New York; you do them so different from the way we do out west; but out west there has not been for two years a school house in Missouri in which, when the fall and winter months come on, there has not been a debating society organized, and about the first question discussed and the last question discussed is the tariff question, and in many localities it is the single tax. (Applause.)

In one county where I started a paper some two years ago, the farmers and Knights of Labor got together in a sort of triple alliance, as they called it, and solemnly resolved they would have nothing to do with the paper so long as I was connected with it, because of my heretical notions on the land question. Four months afterward I was invited to that county by the democratic county committee to make democratic speeches, and I talked free trade and single tax. (Applause.) The result of it is that that county is to-day absolutely honeycombed with single tax people. (Applause.) That is the way the old thing works out there. (Laughter.) That is what the democratic party is doing out there.

I want to say this, I am not particularly enamored of any political party. Away back, ten years ago and more, I divorced myself, temporarily at least—I got what the lawyers call an interlocutory decree of divorce—from the democratic party. I was a greenbacker for ten years. (Applause.) But when that message was written I found that for me—with my ideas on economic questions, there was no place else. I found myself in the condition of a young fellow over in Indiana, by the name of Jim Smith. He was a good fellow. He belonged to the Young men's Christian association, and belonged to the church, and like a well regulated young man he had two or three very nice, sweet sweethearts. One night, although it was prayer meeting night, Jim concluded that he would call on one of his girls instead of going to prayer meeting. He went to the house of one of them and rang the bell, and the young lady came to the door and said: "Mr. Smith, I—I wish you would excuse me to-night, but a young gentleman has called and I don't like to ask him to leave." Jim said "that's all right," and started down the street whistling to see the other girl. He rang the bell and she came to the door and poured cold water all over him by telling him another fellow had got there ahead of him. Jim started off a little bit crestfallen, and after all decided to attend the prayer meeting. He hadn't been in the house a moment until they asked him to lead in prayer. He dropped down on his knees and said: "Oh, Lord, we come to thee to-night because we have nowhere else to go." (Great applause.) I have been sloshing through political space for a couple of years and I didn't know where else to go, and I went into the democratic party and cast my vote in the direction of molding the sentiment of that organization and using the machinery of that party or organization that comes to my hands and to our hands, to compass and bring about this great truth to which we are all devoted, and the success of which we mean, God giving us help and strength, to do all in our power to bring about. (Applause.)

The Chairman—Some months ago, I don't know but that it was years ago, I read in a very excellent publication of this city of a president of a horse car company who insisted that the best way to run a horse car line was to take passengers free. I have been consumed from that time to this with a great and burning curiosity to see him. I have met him, and his name is Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland.

MR. JOHNSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—The single tax is the object of a conference held in your city and being carried on now, and though you are all, or most of you, single tax men and women, it might be appropriate to discuss to-night what the single tax is. I don't expect to teach you anything, at least you who have studied the question, but perhaps there is some stranger here and I may be able to do some mite of good.

Single tax on land values is the subject, and it is misleading to some people. Some people say to me, why, you can't tax land values. We have to admit it; we don't propose to tax land values in the sense in which they ask the question. We propose to tax men according to the scale of the land value they keep or monopolize. (Applause.) The tax upon land values is the measure by which we are to determine how much tax a man owes. (Applause.) With that distinction in view the way is found clear to discuss the single tax.

Men dodge taxation when unjustly levied, but if taxes were fairly put, men would not dodge their taxes. It is the proud duty of men to bear their just portion of the load; it

is only when taxes are put on things that should not be taxed, it is only when taxation acts as an embargo on progress that men begin to dodge. (Applause.) When we attempt to tax houses, money and credits we force houses, money and credits to the wall. We operate in a way to diminish the houses, to scare the money off, and make men dodge their taxes.

There is nothing wrong in paying a just tax; there is every reason why men should fight against an unjust tax. (Applause.) The very foundation of government is based upon the collection of taxes. Men should bear their part of the load, but when one man owns the inheritance of a thousand men we men of the single tax say he should pay the taxes of a thousand men. (Applause.) Is there anything unfair in demanding of a man who owns a county that he should support that county? (Applause.) If thirty thousand people own the island of England, great heavens, let them support the English government! The little eight millions of people who inhabit the island of Ireland not only support their part of the government but an aristocracy besides. (Applause.) Do you blame these men for refusing to pay their rent, which is their tax? Not a bit. I am proud to say they resisted. (Applause.) It was a wise policy of the famous French minister who declared that the way to collect taxes was to lay the taxes as to get the greatest amount of feathers with the least squawking. I say it was wise in a despot, in a king, but is that wisdom on the part of the sovereign and individual citizens of the United States, to trust their servant to collect the taxes so as to get the most feathers with the least amount of squawking? (A voice: No.) The object of the kings of this country, the sovereign citizens, should be to so lay the taxes that every man can see how they are collected, who pays them, and how they are spent. (Applause.) The study of the tax question is the most important study that a free citizen can engage in. It is through the power of taxation that the strongest empires and despots have ever flourished and succeeded in holding their own. The army and the policeman were only the instruments in their hands; the real hold was the taxing power. (Applause.)

We have no aristocracy, we have no standing army, but we have an ingenious class that understands how to shift taxes in such a way that the people pay taxes into their pockets. We have substituted the monopolist for the aristocrat and we have lost by the change. (Applause.) We have substituted one kind of robbery for another. The only way to escape this is through the movement we have started in this country, and which we call the single tax, which, by educating the people and teaching them to think on the subject of taxes, how they should be laid, will at last free us from the last and most abominable burdens that a civilized people ever bore. (Applause.)

The power to tax men is studied carefully by the monopolist. The power to tax is the power they use from the tariff to the horse car road, and I put it low in the scale because he is only a small robber, but they understand how to lay the tax on the community. (Laughter and applause.)

It is the object of the single tax to teach men to think on this subject, and I am encouraged, and greatly encouraged, by this convention—by the class of people who have come from all over the United States to meet here and discuss the matter with the people who are teaching it; and there is great hope ahead of us.

The single tax does not propose to divide up men's property; we don't propose to distribute what a man lawfully owns, or rightfully owns. The single tax is not aimed to make people equal in wealth; it has not for its object the equality of wealth any more than it has the equality of stature or of weight, but it has for its object the equality of chance to make a living. (Applause.)

The chair—We have found within the past few months, since the single tax clubs began to get to work on tariff reform, that even in Pennsylvania there was a spirit of reform; and in Philadelphia, that hotbed of protection, there are those who do not hold to protection theories at all. One of these is with us, and I beg leave to introduce to you Mr. A. H. Stephenson of Philadelphia.

MR. STEPHENSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—If my voice is not what it should be to-night, I hope you will forgive me; but to tell you the truth, on last Saturday evening we held over here on the east side an open air meeting, which resolved itself into a meeting to endorse Mr. Blaine's reciprocity idea. (Laughter.) As I was unacquainted with the warmth of the welcome which New Yorkers give their friends, when a tomato in the incipient stages of decay went by my ear I lost my voice, and I haven't found it completely yet, but I am very glad that that was all I lost. (Laughter.) I want to tell you about how the protectionists got the best of me at that meeting. In the course of my varied career as a single tax man I have sometimes posed as a working man, and as the cart upon which I was mounted was labeled the "Workingman's Tariff Reform Club," I had to pass as a workingman on Saturday night. A protectionist on the outskirts of the crowd,

who was somewhat under the influence of Jersey lightning, I believe, called the attention of the audience somewhat in this style, when I was making one of my most Websterian gestures in the midst of one of my most impressive periods, this individual had the audacity to call out: "Would you look at that hand for a workingman's." (Laughter.)

I suppose you would like to hear something from Pennsylvania. For some reasons I am proud to represent Pennsylvania here, and for other reasons I am ashamed of her. One reason why I am proud of her is that she claims as her son our friend and teacher. (Applause.) Another is that she is so well represented in this conference; but I am ashamed of her because, although highly gifted by nature, she is foully cursed by man. (Applause.) I don't know how it is with you over here, but there is absolutely no reason for any poverty in Pennsylvania; no good reason. (Applause.) The Creator has given to her what he has perhaps given to no other spot on the face of this earth; fertile fields and her lands underlaid with riches, yet in spite of that she counts her millionaires on her fingers and her paupers by the millions. (Applause.) They, perhaps, don't call themselves paupers, but I call any man a pauper who is not assured of the future. (Applause.) Just at present in Pennsylvania we are indulging in the luxury of a political campaign. I think I remember hearing, in those days before I joined the single tax movement, and when no one questioned my respectability, a saying that said something like this, "The first shall be last, and the last shall be first." Now that is just the way in which we single tax men feel toward the ticket of the democratic party in Pennsylvania. (Applause.) We have a good man nominated for governor, but we think we have a better man nominated for lieutenant governor. (Applause.) And I think I am violating no confidence when I assure you that Chauncey F. Black is as good a single tax man as a man can be and be a candidate of the democratic party. (Applause.) But there is one thing that makes us feel very anxious as to the success of the democratic party in the coming election. I am sorry to say that the man who is the candidate for governor is ignoring the most practical matter with which he should enter into this campaign. He says the tariff is no issue. Now, if the tariff is not an issue, if it has nothing to do with the campaign, why did the democrats put a tariff plank in their platform? We are waiting in fear, and hope before we can go into that campaign with any degree of enthusiasm to find out that the tariff can be made an issue and will be made an issue by the democrats of Pennsylvania. At any rate, there is one thing sure, the democratic party never can carry Pennsylvania as a protective party. (Applause.) The moment a democrat stands up and vows himself a protectionist, the sensible voter will say if protection is a good thing we are going to vote with the party that has stood up for protection and will stand up for it and that man is right. There is no help for the democratic party of Pennsylvania outside of free trade. (Applause.)

I am proud and glad to be with you, gentlemen, many of you I have known by name, but during this week is the first time I have clasped your hands. For I believe as that statesman said long ago that this is a proud day for America. (Applause.) I believe that this week is a week which will go down to the future and long be remembered. (Applause.) And I was going to say if I did not expect to see the single tax triumphant in the near future I would hope we shall have many reunions like this, but I believe that these reunions will be unnecessary in the near future. (Applause.) But whether they are or not, that makes no difference to us. We care not, for results will come if they will, but those who have seen this great principle work for the future, no matter what it may bring forth. (Applause.) Seven years ago in a book store I stumbled over a copy of "Progress and Poverty." I casually took it up and read it. I read it again and again, and one of the humorous things that occurred to me about that time was after I had read it three or four times and began to digest a little of it when I inquired around to see who could tell me something that was against it. I concluded to find some book that refuted its fallacies, as our newspaper editors say. I went down to the public library, or rather Philadelphia has not progress and public spirit enough to have a public library, but I went to a library and asked the librarian if there was any book in the library which exposed the fallacies of "Progress and Poverty." He smiled in an expressive way and said: "Just go to any of those works on political economy. (Laughter.) I read a great many of those works but I have never discovered that volume." (Applause.) Now, that edition of "Progress and Poverty" was one of the first published—the original edition—in which Mr. George gave upon one of the pages to those who read it and were interested in it an invitation to correspond with him. I accepted that invitation. I was more than interested in it; I was convinced by it. (Applause.) And perhaps Mr. George will recollect how, seven years ago, I pledged myself to work for those principles so long as I should live. (Applause.) And if this conference had no further purpose, if it had no other object for organization, it would still have a tremendous value through single tax men coming together, like pilgrims of old, and renewing

their vows to be always faithful to these principles. (Great applause.)

The Chair—A day or two ago one of your papers said that this single tax movement was like the old abolition movement except that it lacked the sectionalism. I desire to introduce to you a gentleman who is a proof of that assertion, Mr. Bolton Smith of Memphis, Tenn. (Applause.)

MR. BOLTON SMITH'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: There have been references made to-night to that great movement of abolition which swept this country like a wave of fire thirty years ago, and you have been told that it enfranchised the black man, and that now you are engaged in a movement for the enfranchisement of the white man. (Applause.) But I who have lived in the south pledge you my word that you are engaged in even a larger undertaking than that. I would not take one single leaf from the laurel crown of those who fought and bled for the great cause—the enfranchisement of the black man from the shackles of slavery; but they did not free him. (Applause.) You, gentlemen of the single tax, and ladies, too, are engaged in a work which is the consummation of the work of William Lloyd Garrison the elder. (Applause.) To the slave of the south there has not yet dawned that great gospel of liberty which these men thought they preached; he is yet a slave; and all the talk and all the writing about the negro problem will be useless unless you are willing to treat him to more justice than you have yet treated him with; unless you are willing to put it within his power to become an owner of land. (Applause.) For in all the full meaning of the term, in that which means home, and the clustering joys, and influences and character that cluster about home, the single tax is not the destroyer of the home, and is not the enemy of real ownership. It will give to those men that which they have not had, and that which they haven't yet—an interest in the soil on which they live. (Applause.) You took these men from bond slavery and made them voters. Behold the result! Aye, it is a mournful fact, but when you deprive a man of the best of his rights the conference of other rights may be an injury. (Cheers.)

