THE STANDARD

NO. 123—VOL. V, NO. 19. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1889. PRICE FIVE CENTS

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

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

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

HENRY GEORGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

GLASGOW, Saturday, April 27.—My last letter to THE STANDARD was closed as we were approaching Carlisle. There I took the train for Workington, arriving just in time to be paraded through the streets in an open barouche behind a brass band, and taken to the hall. The meeting was a good one. Alderman Peile presided, and the Rev. Charles Burrows, pastor of the Congregational church, in proposing a vote of thanks, made a strong speech in favor of the single tax. At the conclusion of my address, and after a few questions had been asked and answered, a gentleman who had occupied a prominent place on the platform, and who I afterward found was the Rev. Canon Thornley, vicar of the less ancient of the two Established churches here, rose, and with the air of a man who was about to annihilate me, read from Progress and Poverty the following passage:

> What I therefore propose, as the simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence, purify government and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is—to appropriate *land* by taxation.

"Now," said he, "I want Mr. George to explain why it is that in India, where his plan has been adopted and is in full force, there is so much poverty and the people are so degraded." I with some difficulty made the gentleman see that he had made a misquotation, and had read land where I had written rent; and then I explained to him that the single tax was not applied in India, even though, as he said, *on half* of the revenues were raised by land taxes; and I showed him what were the true causes of the poverty and degradation of the Indian people. I offered to answer any more objections if he would make them, but he would not. However, when the vote of thanks to me was put to the meeting, he held up his hand in the negative, not by way of discourtesy—for the next evening he called on me and we had a chat—but by way of emphasizing his opposition to my position.

Here is a letter which Canon Thornley has since written to the local paper, which may be worth reprinting as typical of a large section of the clerical mind, and as showing how the discussion is going on:

> To the Editor of the West Cumberland Times—Sir: It is a serious thing for one man who wishes to be thought sane to oppose a thousand of his fellows. Will you, therefore, permit me to give in a few words my reasons for dissenting from the scheme of land reform advocated by Mr. Henry George?
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> In part I am with Mr. George. I agree with him that the original titles to land are all bad. I think his scheme of land taxation a good scheme, if it could be adopted without spoliation. It is well suited to a new country. I admire his earnest and religious spirit, and his strong sympathies with the poor and destitute. But under our present circumstances, seeing that the bulk of English land, the small parcels especially, has been bought and sold and changed hands many times over, I think his scheme of land reform is one of spoliation and bitter injustice; that it could not be carried out probably without bloodshed and civil war; and that when carried out it would not be found to produce the good effects which he hopes from it. In India, where for ages the rent of land has been paid to the state, there is as much poverty as in crowded England—more. I look upon India as a test case of the failure of the cardinal principle of Mr. George's scheme.
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> Now (1) as to its justice. Mr. George would confiscate the revenue from land (that is, all ground rent) without any compensation. Mr. Curwen and Sir Wilfrid Lawson would be deprived of their income from land along with every small proprietor of a garden or field, and along with every workman who has bought the site of his house through the aid of a building society. Even those Irish tenants who have recently, under the encumbered estates act, purchased their holdings at a long price, and are now sitting rent free, would have to pay again a rent to the state in perpetuity.
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> Is this just, reasonable or possible?
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> (2) As to its expediency. Mr. George traces nearly all the ills of life from which men suffer to their being divorced from the land. But his scheme, unlike those of all our land reformers, does not provide for any increase in the numbers of land occupiers. Things would go on as before, only that all rent would be paid to the state, as to a vast absentee landlord. This revenue would replace all other taxation, local and imperial. It is difficult to see how the mass of poor people under this scheme would greatly benefit. They would save a small sum per annum in rates, and they would be able to drink their tea and spirits, and to smoke tobacco, a little cheaper.
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> But why should a man not be permitted legally to hold land and to call it his *own?* This sense of ownership, so dear to our hearts, is an amazing source of energy, happiness, and power. All the foremost nations of the world recognize and encourage private ownership of land. Only the backward and less civilized races have their land in common. Tax the land, if you wish; but let it be taxed fairly and equally with other property. To do otherwise is to commit a great injustice, and so perpetrate a piece of the most vicious class legislation.
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> But (3) I distrust the scheme of Mr. George more for what it conceals than for what it promises. It conceals the fact of the fierce competition which is going on, and which must go on with every increase of our population. This, the old view of Malthus, has been of late years re-stated and illustrated by Mr. Darwin in a never to be forgotten manner. This competition of numbers is at once the great source of our poverty and also of our strength, virtue, and civilization. Low wages are clearly the result of a superfluity of laborers. High wages are kept up, as in America and New Zealand, by keeping out strangers. And Mr. George is, I believe, leading our workingmen astray, when he holds up his scheme of land reform as the cure for all, and would have us believe that high wages and plenty would be sure to follow its adoption. The plunder of the land owners is being held out as a panacea for poverty and destitution—evils which can be remedied only by industry and thrift.
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> I could say more; but I have said enough, I hope, to justify me in the solitary vote which I gave on Saturday night against Mr. George's scheme of land reform. I am, sir, yours sincerely, J. J. THORNLEY.
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> Workington, April 16.

Canon Thornley, as was even more obvious in his talk than in his communication, is a thorough Malthusian, believing and having no hesitation in stating, that the want and suffering among the lower orders of mankind are the price that must be paid for the progress of the upper orders. Yet he is a minister of Christ's church, as by law established in these kingdoms, and probably sees no incongruity between his opinions and his profession. He has at least the frankness to avow what he believes.

The rector of the older established church in Workington is an old man, who is content to draw some £2,000 per annum from his living and to pay two curates £150 each to do the work. They say here that it was very hard to persuade him to consent to two curates, as he thought a single £150 man was amply sufficient, and that when the church burned down it was as hard to get him to subscribe £100 toward its rebuilding.

Several dissenting ministers were however present at the meeting, and the Rev. Charles Burrows, the Congregational minister at Workington, not merely rode with me in an open barouche through the town on the night of my arrival and made a strong speech at the meeting, but the next morning (Sunday) he preached on the text "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," following up my lecture of the night before, and arraigning our treatment of land as the absolute property of individuals as the necessary cause of the festering poverty that is falsely and blasphemously attributed to natural law. I did not get up early enough to hear this sermon, but I attended Mr. Burrows's church (or rather chapel as they call all except the established places of worship here) on Sunday evening, and heard him preach the missionary sermon which all Congregational ministers were requested by the Congregational missionary society to preach on that day. He has a fine congregation, largely composed of workmen in the steel works here, and preached a very interesting sermon. My particular contribution for the conversion of the non-English heathen has gone on its way because of some conversation I have had with a young Brahmin, whom I have found a most interesting acquaintance, and who tells me that the English are crushing the life out of India with their taxes, but that the missionaries are doing much good—not so much by way of converting as by enlightening the people.

The meeting of Congregational ministers which Albert Spicer called to meet me in London last December, the advocacy of our cause by Mr. Spicer himself, and the meetings in prominent Congregational churches in London with which my present visit to this country began, have had an effect through the country which is perceptible everywhere I go. I always find Congregational ministers at my lectures, and find them, where there is opportunity, ready to open their churches to the advocacy of our cause. Mr. Burrows much wanted me to speak for him, but after a week's traveling and speaking I really needed a day of rest.

And one scene on the day of rest I had in Workington will remain long photographed on my memory. After the long stretch of gloomy weather the sun broke forth in the afternoon and in company with three of our Workington friends I went out on the hills and lay for a while on a knoll. The atmosphere was wonderfully clear for this country, which is, I am inclined to think, the most beautiful country on earth when the sun does shine. Before us the Isle of Man loomed up clear and sharp. On the right sparkled the waters of the Solway firth and beyond it rose the hills of Scotland. Behind and to our left were the lofty Cumberland mountains, fresh snow mantling the peak of Skiddaw. In the foreground was Workington, the chimneys and converters of the great steel works towering high, and between mountains and sea a restful panorama of hill and dale, hedges and trees, red plowed fields interspersed with the living green of pastures and the fainter green of the fields in which the young grain was already springing. But it was the larks that charmed me most. They sang in the sun as though they knew I was a stranger and were bent on doing their best to please me. First one and then another, springing from the ground, with a burst of melody pouring from their throats, they rose, up, and up, and up, singing as they went, until they became the tiniest specks and then were lost to sight. Their music growing fainter and fainter, but still continuing, they seemed the very embodiment and type of innocent and exuberant enjoyment. Then falling and singing, they came down like spent darts, and, so close to the ground that our eyes could not follow them, skimmed off to the nests where their mates were keeping house. One must listen to the skylarks on such a day to fully appreciate Shelley's ode, and to realize what our word "skylarking" originally meant.

There is a good little knot of thorough single tax men in Workington. The man who first brought the seed here is Mr. Holmes, a butcher. He came here from the Midlands, and was originally a brickyard hand. He got, so he told me, his first intellectual stimulus from a Congregational minister, whose name I cannot remember, who brought together a class of young men, and encouraged them to read, to think and to discuss. How much good a man may do without in this world ever fully realizing it! One day, some three or four years ago, Mr. Holmes found a copy of "Progress and Poverty" on a book stall, bought it and read it, and became one of us, having been doing his best ever since that time to spread the light. Another most earnest man is Mr. T. Jarman, who, bred on a Cumberland farm, is now employed in one of the steel works, and who acted as the secretary of the committee which organized the meeting and got me to Workington. And I met a number of others of the same kind who told me, what Mr. Burrows corroborated, that our doctrines are firmly planted in this town, especially among the men in the works.

In Workington, as everywhere else, it is only necessary for one to get his eyes opened to the question to see on every hand the most glaring instances of the gross absurdity and injustice of the present tenure of land. The Mr. Curwen, who Canon Thornley is so anxious shall not be robbed, is by descent the lord of the greater part of the land over which the development of the steel industry has caused Workington to spread. For the land which he condescends to let people build on, though but of mere agricultural value before, he charges an annual rent of from 4d. to 6d. per square yard. Long rows of little, boxy houses, with apologies for yards, which are literally not big enough to swing a cat round in, pay him each two pounds a year for the mere privilege of standing there, and, like other lords of the manor, he picks up all the incidentals, big or little. The big things come from the works, the water frontage, etc., and here, for instance, is one of the little items: To get a supply of water the town has to pay Lord Lonsdale, the same who has recently been exploring in the Arctic, £300 a year for the privilege of taking it out of a creek. To get it to town the corporation of

Workington laid pipes through Mr. Curwen's land, and for a little part of the way through glebe land. The laying of these pipes not only did not injure the land; it improved it in value, by making it more eligible as sites for factories and houses. But no sooner were the pipes laid than Mr. Curwen demanded £1,000 for way leave, and finally compelled its payment. The old rector heard of this, and demanded £1,000 also. Remonstrance was unavailing. The old rector insisted that as Mr. Curwen had had £1,000 he must have £1,000 too, and the town had finally to pay that also.

I left Workington on the morning of Monday the 15th, carrying with me many pleasant recollections of our friends there, and went on to Carlisle, and from there to Newcastle. I was met at the station by the members of the committee that had been formed to manage the meetings in this part of the country, and after a couple of hours spent with them left for Alnwick in company with Mr. J. W. Wakinshaw and Mr. T. R. Dodd of the committee. This town, which hereabouts is called Anarch, clusters around the gates of Alnwick (Anarch) castle, one of the seats of the duke of Northumberland, the great magnate of this part of the country. We had a big meeting for such a little place, and a most effective one, too, although some few of the townsmen proclaimed their allegiance to "His Grace" by shouting that I was proposing sheer robbery and leaving the meeting. Mr. Wakinshaw and I staid over the next morning, and, in company with Mr. Foucas, a local radical, visited the outside of the great castle. It has been rebuilt and refitted at large cost, and is for some months in the year the residence of the duke, who has a number of other residences. A gentleman in brass buttons and with a broad gilt band around his hat led us through the inclosure and pointed out to us the windows of the apartments that are set aside for visiting royalties, the windows of the breakfast rooms, the supper rooms, the dining halls, the duke's and the duchess's private apartments, the library, etc.; told us where the elevators ran that take up the coal, victuals, etc.; where the heating and lighting apparatus was located; opened for us an armory, principally filled with arms and accoutrements bought by previous dukes for the Northumberland tenantry when they were organized into a militia corps during the Napoleonic wars, and offered to show us the old dungeon and the stables. The view from the castle is superb. The park, with its winding river, is a noble one, and as the tenants of the hillsides within eyesight of the castle are not permitted to cultivate, the whole view is parklike and peaceful—peculiarly beautiful in the fresh green of the early spring.

The duke of Northumberland is a very great man indeed. He not only owns about all within sight in these parts, but very much more. For instance, all the salmon in the sea within three miles of the shore for a long distance up and down the coast are his, and he is constantly extending his ownings by purchase or taking. Of course this appropriation of ancient rights on the part of the great local magnates has been easy, for tenants, cottiers and villagers do not like, or cannot afford, to resist what a powerful neighbor may choose to do, and a mere appropriation soon becomes a vested interest. There are some little cottage sites of freehold land near the duke's dairy. The duke is gradually buying these up, and letting the cottages go to decay. When he gets them all he will tear them down and have the approach to his dairy quite clear. These cottagers, it seems, had an ancient right of bathing in the river, but the duke, through his agent, some time ago offered if they would give this right up to build them a bath. Such a proposal from so great a man was of course agreed to. I saw the bath. It resembled an American farmer's spring house, and the villagers not liking to bathe in such a place have let it go to decay. But their right of bathing in the river is gone.

There is a photograph of the duke—an amiable looking old gentleman—in a village shop, but this is about all that the Alnwick people ever see of "his grace." For when he drives through the village it is with the blinds of his carriage drawn down, and where the carriage road of the park comes within sight of the public bridge there is a covered way. The etiquette of the family is said by the villagers to be patterned on that of Windsor, and when a master is called in to give instructions to the Northumberland children, he is not permitted to speak to them directly, but must address a governess, who repeats to the youngsters the instructions. How true all this is, I of course, do not know, but this is what the people thereabouts seem to believe.

In our walk along one of the roads we passed an entrance to the park, and though our Alnwick friend insisted that there was no admission, we determined to open the door and look in at the beauties the high wall concealed. This we did, and no one saying nay, we entered a pace or two, when a bent old man, much excited, came tottering out of the lodge shouting as loud as his extreme feebleness would permit, "Begone! begone! you're letting out my chickens! Nay," he shouted, as well as he could, as if the more to impress us, "you are letting out the duke's chickens!" In his excitement he waved his hand into the park and bade us begone in that direction, and as he insisted we obeyed, and had a very pleasant walk. The old man was not there when we returned. We wanted to give him some silver, but not wishing to excite him again by hunting him up we went quietly out.

I left Alnwick and went direct to Sunderland in Durham. I was received at the station by John Crown, an iron ship builder, a great radical and a thorough single tax man, with whom I felt well acquainted, because of what I had heard of him from my friend Tom Jones of Newport. Mr. Crown was launching that day a 2,000 ton iron steamer and I was in time to have a good view of the launch, see her christened Washington, and at the request of the owner, propose the health of the builder.

Here is a great industry in which we of the United States would have been to-day excelling the world but for our tariff. John Crown was a wooden-ship builder, who turned to iron-ship building when the change from wood to iron came, as American ship builders would have done had not the enormous tariff taxes we put on everything that enters into a ship prevented them. The English could not build these ships as they do, if their builders were hampered with our tariff. For almost everything that enters into the composition of the steel ships that are today launched in such numbers on the Tyne, the Wear and the Clyde is imported into England—even the ore of which the plates are made coming from Spain and Africa. But the crushing out of American ship building by our protection to American industry has given them a long start, in the subdivision of industry and the growth around all the ship building ports of the auxiliary and subordinate industries which go to the finishing and furnishing of the ship. How the production of ships is thus facilitated may be inferred by the fact that though it was late on Tuesday afternoon when I saw the hull of the Washington glide off the ways in Mr. Crown's shipyard, yet by Thursday afternoon she had been towed to another wharf, her triple compound engines and donkey engines and boilers all put in place, and by seven o'clock on the next working day, (Good Friday being a general holiday) she was back on the ways in Crown's shipyard and the clattering riveting hammers were closing up her deck-plates. By this time, a week afterward, she has doubtless had her trial trip and is on her first voyage. Facilities such as these, are in time of war worth any number of ironclads maintained during times of peace.

The Sunderland meeting was a splendid one. Our ideas are firmly grounded in the radical section of the liberal party here. John Crown, who seems to be extremely popular, is a host in himself. He is not merely thoroughly straight and sound in principle, but is a man of extensive and varied reading, and has a wonderful knowledge of local antiquities. He has dug up from the old records instance after instance, many of which he told me, but which I have not now time to recount, showing how what are now called the vested rights of the landlords have been acquired by a series of bold usurpations and appropriations.

On Wednesday evening I spoke at Consett, a town built up by the works of the Consett steel company. Mr. E. R. Pease, who was in the United States last year, and Mr. A. Howson of Newcastle accompanied me. We were met at the station by the carriage of Mr. William Jenkins, the manager of the works, which took us up to his big house for tea. Mr. Jenkins, who is the general boss of the place in his capacity of manager of the works, had agreed to preside. But I think from some questions he asked me as to our principles, and the astonishment he evinced when he found that I was not in favor of dividing things and did not propose to set any limit to the amount of wealth anyone could acquire, that he did so rather with a view of minimizing what harm I might do than by way of approval. The meeting was of course a small one, but it was a most interesting one. Mr. Jenkins opened with a little speech in which he said in substance that they had heard a good deal about me and were now there to hear what I myself had to say. I put the case for the single tax, and when I had got through Mr. Jenkins made another speech in which he said virtually that our propositions were nothing like as objectionable as he had supposed them to be, but that nevertheless there were certain grave objections which he proceeded to state. I thereupon met his objections and answered a number of objections and questions from others. After some two hours, during which the audience seemed intensely interested, the meeting was brought to a close by another little speech from Mr. Jenkins, in which he said that they had certainly got a good deal to think about and would not fail to think it over, and expressed an earnest wish that I might come back at an early date and give them some further explanation of the single tax. Then, after a general hand shaking, we went off again to Mr. Jenkins's house and talked single tax with him till train time.

Mr. Jenkins got from me a good deal of information about the single tax, but in return I managed to get some information as to the Consett steel works which ought to be of interest to those Americans who imagine that our protective tariff, besides giving enormous profits to Andrew Carnegie, and his like, really fosters American steel making. The fact is that if our protective tariff were in existence in this country the Consett steel works, instead of paying dividends of ten per cent, could not live. Every pound of the ore which they convert into steel is imported from Spain and Africa, and under our tariff would be subjected to a protective duty of 75 cents per ton. This very ore has to be imported into Pennsylvania for the use of the steel works there, and the duty upon it is the only reason why steel can not be made in Pennsylvania as cheaply as in England. The Consett works were originally started to work some veins of iron ore in the immediate vicinity, but these have since run out. Even had this not been the case the ores are not of the kind required for the modern processes of steel making, and the Consett works would have been abandoned could they not get cheaply the ores of Spain and Africa. Our Pennsylvania works, especially such as those of the Cambria at Johnstown and those of the Carnegies at Braddock, where natural gas is used, get much cheaper fuel than the Consett. The Pennsylvania steel men know of course how the duty on iron ore hampers them, but they submit to this robbery for the sake of the greater robbery that the protective tariff permits them to carry on at the expense of the general American public. It is no wonder that a visit to England and an inquiry into the conditions of English industry turned David A. Wells from a thorough going protectionist into a stanch opponent of protection. It is a pity that he cannot go somewhere else and become a real free trader instead of a mere tariff for revenue man. But in his way he has done and is doing much good.

On Thursday night I spoke in the Newcastle town hall. The night was a very unfortunate one, as Good Friday is here a general holiday. Coming in the early spring and being followed by Saturday, which is always a half holiday, then by Sunday and then by the generally observed bank holiday on Easter Monday, it is a favorite time for excursions and visits. The hotel at which we stopped, and which is ordinarily full, contained on this night and for the three following days no other guests but ourselves. The committee had not originally intended that I should speak on this night, but after they had made arrangements with other towns they found that there was a liberal meeting set for the Monday night they had intended me to speak in Newcastle. And as they especially wanted the active liberals to be present they had no alternative on account of other engagements for the hall but to accept about the worst night in the year. Under these circumstances I was not disappointed that the audience was a comparatively small one, amounting to not more than a thousand, if indeed it was quite that. But the large stage was packed with active men in the liberal organization, some 250 of the liberal six hundred, I was told, being present. The chairman was Spence Watson, the leading solicitor, and the most influential liberal in all this region. To his persistent refusal only it is due that he is not representing Newcastle in parliament. And to his determined fight in the Birmingham conference against any further coercion is credited the change of front on the Irish question of the liberal party. Our committee was delighted with the Newcastle meeting.

For Good Friday, when of course speaking was impossible, our friends had arranged an excursion into the country, and with Mr. Crown from Sunderland and the members of the Newcastle committee and their families, we had a most enjoyable day.

On Saturday, April 20, I spoke at Ashington colliery, to the north of Newcastle.

The audience here was a very representative and influential one, being composed of leading workmen from the collieries roundabout.

It had been announced that on Sunday evening I would "fill the pulpit" of Dr. Rutherford's Bath Lane Congregational church in Newcastle. Traveling around during the week had kept me so busy that I did not see Dr. Rutherford, and I supposed, of course, that I would meet him at the church. But when I got there on Sunday evening I found, to my astonishment, that Dr. Rutherford had indeed expected me to "fill his pulpit," having gone off to Sunderland to preach, leaving me to do the praying, the giving out of the hymns, the reading of the scriptures, and everything else down to the benediction. I hardly felt like filling a pulpit all at once so completely, and while the large congregation waited there was a hurried consultation between Mr. Wakinshaw and the deacons, and then they succeeded in finding in one of the pews a licensed preacher from another congregation who consented to take charge of the services—Mr. James Troupe. We went together into the pulpit, and he did the more ministerial part, while I delivered the lecture on Moses, which I have before delivered in San Francisco, New York and other places.

I am sorry that lessening space and passing time compel me to pass over my week in the north country so rapidly, as there were many things that interested me, and would, I think, interest the readers of THE STANDARD, to which I cannot allude. But during this week I have realized very forcibly the steady and accelerating growth of our ideas. I pass through and on, carrying with me many pleasant recollections and sincere friendships, but I know that the work will continue. The committee that was formed for the management of these lectures has brought together in Newcastle a knot of thoroughly earnest young men, all of them of good character and ability, and many of them telling speakers. It has brought them into touch with similar men in the other towns, and thus inspired and facilitated missionary work. The Newcastle men propose to form loose and quiet single tax associations, and to carry on the propaganda by little meetings of their own and by the use of other associations. All, or very nearly all of our friends here, are active members of the liberal party, and have in this a most effective means for missionary work and for the exertion of political influence when the time comes. And the presence of prominent local liberals at all my meetings in such numbers and in such prominent places is not only an evidence of how our ideas have been respectabilized since I was here before, but of itself tends powerfully to get for them a hearing. The temper of the audiences, the character of the questions, and the punctuation of the "hear, hears" show me unmistakably how large has been the advance since I was here four years ago, and the manner in which our ideas have been gaining by diffusion—in many cases insensible diffusion. But the difference is even more marked by the character of the "platforms."

One thing is as obvious here as in the United States—the enormous gain we have made by following the logic of our principles and taking the free trade side in the last presidential contest. This has given us sympathizers and attentive hearers in quarters where otherwise it would have been hard to secure them.

I got to Edinburgh on the afternoon of Monday, April 23d, and was met on the platform by McGhee and Miller of Glasgow, Barton, the secretary of the Land restoration league, and delegations from the Highland land league, the Edinburgh trades council, the land restoration society and a large number of friends of the cause, including Fleming of Dundee and D. A. McDonald of Aberdeen, the Scottish solicitor with whom I made my last trip through Skye, and who talked to the crofters in their native tongue while I talked English. The crowd gathering around Councillor Gilles, he read and presented to me a beautifully illuminated address of welcome to Scotland, enclosed in a handsome morocco case. Then two pipers in gorgeous tartans struck up a wild marching air, and forming in procession we followed them through the streets to the hotel where I was to stay.

