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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL. Henry George's Letter from Australia—His visit to Queensland—Conditions in South Australia—Direct Subscriptions to The Standard—Private Ownership of Streets—Chicago Seeing the Cat—The New Federal Election Law—Philadelphia Free Traders—A Chance for Honest Government—Mr. Smalley on the Emperor William, "the Devil" and Henry George—Denouncing the Importers—A Good Platform in Missouri—They Want It All—Inciting to Lawlessness—The Workingmen's Tariff Reform League—The Tariff on Clothes.

TAXING PERSONAL PROPERTY. Ralph E. Hoyt.

THE DECENTRALIZING TENDENCY OF THE SINGLE TAX. Daniel R. Goodloe.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER. Henry George, Jr.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER. Rev. Harold Rylett.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PERSONAL.

BALLOT REFORM NOTES.

GEORGE IN AUSTRALIA. Homeward Bound—In Queensland—Lament Over His Failure to Visit New Zealand.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM. An Appeal for Russia—Speaker Reed and Southern Elections—Mr. Parnell on the Land Bill—Some British Views.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. The Same Everywhere—Mr. George Needed in the West—The Tariff and Land Question—The Stereopticon in Politics—What Factory Hands Get.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT. The McKinley Bill—The Workingmen's League—The Missouri Democrats—Three Opinions on the Tariff—Wages and the Tariff—Why Object?—A Warning to the Farmers—A Farmer's Figures—Newark's Mayor on the Tariff—Powerfully on Protection—Indiana Republicans Alarmed—Cracking the Shell.

SOCIETY NOTES.

SINGLE TAX NEWS. The Platform—The South Dakota Farmers' Alliance Declare for "The Land For the People," and a Majority of the Delegates Favor the Single Tax and Free Trade—A Democratic Convention Favors a Tax Upon Land Values Only—South Dakota Single Tax Men Organize the State—The Petition—Brooklyn Men Elect Officers—Our Ideas Making Their Way in Rhode Island—An Echo from the Kensington Meeting—Defeated, Yet Victorious—The Drainage Question Comes Up Again in Chicago—Assessor Cantwell Causes a Sensation There—News from St. Louis—Encouraging News from Nebraska—A Great Political Contest in Seattle, Wash.—The Politicians Combine to Defeat a Labor Ticket—Spreading the Light in Sweden—News from Everywhere.

EDITORIAL.

BRISBANE, May 12, 1890.

The last few lines I sent to THE STANDARD were written in Adelaide, South Australia; I am writing this in Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, distant, by rail, nearly 2,000 miles from Adelaide.

I spoke twice in the town hall in Adelaide to splendid audiences, and then went up country to the copper mining town of Moonta, being received and dined, by the way, by Mayor France and the council of Kadina. From Moonta we went to Gawler, one of the older interior towns where there is a large engineering works, to which has been given a contract for the building of locomotives for the South Australian government. Coming back to Adelaide I preached for the Rev. Silas Mead in the Baptist church, on Sunday. Lectured in Port Adelaide on Monday and then went up to Port Pirie on Spencer gulf, the shipping port of Broken Hill, where there are some extensive smelting works and a considerable amount of English coal is turned into coke. From Port Pirie we went to Kapunda, which, thanks to the Kapunda Herald and to a few active spirits like A. W. Rayment, has been something of a center for land agitation, and leaving Kapunda on the morning of Friday, May 2, started via Adelaide for Sydney.

None of the through trains of the Australian railways run more than six times a week; between Adelaide and Melbourne they only run five times, so that Sunday may be observed both in Victoria and South Australia. We left Adelaide on Friday afternoon and arrived in Melbourne on Saturday morning, then took the train again in the afternoon for Albury, on the New South Wales border, where we remained until the next Sunday afternoon, when we got a train for Sydney, arriving there Sunday morning. We had a chance to see some of our friends in Melbourne again, and also in Albury, where I preached on Sunday morning for the Rev. William Wilson in the Independent church. In Sydney I delivered another lecture in the Protestant hall on Tuesday night, and on Wednesday evening had an opportunity of seeing the New South Wales parliament and hearing Sir Henry Parkes speak. On Thursday we started for this city, arriving on Saturday morning. I was publicly received in the afternoon by the mayor, lectured in the evening in the opera house, and last evening (Sunday) preached for the Rev. Mr. Lilly in the Methodist church. To-night I speak again in the opera house, and to-morrow take a coasting steamer for Rockhampton, a large town just within the Tropic of Capricorn. Returning I am to speak at some other towns, and expect to finish the tour in Queensland by preaching for the Rev. G. D. Buchanan of the Presbyterian church here on Sunday morning, May 25.

Our visit to South Australia was extremely interesting and pleasant. We received a warm welcome and much kindly attention, and met many people whom we could wish to know better and longer. The total population of the colony is only some 325,000. Of these almost one-half are concentrated in Adelaide and its suburbs, and the rest are scattered over a wide extent of country. All the towns that I visited outside of

Adelaide were therefore small, but people came from long distances to hear me. In Port Pirie, for instance, the audience was largely composed of farmers, some of whom had come thirty, forty, and even seventy miles.

The discovery of the rich deposits of argentiferous galena at Broken Hill—a little hillock running out of the great interior plain—has been a great thing for Adelaide and South Australia, relieving the depression which existed before, and giving the advocates of protective tariffs the opportunity to claim for protection the bringing of better times. Although the mines themselves are situated in New South Wales, they belong geographically and commercially to the district of which Adelaide is the metropolis, being some eight hundred miles from Sydney (the greater part of the distance as yet untraversed by railway) and only some one hundred and sixty miles from Adelaide, with which an easy connection with the South Australian railway system has opened railway communication. South Australia has consequently got all the Broken Hill business and carrying trade, which is very great, since all the coal, coke and timber used in the mines and smelting works, as well as the general supplies, must be brought there by railway.

It would have been really better for me to have gone to Broken Hill, toward which Port Pirie took me half way, than to have gone to some of the South Australian towns I did visit; but my engagements had been arranged by the South Australian people for South Australia, and Broken Hill being politically in New South Wales, they had left that out. The time at my command would not admit of a trip to Broken Hill and yet permit me to get to Brisbane in time to fill my engagements here.

The Australian colonies are separated from each other, not merely by tariffs. They also have the additional protection of differing railway gauges. The New South Wales railways are built on the standard English and American gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches. Queensland, on the north of New South Wales, has adopted the narrow gauge of 3 feet 6 inches; Victoria, on the south of New South Wales, has the Irish gauge of 5 feet 3 inches. The only inter-colonial line of unbroken gauge now existing is that between Melbourne and Adelaide, which is 5 feet 3 inches in both colonies. South Australia began to build on this gauge, but afterward (on the score of economy) changed it for the narrow gauge of 3 feet 6 inches, and so, at a short distance from Adelaide, her own lines break gauge, thus necessitating the transshipping of passengers and freight for Broken Hill, a dead all points at any distance in the interior.

On the South Australian railways some twenty-eight different patterns of engines are in use; on the Victorian railways there are, I am told, over fifty different patterns. There is also considerable diversity in New South Wales. The passenger carriages are also of different styles, but generally on the English model, with first and second class compartments in the same car—the difference between them being in the upholstery. They charge twice as much for traveling in the first class as in the second class. The roadways are well and substantially built—so substantially as to

be needlessly expensive, an American might sometimes think. But whether because the carriages are lighter or because their springs are not so good, one feels the motion more, it seems to me, than is usual on the American roads.

The sleeping cars on the New South Wales lines are of the very earliest Pullman model—long out of use in the United States—so long, in fact, that I have never seen anything of the kind there. The first sleeping car I entered in New South Wales, which was at night time, seemed to me a rather grotesque and forlorn parody on the sleeping car as we know it. And this impression was heightened when I found that to get a drink of water one must go, not to an ice-filled refrigerator, but to a water bag carried on the rail on the platform of the car. But these sleepers are really better than they at first look, and one can travel very comfortably in them. The charge for the night is 12s. 6d. for a low berth and 10s. for an upper berth. The line between Melbourne and Adelaide is run on joint account by the railway departments of Victoria and South Australia. The sleeping cars here are of the Mann boudoir pattern, but they have been in such constant use that the upholstery and fittings have been suffered to run down very much. The prettiest and most comfortable sleepers I have seen are the narrow gauge cars on the Queensland line, which are built after a pattern designed in this colony, and are very nice and bright.

From Adelaide to Sydney by rail takes almost thirty-six hours and from Sydney to Brisbane about the same time. New South Wales has not been building any railways to speak of for some years past, but is now about to start in a very important work, one section of which is the first link in the chain of railway that is designed to connect Sydney with Broken Hill, and will constitute the trunk line to the western border. Much of it, however, will pass through a district where only the discovery of rich mines or of underground water supplies can make any business for a railway.

The particular interest which these Australian railways have for me is that they are all public property and are all built, maintained and managed on public account by public officials. The subject is such an interesting one that I hope to have opportunity to speak of it more at length hereafter, but this is certain—that the state management of railways is, in Australia at least, such a success that no one seems to dream of resorting to the system of corporate management.

South Australia is a very interesting colony. Whether they have been wise in all things or not, there is something heroic in a community of 325,000 people running a full-fledged national government, pushing a telegraph line across the whole width of the Australian continent, and building and running some 1,500 miles of railway.

Adelaide is a very beautiful city. Though it lacks the unsurpassed harbor of Sydney, it has for background a range of hills that give a charm to the landscape, and is admirably situated on ground which gently slopes to the sea, giving good natural drainage, which has been improved by expensive works. The sewerage is collected and distributed and utilized on a government farm some dis-

tance from the town. The streets are wide, well paved and well kept. Many of the buildings are really fine, and the series of park, park belts and park reserves which the original surveyor, Col. Leight, provided for the future city give it, in a climate where frost is hardly known, an abundance of restful green.

The climate of Adelaide is very hot in the summer, and the people tell you of the thermometer going up to 160 and 170 degrees and more. But you find on inquiry that this is reading of the thermometer in the sun—as though they really liked to beat the world for heat. The truth is that the thermometer does go up to 105, and even 110 degrees in the shade, although, owing to the dryness of the atmosphere, this heat is not felt as much as it would be in the more humid climate of the eastern coast, where the rainfall is much greater. During our stay in South Australia the weather was delicious—dry, clear and warm, without being unpleasantly hot. The farmers, however, were anxiously waiting for rain, not enough having yet fallen to start the grain or make the ground fit for plowing. The truth is that in South Australia, as in the other Australian colonies and in United States, land grabbing and land speculation has scattered the population, to the great disadvantage of production, over a far larger extent of country than can be economically used, and that the whole population of South Australia, and a great deal more than its present population, could find room enough between the low range that lies behind Adelaide and the sea. There is a line of sufficient rainfall marked on the maps of South Australia, by one of the early surveyors, which experience has shown to be tolerably exact, but land speculation has driven settlement far beyond this line into districts where a good crop can only be had at occasional years. The true agricultural industry of South Australia is not the scratching of ground for wheat and raising seven or eight bushels to the acre, but the growing of fruit and the making of wine; for this the country around Adelaide is probably unsurpassed anywhere in the world.

South Australia has an exceedingly interesting history. It is the only one of the Australian colonies that owes its foundation to an organized attempt on the part of individuals to found a community in a new country. Its real originator was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man who "saw the cat" as plainly as our single tax men of to-day see it; but who saw it, so to speak, wrong end foremost. He had traveled in the United States, and was struck with the disadvantages to which people of culture, refinement and means were subjected in a new country owing to the high price of labor. "The high price of labor in new countries," he said, "was owing to the ease with which land could be obtained, and that in order to secure labor at a reasonable price it was necessary that land should be held at such a rate as would put it beyond the immediate reach of immigrating laborers, and would compel them to work for a time for wages before they could save money enough to get a piece of land to go to work for themselves."

In my writing and speeches I have at various times pointed out that chattel slavery never grew up except where population was sparse and land easily accessible, and that the reason why the English slave ships that sailed from London, Bristol and other ports carried their black cargoes to America, and did not bring them to Great Britain or Ireland, was that in the new world population was so sparse and land so plenty that

the only way to get the services of a man without giving him a return was to make property of the man himself, but that, in the older countries, the reducing to private ownership of the land enabled the land owners to obtain the services of men in a relatively dense population much more easily and cheaply than they could have done under the system of chattel slavery. I presume I shall now be accused of plagiarizing this idea from Edward Gibbon Wakefield, for I find that in his *Letters Between a Statesman and a Colonist*, of which a copy is preserved in the parliamentary library at Adelaide, he has elaborated the same idea, pointing out that the slave owners of America and the West Indies were not a whit more wicked than their kinsman of Great Britain and Ireland, but that because of the cheapness of land they had been driven to slavery as the only way of obtaining labor at reasonable rates.

Wakefield goes on to use an illustration which is very striking. He says: Supposing some chemist like Liebig were to discover a method of changing water into land, by which the water of the ocean around the British islands could be turned into dry and fertile land as far as desired. Supposing this change, he says, could be wrought at the expense of forty shillings an acre. Allowing ten shillings for profit on production, the Atlantic ocean, as fast as required, would thus be changed into arable land at a price of fifty shillings an acre. The result, he says, would be at once to abolish pauperism, but with this, another and very undesirable result would manifest itself. The price of labor would become so high, and the wages so large, that the employers of labor would be put at a very great disadvantage and the upper classes would find it impossible to live with the comfort and refinement that they are now accustomed to.

I am quoting only from memory and giving not the exact words, but the idea. On this idea was based the Wakefield colonization scheme, which was, that in the settlement of a new country land should be held at a price, sufficient to make it impossible for the mere laborer to get it, and that the proceeds of this sale of land should be used to defray the expenses of bringing out laborers. Thus the people who invested their money in land would get a return in the cheap labor which would be available and receive for their money a tangible benefit, for, as Wakefield very clearly saw, land has no real value except as it enables the owner to obtain the products of labor without doing any labor himself. By adopting this policy a settlement could be made which would enable men of means, culture and refinement to enjoy life as in older countries, and thus permit communities like that which existed in England to be built up in hitherto unsettled parts of the world. This scheme attracted a good deal of attention, and the result was the formation of a society for the colonization of South Australia. An English company was created by parliamentary act, with a board of trustees authorized to sell land and to borrow money. They found it impossible to sell a sufficient amount of land in England at £1 an acre to raise the sum they required for the first steps in the enterprise, and compromised by selling a considerable amount for 10s. an acre. The first number of the colonial newspaper, the predecessor of the present Register, was published in London; its second number being issued in Adelaide, when the first batch of colonists went out. Instead of going to work cultivating the soil, they went to work speculating in land, and made fortunes, on paper, on the speculative values of the lots which were laid out in and

around Adelaide. In order to employ the laborers and improve the lots in which everybody that was anybody was speculating, large public works were commenced, and the governor of the colony (Governor Gawler) horrified the directors by drawing on them for enormous sums which they had no means to meet. The reports of these directors, who resided in London—of which there are copies in the parliamentary libraries in Adelaide—are very funny reading. The first two or three reports are filled with most roseate pictures of success and anticipations for the future; but of a sudden the bubble bursts, and so dire and dismal comes the news from the colony that they did not venture to make a report, and some one else had to make the next for them. The government took up the matter, and one fine morning Captain Gray, now Sir George Grey of New Zealand, walked into the government house of Adelaide and produced his commission as governor of the colony. His energetic and economic administration brought order out of chaos, prevented actual starvation and got the colony on its feet, but the minimum price of £1 for land was long preserved, and for some time a greater or less portion of the land revenue was used in bringing out laborers from England.

HENRY GEORGE.

A number of responses have already been received to the suggestion made last week concerning direct subscriptions to THE STANDARD in place of the purchase of papers at news stands. We hope that they will be much more numerous. THE STANDARD makes no money at all on that portion of its circulation handled by the news companies, and it cannot afford to sell papers without any profit. If its whole circulation was handled by the news company it could not exist. There are doubtless people who cannot afford to send even \$1 for twenty weeks' subscription directly to the paper, but among the thousands who regularly buy the paper at news stands there must be a large number who can easily afford to subscribe for it directly. The amount of money they pay will be the same, but in one case it will go to THE STANDARD and in the other to some one else. Of course our readers will act on their own judgment, but we wish to make the matter so plain that no reader of the paper shall be unaware of our decided preference for direct subscriptions.

Traffic was practically suspended on Broadway at the corner of Fulton street one day last week because a workman, who had been engaged in tearing up that great thoroughfare for the steam heating company, accidentally dropped his lantern and set fire to the gas escaping from one of the mains of the Consolidated gas company. The appropriation of the property of the people of this city by private corporations has long been a nuisance, but the actual stoppage of travel for hours on the busiest part of the principal thoroughfare of the city is likely to cause the careless people who have submitted to the nuisance without complaint or protest to ask what rights these private corporations have to our streets and how such rights were acquired.

The Maine republican convention refused point blank to indorse civil service reform or ballot reform in its platform. This is a surprising evidence of a revival of honesty. The republican ring in Maine has demonstrated its hostility to honest elections and its belief in the spoils system, and it has simply refused to continue to lie about the matter any longer.

Our Chicago correspondence has made our readers familiar with the fact that the new assessors in that city have an-

nounced their intention to assess vacant lots at a valuation proportioned to that placed on improved property. They are not likely to lack support in their policy, since the Daily News, in its issue of June 12, says:

Assessor Richards of the south town and Assessor Cantwell of the west town have lately given expression to their policy in regard to taxing vacant lots and lands held by speculators. Both announce that they will make no discrimination in favor of such lands and against improved property. Their views on assessments in this particular are eminently just.

Unimproved property should be taxed as heavily as improved property of equal value. If owners do not like to pay fair taxes on land which is bringing them no return they need have no difficulty in disposing of it at the market price to those who will put improvements on it.

Many great fortunes have been made in Chicago, as in other cities, by persons who have bought land cheap and held it out of the market for years, paying meanwhile ridiculously low taxes, until the efforts of others in making improvements, for which they are heavily taxed, have raised the value of the vacant tracts and opened the way for enormously profitable sales. It is a pleasure to note that at least two of Chicago's seven assessors—seven is six too many—have decided to show no favor to speculators at the expense of the owners of homes.

The News is the most largely circulated paper in Chicago, reaching all classes and printing 250,000 copies daily. It is peculiarly gratifying, therefore, to find in its editorial columns such outspoken commendations of the first step toward the practical application of single tax theories.

The Chicago Times seems to have "caught on," as the boys say, and it printed in a recent issue an illustration, reproduced elsewhere, that graphically tells the whole story.

The proposed new federal election law has been approved by the republican caucus in the house of representatives, and its provisions are at last made public. It proposes to appoint a perfect army of federal office holders to overrun the whole country for days before election, paying them \$5 a day, and practically to give them the power, as against the local officers, to decide who have been elected to congress. The scheme is a deliberate attempt, by revolutionary means, to prepare the way for the fraudulent seating in the next congress of men defeated by the people at the polls. There are of course provisions in the bill against fraud, but the essential feature of the measure is that which takes from the local officers the power they have exercised for a century to count and declare the votes, and puts every election precinct in the country practically under the control of a federal election board composed of two republicans to one democrat. This is the boldest step the plutocratic conspiracy has yet made by way of preparation for the overthrow of popular government in the United States, and the defiance of the expressed will of the people. It simply means that the protectionists, who are now running this government for their own pecuniary benefit, propose to continue to run it whether the people shall defeat them at the polls or not. The problem presented by this audacious piece of usurpation is the gravest that ever confronted the American people, with the possible exception of that which confronted them in the spring of 1877.

The remarkable demonstration against the McKinley bill made by the manufacturers and workmen of Philadelphia is probably the most significant political event since the last election. We are glad to know that the active work of preparing for this demonstration, particularly that portion of it made by the labor men, was undertaken and carried forward most effectively by the single tax men of Kensington. They are not numerous, but they know precisely what they want, are in close sympathy with

the working people, and have the courage of their convictions. The result is that they find it easy to give the proper tone to public demonstrations against the tariff and to lead the audience into forcing speakers to more radical utterances than they dare offer to the conservative merchants and manufacturers who are far behind the intelligent workmen in their study of the problems of political economy and taxation. The workingmen of America will down the tariff and establish free trade despite all the petty contrivances of the business men to limit the issue to one of tariff tinkering.

A CHANCE FOR HONEST GOVERNMENT.

The Rev. Heber Newton is not satisfied with merely preaching in favor of honest municipal government. He has actually started a movement in behalf of independent nominations which deserves the respectful consideration of every friend of good government in this city. A circular has been issued requesting the Stock exchange, Consolidated exchange, Produce exchange, Real estate exchange, Coal and iron exchange, Cotton exchange, Coffee exchange, Bar association, Association of master plumbers, Association of painters, Bricklayers' union, Clothiers' association, Jewelers' league, Hotel association, United brotherhood of carpenters and joiners and the Central labor union to each send three delegates to attend a meeting at Windsor hotel on the evening of June 24, at 8 o'clock, "to organize a citizen's movement for the purification of municipal politics by non-partisan nominations."

The signers of this invitation are Rev. R. Heber Newton, pastor of All Souls' Episcopal church; Jesse Seligman, the banker; Rev. Thos. J. Ducey, pastor of St. Leo's Roman Catholic church; A. R. Whitney, one of the leaders of the Business men's republican association; Gustave H. Schwab, merchant and shipowner, and one of the trustees of the Reform club; John Claffin, head of the great dry goods house; Louis C. Whiton, lawyer; F. D. Tappen, president of the Gallatin bank; Henry A. Rogers, merchant, and Henry C. Potter, Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York.

The first organization to receive the communication was the Central labor union, which body referred it to the committee appointed to consider political action by that organization. What the various exchanges and other associations will do remains to be seen, but if they are anxious for a citizens' movement that will really determine to take the government of this city out of the hands of machine politicians, it seems to us that the character of this call ought to give them assurance that this is the movement that will best meet their desires. The question seems to be whether or not the citizens of New York have lost the faculty of taking the initiative in political movements. Hitherto the men who were most prone to denounce machine rule supinely submitted to a choice of evils, and seemed to have no idea that it was within their power to present candidates really satisfactory to themselves. There was a good reason for this belief until the new election law was passed, but it now is possible to start an independent movement on lines that will command the respect of honest citizens who really believe in decent government for this city.

The comments of the newspapers and the politicians on the movement are amusing. It seems to be taken for granted that some political boss or schemer is behind it, and the only question is as to whether it is Platt, Grace or some one else. The fact that a few reputable citizens, connected with no political ma-

chines, have publicly asked non-political bodies to join in an effort to take the government of New York city out of the hands of the bosses and rings, simple as it really is, is more than astounding, it is unbelievable by the newspapers and politicians.