I was born in the north, but I have lived since some time before I was of age in the south, and my heart beats for that generous people in the troubles they have had there. (Applause.) But, gentlemen, if I could but put to you the feeling which is in the heart of vast numbers of the men of the south in regard to the suffrage question your hearts would bleed for them. (Applause.) It is a feeling which is to-day voicing itself in that constitutional convention at Jackson, Miss., where men stand, saying, in the name of God, is there no refuge! must we continue the system of either falsifying the oaths, or can we not find some system of carrying on honest and pure government? (Applause.) Some may possibly think that the movement of the constitutional convention in Mississippi is a retrograde movement, because, forsooth, it seeks in some way, if that way can be found, to curtail the suffrage, but I tell you, gentlemen, and I know whereof I speak, that movement is the brightest sign of the future that Anglo-Saxon men of your own blood cannot consent to live against and dispute the law. (Applause.) As sure as blood tells, as sure as water flows down hill, wherever an Anglo-Saxon community comes together it says: "Let us observe the law." But to those gentlemen in that constitutional convention in Mississippi, and to you gentlemen here, and to any republicans who may yet be voting the republican ticket in the vain hope that they are helping the negro and acquitting themselves to him of the duties which they assumed when they made him free, I say there is no hope for the negro without that education which will come when he has been made a house holder and an owner of his little plot of ground. (Great applause.)

These things are true. That problem which like a tremendous serpent has wrapped the land in its coils, that problem is to be solved only by a yet further application of the principles which have already entered it. We cannot stop. It is not enough, as I remember in that grandest chapter, I think, that exists in literature, it is not enough that men shall be able to vote if the right to use the land is denied to them. (Applause.) And you of the north who have learned self-government by the fact that in ages past your ancestors had that close and intimate contact with the land which makes civilization possible, you do not need the civilizing influence of the contact with the soil one hundredth part as much as those poor black men in the south do. If there are yet republicans in this land who love the negro; if there are yet men who remember that great time, let those men rise and work for tariff reform, for free trade and for single tax. (Applause.) For, gentlemen, so, and so only, can the negro problem be solved. (Applause.)

The Chairman—A few weeks ago we thought in Chicago that no man could leave either Minneapolis or St. Paul. A cordon of police guarded, so we were informed, the boundaries of each city, and no man was allowed to escape and not

be counted in the census (laughter); but that is over now, and one man at least has come to New York from St. Paul and that is C. J. Buell.

ADDRESS OF C. J. BUELL

Ladies and Gentlemen: Something over one hundred years ago that very good free trader and single taxer, Thomas Jefferson, gave utterance to these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain unalienable rights, and that among these were the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." In that state from which I come all men are not created equal; all men are not allowed to be equal; all men are not endowed with the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; but by the grace of the prophet of San Francisco, and by the force of the strength of the men of Minneapolis and Minnesota we hope to make that land free. (Applause.)

I want to tell you how we are getting along in that movement. You know just as well as I do that there are two things essential to freedom—that there are two things vitally essential that men should possess life, liberty and happiness—and those two things are freedom of access to the earth—free land as it stands on your banner there—and that can never be brought about except by the single tax. (Applause.) And secondly: that no matter how free may be your access to land, no matter how easy it may be for you to get at the earth to produce wealth, unless you are absolutely free to swap your labor with somebody else, that you have no freedom. (Applause.) We know then that these two fundamental principles of freedom, to get at the land and freedom of trade under the right of life, liberty and happiness. (Applause.) In that North star state from which I come we have a large number of people who understand these principles.

I want to tell you a little about how the thing is working up there. We have in Minnesota the republican party—we are absolutely certain of that for the reason that they have gobbled up most of the offices in that state. The republican party in Minnesota is not a protective tariff party. What did the republican party say in its platform when it made a platform a little while ago? Well, only the Almighty could infer what it meant; but they tried to say in that platform that they were in favor of Jim Blaine's reciprocity scheme. The republican party is not a protective tariff party, but it is in favor of reciprocity. Spare we in favor of reciprocity, if you only make it large enough. We have another party in Minnesota called the Farmers' alliance party. They are no insignificant factor in that state this fall. They are going to poll a lot of votes, and they are going to get the most of them from the republicans. That will be a good thing, too. (Laughter.) I want to say that the one man in Minnesota or South Dakota who has stood up for freedom of trade, through darkness and light, is the man that the Farmers' alliance have put up as their candidate, Sydney M. Owen of the Farm and Stock, and I want you to remember that man's name. If the state of Minnesota is ever redeemed from her superstition of protectionism Sydney M. Owen will be entitled to great credit. He is a pretty good single taxer, too. And so is the man they have put up for lieutenant governor. (Applause.) They are not at all likely to carry the day, but I want to say to you that the democracy of Minnesota is fairly honey-combed with the ideas of single tax and free trade. When the democracy of Minnesota gets itself together and makes a platform, if it don't declare that the tariff system is robbery then I am mistaken.

Before I take my seat I want to tell you what the democrats of Minneapolis have done. There is some chance there that they are going to carry the city this fall. That is a sure thing, and the democrats of Minneapolis last Tuesday nominated a man for mayor against his strongest protest and absolutely refused to permit him to decline the nomination, and that man is a single taxer. They nominated him not because he is a single taxer, but because he is a man of the people. They nominated him for mayor and stood him on a platform, and that platform was written by the single tax men of Minneapolis. (Applause.) When you see THE STANDARD to-morrow I want you to read it and see if you don't think it is a pretty good platform for the democrats of Minneapolis to have adopted. (Applause.)

We men of the north have gone into this fight to stay. When people of New York look at the election returns from Minnesota, and when you look at that two years ago and see that the farmers of that state had gone to the polls and swelled up a majority of forty thousand in favor of protection, you felt your hearts sinking, and you thought there was no hope for the redemption of the North Star state, but I want to say to you that in the blood of the people of that state there is too much of the old ancestral fire that burned in northern Europe eight hundred years ago for them ever to submit to that superstition and permit themselves to be slaves. (Applause.) No, just so long as the Norseman blood runs in the veins of the people of our northern state, just so long there is hope for freedom, and the day will surely come when the state will redeem itself, and the sons of Thor and Olaf will

come to the rescue and will teach the people of this country that the blood of the Northmen is still tintured with the fire of freedom. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman—There is one man in the city of New York, without whom no single tax meeting is complete. I told you I would not introduce to you Judge Maguire of San Francisco, but that I would mention his name. I do not think it is necessary for me to mention the name of the gentleman who will now address you, but I will tell you something about him. It is his birthday. He is fifty-one years old to-day; he is a free trader and a single taxer, and he is the author of "Progress and Poverty." (Great applause.)

HENRY GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have sat on this platform to-night with feelings of joy and pride. I have sat on this platform to-night with heartfelt thankfulness to God, and I believe that I only speak your voice, fellow single taxers of New York, when I say that the samples we have had here to-night of the single tax men of the rest of the Union have nerved us and inspired us and given us more hope for the future than anything else could. (Applause.)

Yes, it is my birthday to-day. (Voice, "Long may you live." Vociferous applause.) But not too long. Life, long life is not the best thing to wish for those you love. Not too long, but that in my day, whether it be long or short, I may do my duty, and do my best. (Applause.) I who have done so much speaking in this cause, and am constantly asked to do more and increasingly feel that my time for speaking is going by, and that there is other work for me to do. What you have heard to-night is proof to you that I am no longer needed on the platform. (Voices, "No, no.") It is evidence to you of what I said when the movement was smaller and younger, that we were educating in this movement the men who in a few years were to control the destinies of this republic. (Applause.) They are working, everywhere working. North and south, and east and west, in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Canada; aye, in the Sandwich Islands, in New Zealand, in the five colonies of Australia, wherever our English tongue is spoken, not merely on the platform, but wherever man meets man; in the factory, in the mine, in the workshop, in the counting room, in the mart, on shipboard, these single tax workers of ours! I feel as I have often and often been made to feel as men have told me how they were converted, how their eyes were opened to the glorious truths that we know, that it is not those of us who stand upon the platform, it is not those of us who are able to write; it is not those of us who may seem to be leading who are really doing the greatest work. It is the men and women who work silently and work incessantly, doing what is given them to do and doing it as best they can. (Applause.)

This meeting, I think, has revealed to us our strength better than any assemblage we have ever got together in the progress of our cause. It has shown our strength by the mere presence here of so many men, called together, at the most inopportune time of the year, from long distances, by no motive of selfish preference, by no motive of profit; private men, with no offices to divide; men with no political work to do save the work of using political parties for our propaganda. (Applause.) The mere gathering of such an assemblage as has met here is a proof of the strength of our movement, a proof of the enthusiasm it arouses, a proof of the devotion it calls forth. That of itself is sufficient to make us know that the time of our victory is truly drawing near. And the examples of them we have had! The hard sense, the clear cut doctrine, the firm adherence to the truth, the speaking ability, is proof to us that the south and the west can take care of themselves. (Applause.) And taking fresh courage, with stronger hearts let us resolve to do all the better, all the more ardently, all the more unceasingly, what we can to bring on the time of redemption, to strike the shackles from the slave, to give to man freedom, to bring on earth the kingdom of righteousness, the kingdom of our Father which art in Heaven. (Applause.)

We have kept this meeting longer than any meeting should be kept, and before it adjourns, or as it adjourns, I call on you to give three cheers for our visitors, and for the good of the cause all over the world.

Almost every one in the house rose to his feet, and, with hat and handkerchief waving wildly in the air, three thunderous cheers were given.

The chairman then announced the meeting adjourned.

WEDNESDAY'S SESSION.

THE CLOSE OF THE CONVENTION—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE PLANKS.

As there were but few delegates present when Chairman Post called the convention to order on Wednesday morning,

a short time was passed in informal speeches.

Mr. Post told one of his illustrative anecdotes as follows:

I want to tell you a little story that relates to the single tax. Some thirty or forty years ago, in one of the masonic lodges of this city, a man who had served for several years as a tyler, rose in his lodge and said: "It is a shame that the masonic fraternity in this city has no home, and I now present the sum of one dollar as the nucleus of the fund for the building of such a home." Several years elapsed before the fund was greatly increased, but to-day, as the result of that contribution of one dollar, there is a magnificent temple in this city on the corner of Twenty-third street and Sixth avenue, and there is now going up in the center of the state a magnificent home for indigent masons. That one dollar did it. I hold in my hand a contribution from the youngest attendant at this conference, Miss Bertie Huist, about two years old, a contribution to the national single tax agitation fund, a contribution of one penny, which I take pleasure in putting into that fund for what I believe will result in a large amount for the organized national single tax movement.

A delegate—You are wrong in the gender of the child—he's a boy.

Mr. Carpenter of Minnesota—I think that this contribution ought to be recognized.

Little Bertie Huist, a boy about five years old, was then brought up on the platform and given a seat next to Mr. Post, while the audience cheered and applauded. The little boy seemed to enjoy the scene very much.

Mr. Carpenter of Minnesota offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this conference, recognizing the value of the work done in the single tax cause by the women of our land, hereby tender to them its hearty thanks for their continued co-operation; especially does it thank Miss Mary A. Brennan of New York, Mrs. Frances M. Milne of California, Miss Frances E. Russell of Minnesota and Mrs. Mary L. Clardy of Texas; and extending to them the right hand of fellowship, it bids them God-speed in the good work which they have undertaken.

The resolutions were referred to the committee without debate.

Contributions began pouring in to add to the penny contributed by Bertie Hurst, and soon about \$70 was collected.

J. T. Altemus of New Jersey moved that the original penny be preserved and framed as a memento of the occasion.

Mr. Fellows of Indiana and Mr. Adams of Connecticut were appointed a committee to see that the penny was appropriately preserved.

Mr. Erickson of Minnesota moved that the name of Bertie Huist be added to the roll of delegates as an honorary member.

The Chair—We will have to wait about nineteen years before we can properly add his name to the league which is organized for political purposes.

The name of W. F. Thayer of Parkersburg, W. Va., was added to the national committee by the delegates from that state.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—We have in the city of Boston to-day a man who was the first president of a society organized to advocate the single tax in Boston, John R. Roche. He is now stricken with paralysis. He stood up for the single tax cause when to do so meant a sacrifice. He held a position of foreman on the Post. After attending single tax meetings he was told he must stop that thing or leave his place. He did not stop, and lost his position.