I spoke in the evening in the large Music hall. The audience, in spite of the bank holiday and the fine weather—for picturesque Edinburgh never looked more beautiful than on the sunny afternoon when I entered it last Monday—was a splendid one, and completely filled the large music hall, with the exception of a few seats in the rear of the far gallery—and this an audience which had paid for admission. Councillor Gilles, president of the Highland land league, presided, and among those present whose names I can recollect were Prof. Blackie, president of the Scottish Home rule association; J. M. Naught, secretary of the same society; R. Ainslie Brown, chief political agent of the liberal party; the president, secretary and other prominent members of the Trades council; Bailie Walcott, who moved and carried the motion in the Edinburgh council to present the freedom of the city to Mr. Parnell, which has so horrified the toryism of Edinburgh; Gilbert Archer, the head of the Good Templars order in Scotland, and Town Councillors Macpherson, Anderson, Ritchie and Romaines, all active leaders of the liberal party, besides many clergymen and other prominent citizens whose names I cannot now remember.

At the conclusion of the meeting and after the asking and answering of a number of questions, some few of a socialistic character, a series of resolutions were put and carried, some eight or ten good short speeches being made.

As a crowd of friends are waiting for me, including some who have come long distances, I must close this letter without saying anything of my visits to Galashiels, Selkirk and Dunfries. To-morrow (Sunday) evening I lecture in the Town hall, and then go on speaking during the week, winding up in Paisley on Saturday night.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE SINGLE TAX UNDER DESPOTISMS.

One of the objections to the single tax which is urged with the greatest air of triumph by certain excellent college professors and others, whose minds are wedded to the theories of their own, is that the single tax has been tried for ages in oriental countries with disastrous results. India, Egypt, Turkey and Palestine are freely cited as proofs of this supposed fact. It might suffice to say that the statement itself is not true, because it is founded upon the entirely incorrect assumption that taxes on land, as imposed in oriental countries, are assessed only upon the market value of the bare land itself; whereas, in fact, such taxes are levied not only upon the land but also upon all its improvements, upon growing crops and especially upon trees. In the Turkish provinces, both in Europe and Asia, but especially in the latter, it is notoriously the custom for the tax gatherers to count the number of trees and levy a tax upon each, even going so far, sometimes, as to levy taxes for trees which did exist in former time, but which have been long since destroyed, or for trees which, in the opinion of the tax gatherers, ought to exist, although they never have existed.

Not only are these taxes not levied in just proportion to actual land values, but there is probably no instance of any oriental governor confining his exactions to a single tax. After taking all which he can get out of the land and visible improvements, he resorts to other methods of arbitrary taxation; and, although, in some of these countries, the governors have not sufficient knowledge to invent a system of taxation on personal property, similar to that which exists in various states of the Union, they are not at all debarred by this want of knowledge from inventing other and still more clumsy methods of taxation, which have most of the evils and none of the merits of the American system. There is, therefore, no country now governed by despotism, in which taxation is limited to a single tax upon land values; and there is no evidence to be gathered from history, which indicates that such a system was ever in force over any large extent of territory.

But it may be freely conceded that, in some countries governed despotically, both in the past and in the present, taxation upon land is the principal source of government revenue, and that, by reason of the poverty of the people, the greater part of this tax is assesed in proportion to the value of the land, so far as any proportion is observed at all. Even if we were to go further, however, and to concede, which is not true, that in some despotic countries all taxes have been collected from the rental value of land alone, it would not at all follow that the results in these countries would be indicative of the result of an apparently similar method of taxation in any really civilized country, and, above all, among a self governing people.

Thus, let us suppose that the sultan of Turkey should collect all taxes by assessments upon the annual value of the land alone, the question would still remain, *what would he do with the proceeds of these taxes?* If he were simply the ruler of a civilized self-governing people, the bulk, at least, of such taxes would be applied to public purposes of general benefit to the whole community. Thus every man who paid rent, in the form of taxes, would have the assurance that, while he paid his proper share for the privileges of human society, he would receive back a fair equivalent in the benefits of good government. But nothing of the kind would be true in Turkey. The sultan would squander in debauchery and wasteful immorality all the money which he could possibly get. If his revenue were doubled he would simply double his harem and increase the number of degraded favorites, who would live upon the plunder which he extorted from a miserable people. All his subordinate governors, from the highest to the lowest, would naturally follow his example, as they do. Taxation, raised for such purposes, is not really taxation in any proper sense; it is nothing but rent, extorted for the selfish use of landlords who contribute nothing to the benefit of their tenants. In Turkey, as a matter of fact, almost the whole proceeds of taxation are used for these wasteful and wicked purposes; and so far as the people get any good government at all, they have to pay for it in fees and bribes, entirely apart from taxes. Even if all such sources of income could be stopped, yet the sultan and his subordinates would give to the people no more, in the way of good government, than was absolutely necessary in order to insure their own lives; and they would use at least two-thirds of the national revenue for the same corrupt purposes as at present.

Now, there is no magic in a name. The landlord, by whatsoever name we may call him, will smell as sweet, or the reverse, as under his ordinary name, if the nature of his service or want of service is not changed. Merely labeling a landlord "governor," "legislature," "king," or "president," will not change his nature. If the proceeds of the tax upon land values are not applied faithfully to the general good of the people, they may just as well be applied to the private benefit of individual landlords. It is of the essence of despotic government that its revenue is sure to be applied to private and selfish purposes; and, therefore, such revenue will only in small part really promote the good of the people at large. Those who refer us to the example of despotic governments, as a proof that the adoption of the single tax will have no beneficial results, might with equal justice and equal triumph inform us that, if all the rent paid in this country were collected from the landlords and then cast into the depths of the Atlantic ocean, it would do the people no good. We know that very well, without being so instructed by learned men.

The example of India has been referred to. In some parts of India the British government collects a large portion of its revenue by means of a land tax. But nowhere does it confine itself to this source of income. The salt tax, for example, is collected just as rigidly in the provinces which are subject to the land tax as in any others. But, apart from this, an immense portion of the public revenue of India is used for purposes which are of no benefit to the people of India. India and Egypt are two countries which rejoice in that greatest of blessings (according to protectionists), an almost invariable excess of exports over imports. The "balance of trade" is always "in their favor" and always will be, so long as they are subject to foreign rulers, who annually extort many millions from their people without returning them anything in exchange. If the single tax were established in both India and Egypt the result to the people of those countries would be precisely the same as if an immense proportion of the proceeds were thrown into the sea. The people get nothing in return for at least one-third to one-half of their taxes.

The ground upon which the single tax is urged for America and other self governing countries is that such countries, having free government, receive, as nearly as possible, an equal distribution among all their people of the benefits of that government. It is proposed to collect the entire revenue of these governments from the annual value of the land; because the people, as a whole, will pay to some one the amount of that annual value, and that value being created by society, which is itself dependent for existence upon government, the expense of maintaining that government ought to be paid out of the fund which owes its existence to society.

When any recognized and responsible advocates of the single tax propose to use the proceeds of that tax for the support of idle, dissolute and useless monarchs, or even to spend one penny of it for any other purpose than the general good of the whole people, it will be time enough to refute them by pointing to the experience of the murderers, thieves and debauchees who govern oriental countries.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

The Manhattan single tax club has moved into its new and handsome quarters at No. 36 Clinton place, and its first public meeting on Sunday evening was a most successful one. The address was by Mr. W. H. Paige of the Forum, and its object was to show that protection has a tendency to degrade politics and injure personal character. Though few protectionists were present, there was a lively and interesting debate among free traders as to the extent to which freedom of exchange could be depended on to improve the condition of workmen, and several of the speeches displayed marked ability. The Manhattan club is unquestionably becoming a nursery of the class of orators needed for the issues that must occupy us in the future, now that the war horse style of oratory is no longer effective.

One thing that the club has clearly demonstrated is the value of a club room open every evening. The habitual attendance of a number of men assures

large audiences for each public meeting and keeps up a lively interest among a considerable body of workers. One evidence of the growing power of the club is found in the fact that a number of the best men who differed from us on questions of policy during the last campaign have recently joined it and are now heartily in accord with its purposes. This desirable result has been brought about without any modification of the club's bold declaration for free trade as well as the single tax. The club is wise in adhering to a clear cut definition of its principles, for a comparatively small number of men thoroughly united as to object and method is vastly more effective for good than a much larger body divided on questions of principles and policy.

The permanence of the Manhattan single tax club as a social organization for the support of economic principles is now assured, and it has become a question worthy of consideration, if the time is not come when it can be made an active factor in propaganda work in this city and state. All that is necessary to make it such is the hearty co-operation of single tax men throughout the city. Of course a club house on Clinton place is many miles away from the people in the northern part of the city, yet it is conveniently situated to the Ninth street station on the two principal elevated roads, and is actually more accessible on that account than it would be if located at the geographical center of the island. Furthermore, the question of their own ability or desire to frequent the club house should not be the determining consideration as to joining the organization among those able and willing to do something to promote the cause of the single tax.

If the membership of the club could be increased to one thousand, as it ought to be, its insignificant dues of ten cents a week would give it an income of over $5,000 a year, which would enable it to maintain a larger and better club house, and probably give it a separate hall for its public meetings. Such a membership would also add greatly to the influence of the club on public opinion and make that influence felt throughout the city. Even with its present membership it is becoming a power for good, and is tacitly becoming the ally of other and more powerful organizations for the promotion of one part of the single tax programme. One or two small clubs have within the past few months abandoned their separate organizations, and their members have joined the Manhattan, and there has been some talk of similar action in other instances. The Manhattan single tax club would probably meet such a move half way by remitting the initiation fee to members in good standing in other clubs, though its members feel a natural delicacy about urging such a plan if there is any strong feeling in favor of maintaining the existence of the smaller local organizations.

It is possible that if the Reform club carrys out its announced programme that single tax men throughout the city could obtain the advantages of local organization and at the same time build up a powerful central body devoted exclusively to propaganda work for the whole principle instead of a part of it. The Reform club proposes, if it has the means at its disposal, to promote the organization of tariff reform clubs in all the assembly districts of the city. Of course sensible single tax men will be glad to see such an effort succeed, since tariff reform is, despite whatever protests its advocates may make, a step toward free trade, and such clubs cannot fail to stimulate the discussion of economic questions amongst many not at present familiar with them.

It seems to me that our friends ought to assist such an effort, if it is made, and that they can do so in perfect good faith. It is not to our interest to try to convert such organizations into single tax, or even free trade clubs. Let them be mere tariff reform clubs likely to attract those who are swayed by platforms and party cries. Consider them as political kindergartens that will accomplish the object we are all striving for—and that is to start men to thinking for themselves. As such they will be useful institutions and it is our duty to lend any assistance we can in getting them started and in keeping them alive. I repeat, we must keep good faith, and not try to "capture" them, but as individuals we shall have the right to show those with whom we are thus brought into contact higher truths and educate them into a detestation of the whole protective idea. Of course, I am expressing merely my personal opinion, but it seems to me that the formation of just such clubs would offer an answer to the question so often asked at our meetings: How shall we get the mass of people interested in economic questions?

I present this matter for consideration hereafter, but I wish to urge on our friends throughout the city the immediate consideration of the propriety of making the Manhattan single tax club an organization strong enough to make it a powerful factor in influencing public opinion and a body capable of carrying on vigorous propaganda work. It has grown from small beginnings to its present proportions in a natural and healthy way, and it is the part of political wisdom to strengthen institutions that spring up naturally rather than attempt to form new ones. We need a powerful single tax club in New York, and if it eventually should become so large as to be unwieldy it will then be time enough to consider the question of dividing it up into branches. I see no other one thing that promises so much for our cause right here in New York as the concentration of our efforts toward the building up of the Manhattan single tax club into a powerful organization for propaganda work.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

GOSCHEN AND TAXATION.

His Programme Frightens the Old Tories While it Leads the Liberals to See the Beauties of the Single Tax.

New York Herald.

LONDON, May 6—The old section tory party, the strictly orthodox section, do not like Mr. Goschen's new special tax on estates of over £10,000 in value. They ask, Why should one punish a man's children because during his life he was thrifty enough to lay by a small provision for them? It is the beginning of socialism and if set on foot by a conservative government a fatal precedent is established.

So the good and true old tory is mourning and his sleep is disturbed by horrible visions of what will happen to him when the radicals get into power.

Here is how the matter stands. A man saves up £10,000. He has ten children and leaves to each £1,000. The state steps in and levies a special additional tax of £10 on each child. It makes altogether £100 from him, although his father was taxed heavily on his income all his life. Undoubtedly this is a movement in the direction of Henry George, and it cannot rest where Mr. Goschen proposes to leave it.

Mr. Gladstone gave a fair notice of that the other night. Why should not a future ministry increase the one per cent to five, ten, twenty or fifty per cent? It will always be possible to plead that what the conservative party, the special guardians of property, sanctioned cannot be wrong.

Can you wonder that the orthodox tory sometimes is unable to make out whether he is standing on his head or his heels? When that awful man, Lord Randolph Churchill, was cleverly elbowed out the old old tory naturally thought that the rest of his days would be passed in peace. Now he finds himself being whisked about at the tail of Henry George's cart. Is there no longer any trust to be reposed in any man? Where is safety to be found if not beneath the colors of Lord Salisbury?

Before Parliament.

London Christian Commonwealth.

"There was a distinguished man now in this country whose doctrines were making enormous progress. ('Who? who?') Mr. Henry George. (Ministerial laughter.) Depend upon it this was a matter which would not be laughed out of existence. It was too great and had taken too deep root in this country to be readily disposed of." This reference to the prophet of San Francisco, in Mr Broadhurst's speech on the condition of the poor in large towns last Tuesday week—received with radical cheers and tory laughter—shows that the campaign has attracted the attention of legislators on both sides of the house. The mocking laughter of the ministerial benches will probably change into an expression of quite another feeling when the next general election comes, for Mr. George's influences in the constituencies grows every day, and his teachings are beginning to mold the programme of the liberal party. On Monday last Mr. George lectured in Mr. Broadhurst's constituency (Nottingham); possibly the member's reference to the lecturer may have been an instance of "coming events casting their shadows before."

JUDGE MAGUIRE.

Working With Voice and Pen for the Single Tax Cause—A Lecture at Oakland.

Single tax men in California, like single tax men everywhere else, are not permitting the movement to flag. They do not permit an opportunity of bringing the social problem before the public attention to pass unused.

Judge James G. Maguire of San Francisco is one of the most active among them and with both voice and pen is constantly at work. His clear, unprejudiced statements, backed by the luster of his unsullied official reputation, have had a great influence in "spreading the light" on the Pacific coast. The Oakland Morning Times contained the following abstract of a lecture on "The Single Tax Theory," delivered by the eloquent lawyer in that city recently:

To most of us the subject is novel; our ideas of a just tax are derived from our experience, which is of a tax that falls on every kind of property. All taxes are regarded as burdensome, yet a tax ought not to be a burden. The single tax is not a burden, but a natural development. Our proposition will be presented under two headings.

First, it is the most fair; second, it is the most practical and economical method of collecting taxes. 'Tis an old saying, "Right is expedient." But we often find we can only approximate the right. Our proposition is to abolish all taxes save those resting on land values. This at first startles us. We ask how can it be just to put all the burden on one kind of property alone? Why should we distinguish thus between land and other things known as property?

Because there is a distinction naturally between land and the other property. A man's right to the things he has created by his own labor, intelligence or skill differs materally from his right to the ownership of the air, the running waters or the land. The one he produced himself by labor or care, the other he has the right to use in common with all the creatures of the earth as the gift of nature or the creator. Land is the gift of God like light and air. Man has the right only to use these, and so to use them as not to exclude others from their rightful use of them. Yet some control must exercised over it; there must be segregations of tracts for individual use for obvious reasons.

But out of this necessary dividing and occupying of lands has grown a most destructive system of land monopoly, the great evil of our age, by which a few hold enormous acreage, not for any use but to exact tolls off the labor of others. St. Paul said, Try all things, hold fast that which is good, and the wisest statesmanship has said that we shall disgard everything that time has proven worthless, or that society has outgrown. This is reform.

The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead, and nothing but that which is found to be good ought to live. We are driven to change, alter, reform old customs by necessity. Statistics show that only about ten per cent of us own land at all, and the rest are landless. This per cent of the non-land holders increases. Our old system of land tenure defeats its original object which was security to the industrious. 'Tis now an engine whereby a few idlers may collect tribute off others. But do not blame them. They are only doing as we all do, namely, taking advantage of opportunities. Society is to blame for all such evils.

At San Francisco, on Market street between Second and Seventh streets, are thousands of busy, industrious persons toiling, trading, striving from year's end to year's end, investing also millions of capital, risking all they have and doing everything to make the civilization of our region greater and society better. In the year 1885 there were but four persons out of all these busy thousands who owned any of the real estate there, and today but three; and on Kearny street, in a large district, but two persons own the lots they do business on. And as rapidly as business increases the renters are taxed higher rents. Their labors and toils and the labors and demands of the thousands around them increase the value of the property and the rents are raised accordingly. It is so everywhere. It is so in Illinois where landlords own the land and tenants improve.

Land values increase here. Why? Because a million or so people come here and more are looked for.

We propose that the public shall have the benefit of all the value created by them. Why shall it be given to a few? If renters and and others should cease to work all values would go to nothing. Why shall all this value go to the few monopolists?

We are told of vested rights. I reply no one has any vested rights in to-morrow. That question has been so long, so often, so well settled I need merely mention it. The state has the right to select and to exempt property from taxation.

The public good, the common weal, is before all and everything. It is the great question of the common good before which all private interests sink to nothing.

Now as to the effect of taxes on land values. What will it be? Take Santa Marguerita valley—owned by one person for instance. He excludes from this glorious region everybody. Thousands of families would be glad of homesteads. Tax it and the owner will have to get rid of it, if the single tax is practiced. Suppose a man takes a forty acre piece. He improves it, puts houses, fences, trees, orchards, vineyards, raises stock. Forthwith under the present system you begin to punish him by taxing his improvements—the more he improves the more he is taxed. This leads to evasion and fraud on his part and finally to perjury. But under our system of single tax he pays merely on the value of the land. No need of valuing and hunting up his personal property. No hiding, no evasion. At the very worst the man would pay no more tax than he does now. He is encouraged to improve. The speaker then showed how that to-day two-thirds of the personal property escapes taxation.

THE CAMPAIGN IN GREAT BRITAIN.

New Yor World.

GLASGOW, April 28.—Henry George preached his land tax doctrines here to-day in the City hall to one of the largest audiences ever assembled there and composed mostly of church goers. Crowds had to be turned away from the doors. Rev. Mr. Cruikshanks, a prominent Presbyterian clergyman, conducted the religious part of the services, and choirs from two Presbyterian churches furnished the music.

New York World.

LONDON, May 1.—The radicals are rejoicing over the rejection of the leaseholders' acceptance bill, whose progress in the house they have persistently hampered since its introduction. The rejection of the measure is a substantial triumph of Georgeism, and the American apostle of single tax may well feel gratified at the fate of the bill, more especially in view of the enormous success of his present tour of the kingdom.

New York Star.

LONDON, May 5.—Henry George has met with marked success in his lecturing tour of Scotland. He will close his campaign with his speech at Glasgow next Thursday and return to London. Mr. George has made many converts during his tour and it is now quite evident that single tax will be a very important factor in imperial politics in the north at the next election. Mr. George has made his greatest inroads in the liberal ranks, and it is quite clear that the Scottish liberals must adopt his theory or become hopelessly divided.

Where the Shoe Pinches.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Henry George is now in England, and the mail reports confirm the reports sent by cable as to the enthusiasm which his public addresses have evoked. He could not find a better text for his argument in favor of the taxation of land and the removal of all taxes on improvements than the statement in a recent issue of the London and Produce Gazette, which points out that "in Sussex not one farmer in twelve can freely claim the limited advantages of the agricultural holdings act. Landlords desire no improvements to be made if they have to pay for them. The result is that farmers make no improvements. They are in consequence said to be lazy and deficient in intelligence and energy. American, Canadian, Australian and even Russian farmers have every inducement to make improvements, because they work on their own land. British farmers are thus prevented from helping themselves, while foreign competition is encouraged."

Of course, the landlords desire no improvements to be made if they cannot tuck the cost of them on the tenants. That has been their policy for hundreds of years, and their practical control of parliament has enabled them to crystalize their wishes into law. While the farmers made the improvements and the landlords, on the strength of the increased value thus given to the land, were able to raise the rental at the end of each successive lease, they were extremely happy. While the landlord lived in luxury and idleness in Paris and London, the energetic farmer found that the more progressive he was the greater the share of the product of his labor did the landlord demand. Now that compensation for improvements of farm buildings by a tenant has, under certain not always attainable conditions, been forced from the landlord, he turns kicker, as the London journal points out, and once more the real money maker from the soil is made to suffer. The farmer, thus handicapped, cannot make headway against foreign competition. He must first of all throw the Old Man of the Sea—the non-producer—off his back. That can best be done by adopting the system of putting all taxes on land and relieving improvements, thus encouraging, instead of circumscribing, the employment of labor. The condition of the British tenant farmer would be even worse were the single tax system introduced into this and other countries which export agricultural products to the old land, and the farmers thus emancipated from the payment of tribute to the combines which are nurtured under the so-called protective system.

Judge Reid Has Done Good Work in Mobile.

MOBILE, Ala., April 22.—Judge Reid's address here on the 16th instant has awakened much interest. He gave just enough to whet the appetite of the public. More of the same kind of thing will follow. After the lecture I gave away all my back numbers of THE STANDARD. This is the third time I have given away my file of THE STANDARD. I cannot keep the paper when I see so much need of its being circulated. Later I hope to send for a file. Now, all the money I can spare goes to spreading the light.

E. Q. NORTON.

THE PETITION TO CONGRESS.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
NEW YORK May 7th, 1889.

There has been a slight improvement in the receipt of the petitions and the total has now gone beyond 52,000, the number that in the original calculations of of the committee it was assumed could be obtained in a year, which, though much smaller than the enthusiasm of some of our friends led them to predict, is certainly a satisfactory record for five months work.

J. J. Barnard of Passaic, N. J., writes me that he has heard the question asked why we have not two or three times 50,000 signatures. He says THE STANDARD must have from 40,000 to 50,000 readers and surely each one of them would sign a petition, while workers have sent in signatures ranging in number from Mr. Baker's 1,600 down to one.

I can only say in reply to the queries put to Mr. Barnard that the number of people who are willing to do something for a cause appears to be but a small percentage of those who believe in it. There are thousands of STANDARD readers, probably, who have never signed the petition and who have never been asked to work for it, for the simple reason that the paper is very largely circulated through the news agencies and there is no way of directly reaching those who purchase it. The subject has been steadily presented, however, through its columns, and I cannot account for the fact that any single tax man reading it should have failed to sign a petition and send for more. The chief reason, however, of the failure to realize the sanguine expectations of Mr. Barnard's friends is found in the fact that the whole work of soliciting signatures has been done by less than 3,000 people, while the active, energetic work has been done by a few hundred.

Mr. Baker's example proves that nearly every one properly approached will sign the petition, but, as has been said by one of our correspondents, a great many people confine their efforts to known single tax men and seem to hesitate to speak to anyone else. This is a mistake, for one of the chief objects of the petition is to give our friends an opportunity to present the subject to those not familiar with it and make an argument in support of our principles. The number of men who will do this, however, appears to be small.

The impression seems to prevail in some quarters that the work of the committee is confined to merely receiving petitions. Such is far from the case. Every signature received is transcribed on a card and a regular card index of all signers is thus kept, which is carefully classified by states, cities and towns, so that in almost an instant we are able to ascertain whether or not a signature has been received. Again, a separate card index of workers is kept, which enables us to ascertain without difficulty the post office of any correspondent who neglects, as many do, to put his address at the top or bottom of his letter. In addition to this a state book has been prepared by which all of the workers in each state are classified by post office address.