Any amount of worldly wisdom is freely offered to the clergymen, merchants and others who have issued this invitation. They are told that they must get the help of one or both of the minority machines if they are going to accomplish anything. They are treated to learned discourses on the relative rottenness of the several machines, in order that the conclusion may be drawn that the county democracy is the best of a bad lot. They ought to reject all such suggestions. The most successful uprising against ring rule ever made in New York, that of 1886, made no alliances and fought all machines. Its candidate stood second on the poll, and could have been elected but for the panic that led the steadfast opponents of ring rule to throw themselves bodily into the arms of the bosses. The further an independent movement is removed from ring influences, the freer it is from all connection with the bosses, the more it will commend itself to the masses.

We do not know that the movement started by Rev. Heber Newton can succeed. We doubt if the exchanges and other business bodies have the courage and patriotism to take the lead. We fear that the petty and pitiful dissensions and jealousies that divide the labor organizations into factions, and the class prejudices to which those composing them so readily lend themselves, may prevent the necessary support of the movement by workingmen. These doubts and fears, however, may prove unfounded. The business men may see that decent municipal government is within reach. The wise workingmen who see that as an essential factor is a combination assuring good government, they will disarm prejudice and gain a reasonable hearing for their just demands, may bring most of their fellow workmen to act with them. Thousands not actively participating may thus be brought to see that the new combination offers the possibility of success, and, under such circumstances, the ticket presented would sweep the city even if all the machines united against it. The more the machines and the bosses advertised their hostility, the greater would be the success of the independents.

The majority of the people of New York city are patriotic and well intentioned. They prefer the virtuous hero to the villain, on the stage, and they prefer the honest man to the rascal, in politics. Whenever the issue has been clearly made they have proven this. The trouble is that the issue has rarely been clearly made and the people have been forced to a choice of evils. We doubt if they have made so bad a choice as the mugwump papers think. All that can be said in justification of such a declaration is that just now the evil last chosen is uppermost. The majority of the people of this city are democrats. It was quite natural, then, that in a choice between corrupt machines the republican machine should be discarded. The choice remaining was between the brutally frank greediness of the Tammany machine and the canting hypocrisy of the equally corrupt county democracy. Who shall say that the people acted unwisely in choosing the least hypocritical of the two rogues? Is there anything more dangerous or disgraceful in the spectacle of Hugh Grant in the mayor's office than in that of John Fellows in the district attorney's office?

Let us have an end to homilies on the lack of moral sense in the people. Give

them a chance to choose between good administration and bad administration—between ring rule and popular rule—and then see whether the masses are not truer to righteousness than those most apt to pose as the monopolists of political morality. Stick to your simple, straightforward plan, gentlemen. If it fails the fault will lie with others, and the credit of a good and wise endeavor will be yours. No fair and sensible man can doubt your honesty and sincerity. You have put the question which must be affirmatively answered before any hopeful movement in behalf of good municipal government can be started in New York. That question is: Do we really want good government? The question has been first addressed to the business men and the workingmen. The exchanges and the labor unions have the floor. The politicians are interlopers and deserve no recognition.

MR. SMALLEY ON THE EMPEROR WILLIAM, "THE DEVIL" AND HENRY GEORGE.

Mr. G. W. Smalley in a recent letter to the New York Tribune, takes Germany's young emperor to task for his reassertion of the old claim to divine right, and is particularly shocked by Wilhelm's declaration that he is in a position to make the welfare of every individual and every province in his kingdom his own care, since he knows where in each case the shoe pinches and what has to be done to afford relief. Despite this Mr. Smalley says the German socialists have refused to accept the emperor as their leader because he would not first make himself known as "a convert," an attitude in which he says Mr. Gladstone has figured for the past few years. Of course so ripe an old story as Mr. Smalley can never miss an opportunity for sneering at Mr. Gladstone.

He then goes on to declare that "the effort of socialism, of German socialism most of all, is to take from those who have and give to those who have not, after the fashion of the devil, who robbed an old woman in order to supply Faust with money. This is a reflection, he says, that disturbs no socialist, and he continues:

It is the basis, for example, of Mr. Henry George's whole scheme of social ethics and social progress. The emperor has simply roused hopes which he will find it impossible to gratify, and stirred passions which he will vainly strive to allay except by methods akin to those of the devil and of Mr. Henry George. What he would give to one he must first take from another. He certainly does not mean to do anything of the kind. He would no more undertake anything in the nature of a redistribution of property than intrust the keeping of order in Berlin last May to the workmen on strike. But he alarms society and he exasperates the enemies of society at the same time. There is not a minister in Europe who would applaud such a policy as that; not a tyro in politics who does not perceive how foolish it is.

The emperor's claim that he accepts his crown from heaven, and is only responsible to heaven for the performance of his duties, is a silly piece of medievalism. If despite this, he is disposed to seek to allay discontent by "methods akin to those of the devil and of Mr. Henry George," he will find that the only devil he has pleased is that popular sense of justice that has always appeared a devil to the privileged classes. Again he will remove the discontent that calls socialism into existence by demonstrating that men can secure their just right to the full product of their own labor without surrendering their individual liberty and independence. We greatly fear, however, that Wilhelm II has not determined on any such programme.

The most interesting thing about the extract we have quoted is the fact that it is written by an authorized correspondent to a paper published in New York by the American minister to Paris. It does not display a single spark of American feel-

ing. The poor people, who are seeking by means of ten methods to obtain a fairer share of the wealth produced by their own labor, are regarded by Mr. Smalley as "the enemies of society." The prosperous people, who profit by the injustice against which socialism is a protest, constitute, in his opinion, "society," whose will ought to be law, and which ought not to be "alarmed" by the unwise manifestation by an emperor of sympathy with the masses. Yet the paper which keeps such a man in its employ for the gratification of the plutocrats who support it, has the audacity to pretend to the utmost solicitude for the welfare of American workingmen!

DENOUNCING THE IMPORTERS.

The New York Tribune does not propose to waste any time on the wicked importers who went to Washington to protest against the McKinley bill. In an editorial headline it declares that they are "against home industries," and it sneers at their attempts to impress the senate finance committee with the belief that they are not free traders; for, continues the Tribune, "the committee and the public will judge them by the deliberate representations they have chosen to make in order to influence legislation. Tried by that test these importers and agents of foreign manufacturers cannot be distinguished from those free traders who have for many years labored to break down the American system of protection." The Tribune further reminds these gentlemen that they are a very insignificant body of people as compared with those whose livelihood depends on the success and prosperity of American manufacturers.

It is not worth while to argue with the Tribune, for of course its whole stock in trade is the assumption that the success and prosperity of American manufacturers depend on a continuance of the protective system. It is honest enough to say "manufacturers" instead of "manufactures." It is undoubtedly true that some of the manufacturers who are pressing the McKinley bill do profit very largely by the system, but that manufacturing industry as a whole is benefited by tariff taxes is not true, and the Tribune makes no attempt to show that it is. The thing it does show is its own readiness, and the readiness of those for whom it speaks, to sacrifice, without mercy, the business interests and the personal rights of any one who protests against the conspiracy to rob the whole American people for the benefit of the particular manufacturers who contributed to the republican corruption fund on condition that they should be authorized by law to exact an increased tribute from the unfortunate American people.

We hope the Tribune will keep it up. Let it jump on the importers to its heart's content. Most of them have hitherto been foolish enough to vote the republican ticket, and they probably read the Tribune. A few such articles as that we quote will have a wonderful educational effect.

A GOOD PLATFORM IN MISSOURI.

The rapidity with which the democratic party is advancing on the tariff question is shown by the platforms adopted by the state conventions. We commented last week on the declaration of the Illinois democrats, and we are glad to find that the Missouri democrats have adopted an equally radical tariff plank. After condemning "the present system of tariff taxation as unjust, inequitable and iniquitous," the resolution demands "the revision of the entire tariff system, on a revenue basis, so adjusted as to place the burden of taxation on all classes alike, with equal and exact justice to all and special favors to none." There is not one

word about "protection," but the tariff is regarded as a tax, and the platform insists that it shall be as nearly equitable as a tax only and no exemption can ever be.

This is a bold return to the traditional principles of the democratic party, and it is all the more gratifying because a few so-called democratic leaders in Missouri tainted with Randallism have been openly denouncing any attempts to organize tariff reform clubs in that state. The adoption of such a platform without opposition by the state convention merely affords additional evidence that the protectionist democrats no longer have any real influence in their party, and that they must abandon protectionism or get out. This rapid progress within the democratic party is especially gratifying to those of us outside its organization who have felt impelled to support it on national issues as the only political organization capable of seriously opposing the desperate plans of the protectionists.

The platform throughout is a good one, and its declaration that the public land is the heritage of the people, and that all lands held for speculative purposes should be taxed, is another step forward that will be particularly gratifying to single tax men. It is not much, but it is the thin end of the wedge, and its insertion in the Missouri democratic platform demonstrates that the introduction of economic questions into politics necessitates the consideration of the land question.

THEY WANT IT ALL.

The R. G. Peters salt and lumber company, manufacturers of lumber, shingles and salt and dealers in general merchandise at Eastlake, Mich., is a corporation that, from the nature of its business, derives very decided advantages from the existing tariff. It wants, however, still more, and it has issued a circular letter, which reads as follows:

J. J. Windsor, East Saginaw, Mich.—Sir: There is probably no need of our calling your attention to the fact that the tariff bill, which has just passed the house, provides for a rebate on salt imported for packing purposes, and that this matter is one of great moment to the salt manufacturers of Michigan. This bill should not be allowed to go through the senate in its present shape without our making an effort to have it changed so as to not allow this rebate. This can be done in the senate committee or the senate, and we suggest that you write immediately to our two senators, and all other representatives in congress, that they use their influence to have the bill changed. Certainly the representatives of this state in congress should be united on a subject that so seriously affects such an important industry as that of the salt industry of Michigan.

We shall be pleased to hear from you on receipt of this, that you have written the congressmen and senators, as suggested. Yours, respectfully,

THE R. G. PETERS SALT AND LUMBER CO.
H. W. Carey, Secretary and Treasurer.

The R. G. Peters company does not intend that any of the manufacturers who use salt shall escape the payment of the bounty accorded to it by the McKinley bill. If packers choose to sell goods abroad they must buy American salt to preserve their goods, or quit selling abroad. This is simply the logic of this protest.

We wish the Michigan salt and lumber barons success. We know of no reason why any packer of meat should be assisted by this government to sell goods to foreigners any more cheaply than he sells them to the people of the United States. If it costs no more to preserve goods with American salt than it does with foreign salt, there is no reason why any rebate should be offered. If it does cost more, then our packers ought to be enabled to obtain the foreign salt without duty in order that they may sell goods cheaper to American citizens than they would otherwise sell them. If our government is concerned in seeing that any

people get cheap beef our own people are those deserving its beneficent care.

INCITING TO LAWLESSNESS.

The foolish attempt by the census bureau to compel people to publicly confess their physical or mental infirmities called forth a protest which has very properly led the authorities to practically abandon the attempt to insist on answers to such questions. This abandonment, however, has been taken advantage of by the various organs of monopoly with a view to preventing answers to the inquiries addressed to individuals designed to bring out information showing what proportion of our people own their own homes, and whether or not homes nominally owned by occupants are mortgaged. These inquiries were included very reluctantly by the department under pressure from outside, and there is probably no reasonable hope that any attempt will be made to secure accurate information of this kind.

The boldest attempt that has yet been made to prevent the acquisition of this information is that of the Atlanta Constitution, a professedly democratic paper published in Atlanta, Ga., which has never failed to show its sympathy with monopolies and corporations, and which has frequently indicated its hostility to the tariff reform programme of the democratic party. This paper publishes a blank containing all the questions put by the census bureau, and opposite each question relating to physical and mental defects and those relating to mortgages, etc., it prints "You need not answer this." This is a deliberate attempt to prevent the execution of the law, and we are curious to know what the federal authorities in Georgia propose to do about it. If ignorant men and women can be hauled up before a United States commissioner and severely fined for refusing to answer questions, what ought to be the penalty inflicted on a newspaper that deliberately advises them to refuse to answer?

THE WORKINGMEN'S TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

The splendid demonstration by the workingmen of Kensington, Philadelphia, in behalf of tariff reform, should inspire the free trade workmen of New York to activity in behalf of free commerce and cheaper living. Congressmen Breckinridge, Bynum and others addressed the Philadelphia workmen, and they found a magnificent audience ready to applaud their most radical utterances against the protective system. The workingmen of New York are not behind their brethren in Philadelphia, and there is no doubt whatever that a still greater demonstration is practicable here.

The Workingmen's tariff reform league, recently organized, ought to increase in membership so rapidly that it will itself soon be able to prepare the way for a great demonstration against the protective delusion. In Kensington the single tax men took the lead in bringing about this movement and one of them presided at the meeting. The Kensington single tax club has merged itself in the Kensington tariff reform club and the members have thrown themselves with the utmost enthusiasm into the work of the last named organization. The single tax men of New York, particularly those who are included in the term "workingmen," as usually applied, should do everything that lies in their power to promote the rapid growth of the Tariff reform league. They need not hold off because tariff reform strikes them as a somewhat mild, meaningless phrase, for experience proves that no tariff reform organization can engage in active work for any length of time without becoming a free trade organization, no matter what difficulties it has in the beginning, and the presence in

such an organization of a number of single taxers greatly contributes to this desirable result.

We hope the readers of THE STANDARD, even if they cannot attend all of the meetings of the organization, will send in their names for membership to E. M. Kline, secretary of the Workingmen's tariff reform league, 73 Lexington avenue. No more important work can be undertaken just now than strengthening the hands of this organization. No dues are required, and the organization will depend on voluntary contributions to meet its very moderate expenses.

THE TARIFF ON CLOTHES.

The young society men in New York are profoundly stirred up by the recent seizure of a lot of London clothing, which certain minor officers on some of the steamship lines were attempting to smuggle into this port for the benefit of young New Yorkers who like to wear London clothing without taking the trouble of going to London to buy it. It appears that there is a very extensive conspiracy of this kind, and that a large amount of London made clothing has been imported without the payment of duties. The young men who give their minds to the subject of clothes have not had much time for the study of the tariff question, but we hope that this incident may bring the subject home to them in a very emphatic way, and that they will begin to ask themselves why they should not obtain a suit from an English tailor if they prefer to do so. How does it become the duty of the United States to compel them under penalty of a severe fine to buy in New York?

The New York tailors are stirred up about the matter, and Mr. B. R. Merwin, president of the New York merchant tailors' association, in a published interview says that the tailors are not free traders or protectionists, "but," he continued, "if the McKinley bill does not protect us against these wholesale smugglers we want free trade. We can cut better clothes than the London tailors, and we could undersell them if we could get our goods as cheap." Apparently it does not make much difference to President Merwin which way the question is settled, but the vast body of people, who do not smuggle clothes from London, and who of necessity have them made in New York, certainly have a decided interest in the acceptance of the free trade alternative, if they can thereby get better clothes for the same money they now pay.

Why should we not all be able to wear well cut clothes without going to Europe for the privilege? for it must be remembered that the rich people who go over to Europe regularly invariably bring home their trunks full of these foreign made clothes, and that the government does not attempt to exact any duty on clothing thus imported for the personal use of the man bringing it with him? Free trade would not only be better for the people but better for the tailors. If men could buy good clothes cheaply they would buy more clothes.

TAXING PERSONAL PROPERTY.

One of the most serious objections to the taxing of personal property lies in the fact that it is a tax on industry—a fine imposed upon a man for producing or owning something that the world needs. Another serious objection is the fact that a personal property tax is not and cannot be collected uniformly and justly. Personal property exists in countless forms, and in most cases it can easily be either kept entirely concealed from the assessor or its real value covered up. Hence the impossibility of assessing it on any equitable plan, even if the taxing of it at all were wise and just. The burden of such taxation invariably falls heaviest upon

the poor, while the wealthy classes can, if they choose, escape with only very light fines, or none at all. Moreover, the personal property tax system is completely calculated to promote deceit, engender hypocrisy, and popularize perjury. A case in point, as showing the inequalities of such taxation, recently came to light in this tax-ridden city. The only remarkable feature of the case is that it should have been brought out in the manner mentioned, thus:

A local paper (which is a bitter opponent of Henry George's theories) contained the following editorial statement:

In an opinion given by the city attorney to the city assessor, as to the payment by banks of their just proportion of taxes, some interesting and pregnant facts are disclosed. It is shown that, according to the sworn statements of the banks of this city, made about the 1st of March of last year, the banks had assets amounting to \$24,200,000, while the assessed value of all the property upon which the banks of this city paid taxes for last year was \$55,315. While it is not claimed that money due depositors should be assessed to the banks, there is nearly \$3,000,000 in capital stock, reserve funds, surplus and undivided profits which certainly should be so assessed.

The city attorney's communication contains a good deal of valuable information, statistical and otherwise. It ought to open the eyes of some people concerning the true inwardness of a system that has neither equity, consistency nor common sense for its foundation.

Los Angeles, Cal. RALPH E. HOYT.

THE DECENTRALIZING TENDENCY OF THE SINGLE TAX.

There are certain great services which the general government can perform for the people more effectively and more cheaply than can any individual corporation, municipality, or state. They are services in which the whole people of the nation are equally interested. Of this nature are the transmission and distribution of the mails; and for a like reason, the sending of messages by telegraph and telephone. If any one doubts the truth of this proposition, let him imagine what sort of a mail service we should have, and what it would cost, if it depended upon private enterprise. If there were hundreds or thousands of companies engaged in the business, on their own responsibility, of transmitting letters and newspapers, just as there are such companies engaged in transporting merchandise, who can believe that letters and newspapers would be as certainly, as quickly, and as cheaply carried and delivered from one border of this vast country to the other as they now are by the agency of the general government? And who can doubt that great combinations or trusts would be formed, that the great companies would swallow up the small, and that these great companies would be consolidated or combined, in order to avoid competition and that they might fix prices to suit themselves? Can any one believe that under such circumstances, letters would be carried three thousand, or even three hundred miles, for two cents?

If it be conceded, then, that the government of the United States does carry the mails, and deliver them more regularly, rapidly and cheaply than would individuals or private companies, or even the states, it is reasonable to conclude that the whole business of inter-state transportation, if under the direct control of the general government, would be more economically performed than it now is. And this result may be reached by a further extension of the laws for the regulation of inter-state commerce, and without transcending the constitutional powers of congress.

It was not until 1862 that congress began to exercise the salutary control conferred by the constitution for the regulation of the currency. Down to that date the states, and even individuals, had been tolerated in the issue of their notes as currency, on their own terms, and with the worst consequences.

As supporters of the principle of federal control in such cases as these, the friends of the single tax are open to the charge of favoring a policy of centralization. But it is equally true that they are emphatically and tenaciously the

friends of the individual control of all private matters, as may be seen in the writings of Mr. George. My present purpose is to illustrate the direct tendency of the single tax to decentralization, or state autonomy.

In the first place, supposing the constitution of the United States to be so changed as to admit of the imposition of taxes in proportion to the value of land, instead of population, it would be found most convenient to collect the taxes by the agency of the state officials, and the state officials are really the county officials. They collect the county and state taxes at the same times and places, and keep separate accounts of them; and they might collect the United States taxes at the same times and places without any serious complication of their duties. This would be all the more easily done when the single tax goes into operation.

An objection might seem to present itself in the multiplicity of standards of assessment in the several states, but this obstacle may be overcome by a requirement that the true value of the land, to be tested by actual sales, or prices asked, shall be made that standard. The United States government would retain the ultimate right to assess and collect the taxes, just as it has that right at present, and which it has invariably acted upon in the collection of direct taxes. If any state, therefore, should attempt to avoid the payment of its due proportion of the public burdens, this reserved right of the United States government might be brought into play.

Under the present system, one section or class is heavily taxed for the benefit of another. In order to "encourage domestic industry," which means capitalists engaged in manufacturing, the farmers, the merchants and the mechanics are made to pay twice as much for whatever manufactured goods they must consume as the goods are worth; and of what they thus pay in excess of the value of the articles used, not more than one-seventh part goes into the public treasury, while six-sevenths go into the pockets of the manufacturers. That is to say, the government now raises by tariff taxes, say \$200,000,000; while the manufacturers receive from the same source \$1,200,000,000. This results from the proportions of foreign and domestic goods used. This infamous monopoly—this centralizing tyranny—will be swept away by the single tax, and every dollar paid by the people in taxes will go into the national treasury.

And by the same token, the whole army of collectors and appraisors and what not connected with the custom houses will be disbanded, together with those employed in the present internal revenue or excise system. It must be said in behalf of the excise system, however, that while it causes an odious inquisition into the private affairs of the people with bands of spies and informers, it differs from the custom house system—not in the matter of inquisition into private affairs—but in this: that every dollar of tax imposed is paid into the treasury—and paid by the manufacturers, and not to them.

The whole business of tax collecting will be done by the county officers in the several states, and the hand of the federal government will only be felt in the distribution of the revenue for just and beneficial purposes.

The post office department is now practically self-supporting, or would be so if the government were to charge itself at the established rates for the transmission of official correspondence. The patent office is absolutely self-supporting and yields a surplus revenue. The agricultural department might be made self-supporting if all who correspond with it and receive its favors were required to pay for those favors.

The war and navy departments ought to become "small by degrees and beautifully less" in proportion as the country becomes great and powerful—in proportion as the Indians become civilized and of less relative strength, and in proportion as freedom of trade shall establish,

as it surely will, "peace on earth and good will among men."

When the nations begin to trade freely with each other they will derive so much pecuniary profit from their intercourse that they will be disinclined to war. Questions of boundary will be settled by arbitration, and the obligation of the nations to submit their differences to arbitration will become too strong to be disregarded by any one power. This thought is rapidly developing in Europe and America. The south disregarded the blessings of free trade with the north, because it had what it esteemed a greater interest at stake. But chattel slavery is now dead and can never be resurrected. It is true we yet have industrial slavery, but that is neither local nor sectional, and can be dealt with by an appeal to the ballot box.

If the single tax prevailed in Europe to-day, with freedom of trade, the great armies which are kept up would soon become reduced in numbers, without the exterminating process of war. Germany and France would begin to find that peace is a greater interest than the possession of Alsace and Lorraine; while Russia would become something better than a military camp, with the head of the government forever meditating war upon his neighbors.

The tendency of the single tax, when applied, will be to bring the nations into harmony, by making their interests the same; and a charge that the system would tend to the disintegration of the Union, by making our interests common with those of foreign nations, would be more plausible than that it tends to centralization. But there will be no danger of either evil consequence, and on the contrary, our great prosperity and power, our just and equal form of government, under that system, would tend to draw other states into the fold of the American Union, rather than to make those now within it indifferent to its blessings.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

Washington, June 5, 1890.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE TARIFF—HE WAS NOT AN EXTREMIST BUT SAW DANGERS IN EXCESSIVE CUSTOMS DUTIES—HIS LUCID THOUGHTS ON TARIFF TAXATION—WHY HE APPROVED A TARIFF—THE FEDERALIST—LIGHT ON A DARK SUBJECT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16.—"It is a misfortune, inseparable from human affairs, that public measures are rarely investigated with that spirit of moderation which is essential to a just estimate of their real tendency to advance or obstruct the public good; and that this spirit is more apt to be diminished than promoted by those occasions which require an unusual exercise of it."