He was about to start a single tax paper, but I learned last week that he is stricken with paralysis on one side. A man like that, if he is conscious is here in spirit, and I want to move that we send a letter of regard from this convention to John R. Roche of Boston. (Applause.)

Mr. Norton of Alabama—I second that motion. It was my pleasure some years ago to meet Mr. Roche in Boston, and I then formed a very high opinion of him.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts added that Mr. Roche was first stricken with

paralysis while working for the single tax at a meeting in Boston.

Mr. William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts—Professor Garland informs me that we have with us as one of the delegates Miss Margaret E. Brennan of Rochester, N. Y. I move that she be invited to address us.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—I second that motion. This woman is seated with us here not as a woman, but as an intellect and a worker for the single tax cause.

Miss Margaret A. Brennan came upon the platform and was received with cheers. She said: Gentlemen, this welcome has almost made it impossible for me to address you; but I presume I must say something; but if you will permit me, I will give you some of my past history. It may show you my present position. Although I'm only about four or five years old as a single tax woman, I am forty years old as a land reformer. (Applause.) I remember as a very small child going along the country roads in one of the lovely districts of my native land with my young companions; we found nothing but narrow roads. I do not know whether the land inclosure act had passed at that time in England, but I do know that it was the practice of the lords of the soil to inclose the land and only leave room enough in the roads for the people to pass each other, and the children had nothing but the dusty roads as a play ground. And I said to my companions, "Why, there are no flowers in the roads; let us go into the fields." We approached the magnificent gates of one of the lords of the soil in England, and over the gate we saw: "Trespassers will be prosecuted!" The little girl stood there in fear and trembling. I said: "We don't trespass; we only go to gather flowers." To whom does the land belong; who made it?

That was the beginning of my land reforming experience. I took my young companions by the hand, and we went in and gathered flowers to our hearts' content. About nine or ten years ago I lectured on the subject in all the churches and halls that were open to me in my own country. I did not know then how to advise the people to regain the possession of the land, but I did know how to tell them that the land should be the common property of humanity. (Applause.) I did know how to tell them that the degradation and poverty of the great cities were caused by the fact that the people had been driven from the lands in the rural districts. I saw that the want of access to the land made the larger portion of the community dependent for bread, for life, for labor, on the will of the few. I saw that the boasted song that my countrymen are so fond of echoing, that "Britons Never Shall Be Slaves" (laughter) was a sham. I saw that they were slaves and must inevitably remain slaves, and that their slavery must deepen and darken from age to age, until it became a slavery of the soul as well as of the body. I knew that in recent times the spread of education in that country had created in the minds and hearts of the working people appetites and desires that are not there by nature, and for the gratification of which liberty and freedom and security of possession are all essential. For instance, it is a well-known fact in England, and it is a state you must ultimately reach here, because the conditions are the same; it is a fact that a man cannot work save at the will of another; that they cannot choose their residence or their times of marriage, or anything that bespeaks the condition of freemen without the will of another. The landlord will step in and put a veto upon almost everything that belittles men supposed to be living in conditions of freedom. (Applause.) Then when I turned myself as a religious teacher to the teachings of that One who was a brother of all men, I found that his religion is identical with goodness, that it means humanitarianism. It means the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. (Applause.)

One of the desires of my heart is to bring in the reign of that kingdom which is righteousness, right social relations, right relations between man and man. And that is not now possible. The idea of brotherhood is simply an idea that never can be realized while some men own the land and the others are simply dependent upon their will. It is not possible to reach the ideal of brotherhood so long as we have lords—many and almost almighty—in a community. I remember saying something to this effect on one occasion: "Why should we call any man our lord? (Applause.) We cannot call him lord absolute, for that is the title of the Deity. I cannot call him my lord for he is not my lord in any sense of the word." What is the difference between a landlord in this country and a landlord in the old country? None. (Applause.)

As long as you simply listen for the title you may think there is a difference created by landlordism. The conditions are the same wherever they are in force. Some time ago when I was once more in my own country a book came out which excited a great sentiment throughout the country; it was "The Bitter Cry of Out-cast London." I thought I would go myself and see the condition of the people it described. I passed from one slum to another; usually invoking the protection of policemen as I passed. I have not forgotten, and I never shall forget, the scenes I witnessed. I shall never be able to efface their memory. The women beaten and bruised out of all semblance to feminine humanity; the men imbruted until they no longer have the nobility of shame. And I've come to the conclusion that the necessity that impels us to this movement is a living necessity of human brotherhood. As I passed along the streets I noticed that the pickpocket drove his trade precisely as any other man drives his. There were no evidences of shame; they have no other trade or business. They had not been instructed. I find that the only difference between them and that of the higher robber classes was that the higher robber had legalized his particular system of robbery, while the pickpocket had not been afforded the opportunity. (Great applause.) As a woman I am particularly interested in this movement; not that I am more in love with my own sex than with the other (laughter), but I am very certain of this, that it is a false position when women with homes and husbands and children are compelled to go out and labor for the bread that perisheth, leaving the sublime and ordinary duties of the house unperformed. There is something wrong in the fact that the woman who has the duty of being the mother of a family should also be compelled to become the breadwinner. I believe that it is the high desire of the husband to care for his wife and keep her from the unnecessary toil of breadwinning. I do not believe that it is natural for fathers to drive their little ones forth, before their bones are hardened or their muscles formed, into workshops and factories.

This is a false position. The mother should be in her home, the children should be on the playground or in the schools. When I contrast the physical stature and appearance of the working classes in England with these lordly looking beings who have never toiled nor spun, I see that excessive toil is degrading to the body (applause), and I see that continuous idleness is degrading to the soul. The classes are hardened in heart, degraded in soul, and to a certain extent limited in intellect; while the working classes, doomed to hopeless and scarcely ever ceasing toil, are certainly imbruted by the same.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the many times I have heard you rejoice at the prospect of a few women helping you in this work. We are not likely to assert ourselves. It is not the nature of woman. But we want to be an inspiration to you men. We are actuated toward you by the most benevolent intentions, and we will seek to do you good and not evil all the days of our

life. That is the reason I wish to work in this cause. My heart has been rejoiced since I came here. I remember the first beginnings of this movement in this place, and the names of Mr. Croasdale, Mr. Post and all the others have been as familiar to me as the names of my childhood. I trust that these men will be maintained ungrudgingly, and that no one will want to assert himself, but that all keep their hearts and minds upon the one thing needful to be done and put the best men in to do it. Because we are not going to introduce the spoils system into our movement (applause), I would have the office reserved for the man instead of the man chosen for the office. I pray that the Lord, will knit the hearts of the single tax men together as a band of brothers, whose hearts God has touched. (Great applause.)

After Miss Brennan had concluded her address, it was announced that the committee on resolutions were ready to report the resolution on woman's work, given above.

Mr. Johnston of Ohio handed up the report, which was read by Secretary White. The resolution was reported favorably without amendment.

Mr. Henry George of New York—I move to amend that resolution by adding the names of Leonora Beck, Sarah M. Gay and Miss Littell of Connecticut. This mentioning of names is almost invidious. I could mention a dozen other names that ought to be there.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—I move to amend by striking out all the names.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts seconded the motion.

Mr. Henry George of New York—I made my motion on impulse. I don't know, come to think of it, but what Mrs. Milne's name comes before us in a special way. Mrs. Clardy, I understand, has started a new organization in Texas.

Mr. Blakeney of New York—It seems to me very natural that the names of those ladies coming prominently into this movement should be mentioned. It does not seem to me at all improper, nor does it show any lack of appreciation on our part of the many thousands of ladies all over the land interested in our cause. It is proper that the names of those who have first come and are now active and prominent among us should be mentioned. There is no reason, I think, why the names of those who have been mentioned, and perhaps a few others, should not be put in the resolution. I hope the last motion will not prevail.

Mr. Henry George of New York withdrew his motion to add the names of Leonora Beck, Sarah M. Gay and Miss Littell.

Mr. McCabe of New York—The use of names, Mr. Chairman, for honorable mention, regardless of sex, is a thing that should be pondered over very carefully. I do not believe in making up a large roll on impulse. I believe that any person, man or woman, that is to be mentioned honorably by the single tax league of the United States, should be carefully investigated beforehand. We don't want to fill a list with chaff. A list of honorable mention is one of the most precious documents, and ought to be subject to close supervision. I suggest that the subject be referred to a committee with power to add from time to time the names of those who do good work in the single tax cause.

Mr. Fellows of Indiana—The women of this country are not in the position of the men of this country. They have no vote. We want to recognize them in this simple way. I do not understand how any delegate here could possibly see where any injury could occur from the mention of a noble woman in this way. It would have influence among other women. I don't care to see my wife's name there. She is a single tax woman, and would not be offended if her name were not there; but there would be a glow in her heart when she did read there the name of some other good woman who saw the star that she sees.

Vice-President Garrison took the chair and Mr. Post addressed the convention. He said:

This is a subject on which for one moment I would like to have the attention of the conference. When we adopt the resolution down to the names we have done just what this conference ought to do, and all that it ought to do. We do not need to make perfunctory mention of the name of Mrs. Milne to honor her, or of the name of the lady who just addressed you to honor her, and we do not want to take the chances, as Mr. McCabe has said, of mentioning the names of people who ought not to receive such mention. A danger thus arises, and I, as one member of this convention, will support the motion that all names be stricken out on the ground that there is no necessity of mentioning them, and that any attempt to mention names must be invidious on the one hand and possibly dangerous on the other.

Mr. Post then resumed the chair.

Mr. W. E. Hicks of New York—I cannot understand why this convention should give perfunctory honor to any woman, but it should take some steps to see that the women of this country, the women of the single tax cause, be enlisted in some sort of a union to advocate and propagate the single tax. No one will pretend to deny that the Woman's Christian temperance union is the strongest element, national and international, in the temperance cause to-day. There are two men on that platform who, I know, are earnestly in favor of seeing the women of this country organized in a single tax union. One of them is Mr. Henry George and the other is William Lloyd Garrison.

The Chair—You can mention a third while you are at it.

Mr. Hicks—And Mr. Louis F. Post. I know that last fall the question was presented to Mr. George, and he said "certainly" to the proposition. An appeal was made in THE STANDARD and met with some response, but it did not have hearty support. This convention cannot afford to close its session without taking some notice of the subject. If Mrs. Clardy in Texas can organize a woman's tariff reform league, why can't the women organize a single tax union?

Mr. Brown of Illinois—Are not women at present entitled to representation in the national single tax league?

The Chair—That is a matter for the different clubs to decide for themselves.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—I think the names should be stricken out. We in Illinois, while we would be very glad to see a woman's union for single tax work, do not absolutely need it, because some of the most efficient members and officers of the Chicago single tax club are women. We do not make any distinction and they never dream that there is any. If we could have got them here they would have come with us. I entirely agree with Mr. Hicks that women should be invited to participate in our movement and that their services should be recognized, but do not think well of singling out by name any particular women, and hereby, as you have so well said, run the risk of being invidious on the one hand and partial on the other.

The previous question was moved and carried. The motion to strike out the names of the ladies mentioned was carried and the original resolution was then adopted as amended, the only change being the omission of the names.

The chair announced that the chairman of the national committee, Mr. Croasdale, desired to make a report. Mr. Croasdale stated that the national committee had organized at the morning meeting by electing himself as chairman and Mr. George St. John Leavens as secretary and Mr. August Lewis as treasurer. An executive committee was also elected, consisting of August Lewis, Read Gordon, G. St. John Leavens, Louis F. Post, Thomas G. Shearman, Lawrence Dunham and William T. Croasdale. Resolutions were also adopted in regard to the formation of rules by the executive committee, to be submitted to the committee at large.

Mr. Blakeney of New York—With reference to this matter of the ladies, I wish to suggest that some instruction be given

to the national committee that efforts be made by them looking to the formation of a ladies' national single tax league. It occurs to me that there are many ladies prominent in the movement who would take hold of an organization of that kind, and that it might extend to all the cities and towns in the United States, as did the Ladies' temperance union that is so effective in temperance work.

Mr. Garrison of Massachusetts—It does not seem to me proper to treat the women as an outside body. Why not extend them our cordial invitation to join us? (Applause.)

Mr. Brown of Tennessee—I am opposed to the idea of instruction after it has elected a national committee in whose hands the work of directing our energies has been placed. I am opposed to the conference instructing them on minute small points. I am particularly opposed to this because I agree with Mr. Garrison that the woman is simply a part of the man and man a part of the woman, and that we should have nothing in single tax work calculated to separate them. I want them brought together as closely as they can be, and I propose, so far as the Memphis single tax club is concerned, to see that we get as many women members as can be induced to join. It seems to me that if other single tax clubs follow out that idea there would be no necessity for anything else. Men and women work better together on all moral questions.