As a piece of machinery for propaganda work, the records of the committee are probably as perfect as they could well be made, and one-tenth of the sum used by most political or economic organizations engaged in the work of propaganda would give to this committee an opportunity never before offered for the advancement of our cause.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	51,145
Received during week ending April 29,	1,389
Total	52,534

Contributions other than those received from regular subscribers during the same period have been as follows:

Anon, Springfield, Mass.	1 00
Alex. Helmle, Buffalo, N. Y. . . .	1 00
H. H. Pechin, Salem, Va.	1 00
John Dunn, Brooklyn, N. Y. . . .	2 00
George Schretter, Jackson, Mich. .	25
"A Pagan," Jersey City, N. J. . .	5 00
C. A. Potwin, Zanesville, Ohio. . .	5 00
P. J. McLean, San Francisco, Cal. .	1 00
Henry Walker, Springfield, Ill. . .	1 00
M. J. S., Indiana.	1 00
O. H. Schramm, Kansas City, Mo. .	26
S. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.	1 00
P. A. Macfarlane, Jasper, Ala. . .	1 00
On account of sale of seats donated by THE STANDARD for the Centennial celebration.	48 00
	$68 51

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

The following extracts are taken from letters received by the committee:

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee Nation.—I send you fifty more blanks signed. I think I have done well, as the population of Vinita does not exceed 800. I have no trouble in converting people of ordinary intelligence. The single tax only has to be explained in order that it may be accepted. One of the signers is principal of the academy of this place and graduated with David A. Wells. Three of the signers are doctors and some of them are merchants.

E. P. Foster, Cincinnati, Ohio.—One of the signers is a college class mate of mine and the person who first called my attention to "Progress and Poverty" by which I was captured. I thought I would try the petition on the street car the other day. I handed one to a young man who sat next me. He read it and said, inquiringly, "Henry George?" I said "yes," and he replied "I am stuck on that myself. I have read his 'Progress and Poverty,'" and down went his name. I then handed one to the man on the other side of me. His remark was, "I am inclined to believe in that myself, but I have a brother in the legislature, and he would kick me if he sees my name there." However, he seemed to think that brains ought to come out ahead of boots, for he concluded to brave the danger, and sign the blank. It really seems that if the case were to be put to a jury trial it would be difficult to find in this region twelve men intelligent enough, according to the ordinary standard, to qualify by affirming that they had not already formed an opinion on the subject.

W. A. Garretson, Lincoln, Kas.—I was entirely alone here only last fall as a sympathizer with the single tax movement, but I have patiently and persistently pressed it upon everybody whose attention I could command and now I have help in soliciting signatures as well as subscribers to THE STANDARD.

Louis Klein, Bryn Mawr, Pa.—I have been writing articles on the injustice of our present mode of taxation to our local paper. Whether the people here sign the petition or not does not matter, since everybody is now talking about taxing land higher, but they do not exactly know how to go about it. Their devotion to the protective tariff blinds them to the true method. However, our idea is growing and will get there in time.

John W. Betz, Annville, Pa.—The present lull in business and the lack of work gives working people an opportunity to think, and they are thinking. The other day I heard a workingman say, "We had better have re-elected Cleveland." I gave him Shearman's "Address to Farmers."

J. W. Woodworth, Chicago.—When I last wrote you I thought I had obtained all the signatures possible, but I have not ceased to preach the gospel of single tax, and the result has been fruitful. I hope now to be able to send you many more in the near future.

Bolton Smith, Memphis, Tenn.—I have had tin card holders made for six cents each, and one of our friends puts on them in bronze letters, "The Single Tax. Take a Card." Over a hundred of these mute propagandists will be at work in a few days in railroad stations, barber shops and restaurants, each of them filled with cat cards. These cards reach men who would not read longer tracts. Let us get up a single tax card series and keep the card holder filled with new ones. We will soon get people accustomed to looking for new cards at their barber shops and other places of resort. A dozen cards can present the single tax from all sides.

Victor Burnett, Cleveland, Ohio.—I have been at work here lately and probably shall remain here. I have attended the meetings of the single tax club and found the members to be, like single taxers elsewhere, "the salt of the earth." They are doing good work. Regular meetings are held every Wednesday evening and public meetings every alternate Sunday evening at the club rooms, at which the single tax is discussed. I have been surprised to find how many men there are to be found who favor free trade, and among them many who are as yet unfamiliar with the single tax. The vacant land in this city, even along the principal thoroughfares, is a good object lesson in behalf of the abolition of the tax on improvements. In this end of the city (East Cleveland) nearly all are beginning to see, in a degree, the injustice of exempting the land speculator from his share of the taxes and fining the industries. Many who talk this way do not understand that they are coming toward the single tax.

Wm. & August Centner, Cincinnati, Ohio.—Through circulating these petitions we find that the single tax question has obtained a foothold in quarters that surprise us. Many prominent politicians of municipal fame are studying the question. We feel elated over the progress the cause is making.

S. Tideman, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Mr. ——, whose name I send you, is a man who should not be neglected. I have worked with him patiently and persistently for two years and the first evidence I had that I had caught him came when he signed the petition. Two years ago the mention of our ideas infuriated him and, though he is my best friend, he evidently regarded me as a thief and a villain. However, I had marked him for my prey, and now he sees the greater part of the cat clearly and wonders how he could ever have been so foolish. He has eight young sons, so you see he counts for something in the future as well as the present.

R. H. Gardner, Drexel, Florida.—Twelve months ago there were only two or three single tax men here and we were tantalized as cranks. Now an opponent is a rarity. Every man within five miles of me has signed the petition and some of them advocate it warmly. I talk and write single tax on all occasions. If we had an able speaker to visit the Farmers' Alliance in each neighborhood and stir them up much good could be done in that way, as we have no single tax societies here. Prejudice is fast giving way and the evils of monopoly have forced the masses to begin to look for a remedy. All the people need is light.

Warren Wasson, Kansas City, Mo.—We have a flourishing organization here now and are looking forward with pleasant anticipations to Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's visit.

Donald L. Munro, Altoona, Pa.—A republican recently filled up his petition and gave it to me and also talked it over with some of his friends and got them interested. He subsequently discovered that if the single tax was established it would do away with the protective tariff, so he came after his petition and got it back on the pretense that he had put down a wrong address. He has not rectified that address yet.

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—I send you herewith twenty-five signatures, making a total of 1,625 to April 29.

Melvin H. Palmer, St. Louis, Mo.—Inclosed find eighty five signatures to the petition, the result of my work among the striking carpenters of this city. I am myself a carpenter and asked for the privilege of addressing the meetings of the strikers on the single tax question, but W. P. Kliver, vice-president of the Brotherhood of carpenters and joiners of America, who has charge of the strike, refused to allow me to speak on that subject, giving as his reason that it might weaken the strike. New food given to the trade unionist is apt to make him sick.

H. D. Pechin, Salem, Va.—Since you last heard from me I have been talking to the proprietor of the principal hotel here and he has come out for the single tax and I think he will go to work. He is a good man for us.

Single Tax Petition in England.

London Christian Commonwealth.

The single tax petition issued by the English land restoration league seems to have "supplied a long felt want." Sheets filled with names are already coming in freely, and those who send in one full sheet frequently ask for half a dozen more "to go on with." If the friends of the anti-poverty cause make good use of this admirable means of "propaganda and enrollment," the next few months will be occupied with a general discussion of the land question, which will be productive of the most useful result. Many who cannot lecture can talk. The petition is a good text to talk from. All who wish to become missionary workers in the good cause should send to the secretary of the English land restoration league, 8 Duke street, Adelphi, W. C., for a petition sheet, and begin work at once.

SINGLE TAX NOTES.

A. J. Auchterlonie, New York city, forwards a suggestion sent to him by one of the signers of the petition that when men come into places seeking work single tax men give them some copies of the "Syllabus of Progress and Poverty" with instructions to sell it and keep the money.

Springfield, Mo.—I had the pleasure of calling on our friend Hamlin Russell, and attending the St. Louis single tax league meeting the other night. They are all enthusiastic workers, and are a very intelligent body of men. K. P. ALEXANDER.

Memphis, Tenn.—We must hold a series of meetings in Memphis next winter and we want Mr. George to come down. Even to arrange lectures we should know one another and come together in some closer way. If we could hold a state, or, better still, a tri-state conference for Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi, it might attract attention and give heart to our scattered friends. I feel this because I know what good the Chicago meeting did me. Everybody here seems to be thinking about the single tax. The tide is rising at last. BOLTON SMITH.

Single tax advocates in Seattle, Washington Ter., who wish to organize a club are requested to correspond with Alexander Walls, whose address is at the Washington iron works.

Single tax men in Memphis, Tenn., will hold a meeting on the second Sunday of each month, at 4 p.m., in the parlor of the Duehrman hotel, to devise means for spreading the gospel of equal rights.

RICHMOND, Va.—The single tax club meets on Sunday afternoons at No. 516 N. 22d street. Thomas Trisidder is president.

JNO. T. CHAPPELL, Sec.

We Could Have Thousands of Oklahomas by Adopting the Single Tax.

Detroit News.

Oklahoma is the land of promise to few. It will be the land of blasted hopes to the majority. There is probably four to six times as much available land in Michigan as there is in Oklahoma. But there is this difference: The richest land in Oklahoma can be had for $1.25 an acre, while land of equal fertility in this state, and equally accessible, cannot be touched for less than from $14 to $24 an acre. In both cases it is virgin soil, in which plow has never been sunk, nor has ax rung with the steady blows of the pioneer.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

An "At Home" in Its New Quarters—Walter H. Paige's Interesting Address.

The furniture of the Manhattan single tax club was taken last Saturday from its storage and put into the new rooms at No. 36 Clinton place. The rooms are very handsome, consisting of the entire parlor floor. While they are one foot narrower than were the old rooms, they are twelve feet longer, and the ceilings are higher. The rooms are very light and cheerful, as, instead of windows, the entire front is of plate glass, reaching from the floor to the ceiling. Even on the occasion of the lecture last Sunday evening, when the weather in other places was very warm, the ventilation was so perfect that the rooms were cool, which added much to the comfort of the large audience present. The members of the club are delighted with the new place.

The address last Sunday evening, which was entitled "Protection and personal character," was delivered by Walter H. Paige of the Forum. The gentleman's point was that the protective tariff was the cause of much of the political and commercial degradation prevailing in the United States. Following the address came one of the most interesting debates which has been held since the club began its series of lectures. Next Sunday evening A. M. Molina will review Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

There were present among the audience at the lecture friends from Canada, Nova Scotia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio and other states, and they expressed themselves as delighted and instructed with what they saw and heard.

A democratic house warming will be given at the rooms of the club this Saturday evening, May 11, to which all friends are invited.

Louis F. Post is the latest contributor to the library, having sent in thirty-two volumes of economic and historic works. Mr. Post has also made a donation to the library fund.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

He Will Start for California Shortly and Make Some Speeches on the Way.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman will shortly start for a visit to California. He will speak at Grand Rapids, Mich., on Tuesday, the 14th of this month, and will then go to the southeast to address a number of meetings arranged for by the single tax enrollment committee. The first will be held at Kansas City on Thursday evening, May 16, under the auspices of the single tax club of that place.

The next will be a political address at Topeka, where a congressional election will take place shortly to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. Ryan, the sitting member, as minister to Mexico. This address will be delivered on Friday, the 17th, and the arrangements for it have been largely made by Mr. W. H. T. Wakefield.

On Sunday Mr. Shearman will be in Denver, Colorado, where he will deliver an address on "Religion and Economics" on Sunday evening, the 19th, from the pulpit of the Congregational church, and where it is also expected that he will have a public debate on Monday, the 20th. On Tuesday, the 21st, he will speak under the auspices of the single tax people at Pueblo, Col., and will then go west to California.

The single tax people at all the places named are preparing to give him a warm reception, and if he had the time to spare he could have large meetings in numerous other places in Kansas and Colorado.

In Practical Politics in England.

The manager of the English branch of one of the great Leipsic publishing houses, writing from London to a relative in this city, says:

The weekly STANDARD, a most welcome visitant, keeps your memory green. I have lately been doing all I can to help on the Henry George movement. I am a member of his English committee, and have been doing my little to help on his meetings. I think his ideas are steadily, though slowly, making way here. As a rule he has had full and enthusiastic meetings. Not many mighty have as yet been called, but a good deal of attention has been brought to bear on the single tax. A few members of parliament have been converted (among these, apparently, Professor Stuart) and a good many liberal candidates have seen the cat. Altogether the taxation of ground values is now quite within the sphere of practical politics; and I am not without hopes of seeing a pretty rapid movement set in in that direction.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN.

Rev. C. M. Morse Replies to a Critic and Reads Some Letters He Has Received.

A recent issue of the Forum contained a remarkable article entitled "The church and the workingman," by Rev. C. M. Morse of New Castle, Pa. The Christian Advocate in an editorial criticised the article, and to this editorial Mr. Morse has made reply, restating his ground and showing what marks of approval the Forum article has called out. First, by way of explanation, he says:

The position taken in the Forum was, that our present industrial system enriches the few and holds the many in a condition of enforced poverty; that the church is held to sanction existing social conditions, and to refer the prevalent inequality to the providence of God; that the "lower classes," realizing this fact, have lost sympathy with Christianity as popularly presented; and that the church to win them must bring these questions to the test of Christ's teachings. I said that intensifying social struggles are working a transformation in the character of the church, and that with social inequality among members outside of it there cann t be religio-social equality within it; that under present conditions it is sheer folly to talk about the rich and the poor meeting together in the house of God, as the poor decline the invitation. I said the churches are blinded in some degree by competition in the attainment of wealth and culture. I referred to the fact that in the centers of population houses of worship are built in a style to attract the wealthy, and which repels the poor. And I said, further, that the masses have lost their veneration for the church as an institution. The masses do venerate the church so long as they believe that it honestly condemns all forms of evil; when they think that it harangues against the grosser vices of humanity, while glossing over the greed and covetousness of the wealthy and powerful, they despise it.

After drawing out and more fully explaining the meaning of some of these passages Mr. Morse quotes extracts from letters he has received. He says:

It is humiliating and significant that I must conceal identity from the fact that a minister who manifests any sympathy with the line of thought herein indicated will, by many, be called a socialist, his motives will be misunderstood and misconstrued, his influence will be weakened, his life will be made bitter, and possibly his pulpit may be closed against him. A minister, graduate of a theological seminary, writes: "This (late book) is certainly timely, as I believe the special work of this generation is the enfranchisement of the wage earner; and it seems as though the chief glory for this were not to be given to the church, but in its beginnings, at least, to come from outside sources, and from the laborer himself."

The pastor of a very strong church in a leading city writes: "Your article in the Forum has set my heart beating. I have seen the facts to which you refer, for years."

A minister, whose name, if it could be given, would carry great weight, writes: "When I say I want to thank you for the Forum article, I use the word as a symbol of a great deal more than its conventional use implies. I want to assure you of the entire corroboration that my knowledge of wage working men and women gives of what you say about their attitude toward the church and Christianity, and the criticism that they are continually passing on the popular presentment of the gospel."

I meet, now and then, prominent men in the denomination. A minister known throughout all Methodism, and whose position enables him to speak intelligently, once said to me: "It is true that the appointments are dictated by our wealthy members."

A foreman in a manufacturing establishment, an official member in a church, remarked to me: "I know five hundred men who will not go near a church because the ministry are so quick to denounce their strikes."

Mr. Morse concludes:

Let any minister in a large town or city disguise himself and mingle with workingmen, and he will soon discover their feelings in the matter. And, permit me to say, I believe the worst form of cant is a profession of Christianity which does not eventuate in positive convictions and intense opposition to all customs which oppress God's poor. The whole contention seems to me altogether remarkable, in that a large portion of the population refuse to believe that God is responsible for the oppressive and demoralizing results of our economic system, while the church clings to the theory that it is in harmony with the divine will, and that it is her mission to save souls, regardless of the environment of those whom she strives to benefit. And the situation is more clearly defined against a background of history which shows that the cause of the captive, the slave, the oppressed and down-trodden, has always been the cause of God. Grandeur of character and achievement ever springs from genuine love and sympathy for the weak. Moses and Isaiah, Jesus and Paul, Wesley and Lincoln, were the champions of common people.

Believing that truth cannot injure, and that error—even if it be mine—must be exposed, I take no thought for the morrow. If anything I may say be considered worthy of attention, if only to arouse opposition, it will inspire hope that some minds have been turned to the consideration of a question of pressing importance.

One of the Many.

N. Y. Sun,

A pewholder in Grace church, while attending service on Sunday, found the programme of an organ recital which was held there about a fortnight ago folded up in a spare prayer book that is seldom used. On the back were written in an educated hand and with correct spelling the following lines:

GRACE CHURCH.

God's house is open thro' the day,
Where the weary may abide;
Come, and rest awhile inside,
Come, and to thy Saviour pray.

Here I rest footsore and weary,
Thro' the days of cold and rain,
Here I ease a little pain;
But the nights come long and dreary.

Then no shelter have the poor
From the cold and cruel wind,
Here no refuge can we find,
Closed the gate and barred the door.

We must wander thro' the street,
With no place to lay our head,
Hundreds for the want of bread,
Dying everywhere you meet.

Oh! 'tis hard in this large city,
Where the shepherds of the fold
Hungry, dying sheep behold,
And they give no help or pity.

O ye pastors! rich and great,
Let my lonely voice be heard,
Be your hearts with pity stirred,
Help us ere it is too late.

With no hands stretched out to save us
From the depths of poverty,
We, to end our misery,
End the lives our Maker gave us.

By VINCENT C. NICHOLSON (one of the poor.)

At the side of the verses, lengthwise with the page was written the following: "To the pastor of Grace church, where I rested myself for a few hours listening to an organ recital, March 21, 1889." Squeezed under this in brackets was the announcement: "I have just twenty cents and no work. Xst, have mercy on me!"

How the Income Tax is Extorted.

The chancellor of the exchequer of England obtained last year nearly half a million more from the income tax than he anticipated. This may in part be due to the increased incomes of the people, but not a little of it is credited to the greater skill of the collectors in levying the impost; and the complaint is made that not only the legitimate dues of the state, but frequently a great deal more is extracted from income tax payers. To ascertain the method by which this is done, a representative of the Pall Mall Gazette had an interview with the ex-crown surveyor at the income tax inquiry office, whose knowledge, gained behind the scenes, enables him to give income tax payers advice as to the levies made upon them. The surveyor said there was no doubt that thousands of people who held stock in dividend paying concerns were illegally taxed, because their dividends were taxed before they were paid, while really the holders were exempted by the law from any income tax on account of their total incomes being less than £150 a year. "Thousands of claims for repayment of taxes are passed every year," he said, "but certainly one-half of the people who are entitled to such repayments never avail themselves of the provision. The amount may be recovered for a period of four years, and this sum would no doubt be very acceptable to many persons, but they do not know how to proceed in the matter. About £2,000,000 was repaid last year, but it is an axiom of the service that only one-half of what should be repaid is repaid. Again, very frequently incomes derived from stocks, shares, and investments are taxed twice over, being deducted in the first instance before the dividends are paid, and the tax is levied a second time on the assessment of the individual."

Besides this many other people besides stockholders pay heavier income tax than they ought to do. In such cases, the surveyor said, the citizen is allowed to make an appeal, produce his books and balance sheets and try to get a reduction. The commissioners who constitute the court of appeal are a body of gentlemen resident in the district, the qualification for holding the office being the same as for a justice of the peace. This arrangement is frequently very irritating, as the commissioners may be personally known to the appellant, perhaps his banker or his rival in business, to whom he has naturally a great dislike to expose his accounts. Often people will suffer an injustice rather than go through this ordeal. It is true, the government has provided a remedy for such cases in permitting an appeal to a body constituted wholly of high government officials, but this provision is not as generally known as it might be; at any rate, the number of persons who avail themselves of it is not nearly so great as one would naturally expect.

The collectors of the tax are directly interested in screwing it up to the highest possible point, for they are paid a commission, poundage, as it is called, and the promotion of government officials is in a measure dependent on the increase of the revenue. Sometimes people are frightened into paying taxes not really due under threats of action for illegal returns. Cases have occurred in which prominent officials of the revenue department have called on traders and succeeded in obtaining from them large sums of money as a compromise for alleged back duty. By law they can only go back twelve months, but they frequently extort by the threat of pains and penalties payments for years. From £10,000 to £15,000 in one payment from one firm is not unknown for a period covering twenty years.

As showing the utter impossiblity of arriving at the true facts in the case of large concerns, the surveyor mentioned a firm in London that had made no statement for several years and was taxed by the assessors on an income of £5,000 a year. The surveyor determined to increase it merely out of a desire to know what the real profits were, and made a charge of £10,000, naturally expecting an appeal. The charge, however, was acquiesced in, and the following year it was increased to £20,000. It was again paid without protest, and the assessment was finally raised to nearly £100,000 before any objection was raised, when a return was insisted upon, and in this case, deservedly, a large amount of back duty was recovered. A great number of clerks and superior officials in houses of business escape taxation, in consequence of their employers omitting—sometimes wilfully—to make a return of their names and addresses as being liable to be assessed. Again, artisans and men who are paid large weekly wages almost constantly escape. Many men receive £5, £6, and £7 a week who never pay a farthing of income tax simply from the impossibility of securing information for the purpose of making an assessment.

THAT BOSTON TARIFF REFORM DEBATE.

The Revenue Reformers Ready but the Protectionists Hold Back.

The following interesting note from Mr. Emerson W. Judd, secretary of the Massachusetts tariff reform league, respecting that proposed debate with the Boston home market club, is made public:

Dear Sir: Your invitation of the 24th inst. to the Massachusetts tariff reform league to join in a debate with the Home market club, speakers to be furnished by each organization for a discussion at Tremont temple, May 10, under the auspices of the Boston printers' union, has been received. Since it came to hand, a refusal of the Home market club to take part in the proposed debate has appeared in the press. Unless, therefore, you can prevail on that association to reconsider its determination, a formal answer on our part would seem to be unnecessary. I am, however, glad to inform you that the Massachusetts tariff reform league is ready to provide speakers for debates or lectures at any time when suitable arrangements can be made. If it were to reject reasonable opportunities for the advocacy of its principles, on the platform or elsewhere, it would apparently lay itself open to the charge of preferring to trust to less reputable political agencies than straightforward appeals to the intelligence and the conscience of the American people. Profoundly convinced of the efficacy of public discussion, recalling with gratification the progress of tariff reform ideas in Massachusetts during the past year, and assured of ultimate success, the league welcomes such invitations as you have extended to it. Yours respectfully,

EMERSON W. JUDD,
Secretary Mass. Tariff Reform League.

Mr. John R. Roche, Secretary Lecture Committee, Boston Typographical Union.
Boston, April 27, 1889.

TARIFF NOTES.

A protection that does more than incidentally protect an industry is a sham and an imposition.—[Oswego Palladium.

While wages are being generally reduced in this country, immigration from Europe increases. There is a high tariff for the protection of capital but none to save labor from the "pauper competition" about which we heard so much last year.—[Paterson Guardian.

Every argument in favor of protection holds good in favor of the twine trust. Don't you see, farmers, if the twine manufacturers charge you high prices for twine, they will thus be able to pay their "American laborers" high wages?—[Tilford, So. Dak., Times.

A "democratic" tariff organ down south says that "Protection is the unwritten law of the land." What the American people have most reason to complain of are the written laws of Protection.—[Philadelphia Record.

We do not believe that there will be half a dozen high tariff men elected to congress from Ohio at the next election. We will even go further and say that we think, and firmly believe, that the issue will be "Tariff vs. Free Trade" in the state of Ohio in less than twelve months, and that the free trade side will win.—[Dayton Workman.

The hopelessness of trying to tax a people into prosperity, and the laughable absurdity of attributing the prosperity of this wonderful country to its taxes, are equally plain. So is the nonsense of the wild scheme to enrich the workingman by protecting him against cheap labor, which fairly swarms into every port on either the Atlantic or Pacific coast, absolutely unhindered.—[San Francisco Argus.

Now, Let the Workingmen Examine for Themselves.

Reading, Pa., Herald.