Thus wrote Alexander Hamilton in 1787, in one of those brilliant papers called forth in exposition and support of the new federal constitution, which had been framed by the convention at Philadelphia after great labor not a long time before. So strong and determined was the opposition to the proposed instrument that it seemed that the plan for a stronger union of the thirteen newly liberated states must fail. The inadequacy of the loose and weak association under the articles of confederation was conceded by all; but there was, on the other hand, much reluctance to relinquish those sovereign rights for which each colony had fought and which each exercised from the time the first blow against England had been given. Great opposition was roused in New York state, which, on account of her central situation, her comparatively large population and her wealth and commercial importance, exercised a powerful influence over several states and made doubtful their acceptance of the new instrument. Communications of all kinds were poured upon the newspaper press arguing against the proposed union with great earnestness and ability, and not a few editorials appeared pointing to the danger of centralization and tyranny. All sorts of facts were adduced to support this position, most ingenious arguments were used, and all history was ransacked to furnish instances in point. Indeed, such was the ability and persistence of the antagonism that the federalists, that is, those favoring the federal constitution, became much alarmed.

It was then that Alexander Hamilton of New York, James Madison of Virginia and John Jay of New York, associated themselves in the plan of formally meeting opposition and answering objections. They

produced, under the general head of the *Federalist*, and over the common signature of "Publius," that series of remarkable papers which at once found circulation throughout the colonies and attracted attention in Europe, and which, on perusal to-day, makes one wonder if it is not true that "they were giants in those days." These papers were published in the form of letters in the New York press, first in one paper, then in another, and were addressed "To the people of the state of New York." Their publication, commencing in the fall of 1787, continued through the winter and the following spring, and perhaps had more to do with inducing New York, New Jersey and Connecticut to adopt the constitution than any other one cause.

Hamilton, among other things, treated that article of the constitution pertaining to taxation. He considered the subject very exhaustively and pointed out that the volume of the revenue must certainly not be derived through a tax on land and its improvements, of which there seemed to be some fear, since that tax, if apportioned among the states according to population, would fall upon some more heavily than upon others, and would, therefore, be unjust. Taxation to be borne with an approximation to evenness by all must fall upon articles of consumption, through both customs and excise taxes. One of the passages which may be cited is to be found in letter No. 21 of the *Federalist*, where he says:

Impositions of this kind (customs duties) usually fall under the denomination of indirect taxes, and must for a long time constitute the chief part of the revenue raised in this country. Those of the direct kind, which principally relate to lands and buildings, may admit of a rule of apportionment. Either the value of land, or the number of the people, may serve as a standard. The state of agriculture and the populousness of a country have been considered as nearly connected with each other. And as a rule for the purpose intended, numbers, in view of simplicity and certainty, are entitled to a preference. In every country it is a herculean task to obtain a valuation of the land; in a country imperfectly settled and progressive in improvement, the difficulties are increased almost to impracticability. The expense of an accurate valuation is, in all situations, a formidable objection. In a branch of taxation where no limits to the discretion of the government are to be found in the nature of things, the establishment of a fixed rule, not incompatible with the end, may be attended with fewer inconveniences than to leave that discretion altogether at large.

This position is fortified by a further statement three years later, when, as secretary of the treasury in Washington's cabinet, Hamilton reports to congress on the "public credit." The report is dated December 13, 1790, and the passage in question reads:

Among the substantial reasons which recommend, as a provision for the public debt, duties upon articles of consumption, in preference to taxes on houses and land, is this: It is very desirable, if practicable, to preserve the latter fund for objects and occasions, which will more immediately interest the sensibility of the whole community, and more directly affect the public safety. It will be a consoling reflection, that no capital or resource remains untouched by their provision, which, while it will have a material influence in favor of public credit, will be also conducive to the tranquility of the public mind in respect to external public danger, and will really operate as a powerful guaranty of peace. In proportion as estimation of our resources is excited in the eyes of foreign nations, the respect for us must increase, and this must beget a proportionable caution neither to insult nor to injure us with levity; while, on the contrary, the appearance of exhausted resources (which would, perhaps, be a consequence of mortgaging the revenue to be derived from land, for the payment of the public debt) might tend to invite both insult and injury, by inspiring the opinion, that our efforts to resist or repel them were little to be dreaded.

As to the amount of customs duties that might be levied, Hamilton, in letter No. 12 of the *Federalist*, says:

It is, therefore, evident that one national government would be able, at much less expense, to extend the duties on imports, beyond comparison, further than would be practicable to the states separately, or to any particular confederacies. Hitherto, I believe, it may be safely asserted, that these duties have not upon an average exceeded in every state three per cent. In France they are estimated to be about fifteen per cent, and in Britain they exceed this proportion. [In a footnote he says: "If my memory is right they amount to twenty per cent."] There seems to be nothing to hinder their being increased in this country, to at least treble their present amount.

Yet, he points out, there is a natural limit to this tax, past which it is useless to try to go. In letter 21 he says:

It is a signal advantage of taxes on articles of consumption, that they contain in their nature a security against excess. They prescribe their own limit; which cannot be exceeded without defeating the end proposed—that is, an extension of the revenue. When applied to this object, the saying is as just as it is witty that, "in political arithmetic, two and two do not always make four." If duties are too high, they lessen the consumption; the collection is eluded; and the product of the treasury is not so great as when they are confined within proper and

moderate bounds. This forms a complete barrier against any material oppression of the citizens, by taxes of this class, and is itself a natural limitation of the power of imposing them.

In further consideration of the same point of showing the limitations of customs duties, Hamilton, in letter No. 33, says:

Before we proceed to examine any other objections to an indefinite power of taxation in the Union, I shall make one general remark, which is, that if the jurisdiction of the national government, in the article of revenue, should be restricted to particular objects, it would naturally occasion an undue proportion of the public burdens to fall upon those objects. Two evils would spring from this source—the oppression of particular branches of industry, and unequal distribution of the taxes, as well among the several states, as among the citizens of the same state.

Suppose, as has been contended for, the federal power of taxation were to be confined to duties on imports; it is evident that the government, for want of being able to command other resources, would frequently be tempted to extend those duties to an injurious excess. There are persons who imagine that they can never be carried to too great a length; since the higher they are, the more it is alleged they will tend to discourage an extravagant consumption, to produce a favorable balance of trade and to promote domestic manufactures. But all extremes are pernicious in various ways. Exorbitant duties on imported articles would beget a general spirit of smuggling, which is always prejudicial to the fair trader, and eventually to the revenue itself; they tend to render other classes of the community tributary, in an improper degree, to the manufacturing classes, to whom they give a premature monopoly of the markets; they sometimes force industry out of its more natural channels into others in which it flows with less advantage; and in the last place, they oppress the merchant, who is often obliged to pay them himself without any retribution from the consumer. When the demand is equal to the quantity of goods at market, the consumer generally pays the duty; but when the markets happen to be overstocked, a great proportion falls upon the merchant, and sometimes not only exhausts his profits, but breaks in upon his capital. I am apt to think, that a division of the duty, between the seller and the buyer, more often happens than is commonly imagined. It is not always possible to raise the price of a commodity, in exact proportion to every additional imposition laid upon it. The merchant, especially in a country of small commercial capital, is often under a necessity of keeping prices down in order to make a more expeditious sale.

"However," says Hamilton, "so far as these observations tend to inculcate a danger of the import duties being extended to an injurious extreme, it may be observed, conformably to a remark made in another part of these papers [he refers to the second quotation made from letter 21] that the interest of the revenue itself would be a sufficient guard against such an extreme." But he points out that this natural, automatic "security against excess" of import duties will only hold so long as there remain other means of taxation open; that as soon as taxation is closed to other things and confined to imports, then men will shut their eyes to the real effects produced, and, driven by necessity, will pile on the tax, deluding themselves with the hope that the results thus produced are the best that could be obtained under any circumstances. He further declares that whether the excessive tariff duties arose from this or another cause, much the same evils would ensue. He says, letter 36:

I readily admit that this (natural security against excessive import duties) would exist as long as other resources were open; but if the avenues to them were closed, hope, stimulated by necessity, would beget experiments, fortified by rigorous precautions and additional penalties, which, for a time, would have the intended effect, till there had been leisure to contrive expedients to elude these new precautions. The first success would be apt to inspire false opinions, which it might require a long course of subsequent experience to correct. Necessity, especially in politics, often occasions false hopes, false reasonings and a system of measures correspondently erroneous. But even if this supposed excess should not be a consequence of the limitation of the federal power of taxation, the inequalities spoken of would still ensue, though not in the same degree, from the other causes that have been noticed.

It is plain that Hamilton set a limit to tariff taxes, and saw only damage from a going beyond it. It is, therefore, of first importance to learn precisely what that limit was in figures; and it is found by turning to the report on public credit already quoted from. The average of the tariff duties at that date is estimated at ten per cent, and it certainly was not over eleven, yet in these distinct words Hamilton refers to what he takes to be an obvious fact, namely, that the tariff could not be raised without injurious effects:

It need scarcely be observed that the duties on the great mass of imported articles have reached a point which it would not be expedient to exceed. There is, at least, satisfactory evidence that they cannot be extended further without contravening the sense of the body of the merchants.

Here, then, Alexander Hamilton, ignorantly extolled as the founder of the "protective policy," and revered as the father of the "American system," declares in express

terms and fortifies it with various arguments that tariff duties should not exceed ten or eleven per cent. Instead of sharing views of protectionists of the present time and subordinating the "revenue" to the "protective" features of the tariff, he held to quite the reverse; and, indeed, it is not going too far to say that in referring to the so-called "encouragement to manufacturers" he was largely impelled by a motive to present to that class an advantage in a tax that must, in the first instance, at least, fall upon them. But the truth is that Hamilton, whatever else might be said of him, was not a "protectionist" in the sense of that word today. He supported a tariff tax, just as he approved of internal taxes—because he saw no better way of raising the necessary revenue. Had he seen a better way, his writings, to the impartial reader, must leave no doubt that he would at once have accepted it and abandoned all others.

In view of the mistaken but prevalent notion regarding Hamilton's tariff views, his words become the more significant: "It is a misfortune, inseparable from human affairs, that public measures are rarely investigated with that spirit of moderation which is essential to a just estimate of their real tendency to advance or obstruct the public good; and that this spirit is more apt to be diminished than promoted by those occasions which require an unusual exercise of it."

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

SOME OF THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES GIVE PRACTICAL EVIDENCE OF THEIR SYMPATHY WITH THE DISINHHERITED—ENGLAND MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN THE SINGLE TAX AND SOCIALISM—GROWING POPULARITY OF GLADSTONE.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, May 31.—During this month the co-operators have been in congress at Glasgow. Lord Roseberry opened the proceedings by an address of great interest. It was interesting as coming from a peer who has always manifested a lively concern in the welfare of the people. There are such peers. It goes without saying that the great landed interest is inimical to the nation at large, but still it must never be forgotten that after all is said and done, the ways and means for carrying on the various "movements" for the improvement of the condition of the people do, as a matter of fact, largely come from those "to whom fortune has been more kind" than she has been to the majority of men. Indeed, in England there are few things more striking than this—that Henry George is right in declaring as he does in "Social Problems," that in sympathy there is a greater power than in self-interest. However it may have been aroused there is no doubt that among the well-to-do classes in England there is just now an enormous amount of sympathy with the ill-to-do.

Many people in good position perhaps are moved by what I may term the purely philosophic consideration that it is not well that there should be in a state such extreme social contrasts as we witness in all civilized lands. Others perhaps are moved by fear. The growth of socialism not only in continental countries but in England points to danger, and suggests what I alluded to last week, viz., "assimilation"—in other words, the taking of the sting out of socialism by giving half a loaf to the hungry, or dividing the forces that make an effective reform of our social system. Others, again, there are who are actually unhappy in the possession of great wealth while so many of their fellow creatures around them are in need. These are they who have caught something of the fire of a genuine religious revival, which has given evidence of its existence in a great variety of ways, and in none more than in this. Henry George did right to make his gospel a religion. He did right to seek the assistance of the ministers of religion. "Ye that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak" is a word that has gone home to many hearts on this side the Atlantic ocean, and its effect has been to lead many men to cast self-interest to the winds and to aid by all the means in their power the great movements for the elevation of the masses which are the glorious characteristic of the present time. I do not know whether Lord Roseberry is a religious man—very few members of the British parliament are religious in the ordinary acceptance of the term, and probably the majority of them are more self-seekers; but there are about Lord Roseberry's utterances always the indications that his lordship appreciates the position of affairs, and that he desires to guide the current of events to the advantage of the entire community.

In his address to the co-operators he contemplates the effect upon a state which "a state within a state" such as theirs really would thus ultimately have. This led naturally enough to considerations about produc-

tion and distribution, and as a matter of course it was absolutely impossible to avoid the taxation of the land, and equally as a matter of course it was impossible to avoid a reference to land nationalization. The subsequent proceedings of the congress showed that socialism was catching hold of the co-operators, and, indeed, the whole interest of the proceedings from the point of view from which I regard English political life turned for me upon these two things. It will be quite unnecessary for me to go into any detail whatever about what passed at the congress. It is sufficient to say that the entire proceedings showed how irresistibly the tendency of things is to the position predicted by Mr. George, viz., that England will have to choose between the single tax and socialism. Socialism may seem to win for a time, but there are limits beyond which English statesmen will not go, and meantime the principle of the single tax is making its way rapidly in the growing towns, and it only remains for it to be realized how effectually and yet withal how easily the single tax would achieve much that socialism demands, for it to become the rallying cry as it has already become a plank in the platform of the liberal party.

Very little, indeed, of political importance has transpired this week. Mr. Gladstone has retired to Hawarden—in the usual manner—that is to say, he has gone to his stately home to receive the multitude of visitors who flock to the village—to its church and its public houses—in the chance of getting a glimpse of him. On Sunday the church was literally packed, and the old man—videlicet, Mr. Gladstone—read the lessons. The next day the newspaper told us that "Mr. Gladstone walked through the village"—that is to say, the Grand Old Man simply went home and did what he felt disposed to do, as though utterly oblivious of the staring of sight seers. The fact is that every month the reverence for Mr. Gladstone grows. His increasing age, his marvelous activity, his known piety and gentleness in private life, endear him to his countrymen. We are all proud of him. And the old gentleman has practically given in to the fact that the crowd is not always merely curious to see him, but is moved by a much more beautiful sentiment, and therefore he yields. He goes about openly and frankly; lives in the open, as it were, proud of the love and esteem of his countrymen, proud of the opportunities that come to him to move them to noble enterprises.

And all the other English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh "statesmen," as they are called, have gone home, but nobody knows where they are and nobody very much cares.

It is Whit week and glorious weather, and everybody is off somewhere. It is the time of fine dresses and excursions. All the great provincial towns have been and are en fête. In Lancashire the factories are still. The people are off enjoying themselves in every conceivable way. It is a good time for the working classes generally. The skilled artisans are doing fairly well. In this little town, I am told, the clothiers and the dress-makers never in their lives sold so much new clothing. In the larger towns the slums are as choked in the poverty, vice and crime as ever. But even as I write the great thoroughfare from Manchester to Stockport, and on into the open country, is alive with excursion vehicles of every sort. The British working man is off on the spree. Why should I write for his salvation or say anything about it. One way and another I have knocked myself up, and on Monday I am off to "dear old Ireland, brave old Ireland," and there, please God, I shall remain for eight weeks, close to nature, walking from farm to farm, from village to village, on the north-east coast, sure of a welcome in hundreds of homes. If in the course of my wanderings I hear anything about the single tax, I will let you know. Friends of mine who are going to do their duty in London will send me word of anything serious. Meantime one of them says politics are as dead as a door nail, which I think is perfectly true.

HAROLD RYLETT.

"GET OFF THE EARTH"

Boston Globe.

"Danger!" "No crossing!" "Private way!" "Don't cross this lot!" "Look out for the dog!" "No trespass!" "The bull is cross!" These are a few of the warnings that continually confront the innocent pedestrian who attempts to walk God's earth and enjoy the free air of heaven in the country. One of these days the modest lover of nature on foot will probably read at every crossroad: "Get off the earth!"

ONE ANSWER.

New York News.

One answer made to a census enumerator was: "I am twenty-six years old, born in the United States, was born a tramp, started as a newsboy, have not enough learning to be a senator, lawyer or priest."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

An Ohio single tax correspondent thinks that the stone cutters of his town "manifest about the same degree of interest in the general welfare as the stones upon which they hammer." He tells of a meeting that he was invited to address on the single tax. When he went there he was coldly received and told to say his say as briefly as possible. He feels that his efforts failed, and he is consequently "much disgusted." Our correspondent should not feel that he has failed. It is a big thing that he was even invited to address the stone cutters. Experience has shown that they are a body that resent the introduction of anything new. They have managed, somehow, to keep their trade in pretty fair shape, are contented with their condition, and have closed their minds to anything that might be offered to make it still better. But a breach is being made even in their solid columns, not altogether by our ideas, but by the logic of events. The Granite Cutters' Journal shows this by the constant appeals, made in many directions, to stone cutters to keep away from towns and cities on account of strikes and dullness of trade.

The early workers in the single tax movement met with more than one rebuff such as has "disgusted" our correspondent. Even more. They were hissed and hooted in their own unions, and insulted and threatened with violence in unions they visited, because they told of the faith that was in them and of the good time coming. And it did not even stop at threats, for many times, right here in this great city, they were hustled and violently handled. It was not at a stonecutters' meeting, but at a meeting of a kindred trade, that one of the workers in the early stages of the single tax movement was taken bodily and thrown through a window into a back yard because he declared that the conditions under which we were living were unjust and against the law of God. In those days Henry George was treated with contumely. Let not our Ohio correspondent be discouraged or "disgusted." All the evil ones this side of hades cannot stop the progress of this cause.

Why, see: The movement is in a state of ferment all over the Union. What the republicans fear is, not the party which they are directly opposing, but the earnest body of men of our faith who are urging the democratic party on. The discussion which is now breaking the lines of both the great political parties—where did it start? What body of men was it that first pointed out the iniquity of the system which took from men what they earned and gave it to those who did not earn it? What body of men first took up the warning cry of President Cleveland, and, acting on it, showed the people the outrage of a protective tariff, the democratic party meanwhile looking on dazed? What body of men is it who, now that the democracy has come to its senses, and is advocating a measure of tariff reform, that is pushing them on to the line of absolute free trade? Why, the single tax men, of whom our Ohio correspondent is one. Then away with "disgust," Mr. Galloway. The future is ours. To you, individually, and to all good men who believe in justice, is assigned the task of hastening the day of jubilee.

Unless all signs fail, next November the politicians will receive a broad hint that it would be better for them to disregard the monopolists and listen to the wishes of the people.

The war at Westport Harbor, of which THE STANDARD spoke in its issue of May 28, still continues, but in a desultory sort of way. The latest report is of the repulse of the forces by a Farmer Baldwin, who owns an adjoining farm, over which Howland claims a right of way. Last week, accompanied by his two trusty men-at-arms, Howland attempted to cross the wall dividing the estate. Baldwin, in the face of superior numbers, stood on the other side and with a club enacted the role of Leonidas at Thermopylae, and threatened dire results if the others touched the wall or attempted to invade his domains. Howland, who is a man of peace, withdrew with his retainers in good order. The greatest obstacle which the cottagers have to contend with in dealing with Mr. Howland lies in the fact that they are unable to disturb his equanimity of temper. He never gets excited, speaks of his purpose to enforce his alleged rights in a low, cooing voice, smiles blandly all the while, and washes his hands with invisible soap as he lays down the law in the most exasperating manner. The brass padlocks are still on the bath houses and he holds the keys, but the cottagers say that they are not in love with June bathing, and for the present don't con-

cern themselves about that matter as much as they will a few weeks hence. Then, perhaps, the sport will begin.

Here is a case which reduces to an absurdity our methods of taxation. Charles Eddy has a homestead which lies on the line dividing Rehoboth, Mass., and Swansea, N. H., with his domicile and the major part of his lands in the latter town, where he also pays his poll tax. He is a dairy farmer, and keeps a herd of cattle. In the fall of 1888 he built a new barn on the Rehoboth side of the line, and in this he has ever since stabled his stock at such times as it was necessary, but the cattle have grazed principally on the Swansea side, and are taken there daily to be watered. Last May the assessors of both towns taxed Eddy for these cattle. He paid the Swansea tax, but he refused to honor the demand of the Rehoboth collector, and the latter has brought suit to recover. The law says that the tax on neat cattle shall be levied and paid in the town "where they are kept throughout the year," but the delicate question in this instance is raised that they are kept in neither town for the period named in the statute. The case probably will be submitted to the supreme court on an agreed statement of facts for a decision.

Says the Paterson Labor Standard:

Listen to this: An increase of hours is a reduction of wages; a reduction of hours is an increase of wages!

Now listen to this: What is an increase in the price of food such as we are having in New York to-day? What is an increase in rent?

That was a funny story which the Mail and Express told mournfully the other afternoon. Congressman Stockbridge of Maryland, a republican, had been much impressed with a speech on the tariff question delivered recently in the house by Mr. Gear of Iowa. So much was Mr. Stockbridge impressed that he concluded to place it in the hands of his Maryland constituency. He therefore ordered 10,000 copies of the speech from the government printer, and left a list of his constituents to whom he desired the speech mailed, feeling that by so doing he would largely increase the republican vote in his district next November. By a mistake on the part of the mailing clerks, or at the government printing office, 10,000 copies of the free trade speech of Congressman Crisp of Georgia were included in the wrappers under the frank of the congressman from Maryland, and his district is thus being flooded with what Colonel Shepard's paper, with a wail of anguish, calls "seditious literature." But let the colonel take comfort, for "The Lord worketh in devious ways His wonders to perform."

In 1871 the democratic state convention of Illinois adopted a tariff plank which would open the eyes of a good many of those people who to-day call themselves democrats. THE STANDARD reprints it because it thinks it would be a valuable paragraph to study over between now and the national convention of 1892. Here it is:

Resolved, That all taxes on tariffs levied for protection constitute robbery; that experience has shown revenue raised by a tariff is the most unequal in its nature, most burdensome in cost and most productive of evasion and crime; therefore we declare as a correct principle of democratic government that we are in favor of free and absolute free trade with all nations as soon as it can be equally reached by the United States government.

Even the Sun, which during the lifetime of the celebrated Philadelphia congressman posed as a Randall democrat paper, could find no objection to it, for Mr. Randall took occasion to send Mr. Merritt, the author of the resolution, a congratulatory telegram on its passage, and subsequently a letter fully indorsing it. So no opposition could reasonably be expected from that source. What a gem the Illinois resolution would be in the national democratic platform of 1892. And what enthusiasm it would arouse! And how the democrats would sweep the country on that plank alone!