Mr. Hicks of New York—Mr. Garrison has said that there is no particular use or wisdom in our separating the two sexes. I think that they are separated by nature. Custom and habit indicate that we must take into consideration those differences laid down by the natural law. The women cannot attend the night sessions of the single tax clubs. It is utterly impossible. They cannot go out on the trucks. They cannot engage in many things that men can, but they can work on particular lines of their own. Women always feel out of place in doing work which properly belongs to men. They ought to be allowed to gather in afternoon sessions, and I therefore cannot see that Mr. Garrison's point is well taken.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—I want to state right here that a necessity for this thing exists, for this reason, that the women of the United States have not come into the single tax league. They cannot play billiards or smoke. I meet men who are devoted to the single tax, and who go home in the evening and discuss the single tax with men, and their wives go about the room like machines and take no interest in the great cause. As leaders of thought it is a disgrace to you if that is true of your wives. You can theorize on this matter all you please, but the women won't come in as long as you conduct matters on the present plan. These women, in order to do special work which they are fitted to do, must have organization. Let this conference encourage the women to do this. You say they can go on and do it now. That is very well, but we have so long excluded women and so long said, "You shall not participate in these things," that they need special encouragement.

A delegate asked if there was any motion pending, and upon being called upon Mr. Blakeney of New York said that he had merely made a suggestion and did not intend to put it in the form of a motion.

The Chair—Then there is no motion pending, and the chairman of committee on platform and address has the floor.

Mr. Henry George of New York, chairman of committee on platform, read the following

PLATFORM:

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 attaches 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 any one 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 limitless 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.

The reading of the platform was received with applause, after which Mr. Mr. George spoke as follows:

The committee have further instructed me to say that owing to want of time—the members of the committee being busily engaged here—they have not attempted to prepare an address. They feel that it should be a carefully written document, and therefore report a resolution instructing the national committee to prepare and issue an address.

Mr. Ogden of Maryland—I move to amend the report by substituting for the words "by reason of neighborhood, etc.," the words "by reason of the services of government which they receive."

The amendment was seconded.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts—I move that the last clause be left out entirely. As one who believes in the single tax and does not believe in the government controlling railroads and telegraphs, I think that in adopting the last resolution you would commit yourselves to something which is entirely out of the province of this conference. We have no right, as men who are working for free trade, free land, free men, to go into a question on which there exists great diversity of opinion. I know that eight out of ten of the delegates who are here believe in the government controlling the railroads and telegraphs. I believe it should not. I want to utter one word of warning and one entreaty. Do not commit yourselves to this proposition until it has been more carefully thought out, more carefully studied, and the sentiment has become more unanimous and the question has been decided upon by a people competent to give an intelligent opinion upon this great problem. I deny that telegraphs are natural monopolies. It is begging the whole question to assert that they are. I do not believe in the present system, but I do not believe in government control.

A voice—"The government controls the railroads now."

A delegate—"No, the railroads control the government." (Laughter.)

Mr. Ogden of Maryland raised the point of order that Mr. Graeme's motion was not an amendment to his amendment, but related to an entirely different part of the platform, and could not be offered while his own was under consideration.

The chair decided that the point of order was well taken, and Mr. Ogden continued as follows:

I have very reluctantly undertaken to offer what I consider to be at this point a most vital and important amendment to this platform. We are attempting as single tax men to put our views practically into operation, and at the sessions of this conference we have heard reports from the hustlers throughout the United States who are winning their way. The point that I wish to make is one that I believe will enable them more effectually to apply their views to the practical sense of the community around them. We have been accustomed to talk of natural opportunities, of man's equal right to those opportunities, but such questions are abstract questions. I am proposing an amendment which offers to put the single tax in a position where it will not be a mere abstract, but a concrete question, and will show the relationship between the single tax and the thing taxed, between the tax and the purpose for which taxes are paid. I say, gentlemen, that taxes are paid for services of government, and that services of government are not natural opportunities, but are themselves public improvements, which are made by organized society. (Applause.) We believe in the single tax because it is a just system of taxation. I do not accept the single tax as a mere invention, a mere substitute in the way of doing away with land monopoly. I accept the single tax because the single tax upon the value of land is a true and just tax that should support the government of a democratic community. There is no value to lands

irrespective of improvements. There is a value to land irrespective of private improvements. When we consider the land irrespective of private improvements it has no value but the privilege it gives to use services of government. That is the value of it, and taxes, gentlemen, as Mr. Johnson has said ought to be paid by every person. The reason why I favor the single tax on land values is that this tax will express the value of the services of government to each person. And because we have thus been expressing it to the business men of Baltimore in this manner, I would favor changing the platform as I have suggested, so that instead of saying the value which attaches to land by reason of neighborhood, we should say "by reason of the services of government received by the payer."

Mr. Norton of Alabama—I oppose the amendment for the simple reason that in my case I would be absolutely free from any taxation by the state of Alabama. What protection have I received from the state of Alabama for the last three years?

Judge Maguire of California—The gentleman from Maryland has truly stated that the single tax is a just system of taxation and that it ought to be adopted because it is a just system, and he wants to stop right there. The single tax is more than a just system of taxation. (Applause.) The single tax is a means of justly accomplishing natural absolute justice among men (applause) with respect to the great natural monopolies which are of natural right the common, inalienable property of all men. (Applause.) Every value that comes from the service of government should be taken by the people from the person who has received a service. Up to that point Mr. Ogden and myself are agreed. Mr. Ogden says we should stop there. I say we should not stop there (applause) unless the person upon whom we are calling receives no other advantage that belongs to the community save that which he receives from the direct return of investments or improvements made by the government. I say that in order to establish the natural rights of man with respect to the earth, we should treat the land of a country as if it were a ten-acre farm owned in common and with absolutely equal right by all the people (applause); that if one man has the use of nine acres of that land and the other owners choose to follow occupations which do not call for the use of more than one-tenth of the value of the land, no matter what police protection they give to the one owner who occupies the nine-tenths in value of the tract, he should pay for the monopoly he enjoys.

Mr. Helmle of New York suggested that there was only a limited time at the disposal of the house, but unanimous consent was given, and

Judge Maguire continued as follows—I say that they should take from the one, in the case I have stated, nine-tenths of the value of the use of that tract of land, no matter whether the amount taken was returned in services of government as Mr. Ogden puts it, or not. (Applause.) Mr. Ogden submitted his proposed amendment through me to the committee on platform. It was carefully considered there, because Mr. Ogden represents a very respectable class of single tax men with whom we desire to work in accord, and to whom we desire to interpose no obstacle. But to confine our declarations of principle to the establishment of the single tax as a mere fiscal measure without recognizing the higher and greater purpose which we ultimately desire to accomplish by it would be self-stultification and a great injury to the movement hereafter. (Applause.) The reason why, in my judgment, no such amendment to our platform should be adopted, is that strictly speaking it is not true that land values are produced by the government. Land values are produced much more largely by the enterprise and industry and improvement and investment made by private individuals who do not get the benefit that they themselves confer back. (Applause.)

And especially with reference to idle land. (Applause.)

Mr. Henry George of New York—In framing this report the committee had in view, that what was needed was an explanation, not merely of what the single tax is, but of why it is proposed, and what are the effects we hope from it. And in framing the language, the effort has been not so much to use the shortest and most precise words, but to use that form of words that would convey to the understanding of the average man the information we want to give. Now I agree with Judge Maguire entirely that the words proposed by Mr. Ogden would not be sufficient. I can conceive a state of anarchy—a settlement of people who were good enough to get along without any government—but I can also see that in such a settlement the advantages of neighborhood, and other things included in the word, etc., would, irrespective of government, give to particular land a particular value. (Applause.) If the words proposed by Mr. Ogden were "by society," instead of "by services of government," they would be really sufficient, but I think that to the average man the words we have reported would most readily convey our meaning.

Mr. Ogden of Maryland—Can you conceive a state of anarchy in which there would be no government and yet land would have a value?

Mr. George—I can.

Mr. Ogden—I cannot.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—That is the difference between you. (Laughter.)

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—In any condition of civilized society, would it not be necessary for the government to make and maintain the highways?

Mr. George—No, not absolutely. I can conceive a state of society—a settlement of people who were good enough to get along without any government—in which even the maintenance of highways might be purely voluntary. (Applause.) We all understand what we want to take. There may be disputes about the best way of defining it, but we all understand what it is. It is the value which is given to land by neighborhood and things, such as fertility, mineral deposits, etc., which I think are finally resolvable into neighborhood or relation to population, though at first not usually suggested by it, irrespective of the value which is given by the labor of the individual owners or possessors of that land. In this platform our effort was simply to give even to those who do not carefully analyze words as clear an idea as possible of what we want to do and what we hope from doing it. Therefore I trust that this amendment will not be adopted.

The question was put and the amendment was defeated by a large majority.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts—I shall not further occupy your time. I know that what I have to say is not very welcome to those listening. My motion is to strike out the clause beginning "with respect to monopolies other than monopolies of land," and relates to the government ownership and control of railroads, telegraphs, water, gas and the light.

Mr. Henry George New York—It was the unanimous opinion of the committee, irrespective of the chairman, that some clause of this kind should be inserted; that it would strengthen the platform. It is my opinion, and I think also that that would be the unanimous opinion of the committee, that if there is much objection to it, it had best be left out.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts—I am not antagonizing the proposition laid down in that plank; I am simply opposing it because I believe that there is no necessary connection between the principles of land reform and the proposition to nationalize the railroads. We talk here about the poor deluded nationalist, and copy some of their measures in our platform. It is well known that a large majority of the people of this conference hold radical opinions on the currency question. Yet we have no currency plank. Why? Because very wisely the committee probably thought it was none of their

business. It was suggested, said Mr. George, that the plank was advisable because it would win popularity. 'Has the single tax movement got down so far that it has to be begging for popularity? It behooves us to be very cautious as to how we endeavor to commit the single tax movement to other reforms. We want no paternalism.

A Delegate—Mr. George did not say it was to win popularity, but to strengthen the platform.

Another Delegate—Tweedledum and tweedledee. (Cries of "No, no.")

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—I would like to ask Mr. George if the single tax upon land values does not cover the point of issue.

Mr. George—In my opinion it does not. (Applause.) I know that there are some of us for whose opinions I have the greatest respect, like Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, who think that it does. But I am inclined to think that over and above all that would be accomplished in that way there still remains a residuum, still a tendency in some directions to an increase in the proper functions of the state. My opinion, and the opinion I think of all the members of the committee, was this, that our main proposition is the single tax. (Applause.) As this paragraph was originally introduced, it was accompanied with a form of words intended to show that we regarded the first and most important of reforms as that embodied in the single tax strictly, but that we recognized that there might be other monopolies than the monopoly of land, and that the principle of equal rights, which we recognize as a fundamental principle, might call for their solution in another way. My own feeling, and I think the feeling of the entire committee, was certainly this—that our first object is the single tax. It is that that binds us together, and we can agree to disagree as to everything else. But on this question it has been my opinion that the vast majority of us were of one mind, and the form of words in that resolution is so drafted as to embody the essential idea, leaving matters of method and detail to personal opinion.

Mr. Williams of Missouri—It is said that one sometimes will go a long way from home to learn the news, and I confess that I have come a long way to learn that the idea that favors the control of those things that in themselves are natural monopolies is not a part, or an essential part, of the single tax doctrine and practice. We people out west have thought we understood something about the fundamental ideas and principles underlying this movement, and we have considered that this idea incorporated in this resolution was one of the essentials and not one of the non-essentials. (Applause.) I am not a stickler for anything that is not essential in a terse, clear declaration of the principles that underlie this movement, but I am a stickler for any and for all things that are essential to a clear understanding of the principles and objects of the people who are engaged in this great movement. (Applause.) Let me say to the members of this conference that there was not a word, a line, and hardly a single punctuation point, that we did not consider most carefully and most studiously the meaning of. And this platform comes here as the conclusion of your committee, after deliberating over it for twenty-four hours, turning it over in our minds, and it comes here as our judgment of what was the best form of declaring the principles upon which we should go before the country and appeal to the intelligence of the American people upon this question. What Mr. George meant by "strengthening" this platform was not to cater to a maudlin sentiment upon any question. It was not to go outside of the line laid down by those who believe in the single tax and tendencies of the movement upon which it should be conducted. It was to put in the strongest, clearest way our central idea that all men should have an equal chance, and that none should be given special privileges. There is an organization in this country to-day that numbers in its

ranks 3,000,000 of voters, the great farmers' organizations of the west (applause), who have already expressed themselves upon this essential question, and they have already expressed themselves in favor of the governmental control and management, aye the governmental ownership of railroads and telegraphs. (Great cheering and applause.)