The men who went around last fall telling the people how prosperity was created by custom house collectors and showing the workingmen how much they knew about the industries of the country, are now letting the workingman and the industries of the country take care of themselves and have gone down to Washington to get offices.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

There is land enough immediately surrounding and in this city to make thousands of comfortable homes were it not for the fact that they are held for speculative purposes by men who grow rich on the advantage which they take of others.—[Rochester Times.

The Oklahoma rush makes it look as if Uncle Sam was no longer rich enough to give us all a farm.—[Newark News.

There is no doubt that the Henry George movement is rapidly gaining ground in the states east of the Rocky mountains, particularly in the newer ones, and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the proposed single tax system will be adopted throughout the Union.—[San Francisco Argus.

When land is plentiful and cheap wages are high. The reason for this is that a man who is dissatisfied with the amount another man will give him for his labor can leave his job and go to work on the land for himself.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Our legislature should so amend the revenue laws in reference to assessments as to make the assessment of the improvements separate from the land itself, and to put the heavier burden on the land itself, and in this way encourage the laboring man to acquire and improve the land to a greater extent than he does at present.[Pensacola, Fla., Commercial.

When it is possible to furnish constant employment at remunerative wages to every person willing to work, the remedy for general business disasters will have been discovered—for where labor is steadily and profitably employed there is prosperity.—[Columbus Post.

Debating With Prohibitionists in Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., May 4.—We met the "prohibs" last Monday night and the way we poured common sense into the ranks of the cold water brigade would have enthused the most inactive single tax crank. They resolved to invite us to meet them in their hall, in friendly discussion of the "labor problem," and we accepted. The room was comfortably filled with an intelligent audience, many of whom were ladies. The forces were about equally divided. Brother Hudson led off for our side with a thirty-minute off-hand exposition of the George idea, and was followed by Mr. Jaques for the prohibs, after which there was a general discussion, each side alternating. I am satisfied that we more than held our own, though their side was well equipped with forcible speakers. There is one thing certain, the great majority of the opposition heard priciples expounded that they had had no previous conception of and were well pleased. Hudson did splendidly, considering that he went in without preparation. Everything passed off pleasantly, and they invited us to come again and meet with them on the last Monday evening of this month. The daily papers reported the meeting, though the protectionist organ was unfair and treated the matter with levity.

We took up "Progress and Poverty" for elucidation, chapter by chapter, at last Sunday's meeting, commencing with "The Problem," and had an enjoyable time.

We have the promise of an influential minister to attend our meetings in the near future.

L. P. CUSTER.

Fast Gaining in Omaha.

OMAHA, Neb.—The single tax campaign is gaining in vim and volume. The Omaha single tax club meets every Sunday afternoon at Gate City hall, corner of Douglas and Thirteenth streets, with a constantly increasing attendance and additions to its membership at each meeting. The trades unions and Knights of Labor assemblies have been holding meetings for the discussion of the eight-hour measure and since the organization of our club we have been given a hearing at each meeting. Single tax talk arouses much more interest in these eight-hour meetings than the eight-hour question itself. These eight-hour meetings which are being held all over the country are a great opportunity for single tax men, and should be improved to the full limit. Committees will usually be found glad to give the land question a place on their programmes. PERCY PEPOON.

The Thin End of the Wedge Introduced With Good Effect.

ALTOONA, Pa.—At a recent meeting of the single tax club here resolutions were adopted calling upon the assessors to tax vacant land in the same proportion as improved land. The result has been very gratifying for the assessors have been raising valuations of vacant land and land speculators are open in their denunciation of single tax men and their doctrines. One speculator has to pay taxes on $30,000 more than he paid on last year, and wants to get rid of his land. The situation is very interesting and general discussion of the taxation question is in progress.

SINGLE TAX WORKER.

Invading the Bay State.

NEPONSET, Mass.—The single tax league held another public meeting Thursday evening, May 2, and addresses were made by the following gentlemen: Messrs. John Lavis of Neponset, Edwin M. White of Boston, C. S. Vanderporten of New York. There was a large attendance, and Mr. White replied to questions asked by several people in the audience.

BEFORE THE CHICAGO SUNSET CLUB.

A Straightforward Speech by a Prominent Lawyer of that City—An Influential Audience.

Mr. E. O. Brown, member of one of the leading law firms of Chicago, delivered a discourse on the single tax question on May 2, before the Sunset club at the Sherman house in that city. The speech was direct and forcible, but the occasion was chiefly remarkable for the high character and representativeness of the audience. After the discourse came a discussion in which many of the members took part.

Some of them argued intelligently and some very unintelligently, but everybody was interested, and the meeting was agreed on all sides to be one of the best the club had ever had.

A few extracts from the address will give some idea of Mr. Brown's manner of treating his subject:

I shall not follow the example of several of the speakers at former meetings of this club by saying that it is contrary to my inclination that I am one of its appointed speakers. Some natural embarrassment in addressing what I fear will be so critical an audience, of course I have, but I will frankly say that since the subject is that which it is, I feel both honored and gratified in being asked to open the discussion. I am glad to be able to set before you things which I believe with all the strength of religious conviction are of the highest importance and interest to us all.

The subject as announced is "Land Taxation as proposed by Henry George," and this, I take it, means exactly what would be meant had it been announced as the "single tax." This expression, "the single tax"—while on the one hand it is a convenient and concise name for the proposed reform, is in another sense almost a misnomer.

For of taxation upon the present lines, taxation direct or indirect, we who are believers in the new political economy, would have absolutely nothing. Of taxation which takes away from men against their will that which in any true sense is their own, that which they have made; that which is the product of their industry and energy, their thought and labor applied to natural opportunities to which they have had access; or of taxation which imposes obstacles and burdens upon the natural and praiseworthy desire of men to exchange with each other these products of their own labor; of tariffs and income taxes, and internal revenue taxes and poll taxes, *et id omne genus*—I, for my own part, have no reform to suggest, except that reform implied in Hamlet's advice to the players "Oh, reform them altogether."

I doubt philosophically, the right of any government to take for the use of the community, or for any other purpose, from individual men, against their will, that which properly belongs to those men as individuals. On the other hand, there are things which the community, *as* the community, collectively owns.

These things the community, by its organized expression in government, has a right to dispose of for its own proper purposes. It is at the best, but force and brute strength which makes a man give up, for purposes of which he may entirely disapprove, at the will of a ruler, of a majority, or of any power outside of himself, a portion of that value which his own individual effort has created. No legal fiction of a social compact can evade that conclusion. It is from this fact, it seems to me, that there springs that impatience of taxation which has everywhere been the origin of liberty. It is from this fact that even in the freest of governments there exist those evasions and subterfuges with which men otherwise honorable, will always greet the tax collector. It is from this fact that, among any people whatever may be their political theories, freedom of trade and freedom of speculation in the face of laws made to restrict them, are never accounted crimes.

A tax upon that which is properly a man's property, on that which he produces, a fine, therefore, on his industry and energy and thrift, cannot be anything but an evil. Even if it be a necessary evil, in order that greater ones, springing from disorder and anarchy, may not exist, it will be an evil still.

But what is the proper subject of individual property? What is it that a man can own, as his own, in his individual right? One of the greatest of English thinkers, two hundred years ago, stated the basis of property with philosophic accuracy. That which may be rightfully individual property is the results of man's labor and energy applied to natural opportunities. Those results should be the man's very own; his own, to consume, to sell, to give away, to bequeath, nay, to destroy, if he so likes.

But how about the natural opportunities themselves? the field, the meadow, the prairie, the mine, the quarry and the sea—the land, air and water? From them all men must derive everything they have, but mankind made them not. They were here before any man now living came; they will be here when all men now living are dead. They are not the product of any man's industry, or skill or energy. They are the creation of God, and of Him alone. They cannot be, then, under any true system of economic philosophy, the subject of individual property. Individual men, indeed, *claim* to own the land, if not the air and sea; but to whom does the land really belong? Did God create the iron mine for the heirs of John Smith, who squatted on the crust above its surface a century ago, or did He create it for all the children of men? Do the green prairies of America belong to all men, that can and will use them, or to the descendants of some English lord, who live on the sweat of other men's brows? Does not the earth belong in usufruct to the living, as Thomas Jefferson a century ago declared? Is it true that our native land is not so far our land that we have a right to fill a flower pot from its surface? We are land animals and can live nowhere else; are we to live upon the land only at the sufferance of individual men who claim to own it?

This idea never has been and never can be accepted as the true one. Fictions concerning social convention, social compact, vested rights, the trusteeship of the landowner, the iron necessity which compels a system philosophically unjust, a thousand other manufactured sophistries are introduced to justify the continuance of the present system of land tenure, but nothing is, or can be urged in justification of any *natural* right on the part of individuals to the ownership of the soil.

In some sense then it is admitted by all that it is to the community of the living that the land belongs, and by land, we mean all natural opportunities. If then land belongs to the community, then land is the just and natural source, is it not, of the necessary revenues of the community? If it is not to individuals but to the whole mass of the people that the land belongs, then without injustice and without violation of natural right, the people, as a whole, may by any proper expression of their will, take and use those opportunities. That they should do this is the theory, and the whole theory of the advocates of the single tax.

Remove, we say, all the burdens that rest so heavily on industry and energy; remove the tariffs and the excises, the taxes on houses and crops, and farm improvements; the taxes which everywhere fall upon the laborer who is willing and anxious to work, and gather the income necessary for all the purposes of government, as it now exists; yes, for those purposes and a thousand other grand and beneficent ones properly within its function, from those natural opportunities which belong to the people in their collective capacity, and are not the true property of individuals. Abolish, in other words, all other taxes whatsoever, and levy a tax, if you will call it so, on land values. On land values, pure and simple, mind you; not on improvements of any sort or kind, for improvements are the property of the men who made them, and those to whom they have given them.

But this land tax, if you call it so, should and would in reality be the fair rental of the land.

How simple and how just it is, and how practicable, too! The land belongs to the community. It belongs to all the people who live upon it. But since improvements must be made upon it, since labor and energy must be continuously and persistently used upon each particular part of it to make it so yield its useful products, as that it shall reach even a proportion of its highest profits, and as no person will bestow these things upon land to which he has not a tenure, stable, permanent and continuous; therefore, no people above the grade of tent dwellers and herdsmen can use land in common, nor will civilization advance without security of possession and fixity of tenure. Assurance of permanency and continuity of tenure for their use is necessary then to the best use of almost all natural opportunities; how necessary, the miserable state of cultivation in rack rented localities where the man who uses the soil is always in imminent danger of eviction, will attest.

But the conclusion so often drawn that because the man who uses land must have assurance and permanency of tenure, therefore to the derogation of natural justice and in the face of God's own law, he, his heirs and assigns must have the absolute private ownership, is in the highest degree absurd. As a matter of fact, the vast proportion of the men who use the land directly do not own, nor claim to own, a single inch of it. They pay the rental value of it, they pay much more than the true rental of it to other men, who do so claim to own it.

The single tax means only this: These men and all men who use as individuals the land which belongs to all, who have the privilege of monopolizing and using for their own advantage any portion of that which is the inheritance of the entire community, shall retain their tenure as long as they choose, provided only they shall pay the rental of what they use, not to those individuals who claim to own it by authority drawn in the last resort from some long dead European king, but to the community which does own it in very truth and deed.

And thus without the use of the ugly word "confiscation," and without running counter to present institutions, but in the direction of existing customs and speech and thought, by a practicable, obtainable reform we can, if we adopt the single tax, abolish all burdens and taxes upon industry and capital, and by taking ground rents for the use of the state instead, can, without formal interference with tenure, take back for the community, for all the people, that of which they have so long unjustly been deprived.

If you say that our proposition will injure some landlords and some land owners, who would reap where they did not sow, and gather where they did not scatter, I ask you whom it would benefit? And I will answer it for you, too. It will benefit those whom this robbery of their heritage has debased, and embittered, and embruted. It will benefit those little children that this robbery has taken from play and school and compelled to work—those "young, young children that are weeping, weeping bitterly in the play time of the others, in the country of the free." It will benefit those families, crowded eight and ten persons together, into a single squalid room, herded like swine. It will benefit those lads and girls, who might be useful men and women, who are reared now through the effect of this robbery for the penitentiary and the brothel. It will benefit those young girls who shiver as they sew for bread; those tattered and barefooted children who make their home in the streets. It will benefit those classes in manufacturing districts who are stunted and deteriorated by want—classes in which female virtue is all but lost and family affections all but trodden out. It will benefit those men who are traveling thousands of miles for some place to locate their families; for a home, and finding none; it will benefit those men, who, though it is as iron in their souls, are obliged to depend upon the labor of their women and children in addition to their own to eke out a miserable existence; it will benefit those who are freezing and starving to-day in our great cities; it will benefit those who work for the merest of pittances, sixteen and eighteen hours a day; it will benefit the million of unemployed men of America, from whom is recruited the daily increasing army of paupers and criminals.

These are the people that our reform would benefit.

Boston Men Hold Forth.

BOSTON, Mass.—The single tax league held a public meeting in Blatchford hall, Wells memorial building, Saturday evening, May 4. Addresses were delivered by E. M. White of Charlestown and Joseph Lee, who presided. The topic of the evening was: "Has the landowner, as such, any rights which society is bound to respect?" Mr. White argued in the negative.

What is Protection for If Not to Foster Monopoly?

New York Tribune.

If they [the salt monopolists] carry out the plans ascribed to them, they at least will have no right to complain if a congress representing American consumers should sweep away every cent of the duty on foreign salt.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

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

Akron O—Jas R Angier, 109 Allyn street.
Albany, N Y—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J C Roshirt, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter—Mrs Josephine Soahr.
Altoona, Pa—C L Ishler pres; D L Munro, recording secretary single tax club.
Amsterdam, N Y—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D C—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anton Chico, N M—Lewis T Granstam.
Ashtabula, Ohio—A D Strong.
Athens, Pa—Arthur L Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga—John C Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me—H G Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N Y—Daniel Peacock, president; H W Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga—L A Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N Y—Homer Sabin.
Ballston Spa, N Y—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md—John W Jones, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 1438 E Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Matthew C Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N Y—Antonio M Molina.
Braceville, Ill—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Dak—W E Brokaw.
Binghampton, N Y—E W Dundon, 33 Malden lane.
Boston, Mass—Edwin M White, 308 Main street, Charlestown; J R Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamlin Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain.
Brooklyn, N Y—George E West, M D, 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
Burlington, Iowa—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N Y—H W Johnson, P O box 265.
Canon City, Col—Frank P Blake, M D.
Canton, O—S J Harmount, M D, president single tax club.
Cape May City—Wm Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Whittier, secretary Single tax club, 136 Milwaukee avenue.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 294 Vine street.
Clanton, Ala—O M Mastin or Alex G Dake.
Cleveland, O—C W Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind—L O Bishop, editor *Argus*.
Cohoes N Y—J S Crane.
Colton, Cal—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O—Edward Hyneman, 348 1-2 South High street.
Cornwall, Cal—Jeff A Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N J—Chas P Johnston.
Danbury, Conn—Sam A Main, 34 Smith street.
Dayton, O—W W Kile, 33 E Fifth street; J G Galloway, 263 Samuel street.
Denver, Col—F H Monroe.
Des Moines, Iowa—L J Kasson, president Single tax club; John W King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich—J K Flinehart, 45 Waterloo street; J F Duncan, 279—Third street, secretary Tax reform association; S G Howe, 654 14th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal—J V Lanston.
Dighton, Mass—A Cross.
Dunkirk, N Y—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.
East Northport, Long Island, N Y—J K Rudyard.
East Rindge, N H—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N J—Benjamin Urner.
Elmira, N Y—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill—W B Steers.
Evansville, Ind—Charles G Bennett, 127 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass—R D Terry.
Farmington, Iowa—F. W. Rockwell.
Foxcroft, Me—E Libby.
Gardner, Ill—T S Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N Y—Herbert Loromer.
Glendive, Mont—A H Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N Y—John H Quinlan.
Gloversville, N Y—Wm C Wood, M D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex—I J McCollum.
Hartington, Neb—John H Felber.
Haverhill, Mass—Arthur F Brock.
Helena, Mont—Judge J M Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornellsville, N Y—George H Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark—W Albert Chapman.
Hoosick Falls, N Y—F S Hammond.
Houston, Tex—H F Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas—J G Malcolm, M D.
Ilion, N Y—George Smith, P O box 502.
Indianapons, Ind—L P Custer, president Single tax league, W U Tel Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Vonnegut's hardware store, E Washington street.
Ithaca, N Y—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N J—S B Walsh.
Jersey City, N J—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Lge avenue.
Kansas City, Mo—Chas E Reid, 2124 Highland avenue.
Kenosha, Wis—W D Quigley.
Keithsburgh, Ill—M McDonald.
Kingston, N Y—Theodore M Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N Y—James McMann, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, R I—Dr L. F Garvin.
Lewiston, Me—F D Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky—James Erwin
London, England—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vinette, P O Station F.
Lowell, Mass—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
Lyle, Minn—C F Wenham.
Lynchburg, Va—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak—E H Evenson.
Mahanoy City, Pa—J N Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.
Mansfield, O—W J Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N Y—C H Baildon.
Mart, Tex—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont—S F Ralston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean—Robert A Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 235 Alabama street.
Middletown, Conn—John G Hopkins, P O box 580.
Middletown, N Y—Chas H Fuller, P O box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C J Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L. Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala—E Q Norton, 33 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa—A O Pitcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N Y—J B Lathrop.
Murrayville, Ill—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn—P H Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.
Nepouset, Mass—Q A Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N J—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N Y—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Merrimac assembly, *Herald* office.
New Haven, Conn—Willard D Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La—John S Watters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 29 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit Col—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P O drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass—Willard M Browne, 13 Marshall street; B S Myers, P O box 537.
North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1826 North Boonville street.
Norwalk, Conn—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O—Edw B Haskell.
Olean, N Y—George Ball, pres Single tax association Timothy Horan, sec, 55 Railroad street.
Olympia Wash Ter—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street
Omaha, Neb—John E Emblen, 822 Virginia avenue; Percy Pepoon, pres single tax club, 1512 S 30th street; C F Beckett, sec., n w cor 27th and Blondo streets.
Ordway, Dak—R H Garland, member Tax reform association
Oswego, N Y—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Passaic, N J—J J Barnard, P O box 181.
Paterson, N J—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W Va—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R I—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill—J W Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N Y—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore—S B Riggen, 48 Stark street, R H Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N Y—William C Albro.
Providence—R I—Robert Grieve, 32 Sutton street; Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N Y—C V Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill—W H Van Ornum.
Reading Pa—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N 6th street.
Reynolds Bridge, Conn—John Carreer, box 30.
Richmond, Ind—M Aitchee, 923 South A street; Iliff, 156 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N Y—D C Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis—George H Bates.
Rochester, N Y—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N J—Read Gordon.
Rutland, Vt—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal—Judge James G Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal—Mrs Frances M Milne.
Seattle, Wash Ter—F P Morrow.
Seneca Falls, N Y—Wm H Adkinson, P O box 56.
Sharon, Conn—A J Bostwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass—S H Howes.
South Gaston, N C—W L M Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N Y—C L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McCrea, secretary Sangamon Single tax club, 625 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo—H A W Juneman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax league, 2764 Baron street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 919 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal—D A Learned.
Stoneham, Mass—Dr W Symington Brown.
Streator, Ill.—George G Guenther.
Syracuse, N Y—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H R Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Toledo, O—J P Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash Ter—F C Clarke, 1308 K st.
Trenton, N J—H R Mathews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N Y—B B Martin.
Tuckahoe, N Y—Albert G Young.
Unionville, Conn—John McAuliffe.
Utica, N Y—Thomas Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B C—W L Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and 3 Opera block.
Waco, Tex—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakefield, R I—David Harrower.
Washington, D C—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N W, secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex—William M Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y—A B Stoddard.
Wheeling, W Va—John L Frank, 2507 Eoff street.
Whitestone, Long Island, N Y—George Harnwell.
Whitman, Mass—C P Bolin, cigar store; Thos Douglass, president Single tax league
Wilmington, Del—Geo W Kreer, 717 West Ninth street.
Woodstock, Ill—A W Cummins.
Worcester, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N Y—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio—W H Coughead, 77 Van Buren street C A Potwin, pres, single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

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

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

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

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every post office in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

THE STANDARD is not sent to subscribers after the expiration of the time paid for.

Subscribers should renew a week or two before the expiration of their subscriptions to prevent the loss of any numbers.

In a letter to the Detroit News Mr. Powderly, in discussing the labor problem, indicates quite clearly that light is breaking through, and that his ideas of several years ago relative to the land question are returning and assuming even more definite form. When workingmen understand the land question, he says, "they have solved the whole question, but not until then." Again, "the final solution of the labor question will come when the people are allowed such access to natural opportunities to labor that all shall be employed and given full possession of the results of their toil." We suspect that sentiments like these will please a far larger number of men in the Knights of Labor than Mr. Powderly had any idea of when he expressed them.

The Poughkeepsie Eagle is such an out and out protection organ that it leans over backward at times. One of these times occurred a few days ago when it published a leading editorial urging the encouragement of the American carrying trade, by the allowance of a rebate on all dutiable articles in American bottoms. This, it says, would be a "constant and enduring bounty to American builders and American owners." Yes, but it would be the same kind of bounty, so far as it goes, as free traders want to offer. The reason such a rebate would encourage American shipping is that it would give greater freedom to commerce. There would then be a way of trading somewhat more freely than we do now, and in proportion to that greater freedom there would be more trade. If the Poughkeepsie Eagle wants to have a few unpleasant interviews with the protection lobby let it take active measures to have congress allow the rebate it proposes.

The Oklahoma episode has stirred up considerable thought about the American land question, albeit the thought is as yet in solution. No doubt many people who have learned by that episode that land in the United States is all inclosed, confidently supposed until a month ago that Uncle Sam had a farm for any one who wanted to take it. That notion, thanks to the Oklahoma boomers, is now put at rest. The Providence Journal, discussing the matter, after alluding to the inference that all our land is in use says this is not so, and adds: "Millions of acres have been seized and are now held, not for honest settlement and cultivation, but in defiance of law and for purposes of speculation solely. . . . Matters have come to such a pass, indeed, that honest settlers actually stand as good a chance in the mad scramble in Oklahoma as in an unequal contest with the land grabbers elsewhere." This is no doubt true; but are "grabbers" of the public domain injuring their fellow citizens more than the men who in the better settled parts of the country hold land out of use? The latter are not open and conscious robbers, nor are they acting in violation of law, and they have paid a good price to some one for the privilege of inclosing these eastern lands; but so far as the interests of the landless are concerned, are they not doing more harm than the western land grabbers? People who want land to use would rather get it near at home than to have to go half way or more across the continent for it. The reason they go so far is not because land is scarce here but because it has all been inclosed, or as we should say of western land, it has all been "grabbed." And even the grabbing in the west would not take place if grabbing nearer home in former generations had not proved so profitable. We commend to the Providence Journal a careful consideration of the question whether keeping land out of use so as to make money by selling it at a higher price is not as dangerous to society, as threatening to democratic government, and as oppressive to the honest cultivator, when done in the east as when done in the west. And if it wonders what remedy there is let it consider whether land grabbing ought to be so favorably regarded in taxation as land using, and whether it would not be a convenient, certain, politic and just way of raising revenues, to discourage land grabbing, by taxing land values, and to encourage land using by exempting from taxation all the products that labor draws from land.

The three democrats whose influence has tended to make the democratic party a junior protection party, have been William H. Barnum, Samuel J. Randall and Charles A. Dana. Mr. Barnum died last week. He was for years chairman of the democratic national committee, was a successful business man according to recognized standards, and was regarded as an expert politician of the lower type.

The Indiana Farmer, an agricultural paper of large circulation and extensive influence in the west, has been impressed by the growth of the single tax movement, and discusses the proposed reform. In doing so it has fallen into an error common to critics of the single tax when first considering it. This is the assumption that we propose to raise public revenue by a single tax on farm land, irrespective of its value. Such a system of taxation would not only be monstrously unjust, but would also be destructive of agricultural interests and by reaction of every other interest. So understanding the nature of the proposed reform, it is no wonder the Indiana Farmer originally looked upon the proposition as "so shockingly unjust and absurd that the public would reject it at once;" nor, now that the "theory is taking root in America among wage earners, manufacturers, merchants, bankers and other capitalists," that it fears it "had not made the proper allowance for the selfishness of poor human nature."