James D. Leary, of lumber raft fame, will attempt to bring a third raft of timber from New Brunswick to New York. This is to be the largest raft yet built, being about 2,000 feet long, made up in sections, and will contain, reports say, what would load one hundred lumber schooners—about 10,000,000 feet. There will be a great saving in labor cost if the method of transportation adopted by Mr. Leary proves successful, and, besides, he will save \$20,000 duty, for it appears that lumber or logs floated into American waters does not have to pay the tariff tax, while that brought in on vessels does. In that one item alone Mr. Leary will save over twice what it will cost him to tow his raft into this harbor. If the government does not take

action in this matter of admitting "floating lumber" free, some of its "infants" in that trade will have to go without their usual allowance of pap, for undoubtedly, if Mr. Leary's scheme is a success, he and others will become dangerous competitors with the Algiers and others in the lumber trade.

A correspondent writes to the Evening World, giving the following reasons why he does not marry:

I go to work in a stuffy room at 5 a. m., and leave at 7 p. m., sometimes later, but never earlier. By the time I am home, or, rather, in that mockery of a home, the boarding house, I am fagged out and have no time for recreation or a stroll outside. I go to bed and awake again to drag my weary steps in the direction of the workshop—a continual grind, which wears out both the mind and the body. I have no time to look for a wife, as the hours in which others are free to enjoy themselves find me at my toil—listening to the multitude in the streets, to the happy voices and the merry laughter, to all the bright things I must forego. Matrimony seems far off for me.

Here is another letter to the Evening World from William F. Withers, secretary of the Brooklyn single tax club, which, though written in a light vein, nevertheless contains truths which it would be well to ponder:

At a gathering of friends not long ago the remark was made: "I believe in the single tax—that is, I would make it expensive for a man to remain single by imposing a special tax on bachelors." Though not addressed to me, I knew that this was intended for my bachelor ears, so I replied: "I quite agree with you, but the first step in that direction is to abolish the tariff, which makes it expensive for a man to marry." It takes \$300,000,000 a year to run the federal government, or about \$5 to each man, woman and child in the country, but the tax on what we eat and wear amounts at present to an average of \$10 a year to each person. That means \$5 to the government and \$5 to private monopolies. In the case of a family of six persons the annual unnecessary tax amounts to \$210. That makes quite a hole in a salary of \$600 or \$800. Doubtless there are other reasons, but are not these figures alone sufficient to deter man from marrying?

The American federation of labor has issued a circular urging all wage workers to strengthen their trades by joining the unions.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Balfour, the secretary for Ireland in the British cabinet, has just cabled to the editor of the North American Review that he has mailed a reply to Mr. Parnell's strictures in the current number of the Review on his land bill. Mr. Balfour's reply will appear in the July number of the North American Review.

The London Church Reformer, edited by Rev. Stewart D. Hendlam, is printed by the "Women's Printing Society," an organization composed entirely of women and employing women as printers. In its June issue the Church Reformer says:

We are glad to find that our printers—the Women's printing society—have at last financially turned the corner. For the first time since Mrs. Paterson began the work, into which she put so much of her noble life, the directors have been able to declare a dividend, and what is much more important, in accordance with the articles of association, to divide among the workers sums varying from five shillings to the newest comer to thirteen pounds to the one who has worked with us the longest time. As most of the girls are themselves shareholders they will benefit from the five per cent. dividend also. We heartily congratulate these young ladies and Miss Weede, the manager, on their success.

Scandia is a new weekly paper printed in the Swedish language in Chicago. Its own and editors, C. F. Peterson, Axel G. Burman and Carl Anried, are free traders and single taxmen, and their paper will be an exponent of the new political economy, though for the present it will devote the greater part of its space to the advocacy of tariff reform. C. F. Peterson, the managing editor, is a capable writer and a newspaper man of twenty years' experience, and Scandia ought to do good work among the Scandinavian voters of the northwest.

The Philadelphia Ledger calls the Farmers' alliance organization, which is making such tremendous strides among the agriculturists of the west, "a sporadic movement." Well, it may be. The movement in Boston harbor, which continued until the declaration was made that "these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states," was at one time considered "sporadic." The movement which brought on the late war, which ended in the freeing of the black man, and which brought into power the political party of which the Ledger is an earnest supporter, was, within the memory of the venerable and much loved editor of that paper, called a "sporadic movement." The movement which in 1886 gave George 68,000 votes for mayor of New York city, and spread broadcast the doctrines of which he is the advocate, was "sporadic." The movement in the direction of free trade, which made

of this entire country a vast debating society, was "sporadic." True, "sporadic movements" without number have failed; but each one has left behind a little germ which, despite adverse conditions, has grown apace—a weakling, may be, but still with enough life left to keep its head above the ground. These germs increase in number as the years go by. One day a new flower will spring from them. The Farmers' alliance movement may be a "sporadic movement," yet when it shall have disappeared, as the Ledger thinks it will, there will be left behind it seed which in the new growth may not be quite so "sporadic." Meantime, let the Ledger search for the reason for this farmers' and other "sporadic movements."

The June number of the Woman's Record (St. Paul, Minn.), prints the single tax platform in full. The same issue contains an article by Miss F. E. Russell on profit sharing. After reviewing a work by Mr. Gilmann on the subject, mentioning the Godin experiment (the palace of Guise) in France, and commenting on an essay in the Arena, Miss Russell concludes by saying that she "believes in profit sharing of a far more radical sort." She believes with King Solomon that "the profit of the earth is for all," and she sees, "with Henry George, that this can be made a literal and blessed fact by the operation of what is now called 'the single tax.' It is simply to have every one who uses any portion of the common inheritance, the earth (and every one who even rents a room of a house built on the soil is included), pay into the common treasury, or fund for public use, the annual value of the portion he uses or keeps from the use of others. This fund is to pay the common or public expenses and puts an end to all taxation, though it is called a 'tax' because assessed on the rental value of land, and collected as a tax. This is profit sharing at the very foundation of human relations; an end to land speculation, a chance for every human being to stand upright on the earth before his Creator and his fellow men and earn his own living in the sweat of his own brow by direct application to the earth, his own inheritance, if he can get his living in no easier way."

The Textile Record, the trade journal of the textile industries of the United States, is printed in Philadelphia. It is a protection paper of the most rabid kind, and its editorial columns each month are filled to bursting with denunciations of free traders who would destroy the industries of which it is the organ, by opening our markets to foreign manufacturers. It dearly loves the men and women who are trying to live by working in the textile industries, and weeps bitter, scalding tears when it pictures to itself the horrors of their condition under free trade. But of the great mass meetings lately held by those same textile workers in favor of free trade—held in Kensington, almost under the shadow of the editorial rooms of the Textile Record—it says, with Mr. O'Hoolihan, "niver a word."

Supervisor of the Census Murray, who has charge of the enumeration for this city, told a newspaper reporter the other day that we would have reached the 2,000,000 mark had it not been for "the immense exodus of New Yorkers to Brooklyn during the past few years." Now, will Mr. Murray please tell what has caused the "exodus."

Roxbury, June 8.—What is the distinctive feature of the postal system which makes it a function of government to manage. If transportation facilities were not monopolized, could it not be managed just as cheaply and efficiently by private enterprise as it is now managed by government, doing away with the corrupting influence upon politics of the distribution of a vast amount of government patronage every four years? Is the postal system a natural monopoly in itself?

The distinctive feature which first led to the universal establishment of government post offices was the necessity that a government should have at its own disposal and under its own control the means of quick and easy communication with all parts of the territory subject to its jurisdiction. That reason would, perhaps, not be equally cogent now, but the principle which warrants the establishment of a postal system is that which requires that governments shall perform public duties and not farm them out to private individuals. No corporation or individual could carry on the work of the post office department without obtaining from the government the loan of public power to assist in the enterprise. Men can make all the hats or boots or plows that they choose to make without any assistance from the government, except the performance of its public duties in preserving the peace and maintaining highways, but men cannot build railroads, use public streets or carry on a postal service without forming an active partnership with

the government. In the conduct of such business, and in such partnerships, the individuals concerned obtain all the profits and leave the government to do the most important part of the work. Mr. George has laid down the rule that those businesses which are necessarily monopolies ought to be publicly conducted. This applies of course to the post office business, since competition would be impossible in the work of carrying mails throughout the whole country and reaching every part thereof. Whether this reason or that founded on the objection to the farming out of public powers to individuals be accepted, either of them is sufficient answer to the question, and the argument in behalf of a government postal system does not apply to the government conduct of businesses that can be carried on by private individuals with their own capital and labor. As to the corrupting influence, it is a serious question whether as dangerous and corrupting political influences are not now exercised by corporations using public powers as by the spoilsman. Certainly in state politics the railroads, for instance, exercise a greater power in corrupting voters and legislators than the politicians alone could attempt to wield.

The protection papers give their cause and themselves away on every possible provocation. Here, for instance, are the Press and the Mail and Express. Their mission on this earth is to demonstrate to working people that, through the operations of the beneficent tariff, this is the country where labor prospers, and the workers are in one continual blaze of contentment and happiness. That is what they say when they are vindicating protection. But when facts face them—what do they do then? Tell the truth—unwittingly, perhaps, but still they tell it. Nearly 10,000 people who make a scanty living at the clothing industry have gone on strike. The reporters of the Press and Mail and Express are sent out to "work up" the affair, and returned to their respective offices appalled at the misery and squalor they have seen. The owners of these two protection papers are much affected, and in the first burst of their indignation they tell their readers, in large type and in pictures, the truth—which is, that these striking clothing workers, though only a day or two out of work, are starving, that the wages they earned while at work barely sufficed to keep body and soul together. Don't you believe it? Well, read the Mail and Express on last Monday evening; see the picture printed in the Press yesterday morning, where Death, as a cloak sweater, is mowing down the clothing workers with a scythe labeled "Starvation." Verily, the editors play sad havoc with the protective idea when they permit the truth to well up from their hearts.

A single tax man residing at Elmira in this state in a private letter to his brother in Brooklyn says:

Down in Sayre about two miles below Waverley and just across the Pennsylvania line they have a law against peddlers. The people in Sayre go up to Waverley and buy groceries which the merchants deliver to them at their homes. In delivering the goods they sometimes take orders for more. This has exasperated the Sayre merchants and they have warned the merchants of Waverley that if they do not stop their pernicious practice they will have them arrested under the peddlers' law. The Sayre merchants say that they want protection. The Waverley merchants, on the other hand, want to sell goods which the Sayre people want to buy from them and naturally they think that the action of the Sayre merchants is utterly unwarranted.

The Waverley merchants are right, not only morally, but legally. We hope that they will fight the Sayre merchants in the courts, and if they do they will find that the latter are interfering with interstate commerce, and that their peddlers' law cannot be used as a protective tariff. No protectionist in Waverley, however, ought to grumble. The Sayre merchants are trying to do precisely what certain favored Americans are permitted to do by our government, and that is, compel people to buy at higher prices than other people are willing to sell goods for. If the Pennsylvania steel men are entitled to be protected against competition from abroad, the Sayre grocers are equally entitled to protection against the merchants of Waverley, N.Y. Furthermore, if the Sayre people are patriotic protectionists they will prefer to pay higher prices for groceries to a home merchant rather than run off a mile or so across the line to buy of the foreigners in Waverley. Let the single tax men up there use this text for all it is worth.

The daily papers tell us that the ice trust has been checked, if not broken, and the price of ice reduced. It may be so; but the reduction, so far as the consumer is concerned, is not visible to the naked eye.

PERSONAL.

The Watertown, S. D., Journal of June 6 contains the first of a series of articles on "The protective argument," by Joseph Dana Miller, of Jersey City. The title of the current article is, "Its contradictions and fallacies," and in it Mr. Miller points out four—"The infant industry," "The war argument," and "A protective tariff develops manufactures." The single tax department contains, among other good things, a letter on "How I saw the light," by D. Writemore of Helena, Mont., a review of English politics and society, by S. P. Brokaw, and a news letter from "Uncle Tom," of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

General Christensen of Brooklyn is at present visiting his native land, Denmark, which he left forty-one years ago and settled in this country. The general is well known here as a single tax man; therefore any attention that may be paid him while abroad will be of interest. He was given a banquet at Copenhagen on the night of June 7, and among those present were Clark E. Carr, the American minister, and other prominent American residents. Count Bille, the royal chamberlain, proposed the health of General Christensen. He recalled the principal events in the career of the general and said that although the latter was now a genuine American citizen, he still preserved his love for the fatherland and his countrymen. General Christensen made an appropriate reply, dwelling upon the joy he felt at once more seeing his native land.

Mr. E. W. Foxall of Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, is wrestling with the editor of the Sydney Bulletin on the single tax. To judge from the editor's answers to Mr. Foxall's letters, he is a mild form of socialist. But, while Mr. Foxall is endeavoring to enlighten the editorial mind as to what the single tax is, the editor tries to weaken the force of his correspondent's logic by personal reflections. Mr. Foxall's "crime" is that he is the manager of a land and building society.

The greatest land owner in England is the duke of Northumberland. He gets a rent of \$875,000 a year from 200,000 acres. He never did a day's useful work in his life, which extends over a period of eighty-one years.

Mr. S. J. Loria, formerly a resident of New York, now a publisher of 18 Holbergsgade, Copenhagen, Denmark, has translated a number of the single tax tracts, also "Property in Land" and "Social Problems," into Danish. They can be ordered through this office or direct to the above address. The books are 35 cents each. The tracts vary in price from 5 to 15 cents each. Mr. Loria keeps a full supply of single tax literature in English on his counters.

Danes can now read much of the single tax in their own language. Mr. Fernando Linderberg of Copenhagen, Denmark, has written a book in Danish, the title of which explains the purpose: "Henry George and His Social Programme." It is well printed on good paper, 147 pages, and can be had for fifty cents at this office. This book, together with the publications of Mr. S. J. Loria, mentioned elsewhere, makes easy the acquirement of knowledge on the single tax in Danish.

BALLOT REFORM NOTES.

William C. Wulf, Cincinnati.—There is a movement on foot to hold nomination primaries as prescribed in the Australian system of balloting, such as is used in Cleveland, Ohio, and doing away with the nominating convention. It is headed by prominent republicans.

The Young men's republican club of Portland, Me., at a recent meeting, took strong ground in favor of ballot reform, and presented it to the state convention at Augusta, which sat on it in the most approved fashion.

The Council of federated trades of San Francisco, Cal., has prepared a ballot reform bill, based on the Australian plan, which will be presented to the legislature next session for adoption.

WHEN HE DIED THE PEOPLE REJOICED.

Machias Union.

Fifty years ago in the center of the city of Providence, R. I., there was a tract of land, five acres, more or less, owned by a creature of great wealth—"Ives," or it may be "Dives"—who used the land for a cow pasture, for a goose pond, for pig yards, for a dumping place; Ives took apparent delight in tantalizing, abusing and outraging the sentiment of the people. He would not sell, he would not name a price; simply wouldn't sell and didn't want to sell. The city suffered; his neighbors engendered so deep seated hatred for his name, that when he died (he couldn't help nor prevent this) and his death was known, the bells of the city—the bells on school houses, engine houses, factories, churches—were rung a half hour in gleesome joy (not tolled) in praise and gladness that Ives was dead, and a chance opened to be rid of the cow pasture!

THEN HIS KNIFE MUST BE DULLING.

Albany Union.

The Sun has a hard time of it in fighting the democracy of the country.

GEORGE IN AUSTRALIA.

HOMEWARD BOUND.

MR. AND MRS. GEORGE SAIL FROM MELBOURNE FOR ITALY—THEY WILL BE HOME IN SEPTEMBER.

A cable dispatch to the daily papers announces that Henry George and Mrs. George sailed from Melbourne for England on June 10. They really sailed, according to our private advices, not directly for England, but by the steamer Valetta for Brindisi, Italy, where they will probably arrive about July 13. They will thence go to Rome and visit other places on the continent, reaching London about three weeks later, probably early in August. He expects to return home in September, and will announce the exact date of his sailing after his arrival in England.

IN QUEENSLAND.

HEARTY RECEPTION AND ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCES—A PAPER THAT OPPOSES "CONFISCATION" AND PROPOSES THE FORCIBLE SEIZURE OF THE LAND OF SPECULATORS.

In the last issue of THE STANDARD we printed extracts from the local papers giving an account of Mr. George's visit to South Australia. His letter, printed in the editorial columns of this issue, reports his further progress. It was written from Brisbane in Queensland, where he arrived on Saturday, May 10. He was received by the Land tax reform association and escorted by a procession to the Bellevue hotel, where he was welcomed by the mayor "in the name of the citizens of the metropolis of Queensland." Mr. E. E. S. Collings, honorable secretary of the Queensland land tax reform association, then read the following address:

To Mr. Henry George—Sir: On this, the occasion of your visit to our colony of Queensland, we, the members of the Queensland land tax reform association, beg to convey to you the expression of our admiration and gratitude for your noble and untiring efforts in the great cause of humanity. In doing so we trust that you will acquit us of any desire or intention of merely rehearsing a courteous formality, as we wish this to be not only an address of welcome but a testimony to our belief in you, sincerity, and a demonstration of the fact that in the Australian antipodes, as well as in every other part of the world where civilization exists, there are some hearts that beat in responsive sympathy with the generous sentiments which have inspired your heroic life work.

All previous and contemporary reforms, many of them noble and grand to a degree, absolutely pale into insignificance when compared with that to which you have so zealously devoted your time and exalted abilities—the nationalization of the land. Notwithstanding this, however, the odium and obloquy which are invariably attached to the leaders in every radical reformation have not failed to surround you in the initiation and prosecution of the modern idea of returning to the people their natural and inalienable rights in the soil. Opposition, sincere and prejudiced, has confronted you in every direction, yet you have never relinquished the purpose which long contemplation and study have convinced you was the only course which could be adopted with universal application and assurance.

In spite of obstacles the most formidable, in spite of defeats the most discouraging, in spite of the cynical criticism of jealous rivals, and the ridicule of an uncomprehending public, have you fought the good fight of the oppressed and downtrodden, and planted the banner of the new crusade wherever the British tongue is spoken.

By the sheer force of your convictions, aided by the noble eloquence of your heart and pen, have you dispelled the prejudices and shattered the fallacies and fables which error ever arrays against advancing truth, until to-day the whole world rings with the echo of your sentiments, and the mists, which have for ages obscured the future of mankind, begin to disperse before the penetrating reason of your philosophy.

We therefore hail and welcome you, not as a distinguished stranger, but as the noblest companion of our race, the gallant hero of humanity's conflict; one who, knowing, yet unseeing, we have loved and revered for his sterling worth and manhood.

May your visit to Queensland prove one of pleasure and interest to both yourself and Mrs. George, and may it also mark an era in the history of the colony.

In conclusion, we trust most sincerely that you may be long spared to carry on the glorious purpose of your life, and that you may yet reap the reward of its realization in the universal adoption of your principles. We beg to subscribe ourselves, sir, yours in the cause of the people,

THE QUEENSLAND LAND TAX REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Mr. George, in reply, said that he thanked the mayor, the gentlemen of the Land tax reform association and the citizens of Brisbane for the cordial greeting which he had received from them. He accepted it not as a personal tribute, but as an evidence that here, where in the southern tropic the latest of the grand new commonwealths was being built up, as well as toward the North Pole as far as the English tongue was spoken, in the old world and in the new, under the North star and under the Southern Cross, men's hearts were beginning to throb with a new determination to carry upward and onward the trust which they had received from their fathers to found firm and true, and build up higher and higher the grand structures of

English liberty, and to make it a beacon light which would illumine the whole world. He knew that in receiving him they meant something more than a compliment to an individual—in striking hands with him they struck hands with the hundreds of thousands of men whom he represented. The grand principle which they held, the principle of the natural equality of all men, would be carried forward into a state of things where everyone would have his rights, where everyone would have abundant opportunity of employment, where for everyone there would be plenty, where for everyone there would be labor, and where for everyone, even the child of the humblest parent, there would be the fullest of opportunities which a Christian civilization could give.

On the evening of his arrival Mr. George delivered an address in the opera house on "The Problem of the Age." Mr. George was received with prolonged cheers. His speech was constantly interrupted with applause, which continued even when he attacked the protection delusion which has a strong hold on that colony. The following extract will give an idea of the reception of this part of his speech by his audience:

People were always talking about certain terms—labor, land, wealth, capital. We commonly speak of the three factors of production—land, capital and labor. If we considered these three factors, we must see very plainly that that which was included in the one must be excluded from the others—that land could not be labor, labor capital, nor capital either labor or land. Now, what did we mean by wealth? We spoke of a country increasing in wealth. We said that Queensland now contained more wealth than it did fifty years ago, and that Great Britain contained more wealth to-day than at the landing of Julius Caesar. But when we spoke in that way we did not mean that these countries contained more land. We meant that there were more people, and more of those things produced by human labor, and which had the power of satisfying human wants. Professor Huxley, in an article which was one of the curiosities of literature (laughter), talked about a man's vital capital, and virtually included in capital everything else. Capital was wealth used to aid in the production of more wealth, and could only come, as wealth came, by the exertions of labor. (Cheers.) Labor produced all wealth, and therefore produced all capital.

Supposing one class owned all the capital of a country, was there anything to prevent the other people from producing wealth? (A voice, "Nothing.") There was, but it did not lie in capital. There was no conflict between capital and labor. (Hear, hear.) What was called the conflict between capital and labor was really the conflict between labor and something else. In an article he had been reading Sir S. W. Griffith took very much the socialistic view of the case, that it was the functions of the state to insure a fair distribution of wealth. If that were the function of the state, the state had got an awfully big job. The remedy of the socialists was to make one employer, to make the state the one capitalist, the one exchanger. To bring about such a state of things was a very big job, and if there were any easier remedy we had better get at it first. (Cheers.) Then there was a sort of semi-socialist—in his country they called themselves protectionists (laughter and cheers)—and their one object, or what they said was their one object, was to protect American labor. Always the poor laborer. There were rich men among them, some of them very rich men, and what they yearned for was the American workingman. (Laughter.) They wanted to protect him, as they said at the last election, against the worse than pauper labor of Australia. (Laughter.) They wanted to protect the honest, independent, well fed American sheep from the pauper sheep of Australia, whose fleece was cut by half-naked savages working for a pittance. (Laughter.) When they learned about the strikes of the bushmen, when they learned that the sheep shearers of Australia had one of the most powerful unions which existed anywhere (cheers) he did not know what was to become of that argument. How preposterous it was to think that protection, the placing of duties on imports, was either for the enrichment of the country or for the benefit of the working classes. Just think how preposterous it was for the enrichment of a country to make it more difficult to bring wealth into it. (Cheers.)