There is another organization, of which I have the honor to be a very humble and obscure member, known as the Knights of Labor. (Great cheers and applause.) It also has declared in favor of this fundamental idea. Not only that, but in the last general assembly the Knights of Labor declared in favor of the fundamental idea involved in this whole movement, and that is, placing the taxes upon land so as to take the entire unearned increment for public purposes. (Applause.) If the delegates to this conference here to-day representing their single tax clubs suppose that they represent all the people in this country who believe in our doctrines they are mightily mistaken. If there was no one in this country beside the members of the single tax clubs, if there was nobody in sympathy with our doctrines who believed in the great truth that God Almighty made this earth for all men, I should not be here, because I should have mighty little hope for the success of this movement during our lifetime, or the lifetime of our grandchildren. What we mean by strengthening this platform is to make this declaration upon a fundamental question that will bring to us the millions of organized labor in the Knights of Labor and in the farmers and laborers' unions all over this country who are beginning to inquire into the practicability and the justice of the single tax upon land. (Applause.) While I would not stickler for the adoption of any resolution or the formulation of any idea that would create dissension in our ranks, yet it does seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that this is one of the essential things for us to declare upon. (Applause.) I am not scared that anyone should say, "Oh, you are socialist or you are nationalist." There are certain social functions that belong to society that society must exercise. We have not reached the point in this country yet where we can declare in favor of pure philosophic anarchism. We have got to have government, and so long as we have organized government there are certain public functions that belong to it, and that must be exercised by society, and I believe as a fundamental doctrine underlying this whole movement that the ownership and control of railroads and telegraphs and telephones, and the municipalization of gas lighting and electric lighting, and all those things, belong to the people and to the community, and ought to be exercised by them. (Applause and cheers.)

Mr. Brown of Tennessee—I desire to read, in connection with Mr. Williams' speech, the congratulations of one of the assemblies of the Knights of Labor:

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 2.
Secretary Single Tax Conference, Cooper Union, N. Y. Greeting: We believe that speculation in land is spoliation of labor, and that a single tax upon land is the salvation of labor.

SINGLE TAX FREE TRADE ASSEMBLY, 3,029.
K. of L., H. B. Buddenburg, Secretary.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—I would like to ask the last speaker if he does not think that when he absorbs the annual rental value of all privileges in land he does not absorb the essential monopoly of the railway and of every other such privilege?

Cries of "No, no."

Mr. Williams of Missouri—Admitting, for the sake of argument, that it would, is there any reason why we should not go a little further?

Mr. Johnson of Ohio—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I believe that that clause is an important one. It is a fact that a great many of us, how many I do not know, believe that it is unimportant and that it ought to be left out. Some think that a tax on land values will reach monopoly. To a certain extent I agree with those people, but

my point is that that is not the best way to reach monopoly. What I want to ask this convention for the guidance of a number of us who are willing to vote against this amendment is, whether there is a respectable minority that are opposed to the resolutions. If so, a number of us are willing to vote with them and defeat it. I ask unanimous consent that the chair be permitted to call for a standing vote of all those in favor of striking it out before the final vote is taken. Objection was made.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—I think that if we absorb the annual value of all privileges in land we tear the heart out of monopoly. The actual stretching of wires and the setting up of telegraph poles is a private industry. The monopoly of the telegraph consists in the control of a strip of land. It is just the same with the railways. I am a follower of Herbert Spencer on that point.

Mr. Williams of Missouri—I would like to ask if the railroad could not tax upon its patrons the tax on the rental value of land that it would pay?

Professor Garland—It cannot be done. Land taxes cannot be shifted.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—Unless you limit the charges upon the road it can be done.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—No, it cannot be done, for the same reason that taxes upon land values cannot be shifted. Let me illustrate: Here are two railway lines that have power to charge a certain tariff. There is more or less of a monopoly existing if they have a grant in perpetuity to certain strips of land running between certain localities. If the single tax upon land values were established and the assessments made periodically once in six months or so, and they attempted to raise their charges, some other man would begin to compete with them. They could not shift the tax. The principle is entirely away from our line of advance. We are advancing along the line of absolute freedom, and it is not freedom to put into governmental hands the stringing of wires, or the setting up of poles, or the running of trains, and the creation of hundreds of thousands of state officials that are unnecessary. These are the things that we have to consider.

Mr. Ogden of Maryland—Would it be against the conditions of freedom that the government should have the running of street cars, the fire department and the mails? Is that a condition of freedom?

Professor Garland—It can be better done by private contract, under proper conditions, when you have the single tax on land values. That is a comprehensive thing. It goes to the bottom of every monopoly, no matter what it may be. Mind you, I yield to no man in my devotion to the single tax and my admiration of our great leader, Henry George.

Mr. Merriwether of Missouri—I wish to express my entire sympathy with the idea of having the government run all things which are natural monopolies, but I wish most emphatically to object to the introduction of this resolution here for the reason that our chief efforts should be directed against the robber who takes all that is left. There are other robbers, it is true. Let us go after them in time. But this question of the single tax is the sole thing we are all agreed upon. If we are agreed on other things so much the better, but why should we antagonize those who cannot agree on this proposition of the state owning the railroads? It has been suggested that we might thus have the co-operation of the Knights of Labor throughout the country. For that matter we might put something in our platform indorsing the Methodists, the Baptists or the Catholics. I think that is not one and the same thing as the single tax. We can have the single tax and never have government operation of railroads, or we can have the operation of railroads by government and never have the single tax. Let us go for the single tax and not turn away those who are with us on that platform because we believe in the operation of railroads and street cars, and so

forth, as natural monopolies by the government.

Mr. Atkinson of New Jersey—I hold that Mr. Williams of Missouri did not speak strictly to the question. The single tax carries with it to a certain extent the power to tear the heart out of every monopoly, as Mr. Garland has said. But the single tax also carries with it the governmental control of every monopoly. The platform prior to that resolution is devoted solely to the single tax. It is true, as Mr. Williams says, that the introduction of the words "railroads and telegraphs" will tell the people with more clearness possibly what we mean, provided we are agreed that railroads and telegraphs are natural monopolies. We do not seem to be agreed. I do not think that any gentleman in this house will question that there is a sugar monopoly at present in this country. I think no gentleman will question the fact that the single tax as its natural result would carry with it the abolition of the sugar monopoly. Then there is the Standard oil trust. No gentleman will question that the single tax would carry with it the abolition of the Standard oil trust. There is no question in the minds of the gentlemen here present that the coal industry in this country is controlled by a monopoly. There is no question either that the adoption of the platform would carry with it the abolition of the coal monopoly, and the abolition of the agreement between so-called gentlemen by which they can crowd the miner even out of the necessities of life for his children.

I believe the adoption of the resolution would be a mistake. We will make a mistake if we make in the platform an invidious distinction between monopolies upon which we are not agreed. The platform would be stronger without it.

Mr. Hemingway of the District of Columbia—I favor governmental control of everything that operates in the nature of a semi-public post, but I am not ready to say that I am in favor of governmental management of those things. Control and management are two entirely different things. I am in favor of a substitute taking the original clause and striking out the word "proper" before "social," striking out the word "control" and adding the words "or control" after the word "managed," so as to leave it read "managed or controlled by and for the whole people concerned." I want the choice between the two methods. I am in favor of governmental control. As the matter stands, if this amendment cannot be adopted, I for one must vote for the proposed striking out of the clause. If it is to be adopted, it gives men of my class a chance to vote in favor of it.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—I rise to second the amendment offered by Mr. Hemingway of Washington, and I wish to state the reasons why I desire to see that amendment made. The original draft of the resolution used these words, "control and management." The amendment offered by Mr. Hemingway uses these words, "managed or controlled."

The Chair asked if there was unanimous consent for taking a vote upon Mr. Hemingway's motion, but objections were made.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—It seems to me that there is no possibility of getting along in peace till we light it out. I have objected to that resolution on the grounds that it is unnecessary. The gentleman from Massachusetts has objected on the ground that it is needless, and another gentleman has objected that all the resolutions prior to that one dealt solely with the single tax. Now, I want to call attention to the fact that the gentleman from Massachusetts has made a slight mistake. The entire platform, prior to this resolution, deals with the fundamental principle underlying this whole question. (Applause.) That platform is divided into two parts—one of the parts dealing with the single tax pure and simple, and the other part dealing with that other phase of the single tax question, free trade. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts insist that all reference to

free trade be stricken out of that platform? We ought to make our statements so plain that the platform itself will convey to all the entire declaration which we wish to have made. If we left out of question entirely all reference to free trade we would be reported throughout the United States as having nothing whatever to say about a vital issue in national politics to-day. Now, in that part of the country from which I come the third phase of this great question is considered of just as much importance as either of the others. (Applause.) I believe that if we strike out the resolution concerning railroads and telegraphs it will do us great harm. I could wish that it might be put into better language; I would be willing to have it submitted to the committee for that purpose, but I doubt if they would be capable of doing it. They have considered that thing for an hour or so, and could not get any better language than they have got. What does that last resolution mean? We have stated our single tax doctrine and our free trade doctrine. Now we take up the third part and state our views regarding the governmental control of natural monopolies. (Applause.) Now, I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the governmental control of natural monopolies is just as essential as any other part of our platform. I believe that it is just as necessary that the value of those franchises and privileges which the railroads and the telegraphs and the street railway companies and the gas and water companies now put into their own pockets is just as necessary to be returned to the people as it is that we should have free trade and the single tax. I am in favor of having this clause added to the platform, in order that any and all men may know that we are in favor of bringing these monopolies to terms. (Applause.) I am not in favor of the governmental management of railroads, and I do not believe it will ever be necessary for the government to hire the men and own the cars and own the lines. (Applause.) But I do believe that at this time it is necessary that upon these three distinct and important parts of our doctrine, we should not leave any cause of being misunderstood. In that part of the United States which I have the honor of representing here, the one vitally important question before our people is this, what shall we do with the privileges that the railways have?

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—Now, Mr. Buell, is it not true that you accept this proposition from me, that if we have a government ownership of the road bed, the iron bed being simply a development of the ordinary road, that will be sufficient? I will compromise on that—the ownership of the road bed.

Mr. Hemingway of the District of Columbia—That is my amendment.

Mr. Buell of Minnesota—That is all there is to it. If the railroad is to have the rolling stock, then we have got to define things differently. All that the resolution means is that the government shall exercise some degree of control over the privileges in land which the railroad companies enjoy. That I believe to be the unanimous opinion of the committee that formed these resolutions, and with that statement of their opinion I take my seat.

Mr. Norton of Alabama—The single tax would destroy monopolies and destroy corporations which are the outgrowth of the tariff. The idea which Professor Garland advocates has been thoroughly and carefully explained in THE STANDARD. I want to add my testimony to the gentleman from Minnesota that the railroad question is a vital issue.

Mr. H. F. Ring of Texas—If we strike out that portion of the platform referring to these franchises I believe that we will have emasculated it of one of its greatest elements of strength. It is all very well to declare a principle which a student like my friend, Professor Garland, can understand and comprehend. But when I go before the people I want to stand upon a few sentences in a platform which they can understand. (Applause.) We talk to them of the single tax. The question immediately arises, what are you

going to do with the railroads? How are you going to tax the railroads? We want to know just how your system of taxation relates to railroad property in this country. And you must not forget, gentlemen, that the value of the railroad franchises in this country approach closely to the land values of the entire country. I have got to explain to the audience how we propose to manage the railroad in order that justice may be meted out to them. And to do that you have got to say what we say in that platform, and I say put it in there. (Applause.) We cannot form a platform that will meet the entire accord of every man here.