We ask the Indiana Farmer to consider whether it may not be hasty in attributing the growth of the single tax movement to the "selfishness of poor human nature." Is it quite fair to wage earners, manufacturers, merchants and bankers to believe, until no other inference is possible, that they really want to shift tax burdens from their own shoulders to those of the farmer? Is it just to some of the best, and most thoughtful and philanthropic citizens of Indiana to suppose that they favor the single tax because it will compel farmers to bear all public burdens? Is it not due to these citizens, in common neighborly fairness, to inquire whether they may not be misunderstood? If the Indiana Farmer will make such an inquiry it will find that the conflict between it and those whom it accuses so hastily of what, if it were true, would be selfishness of the meanest order and stupidity in the lowest degree, is a misunderstanding on its own part of what the single tax is.

As stated already, our agricultural contemporary understands the single tax to be a tax levied on farm land irrespective of the value of the land. That this is really what it understands is a necessary inference from its statement that we propose to raise all revenue "by a direct tax on land," whereby we should throw the whole burden of taxation "on those who own and cultivate the soil;" and that it "would require a tax of from $10 to $20 on every acre of cultivated land in the United States to raise the necessary revenues to support the several departments of government." Now, the single tax does not propose to raise public revenues by a tax on farm land, nor by a tax on any land irrespective of its value, but upon every kind of land according to its value. The single tax is the very lowest agricultural tax that can possibly be imposed. The land of lowest value is farming land. Farming land varies in value, but even the best is not so valuable as village land, nor is the best village land so valuable as the poorest city land. And mining land is often more valuable than any other. The single tax takes cognizance of this. Under it the farmer whose bare land was worth nothing or next to nothing would pay no taxes or next to none, and he might raise more stock, put up more or better buildings, or even paint his house, without the slightest fear that on that account he would have to pay a higher tax. The farmer who owned land of better natural fertility or better situation in respect of markets would have to pay a higher tax because his opportunities would be worth more; and he would be compelled to pay this tax whether he used his land or kept it out of use. He would not be taxed according to his enterprise or industry, but according to the value of the land he prevented other people from using. So the owner of village land would have to pay a higher tax in proportion to the area of land he owned than any neighboring farmer, not because his buildings might be worth more but because his building lots would be worth more. The owner of city land would have to pay more than the owner of village land, and the owner of rich mining land would have to pay a higher tax than anybody except possibly the owners of such land as that in Wall street, New York city, one acre of which, even if a fire were to sweep away every vestige of improvement, would be worth more than a hundred of the best improved 200 acre farms in Indiana, and more than the land value of a thousand such farms.

Let neither the Indiana Farmer nor its readers be deceived. The single tax would be a burden upon nobody, and least of all upon farmers or any other class of workingmen, whether employer or employed. To abolish taxes upon labor and impose them upon land values, cannot be a burden upon any class whose principal source of income is the reward of labor and not the reward of land owning. And who will dispute that the farmer's principal source of income is the reward of his labor? Nor let there be any misapprehension as to the motives of men who advocate this reform. Their object is to relieve *all* labor from tax burdens.

If the Indiana Farmer will candidly consider this subject, now that its attention is called to the fundamental error from which its reasoning has heretofore proceeded, we have confidence enough in its sense of obligation to its readers and of fairness to its neighbors, to believe that, whatever it may say of the single tax in other particulars, it will acknowledge its mistake in supposing that this mode of taxation will shift tax burdens to farmers.

The influence of social and industrial agitation is extending rapidly in the south. Every now and again an echo from that section is heard which shows that thought there is aroused. Nor are the people of the south so easily satisfied as are the comfortable classes in the north with the statistics of improvement in the condition of the poor. Whatever else may be said of the south, the sway of plutocracy has not yet set in there.

The New Orleans Picayune notices that from all quarters there comes the complaint of hard times, by men in every branch of business, and not alone in this country, or this year, but all over the world, and incessantly; and it wants to know if it is essential to the constitution of society that so many men and women should lead an existence little less precarious than that of wild beasts. It is puzzled, too, to hear so much about overproduction while so many are in need of all things. It recognizes that laborers can purchase more with their wages now than in any other age, but wants to know of what concern that is to the man who has not money enough to buy a pound of ice, a lump of sugar or a penny newspaper. And it is of opinion that we can pronounce no conclusive verdict on the success or failure of modern civilization until we have taken into the reckoning the actual condition and the prospects of the unemployed.

He must be blind who cannot see in such a spirit of approaching the industrial problem the greatest encouragement, even though the conclusion of the paper that the evil lies in the power of capital is so vague. In common thought capital is used to describe not alone capital but also land, and in that sense the evil certainly is traceable to the power of capital. But when this common term is analyzed and found to embrace two entirely different things—tools and stock which labor can reproduce in unlimited amount and variety, and land without which labor can produce nothing—the root of the evil ought to be easily seen. Capital has a power over labor because, and only because, under our system of taxation capital in large amounts can control land while labor cannot. Labor can only beg for the privilege of being allowed to produce capital; but put taxes on land values so that no one could afford to keep land out of use and labor would no longer need to beg for the privilege of producing. The Picayune says "capital can stand a long siege, labor can hold out only a short time." That is true only of land; for capital, true capital, can stand but little longer siege than labor; and if there were accessible free land it could not stand so long a siege, for then, while old capital was holding out labor would be making new capital. The inclosure of land is the key to the problem.

We find in the New Christianity, a New church paper published at Philadelphia, a criticism of the single tax, by Isaac Hoffer. Having read "Progress and Poverty," Mr. Hoffer thought the practical working of the single tax of so much importance that he endeavored mentally to substitute it for the present system of taxation and apply it to the city and county of Lebanon in Pennsylvania. This is the best kind of test to which the proposed reform can be subjected, and we wish that every one who reads "Progress and Poverty" would do in his neighborhood what Mr. Hoffer did in his.

But Mr. Hoffer made one error which it is well to speak of at the outset. To ascertain the value of any particular land he "estimated the present value of the improvements, deducted that value from the selling price," and took "the differerence as the value of the lot." This mode can be adopted only where improvements are adapted to the locality. To attempt in this way to measure the value of village land on which the palace of a nabob might be erected would be ridiculous.

Proceeding in the way he did, Mr. Hoffer finds that "the margin between the cost of improvements and the value of properties, in ordinary residences, amounts to nothing; in the business center the margin ranges from nothing in the most costly buildings to one and two hundred per cent in the cheaper buildings favorably located. . . . Unimproved lots that cost from one to five hundred dollars, after improvements costing a thousand dollars and upward are put on, will not sell for more than the cost of the improvements." In the agricultural portion of the county he finds the average value of farms to be about $80 per acre and that the improvements could not be made for that much an acre, "while land is often sold off from larger farms for the same price that the whole farm would bring."

Knowing nothing of the facts we assume that Mr. Hoffer's estimates are substantially correct. The obvious explanation is that improvements of lots and farms which will not sell for the value of

the improvements are inappropriate to the location. If the Equitable building, to use an extreme case for illustration, were built in Lebanon, the land and building altogether would not be worth anywhere near the cost of the building, the reason being that Lebanon is an inappropriate locality for such a structure. But the land would not on that account lose its value. Burn down the building and the lot would be worth as much as before the building was erected. Are we then to infer that buildings destroy land values and fires restore them?

That this is the explanation sufficiently appears from Mr. Hoffer's article, when he says that improved lots that cost from $100 to $500 will not sell, after improvements are put on costing $1,000 and upward, for the cost of the improvements; and again, when he says that land is often sold off from large farms for the same price that the whole farm would bring. Mr. Hoffer's conclusions, based as they are upon a method of valuation that could be properly used only as to valuations of land the improvements on which were adapted to the location, are of course of no value. But since he has taken the trouble to make the estimates he will no doubt be willing to try again.

That Mr. Hoffer catches a glimmer of the great truth underlying the single tax appears from his idea of the function of land in production. Criticizing the theory that land is the source of production, he says: "Land contains the resources of productions, but in man is the power and the agency through which the productions are produced. Man prepares the soil, selects and plants the seed, cultivates the plant, destroys the natural plant that interferes with his, and gathers the crop that he has raised; so that all the cultivated crops and domestic animals are clearly the products of labor, mental and physical. Man determines the character of the productions that the earth must yield, and the earth passively submits to the manipulation of man, thus making his labor virtually and practically the source of production instead of land."

No single tax man would dispute this statement beyond preferring Webster's definition of "source," as a place from which a thing proceeds. But that is only a question of terms, the essential point being as Mr. Hoffer states it that man is the active agent who determines what the earth must yield, and that the earth passively submits to the manipulation of man. The fundamental principle of the single tax is that when this relation between men and the earth freely subsists, men are independent and communities prosper; but when men must beg or buy the right to continue this relation—when the earth is by some men forbidden to passively submit to the manipulations of other men—then the army of the unemployed begins to be recruited, and as that grows wages fall, business is stagnated, monopolies in various forms are generated, and the horrible social condition of abject poverty in the midst of abundance and splendor appears. This evil the single tax remedies by taking advantage of the simple and natural law of rent. Rent measures the difference between the poorest land that can be profitably used and all better lands. On the basis of this rent, land values form, and to the values so formed another value is added which is due to the expectation of higher rents in the future. When individuals are permitted to appropriate these values the tendency to prohibit the earth from passively submitting to the manipulation of man becomes stronger and stronger; but if the values are burdened with a heavy tax and labor products are exempt from taxation, the tendency is reversed.

What Protection Will Shortly Do for the Farmers.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The western farms are carrying about all the mortgages they can stand. In a few years, the way matters are drifting now, there will be a general foreclosure, and the majority of our western farms will pass into the hands of the Yankees, while their former owners or their descendants will till them as tenants. That's what 'protection to American industry" is bringing us to.

MEN AND THINGS.

The excitement over Bishop Potter's centennial address in St. Paul's church is one of the most remarkable things I ever remember to have seen. Everybody knows that we have developed a plutocracy in this country. Everybody knows that we have developed a spoils system of appointment to office. Anybody who should venture soberly to assert that these evils had no existence would be considered to be at best an optimistic ass. The plutocracy and the spoils system are two features of American life as patent as the railroad and the telephone. And yet when a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church, speaking from the pulpit on the occasion of a great national commemoration—when *he* informs us that we have a plutocracy and a spoils system, the whole press and people are at once paralyzed with awe and convulsed with admiration. The reporters interview the bishop to know if he really meant it—there is a rumor that his words have been misunderstood or misconstrued. The bishop manfully repeats his words, and says he means to abide by them. We *have* a plutocracy, and we *have* a spoils system. He said it, and he means to stick to it. Suppose he had said that two and two make four? It is the grimmest and withal the most laughable comment on the attitude of the Christian church toward the live questions of the day that has been seen since Christian ministers and bishops declared that human slavery was a purely secular and political question, with which Christ's church had no concern.

What was it that the venerable bishop so valorously said? I'll wager you don't know. You have a general idea that he spoke noble thoughts in noble language; but as for his actual words, unless you are a shining exception to the general run of American newspaper readers, you haven't troubled to study them. Your eye may have glanced at them, but you haven't really read them. Take my advice, and get a copy of the bishop's speech, and study it. You can buy it at the Evening Post office for a cent, and it is worth the money.

. . . The march of a century cannot be halted or reversed, and the enormous change in the situation can neither be disguised nor ignored. Then we were, though not all of us sprung from one nationality, practically one people. Now that steadily deteriorating process against whose dangers a great thinker of our own generation warned his countrymen just fifty years ago, goes on, on every hand, apace. "The constant importation," wrote the author of 'The Weal of Nations,' "as now in this country, of the lowest orders of people from abroad to dilute the quality of our national manhood, is a sad and beggarly prostitution of the noblest gift ever conferred on a people. Who shall respect a people who do not respect their own blood? And how shall a national spirit, or any determinate and proportionate character, arise out of so many low bred associations and coarse grained temperaments, imported from every clime?

This was one of Bishop Potter's utterances—to my mind one of the most notable of them. It hasn't attracted any particular attention. So far as I know, no reporters have rushed in hot haste to the episcopal residence, inquiring if the bishop really meant what he said, or was only fooling. It seems to have been accepted as a rhetorical statement of a fact with which everybody was sufficiently familiar—a saddening, regrettable fact, indeed, but unavoidable—a dispensation of that providence which moves in a mysterious way, its wonders to perform—a thing to be wept over, but by no means to be avoided. I say, it seems to have been accepted in this fashion. But the joke is, that it's all seeming. Nobody really believes it. People only pretend to believe it. Everybody knows it isn't so. Bishop Potter knows it isn't so. He would no more think of acting, in his ordinary every day official and private life, as if it were so, than he would of flying. It is like the miserable-sinner confession in the litany—a highly proper thing to say at the proper time, but—well now, my friend, you know in your heart that *you* are not a miserable sinner, or at all events, not as miserable as those scoundrels Jones and Robinson. You only play you are, when the proper time comes to do it.

Just think a little—its a mighty good thing to do, sometimes. Think how we would like it, if Europe were sending us to-day people of the same kind that formed that "one nationality, practically one people" of which Bishop Potter spoke so proudly. The Pilgrim Fathers, for example? Very grand and poetic characters, seen through the fog of two centuries, with an elegant clothing of myth and tradition. But a pretty tough set of customers, judged by our standard of right and wrong, when you come to look at them closely. Wasn't it Mr. Endicott—or was it some other Father, I am a little rusty in my Pilgrims—who pulled down his country's flag and cut a hole a hole in it? Now, you know, if Mr. Endicott were to do that sort of thing to-day, in Chicago for example, we wouldn't like it. What about the witch burnings? What about Roger Williams and the Quakers? And above all, have you forgotten that when the pilgrims came here, they were so poor that they actually had to get the natives to give them food. When that kind of people come here now, we call them paupers, and hustle them back to their native countries in short order. And when men come here from Europe, to worship God in Utah after their own fashion, we pass all sorts of laws for their persecution, and generally make things as rough as we can for them. Oh yes! I know about polygamy—its very bad of course. But would we like the Mormons any better if they burnt women at the stake, instead of making No. 2 wives of them?

Suppose England made a practice of sending her felons and her tramps and her vagabonds here to-day? She used to send them by ship loads in colonial times. Suppose she were to send her broken down aristocrats to be governors and legislators for us? That's what she used to do, in the good old colony days. Suppose we had regular lines of packets, bringing involuntary immigrants from the west coast of Africa, to be sold into chattel slavery? That's what we used to have in those glorious pre-revolutionary days. Suppose our cities were inhabited by the same sort of liberty loving citizens that dwelt in them a century and a quarter since? Suppose a mob should board a European steamer and fling her cargo overboard, just to spite the custom house? Would we give them a public dinner and a vote of thanks—or would we summon the police and have them clubbed and shot and hanged? You know what we would do, just as well as I do.

Why should we be afraid of the truth? Why, should even a Christian bishop be so frightened of it? We know well enough that Europe is, and for generations has been, sending us her picked men—her best blood, and brain, and muscle. It takes a good man to make a voluntary emigrant—an ambitious man, an enterprising man, a hard working man. The immigrants that comes to us to-day, take them all together, are immeasurably superior to those of pre-revolutionary days. They are more enlightened, more industrious, more orderly, more sober, more ambitious to get on in the world. We all know this, and we all say it, too, when the occasion demands that kind of talk. The only difference is that in colonial times there was plenty of land to go to work on, whereas to-day population is so crowded—three or four to the square mile, I think it is—that there isn't *room* for all who come. Bishop Potter made a slight mistake. It isn't the quality of the immigrants that has deteriorated, but only the capacity of the country. The United States isn't big enough. It's a great pity.

So much for what the bishop said and didn't mean. Now let us look at what he said and *did* mean.

Another enormous difference between this day and that of which it is the anniversary, is seen in the enormous difference in the nature and influence of the forces that determine our national and political destiny. Then, ideas ruled the hour. To-day, there are indeed ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking figures for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness—all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchaseable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers.

Oh, Bishop Potter, Bishop Potter! The growth of wealth. The prevalence of luxury. You said this and you meant it. You said it in a chapel of Trinity church. Go out among the men and women from whose toil and sweat that church derives her mighty revenues, and see the growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, among *them*. Go, look at the long rows of tenement houses, into which humanity is stuffed and jammed. Listen to the wailing of the babies, as they die for want of air. See the factories and the saloons, and the mission houses—oh, don't forget the mission houses. See the sewing women at their toil. See the women who are living without toil, pawning soul for bread and butter. See the little cash girls in the shops, the Arabs in the streets. See the lodging houses at fifteen cents a night. See the idlers on the park benches—benches ingeniously contrived that no man may go to sleep on them—the tramps in the streets, the unutterable horrors of the alms house. See the mills shut down, the farmers staggering under weight of mortgage and taxation. Open your eyes, oh prelate of the rich, and see; for as the Lord liveth, these things concern you! Then say again, if you dare to say it, that the growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual. It is not wealth, but poverty, that afflicts us. It is not luxury, but privation, that menaces our freedom and integrity. You may not know it. All the greater, therefore, is your sin. For you might know it, and you ought to know it!

But the spoils system. Surely it was a noble and a fearless thing in Bishop Potter to deliver such a manful utterance against the spoils system, with President Harrison, and Governor Hill, and Mayor Grant, and goodness knows what other political notabilities sitting in the congregation. I grant it all. The bishop spoke true words, at an opportune moment, and the best proof that they were true and opportune, was that the press and public were paralyzed with astonishment that he should have spoken them. For it has come to this, that we look to our pulpits for platitudes and common places, and are amazed when living truths descend from them upon our ears.

And yet it does not seem that Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Hill, and Mr. Grant have been at all troubled in their minds by the good bishop's denunciations. They seem to be going along, in the even tenor of their political ways, pretty much as they did before. We hear the same stories of appointments for political services, of bargains and deals with politicians and with halls. And, save a few professional civil service reformers, nobody says a word in blame. Everybody, somehow, seems to praise the bishop for saying what he did, but nobody seems to think his words had any particular application to any individuals. It's like the sermons occasionally preached in reprehension of the greed of employers. We listen to them, and come away feeling somehow elevated and refreshed, and go to work next day to screw wages down just another peg. There must be something wrong with this kind of preaching.

There *is* something wrong with it. And the thing that is wrong is that it isn't to the point. What is the use of preaching to employers about the sinfulness of reducing wages? The employers know it's wicked, but they know that *they* are not to blame. They don't cut down wages because they want to, but because they have to. And what is the use of talking to President Harrison about the evils of the spoils system? The president knows it all. I fancy he doesn't like the spoils system any better than Bishop Potter does. But he feels, quite justifiably, that he is no more to blame for it than the bishop is himself. And so all the denunciations pass harmlessly over his head and scatter themselves in air, without hitting or hurting anybody. Everybody in the congregation is morally refreshed, but nobody feels called upon to do anything. This sort of thing is sometimes called humbug.

Suppose Bishop Potter had attacked, not the spoils system, but the whole polity of which the spoils system is the natural political expression? Suppose he had declared the foundation principles of the Declaration of Independence—the equal rights of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—and invited, not the president and the governor and the mayor merely, but the whole American people, to consider how those rights are being preserved? That would have been a very improper kind of sermon, wouldn't it—a mixing up of politics and religion—and the congregation would have been very justly offended? All true, my friend, and yet, if the Christian clergy want to catch and hold the hearts of the American people, in the times that are upon us, that is the kind of sermons they will have to preach.

What impressed me most about the centennial celebration was the ease and

certainty with which the needs of New York's visitors were supplied. It was marvellous, when you come to think of it. For at least three days the population of the city was at least doubled. A million and a half of extra bodies were to be fed, sheltered, carried about and otherwise cared for. The task was performed without friction, without jar and without waste. Everybody had enough to eat, everybody had a bed to sleep on, everybody had sufficient facilities afforded him for going and coming at pleasure. And everybody got pretty much the *kind* of things he wanted, too. The people who wanted costly food, served amid expensive surroundings, got it. The people of limited means got what they could afford to pay for. There was enough for all. There wasn't any too much. New York took in a million and a half of people, cared for them for three days or more, sent them on their way, and did it all with mighty little fuss. It was a triumph of civilization.

Take pencil and paper. Sit down and try to figure out the problem that New York solved so easily last week. An indeterminate number of people coming. Maybe half a million, maybe a million, maybe two millions. Going to stay an uncertain time—two days, three days, four days, you know mighty little about it. Much depends upon the weather—put down as an element of your problem the question of rain or shine. Much depends on the wealth of the people who are coming. Will they have plenty of money to spend, or very little, or just a moderate amount? Will they want rooms in fashionable hotels, or in boarding or lodging houses? Will they eat at expensive restaurants, or at cheap tables d'hotes? You see you know nothing about them—neither the number nor the kind of them. You might just as well have left your paper blank, so far.

Well, but the problem must be solved, after some fashion or other. The people are coming, and you've got to provide for them somehow. How much extra food will they need? How many boxes of sardines, for example, do you think you had better provide against their coming? You don't know? No, of course you don't know. And you can't know. There isn't any way for you to find out. You can't know beforehand, and you can't know afterhand, either. Now that the whole celebration is over, and all the visitors have gone away again, you can't find out how many boxes of sardines they ate, or how many loaves of bread, or how many pounds of beef and mutton. You can't even tell how many visitors there were. I say a million and a half, because somebody else said a million and a half; but as an actual matter of fact neither I, nor you, nor anybody else, knows anything about it. We are all guessing. And the guess that the guessers guess the oftenest and most loudly, will go rolling down the aisle of the future as a solid fact. We make what we call history that way. Funny, isn't it?

Organization, eh? Oh, my statistical socialistic friend, snppose New York had organized herself to receive her guests at the centennial! *Wouldn't* she have made a mess of it! Fancy the army of bookkeepers and lightning calculators, the superintendents of long and short division, the reams of paper, the gallons of ink, the thunder of the captains and the shouting. Just imagine it, and see if you don't have to laugh. Upon my soul, I pity you, if you don't, for you must be sadly lacking in the sense of humor.

I didn't see the great parades. I am getting too old to enjoy sitting on a hard bench for several hours, watching a procession. But I went out into the streets on Monday night, when New York was at its fullest, and looked at the people. There is electricity in a great crowd. It fills you—or at least it fills *me*—with a strange sort of pleasure, an intemperate excitement, an abnormal quickness of perception and of thought. How quickly a crowd sees a joke, or melts into sympathy with misfortune—did you ever notice that? If ever I take to begging for a living, I shall always do my begging in a crowd, and preface it with some carefully preconcerted accident, either humorous or pathetic. I think I could humbug even a charity organization agent into giving me something—if the crowd were big enough.

To me, the lesson of the centennial celebration was the marvelous co-operative power of humanity, if only it is let alone and not interfered with. Bring a hundred men together, and let them alone—let them really alone, give them freedom to work at whetever suits them best—and see how naturally they work together. Every man begins at once to do the thing that he can do best and most profitably, and the consequence is that everything is done for everybody in the very best possible manner. It was after that fashion that the people of New York worked out the problem of entertaining their visitors last week. They solved the problem nobly. And they solved it easily and correctly, just because they were let alone. But suppose a paternal government had given New York a little protective tariff—all for her own exclusive and especial use during the centennial week?

The Berlin conference on the Samoan question has settled down to business and is doing some very practical work indeed. One of the practical things they are discussing is the establishment of a land court for the settlement of titles. It is proposed that the court shall be composed of one Englishman, one German, one American and two Samoans. As there are said to be titles existent in the hands of foreigners for considerably more than the whole area of the Samoan islands, the question seems likely to arise whether the Samoans will have any right to live in Samoa at all? T. L. M'CREADY.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Profit Sharing Again.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 19, 1889.—In your review, April 6, of Mr. Gilman's book on profit sharing you base a good part of your adverse criticism on a mistake. You quote from his account of Rogers, Peet & Co., which he takes from my report of my interview with one of the firm, and you claim that because the men do as much work in nine and a half hours as formerly in ten, the extra half hour being 5¼ per cent of ten, that therefore "the cutters' work was increased 5¼ per cent, while their pay was raised only 3½ per cent," that being the amount of the bonus or share in profits. But their work was not increased 5¼ per cent, or indeed at all; because the number of hours was correspondingly reduced from ten to nine and a half, as Mr. Gilman correctly states. The day and piece wages and total weekly earnings remained the same, and so did the amount of weekly work as before. In addition to extra efforts per hour, but not per day, sufficient to enable the reduction in time, they also earned or produced enough to equal 3½ per cent of their wages, in addition to the equivalent of their full wages.