If we wanted any duties to increase the wealth of a country surely the sensible thing was to put duties on the exports of wealth, as we put duty on a certain kind of cedar, or as Victoria put a duty on the scrap iron they wished to keep in the country. Goods were good things, as the very name implied. It was as a country had more goods that it increased in wealth. Was it not stupid then to put on taxes to prevent wealth coming into the country? Was it not far more sensible to tax the land? The laboring classes exchanged their labor for goods, and it was preposterous to make the cost of the goods higher. On the face of it the thing was preposterous. What gave protection its plausibility was the idea of shutting out competition from the labor market, the idea of keeping work in the country—hear, hear—the idea that when we go down to the bot-

tom of the question there are more men wanting work than there is work for. (Cheers.) All over the civilized world to-day labor seemed to be in surplus. In all the older countries, and in many of the newer ones, even in normal times, there were a great body of men ready to work, willing and anxious to work, yet seeking work for longer or shorter periods vainly; and when periods of depression, spoken of as bad times, came, these men swelled into hundreds and thousands, and even millions. The bottom of the labor problem lay in the unemployed classes. There was the cause of that cut-throat competition that seemed everywhere to tend to force wages down; that was only fought against here and there by labor associations. If we could find employment for the unemployed the labor question was solved—(cheers)—strikes were ended and wages raised in the whole industrial pyramid.

But we could not get rid of the unemployed by protection. Protection here was merely a baby compared with protection in the United States. In Australia the duty was raised fifteen per cent, and it was thought that a big thing had been done. In the United States there was a protection tariff of over forty-five per cent, and yet there were more unemployed men in proportion than here. If protection could do anything, there ought to be good times in Germany. (Cheers.) If protection could do anything people of Italy would not be wearing the hunger belt and dying of pellagra. If protection could raise wages and elevate the working classes, the working class of Russia ought to be the most elevated classes in the world. None of these things would do it. If we wanted to get at the bottom of the whole thing we must come down to first principles. Adam, when he came upon the earth, or when with Eve he was driven out of the garden of Eden, had before him the problem of making a living. There was only one way of making a living, and that was to go to work. (Hear, hear.) Now what did Adam find to go to work with? Any capitalists to aid him? (Laughter.) He found work when there was no capital (cheers), nor any man to draw a nice protective tariff around him. (Laughter.) Adam was an absolute free trader. (Cheers and laughter.) Yet he made a living and managed to support his wife and bring up his family. We know that, for if he had not done it we should not have been here. (Cheers.) Now, consider what did Adam find to employ him? The land, that was all. It was out of the land that Adam made a living, it was only out of the land that he could make a living; and we might be absolutely certain, no matter how little we knew about it, of one thing, that although he might sometimes have suffered from the heat or from the cold, suffered because he did not have enough to eat, because he could not take home to Eve as nice a dress as he would like to, that Adam never suffered from want of work. (Cheers.) He just got all the work he wanted to do. (Laughter.) What natural reason had any man to-day, when demand had increased so much, when all wanted work, that men should come to talk and to think as though work were a boon and we ought to try to keep all that precious thing called work in our own country?

The Brisbane Courier of Monday, May 13, says:

Mr. Henry George preached last evening on "Moses," the great law giver of the Hebrews, at the free Methodist church, Ann street. The building proved quite inadequate to accommodate the people who sought admission. Every seat, and in fact every inch of space, was occupied. Even the aisles, the lobbies and the approaches to the platform were taken up, while not a few people contented themselves with "standing room" on the steps leading to the various doorways. The devotional part of the service was very short. Mr. George did not preface his remarks by a formal text, but at once entered upon his subject. His rich, musical voice at once commanded the attention of the crowded congregation, and every ear was strained to catch his words. His address, at once eloquent and highly intellectual, was deeply impressive.

Mr. George lectured again on Monday evening, May 13. The Evening Observer of that day, in editorially commenting on the lecturer and his doctrines, objects to the single tax on the ground that it proposes confiscation and is impracticable. It thus closes its article:

What does appear to us really practicable—and Mr. George's visit may render incalculable service in attracting attention to the subject—is to capture the illegitimate profits of land speculation, which are now gathered by conscienceless and unblushing if not by illegal robbery, from the occupying owners of the land. The state gets, or might get, the fair market value of the land which it sells. The speculator acquires possession of it, holds it until population comes in, and then irresponsibly subdivides it into infinitesimal "allotments" and sells it to the needy worker at fabulously high prices. The obvious remedy, therefore, is to penalize land speculation, and to so modify the law that when a land owner subdivides his area for sale the state shall seize a substantial percentage of his unearned increment. The state ought

also to intervene if a land owner keeps his land lying unproductive, or if he refuses to sell, at fair value, his unused portion to another person who wants it for actual use and occupation. This we have already to some extent done in Queensland by our system of local government rating. What we want to do, therefore, is to go a great deal farther in that direction. But Mr. George's single tax proposals, however cleverly disguised, mean confiscation, to which we are sure that no lover of British fair play will ever seriously listen.

NEW ZEALAND.

KEEN REGRET AT MR. GEORGE'S FAILURE TO VISIT THE ISLAND—REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN LEGISLATION.

WELLINGTON, N. Z., May 12, 1890.—I wish publicly to express through your columns the surprise, regret and disappointment the single taxers of this colony feel because of the decision of Mr. Henry George not to return here for lecturing after the completion of his tour through the Australian colonies. There is no other country on the face of this earth so ripe for the change, so ready to affirm the principle by bringing it into practical politics, as this. It just requires the presence and the voice of "the prophet of San Francisco" before our general elections (which take place about four months hence) to rouse the sleepy ones and strengthen the weak-kneed, and the first step in the great reform would be accomplished. And what a strength to the cause would be the fact that one country in its government had adopted the principle! Aye, only one, and that one so out of the way as New Zealand.

Even now we are astonishing everyone with our productiveness, but what we are doing now would be a "flea bite" to what we should do then. Land that can return sixty bushels of wheat to the acre, and twenty tons of potatoes to the acre (in favored localities) when in use, instead of being held for speculation would soon tell a tale in our exports. We are ripe in many ways for such a change. We are more progressive in our government than Americans are. We are more democratic. Privileges that you are now fighting for we have gained years ago. What you call the Australian ballot is our system also, and more—for we have "one man, one vote." Do you see the immense power this will give us when the time comes for the people to see the ear?

Our railways are in the hands of the state, so are our telegraphs and telephones. Our system of education from start to finish is state aided, and in its lower branches free and compulsory. Our government insurance department is a pronounced success. Our public trust department is a credit to us. All people dying intestate have their effects taken charge of, whether little or big, and the estates are wound up with a minimum of loss of time and money, and legatees who wish to protect widows and orphans from the rapacity or dishonesty of private executors, can safely nominate the public trustee to deal with their bequests. All schemes of water supply to cities and towns are in the hands of municipalities, and much of the gas or electric lighting. In fact, as I have said before, in these things we are abreast of most peoples. But why should we stop here? Not likely.

And now you will see what Henry George's visit would have done, not only for us locally, but for the cause generally. It only wants our country to lead the way, and the effort in that country will soon be known and felt everywhere, first by our neighbors in Australia, and afterward England and America. I put England first in order, because I think the chances are in favor of conservative England being before America in practically affirming the principle, and strange to say, before all other places in the world (thanks to the county council) old time-honored London is the place to look for it. Our parliaments are triennial; if Mr. George had visited us we should have won a footing at the next elections. I am afraid that advantage will be delayed for another three years. I confess to me it is a bitter disappointment. In all great reforms the fighting always devolves on the few, and who knows what changes may happen in that time to the few who are now in the van. Most of them stand in life's afternoon; with some the evening shadows are closing; and "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Do not imagine, however, that these reflections will for one moment slacken our zeal. We intend to fight until we win. WALTER HILL, Wellington single tax society.

IS THAT SO?

Cleveland Leader (rep.).

Much as we may deprecate trusts and seek to outlaw them, it would be the supremest folly to destroy any really great American industry simply because a combination had been formed to enhance the value of its product.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

AN APPEAL FOR RUSSIA.

Robert Spence Watson appeals in the May issue of the Westminster Review to "the friends of Russian freedom," and this appeal from the subject of a monarchy is in pleasing contrast with the fulsome praise of the Russian autocrat and his wife contained in a recent letter from St. Petersburg to an evening paper of this city. Mr. Watson is not disposed to deny that the czar may be personally amiable, but does deny that any man is qualified to occupy the office of an autocrat. This is the keynote to the article. The atrocities of Russian penal servitude may be mitigated, but the most horrible thing is not the atrocities, but the fact that men and women are submitted to any sort of punishment for advocating political liberty. Mr. Watson puts this clearly, and appeals to Britons everywhere to take their eyes off home matters long enough to note the struggle for Russian freedom and give it hearty sympathy. He would not waste valuable time petitioning the czar. At most this can merely result in mitigating the punishment of patriots; it can not alter the czar's attitude toward constitutional liberty.

Mr. Watson is fully persuaded that whatever the czar's social characteristics, he is a believer in the autocracy. He shares with the deluded majority of his subjects the belief in his divine right to rule. In repeated instances he has been personally responsible for severity toward political offenders. The woman who dared to send him a respectful letter of protest against Siberian brutalities was exiled. The czar has evidently determined to crush freedom in Finland. That grand duchy came to Russia by treaty with Sweden, and brought with it constitutional liberty. The Finns have long been and are still to a great extent a free people, with their own parliament, with a popular check upon the raising of troops, and with laws against arbitrary arrest. The czar, autocrat by practice and conviction, realizes that the presence of such a people within his empire is dangerous, and he is preparing to destroy their liberties.

Mr. Watson admits that Englishmen can take no direct part in the struggle for Russia's freedom, but insists that they can at least indicate sympathy. Five hundred Mme. Tschrikovas would redeem Russia, yet this woman wrote only a letter of protest. Mr. Watson thinks there are signs that western sympathy is having its effect upon Russia. He does not attach great weight to the disturbances in the universities, though he believes that whatever borders on the domain of intellect must be naturally at war with the grinding autocracy, which would compel all wills to subject themselves to its own. The appeal of the students at the university of Moscow to their fellows at the university of St. Petersburg is significant. Such preaching will be heard again. One woman, a hundred students may be exiled, but when the thought of a whole people makes itself felt, tyranny must tremble.

Mr. Watson finally appeals to Britons to exercise toward Russian patriots their traditional hospitality to exiles. The people of England have seen with sympathy the growth of liberty in Hungary and Italy, the emancipation of slaves in America; they will see in time the night pass from Russia. Whatever the enmities of the autocracy, there can be only friendship and sympathy between the people of Great Britain and the people of Russia.

SPEAKER REED AND SOUTHERN ELECTIONS.

Speaker Reed argues in the June North American Review in favor of federal control of congressional elections. The basis of his argument is that since congressmen legislate for the whole country it is the whole country's business to see that they are fairly elected. He is persuaded that the "proud Caucasian" of the south is suffering now from the same feelings that rived the hearts of the privileged few one or two hundred years ago, when they saw power broadening into the hands of the people. In other words, Mr. Reed regards the negro's cause as the cause of democracy, and refuses to see in the southern horror of negro domination merely a natural race antipathy.

Mr. Reed thinks the intimidation of the "pay envelope" sort at the north quite a different matter from intimidation with shot guns at the south and that therefore the southern charge that white laboring men in New England are quite as much under influence at the polls as are black laboring men at the south is not an apt retort. Murder and fishing out of season are both crimes, though hardly of equal grade.

Mr. Reed reminds the southern states that to give the negro a fair chance to elect members of congress will not bring about negro

domination in local affairs. There is no possibility of negro domination throughout the whole country. In the broad arena of the nation the struggle is not between the proud Caucasian and the negro, but between the proud Caucasian and the Caucasian who is not proud. If the south is not willing to have the negro vote then it should not insist upon having him represented. Violation of law and disregard of statutes are not needed to save the United States.

The question of race supremacy has nothing to do with federal elections. If you say that ignorant votes should not be counted, you must remember that the democratic party has always voted its ignorance to the uttermost verge of the law.

Mr. Reed instances the frank admission by southern men of frauds in the ballot box as an evidence of the moral degradation wrought by the determination to disfranchise the negro. He tells of the eight shuffled ballot boxes in South Carolina as another instance of the same thing.

Mr. Reed is persuaded that fraud and intimidation have been carried further in the south than the originators of such methods ever expected them to be carried. When South Carolina legislators created a congressional district of 31,000 negroes and 6,000 whites, it was intended that the negroes should elect their representative to congress, but so successful have fraud and intimidation been elsewhere, that now even this district returns a democrat. If the negro is voting the democratic ticket from choice in this district, where is the much-talked-of race issue? If the southern states have the right of local self-government, has not the nation the right of national self-government?

Coming to remedy, Mr. Reed praises the work of federal supervisors in New York, and declares for what he calls the middle course. Let the country at once assume at least the count and return of its own elections. This need not interfere with local self-government. The southern states could if they chose, and at their own risk, "try the experiment of keeping outside of government a body of men almost as large as those who govern, and in three states, larger."

MR. PARNELL ON THE LAND BILL.

Mr. Parnell presents in the June issue of the North American Review his opinion of Mr. Balfour's land bill. He objects to the bill as a dishonest measure, pretending to be a solution of the land question yet reaching at farthest, with whatever relief it may bear, only one Irish tenant in four. He believes it would require over £166,000,000 to make all Irish tenants "entitled to do so to become the owners of their holdings." This proves that the thing is impracticable. He holds that before the question of purchase is approached the land act of 1881 must be so amended as to secure the tenants' improvements from the infliction of rent. This would make the question much more manageable.

Furthermore, a large part of the land with which Mr. Balfour wishes to deal is held by tenants who would not rightly come within the description of occupying owners or peasant proprietors. Much of it is held in large tracts for grazing by men who do not live upon the land. Three-fourths of Connaught, one-third of Munster and probably one-fourth of Leinster are thus held. The flag of the land for the people was not raised at Irishtown in 1879 for the advantage of the graziers and the gombeen men. Then landlords have in many instances divided their home farms among bogus tenants created out of sons, sons-in-law and bailiffs, to whom they sold at inflated prices. These things show that land purchase has been degraded into land jobbery, and that resources which, if husbanded, might have been sufficient for the settlement of the question, have been scandalously mispent, while the question is still unsolved. It is conceded that the British tax payer will not devote to Mr. Balfour's scheme more than £33,000,000. It is, then, of vital importance to make such sum go as far as it will in creating a peasant proprietorship.

Thus far the grossest favoritism has been shown in the matter of administering previous land purchase legislation. Up to December 31, 1885, 630 land owners had sold estates to their tenants for £3,392,000. Of these 630 just 36 got £2,251,000. The duke of Abercorn got £267,000; the marquess of Bath £290,000, and other noble landlords from £8,000 to £214,000. In fact 9 landlords got 42 per cent of the whole. If Mr. Balfour's measure is thus administered, by the time £10,000,000 have been spent 400 out of 10,000 Irish land owners will have received £24,000,000.

Mr. Parnell denounces the plan of guaranteeing the purchase money by hypothecation of Irish local taxation. The fever stricken peasant in Connemara must go without quinine and continue to pay his rack rent in order that the owner of many large paying farms may obtain a 30

per cent reduction and avoid the payment to the state of even this reduced amount. These local revenues are to be thus despoiled and the local authorities are to have no control over the terms of land purchase.

Again Mr. Parnell makes the point that in the presence of coercion the Irish tenant cannot make a free contract with his landlord. There was no coercion when the Parnellites agreed to the Ashbourne act of 1885. On the contrary, Lords Salisbury and Carnarvon, now respectively premier and lord lieutenant, made public declarations against recourse to any such policy. The coercion act of 1887, making penal all combination on the part of tenants, has changed all this, and the tenant with a load of arrears hanging over his head is compelled to take any terms of purchase offered by the landlord, who comes with a writ of eviction in one hand and an agreement to purchase in the other.

Mr. Balfour's method of dealing with the congested districts will involve another waste of resources. These districts are mainly in Connaught, and they are the only areas of that province requiring to be dealt with. But Mr. Balfour would purchase as well the three-fourths of the province destitute of inhabitants and given over to grazing. If the large graziers be converted into owners little money will be left for dealing with the congested districts.

Finally Mr. Parnell would gladly welcome any honest intentions of the government to solve the land question. He would like to have it out of the way before the time comes to settle the home rule question. Should difficulties about land arise upon Mr. Gladstone's return to office, they would hamper his task. Difficulties between landlord and tenant would embarrass an Irish parliament and the future Irish executive.

Single taxers will note with considerable interest this significant part of Mr. Parnell's argument.

SOME BRITISH VIEWS.

About twenty pages of the Westminster Review's May issue are occupied with a discussion of the land question. There are ten communications all favoring the general ideas that single taxers struggle for, though the term land nationalization, little used in the United States, is the one chiefly used in the discussion. Alfred R. Wallace opens the discussion with a short article directed to showing the instability of peasant proprietorships and the necessity of rent. The heart of Mr. Wallace's contention lies in his assertion that no possible sub division of the land, so long as absolute ownership is permitted, can work justice. Some occupiers will have better or better situated lands than others, and in the absence of a rental (the single tax) paid to the state, those better situated tenants will eventually acquire the holdings of their less fortunate neighbors. Hence the necessity of rent for the stability of any just land occupation system.

H. W. Newman admits that land nationalization may lead to jobbery, but he thinks that local administration is the remedy. He insists that the nation will not consent to lose its own rights at the bidding of those who rule by the routine of the past.

According to William Volekman the land nationalization discussion has done more than aught else to educate Englishmen to a comprehension of the poverty problem. He urges the principle of state trusteeship, and he is convinced that landlordism sits uneasily on its usurped throne.

Charles Wicksteed discusses a scheme for the abolition of landlordism. He would reimpose the 1s. in the pound land tax and use the revenue to purchase land; use the rent from such purchased land for the purchase of more, and oblige landlords to assess their own lands, and stand by that assessment in the presence of tax gatherers and would be purchasers. Finally, when the state had become a large land owner, he would complete the process at a single blow by purchasing what land remained in private hands and issuing bonds in payment.

"Free Land" is the title of William Jameson's contribution. He assails the idea that the simplification of land transfers will aid to destroy land monopoly. Under nationalization, he insists, it will be possible to obtain free land without radically altering the land laws. The state has the right of re-entry, and she needs but to exercise it locally as the occasion may arise to give the people the benefit of free land. He does not discuss the question of compensation for disturbance, but says that in any case such compensation could take the form of consols or land bonds, placed in the custody of the county court for the benefit of the deposed land owner. He suggests, as an alternative, a land-value annuity. These annuities could follow the course of entail in the case of entailed property, or could be capitalized. As soon as a landlord became a registered land annuitant

his lands would become free for the use of other members of the community.

H. Hutchinson talks of state sovereignty and of the theory that the sovereign is the general landlord. He complains that in practice this idea has fallen into abeyance and that up to 1832 all the law had been for the benefit of landlords. He thinks it will presently be "anti-landlordial," and that the coming British republic will be based on the idea that the earth is the Lord's, and that the English portion of it is "lent" by him to all his English children for their necessary use and sustenance.

In Joseph Hyder's view public opinion is ready to grant the distinction between property in the products of labor and property in nature's bounties. He has no fear of corruption in the administration of nationalized land. He favors compulsory, gradual and equitable expropriation of the landlords, with some form of compensation; and an equitably progressive taxation of land values. He thinks the latter inadequate, however, and no substitute for land nationalization. That alone can free men from wage servitude.

Clement M. Bailbache ridicules Professor Huxley's recent article entitled "Capital, the Mother of Labor," and laughs at Lord Bramwell for taking it seriously. The landless begin to see that the landlord is the laborer's enemy.

A. J. Ogilvy declares that the landlord must be abolished, and makes the familiar argument on private ownership of land. He insists that landlords are the great obstacles to improvement in landed property.

E. D. Girdlestone closes the discussion with an article in which he affirms that to a great extent the sense of the nation revolts at the monopoly of land by individuals, and that this feeling daily deepens and widens. He hopes the claims of both landlord and landless may be considered, though they cannot be fully satisfied. The spoliation of present holders must be gradual, perhaps it might in each case be postponed till after the living heir or owner. Now that the question has been raised, however, the principle of caveat emptor must prevail, and he that buys for a rise may expect to be despoiled without delay. The nation is as certain to nationalize the land as London is to supply herself with water.

WHAT A SONG DID.

William Allart in Dundee, Scotland, People's Journal. He came with the travail of song in his soul, He felt not as other men feel, He saw not as other men see, for his goal The Muses could only reveal.

In Poverty's path as a pilgrim he moved, From the fateful hour of his birth, And toiled for his bread with a spirit that loved Things greater than riches of earth.

He saw the land groaning 'neath systems accursed, He saw Wealth with tyrannous chain Enslaving his brethren, while none ever durst In Liberty's language complain.

He burst into song o'er the sufferings of men, Who lived in the lowest state; He gave not a thought or a dash of his pen To woo or to flatter the great.

He sang not as men deemed the masters of song,

He knew no fine phrases or art, Truth's honest words launched 'gainst Oppression and Wrong Came forth from the depths of his heart.

The poor heard his song, raised their heads, and were cheered

By the words which the strange man sang, The dawn time of Hope in its glory appeared

As the chant from each bosom rang. But Dives disdainfully jeered as he heard Its music by day and by night, 'Twas only a song! but its magic had stirred The People to brotherhood's might.

As swift as a torrent by many streams fed, As fierce as a battle begun, So louder and wider the human song spread Till thousands of hearts beat as one.

Oppression grew pale at the ominous tones, Each Royal head shook with dismay, The glory and glamour which circled their thrones

Were passing forever away.

The tyrants of caste and their old selfish laws Went down to the beat of the drum, Heads rolled on the scaffold 'mid frantic applause,

The day of the People had come!

The idols of Wealth and the symbols of Wrong, The prisons unhallowed and grim, Were wrecked in an ocean of blood to the song That pealed as Humanity's hymn.

And armies went forth to its war-breathing strain

To battle with Liberty's foes, 'Mid Death's gory wreckage on many green plain Its echoes triumphantly rose.

Purged from the old things that had fettered its soul

And hung on its heart as a ban, A nation rejoiced in the Liberty's goal The poet had brought unto man.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE SAME EVERYWHERE.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: A description of negro home life in the south was given by Miss D. E. Emerson at the negro conference at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., now in session. There are, in her opinion, no homes worthy of the name in the black districts, and she emphasized the belief that the only way to elevate the general tone of mind and morals of the southern negroes was to send missionaries among them to show what home meant. "You cannot call a cabin ten by twelve feet, containing only one room, in which from eight to nine or a dozen men, women and children dwell, a home," said she. "What is needed is to teach these people to be profoundly dissatisfied with such homes." Some one should take Miss Emerson on a tour of tenement house districts in our northern cities. Later on in her address she perhaps unconsciously pointed out the cause of the negro's neglect, or rather inability, to better himself: "The credit system on which the business of the black belt seems to be based is a blight on the country. The law protects it. In some unaccountable way, when the grand reckoning up comes at the end of the year, the negro tenant's cotton exactly balances his debts."