Judge Maguire of California—I am opposed to the amendment that has been offered because it takes the vitality out of the plank. I want to tell you in a very few words why we should adopt the plank presented by the committee. No man has been more anxious to exclude from consideration or action extraneous matters than myself. The railroads have privileges in the lands of the country which cannot be reached by any taxation except through their franchises. Do you want to break railroad monopoly, say of a railway that has cost twenty millions of dollars, by putting another absolutely useless expenditure of twenty millions more for another railway. That is the only way you can meet it by competition. And after private capital is thus embarked the proprietors of those roads will form a pool, and then you will need another track costing twenty millions more, and you will have an absolutely useless expenditure of forty millions of dollars in order to meet the case, whereas only twenty millions of dollars expenditure were necessary. The railroads cannot be made to recognize or to follow the rule of right between themselves and the people by any method except by one that we may call taxing the value of the privilege. I do not believe in government operation of trains. I do not believe in having the government engage in any sort of productive enterprise, but it is absolutely necessary to prevent some of the functions of the governmental sovereignty from passing into the hands of private parties. The railroad monopoly does not lie in the direction of the ownership or operation of trains. The monopoly lies in the right of way, in the roadway. I believe in making the roadbed public property, and I believe in permitting private capitalists under proper public supervision to have the management and control and operation of trains that will enter into competition with each other, together with solid, perfectly safe double roadbeds, and that without charging the capitalist one dime for the privilege of using them. The government has the same interest in maintaining iron roadways for the transportation and interchange of products among the people that it has in maintaining turnpike roads and public paved streets free for all users. If I had had my way I would have drawn the platform in that way. But this platform gives room for the reform which I believe should be adopted. It gives room also for other schemes which many single tax men who do not agree with me would rather have adopted.

Mr. Hemingway of the District of Columbia—I would like to ask if the original resolution does not give but one method, whereas the amendment proposed gives a choice of two methods.

Mr. White of Illinois—I do not agree with Professor Garland. I think Judge Maguire was right, but think his reply was lacking in force. Professor Garland thinks that if you take the full value of the land you also take the entire value of the railway franchise. Then the question comes as to how he will take the full value of the land on which the railroads stand. I defy him or the railway officials themselves to tell what the actual rental value of their land is. How can it be found out what the rent of land is? By comparisons of similarly located pieces of land? But there are no similarly located pieces of land across our western prairies.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—

Would you combine with me upon a proposition to consider the roadbed as a development simply of the dirt road, and to own that and lease it to private capitalists to run it?

Mr. White of Illinois—I would certainly be willing to combine with you on that basis as a practical proposition. As a theory I would not. It is said that the operation of roads does not properly belong to the government. Neither does the printing of postage stamps. We the people propose to produce our wealth in the most economical manner possible. Mr. George has laid down the law of labor, that we seek to gratify our desires with the least exertion. Now the proposition is that we deal with the single tax in its effect on rent and free trade. But what about the railroads that prevent free trade between individuals? (Applause.) The effect of our doctrines with regard to the tariff has exactly the same bearing on the railway question. If we put the single tax on land values we reach the coal baron. Certain gentlemen have formed corporations which we call coal corporations. The same gentlemen have formed others we call coal roads. They are different corporations, but the same men. The rental value of the coal lands is low but the freight rates on the coal roads are high. If we put the rental value tax on coal lands their value will go down, but the freight rates will go up. If we take the coal roads away from them, up goes the rental value of the mines. We must do both. We must learn by experience and have practical politics. That is what I am here in New York for. We must produce and we must exchange freely. Bar us from either one of these functions and our labor is impaired. It is said that we should mix up the money question in this proposition. The money question, as history proves, if let alone, will adjust itself. The railway is a continuous robber. I said I was here to do practical work. I am here to help form an organization which will control a sufficient number of votes to say to the democrats in the United States what we the radical people ask to have done. We want to swing a club over their heads and say to them, "Gentlemen, you come our way or we will cut your political throats." That is what I am here to do. I think Flannigan's question is entirely pertinent. We have a working club in Chicago. The silk-stocking and silk-hatted democracy come to such poor laboring fellows as myself and have said to us, "What must we do to get the labor vote?" I said, "You must adopt the labor platform." (Applause.) They said they could not afford to do it. Said I, "Then you can afford to get whipped." And I want to compel the national democracy to come to the leaders of this organization with just exactly the same questions. We have got to get the farmer's vote. We have got to get the labor vote. I would simply call attention to what Martin Williams said this afternoon. I want you to keep that in mind. I would rather lose the friendship of ten per cent of this audience, who may advocate a state of things purely anarchistic, than abandon this position. It makes us stronger by going to the people at large. We have got to control the farmer and labor vote to make this organization of any use. You have got to take up the railway question, gentlemen, you have no option in the matter. (Great applause.)

Mr. Russell of Ohio—I oppose the motion to strike out the amendment. I am in favor of the platform as reported to the convention. That platform is the word that we put forth. On what compulsion are we bound to forget the millions of minds that are to receive that word. If gentlemen on this floor are able to forget them, let me assure such gentlemen that your committee did not forget them. Your committee was fit to carry out your trust in that it remembered not only those millions who are to receive the word when it goes forth from us, but remembered the unborn who are to follow us. The particular language in which is couched our thought about franchises and special privileges are the words unchanged of Henry George. I

beg to know in order to produce absolute unanimity upon this question if I may ask what man or woman is there in this room that disagrees with any other single taxer on this question that the highways be owned by the people? Is there any disagreement? I do not believe there is. (Applause.) Silence gives me consent. Every single taxer knows that all the people own the highways. Then come with me one step further. Do we own the right to use the highways? (Applause.) And if we own it, do we dare as single taxers to give it away to individuals? The worst special privilege which pure democracy and the original single tax doctrine opposes is the giving the use of public property to individuals, and they declare that such property belongs to all the people, and such is the property of the people in their highways.

The previous question was then moved, but was voted down.

Mr. Graeme of Massachusetts asked unanimous consent to again speak, but it was denied.

Mr. Stephenson of Philadelphia—What we ought to do is to give a clear cut definition on this question saying just what we mean. The reason why I am in favor of the original platform is not because a tax upon railroads cannot be shifted, but because there are no means whereby that tax can be properly estimated.

Mr. Bell of Massachusetts—I believe the amendment to the amendment should be carried. We can obtain the value of franchises just as surely as we can obtain the value of land.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts then withdrew his proposition, saying he did not care to impress his own personal opinions upon others who might disagree with him. (Great applause.)

Mr. Atkinson of New York—I object to the paragraph on the ground that we are not all agreed on the subject of the resolution. We should not put in the platform things upon which there might be minor dissensions.

Mr. Adams of the District of Columbia—One or the other side must give up its opinions on the point as to whether the plank should remain in the platform.

Mr. Atkinson of New York—The majority seems to be in favor of the plank; I am opposed to it. We are all agreed on the expediency and right of the single tax. We are not agreed on this other point.

Mr. Watson of Massachusetts—I think it is one of the most vital planks in the platform. We expect to go before the country with a platform and accomplish a political purpose. We insist that the adoption of the single tax means the greatest revolution in social science and economy that has taken place since Moses forded the Red sea. If we expect to get the votes of the people with the adoption of that plank we shall accomplish more in ten years than we could accomplish in fifty without it.

Mr. Smythe of Pennsylvania—I want to place myself as a Knight of Labor on record in favor of the resolutions as they came from the committee. I am in favor of giving the railroads fair play, but I am in favor of having the government control the railways and monopolies, so that the farmer may be assisted and the miner relieved. When the mails were carried on the backs of animals by private parties, people used to say let the government not dare to attack the sacred rights of the people by taking into its own hands the management of the post office. It is to the vast advantage of the people of the present day that the government has done that thing. I have heard other people say that the single tax covers everything, but this cannot be so, for the simple reason that if we only tax the roadbeds, we cannot control railroads unless we take them into our own hands. I hope the resolutions will pass as they came from the committee.

Professor Garland of Massachusetts—There is an amendment pending to strike out the word "proper" before the word "social," and to substitute the words "managed or controlled" instead of the words "managed and controlled."

The question was taken on this amend-

ment, and it was defeated. The question next came on a motion to strike out the entire clause reported from the committee, and it was lost.

Then the question came on the adoption of the report of the committee as reported, and it was adopted.

Mr. Adams of the District of Columbia—I move that our friend, Louis F. Post, have permission to carry home with him that gavel and have it properly inscribed at our expense, so that he may be reminded that he was the president of the first national single tax conference. Mr. Henry George has given Mr. Post the honor of being one of his most intimate and closest friends. He is deserving of recognition from us and I hope the motion will prevail.

Vice-President Ring took the chair, put the question, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Bailey of Chicago moved to make the adoption of the platform unanimous. There were many calls for him to withdraw his motion, but it was seconded, and on the vote being taken, while the immense majority voted in its favor, there were perhaps half a dozen votes in opposition.

Mr. Williams of Missouri offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this conference hereby extends to the Manhattan and Brooklyn single tax clubs and to the single tax men and women of New York and Brooklyn its sincere thanks for their efforts in making this conference the pronounced success which it has been.

Resolved, That the thanks of this conference are also due to the press committee, consisting of W. E. Hicks and J. T. Altemus, for the splendid manner in which it has performed the arduous duties imposed upon it, and also to the members of the press of New York city for the uniformly accurate reports of the convention which they have prepared for their respective papers.

The resolutions were put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Boggs of New Jersey moved that the thanks of the convention be extended to the late enrolment committee for the splendid work done for the single tax cause in the last year. Carried.

Mr. W. E. Hicks of New York—I move that we send the following telegrams:

William Saunders, 77 Palace chambers, London.—The national single tax convention of the United States sends greetings and best wishes.

And the following:

John Farrell, Sydney, Australia.—Greetings. NATIONAL SINGLE TAX CONVENTION.

Both the motions were carried unanimously.

The thanks of the convention were also extended to Louis F. Post for the able manner in which he had presided.

It was announced that there would be a meeting of the national committee immediately upon adjournment, and an announcement was made regarding the dinner at Brighton Beach in the evening.

Mr. Brown of Illinois—I now move that this convention adjourn sine die.

The motion was put and carried, and Mr. Post, striking the table the last time with his gavel, said: "It is so ordered, and this, the first conference of the National single tax league of the United States, stands adjourned."

ERRATA.

In the list of national committeemen should have been included the name of W. E. Brokaw of Watertown, South Dakota.

The address of Henry Rawie, member of the national committee, is printed Indianapolis, Ind. It should be Anderson, Ind.

In E. Q. Norton's speech on Alabama on the second day (seventeenth page, second column, fifth line from the bottom of the column), he is made to say "bad" place. It should be "damp" place.

On page 16, first column, two resolutions concerning the national committee are attributed to Mr. John Filmer, which were really offered by Mr. Riply of Illinois. The "suggestion to committee," following them, was offered by Mr. Filmer.

By some accident the name of Rev. J. B. Parmelee, a delegate from the New Churchmen's single tax league, was omitted from the list of delegates, and the error was not discovered until that portion of this issue was printed.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS.

New York, Sept. 9, 1890.

The enrolment committee reports the fol-

lowing additional contributions toward expenses of the conference:

P. C. Farrell, Long Island City, N. Y.	\$1 00
"Single Tax," Newark, N. J.	10 00
J. H. Senley, New York city	2 00
Contributor thro' Wm. McCabe	1 00
New Churchmen's S. T. league (add.)	
New York city	15 00
R. Spencer, Burlington, Iowa	5 00
Jas. R. Carret (add.) Boston, Mass.	10 00
M. Geiselman, Philadelphia, Pa.	10 00
T. M. Romeyn, Kingston, N. Y.	1 00
Jas. Gaston, Buena Vista, Col.	1 00
Mark W. Cross, Boston, Mass.	25 00
Edward Burgess, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	5 00
Julia G. Boalt, Syracuse, N. Y.	1 00
"A Friend," New York city	1 00
"D. D.," Dubuque, Iowa	50
J. F. Bezert, Minneapolis, Minn.	1 00
George Rhode, Platoro, Col.	2 00
E. H. Jones, Platoro, Col.	2 00
Patrick Colwell, Platoro, Col.	2 00
Colin Timmons, Platoro, Col.	2 00
E. Brooklyn S. T. club, Bklyn, N. Y.	10 00
L. E. Simon, Cleveland, Ohio	2 00
C. D. F. Gutschow, San Francisco	50 00
Theodore E. Lane, Flushing, L. I.	3 00
Miss B. Macdonald, Flushing, L. I.	5 00
L. M. Marston, M. D., Lynn, Mass.	5 00
Thomas A. Fitch, Boston, Mass.	1 00
Rev. John Gregson, Wilkesonville, Mass.	2 00
Chas. K. Cutter, M. D., Boston, Mass.	2 00
I. L. Shoemaker, Philadelphia, Pa.	25 00
Paul Garipey, Lawrence, Mass.	1 00
James Adams, Toledo, Ohio	1 00
Wm. J. McGrane, New York city	1 00
John Nemeth, Hazleton, Pa.	2 00
Add errors in addition in contribution lists of Aug. 27 and Sept. 3	10 10
	\$217 60

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD

646 85

Total

\$864 45

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

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

We need no longer confine ourselves to saying that the future is ours. The rapid strides our movement is making, the amazing growth of single tax sentiment everywhere, reported at this week's conference, show that the present is ours if we will but reach forth and grasp it. There is no need for us to start daily papers, or to elect legislatures and congresses. We have but to show our strength and to make our demands in a way admitting of no denial to write our reform in the laws of the land.