Now they may have produced more, but there is nothing in the figures given to show it, and your inference seems to me gratuitous and unsupported. Anyway the honest profit sharer, and there are many such among the 129 or more enumerated by Mr. Gilman, aims to give the workmen the full amount of their extra product and feels himself thoroughly rewarded with the increased industrial peace and unity of interests resulting.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

If Prof. Bemis will examine Mr. Gilman's statement of facts again, I think he will see that I was not so far wrong in my inference as he supposes. The facts were these:

The hours of labor of the cutters employed in all, or practically all, clothing manufacturing establishments of New York were reduced from 10 to 9 1-2 daily. Nine and a half hours is 95 per cent of ten hours. Half an hour is a fraction over five and a quarter per cent of nine and a half hours. If a man does as much work to-day in nine and a half hours as he did yesterday in ten hours, it is clear that the efficiency of his labor has been increased by a fraction more than five and a quarter per cent. Rogers, Peet & Co., as quoted by Mr. Gilman, said that the efficiency of their cutters' labor had been thus increased, and that the reason was that the cutters, in addition to their wages, got a share of the profits. Their exact words were: "This at least equal production under nine and a half hours as under ten, we trace to profit sharing."

Now the only inference I have ever ventured to draw from these facts is that whatever share of profits, in the shape of increased wages Rogers, Peet & Co. may give their cutters, they get in exchange for it five and a quarter per cent more labor. And when, on Rogers, Peet & Co.'s own authority, per Mr. Gilman, I am told that the increase of wages amounts to only three and a half per cent, I venture the further inference that the firm are making a fairly good thing of it. They are really buying a certain quantity of labor at less than the market price of labor. If I sell a man a hundred oranges for one hundred cents, and then give him five and a quarter extra oranges for three and a half extra cents, he certainly has, as regards those extra oranges, the best of the bargain. I think Professor Bemis will admit this; and I think he can hardly deny that there is an exact analogy between such a supposititious transaction in oranges, and the actual transaction between Rogers, Peet & Co. and their cutters.

Professor Bemis concludes by saying that "the honest profit sharer aims to give the workmen the full amount of their extra product." I don't think he can have read Mr. Gilman's book very carefully. I think if he looks at it again he will find that all the successful cases of profit sharing were regarded as successful because the employer found the profit sharing profitable to *him;* while in every case where profit sharing was abandoned, the reason assigned was that it had not proved profitable to the employer.

At the same time, I must ask Professor Bemis not to assume that I condemn profit sharing because it is profitable to the employer. That would be an absurd reason indeed. If it is a good thing, it *ought* to be profitable to the employer. Nor would I think of accusing Rogers, Peet & Co., or any other profit sharing firm, of having adopted the system from any but the best of motives. I think that Rogers, Peet & Co., acted very wisely in adopting the system; and I can quite understand that their employees should be very glad to get an addition of three and a half per cent to their wages, even if they have to increase the efficiency of their labor five and a quarter per cent in return. What I maintain is that profit sharing is opposed to the interest of wage workers as a class—that it will only complicate, instead of solving, the industrial problem—that the effect of its adoption on any large scale would be to reduce wages. I believe that wage workers do not need that employers should "do" anything for them; they need only freedom to do things for themselves. I tried to show this in the issue of THE STANDARD to which Professor Bemis refers. I fear that the professor has read only that part of my argument that referred to Rogers, Peet & Co.'s profit sharing experiment and has missed the rest.

The Farmers and the Single Tax.

The National Economist, published in Washington, D. C., is the official organ of the Farmers' Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel and the Farmers' Union. Its headline states that it is devoted to social, financial and political economy; and its contents appear to amply justify the statement. The issue of April 27 contains a well written essay on "The farmer in politics;" an extremely good description and analysis of the Australian ballot system; several articles of minor interest; and two discussions of the single tax theory, one by President Burrows, of the National Alliance, the other by T. D. Hinckley of Hoyleton, Ill. To these two last named articles the Economist devotes very nearly four out of its sixteen pages.

Neither Mr. Burrows nor Mr. Hinckley is yet persuaded of the justice of the single tax; on the contrary, both reach conclusions adverse to it. But it is a gratifying sign of the times that they feel the necessity for discussing it, and that such a paper as the National Economist opens its columns to the discussion. Truth is reached in that way. And I think it is evident, from the tone of both articles, that the writers are really and earnestly searching after truth. In opposing the single tax, they are acting conscientiously. They have examined into the matter, and satisfied themselves that our proposed reform will not accomplish what we claim for it. Could they be persuaded otherwise, they would indorse where they now condemn. Such opponents are to be welcomed and rejoiced over. Though we disagree with them, we cannot help but honor them. And it is from among just such men that the most enthusiastic and useful recruits are enlisted to the cause of the single tax reform.

President Burrows admits without hesitation that there is no other warrant for the private ownership of land than that of expediency. "There is no need," he says, "to make any issue on this point." But he insists that the practical abolition of private ownership of land would by no means produce the happy results that its advocates anticipate. His view is that the single tax system would be simply a concentration of the burdens of taxation on the shoulders of a single class. "Let us suppose," he says, "a condition of society where one class, comprising, say, one-fourth of the whole, pay all taxes, the other three-fourths being entirely exempt, the ameliorating condition of this state of affairs being that the taxes are paid into a common treasury for the equal use and benefit of all, including the paying one-fourth. In such a state of society what would be the condition of the one-fourth? Undoubtedly that of servitors or slaves to the three-fourths. There can be no doubt of this whatever, unless we at the same time suppose a radical and miraculous change in human nature. The three-fourths that were relieved from the labor of earning money for the support of government would monopolize the pleasure and usurp the power under such a condition of affairs."

Taxes being an element of price, and paid out of the products of current business, and not out of accumulated wealth or capital, must necessarily be paid out of the products of current labor. This is a natural law, and cannot be evaded or changed. We may transmute taxes into rent, or rent into taxes, the result will be the same. If any additional charge is placed upon the land, it must first be taken from the land by current labor before the land can pay it. Unless the day of miracles return this can not be done without increasing the burden and diminishing the reward of labor upon land. And yet this proposition is made in behalf of the overburdened laborer.

What is it that makes taxes an element of price? Has President Burrows thought out this question? Why is it that things sell for more when they are taxed than when they are not taxed? Evidently not merely because the producer who pays the taxes in the first place chooses to have it so. Producers, unless they have an absolute monopoly, do not fix their own prices, and even when they have a monopoly, there are fairly defined limits beyond which they cannot go. It is the friction of supply and demand that settles prices—the desire of men to exchange things that they have for other things that they want. And taxes increase prices because they discourage production. A tax of twenty cents a bushel on wheat would not raise the price of wheat a single mill if the farmers should keep on raising the same quantity of wheat as before the tax was imposed. How could it? When the price of wheat rises, there is less wheat used. If the farmers raised the usual quantity, and wanted to sell it all, they would *have* to sell it at the usual price. The tax collector can make the farmer *want* to get a higher price for his wheat—can make him lose money if he doesn't get a higher price; but all the tax collectors in the country, with all the plundered farmers in the country behind them, can not make the men who eat wheat, eat as much at a dollar a bushel as they would have eaten at eighty cents. It is because, when wheat is taxed, farmers raise less wheat, that the price rises.

I ask President Burrows to think this matter over carefully—to revolve it in his mind. If he does that, I think he will see that no tax that does not check production can ever be shifted from the producer to the consumer. I ask him to just sit down and study out the case of a farmer who has an extravagant wife. Isn't her extravagance just as much a tax on his industry as any assessment made at court house or custom house? It seems to me it is. Doesn't the farmer pay the cost of it out of what he gets for his wheat? It seems to me he does. But can he add this cost to the price of his wheat and so distribute it among the wheat eaters? If he can, he is a happy man indeed. But President Burrows knows he can't. He can do just one of three things, and outside of them he has no choice whatever. He can pay the bills with what cheerfulness he may. Or he can neglect to pay the bills and become bankrupt. Or he can get sick of farming, give up raising wheat altogether, and go into some more profitable business. If he adopts the last alternative, the price of wheat will tend to rise, indeed, because there will be less wheat raised, and just as many people to eat it. But if some other man comes in and takes his place and goes to raising wheat in his stead, the price of wheat wont rise, because there will be just as much wheat raised as ever.

No tax that does not check production—that does not tend to drive the men who pay it in the first place out of business—can ever become an element of price, and so be shifted from the shoulders of producers to the shoulders of consumers. Nature's law of supply and demand sets congresses and legislatures, and syndicates, and corner operators at defiance. If shoemakers are taxed, they must make fewer shoes, or pay the tax themselves. If sugar is taxed, the refiners must make less sugar, or bear the burden as they may. If farmers are taxed, there

is no way of escape for them save by raising smaller crops. It makes no difference how close a monopoly a man may have, he *cannot* raise his prices without lessening his production. The world embracing copper syndicate, with scores of millions of capital to back it, went down like grass before the mower's scythe, because it set this law at defiance. The speculators who organized it thought that if they bought up all the copper as fast as it was produced, they could make the men who wanted to use copper pay an extra price for it. But when they put their plans in operation they found they couldn't sell the copper. Men wouldn't use as much of it at a high price as they had been using at a low price. They couldn't. And so, as the copper syndicate couldn't restrict the production of copper, it went down, and ruined all connected with it. Let President Burrows lay the lesson of that copper syndicate to heart. It will teach him, if he studies it, why the farmers of America are poor.

The farmer eats sugar. And sugar is taxed. The syndicate or trust into which the sugar refiners have grouped themselves, lay a tax on every pound of sugar that passes from their hands into those of the grocers and other retailers who distribute it among the people who eat it. If these retailers were fools enough to keep on producing—by purchasing from the refiners—as much sugar in proportion to the population around them as they used to produce before the tax was laid, the sugar eating farmer might snap his fingers at the tax—the retailers would have to pay the whole of it, and couldn't shift the weight of a penny of it on to *his* shoulders. But the retailers, for as foolish as they may be, are not that kind of fools. As the tax rises they produce less sugar. Some of them go out of the grocery business altogether and engage in other occupations. Some of them buy less sugar from the refiners. Take them altogether, they materially reduce the production of sugar, so that there is very considerably less of it to be sold. Then, indeed, the price of sugar rises, and the grocer shifts the tax he has paid on the sugar on to the shoulders of his farmer customers.

And as with sugar, so with pretty much everything else that farmers use. The men who produce shoes are taxed; and they make fewer shoes in consequence, and so pass the tax along. The men who produce cloth are taxed, with the same result. So are the men who produce plows, and harness, and horseshoes, and wagons, and clothing, and agricultural machinery. The shores of the industrial sea are strewn with the wrecks of productive enterprises, forced into bankruptcy by the necessity of limiting production, in order that the burden of taxation might be shifted on to the shoulders of consumers. Think this out, Mr. Burrows. Chew on it, turn it over and over, study it until you see that it is so, and understand the why and the how of it. It is the key to the whole protective system.

The grocer, and the shoemaker, and the clothier, and the harnessmaker, and the wagonmaker, and the dealer in agricultural implements, and a host of other taxed producers, have managed to shift their taxes from their own shoulders to the farmer's. The imposts that were taxes on sugar, and harness, and cloth, and shoes, and wagons, have become taxes on the products of the farmer's industry. They are taxes on his wheat and corn, his pigs and beeves, his wool and mutton. What is the farmer to do? How is *he* to pass the taxes on to the men who consume the wheat and other things he raises? He can do it only in one way—by diminishing his production. He can quit farming and take up some other business, or he can raise smaller crops. He must do one or the other, or consent to bear the whole burden of the taxation that has been shifted on to him. But how can he do either? Quit farming! Why he is *adscriptus glebæ*—tied to the soil—he *cannot* quit it. Raise smaller crops! He might as well go to the poor house at once. There he is, chained down, a burden bearer for the community, with every man from whom he buys anything piling his taxes on him. And the superlative cruelty of his position is, that while he cannot lessen his own production and so shift his taxes, his customers *do* lessen their consumption of his products, and so bring his prices lower still. Why does the wheat of Dakota have to seek a market in Europe, in competition with the "pauper grown" wheat of India and of Russia? There are millions of men, right here in the United States, who *want* more wheat. If the wheat crop of the country were twice what it is, Americans could eat it all, and still not have enough. Why don't they do it, Mr. Burrows? Because they have had to knock off work in order to keep production down, and so shift a burden of taxation on to your shoulders. *They stand idle, that you may be taxed*—you and your fellow farmers of the National Alliance. They don't earn wages, Mr. Burrows, and so they can't *afford* to buy your wheat and corn and bacon. They *want* them badly enough, heaven knows, but until you farmers vote to relieve their industry from the taxes *that you pay*, they will have to do without them. It's hard on them, and it is hard on you; but nature has no more mercy on farmers and wage workers than she has on copper speculators, and if you and they will persist in interfering with nature's law of supply and demand, why, you and they must take the consequences.

Now I ask President Burrows to read once more the passage I have quoted from his own article in the National Economist, describing the condition of a class on whom a burden of taxation has been concentrated. He meant that description for a picture of what the condition of the farmers would be under the single tax system. Never mind, for the present, whether it is correct in that respect or not. I ask him to say, in all fairness, if it is not an accurate description of the condition of the farmers *now*, at this present moment? Are they not a class on whose shoulders immense burdens of taxation have been concentrated? I don't see how he can dispute it. But if he doesn't dispute it, he must, it seems to me, admit, on his own testimony, that they are to a great extent "servitors or slaves." Are they not a little foolish, then, to support a system of taxation that has brought them into such a plight? Whether the single tax be right or wrong, does not the present system stand condemned?

Taxes upon shoes increase the price of shoes by discouraging the production of shoes. There are fewer shoes made, and therefore the price goes up. Does economic rent—the rent paid for the privilege of using bare land, without regard to the buildings or other improvements on it—does that increase the price of shoes? Does it discourage their production, which is the only way in which it *could* raise their price? It doesn't seem to. Economic rent is higher in New York city than anywhere else in the United States, yet there are plenty of shoe factories in New York. Men come from Massachusetts towns, where economic rent is low, to establish shoe factories in New York, where economic rent is high. Why should they do that if economic rent discourages production? Why don't they set up their factories upon some Dakota prairie, where there is no economic rent at all? If New York levied a heavy tax upon shoemakers, and Massachusetts levied but a very light one, and Dakota none whatever, the shoemakers would certainly stay away from New York. If they left Massachusetts at all, they would go to Dakota. Yet the tremendous discrepancies in land values between New York, Massachusetts and Dakota don't seem to produce any such result. On the contrary, more and more shoe factories are coming to New York every year. Clearly, there must be some radical difference between economic rent and the ordinary kind of tax. And whatever that difference may be, there must be just exactly the same difference between the single tax on land values and the ordinary kind of tax. For the single tax will do nothing but to change the disposition made of this economic rent—taking it for the benefit of the community, instead of leaving it in the hands of the folks who now get it and keep it. If economic rent does not discourage production and raise prices, then the single tax will not discourage production and raise prices either. If economic rent is not a tax on industry, then neither is the single tax.

Ask a shoe manufacturer why he prefers to make shoes in New York, rather than in Massachusetts or Dakota. He will tell you that it is because he can make shoes to more advantage in New York. Get him to explain farther, and you will learn that in New York he is close to the greatest market on the continent, and being so, can dispose of his shoes more rapidly than if he had to send them hither from a distance. He finds here a better supply of skilled labor from which to choose his workmen. He can get his machinery more easily; his material can be bought here more cheaply and from a larger assortment; the bankers here will assist him with credits such as he could not get in a smaller city. Bray it all in a mortar and it comes to this: That with the same capital and labor, he can produce, in New York, considerably more shoes than he could in Massachusetts, and almost immeasurably more than he could in Dakota. And that extra product of shoes, secured without any extra expenditure of capital and labor, is the standard by which he measures the rent he can afford to pay. If the rent for the land he uses for his factory exceeds that extra product, he will close the factory as soon as possible, and move it to some place where the rent is low enough to leave him a margin. Because in that case the extra rent over and above the extra product, will be a tax upon his industry, and taxes always discourage industry. Industry flies before taxation, like a hare before the hounds.

President Burrows does not see all this yet, and it is just because he does not see it that he has, as I think, gone astray in his reasoning. But I am sure he will see it, if he thinks the matter over. And when he does see it, it will be borne in upon him, with all the force of a revelation, that the single tax on land values is not a tax on industry at all, but simply a measure of the increased production arising from the use of land around which men have gathered in less or greater numbers. Where men are thickest, there more wealth can be produced, with the same expenditure of capital and labor, than where there are no men at all. The men who throng the city's streets, who crowd its tenement houses, or sparsely occupy its palaces, by the mere fact of their presence, by the involuntarily combined energy of their industry, increase the wealth producing capacity of the land on which and around which they live and move. The community actually produces the wealth it is proposed to take for the community by the operation of the single tax. And it has a right to take it, because the privilege of using land belongs, not to some men in particular, but to all men alike.

Suppose the taxes now levied upon shoes—the protective duties, the state, and county, and municipal taxes, which are now transmuted into taxes upon the farmer's produce, when a farmer buys the shoes—suppose these taxes should be swept away, and in their stead the shoemaker were asked to pay to the community the yearly value of the land he uses for his factory. That would be the single tax, pure and simple. Could the shoemaker shift it to the shoulders of the farmer? How could he? He cannot shift his economic rent. How could he shift the single tax which would be simply the taking of economic rent by all instead of by one. The man who now pays a heavy rent for the land on which to stand a shoe factory in New York, cannot on that account charge any more for his shoes than the shoemaker whose factory stands on cheap land in some Massachusetts village. On the contrary, he consents to pay a high rent because, by making shoes in New York, he can sell them cheaper than if he made them in a country town. Would not the same rule hold good if the whole community, instead of an individual landlord, got the benefit of his economic rent? I don't see how President Burrows can dispute it. I don't see how he can reasonably avoid admitting that a single tax on land values would not be, and could not by any possibility be made an element of price—that it could not by any device or jugglery, be shifted to the shoulders of consumers. It would stay just where it was put. If shoemakers, and clothiers, and harness makers, and all the other men who make things that farmers use should be relieved of the taxes now levied on their industry, and the economic rent of the land they use were taken by the single tax, the inevitable result would be, First, that the farmers would be relieved of an intolerable burden of taxation now shifted on to their shoulders; and second, that the demand for farm products would be increased, because hosts of laborers would be set to work who now stand idle and wageless. The farmers would pay less for what they want to buy, and get higher prices for what they have to sell. Would that be "increasing the burden and diminishing the reward of labor upon land?" President Burrows may think so, but for the life of me *I* cannot see it.

And how could farmers be injured by being asked to pay their share of the single tax on land values? Is not a farmer's industry essentially the same as a shoemaker's? Does not the farmer use land, just as the shoemaker does, by applying his capital and labor upon it? Cannot a farmer produce more wealth, by the application of the same capital and labor, upon land situated near a great center of population, than upon land more remote? Does he not pay economic rent as it is, just as the shoemaker does? And does he not, like the shoemaker, seek to establish himself where economic rent is high, rather than where it is low? If President Burrows will ask himself these questions, I think he will see that the single tax would be no burden upon the farmer's industry. It would be a mere taking by the community of the extra wealth produced by the involuntary co-operation *of* the community. And the more the community's share amounted to, the better off would the farmer be.

Consider, Mr. Burrows, consider, Mr. Hinckley, what the single tax would do. It would ensure that the involuntary co-operation of the community, that produces the wealth in which economic rent is paid, should be exerted to the uttermost. Look around you, and see what opportunities are lying idle and unused. What city is without its vacant lots? What township has no idle acres? There is no want of men who would gladly utilize them in production. There is no lack of capital to furnish machinery and tools and buildings. The one only thing lacking, the only and the all important thing needed to make the whole land thrill with industry, is permission to go to work—to use the natural opportunities that are standing idle. Consider why this permission is refused. Go to the owner of the nearest vacant lot or idle acre, and ask the question of him. He will tell you that he holds the natural opportunity under his control idle, in anticipation of the time when pressure of population shall increase its economic rent to an amount sufficient to satisfy his greed. And then ask yourselves what the owner of that lot or acre would do, if he were compelled to pay into the public treasury, year by year, its full economic rent? How long could he hold it idle then? How long before the factory or dwelling would be rising on the city lot, and the plow be tracing furrows on the acre? What men need, gentlemen, is freedom to go to work. Only that, and nothing more. And the single tax will give it them. T. L. M'CREADY.

Organized Workingmen Are Thinking.

Thomas B. Barry, founder of the Brotherhood of united labor, and, until within a few months a prominent member of the general executive board of the Knights of Labor, made the following significant statement in a lecture at Pythagoras hall recently. The statement is all the more significant from the fact that Mr. Barry has for the past few weeks been traveling extensively organizing branches of his new order:

Labor at present is in a bad way. Everywhere I have been I have found that the reductions in wages made in the last few weeks are opening the eyes of labor to the fallacy of the doctrines of protection, and these reductions are doing more to make free traders of workingmen than all the arguments of free trade orators. There are large numbers of men out of work, and if they had to cast their votes over again they would not vote for the so-called protection policy.

The First Two are Good, and the Third Will be Better.

Kansas City Star.

The solons of Wisconsin have adopted the Australian system of elections. This serves as a reminder of the fact that good things may come out of Nazareth. It has not been many years since Australia was the dumping ground—"the Botany bay"—for England's criminal classes. Now it seems to be leading the world in reforms. From Australia comes the system for making elections honest; one of the southern provinces of the island has adopted free trade, the doctrine of commercial liberty now advocated by the most progressive minds of the age; and in another district of this land of reforms the single tax system—a tax only on land values—which the Henry George people are holding up as the great panacea for relieving the world of its inequalities, is being tried. The first two reforms are well attested factors respectively in the politics and business of the world. As the notion of the single tax system seems to be spreading to some extent, both in this country and in England, the effect of the Australian experiment will be watched, by both those friendly and unfriendly to it, with considerable interest.

A DREAM.

After reading THE STANDARD the other night I retired to my virtuous couch, and, behold, I dreamed a dream. Methought I saw a young man and woman just starting in life. Having joined heart and hand they resolved to try farming in our great northwest as a means of livelihood for themselves and such little ones as might from time to time make their appearance in their domicile. Full of life and bright hopes for the future they started on their long and arduous trip from their home in the east, secure in the thought that in that country of unlimited acres of God's land they would have no difficulty in securing to their own use and benefit a small portion. They beguiled the tedium of their journey in building some charming castles in the air. When they arrived at their destination they hied themselves to the local land office where they were confronted by an official and curtly informed as they picked out location after location that this was owned by the Transcontinental railway company; this by the Neck or Nothing ranching company; the next by the Hoodlumville coal and metal mining company; and so on through an almost interminable list of individuals and companies. They were incidentally informed that some of these parties resided in New York, some in Chicago, some in Montreal, some in England, in fact were living anywhere and everywhere save on the land "owned." Sad and dispirited the two home seekers left the office with the conclusion that it would be impossible for them to secure a free homestead.

Wandering up the street they saw a bulletin board on which was displayed the legend:

"The Vulture and Raven Mortgage and Investment Society.

Choice locations for sale on reasonable terms.

Title perfect.

Terms to suit purchasers.

Cash payment no object," etc.

Stepping into a little dingy office they were met by an individual whose face was fairly beaming with smiles. Had he land for sale? Yes. Where and what quality was it they sought? Well, the long and short of it was that they purchased a quarter section at the modest rate of eight dollars per acre. They paid a small sum on deposit, and for the balance gave a long term mortgage at ten per cent interest, payable annually.

This same land had been purchased by the mortgage company a short time before from the Transcontinental railway company for one dollar per acre and they had done nothing to enhance its value.