The miseries of the south are duplicated in the north. The negro problem is knocking at the door of every poor man in the land, and has become the problem of the whole nation, irrespective of color. The educated white worker and the ignorant negro worker alike are called upon to hand over to our moneyed men the lion's share of the wealth, which should, by all ideas of justice and right, be used in their own moral and mental elevation. Disband the missionaries; give the negro simple justice. LAWYER.

New York.

MR. GEORGE NEEDED IN THE WEST.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: I am strongly of the opinion that Mr. George ought to visit the west on his return from Australia. There are now in this city thousands who want to hear him who a year ago never gave him or his ideas a thought, but the tariff discussion has so opened up the question of taxation that of course the single tax is gaining friends on every side, and Mr. George's presence would help us wonderfully here and throughout the country west and south of us. So I want you to do what you can to get up a lecturing campaign for George on his return. W. B. STEERS.

Chicago.

THE TARIFF AND LAND QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: There is one point in relation to the tariff and land questions which has a direct bearing upon both, and shows them to be really one, and though seldom, if ever, mentioned, yet is the most easily shown to and comprehended by any one unfamiliar with the subject, and it seems to me should be often reiterated, especially by those attempting to reach the farmers.

It is this: Land being so much cheaper in this country than in Europe is of itself at once the sole cause of higher wages here and the only protection possible or needed by employers in this country to enable them to pay higher wages. What class of labor is it which receives in this country the greatest excess of wages over European wages? It is unskilled labor, not mechanical. This is shown by the fact that it is mostly unskilled, not mechanical, workers who come here. Who are the principal employers of labor in this country? The farmers, who produce the bulk of our exports. Now why is it that farmers, paying a proportionately greater excess of wages over foreign wages than the manufacturers do, are able to sell their produce in the European markets in competition with the farmers of Europe, who are able to employ their help at starvation prices? Simply because the American farmer raises his produce on land costing from \$30 to \$100 per acre, while his European competitor must conduct his operations on land from five to ten times as costly.

The same thing applies equally to manufacturers; cheaper land in cities for factory sites enables them to pay higher wages without disadvantage, so that higher wages being offset by cheaper land, no necessity for any other protection exists, nor is any other protection possible.

This, I think, is the heart of the tariff question, and of the land question as well, for land prices on the one hand and labor prices (wages) on the other are as intimately connected and interdependent as the opposite ends of a scale beam; they balance each other; whatever any manufacturer or other employer gains or loses on one is made up by the other, and as one goes up the other must necessarily go down.

This is my idea of the tariff and land ques-

tions, and of their relations to each other, expressed as briefly as I can. Am I not right in my premises and conclusions? Is not land (considering its productiveness, situation, etc.) cheaper, both in city and country, here than in Europe, and sufficiently so to overcome the difference in wages?

Kalamazoo, Mich.

N. G. LESLIE.

THE STEREOPTICON IN POLITICS.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: We are on the eve of a congressional election in which the issue will be, more clearly than ever before, free trade or protection. This issue has already brought forward the whole question of taxation, certainly in Illinois, and probably in all the other states, to a greater or less degree.

There are two things we should aim at: one is to get the largest possible hearing, and the other to make the clearest and strongest presentation of our case. It seems to me that we can improve upon the old methods of campaigning with brass bands and torch-light processions by substituting the stereopticon. Photographic views could be obtained of actual scenes, contrasting the real condition of working people with those who do get the protection; say, the coal miners with the mine owners; the factory operatives with the Carnegies, the Yerkess and others; tenement house scenes with the residences of the 400; the farmers with the owners of large tracts of vacant or leased lands, and the homes of men out of work with plats of land held for speculation and nearly tax free.

These views could be obtained in almost infinite number and variety, and by means of the stereopticon could be thrown upon a screen, one after another, in front of the audience, alternating the rich with the poor in order to bring out the contrasts sharply. They could be explained by the speaker in their order, and would be so many vivid illustrations which would carry conviction to the duldest minds.

This would be a novelty in campaigning, and would draw crowds everywhere. Everybody would go to see and hear. Men who would never read a book or tract, or listen to a set speech from one of the opposite party, would take it all in.

If we were confining ourselves to the free trade fight, appropriate views would be selected according to the locality, whether in city or country. If the democratic managers would organize a stereopticon brigade of men capable of handling the subjects, and send them into the districts of high tariff republican congressmen, they could win many a seat and arouse the people as they have never been aroused before.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

WHAT FACTORY HANDS GET.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: Mr. Groh's letter in THE STANDARD of May 28 is very interesting, but I think he makes a mistake when he says "factory hands, unmeritedly, draw as alms two-fifths of their support from consumers of their product," etc.

In fact, he himself contradicts this when he says that the managers grow rich while the inmates remain poor.

My idea is that the hands earn all they get and a great deal more, and would get more if there were no "protection." They receive no charity and require none.

How can they get any benefit from the higher price of goods consequent upon the tariff? They do not own the goods in any stage of the process of manufacture, but must buy what they need of them at last and pay the increased price.

The real pauper is the owner of the manufacturing site and the raw material required, and it is he who is wont to vociferate with lusty lungs: "We can't compete." "Protect American industry."

I think we should insist upon this plain truth that taxes and restrictions upon trade, as well as upon other modes of wealth production, can never benefit or protect industry, but invariably have the effect to rob it of its earnings for the benefit of monopoly.

San Francisco, Cal.

W. G. SELLERS.

WHY NOT REDRESS THIS GRIEVANCE.

Engle Pass, Texas, Guide.

When a man becomes a farmer and drives a plow into his previously waste land, it is the universal practice to raise his taxes from 500 to 1,000 per cent. This places the farmer at a disadvantage in comparison with his less enterprising neighbors and puts a premium upon non-resident and alien ownership. It involves a real injustice and a burdensome expense to the farmer. How is it that none of the statesmen who would immolate the railroad interests on the altar of husbandry propose to redress this real grievance.

WELL, WHAT IS IT?

Syracuse Standard Free.

The Illinois democrats insist that "a tariff is a tax." Those fellows will have to be licked again.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

THE MCKINLEY BILL.

The McKinley bill has not been heard from since last Sunday morning, when it was said that it would be introduced in the senate with no material change. Mayhap, the "harmony" which is said to exist in the republican party over the bill has something to do with the delay.

THE WORKINGMEN'S TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

GETTING READY FOR ACTIVE PROPAGANDA WORK.

There was a very interesting meeting of the Workingmen's tariff reform league held at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club last Friday evening. The question up for discussion was: How to increase the membership of the league—how to reach the thousands of workingmen of this city who favor tariff reform. A number of suggestions were made, such as preparing a petition for intending members to sign; a circular setting forth why workingmen were in favor of tariff reform, with a blank for signers to write in their name; an address to workingmen; arranging with labor organizations and trade unions to allow workingmen tariff reformers to address them, and a cart tail campaign. After a long and most interesting discussion the league appointed a committee to submit a plan. The gentlemen who suggested the various ideas were appointed on the committee. They will hold nightly meetings until they have completed their work.

The league meets again next Friday at 73 Lexington avenue. All workingmen in sympathy with the objects of the league are cordially invited to attend, whether they desire to join or not.

WHAT THE MISSOURI DEMOCRATS WANT.

"PLACE THE BURDEN OF TAXATION ON ALL CLASSES ALIKE"—"ALL LANDS NOW HELD FOR SPECULATIVE PURPOSES SHOULD BE TAXED AT THEIR JUST VALUE."

The Missouri democratic state convention met at St. Joseph last Thursday, June 12, to nominate certain state officers. Previous to doing so, however, they adopted a platform that will ever be a credit not only to the democratic party of that state, but to the party in the nation. Here are the portions of it relating to the tariff and the taxation of land values:

We condemn the present system of tariff taxation as unjust, inequitable and iniquitous, whereby the principal burdens of taxation are laid upon the necessities and the luxuries are enabled to escape their just proportion, and we demand the revision of the entire tariff system on a revenue basis, so adjusted as to place the burden of taxation upon all classes alike, with equal and exact justice to all and special favors to none. We regard trusts or combinations of individuals and corporations to control prices as a legitimate result of the present iniquitous tariff, and we demand the repeal of the tariff taxes that enable such corporations to extort from the people exorbitant prices for products which they control. We declare it to be the duty of our legislators, state and federal, to use all reasonable efforts within constitutional limits to prevent the creation and circumscribe the powers of monopolies which, in their operation, have the effect to forestall markets and otherwise interfere with the free exercise of trade.

The public land, the heritage of the people, should be held for actual settlers only, and not another acre should be given to railroads or speculators, and all lands now held for speculative purposes should be taxed at their just value.

There is good free trade and single tax doctrine to be read in these two paragraphs, if the reader will read closely.

THREE OPINIONS ON THE TARIFF.

BUTTERWORTH, CONVINCED AGAINST HIS WILL, IS OF THE SAME OPINION STILL—ISIDOR STRAUS IS OPPOSED TO CLASS LEGISLATION—W. LIVINGSTON HAMERSLEY ON AMERICAN AND ENGLISH CLOTHING.

The New York Journal of last Sunday contains three interesting signed articles on the tariff. The first is by Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, who lately made a speech against the McKinley bill, and dodged when the vote was taken in the house. It would seem that though he was dragooned into passiveness when the vote was taken, his opinions are the same now as when he made his speech. Among other things, he says the following in his Journal article:

It is in vain that democrats protest that free trade is alike impossible and impracticable, and that no intelligent person expects to approach that ideal condition. Democracy has worn the political trade mark so long and so deservedly that to change it would not be less difficult than to change the party name.

Every republican pastes the word "protectionist" in his hat, and by that sign seeks to conquer. It occurs, however, that our republican trade mark is becoming as troublesome to us as the democratic symbol is to them.

No republican platform has ever declared that a protective tariff had any honest mission or function beyond equalizing conditions, and securing equality of opportunity between our own people and their competitors of the old world. But we knew, and know now, that every step beyond that tends to

create inequalities between our own citizens, and inaugurates what our friend, the late S. S. Cox, characteristically described as "reciprocal brigandage." And we realize, as republicans, that the attempt to deceive the farmer by putting all agricultural products on the dutiable list is a sham, and the disguise is so thin that it will soon be torn off by an indignant people.

It must not be imagined that the attractive features of the policy will be permitted to hide the deformity which it takes on when it is made the instrument of partial privilege and of extortion and oppression. Hereafter republicans will not accept the political trademark on the outside as conclusive of the character of the contents of the package.

Lincoln, with rare worldly wisdom said: "You may fool a few people most of the time; you may fool most of the people a part of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time." There is reason to suspect that an attempt is being made [by the republican party managers] to fool all the people all the time. No deserved or permanent success will attend the effort.

The second article is signed by Isidor Straus, of R. H. Macy & Co., and he says:

The laying of imposts beyond the necessity of government for the purpose of creating bounties for the few at the expense of the masses is class legislation, pure and simple.

Whenever manufacturers appear before congressional committees to urge tariff legislation in behalf of their infant (?) industries, they invariably pose as the friends of the workmen, and ask for protection chiefly on the ground of shielding their toilers against the pauper labor of other countries. If this brotherly love and concern for the welfare of humanity be, in all sincerity, the moving spirit which actuates manufacturers, would it not seem that it should permeate all their relations with their fellow men?

Duties that are exacted purely for protection will not, in my opinion, be tolerated by the people when generally understood.

If the secretary of the treasury in his annual estimate to congress of the probable revenue and expenditures for the ensuing year, should be compelled to ask for so many millions to be paid to the manufacturers of woolen cloths and so many millions to be paid to the manufacturers of numerous other items, in like manner as he has to provide for the needs of the state department, the navy department and other departments of the government, how long would it be before all industries, not so favorably dealt with, but which have to depend on their own exertions for returns, would rebel against unfair discriminations? Then all classes would insist on the same treatment, and the reasoning that a tariff is no tax would be speedily recognized as a "reductio ad absurdum."

Last, though not least, is the article by W. Livingston Hamersley, who, the Journal says, is one of Mr. McAllister's "four hundred." His theme is "English vs. American cloths and tailors," a theme that is dear to the heart of "toffdom." But he "reasons well," as will be seen by the following excerpts from his article:

There is only one thing to commend English clothing, and that is its cheapness. Now, American cloth is fully as good as the English material, and American workmanship is equal if not superior to English handiwork. American tailors can build a coat or cut a pair of trousers far better than an Englishman can do; therefore there is no possible excuse for the desire to appear in English clothes, unless, of course, it is the wish to be "English, you know?"

It is simply absurd to smuggle English clothing at the risk of arousing Uncle Sam's ire, when you can get a better article here without risk and for less money.

WAGES AND THE TARIFF.

LABOR STATISTICS SHOW THAT WAGES ARE LOWEST IN THE HIGHEST PROTECTED INDUSTRIES.

Springfield, Mass., Republican.

If any one should look through the last part of the state bureau of labor statistics report in the expectation of tracing some connection between the wages paid in manufacturing industries and the tariff, he would be very much disappointed. It is impossible to find any such connection. Upon no other industry, for example, has tariff been lavished with so liberal a hand as upon woollens. We should naturally expect that here a high rate of wages would rule. And yet it appears that 22 per cent of the employees who are included in the wage returns receive less than \$5, more than one-half receive less than \$7, and more than three-fourths less than \$10 a week. As 74 per cent of the total number employed in this industry are represented in the wages returns, these results no doubt give the average situation. Worsteds are another product upon which much tariff has been imposed. But over one-fourth of the employees represented get less than \$5 a week, and over three-fourths get less than \$8.

Cotton goods, again, enjoy a very liberal protection, the tariff here ranging from 40 to 75 per cent, and the leading mills are paying dividends of from 6 to 20 per cent. If the rate of wages in any way depends upon the tariff, one would expect to find very good wages prevailing here. And yet of the 48,178 employees represented in the wage tables, or 80 per cent of the whole number engaged in the industry, over 19,000, or over 40 per cent, receive less than \$5 a week, or less than 84 cents a day. More than three-fourths receive less than \$7 a week and more than 84 per cent less than \$8. That cannot be called large pay.

Take now the paper industry. This enjoys

the least protection of any great manufacturing business of Massachusetts. Three-fourths of the total number of employees are represented in the wage tables, and it appears that less than 13 6 per cent of these receive less than \$5 a week, and less than 40 per cent get under \$8; while nearly one-half get \$8 and over and quite one-fourth get over \$10. Nearly one-half the men in this manufacture get \$10 and more a week and nearly one-fourth receive over \$15. In woolen goods, on the other hand, only about 21 per cent of the men get \$10 and over and only about 5 per cent, or one-twentieth, get over \$15.

Boots and shoes are protected by a tariff of 30 per cent, which is a little above that laid upon paper, but much less than the average levied upon cotton and woolen goods. About 60 per cent of the total number of employees in this great industry are represented in the wage tables. Of this number only 6.5 per cent receive less than \$5 a week—which compares with 22 per cent in woolens, 25 per cent in worsteds and 40 per cent in cottons. Only about one-third of them receive less than \$9, nearly one-half get \$12 and over and one-fifth get \$15 and more. Of the males more than one-half receive \$12 and over a week.

If these great industries represented the whole situation, we should be obliged to conclude that high wages were more apt to be found in lightly protected than in the more highly protected industries. And this is generally the case. Certain it is, in any event, that high tariffs do not make high wages. They are based upon conditions very different from the tariff enactments of congress. Congress may heap up duties on woolens, or worsteds, or cotton goods, or linens, or what not, but the employees in these industries will go right on toiling for less than \$8 a week just the same. This is made so evident from the facts presented in the statistical report referred to as to need no further demonstration.

WHY OBJECT? THAT'S WHAT PROTECTION IS FOR.

Pittsburg Trade Journal.

While we are in favor of protecting American manufactures and thus maintaining a high standard of wages for native industry, yet we do not believe in the practices which discriminate against native consumers in favor of foreign buyers. Here are some figures which show how the credulity of the people is rewarded:

A plow for which the American farmer is charged by the American manufacturer \$11 is sold to foreigners by the same manufacturer for \$8.40. A plow for which the American manufacturer charges his fellow citizen, the American farmer, \$5.60, the same manufacturer sells to a foreigner for \$5.04. For a gang plow the American manufacturer charges the American farmer \$58.80, but he charges the foreigner only \$52.92. For a dozen shovels the American manufacturer charges his fellow citizen \$9.20, but he lets the foreigner have them for \$7.86.

If we must have "protection" let the consumers and wage earners get the products of American workshops as cheap at least as our transatlantic neighbors.

The Engineering and Mining Journal publishes each month an export supplement with this announcement: "Discounts are for exports only." Its issue of May 3 contains thirty-nine closely printed columns of advertisements of articles upon which the manufacturers offer "discount off exports only." The foreigner buying any of these American manufactures get, upon the average, about fifty per cent knocked off the wholesale prices that Americans pay.

A WARNING TO THE FARMERS.

PROTECTION SWEPT THE EMBLEM OF LIBERTY FROM THE SEAS, AND IS TO-DAY UNDERMINING OUR FARMING INDUSTRIES.

Philadelphia Record.

A little over thirty years ago the merchants of the United States owned seventy-five per cent of the vessels carrying the foreign tonnage of America. To-day they own none of them. So extinct has become the American flag upon the seas of the world that Nellie Bly, in her trip lasting seventy-three days, never saw the Stars and Stripes floating from the masthead of a vessel from the time of her leaving this country until her return. This grand old emblem of Liberty has been "protected"—that is, taxed—off of the ocean highways of the world. Its freedom has been paralyzed by trade restrictions. Just as a caged eagle pines and dies in captivity, so has the American flag drooped and died in the captivity of protection. So well did the merchants and sailors in the early history of our government understand their calling and their interests that it was with them that the cry "Free trade and sailors' rights" originated. Free trade in commerce—which is the right to do business with whom you please—is a thing of the past; and "sailors' rights" have died with the death of the commerce of the United States. This has happened within the last thirty years of the history of this country.

The same influences are now undermining and destroying the farmers and farming industries of the United States. More farms are being sold out every month in the counties adjacent to Philadelphia than were sold ten or twelve years ago during an entire year. Excepting its foreign commerce, no industry of this country is so paralyzed to-

day as that of farming. It is fast becoming a business of the past; not only in so far as to hardly enable a man to make a living for himself and family, but in every respect. History is repeating with the farmers the experiences of the sailors. The farmers as a class do not seem to understand what is meant by selling in a free trade market and buying in a taxed market. They seem to fail to appreciate the fact that Liverpool makes the price of grain for Pennsylvania the same as it does for Russia and India, and do not comprehend that it is the price of their surplus products that makes them either successful or bankrupt.

The farmers of this country are now doing a business on a basis of buying milk by dry measure and selling it by wine measure. They are buying by the short ton of 2,000 pounds and selling by the long ton of 2,240 pounds. They are doing just the reverse of what they should do in order to become successful farmers or successful traders. Of all the callings in this country the one that could stand free trade more absolutely is that of the farmer. If the McKinley tariff bill should become a law, and be enforced for three years, it is safe to say that no farmer in Pennsylvania would be able to pursue his calling and make his expenses. When it is understood that about forty-five per cent of the people of the United States are farmers, or are interested in farming industries, it may be realized how disastrous to the industries of this country would be the enforcement of the provisions of the McKinley tariff bill.

A FARMER'S FIGURES.

WHAT THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF HAS COST HIM IN ONE YEAR.

The Des Moines, Iowa, Leader says just at this time, when the farmer is receiving so much consideration at the hands of the republican party in congress, when the members, overburdened with love to the farmer, prepare to increase the duty on the 1,946 bushels of wheat imported into this country each year for seed purposes, and thereby placates him for the increase in tax on the clothing he wears and the agricultural implements he uses; when the 2,388 bushels of corn yearly imported is to be compelled to pay a higher rate; when the sixteen bushels of rye that come to us each year from foreign pauper shores is to be hereafter compelled to pay an increased tax for the protection of the American farmer, who last year exported 90,000,000 bushels of wheat, 69,000,000 bushels of corn, and other agricultural products in proportion, it is interesting to receive from a farmer a statement of the amount of this indirect tax the protection to farm products must place in his pocket each to offset the burden imposed upon him even by the present tariff rate.

The Leader's farmer friend has figured up how much tariff taxes cost him in a year. The following is his account:

	Amount tariff on same.
780 pounds sugar	\$18 72
10 gallons molasses	40
22 pounds woolen goods	9 90
Dry goods (cost \$80)	35 72
10 pounds chocolate, etc.	20
5 pounds mustard	50
42 pounds rice	95
8,000 feet lumber	16 00
Machine (cost \$57)	22 80
Salt, 460 pounds	55
1 barrel lime	31
2 boxes soap	1 20
Medicine (cost \$10)	2 50
Binding twine (cost \$8)	3 20
Saddlery, etc. (cost \$68)	20 52
Boots and shoes (cost \$28 50)	8 55

Total tariff on purchases \$142 02

In other words, the goods purchased by one farmer in one year cost him \$142 02 more on account of the tariff than they otherwise would have done. But this farmer makes the case still more striking by comparing his direct with his indirect tax, thus:

Tariff tax (indirect)	\$142 02
City, county and state (direct)	76 82
Difference	\$65 20

NEWARK'S MAYOR ON THE TARIFF.

JOSEPH E. HAYNES SAYS IT IS A HUMBUG, AND THE MAYOR OF DETROIT, MICH., AGREES WITH HIM.

Detroit Sun.

Hon. Joseph E. Haynes, mayor of Newark, N. J., paid the mayor's office a visit to-day while waiting for a train to take him home. Mr. Haynes has been in Chicago during the past week attending the convention of water works boards from different parts of the country.

There were present in the mayor's office at the time Mayor Pingree, Clerk McLeod, President of the Council Griggs and three or four reporters. After talking about streets, manufactures and different matters concerning municipal affairs, the McKinley tariff bill was taken up.

"Why," said the mayor of Newark, "our manufacturers in Newark need no protection. They have many years ago passed that stage. Look at the Clark thread industry if you will. My wife pays five cents for every spool of that thread she buys in Newark. You pay three cents for the same thread in Canada and only two cents in England. There is the sewing machine that is manufactured in my city. The same thing that is sold in Newark for \$50 can be bought in England for about \$12. There are no poorer paid

people in the country than the sewing women who operate these machines and use this thread, yet they have to pay more for them at home than they are sold abroad for. This is due to the tariff."

"That is pretty strong talk among all of us republicans," broke in President Griggs.

"Yes, but it is true," answered Mr. Haynes. "They talk about protecting the farmer. They manufacture plows in my town and you can't buy one for a cent less than \$16, but you can go to Canada and buy the same plow shipped right from here there for \$12."

"That is correct," said Mayor Pingree.

Collector of Internal Revenue James E. Stone had dropped in a little before this, but, evidently not caring to listen to a little sound tariff reform doctrine, quietly made his escape without attracting much attention.