For newspapers are but mouthpieces of public opinion, and legislators and congressmen alike are our representatives. If we convince them of the change in the people's sentiments that has already taken place they dare not disregard it. What politician receiving 5,000 letters urging the abolition of personal property taxes, or the abolition of the tariff, could afford to refuse to consider them? Our recruits are coming in rapidly, and with your aid we can soon pass the 5,000 mark: then all things will be possible for us. This week we will try:

Professor James, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.—At the social science convention at Saratoga, September 5, the fairest and ablest paper opposing the single tax was by Professor James. His main trouble seemed to be that even under the single tax injustice would be done in taking individual earnings for public purposes, because he believed it impossible to make the separation between land values and improvement values absolutely perfect. This, however, should not prevent him from working for what is so vast an improvement on the present, even if his objection is founded on fact. "The Canons of Taxation," "The Single Tax" and "The New Political Economy" are effective tracts.

Rev. F. W. Tompkins, Christ Church, Hartford, Conn.—In a sermon, August 21, said: "I do not know which of the theories now being advanced is right, but I do know that there are cruelty and injustice and unrighteousness in the world, and I do know that we must try to set these things right."

Voice, New York, N. Y.—In a recent editorial said: "It is useless for prohibitionists to talk about free trade. National prohibition, of necessity, deprives the federal government of most of its income from internal revenue. To follow that up with free trade—the removal of all customs duties—would be to bankrupt the federal government. Fortunately, there is a middle course between a tariff for prohibition and no tariff at all." We can show the Voice that there is a better way of raising revenue than the tariff, without involving bankruptcy either.

D. B. Jesse, manager agencies Iron Belt Building and Loan Association, Roanoke, Va.—Is already interested somewhat in the single tax and is well worth the effort needed to complete his conversion.

James S. Hogg, Austin, Texas.—See H. F. Ring's article in STANDARD, August 27. An able, fearless champion of the masses against monopolies. He has already done much and suffered much. We should all write him.

Rev. F. B. Mors, pastor Calvary Baptist church, New York, N. Y.—August 30, said: "The pulpit that does not preach the dignity of labor is recreant to its duty." But, while conceding its right to organize, he denied labor's right to strike or boycott. Let us show him that the adoption of the single tax would make the use of such weapons needless.

Mercury, Huntsville, Ala.—Recently said: "If there is one law needed in Alabama worse than another, it is some change in the system of assessment of property. Alabama is defrauded out of millions annually by men who give in their property below its value. The boards of equalization as they now operate are perfect failures, for there are no two counties that make their estimates from the same standard, if they have any standard value at all. Property ought to be assessed according to its speculative or interest producing value. We find cases where lands are held at \$1,000 an acre, and can't be bought for less, that are assessed at \$100. Thus are many men obtaining the protection of the arm of the state on \$1,000 worth of property and paying only on \$100. We note the fact that it is the rich that elude the law in this particular. Take a poor woman with a little home that cost her \$500 and you will find that she is not up to the tricks of the capitalist, and that she gives in her property at just exactly what it cost her. If some rigid legislation could be passed on this question it would be of infinite value not only to the state, but to every individual of the state that is fairly bearing the burdens of the government."

Joining our ranks is merely pledging yourself to write an average of one letter weekly to parties or papers named in this column and urging all single tax friends to join also. Letters can be merely tracts in an envelope or as elaborate as you wish. Your joining will add to the effectiveness of all letters written, as in this work numbers count. Can't you spare five minutes weekly to aid us?

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

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
12 UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK, Sept. 9, 1890.

The single tax enrolment 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 obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion.

Until the executive committee appointed by the national committee is organized and ready to take charge of the work now carried on by this committee, subscriptions and contributions for the general work of propaganda will be acknowledged as in the past and will go into the general fund of this committee, to be transferred to the national committee as soon as it is ready to receive it.

Subscriptions for propaganda work since our last report are from:

"Single Tax," Brooklyn, N. Y.	\$12 00
J. S. Menkin, Memphis, Tenn.	60 00
Memphis S. T. Ass'n, Memphis, Tenn.	60 00
Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	3,336 55
Total	\$3,468 55

Cash contributions for the same period are from:

Eug. G. Mann, Ann Arbor, Mich.	\$0 10
Worcester S. T. club, Worcester	1 50
Mary Clark, New York city	1 00
Wm. A. Powell, Athens, Ohio	1 00
Proceeds of sale of "cat buttons"	2 60
Master But C. Huest, Troy, N. Y.	01
C. F. Knight, Frankfort Springs, Pa.	5 00
Collection at Cooper union	67 00
"F. M.," New York city	10 00
	\$88 21

Contributions previously acknowledged

817 72

Total

\$900 93

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week

88,505

Signatures received since last report

861

Total

89,456

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

NEW YORK CITY.

The members of the Manhattan single tax club are resting. They did their best to make the stay of our visiting friends to the conference pleasant; whether they succeeded or not the visitors best can tell.

Mr. J. W. Bengough, the celebrated cartoonist of the Toronto Grip, will give what he calls a "chalk talk" at the rooms of the club this coming Saturday evening, September 13. THE STANDARD has published many of his pictures. Mr. Bengough has the reputation in Canada of being a clever speaker, and is considered simply inimitable when he embellishes his remarks with drawings on the blackboard. The club hereby invites all its

lady and gentlemen friends to hear Mr. Bengough.

A photograph of the club house as it was decorated for the conference will soon adorn the rooms.

BROOKLYN.

Two of the delegates to the conference who had come a long distance—Edward Q. Norton of Mobile and James Middleton of New Orleans—gave us a very interesting talk last Sunday evening. Living as they do right in the heart of the section of the country where the race question excites attention, they are able to judge what is the remedy needed to solve this vexed question. They believe that the securing to every man of the fruits of his labor will as effectually settle the race question of the south as it will the labor question of the north.

Evidences are constantly accumulating showing the great influence for good the late conference has had. The Brooklyn Citizen, which has almost ignored our movement, not merely gave a very good report of the proceedings of the conference, but each day editorially called attention to the single tax.

The speaker next Sunday evening will be Mr. Oswald Wilson, a prominent member of the Farmers' alliance. A large attendance is desired in order to show him that thousands of us have come to see that something more is needed to solve the social question than the measures proposed by him.

MISSOURI.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis—The single tax league is now holding its weekly meetings Sunday afternoons, instead of Tuesday nights, and is devoting its chief attention to the open air meetings, which continue to be successful to a degree that is quite surprising, considering the scarcity of volunteer speakers. After the conference the league will make arrangements for its fall and winter evening meetings. At the last out-door meeting we were pleasantly surprised by a visit from Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, who climbed upon the platform and made a short, but good address.

KANSAS.

C. H. Allan, Kansas City.—The single tax club of Kansas City, Mo., at a recent meeting, appointed a committee to secure a more desirable hall, and will at an early day reorganize for active, aggressive work. There will be an effort made to organize a single tax club on this side of the Kaw. A preliminary meeting for that purpose will be held next week. I think the movement will result in a strong working club.

MINNESOTA.

Geo. C. Madison, St. Paul, August 28.—At a meeting held last evening, we effected a reorganization of the St. Paul single tax club, and elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, H. C. McCarty; vice-president, E. Herrmann; secretary and treasurer, Geo. C. Madison. We determined upon regular meetings hereafter on second and fourth Tuesdays of each month, at No. 41 West Fourth street, and also to make arrangements for a public address by Mr. J. A. Herne, if possible, when he arrives.

I am hearing more and more frequently from those to whom you have sent THE STANDARD, etc., and often very encouragingly. Even from protectionists strongholds. I deem the enrolment plan the best and most effective yet adopted, and believe it should be kept up until we have something like the right sort of administration to present it to.

WASHINGTON.

S. F. Shorey, Seattle.—The condition of things here is very much as it is everywhere else. Our young state has great commercial advantages and wonderful resources, but the curse of monopoly is with us and has already corralled a large share of our timber and mineral lands. The street railways of Seattle extend into the country in every direction; but the franchises have been given to corporations by our land-booming council, and the city, heavily in debt, is not receiving from these roads a single penny.

Last winter a bill to sell the tide lands passed both branches of our first legislature and was signed by the governor, thus passing over to private control the water front of all our cities and robbing the community of not less than \$50,000,000, besides the injury the private control by unscrupulous men will work on our commerce. We are told that competition among water front owners will regulate the rates and correct abuses, forgetting that this is a day of trusts. But the state is young and prosperous yet, and many an exploded chestnut passes current here now which will be discarded when close times set men to thinking.

I was at Fairhaven, Shelton and Whatcom, practically all one town on Bellingham bay, last week, where there are now about 10,000 people. I found several single taxers there, but could not find a copy of THE STANDARD at any newsstand in the three towns.

A PORTENTOUS FACT.

Chicago Herald.

Fifteen thousand people, a large majority of whom were farmers, listened to Congressman Mills' speech on the tariff at Greenup, Ill., Monday, and applauded him till they were hoarse. Here is a little fact that is not less significant and portentous than several others that are just now troubling the souls of protection statesmen and organs.

A NOTABLE UTTERANCE.

A GREAT BRITISH FINANCIAL PAPER ON HENRY GEORGE AND THE SINGLE TAX.
Liverpool Financial Reformer.

Mr. Henry George has returned to this country, en route for America, from a very successful tour in the Australian colonies, and though his visit is very brief and semi-private, he has consented to give a lecture in Liverpool on Friday, 23d inst. It is twelve months since he was here, not a very long time, and yet a great advance has been made in this country since his last visit. The taxation of land values is now part of the recognized liberal programme, and many of the members of parliament and parliamentary candidates are thoroughly sound upon the question. In anticipation of his visit we may fittingly take the opportunity to point out to those of our readers who do not know what Mr. George does and what he does not propose to do. His proposal is known as the single tax, and may be summed up in the gradual abolition of all other forms of taxation, and the substitution of a tax upon land values. By land values he means the value of the land only, not the value of the buildings, and other improvements which are obviously the products of individual labor. For instance, in regard to town lands, one frequently sees vacant spaces even in the heart of a large city surrounded by magnificent buildings. The reason why these spaces are unbuilt upon is, not that there are enough houses, warehouses or shops, but because the rental demanded for that plot of land is so high that people prefer to put up with the inconvenience caused by the want of it to paying this high rental. The land owner can afford to wait, for he knows that, thanks to the industry and growth of the population, the position will become intolerable, and the people be forced to pay him his price for the use of the land. He has a monopoly. And mark, further, how our present system of taxation acts in regard to this. So long as that piece of land is unused it escapes taxation, the moment it is put to use and costly buildings are erected upon it, it is subject to taxation; and the greater the expenditure upon it in fitting it for the use of the people the greater the tax the unfortunate improver has to pay. He is fined by taxation for doing good to the community, while the land owner who keeps his land idle, and thus injures the community, is rewarded by being exempted from taxation on it.

Now Henry George would reverse that. If we had two sites of equal value as sites, and one is vacant, while a costly warehouse is built upon the other, he would charge the same tax upon each plot of land, and exempt the building from taxation altogether. The enormous value added to the land upon which our towns are built is not created by anything the land-owners have done, but is solely due to the presence and labor of the community, and, therefore, George contends, should belong, not to the landlord, but to the community, and by taxation the community can equitably regain it. Again, in regard to minerals, these were not created by the land owner, and therefore cannot be claimed as his property, even though he bought them from some other person, for that person never had any right to them, and, therefore, could not sell them. They were created and put in the earth for the benefit of its inhabitants, to be dug out and used as required. As they get dug out, George, through the tax, would appropriate their value for the people, and, in the same way as before, this tax upon the value of the land having to be paid, the landlord would not be able as at present to deny labor and capital access to it by insisting upon exorbitant rents and royalties. And the same rule would hold good in regard to agricultural land. The land owner could not afford to have his land lying idle, because all the time he would have to pay as much taxation upon it as if it were put to use.

It will be observed that there is a double action in this taxation of land values, one fiscal, the other free trade. There is probably not a single member of this association who holds it just and proper that the vast unearned increment should go into the pockets of a few land owners. But the free trade aspect is of far more importance. In the article from the Daily Chronicle, a very high tribute is paid Mr. George, but the writer evidently regards the single tax programme as a purely fiscal one:

Now, to substitute a "single tax on land values" in lieu of all others, direct and indirect, would undoubtedly be an immense fiscal boon. But would it rid us of our "slums"? Would it put a stop to "strikes"? Would it prevent periodic "gluts" in the market? Would it face pauperism? The longing, and, alas! suffering multitude signs for something more than a scheme of taxation. "More taxes for service of the state! Great heavens, of what service is the state!" some one has bitterly written. It is a reconstructed society that the "masses" are groping for, and Mr. George offers them nothing but the greater freedom of trade which the single tax would insure. In a word, George seeks to widen the field of competition while the workers are dreaming of a millennium of co-operation. It is individualism and collectivism in conflict, and beyond this explanation of the differences that have unfortunately arisen between Mr. George and many ardent friends and admirers there is nothing to be said.