The man and woman settled on their land, prepared a small portion of it for crops, and erected a house and stable. Sitting one evening by their fireside they saw coming toward the house a stranger. They brought him in and entertained him cordially. He made a good many inquiries about the value of their land and improvements, and then announced himself as the government tax gatherer, and stated that the government must have a two per cent tax on the value of their land and improvements as well as on their stock. They asked if he taxed all the land in the neighborhood alike. The visitor answered "No. Yours is improved property and remunerative; the other is not. Besides the railway company secured in their charter a clause exempting their lands from taxation until it passed out of their hands."

The objection was made that such a law was unjust and discriminated against the poor man, but this brought the rejoinder that it was the law and must be obeyed, and also that nobody but socialists or anarchists or Henry Georgeists would ask such questions.

Well, they paid their tax, though with a bad grace. And then they realized that needs must go when the devil drives. In due time the first payment of interest and principal fell due when they received a visit from Mr. Agent. They still had left a little money with which they satisfied the agent's claim, trusting that before another payment came due they would have the proceeds of their crop to meet it with. But when, in the course of time, they harvested, threshed and marketed their crop, they found that after paying elevator and storage charges and exorbitant freight rates to the railway company, they had hardly enough left to make payment for the next twelve months. Every time the tax man came round the taxes were higher accordingly as their industry and thrift increased their improvements.

And so I saw in my dream that time went on; responsibilities increased; their brows were becoming seamed with deep lines of care and anxiety as they realized that every day saw them getting deeper and deeper into this financial slough of despond. Interest upon interest soon swelled the original cost price of their farm past recognition, and the fatal day at last came when the mortgage was foreclosed and swept from them at one fell swoop the proceeds of a life's toil, leaving them broken in spirit and health, and almost pennyless at the close of a useful but unfortunate career. And then I awoke and found it a dream. I could not however rid myself of the idea that I had seen scores of just such scenes in real life and the horror of the thing comes on me with fearful frequency.

WILLIAM SMALL.

Lines to an Abolitionist.

He saw a war for freedom won,
And ere that noble life he gives,
While in his veins the fire lives
He sees a grander work begun.

And ere he goes his high heart full
Of hope for all the human race,
He sees the great truth, face to face,
And dares to name it beautiful.

And as a warrior's arm that's spent
With fighting, ere the spirit goes,
He strikes a few and sturdy blows,'
And speaks the word, and goes content.

By Pharisees and Scribes in scorn
What matter though the truth is held;
Hath not his aged eyes beheld
The glory of the breaking dawn?

The vista of a grander view,
The manhood of a nobler race;
And the world's wider market place,
Which once man's bars and barriers knew.

And ships of commerce in their track
Bring freightage from the farthest lands,
And everywhere are willing hands
To draw them, none to hold them back.

For war is over; cannons lie
Upturned on hillsides, and the guns
Rest silent under smiling suns,
And little children, passing by,

Tell with a shudder how there broke
Within this valley's quiet spot
The thunders of the battle, hot
With hate, and fire, and cannon smoke;

And how the hideous carnage made
The brassy heavens to weep their tears;
The tale is done—the crimsoned years
In mists unreal fail and fade.

Truth hath no law profound as this
Greed cheateth greed; self-interest leaves
No hope for self, and self deceives—
Who seeks the good of man, finds his.

Who sees a wrong and strikes it down
With stern indifference, counting not
All worldly loss, hath cast his lot
With those the King of kings shall crown.

And truth can for her triumph wait;
Men worship her upon a throne,
But only they are freedom's own
Who know her, suppliant at the gate;

Who all their hearts' affection bring,
Their life, their light, their days, their all;
And care not if they stand or fall
For her, a persecuted thing.

And when the coming ages write,
These names on Freedom's muster roll,
His name shall gleam upon the scroll—
Soldier of liberty, good night!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

Conundrums for the American Laborer.

Ross Winn in Denver Arbitrator.

If protection protects workingmen by increasing their wages, why are manufacturers, capitalists and employers protectionists?

If protection protects the American laborer from competition with the pauper labor of Europe, why are manufacturers permitted to import foreign labor under contract?

If protection increases wages, why do the workingmen of high tariff Germany receive less wages than do the workingmen of free trade England?

If the protective tariff originated at Tariffa, a town in Morocco in Africa, how came it to be called the American system?

If free trade will lower wages, why do not manufacturers and employers favor free trade?

No Guilty Man Escapes in China.

San Francisco Argonaut.

Excuses must be rare in China. At Kai Feng Fu a private soldier was on guard over thirty boxes of bullets which it was the duty of a petty officer to inspect twice a day. The soldier skillfully abstracted the bullets from the boxes, and was finally found out. Then the punishment began. The soldier was condemned to penal servitude for life and a flogging of a hundred blows. The petty officer, who failed to inspect the boxes satisfactorily, was dismissed the service and received eighty blows. His lieutenant has been cashiered in order to be tried for connivance in the theft, and he has disappeared. And the military authorities in Pekin are considering what punishment to inflict on the general in command.

A WORD OF ADVICE.

SPEEDSVILLE, N. Y.

JOHN SMITH—Dear Cousin: You say in your late letter that you have not yet found work. I am very sorry you cannot find the employment you so much desire and need, and my sympathy goes out, too, to the others you mention—"a man on every street corner waiting for a job." Many of them doubtless are more needy and anxious than yourself.

But now while you are temporarily compelled against your wishes to be a man of leisure, let me earnestly recommend to you to spend some time in examining the great question, why is work so scarce? You and those fellows on the street corners want to work, and you want to work solely in order that you may buy things that other idle men in different localities want to make. There surely must be some fundamental reason why you and the other idle men cannot set yourselves directly to making the things you each and all want, and exchainging the same among yourselves to your mutual satisfaction.

You may say the reason is that the many labor saving inventions now in use have made it possible to do all the work without employing all the workers. That is nonsense. Labor has made all the machinery that ever was made, and labor can make machinery for itself as well as for capital if it had a place and a chance to use machinery. The natural result of labor saving inventions would be to make labor more rather than less independent. Instead of making work scarce it ought to shorten hours and enable laborers to enjoy more holidays of their own choosing. This would be the natural result.

Finally, I know where the "hitch" is, and I would like of all things to set you to look with a free and unprejudiced mind and see for yourself where it is. When enough of us see where the "hitch" is we shall make short work of removing the obstruction.

By way of a hint, let me tell you a scheme for furnishing employment for yourself and a considerable number of other good men. There is a boss carpenter living in a rented house here in Speedsville who has some means, and like yourself is idle, though he would gladly be at work. I will put it into his head to go to Cortland and get you to help him build a house for himself on that vacant ten acre lot near the E., C. and N. depot, the Randall lot. He wants a home and has money to get one, and would build one if he could be sure of obtaining continuous employment near it, and he would be glad to go on and build up the whole ten acres with dwellings, stores and what not. This would furnish employment to you and the fellows on the street corners, and would enable you in turn to employ farmers, gardeners, furnishers, clothiers, etc., besides which it would build up the town, make rents lower than they are now, and benefit the whole community. Is not this an excellent scheme?

What is it you say? You can't have the Randall lot? The owner will not permit it to be built up? Ah—h-h!

You need not go any farther. Right there is the "hitch." You look sharp and see if you don't find it so, and observe how every time you look you will see the great fact plainer and plainer.

Then do you ask how the obstruction is to be removed? That is easy enough. Just shift the burden of taxation to the value of land and see if the fellow who is holding valuable land idle won't mighty quickly put it to use or drop it. I tell you "the single tax will do it."

Your faithful friend and cousin,

G. B. R.

Pirates on Broadway.

J. W. Watson in Belford's Magazine

Pirates on Broadway! How absurd the thing sounds to-day!—and yet it is not so very long ago that it was a common case, and some of our old merchants, who retired forty or fifty years ago, could tell tales on the subject if they would. When I was a boy, only a little over half a century ago, I remember walking Broadway with my father, who was one of those old-time merchants, and hearing him designate a man that was passing with:

"That man was a pirate once."

"But what is he doing here? Why didn't they hang him?"

"Oh! he has retired long ago. He married and is living respectably with his family in this city."

Anyone who is familiar with the history of our coast and the West Indies a hundred years ago, or who will consult "Johnson's History of the Pirates," London, 1720, obtainable at the Astor library, the author of it having been a pirate himself, will find that the above mentioned localities were the favorite sailing grounds of these "gentlemen of fortune," as they called themselves, and that it was not an unfrequent occurrence for these gentry to run their blood stained cargoes on the Long Island or Jersey coasts, and so into New York city by small vessels or wagons, consigned to reputable merchants, who frequently entertained these pirates in their homes, when they arrived mysteriously, and departed the same way. Early in the last century their favorite places were Savannah and Charleston, but in time the English and French cruisers grew too lively for them in that locality, and New York and Boston became favorite resorts, for the reason that they were easily entered and got away from. There can be no doubt that the famous, or infamous, Edward Teach, or Blackbeard, and Major Bonnett, both leading pirates of that time, frequently entered New York in disguise; though Blackbeard was captured off the coast of Virginia and decapitated, his head gracing the bowsprit of the British gunboat Vulture, while Bonnett, who had been a major in the British army, was taken to Barbadoes and hanged, in spite of all the influence brought to save him.

I can well remember that less than twenty-five years ago a tall, massive, pock-marked old man walked Broadway who was well known to have been a pirate in his early life. He married into a good family, and died here comfortably, in the odor of sanctity, leaving a large family; his sons, two physicians, two lawyers, and a dentist, are all now living, well off, and looked on as among our first citizens. Along the Massachusetts and Maine coasts can be discovered to-day families dating back their ancestors to mariners who were retired pirates; while Greenwich village, now the Ninth ward, was a quiet spot a hundred years ago for these reformed fellows of the sea, and several old houses built by the grandfathers of the present generation came from the savings gained in that way.

The Tariff Question Will Be the Question of 1892.

New York Herald.

It is going to be an up hill business to elect a democratic president in 1892. It is going to be an impossibility if the party is to be led and managed that year by men who don't believe in its principles and policies. No intrigues nor any possible manipulations can prevent the tariff question from being the question in that year. It is the only live question. In the north tariff reform clubs are getting started in every state, and will exist before long in every country. Their membership will not hedge or straddle on this issue. The Illinois tariff reform league, established within a few days, began work by the adoption of the following platform, which does not speak any more plainly than the clubs in other states will speak:

"We are uncompromisingly opposed to the so-called protective system, a system which, having started as a temporary aid to infant industries, now assumes the right to be a perpetual and ever growing burden upon the people. We believe that it is time for the government to foster and protect the rights and interests of the consumers, and especially of the workingmen and farmers. We believe in free wool, iron, salt and all materials entering into manufactures."

One Cle Voice Midst the Flood of Spreadeagleism.

Omaha Republican.

There will be much florid eloquence to-day over our institutions and our constitutions—state and national. Some of it will be true and some of it will not be. We will be called the happiest people in the world, but there are a million unemployed persons in the republic and five millions more who work at wages which would hardly support a Newfoundland dog, much less a family, who will not think so. Our institutions are admirable enough in theory, but they have not been able to destroy the trusts and combinations which suppress competition and build up immense fortunes out of the struggling poor. We have a sonorous constitution, and it has been improved since Washington's day, but great corporations have been able to employ shrewd lawyers to break through its provisions. We have a great legislative system, but it is doubtful if fifty per cent of the members of the United States senate were elected without the use of money, and it is notorious that at least a half dozen of them bought their seats openly and shamelessly.

It has been a great century, but the republic has much to learn, much to reform. It might be better to celebrate its centennial in sackcloth for its sins.

What is Our Progress Worth to a Penniless Man.

New Orleans Picayune.

Machinery has cheapened all the necessary things of life, and has increased the means of education a hundred fold. But what does all this matter to the man who has not money enough to buy a pound of ice, a lump of sugar, or a penny newspaper! Now and then some statistician attempts to show that the complaint of hard times is groundless because as a rule the employes are paid enough to enable them to live comfortably; but that argument is misleading. We can pronounce no conclusive verdict upon the success or failure of modern civilization until we have taken into the reckoning the actual condition and the prospects of the unemployed. The tendency now is to make the laborer a part of the industrial machine, a mere cog in the wheel.

TITLE DEEDS FOR LAND.

A Legal Opinion that "The Right of Each One of the People to an Equal Share in the Land is Equal and Inalienable."

The following, from the pen of Hon. Wm. M. Rapsher in the Philadelphia Current Comment and Legal Miscellany, will be read with interest. Mr. Rapsher is an ex-member of the Pennsylvania legislature, was pushed by the anthracite region as its choice for a judge of the supreme court, and is at present district attorney and a man of learning and influence:

The Hittites of the Bible were probably the first in all the world's history, in at least several of the great commercial and leading acts of civilization. We find the Hittites engaged in a memorable transaction with Abraham when he purchased from them the cave of Machpelah, for a burying place for Sarah. It being the first money transaction on record and the earliest making out of title deeds for the first transfer of land with chirographic evidence of title. As corroborative of this, I refer to what Perrot the historian says, substantially. After the great battle at Kadesh, not much later in their history, King Khitasira sent his ambassadors down to Egypt to negotiate a treaty of peace and alliance. They made a silver plate upon which was engraved in the Hittite language the text of the treaty they proposed to enter into. This, says Perrot, "is the most ancient diplomatic act which has come down to us."

The most ancient foundation for a chain of title in a deed, that has fallen under my observation contains *inter alia* the following: "Whereas the Creator of the earth, by parole and livery of seizin, did enfeoff the parents of mankind, to wit, Adam and Eve, of all that certain tract of land called and known in the planetary system by the name of the earth, . . . to have and to hold to them, the said Adam and Eve, and the heirs of their bodies lawfully to be begotten, in fee-tail general forever, as by said feoffment recorded by Moses, in the first chapter of the first book of his records, called Genesis, more fully and at large appears."

Moses was followed and strongly sustained by Blackstone and many other noted legal writers, that "the earth, therefore, and all things therein, are the general property of all mankind, . . . the immediate gift of the Creator."

As civilization advances and the globe becomes more populous, these venerable authorities, that hold that the earth is the general property of all mankind, i. e., that land should, as a matter of inherent right, be held in common, are forgotten, or else regarded merely as quaint old fictions of the law. It may, however, be observed that in an age of greed, selfishness and mercenary combinations, the "single tax party" under the leadership of Henry George has recently become a potential political force upon the stage of politics. A voice comes from the people which has for several centuries been stifled so that it could not make itself heard.

This new political power is making itself strongly felt, and it forcibly contends that to stay the persistence of poverty, amid advancing wealth, labor saving machinery and the highest development in the arts and sciences, the just and only remedy, is to rest on the common and natural right to land of the people; and so as to cause as little political disturbance as possible, it proposes to do this by the simple method of gradually placing all taxation upon land values. This new party rightly insists that there is something radically wrong in a governmental organization, on a high plane of civilization, that leads to such an unequal distribution of wealth—with such unequal opportunities as everywhere stare us in the face. The moral, economic and legal obstacles which the new movement has to encounter, are but slight, in comparison with the difficulty of getting the people to understand its theory and practical application, and to make common cause to right their wrongs. It demands "the abolition of all taxes upon industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values, irrespective of improvement, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, land; . . . and that as a result, involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty, will be swept away." This policy, if carried out to its logical conclusion, as its advocates warmly urge, would wipe out of existence all land titles, as they are now understood.

It would practically restore the earth to all the people in common. The fundamental argument in support of this position may be condensed in a brief space by using some of the language of its leading advocate. Upon the question of land titles it is worthy of notice. The people must all have the same equal rights to the elements necessary, which nature has provided for the sustaining of life —to air, to water and to land.

For, to deny the equal right to the elements necessary to the maintaining of life, is to deny the equal right to life.

It therefore follows, from the very fact of their existence, that the right of each one of the people to an equal share in the land is equal and inalienable, that is to say, that the use and benefit of the land belong rightfully to the whole people, to each one as much as to every other; to no one more than to any other—not to some individuals, to the exclusion of other individuals; not to one class to the exclusion of other classes; not to landlords, not to tenants, not to cultivators, but to the whole people. This right is irrefutable and indefeasible. It pertains to and springs from the fact of existence, the right to live. No law, no covenant, no agreement, can bar it. One generation cannot stipulate away the rights of another generation. If the whole people were to unite in bargaining away the right in the land, how could they justly bargain away the right of the child who the next moment is born? No one can bargain away what is not his; no one can stipulate away the rights of another. And if the new born infant has an equal right to life, then has it an equal right to land. Its warrant, which comes direct from nature, and which sets aside all human laws or title deeds, is the fact that it is born. The land belongs to the whole people who at the time exist upon it. Is it probable that land titles will be abolished?

IN CHICAGO.

A Favorable Outlook—An Address Issued by Single Tax Club No. 1.

The Chicago Single tax club No. 1 has issued an address, signed by W. W. Bailey, its president, and T. W. Wittler, its secretary, asking for the co-operation of all sympathizers. The organization is now in its third year, and its recent meetings have been the most satisfactory in its whole history. The membership borders on two hundred, and a steady increase is noted, recent accessions including business and professional men of excellent standing, as well as workingmen. A number of women are also active members and contributors.

The address says:

The progress of the single tax cause throughout the world is amazing. "Progress and Poverty" has blazed a way of light around the globe and its influence is spreading with a rapidity that the most sanguine of us could not have imagined ten years ago, nay, which seemed impossible to the wildest enthusiast when Mr. George started on his first campaign three years ago. "Behold what a great fire a little spark kindleth." Everything is encouraging. The public mind is opening to our advances. The stage of ridicule is past. The stage of discussion is now upon us. The stage of adoption does not seem so far off now as even the stage of ridicule seemed to Mr. George in 1880, when even the dignity of being laughed at was denied by a public that was wholly indifferent. It rests with us here in Chicago who have seen the "cat" to bring the whole subject into public review. By concerted and active effort tremendous influence can be exerted, especially on the press.

Every addition to the membership is a distinct advantage. The mere weight of numbers is sensibly felt by the public and tends to turn the scale of opinion. Your presence at the meetings, your participation in the discussions, your active aid in propagandist work, your sympathy above all, are urgently besought. Chicago is not keeping pace with Boston, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Nashville and other cities, to say nothing of New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, in this great fundamental reform. She indeed lags sadly behind. It should be our pleasure, as it is our duty, to bring her to the fore front. She should lead in the emancipation of labor as she leads in commerce and industry.

The club meets every Thursday evening at club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Strangers are cordially invited.

A POLICE CAPTAIN SOLVES THE TRAMP PROBLEM;

But the "Result" Would be that the Men Who Now Have Work Would Become Tramps.

New York Herald.

Where the tramp spends the day is often a mystery, but any police sergeant can tell where he spends the night. The station house doors are opened at six o'clock for the admission of lodgers, and from that time until the room is crowded there is a constant stream of tramps of the most disgusting kind. The result of this is that when a decent person goes to get a lodging at the station house, he or she is met by the information that the lodging room is full. The station house lodging room was not established for the tramp, but the sergeant has to follow the rule "first come, first served," and so the worthy person walks the streets all night.

How to remedy this wrong state of affairs was what I started out the other evening to find out, and naturally I first applied to the police for their opinions.

Captain Killilea, who has spent a good many years on the police force, and is well qualified to answer any question appertaining to the force, was the first one I saw, and he said:

I have given this matter a great deal of thought and would like to find some means of getting over the necessity of turning respectable people away when I know that the lodgers in the room are totally unworthy of the place, but what can you do? They are in possession, and it would not be right to turn them adrift after they had composed themselves for a night's rest.

Of course the tramp who is accustomed to the lodging room applies early for a lodging, whereas the unfortunate puts off the evil until the last moment and then finds that all the room is taken. Then they have to stay out in the street until morning or beg for the price of a night's lodging.

I think that if the city authorities would buy or lease a piece of land in each ward or precinct and build a large lodging house they would solve the problem. They could establish stringent rules to govern the institution and have men at the head of them who would do their part in the proper spirit. Say that each man applying for a lodging should be told that in the morning he would be given a breakfast of coffee and bread and would then be expected to do two hours' work with the street cleaning gang. If he should do his work faithfully for say a week, he could be given regular work in the street cleaning department and paid a fair price for it. If, however, he should fail to do the work alloted to him he would be pointed out to the managers of the other institutions and thereafter his applications for lodging would be refused.

The result would be that those who are really deserving and want to work would be given the opportunity, and others would be unable to find any place to lodge and would be forced to leave the city. The lodging rooms in the station houses would, of course, be abolished, and every one would be refused except in exceptional cases, such as sometimes happens where a woman may be locked out of her house or lose her pocketbook. Of course the sergeant could decide as to the applicant's worthiness. By the appearance of our streets we could put a few thousand men to work without doing any harm.

Reflections of a Traveler.

EASTPORT, ME., April 30.—Business calls me to the state of Maine, and I have gazed (for the first time) on the shores of a country, where it is wicked to buy but righteous to sell.

On the boat I got into conversation with a young man, returning from a land of protection and prosperity, to live under the blighting influence of free trade, and, attention! protectionists, going back to better his condition. He told me that he could make as good wages in St. John as Boston, and his living being much less, he could lay by more money in the course of a year. He had been getting $1.25 per day in Boston and paying $5 a week board.

This young man probably never heard that the more a thing costs the cheaper it is.

I am selling a line of goods in this section and on all orders taken over the line add enough to the price to cover the duty. Thus it is (protection logic) that the duty is paid, not by the consumer, but by the foreign introducer. Q. A. LATHROP.

THE SINGLE TAX.

Sonora, Cal., Union Democrat.

The question of taxation is the most important one before the American people. The main issues of the last presidential contests were, directly or indirectly, questions of taxation. The subjects of taxation, the extent of taxation, and the methods of taxation, are problems interwoven with and inseparable from the entire governmental machinery and policy. Directly or indirectly, our foreign policy, internal policy, naval policy, are dictated by the existing system of taxation and revenue.

That there are grievous and glaring inequalities in the present system is indisputable. Fraud is encouraged and citizens are trained to the evasion of statutory law. The burden is heavy upon the weak and proportionately light upon the strong. It is not surprising therefore that the single tax movement should be rapidly gaining the attention of thinking men. In the immediate locality in which we write there seems to be little interest in the movement and perhaps little knowledge of it. The press of the extreme west ignores it. But it goes on. And it goes faster and grows stronger than any other political or economic movement of the present day. The single tax proposition, very briefly stated, is that all governmental, state and municipal revenues should be raised from the taxation of the rental value of land alone. The rental value of land alone is the sum for which, regardless of any improvements, the bare land will rent. The rental value of an improved tract or lot being the sum for which a similar unimproved tract or lot, similarly situated, will rent. Many questions arise as to the practicability of the proposed system and as to its probable operation in detail. But where these questions have been discussed, pro and con, as they have in the eastern states, the advocates of the single tax have fortified themselves at every point and proved their position to be absolutely invulnerable. Any candid man can prove for himself the truth of the above assertion, if he cares to investigate, and if he be so constituted as to be able to see both sides of a question.

Some of the results of the system, if in operation, would be:

1. The products of industry would be untaxed. There would be no fine imposed upon the building of houses, the cultivation of the earth, nor upon any or the accumulated products of human toil.

2. A subject for taxation would be furnished upon which a perfectly equitable system would prevail. The one thing which cannot dodge the assessor is land. Its rental value is everywhere determinable. It cannot be put in banks or stockings, and the endless inducements and opportunities for fraud under the present system would not exist.

3. Nine-tenths of the cumbrous and expensive machinery of our revenue system, with all its peculations, defalcations and swarms of pensioned "agents" and "officials" would be swept away, the methods of taxation simplified and the incidental expense to the government reduced to the minimum.

4. The holding of unimproved land in any form for speculative purposes would become unprofitable and would end, and the enormous masses of capital now locked up in such holdings would flow into productive channels, stimulating cultivation, manufacturing and all producing enterprises and means of transportation, traffic and exchange.

Underlying the single tax idea is the fundamental principle, lost sight of in the eager strife of human existence, but always recognized by philosophic writers, that the soil, like air and water, belongs in usufruct to the living. Men cannot fence up the ambient air nor bottle up the rivers in their seaward course. Else Malthus had not lived in vain. To these latter elements the right is in the use. So ought it to be with the soil. Upon no just or equitable principle is man's natural right to an acre of land other than usufructuary.