"The McKinley bill is worse than no bill at all," continued Mr. Haynes. "McKinley does not know what he is talking about. Many of the changes that his bill contemplates are simply absurdities, and you will find many people who voted for protection and the republican party the last time who are now very sorry for it. Now, gentlemen, I want you to understand that I am not an absolute free trader, but I am a radical tariff reformer, and I am one of those who believe in speaking plain."

"I don't think myself," said Mayor Pingree, "that McKinley knows anything about the tariff question. He bit off more than he could chew in his bill."

"Well, it is my train time," and the mayor of Newark, after bidding all present good by, left to catch his train.

POWDERLY ON PROTECTION.

F. M. Holland in New Ideal.

There is good reason to believe that his [the workingman's] cost of living is increased ten per cent by the present tariff; and the burden of the one now proposed would be greater still. Grand Master Powderly spoke the simple truth last November, when he said:

It seems to me that the policy of protection is wrong on labor. The laboring classes are not protected—only the manufacturers.

The rich receive the protection. The American manufacturer adds the duty to what should be the natural and fair price for his product. The burden of the tariff rests its crushing weight upon the poor. The tariff needs reforming. It is the poor, the great mass of the people, who need protection, and they will never get it under the so-called policy of protection.

INDIANA REPUBLICANS ALARMED.

Chicago Times.

The republicans here are becoming alarmed at the situation. The revolt among the farmers of the state against the action of the party on the tariff has assumed serious proportions. From all quarters of the state come reports of the organizations of farmers and laborers and the adoption of resolutions denouncing the administration and the majority in congress.

CRACKING THE SHELL.

McKinley is a very expensive piece of republican property. If it cost the party \$135,000 and the presidency to elect him in a republican district in 1884, what will it cost to run him this year in a democratic district and handicapped with oppressive tariff taxation?—[Cleveland Plain Dealer.]

The McKinley bill could be called a bill to run the country for the benefit of the privileged order of the protected.—[Indianapolis News.]

The republican tariff bill is constructed from first to last to benefit the millionaires at the expense of the poor man, to make the rich, richer, and the poor, poorer.—[The Vindicator, La., Sentinel.]

The quickest way to kill tariff robbery would be to give the McKinley bill a year to live.—[Louisville Times.]

The manufacturers who favor the McKinley bill are warring against their own interests. While the bill has been framed so as to obstruct the exportation of American goods, it at the same time would increase the inducements to smuggle foreign goods into the country.—[Philadelphia Record.]

The issues are clearly drawn in the McKinley bill. It is in line with the McKinley tariff platform, and is a fulfillment of Mr. Quay's promises to the contributors to the republican campaign fund.—[Louisville Courier-Journal.]

The "black eye" given the McKinley bill by the wool growers of Ohio, to say the least, adds but little beauty to the william, if it affects it in no other way.—[Easton, Md., Star.]

Woolen mill failures are some of the raw materials furnished free by high tariff laws.—[Philadelphia Times.]

SEEMS PLAIN ENOUGH.

Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The exclusive home market plan of the prohibitory tariffites has thrown our overproduction upon the home markets and reduced prices to that point that farming no longer pays. The sooner the American farmer thoroughly understands this fact and votes accordingly the sooner will his condition be ameliorated, and not till then.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Hostesses are frequently impelled to adopt some fantastic and fortuitous method of determining who shall take whom into dinner, but anything sillier than a device resorted to the other night by a lady of position in London society can hardly be imagined. The male guests were put up at auction, and knocked down to the highest bidders in imaginary sums. Sir Redvers Buller was the most valuable human chattel exposed for sale, and was finally secured for a trifle over a million, whereas one of the party only fetched half a crown. The only amusing part of the game was the description of the human wares by the auctioneer, who hit them off very cleverly. A fresh surprise was in store for the company after dinner, as a coffin was brought in by the servants, which was found to contain the dead body of a lark and the inscription, "Our little lark is dead." It is almost incredible that such puerilities can entertain sane and sober adults in this so-called progressive age.—[San Francisco Argonaut.]

Several persons in State street saw a young man deliberately throw himself in front of the wheel of a heavily loaded truck at 10:30 a. m. last Friday. They shouted to Patrick Burns, who was driving the truck, and Burns reined in his team as quickly as possible, but not in time to prevent the wheel from passing over the young man's body. There were thirty-three barrels of flour on the truck. Policeman Kennedy of the first precinct was among the men who witnessed the attempt at suicide and he helped to raise the young man from the pavement. "I did not jump into the water, because somebody would have pulled me out," the young man said. "I wanted to die." He said that his name was James Casey and that he lived at No. 212 East Eighty-first street. An ambulance took him to the hospital in Chambers street. The surgeons found that his thigh was fractured and that he had received dangerous internal injuries. He became insensible at the hospital and died before evening. Casey was unmarried and lived with his widowed mother and younger brother in Eighty-first street. Lately he became despondent on account of the loss of work.—[New York Tribune.]

"Never," says the guide, philosopher and friend of fashionable fumeuses, "smoke in a restaurant or out of doors, even in the company of husband and brother. Smoke after meals at home, either in your room ad hoc or in your boudoir." No mention is made of the etiquette of the carriage, and yet it is not unusual to see fair smokers, cigarette in hand, bowling through Central park, puffing blue rings among the delicate branches of the quiet roads and turns. These ladies are sometimes in phaetons and more frequently in hansoms. They wear belt bags en pendant containing the Turkish cigarettes, church tapers and sweet pastilles for deodorizing the fumes of the tobacco.—[New York Evening World.]

An unfortunate woman whose husband is out of work and who endured with him the horrors of starvation took the last possible plunge in the social drama and went upon the street. Having been arrested by a very acute policeman, she confessed in a quiet and most effective manner to the judge that she was wrong and gave her history, whereupon the court said to this woman without a home, without a cent, without a bite: "Well, you have confessed your sin and there is nothing left for me to do but punish you. I'll fine you \$5!" Hurrah for justice!—[Howard in New York Press.]

A lovely dancing dress to be sent to Newport this week is called an "Empire art gown." The fabric is a soft rich pampadour brocade of a pale rose tint, figured with creamy rose buds and pale gold leaves. There are immensely high, puffed shoulder sleeves that look like airy wings, being made of pale pink silk tulle. Folds of the same transparent textile are laid around the edge of the half-low, rounding bodice, and from the center are drawn down in a V shape to the waist, where they are held by a rich girdle of olive velvet overlaid with a delicate embroidery of beads in rose, opal and gold. The skirt is round and full at the back, falling straight at the sides, and opening over a petticoat of olive velvet which is bordered at the foot with the bead embroidery.—[New York Evening Post.]

John Sanders, thirty-three years old, homeless, was thrown down stairs at a lodging house, No. 96 Bowery, Thursday night by Henry Schmidt, a night clerk.—[New York Herald.]

ABOUT REPUBLICAN "HARMONY."

Chicago News.

Among the republican newspapers that are opposed to important items of the McKinley tariff bill, or to the measure as an entirety, are the Chicago Tribune, the Evansville, Ind., Journal, the St. Paul Pioneer-Press, the Omaha Bee, the Minneapolis Journal, the Kansas City, Kan., Gazette, the Boston Advertiser, the Boston Journal, the Philadelphia American, the Philadelphia Telegraph, and the Portland Oregonian. In addition to these the St. Louis Globe Democrat and Milwaukee Sentinel are dissatisfied with it, but are supporting it in spite of their convictions. The New York Tribune, New York Press, Philadelphia Press, Minneapolis Tribune, Indianapolis Journal and Chicago Inter-Ocean are its ardent advocates. From this list the public may judge whether it is the party or the party bosses that desire the passage of the bill.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

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

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

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

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

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

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
12 UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK, June 17, 1890.

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

Subscriptions to this committee's fund remain as reported last week, viz., \$3,333.55.

Cash contributions for the week ending June 17 are from:

Geo. C. Madison, St. Paul, Minn.	25
Orville Daniels, N. Hammond, N. Y.	2 50
W. G. Spence, Thomaston, Conn.	50
John Hilton, Clinton, N. Y.	60
Edward Farrell, Philadelphia, Pa.	50
Sundry contributions in postage stamps	2 05
	\$6 40

Contributions previously acknowledged	779 15
Total	\$785 55

The enrolment now stands as follows:
Reported last week 84,296
Signatures received since last report. 594

Total 84,890

For news budget see "Roll of States,"
G. St. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

FOR THE SINGLE TAX AND FREE TRADE.

THE SOUTH DAKOTA FARMERS' ALLIANCE DECLARE FOR "THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE"—A MAJORITY OF THE DELEGATES FAVOR THE SINGLE TAX AND FREE TRADE—THE SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE ORGANIZE AND APPOINT A STATE COMMITTEE—THE CODINGTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION DECLARES THAT THE TAX UPON LAND VALUES SHOULD BE THE ONLY TAX LEVIED BY THE GOVERNMENT—BROKAW JUHLANT.

WATERTOWN, South Dakota, June 1.—I returned last night from Huron, where I attended one of the most interesting of conventions. The South Dakota farmers' alliance met at 3 p.m., June 4. The convention was held in the Grand opera house. The afternoon was spent in preliminary work. The night session listened to President Louck's address and a speech by Ben Terrill, the national lecturer of the Farmers' alliance and industrial union. The convention went into executive session, beginning with the night session, admitting delegates to the floor and visiting members to the gallery by means of a pass word. Almost the whole of June 5, until after midnight, was spent in discussing independent political action. The morning of June 6, at 9 o'clock, the doors were thrown open to the public and an independent party organized. It was decided to call a nominating convention to meet in Huron, July 9.

Being a visiting K. of L. I was admitted to the gallery and watched closely nearly all the proceedings. There were over five hundred alliance and K. of L. delegates. There was an almost unanimous desire for a new party, but there was much difference of opinion as to the expediency of action at present. The long discussion rapidly crystallized the sentiment in favor of immediate action. But there was the hardest fight over the question of immediate nomination. Those favoring calling another convention to nominate ticket, thus giving every one outside of the alliance a chance to take part, prevailed.

I heard men who had attended political conventions during the fifties, and ever since, say they had never attended such a one as this. The mass of them had been republicans, though a number of prominent democrats were among them. I heard it remarked on all hands that this convention was the best college the farmers had ever been in. Its educational effect was worth far more than its cost, although its expense to the mortgaged farmers was heavy.

I wish to mention an incident in connection with the platform. When the new party went to adopt a platform they decided to adopt the platform framed at St. Louis last December. Not having it at hand Mr. Loucks gave what he called the essence of it from memory. When he came to the land plank he stated it, "The land for the use of the people." When questioned regarding the reference to alien landlordism he said that it mattered not to the tenant whether it was an alien or home landlord, that the plank really meant "the land for the people who use it." Those are his words as near as I can remember them.

We had called our single tax conference to meet at Huron, June 4. I went there June 3. I found that almost all the single tax men were delegates to the Alliance convention, and that our conference would have to be sandwiched in the best way possible. So we decided to meet at 7 a.m., June 5, in G. A. R. hall. The convention did not adjourn till midnight, June 4, and the next morning it was cold and raining, so that we did not get together in time to transact any but the most

necessary business. The old officers were re-elected, some county committees elected and the secretary instructed to select others.

The forenoon of June 6 I distributed several hundred copies of the Journal and several hundred tracts. My friends, Roland Hill of Frankfort and Professor Evenson of Madison, and one or two others were about the only ones present who were not delegates to the alliance convention. I met more strangers who were single tax men than I ever met of single tax men before. Men who had attended the Aberdeen alliance convention last November all knew me, and many of them favored the single tax. I really believe that a majority of those present favored it. Whereas, last November but very few ever put in a word on my side, this June an opponent would find himself surrounded by single taxers. Whereas, last fall the tariff question was mentioned very gingerly, this June many said to me: "I am not a single tax man, but there's one thing I like about it—it will give us free trade!" Frank Wilder, the M. W. of North and South Dakota K. of L., told me that he was anxious to get posted so he could publicly advocate the single tax. He said he was a loyal K. of L., and it was a plank of our platform, and he wanted to be able to explain it so that an audience could not corner him.

Among others I had the pleasure of meeting was Freeman Knowles, the bold editor of the Meade County Times, whom the Black Hills political bosses have been trying to ruin by suing for libel. I met a lady who may take the platform for the single tax if equal suffrage carried this fall; she is now lecturing in that field.

I inclose the list of the single tax committees chosen, a number of whom I met after our conference adjourned, and who promised to act. Others will be chosen from time to time, as I find men who will act:

Beadle county—J. W. Gibson, Hitchcock; Con Marble and W. D. Steele, Huron.

Brown county—W. L. Johnson, Aberdeen. Brule county—James Brown, Chamberlain; John Wiles, Rys; M. C. Felker, Kimball. Butte county—W. E. Hodgson, Vale. Codington county—L. E. Brickell, Watertown.

Custer county—Judge Thornby, Hermosa. Davison county—John M. Pease, Mitchell. Day county—W. E. Fisk, Lily; J. F. Pitsor, Butler; Gustav Wendt, Rys; S. P. Brokaw, Bristol; Gordon Wilson, Andover. Deuel county—S. G. Mogan, Gary; S. Hooper, Gary.

Douglas county—Thomas B. Foster, Grand View.

Edmunds county—John L. Wills, Ipswich; George C. Dwight, Bowdle. Fall River county—Judge Dudley, Hot Springs.

Faulk county—T. D. Collins, De Voe. Grant county—Z. D. Scott, Milbank.

Hand county—E. M. Scurgy, Ames; James Ruston, Miler.

Kingsbury county—A. N. Dahlen, Lake Preston; C. A. Rattluff, Oldham.

Lake county—Professor E. H. Evenson, Madison; D. Theophilus, Winfield.

Lawrence county—Frank Green, Lead City; A. E. Teeter, Galena; Fred Zipp, Deadwood; H. O. Alexander, Whitewood; John Brosius, Carbonate; P. Bashite, Spearfish.

Marshall county—Patrick H. Flynn, Britton; Jacob Wickre, Langford.

Meade county—Freeman Knowles, Telford; Charles H. Mueller, Sturgis; J. W. Allen, Postville.

Minnehaha county—C. A. Soderberg, Hartford.

Pennington county—Francis H. Clarke, Rapid City; Manley Dunckel, Rapid City; Otto Anderson, Rockerville.

Sanborn county—A. P. Doran, Woonsocket; John Davis, Letcher.

Spink county—Roland Hill, Frankfort; J. O. Bythe, La Delie; S. C. Black, Rose; Judge Howe, Redfield; Wm. Veitch, Mellette; Almont Ingalls, Athol.

Turner county—M. A. Christensen, Centerville.

Union county—A. J. Wimple, Beresford.

Walworth county—John Larson, Blue Blauket.

Yankton county—John Olson, with post office at Freya, Turner county.

This afternoon I attended the Codington county democratic convention, which elected delegates to the state convention to meet in Aberdeen, June 11. John B. Hanten was elected chairman and myself secretary. Mr. Hanten wrote the following resolution, which he handed to the committee on resolutions:

Resolved, That the land, including all natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. That taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be the only tax levied by the government.

The committee reported it as a recommendation separate from the other resolutions, saying they all favored it, but thought it could not be brought before the state convention, and would therefore not do. Mr. Hanten made a speech in its favor, saying we would have to accept the single tax before long and we might as well do so now as any time. I also spoke in its favor, and it was adopted without opposition as a part of the platform of the Codington county democracy. Who says the world don't move!

My name was proposed as a delegate to the state convention, but I objected. Another name was proposed, and the seven delegates elected before they noticed that I had not been chosen one of them. They thought I had been elected. I did not want to go as a delegate. I want to go and look on, as I did at Huron. Something's going to "drop" this fall in South Dakota, and if the

farmers throughout the state show the spirit manifested by the seven or eight hundred men who met at Huron this week, the independent party will carry everything before it. I never saw such an independent spirit as seems to be abroad in this state. Whatever happens, I am inclined to think that the g. o. p. of this state will think a dynamite bomb has struck them by next November. Farmers are thinking. They grasp literature with eagerness. Liberty is at hand.

W. E. BROKAW.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

The club gave to its friends last Thursday evening a very successful entertainment, consisting of a donkey party, music, singing, recitations and the reading of a story based on the single tax idea. In the course of the evening refreshments—strawberries, cake and milk—were served by the committee. To-morrow evening Mr. George Wallace of Freeport, Long Island, will address the club on "Personal reminiscences of a land hunting itinerant."

BROOKLYN.

THE OFFICERS OF "THE SINGLE CLUB FOR THE ENSUING TERM.

William F. Withers, Brooklyn.—At a meeting of the Brooklyn single tax club, held on Wednesday evening, the 11th, inst., the following officers were chosen to serve until the last week in December next: President, G. W. Thompson; vice-presidents, F. P. Rand and T. P. Ryan; recording secretary, C. P. Cooper; corresponding secretary, W. F. Withers; treasurer, George White; executive committee, A. J. Boulton, Phillip Boulton, A. L. Sessions, Edward Pearson, E. K. Morris, J. T. O'Neill, F. H. Marsh.

A communication from the enrolment committee, relative to the proposed national conference, was read before the club on Wednesday evening, and I am instructed to say in reply that the club adopted resolutions some time since, declaring in favor of a conference to be held in New York city, soon after the return of Henry George from Australia.

NEW YORK STATE.

Thos. W. Edkins, Lion.—Am sorry I cannot devote more time to propaganda work, but after the daily grind of ten hours, "dolce far niente" seems to follow in natural sequence. However, I don't miss any chance that comes in my way and I have used tracts in places where I have since seen gratifying results, and I am in hope we shall eventually enthuse here into a live single tax club.

RHODE ISLAND.

OUR IDEAS MAKING WAY—A FRANCHISE THAT WILL HAVE TO BE PAID FOR—TRYING TO BLOCK BALLOT REFORM.

George D. Liddell, Providence.—Although there is no great activity apparent in the single tax ranks here, I think the ideas are surely, if slowly, making their way. A short time since there was railroaded through the city council a resolution appointing a committee, with power to make a contract with "The Narragansett electric lighting company," a local corporation, whereby the said company were to build subways for the carrying of electric wires, and in payment for building same were to be given exclusive use of the streets for such purposes for the space of twenty-five years.

Immediately there arose a great protest against said action, the Telegram, the local democratic organ, leading, and the kick has been so effective that it is now said that the lighting company has intimated to the mayor that it does not care to push the matter further, and he is expected to return the resolution without his approval to the council at its next meeting.

It is such incidents as this which, to me, seem to indicate that the line which separates public from private property is becoming more plain.

The May session of our legislature came to an abrupt end, through the trickery of the satellites of Boss Brayton, the republican mogul of this state, who hoped in this way to prevent the passage of the act extending the Australian ballot law to town and municipal elections, until after the election in this city next November. However, their trickery is likely to be of no avail, as the governor, Hon. John Davis, has issued a call convening the legislature in special session on Tuesday June 17, at which session it is likely that the act extending the Australian system as aforesaid will become a law.

PENNSYLVANIA.

AN ECHO OF THE KENSINGTON MEETINGS—HANY TO GET SIGNATURES.

William J. Campbell, Philadelphia.—What a great demonstration there was in Kensington! And how its echoes roll, and roll, and roll! It was shown that night that what the workers wanted was not tariff reform, but free trade. The congressmen found that out before the meetings were over—by the way their audiences responded when they got down to the bottom truth. It was a great night.

D. St. C. Wineland, Pittsburgh.—In soliciting signatures to the petition I do not con-

fine my efforts to my personal acquaintance, as I used to do. If I find a single acquaintance in a group I approach and hand my friend—only him—a blank. While he is reading the rest are glancing slyly at it. After assuring themselves that it is nothing private, they peer over his shoulder, when I suddenly recollect myself and hand a blank to each. Try this plan once, and particularly among workmen.

OHIO.

DEFEATED, YET VICTORIOUS—NO MORE FREE FRANCHISES.

Wm. C. Wulf, Cincinnati.—Last fall I was a candidate for decennial assessor of the Twelfth ward of this city, on the democratic ticket, being defeated by my republican opponent. I flooded the ward with circulars and posters setting forth the single tax and calling attention to the assessment of ground held in this ward, assessed by the acre and adjoining lots assessed by the front foot. Now I see the success of the agitation.

The republican assessor has taken up the work of assessing these acre valued lots, and is valuing them as per front foot; and instead of the single taxers of this ward doing taxation talk, we have the pleasure of seeing the people take up the subject.

The comptroller is collecting street railway company assessments. They will in future have to pay for the privileges they enjoy.

J. G. Galloway, Dayton.—Our picnic was a grand success, and we got a good opportunity to talk single tax to the farmers present. They are eagerly anxious to hear it explained.

ILLINOIS.

THE DRAINAGE QUESTION COMES UP AGAIN—ASSESSOR CANTWELL'S DECLARATIONS CAUSE A SENSATION—OTHER NEWS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, June 15.—The drainage question is again open, and we are once more in the thick of the fight. The constitutionality of the act erecting the Chicago sanitary district has been affirmed by the supreme court, and now the great work will begin in earnest.

Under the law, the new municipality is empowered to raise necessary funds, either by general taxation or by special assessments, or by both. Our contention from the beginning has been that the resort to general taxation, if not unconstitutional, was intrinsically unjust, since all the benefits of the proposed improvement would accrue inevitably to land, and be reflected in enhanced rent or selling price which the users of land would be compelled to pay. We made a sturdy and not by any means a losing fight in the election of the sanitary trustees last December, compelling all parties to recognize our issue, and securing from the successful candidates pledges which they have not dared to ignore.

When the constitutionality of the drainage act was brought into question, we determined to carry our point into the supreme court, and this was done by Edward Osgood Brown in a powerful argument denying the authority of the new municipality to levy a general tax, and affirming that constitutionally it could meet the expenses of the improvements contemplated by special assessments on the lands benefited.

The court has taken the contrary view (Judge Magruder dissenting), and so the case stands thus—that, if they choose, the trustees can levy a general tax, or they may resort to special assessments, or they may combine the two modes for raising the required funds. It is our purpose to convince them that, while legal, the general tax is economically inequitable and pernicious, and that by the special assessment method alone can permanent injury to a great proportion of the people be avoided. We have set about mobilizing our forces with a view to the contest which is sure to come on the question of authorizing an issue of bonds. We shall demand a formal hearing and our views will be presented by such men as Judge Bangs, Edward Osgood Brown, John Z. White, James Malcolm and Clinton Furbish—all men of high and recognized ability—and if we fail to make our point with the trustees, we will carry the war into Africa, by seeking a repeal of the general tax clause of the sanitary act by the next legislature.

Wm. Trinkhaus, an individualist of more than ordinary ability, addressed our club last night, a large audience being present. Among the visitors last night were Mr. Arthur Forrester, late recording secretary of the Toronto club, and Mr. Robert Baker, representing the Reform club of New York. Mr. Forrester presented a letter of introduction from the Toronto brethren, but in the confusion it was overlooked by the president, who thus publicly apologizes for what may have appeared a rudeness. If this catches his eye it is to be hoped that he will take it as an invitation to call and make himself known. The club will give him a most cordial welcome.