What is it, we would ask in reply, has created our "slums" and caused strikes? The evil is two-fold, moral and politico-economic.

ical. We believe that if the latter could be abolished the former would be greatly reduced, and, in fact, brought within a compass sufficiently limited to enable it to be firmly grappled with. The economic cause lies in the private monopoly of that which was intended for the use of all, as is proved alike by theory and history. The land of Britain is perfectly capable of supporting the whole of the present population in comfort, but by our present land system a few thousand men possess the power to deny access to that land to all the rest. As the Daily Chronicle pointed out in the article we quoted last month, the land of Britain is regarded by its "owners" simply from a rent-yielding point of view. The single tax would transform it to its proper use, that of affording sustenance for the inhabitants. By depriving the people of the power of producing for themselves, and forcing them to produce for employers, they are handed over, powerless to resist, except by strikes, to the cruel mercies of the sweeter and capitalist. Give them access to the land and they are independent.

THE GROWING DISCONTENT.

A CRAZE FOR WEALTH ON THE ONE HAND, GRINDING POVERTY ON THE OTHER.
Memphis Appeal.

It was the great Edmund Burke who wrote so learnedly when giving his "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," and many before and since have noticed a restlessness among the people. At present the discontented can be found in all countries. American soldiers have been so discontented that congress and leading army officers have cudgelled their brains to find some way by which the number of desertions can be lessened. In England the famous and favorite of her majesty's troops have been sent to India for insubordination. And emeute has recently been reported in Halifax, and the troops in Dublin are upon the verge of open revolt. Among the civilian class this discontent is also manifest, and is seeking satisfaction in various ways. In Russia the dissatisfaction of the common people has found vent in an insane attack upon the Jews, which has resulted in a second, and this time an involuntary, exodus, where no Red Sea is called upon to open a passage way. The laboring classes in England are dissatisfied and thousands of them meet at intervals in Trafalgar square, and with more or less feeling discuss the situation. Farmers in this country are dissatisfied and are seeking in various ways to secure relief, while the laboring men were never more restless and uneasy.

Philosophers and economists have been endeavoring to account for this in vain. The world is wealthier and the rate of wages is higher than ever before. Mechanics and their families live better and dress better than did lords and nobles a few hundred years ago, and as far as the comforts and luxuries of life are concerned, the man in comfortable circumstances enjoys more of them than did the kings of old. Present discontents, therefore, do not arise from the condition of the people, but rather from an increase of intelligence and a spread of democratic ideas which demand more and more every year. What would have satisfied a nobleman in the past will not satisfy a day laborer now. Men being born free and equal cannot submit quietly to any system of government or conditions of life that breeds and fosters disparities afterward. While one citizen must live in a garret and feed on crusts, he cannot believe that his neighbor, who spends \$700,000 on a stable, has not been partially dealt with to the disadvantage of the poor.

However much we may yearn for that millennium dreamed of by theorists, seen in visions by philanthropists and pictured by the artists of the Bellamy school, there is but little encouragement to hope that a change is to be enjoyed in the near future that will bring about contentment and entire quiet. It is contrary to man's nature. The more intelligence is diffused the more dissatisfaction will exist because man's desires outstrip his ability to gratify them. This unrest is the cause of man's advancement. Were we all satisfied, improvement could not come. At present the world, collectively and individually, is engrossed in the task of accumulating wealth. Not a very high pursuit, it may be observed, because the acquisition of wealth is merely an animal instinct which, fired by ambition, has been intensified into a craze. It is well to obey the biblical injunction, and provide for one's household, but the spectacle of sensible people making life a burden to themselves in the race for wealth that they cannot possibly use is ridiculous. The dedication of the dollar, the unequal distribution of wealth and an irrational view of life may be said to cause discontent at present. Until people can look upon the world through different glasses, or until ambition finds a new parallel, little change can be expected. People should learn to enjoy the possession of what they have, and spend less time in an insatiate yearning for what they have not, if happiness is desired. It is quite as necessary and as much a duty to provide one's household with sound bodies, healthy and unworried minds and correct ideas as it is to furnish lands and estates. The Oriental maiden who makes display of her burdensome estate of rings, coins and other trinkets, by wearing them around her neck, we esteem vulgar and foolish. Yet she is inspired by the same motive that impels a man to load himself down with strife and misery in the gathering and display of a wealth which is worthless to him because he can never use it, and which finds its root in the purely animal desire for the preservation of life, or, as it is called, the law of self defense. Tariffs may be raised or lowered, the earth may give forth a tenfold increase and people will be better off, but not less discontented, until insane ambition passes its perihelion and recedes into space, leaving virtue, purity and unselfishness the objects of pursuit. The diffusion of intelligence is hastening the good day.

WHO ARE THE VAGRANTS?

"A VAGRANT IS A MAN WHO DON'T WORK"—A DEFINITION THAT HITS HARD IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS—VAGRANTS AND LAND VALUES.
San Antonio, Texas, News.

James Bailey, an old negro, was arraigned this morning before the recorder, charged with vagrancy. His honor called Uncle Bailey before the judgment desk and said: "Bailey, you are charged with vagrancy. What have you to say—guilty or not guilty?" "I don't know what dat vagency is. I has fits evy mornin' of dat's what you are talking 'bout," replied Uncle Jim.

"A vagrant is a man who don't work," returned the recorder. "Do you plead guilty or not guilty?"

"I pleads guilty. Dat is, I pleads guilty to the work I does. I ain't vagent ef I does has fits."

"Why were you sleeping in the back yard of Mr. — last night, when the police arrested you?"

"Case it was er viting lookin' piece of groun' to sleep on, en it didden look like dar war eny chaw ranchelers dar. I sleep very comfortable tel dat der perlice come en disturb my sleep. Der groun' were as sof as er fudder bed."

The recorder dismissed the case with a kindly admonition to Uncle Jim to never again use the sky for a canopy and the earth for a pillow.

The above is taken from the Times of Wednesday last. It is quite a "sermon in stones," so to speak. It is a paradoxical object lesson—i. e., if you just look at the incident critically. You will notice the poor "nigger" begged the honorable court to acquaint him with the definition of a vagrant. He was promptly informed that a vagrant "was a man who didn't work." Maybe so, but even his honor would be afraid to swear by that definition, first, last and all the time, as it were. Of course he would, for what would some of the leading citizens think who would have to plead guilty if his honor's definition was right. The crime that the old man had committed was the awful one of "using the sky for a canopy and the earth for a pillow." Even that would have been no crime had not the foolish old man forgotten that the earth does not belong to everybody by a long shot. It belongs to a mighty small few. Theoretically, and oftentimes practically, those few levy tribute on the unfortunate for the use of their earth.

Have you ever seen the picture of a sultry summer night's scene at the docks in New York city? If you have you can recall it vividly; if you have not I will say that a more heart touching thing could never be depicted by an artist. The hundreds of poverty stricken men, women and babies, compelled to leave their shawl-like tenements for lack of air, lie pell mell at the docks like cattle. If you were in New York and were to ask an ordinary citizen who these people are, he would most likely tell you they are vagrants. They are vagrants because the Almighty forgot them when he gave out all the choice corner lots.

In the issue of the same date above the Times says that "interviews with well informed citizens on real estate are always interesting." One of the interviewed on 'bat day predicted an advance of 100 per cent in city land before long. Interesting news, that, especially for men like "Uncle Jim." Interesting in another way, too. It shows we have well started on a road, at a certain turning of which we shall come across the "vagrant factory" in full blast.

For a full grown and healthy paradox commend me to the average daily newspaper. In one place they will be valisomely adulating the mechanic and the various horny-handed, commiserating their position in life, etc., inventing all sorts of schemes to attract moneyed men to build factories and build up the city; in another part of the paper they will, metaphorically, sing paeans of gladness because land has gone up 100 per cent.

A STORY OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Philadelphia Times.

Mr. Purvis told a good and characteristic story of the late Wendell Phillips, who fought side by side with him during the battle for emancipation. One day he arose to address a meeting that was more than usually hostile to the abolitionists and had howled down and insulted several previous speakers. Mr. Phillips walked to the front of the platform, and, scanning the angry faces in front of him with a keen and fearless eye, began: "You scoundrels!" Instantly there was a storm of angry howls and curses, but when they ceased he repeated in a louder voice: "You scoundrels!" Again the storm rose and again he repeated the term. The fourth time the American admiration for fearlessness and fair play asserted itself, and the balance of his speech was listened to in silence and with respect. Another time Mr. Phillips was in a railway car in which were a number of ministers returning from a convention. Among the number was a man with a loud, strident voice, who was loudly declaiming against the abolitionists, and especially against Mr. Phillips. He was talking at every one in the

car, and finally shouted that he understood that Mr. Phillips was on board. Calling the conductor he asked him to point out Mr. Phillips. The conductor indicated the orator, who had been a quiet and interested listener. The little man with the voice strode up the aisle to a disrespectful distance, and after striking an attitude, the following colloquy took place:

"So you are Wendell Phillips?"

"I am, sir," replied the orator, quietly.

"Then why don't you go south and preach your doctrine there?" shouted the little minister.

"At that time," explained Mr. Purvis, in relating the incident, "any abolitionist would have been lynched in the south."

Replying to the clergyman, Mr. Phillips asked:

"You are a minister of the gospel?"

"I am, sir."

"Then why don't you go there, sir?"

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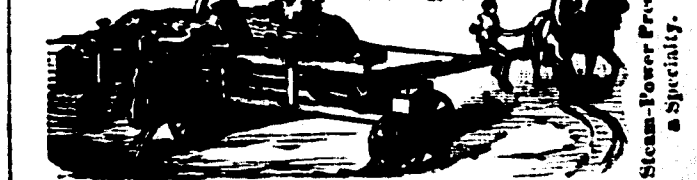
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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

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

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

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

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

SAN DIEGO.—Single tax question club meets every Sunday afternoon, 2 p.m., at Horton hall. C. unity committee room, 444 5th st. Geo. B. Whaley, chairman.

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

COLORADO.

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

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

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

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

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

CONNECTICUT.

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

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

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANA.

STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

CLINTON.—Single tax club. Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., Munster hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

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

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 918 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 318 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 200 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., E. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 4:30 p.m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., I. K. Kahan, 326 W Broadway.

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

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

MASON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

KANSAS.

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

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

LOUISIANA.

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

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1237th st.

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st. Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

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

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

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

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

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

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 7 Hotel Danbar; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Kuggles st.

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

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

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

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

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

ORANGE.—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

NEWPORT.—Merrimac assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

MICHIGAN.

ADRIAN.—Tax reform association. Sec., E. C. Knowles.

DETROIT.—Single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., John Bridge; sec., J. R. Burton, sec. room 13, Rutherford building.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggener; sec., Jas. Duffy, 308 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 300 Lombard exchange.

South Minneapolis single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hammersley.

ST. PAUL.—Pres., H. C. McCarty; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 339 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Sunday afternoon. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Sunday, 4 p.m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

LA DUE.—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. Meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 at headquarters, cor. 15th and Grand av.; open every night. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

HERMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

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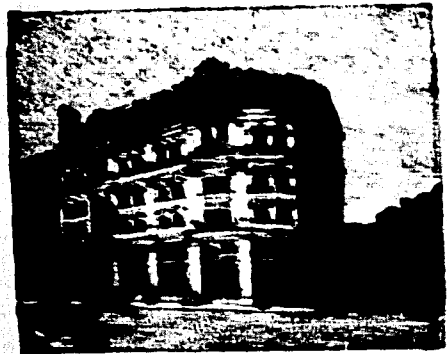
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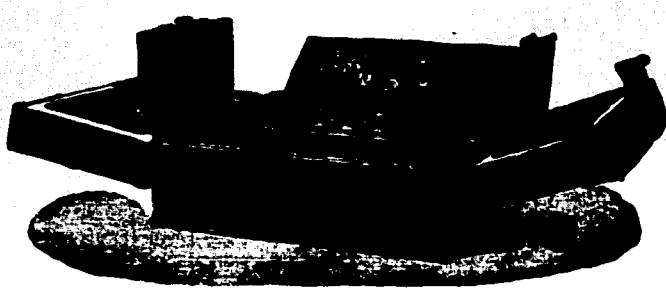
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