The Direct Tax.

Chicago Daily News.

Discussion of the best methods of taxation are no longer confined to gray bearded professors of political economy, who talk over the matter with the same dispassionate coolness with which they consider the rings of Saturn. Common people are thinking of such matters nowadays. It is not alone the mere items of the direct taxes which a householder pays to the county treasurer, though in them, as it is well known, there is enough injustice. It is a puzzle to many a law abiding citizen of the middle class to know why he should be fined for painting his fence or building a new barn. He thinks he has done society a service and society comes back to him with a wild cry of, "Here! Here! What do you mean by such conduct? Your taxes are raised so much." The citizen knows well enough that if he possesses only enough furniture to make his house a home he is taxed more nearly its full value than if he owned costly paintings, statuary, blooded horses, and other adjuncts of luxury, and then he bethinks himself that since governments began every possible effort has been made to get men to list their personal property truly, and every effort has failed. When torture has only dragged more lies out of the unwilling taxpayer it is useless to expect men to do anything else than perjure themselves annually when the alternative is presented, thus: "Swear to a lie and your taxes will be light. Tell the truth and you will pay dearly for it." The citizen asks himself of what use it is to burden personal property with taxes when it is admitted that everybody wants personal property, and the more of it there is the better for the community. But back of all this there is another question: Is an indirect tax the best way to collect the running expenses of a nation? It is the easiest way, certainly. The people can't distinguish how much is tax and how much is the legitimate price of the taxed article. If the best scheme of taxation be like the best scheme to pluck a goose—the maximum of feathers to the minimum of squealing—then the indirect tax is the best. But the people ought to know to the cent how much their government costs them. They know how much they pay their cook; they ought to know how much their annual government bill is. Nobody knows now, and that is the reason why the people's money is flung recklessly on extravagant schemes. There's plenty more of it, say the legislators. A direct tax means government conducted on business principles.

What the First News from Oklahoma Told.

Detroit News.

The first news that comes from Oklahoma tells of—staking out farms? Oh, no. Of building houses? No. Of planting and cultivating? Wrong again. It tells of speculating in town sites and town lots; of stakes driven to define lot lines; of late comers paying $5 a lot to first comers, and of refusals of $50 for lots that a few moments before were practically free. It tells also of the schemes of government and railroad officials who, under various pretexts, were in the territory tabooed to bona fide settlers, and who, on the strike of the hour, rose like magic and laid claim to the choicest locations—had, in fact, possession before the first honest boomer's wagon had fairly crossed the line.

Yes, and a Lot of the "Laborers" Will Swear to It in 1892.

Chicago Herald.

American labor must stop its grumbling. The next census will show that since 1880 there has been a large general advance in wages. The superintendent of the next census is Robert P. Porter of the New York Press.

Instances: Franklin, Garrison, George, Etc.

Decatur, Ill., Bulletin.

Printers have played an important part in the movements for equal and exact justice to all.

One of Our Reasons for Separating From Great Britain.

Declaration of Independence, complaint 16.

For cutting off our trade from all parts of the world.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Bonanza Farms.

ENGLEWOOD, Ill.—At the last meeting of the Social Science club of this place the questions were asked:

How is the single tax to counteract the tendency to bonanza farming? Will not farming on a large scale be more profitable than farming on a small scale, under the single tax, just as at present? If so, is it not evident that the single tax (alone) will not enable every man of family to be his own master, on his own homestead, but that *men of inferior capacities* must, as at present, remain the serfs of men of superior capacities?

These questions none of the Henry George men present were able to answer, and an answer to them in THE STANDARD will be greatly appreciated by the club.

O. M. PETERSON.

Bonanza farms in the region of populous centers would be impossible under the single tax. In the first place, if land were taxed to anywhere near its rental value, then immediately a closer populated district needed to extend itself over the great farm territory, the taxes on these great farms would be raised to a point where no bonanza farmer could pay them from the proceeds of mere corn or wheat fields. Land which is needed by a large body of people has got to be put to far better use than bonanza farms are put to in order to produce a full rental value tax. The crops raised by these great farms are among the least profitable crops that are grown—that is, they average less value to the acre than the crops of small farms. Tax these farms to their full value and guarantee that no man shall be encouraged to crush the life out of every growing community by holding great tracts of land idle or half used; guarantee further that no man shall be fined for building houses, selling goods, raising sheep, or working for the good of himself or others, and you will see the bonanza farm disappear and in its place there will be towns, villages and homesteads. An increase of the present land tax alone, without any exemption of the settlers' improvements, tends to break up large holdings, as in the case of the Haggin and Carr ranches in southern California for instance,

But in the unpopulated regions there might still, under the single tax, be great farms; to be sure they could not be run on the present basis, where the "hands," mostly unmarried men, are hired five or seven months in the year and then turned adrift; but still they might, indeed they would surely exist; and how then would the small farmer compete with the great capitalist farmers? Well, he will not be able to compete if the country districts become relatively more and more depopulated every year, as they are becoming now. If population centers in great crowded cities and industry in these cities is throttled by land speculators. But these are just the evils that the single tax will remedy. It needs but to force land into use for what it will bring in order that population shall spread, and in the spread of population and the enormously increased demand for farm products, especially those thousand and one products which are not produced on bonanza farms, is the solution of the question of small farms. The bonanza farms do not compete to-day with a "Dutch" farm on the outskirts of a town, because the small vegetable grower raises things that the bonanza farmer does not and never can raise on the bonanza system. So with almost all products except grain and meat. But for these latter products there should be, under anything like a just system, an almost unlimited demand, so that though small farmers might not find grain and cattle raising as profitable as raising other supplies, there is not the slightest doubt that they will always raise a large percentage of the grain and meat that is consumed, on account of the comparatively small risk attached to the industry. W. B. S.

Over Production of Food Products.

VISALIA, Cal.—A friend of mine argues that the single tax would benefit neither the small farmer or the laborer. It would undoubtedly bring into use lands now held idle on speculation and give work to many now unemployed; but even then would the small farmer be able to compete with the big one with all his improved machinery? He claimed further that our country already produces much more food than we can consume, and this rush to the rural districts would over supply the market and cause a crisis that would ruin all small farmers not only of this but of all civilized countries in the world.

We did not know how to meet this attack, and thought therefore it would be best to ask for your explanation thereof.

MAX MULLER.

I have tried to meet your friend's first objection in the answer in this issue of THE STANDARD, entitled "Bonanza farms."

As to the second objection—You say the objector claimed we already produce more food products than we *can* consume. This is of course an utter absurdity. We may produce more food products than there is any market for, but that is simply because capital and labor are prevented by the high price of city lots and mining lands and forests, from producing other things with which to buy the extra farm products. That we do not consume all our food products is true; that we cannot is altogether wrong. The poorer population of a single state like New York, could consume all the surplus and much more, if they could only find some means of producing other things in exchange for the food. The prosperity of the farmers depends on the prosperity of the other workers, and vice versa, their prosperity depends on that of the farmers. All that is necessary to make all the classes prosperous is to free natural opportunities so that labor and capital can employ themselves profitably. W. B. S.

A Question of Terminology.

ZANESVILLE, Ohio.—Can we properly call the single tax a tax on land values? I apprehend that as our movement grows values of land will recede, and when we come to the point of making a law to apply the theory, we will find the values so reduced that it must be a tax on rent. Thus, say five per cent will represent proper rate for capitalizing rent. Five dollars rent representing $100 value. Value declines to, say $10, would we not rather say the rate of taxation then is ninety per cent on rent rather than forty-five per cent on value? If value became nominal there would be absolutely no way to express rate of tax (on value).

C. A. POTWIN.

A tax on land values means really a tax on rental values, because it is the rental value which fixes the selling value. Nevertheless, as Mr. George said in his reply to Allen W. Thurman (STANDARD, Feb. 16, 1889), the tax will be based on selling values as long as selling values are of any considerable amount. To say simply a "tax on land values" is definite enough. W. B. S.

What is a Tramp?

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—I claim that a tramp, who does no work, and who eats what I would have consigned to the garbage box, and wears what I would have given to the rag man, is neither a producer nor a consumer, in an economic sense. Am I right? I put: What is your definition of producer and consumer, economically considered? F. H. S.

A producer I should say is one who "makes the world richer, wiser, happier or better," for making people wiser or morally better, of course, in the end stimulates production, and making them happier is doing for them directly what making them richer is supposed to do indirectly. Your tramp I should not class as a producer, unless indeed he was a modern Diogenes, teaching people how to be content with a tub for a house and a lantern for a companion. A consumer I should define as one who destroyed for his own use or gratification something which had exchange value, or who compelled other people to give up part of their time to minister to him. Your tramp I should class as a consumer. He and thousands like him, even if they consume nothing of value in the way of food or clothes (an impossible assumption) yet do help make governmental expense. If they are sick they must be taken to the hospitals; the police must see that they are not brutally treated by unsympathetic citizens; they must be watched just as you and I are watched for fear we will do some mischief, and when they die the tax payers apportion to each a coffin, such as it is, and a modicum of earth, otherwise valuable, is set aside for a grave. So the tramp is a consumer. W. B. S.

To Make a Trust Successful in Free Trade England There Must be an Arrangement with the Outside World.

New York Times.

Immediately after the formation of the English salt trust the managers of the combination raised the price of salt in England about 200 per cent and at the same time reduced the wages of their workmen. As this English ring is not protected by an import duty, its greed is restrained in some measure by the threatened importation of salt from other producing countries. If the English trust can make bargains with the salt makers elsewhere, it can exact a higher profit at home without fear. It has already undertaken to make a kind of bargain with the salt producers of the United States. The president of the Michigan salt association will soon be on his way to England, where he proposes to complete negotiations with the English trust for a combination that shall include all the prominent salt makers of this country. It is stated that the English trust, or the capitalists connected with it, will provide $10,000,000 to be used in setting up the ring here. Our dispatches from Syracuse show that it is the purpose of the salt manufacturers there to join the "combine."

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A Big Price for Inventors.

A generous Frenchman, named Osiris, has just placed 100,000 francs in the hands of the committee of the Parisian press, with the injunction to award it as a prize to the author of the most remarkable work of art, industry, or public utility in the great universal exhibition.

A New Piano.

It is reported that a Dr. Eisenmann of Berlin has invented a piano, which, by the aid of electro-magnetism, can sustain, increase and diminish sound. This has been attempted by other experts, notably Boehm, the inventor of the metal flute. Another novelty will be that by moving the electro-magnets the timbre of the tone is changed; for example, from that of a violoncello to a piccolo.

Electricity vs. Horses for Street Railways.

The St. Louis Age of steel states that some interesting inquiries have been made touching the question of motive power on street car lines. The result of these, based on several hundred replies, shows that the desire among street railway managers for something better than animal locomotion is very general. Only 18 per cent of those reporting do not contemplate any change from horses; 15½ per cent did not answer, and hence may be placed in the same category of conservatives; 16 per cent are "on the fence" awaiting developments and preferring some kind of mechanical traction; 16½ per cent favor mechanical methods other than electricity; 34 per cent are using or will adopt the electric motor. In this last class, one third prefer the overhead system, and one-ninth like the storage battery. Thus it will be seen that practically 66½ per cent of the roads of the country are already saying good-bye to horses; and that of these more than one-half are supporters of electricity.

A Submarine Boat.

Journal of Useful Inventions.

In France there has been built a spindle shaped boat, appropriately named the Gymnotus, made of thin steel plate. It weighs about 20 tons, and has a carrying capacity of 30 tons. It is 65½ feet long, and its diameter is 6 feet, with an 18 inch manhole for the entrance of the crew. A small cupola with mirrors enables the commander to see what is going on outside the boat and to steer her while submerged. This boat is propelled by a four bladed screw, 5 feet in diameter, with four rudders, by which it can be directed both vertically and laterally. The motor is an electric battery of alkaline liquid accumulators, weighing 11 tons, which drives a Krebs machine weighing 4400 pounds of 60 horse power. It will maintain a speed of ten knots for six hours. There are reservoirs of compressed air for breathing, and submersion is effected by reservoirs of water which are filled or emptied by powerful pumps. The rudders, pumps, cocks, mirrors, etc., are all worked by electricity. The crew consists of one officer, two mechanics and one sailor. The trial trip at Toulon was astonishingly satisfactory, the boat taking any position both on and under the water, and any desired depth with perfect facility and at four different rates of speed.

This novel destroyer would seem to be the greatest peacemaker that has yet been invented.

How Celluloid is Manufactured.

Inventor.

The following is a description of the process carried out in a factory near Paris for the production of celluloid. A roll of paper is slowly unwound, and at the same time saturated with a mixture of five parts of sulphuric acid and two parts of nitric acid, which falls upon the paper in a fine spray. This changes the cellulose of the paper into propylin gun cotton. The excess of the acid having been expelled by pressure, the paper is washed with plenty of water until all traces of acid have been removed. It is then reduced to a pulp and passes to the bleaching trough. Most of the water having been got rid of by means of a strainer, the pulp is mixed with from 20 to 40 per cent of its weight in camphor, and the mixture thoroughly triturated under millstones. The necessary coloring having been added in the form of powder, a second mixing and grinding follows. The finely divided pulp is then spread out in thin layers on slabs, and from twenty to twenty-five of these layers are placed in a hydraulic press, separated from one another by some sheets of thick blotting paper, and are subjected to a pressure of 150 atmospheres, until all traces of moisture have been got rid of. The matter is then passed between rollers heated to 140 or 150 degrees Fahrenheit, whence it issues in the form of elastic sheets.

The Big Car Strike has Opened their Eyes.

Minneapolis Star.

The most common remark heard among laboring men on the street is, "I have cast my last vote for any party which favors a high protective tariff." If an election involving this issue were to be held in Minneapolis next Tuesday the result would, without doubt, be different from that of the last one. The lesson has been a severe one and promises to be lasting.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections; also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellows. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing or using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's Block, Rochester, N. Y.

MISCELLANEOUS.

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THE CALIFORNIA SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE. SAN FRANCISCO, July 7th, 1886.

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SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

The chief of the great French house of La Rochefoucauld, is a youth—the Duc de la Rochefoucauld. The holder of one of the most historic names in France's roll of genius, chiefly cares for exercising himself on the trapeze before a select audience in a private circus.

Petroleum has been discovered in South Australia at Yorktown, and the lucky discoverer has been granted the exclusive right to search over an area of 90,000 acres of crown lands in order to enable him to locate the spring from which the oil flows.

The English sugar refiners and some of their employes are trying to get a law passed prohibiting the importation of German and French sugar for their "protection." Their argument is that as the foreign manufacturers are paid a bounty amounting to about two cents a pound by their respective governments, the Eng ish manufacturers are at a disadvantage. Of course any concession to such a demand would open the door to the whole protective swindle. The liberal and radical papers are fighting the proposition. The Star says: Here is the sugar bounties question in a nutshell. Foreign countries now pay £9,000,000 a year to the English people for buying their sugar. In other words, every man or woman who buys a pound of foreign sugar gets a present of over a penny with it. So, of course, do the jam manufacturers, who employ 75,000 workmen against 4,500 men employed in English sugar refineries. Now we are bringing in a bill to prevent foreign countries paying us for the privilege of selling to us sugar below its cost. In other words, to meet the supposed (not the real) interests of 4,500 men, we are to take nine millions out of the pockets of the whole mass of the working men and the working women of the country! Was ever such insanity devised or imagined?

"The modern Savonarola" is the title given to Padre Agostina, in Rome. He is a reformed man of the world and a marvelously eloquent preacher. Foreigners especially are attracted to his church.

There will probably be a one-pound banknote in England before long, payable in silver; and it is said that a half sovereign note is also contemplated. The lowest denomination of bank of England notes heretofore has been five pounds.

The government of Victoria, Australia, has received a proposal to utilize the backs of postage stamps for business announcements, Messrs. Hunter and Trude having offered to purchase the right of advertising on the stamps for a term of three years. They are prepared to pay £10,000 for the privilege during the first year, £12,500 during the second, and £15,000 during the third. The offer was discussed at a cabinet meeting, and it was finally resolved to authorize the postmaster general to enter into preliminary negotiations with the tenderers. The Melbourne press deprecate the idea as undignified and undesirable.

The government of Switzerland has proposed an international conference of European governments to consider the establishment of international regulations for the improvement of the conditions of labor in the manufacturing interest.

Reynolds's Weekly says that in 1851 the total amount collected in England for the execution of the poor laws was less than seven millions sterling, whereas in 1887—the last year for which the official statistics are given—it had increased to close upon sixteen millions. It will be seen by these figures that the burden of local taxation has not only doubled, but has increased two millions over the doubling point. Perhaps it may be argued that there has been a proportionate increase in the population; but this is an utter delusion, as there are only one-third more people in the country now than there were in 1851. Out of the enormous sum of sixteen millions already referred to, about one-half goes toward the actual expenses of relieving the poor, while the balance is taken up by charges for police, highways, school boards, vaccination fees and other items.

Impediments That But Help Reform.

Belford's Magazine.

The social world sets its face against reform and is potent for mischief. It kills all movements in that direction by making them disreputable. The history of all such is curiously illustrative. The most effective weapon of all in this direction is that of epithet. To call one a "crank," if it does not cow the reformer, certainly renders himself. This is the first resort. We remember but yesterday that to designate a man an abolitionist was to consign him to social infamy. To-day, those who seek to arrest gross extortion under form of law are sneered at as free traders. The freedom that is honored in speech, press, and religion becomes a disgrace when applied to trade. We have a large body of citizens who, looking upon public office as a public trust, revolt against the despotism of party, and cast their votes regardless of caucus dictation, and they are laughed at and denounced as "mugwumps." The first mugwump on record was George Washington, and his farewell address has no part so pregnant of meaning as that wherein he warns us against the evil influence of parties, then called "factions." This meant then, as it means now, the Randallism which makes a man lose in the organization that which the party was organized to sustain. How the reform survives both reformers and its enemies, and becomes an element of life, history tells us. The treason of one generation is the loyal principle of another. The crank of to-day is the hero of the hereafter, and the stones that pelted the martyr to death form an altar at which the same class worships in generations long after.

"A Stray Truth."

Philadelphia Record.

One of our protectionist contemporaries contains the following interesting little paragraph:

"In this country 1,048 men produce 4,500 tons of Bessemer steel in a week, or 4.3 tons per man. In England 600 workmen produce 1,500 tons in a week, or only 2 5 tons per man. The average wages in this country are 35 per cent higher than in Great Britain, according to good English authority."

Although the wages in England are 35 per cent lower, the actual labor cost of production is upward of 60 per cent greater there than in this country. Yet, in spite of this and numerous facts of like character, the tariff organs are constantly dinning into the ears of American workingmen the danger of competition from the "pauper labor" of Europe. Occasionally a stray truth like the foregoing creeps into their columns to expose the fallacy of their statements.

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And, born in the breath of his bounteous love,
Each hour has been rife with joyous new life—
And ranker and danker the world's misery.

For ages he's gazed, and each day and each hour
The earth has grown brighter and bloomed merrily;
And, warmed by his love and his wonderful power,
Each joy has grown sweeter, each beauty completer—
And ranker and danker the world's misery.

He has gazed on the growth of the children of men,
Waxing wiser and strong, reaching out bold and free,
Grasping knowledge and riches and grasping again,
Like a child plucking flowers in sunshiny hours—
While ranker and danker the world's misery.

Oh! sun, gazing down, in thy love and thy light,
Will the scene never change through eternity?
Power aye grow more powerful and beauty more bright,
Joys ever grow sweeter, fulfillment completer—
And ranker and danker the world's misery?

GRACHE.

Hair Dye and Wage Earners.

London Daily Telegraph.

There is now going on a mighty struggle which is almost essentially a question of age. Yet it is one which affects thousands and thousands of men and women who are toilers and breadwinners.

On all sides preference is given by employers to youth over more advanced years. Absalom, in the vigor of his juvenility, is content to receive twenty to thirty per cent less money than his more mature rival. In wholesale warehouses, in public companies, in retail establishments, in the street, on the road and rail, men and women who are still hale and hearty in mind and body have been set adrift to make room for the younger—and cheaper—generation. They are willing to work for the same wage, but the masters will have none of them.

In their distress they turn to a comforter—not to the workhouse, if they can avoid so doing; not to the charitable institutions, not to the trades unions, but to Figaro himself, the perruquier, the hairdresser, the barber. The amount of hair dye used by artisans and laborers of all sorts is not only enormous, but increases day by day. It is not vanity which impels them to the practice, it is life, for which it is well worth dyeing.

The testimony on the subject is undeniable. A knight of the razor in the north of London testifies that he is doing a tremendous trade in hair dye with workingmen for the reasons given above. "They take it home," he said, "and get their wives to lay it on. In many cases it is an absolute necessity with female employes. Proprietors of big millinery establishments won't have women with gray hair on the premises.

"You've no idea what misery I've been aware of in families from gray hair. I knew a man, a father of six children. All of a sudden, from illness I think, his hair whitened, and his employer took the earliest opportunity of 'giving him the sack' and getting a younger man in his place. He couldn't obtain another situation anywhere, and the more trouble he had the older he looked. At last, when he was at his wit's end, some one told him to get his hair dyed, and, what's more, lent him the money to have it done. Well, he's got another place. It's less money; but you'd hardly know him again. I've seen scores like him. Your young folk may sneer at dye and crack jokes on the subject, but as true as I'm not a Dutchman it's been the salvation of many hard working men and women." A lady dealing in human hair near St. Pancras, when sounded on the subject, admitted the practice, and allowed that she dealt very largely in dye, nearly all vended to those earning their living in large commercial establishments.

The same tale was repeated by one who did a good deal of traffic in this way with ladies of the theatrical persuasion. "Lor' bless you," he exclaimed, "without hair dye some of those women would be nowhere. What would you say, if you was a manager, if a girl with gray locks came to you and wanted an engagement? I expect you'd show her the door pretty quickly. I'm not talking of those vain young females who turn black to gold or red to brown. I mean the chorister of thirty-five to forty, still good looking, but who is beginning to show the powder puff on her head. There isn't one, there isn't twenty, there isn't a hundred, but I'd like to bet there's a thousand or more in the United Kingdom. Their great-grandmothers had to wear wigs; their descendants are a deal more comfortable with a little harmless coloring matter on their own hair." And so the story runs ad infinitum.

And Yet the World is Said to Be Crowded.

Lynchburg Virginian.

A French scientist says that, allowing five acres for each inhabitant, Europe has room for 115,000,000 more people, Africa for 1,236,000,000, Asia for 1,402,000,000, Oceanica for 515,000,000 and America for 2,000,000,000.

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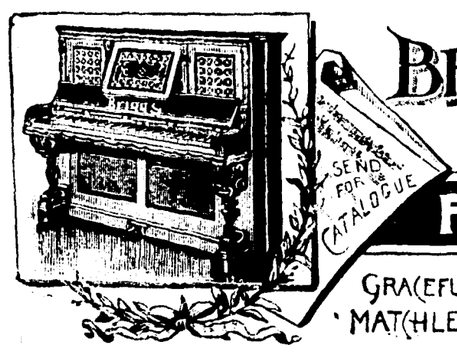

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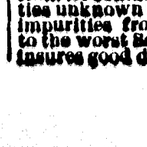
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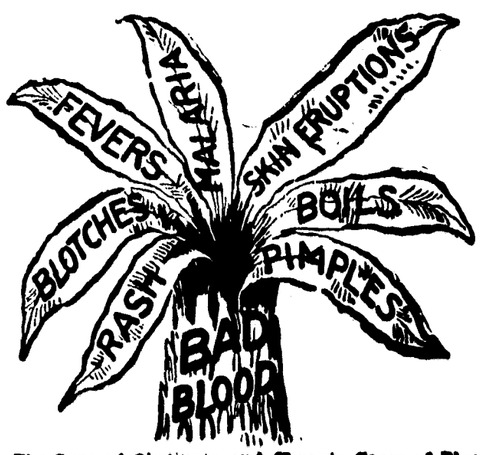

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