Miss Isabella Hudson is making a splendid race for the Herald's European tour, and we are working for her with might and main. Friends outside of the city who can get the Sunday Herald can aid us, and they should do so by all means.

Mr. Clinton Furbish of the Leader has been seriously ill, but is now regaining his health.

Overwork was the cause of his prostration. It is expected that Mr. Franklin McVeagh will address our club shortly on the tariff question. General M. M. Trumbull has promised to give us a lecture on Richard Cobden at an early date. Other good things are also into store.

E. J. Jones, Chicago.—Since my last letter about Mr. Cantwell and his determination to raise assessments, there has been quite a stirring up over the matter. Most of the newspapers saw the justice of the "new plan," as they called it, and the people saw it whether the papers did or not. My interview with Mr. Cantwell in the Mail created nothing short of a furor. The article was printed on Saturday, and the Sunday papers commented freely on what Mr. Cantwell announced he would do, and the Times printed my article verbatim; and the same journal contained a very laughable two-column cut depicting Mr. Cantwell in the act of turning the handle of a press in which the luckless land speculator was being squeezed and the taxes were supposed to be running out of his pockets. Upon the top of the press was the inscription: "Cantwell's improved tax collector and assessment press." [The cartoon is printed on the last page of THE STANDARD of this issue.] Both the morning and evening issues of the News, which are friendly to the single tax, commented favorably. The discussion has been started, and the mayor and not a few of the aldermen have caught the infection. Aldermen Culbertson at the last meeting of the city council introduced a special assessment ordinance, which has a great deal of single tax truth in it. There need be no fear about Chicago. She will not be at the tail end of the procession when the people get ready to adopt our plan of universal justice.

MISSOURI.

THE MOVEMENT IN ST. LOUIS—MR. PEPOON GIVES ENCOURAGING NEWS OF NEBRASKA.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—The single tax league has decided to hold open air meetings regularly hereafter for the purpose of pushing the petition for a single tax amendment to the Missouri constitution. Single tax men throughout the state are requested to write to J. W. Steele, secretary, for blank petitions, and return the same to him when signed.

Two ward citizens' clubs in this city will discuss the single tax at meetings to be held early in July.

Melvin H. Palmer has returned to St. Louis, and is actively at work, as usual. Mr. Hemming is also back.

I have lately returned from a trip through Nebraska, and found the single tax cause progressing finely in that state. One indication of growth is the fact that thirty-one county papers on the list of the Western newspaper union at Omaha are publishing the single tax department weekly.

J. W. Swan, Safe.—On June 4 I organized another single tax club at this place. This is my fourth club. I have appointments for two or three more nights. I think this is the best club I have formed. It will be known as the Glen single tax club, and its officers are: J. T. Copeland, president; W. H. Milles, vice-president; H. A. Snider, secretary and lecturer. The club will meet on the second Saturday evening of each month.

WASHINGTON.

GAINING GROUND—A WORKINGMEN'S TICKET OPPOSED BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES, AND BEATEN BY A SMALL MAJORITY.

Alexander Walls, Seattle.—The single tax movement is gaining strength every day. The four daily newspapers that have helped to steal away from the people the water front are now howling about the high wharfage rates driving away trade. Perhaps they will see the end some day.

The Central labor union has just emerged from a big political fight, in which, though defeated, the workingmen covered themselves with glory. A board of fifteen freeholders was to be elected, and they were to frame a city charter. The professional politicians of both parties came together and nominated what they called a "non-partisan ticket."

Though there are more wage workers in Seattle than any other class not one from their ranks was nominated. So four days before the election the Central labor union put up a citizens' ticket composed of representatives of all classes. The two parties fought us bitterly, and to our surprise the prohibitionists aided them; but we were beaten only 400 votes. The workingmen are encouraged by this result, as they had to face the combined political organizations, and will keep up their organization and put a full ticket in the field in municipal elections.

MASSACHUSETTS.

W. L. Crosman, Roxbury, Boston.—I think it would be an easy matter for our 2,500 workers to roll up the list faster than at present, if they would all go to work and solicit signatures from all persons with whom they come in contact. It of course requires nerve, but single tax men are usually not very modest. Surely a large number of our workers belong to labor unions and secret societies, and in their meeting rooms have an excellent opportunity to solicit signatures from those

with whom they are acquainted and from all others also.

CONNECTICUT.

Thomas Fisher, Shaker Station.—I have sent the enrolment committee eleven signatures from this station. Some of the Shakers are getting their eyes open. They are beginning to see, like T. V. Powderly, that every man who makes any improvements is a criminal in the eyes of the law.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Bernard Samok, Guyandotte.—The single tax is spreading here. Already it is being discussed in public meetings and gatherings, in clubs and on the street.

MICHIGAN.

Nelson Markle, Detroit.—I have sent seventeen signatures to the enrolment committee. Eight of them were republicans who would not listen to single tax or free trade talk two years ago; now they say they are single tax men.

MINNESOTA.

George C. Madison, St. Paul.—I am having good success in getting signatures to the petition. I have never felt more encouraged to go on with the work for the cause than I am to-day.

COLORADO.

S. T., Colorado Springs.—J. D. Dillenback of Denver, on the evening of June 10, read a paper in favor of "The single tax theories of Henry George," at a joint meeting of the University club and Colorado college scientific society. After answering questions, Mr. Dillenback received a vote of thanks for his admirable paper.

CALIFORNIA.

W. G. Sellers, San Francisco.—At our reading room to-night (June 5), the subject for discussion is Senator Stanford's plan of loaning government money or credit to owners of land. Its advocates call it a plan to relieve farmers; but this puts it in a false light. A farmer is a man who farms. This Stanford bill would benefit the land owner, whether he be a farmer or a mere landlord; while a farmer who is not also a land owner would be left out in the cold.

It would encourage speculation and discourage improvement, as nothing is to be loaned on improvement values. Its effect would be to make of land holders another privileged class like our bond holding national bankers, who now have the use of the government credit to the extent of ninety per cent of the face value of their bonds.

These discussions are held on various subjects germane to the single tax, every Thursday and Saturday evening at the single tax reading room, 841 Market street. Readers of THE STANDARD in San Francisco and vicinity who can attend conveniently will find them interesting.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee Nation.—Your article on the outrage of selling the school lands of Fort Smith has attracted a great deal of attention there. It is strange how little is known of the single tax in this section of country; but I live in hope.

SWEDEN.

THE SINGLE TAX BEING DISCUSSED IN THAT FAR OFF COUNTRY.

Axel G. Burman, Chicago.—The single tax question has reached "ultima Thule"—Sweden—and is discussed in the leading journals of that country. In a late number of Ny Illustrerad Tidning (New Illustrated Paper) appeared the picture of Henry George and an article attempting to explain the single tax system. The following, translated from the article, shows how the writer of the article—Karl of Gejerstain—has it: "The remedy he (George) proposes is evidently that property rights in land be abolished; and the state, becoming the sole owner of land, will lease it to individuals on fixed shorter terms."

THE MONOPOLIST'S SONG.

New York World.
The price of beef may higher go
And milk may dearer be,
But every pang that others know
Brings a new gain to me!
On all that man may drink or eat
Let me coin cent per cent! Nor heat
Nor want, nor e'en disease itself,
Shall I lay the inflow of my pelf!

I bide my time! Now, when it's come,
Why should I hesitate
To levy toll from every soul,
Poor, humble, rich and great?
The rich and great flee from grim fate
To sea and mountain hie;
The panting poor pass by my door
With curses—but they buy!

A "FAT TAKE" FOR THE PRINTER.

Chicago News.
"Representatives of all the rubber goods manufacturing establishments in the United States met at New York on Tuesday and arranged to pool their interests and advance the price of rubber belting, packing, hose and rubber goods 10 to 25 per cent."
The above item will be kept standing for a few months and "rubber goods" changed to the names of other manufactured goods as the various trusts get in their work under the auspices of Mr. McKinley.

MARCHING TO VICTORY.

Watertown, S. D., Journal.
Come along, my jolly boys, we'll sing another song—
Sing it with a spirit that will start the world along—
Sing it as we ought to sing it, sixty million strong,
While we are marching to victory.

CHORUS.

Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll bring the jubilee.
Hurrah! Hurrah! The day that is to be!
For the Single Tax will make the nations ever free,
While we are marching to victory.

Single Tax will crush the Trusts and set the people free.
Trade that's Free will help the cause and down Monopoly.
Oh, that glorious day will come! May all the nations see
That we are marching to victory.

Landlords and coal barons, too, will have to emigrate;
Railroad kings and combines few then cannot rule the state;
Rent will not eat up our toil, the millionaires be great—
When we have marched on to victory.

Now we'll join the forces true; o'erthrow the tyrant wrong:
Aid Free Trade and Single Tax, and push the world along.
Then the day of Equal Rights will ring with joyful song—
When we have marched on to victory.

EVADING THE DUTY ON BANANAS.

Buffalo Courier.
It is a well known fact that Buffalo folks, when they go over to Canada, are possessed to turn smugglers, and the same mania seizes on Canadians when they come to Buffalo. The other afternoon a reporter overheard two Canadian girls debating whether or not bananas were subject to duty. They went up to a policeman at the corner of Main and Seneca streets finally and asked him.

"You'll have to pay a duty if the skins are on them," said the policeman.
"Oh, dear! oh, dear! and why's that?"
"Oh, if you take 'em over with the skins on, they'll think you mean to sell 'em, you know. But if you peel 'em you'll get through all right. How many you got?"
"Two dozen."

"Well, you'd better sit down an' go to work on 'em."
So the two unsophisticated Canadian maidens sat down on the curb and began stripping the bananas. The fruit must have been in an interesting condition when it got over the border.

A VERY CLEVER HIT, THIS.

Kansas City Star.
Queen Victoria has suggested to parliament legislation that shall refuse marriage license in cases where it does not appear that a family can be supported. The enactment of such a law fifty years ago and its impartial enforcement would have made every child to which the queen has given birth a celibate. There is not one in the whole lot who has ever earned enough to pay for the salt in the porridge which constitutes a regular article of diet at the queen's table.

WILL NOT NEED TO GIVE THANKS.

Boston Post.
Manufacturers of electrical apparatus of all sorts have been looking the thing over pretty carefully, and have come to the conclusion that the McKinley bill, should it become a law, will not make any extensive thanksgiving preparations necessary. They find that pretty much everything that they consume as raw material will cost them more, rendering higher prices necessary, and hence curtailing sales.

HOW ABOUT THE TOWN OF FULLMAN?

Milwaukee Wisconsin.
The Cottrell rebellion at Cedar Keys, Fla., is still in progress. The city is terrorized, and a United States revenue steamer is necessary to protect the government officials. This is a most aggravating case of one-man power, and the governor of Florida should take steps to re-establish law and order. The northern town which one man could thus control has no place on the map.

AN AGREEMENT AMONG "GENTLEMEN."

New York World.
As the consumption of coal grows less the "agreement among gentlemen"—the polite name for the coal kings' edict—advances the prices from 15 to 25 cents a ton. This is the hard old law of "supply and demand" manipulated to rob the people whichever way it works.

LET US PRAY.

Boston Globe.
At the republican love feast in Lynn, Wednesday, Hon. A. E. Pillsbury dolefully admitted that the democratic party is gaining, especially among the young men. The virus of free trade, he says, is also taking hold of intelligent young men of republican families.

BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA.

New York World.
The republican leaders are between the devil and the deep sea on the tariff question. They will be beaten if they increase the taxes, and they will lose their campaign "fat" if they do not.

WEALTH PRODUCERS, TAKE NOTICE.

New York Press.
The McKinley bill is a step in the direction of protection wherever needed to encourage American industry and give employment at fair wages to American workmen.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

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

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

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

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

THE STANDARD,
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

GIVE ME MY RENT!

William Allan Hubbard, Scotland, People's Journal.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
I'm owner of this Highland soil;
If I dare we refuse,
To pay what I choose
To fix as a tax on your toil?

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
Am I not lord? What are ye?
Poor creatures designed
By nature to find
The money required to keep me.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
A castle I have to uphold;
A London house grand,
For fashion's gay band,
A yacht of palatial mold.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
I've daughters to dower and wed;
And sons who would shirk
To do any work,
Or soil their fine fingers for bread.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
Have I not "the law" at my back?
The bailiffs I'll bring,
And seize everything
From cradle to winter's peatstack.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
Hail should ye the factor defy?
The soldiers will come
To drive you from home
Like sheep when the fierce wolves are nigh.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
What reck I tho' ye are in want,
Heart-broken and sad,
Ill-housed and ill-clad,
While I am of pleasure ne'er scant.

Give me my rent,
Give me my rent,
Has long been the creed and the cry
Of men who ne'er feel
That their country's true weal
Can only in happy homes lie.

"THE WORLD SEEMS TO HAVE NO PLACE FOR THEM."

Chicago Advance.

Frequently have I said that if I were a rich man and wanted to give away my money I should give no small share of it to a college. But a friend of mine, to whom I told my preference, said: "I have a better cause than that. I should give my money for the benefit of those folks for whom there is no place in the world." As I came to think of it I decided he was wise. People are coming to me all the time. I want to help them. They are feeble in body, yet not feeble enough to go to the hospital. They are feeble in mind, yet not feeble enough to go to a retreat. They are poor, yet not poor enough to receive aid. They are able to work some, but not able to support themselves. Actually the world seems to have no place for them. I think that I shall divide my property between an institution for these people and some good college.

THE FARMER BEING PUT INTO A HOLE.

Philadelphia Record.

The statisticians find that the government of the United States is getting out of debt at the rate of nearly \$100,000,000 a year, and that the farmers are getting into debt at about the same rate.

When the farmers go to bed at night, too tired to sleep, they can turn this thing over in their minds, or ask their wives about it. Sometimes unlooked for truth is suddenly revealed to inquirers who patiently put this and that together, comparing cause and effect.

WE SHOULD SAY NOT.

St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

The tariff issue will never be "settled" on the lines which Mr. McKinley has laid down.

RULE BY LOVE.

Public Opinion of San Francisco, Cal., was been publishing a number of old letters which were written fifty years ago by Mrs. L. M. Child, then a resident of New York city. The gentle nature and loving spirit that manifests itself in every line, and almost every word, comes upon one as the cooling zephyr in the midst of the hot summer day. Her theme is love—not in the narrow sense in which the word is used in these days, but in the broad sense which ennobles all. Her heart chokes at the human miseries which surround her on every hand; and by way of contrast she shows how powerful its gentle influences are for good even among the lower animals:

I wish I could walk abroad without having misery forced on my notice, which I have no power to relieve.

The other day I looked out of my window, and saw a tall, gaunt-looking woman leading a little ragged girl, of five or six years old. The child carried a dirty little basket, and I observed that she went up to every door, and stood on tiptoe to reach the bell. From every one as she held up her little basket, she turned away and came down the stairs so wearily, and looked so sad—so very sad. I saw this repeated at four or five doors, and my heart began to swell within me. "I cannot endure this," thought I; "I must buy whatever her basket contains." Then prudence answered: "Where's the use? Don't you meet twenty objects more wretched every day? Where can you stop?" I moved from my window; but as I did so, I saw my guardian angel turn away in sorrow. I felt that neither incense nor anthem would rise before God from that selfish second thought. I went to the door. Another group of suffering wretches were coming from the other end of the street; and I turned away again with the feeling that there was no use in attending to the hopeless mass of misery around me. I should have closed the door, perhaps, but as the little girl came near, I saw on her neck a cross with a rudely carved image of the crucified Savior. Oh, blessed Jesus! friend of the poor, the suffering and the guilty, who is like thee to guide the erring soul, and soften the selfish heart! The tears gushed to my eyes. I bought from the little basket a store of matches for a year; the woman offered me change; but I could not take it in sight of that cross. "In the Savior's name take it all," I said, "and buy clothes for that little one." A gleam lightened up the woman's hard features; she looked surprised and grateful. But the child grabbed at the money, with a hungry avarice, that made my very heart ache. Hardship, privation, and per chance severity, had changed the genial heart warmth, the gladness thoughtfulness of childhood, into the grasping sensuality of a world-trodden soul. It seemed to me the saddest thing, that in all God's creation there should be one such little child. I almost feared they had driven the angels away from her. But it is not so. Her angel, too, does always stand before the face of her Father who is in Heaven.

This time I yielded to the melting of my heart; but a hundred times a week I drive back this generous impulse, because I have not the means to gratify it. This is the misery of a city like New York, that a kindly spirit not only suffers continual pain, but is obliged to do itself perpetual wrong. At times, I almost fancy I can feel myself turning to stone by inches. Gladly, oh, how gladly, do I hail any little sunbeam of love that breaks through this cloud of misery and wrong.

The cure for all the ills and wrongs, the cares, the sorrows, and the crimes of humanity, all lie in that one word, love. It is the divine vitality that everywhere produces and restores life. To each and every one of us it gives the power of working miracles if we will.

Love is the story without an end, that angels throng to hear;
The word, the king word, carved on Jehovah's heart.

From the highest to the lowest, all feel its influence, all acknowledge its sway. Even the poor, despised donkey is changed by its magic influence. When coerced and beaten he is vicious, obstinate and stupid. With the peasantry of Spain he is a better favorite, almost an inmate of the household. The children bid him welcome home and the wife feeds him from her hands. He knows them all and he loves them all, for he feels in his inmost heart that they all love him. He will follow his master, and come and go at his bidding like a faithful dog; and he delights to take the baby on his back and walk him round gently on the greenward. His intellect expands, too, in the sunshine of affection; and he that is called the stupidest of animals becomes sagacious. A Spanish peasant had for many years carried milk into Madrid to supply a set of customers. Every morning he and his donkey with loaded panniers, trudged the well known round. At last the peasant became very ill and had no one to send to market. His wife proposed to send the faithful old animal by himself. The panniers were accordingly filled with canisters of milk, an inscription requested customers to measure their own milk and return the vessels, and the donkey was instructed to set off with his load. He went and returned in due time with empty panniers; and this he continued to do for several days. The house bells in Madrid are usually so constructed that you pull downward to make them ring. The peasant afterward learned that sagacious animal stopped before the door of every customer, and after waiting what he deemed a sufficient time, pulled the bell with his mouth. If affectionate treatment will thus idealize the jackass, what may it not do? Assuredly there is no limit to its power. It can banish crime and make this earth an Eden.

The best tamer of colts that was ever known in Massachusetts, never allowed whip or spur to be used; and the horses he trained never needed the whip. Their spirits were unbroken by severity, and they obeyed the

slightest impulse of the voice or rein with the most animated promptitude; but rendered obedient to affection, their vivacity was always restrained by grateful docility. He said it was with horses always as with children—if accustomed to beating, they would not obey without it. But if managed with untiring gentleness, united with consistent and very equal firmness, the victory once gained over them, was gained for ever.

In the face of all these facts the world goes on manufacturing whips, spurs, the gallows and chains; while each one carries within his own soul a divine substitute for these devil's inventions, with which he might work miracles, inward and outward, if he would. Unto this end let us work with unflinching faith. Great is the strength of an individual soul, true to its high trust; mighty is it even to the redemption of a world.

LAND CHEAP, FREE MEN; LAND DEAR, SLAVES.

Parkersburg, W. Va., Sentinel.

When land was cheap, selling at twenty-five cents an acre, the manufacturers had trouble in keeping hands at work in their factories. They must be paid big wages or "westward ho!" was the word. What was to be done? Nothing easier. Send word to congress to either put up the price of land to make it harder to get, or give the manufacturers a chance to put up the price of their goods by shutting off competition of the British by a tariff. Congress did both. The price of land was put to \$1.25 and a tariff was put on foreign goods. It was not claimed to be for the workingman but was meant to be against him.

WHEN THE MILLENNIUM COMES

There will be no more
COUGHS, COLDS,
BRONCHITIS, CROUP
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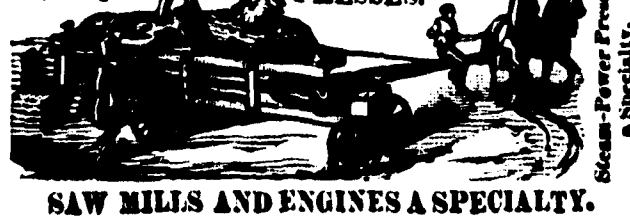
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Sold by all Druggists.

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CORN-I-CURE.

Why suffer with corns and bunions when you can get cured without pain or danger of sore feet, by using

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It has been in the market for the past ten years and thousands of testimonials have been received. Give it a trial. For sale by all druggists. Price 25 cents per bottle. Prepared only by Wm. Beck, Middletown, N. J., O. Box 354. If druggist don't have it send to me.

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THE
CURE FOR
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HAY-FEVER
AND
COLD IN HEAD

Ely's Cream Balm is not a liquid, snuff or powder. Applied into the nostrils it is quickly absorbed. It cleanses the head, allays inflammation, heals the sores. Sold by druggists or sent by mail on receipt of price.
50c ELY BROTHERS, 55 Warren Street, NEW YORK. 50c



Some
Children
Growing
Too Fast

become listless, fretful, without energy, thin and weak. But you can fortify them and build them up, by the use of

SCOTT'S EMULSION

OF PURE COD LIVER OIL AND
HYPOPHOSPHITES
Of Lime and Soda.

They will take it readily, for it is almost as palatable as milk. And it should be remembered that AS A PREVENTIVE OR CURE OF COUGHS OR COLDS, IN BOTH THE OLD AND YOUNG, IT IS UNEQUALLED. Avoid substitutions offered.

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JOURNAL OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

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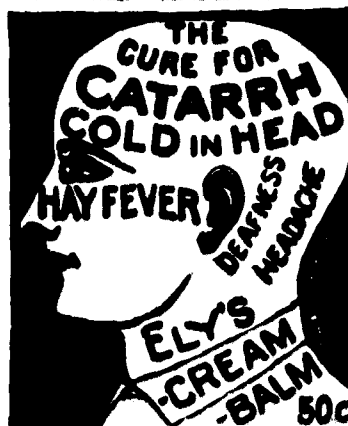
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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

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

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

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1050 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

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

SAN DIEGO.—Single tax county committee room. Novette book stand, 444 5th st.; room open every day and night. George B. Whaley, chairman.

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

COLORADO.

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

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

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

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

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

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

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

DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box A, Watertown.

RAPID CITY.—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

MADISON.—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, GA.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Heath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

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

ILLINOIS.

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

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

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

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

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STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

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IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 313 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Monson, 640 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., E. B. Allen, box 4; sec., J. Ballenger.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 230 p.m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., J. Kinnahan, 204 W. Broadway.

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

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

MASON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Seranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

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NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets every Thursday night at 8 p.m. at 205 Canal st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m. in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

SINGLE TAX ASSOCIATION OF EAST BALTIMORE. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

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

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

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

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STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spaulding; sec., Thomas Harding.

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