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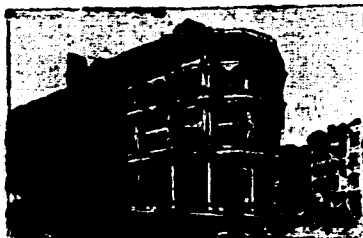
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HENRY GEORGE'S LECTURE
—ON—
MOSES

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VOL. XI.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1893.

No. 1.

HENRY GEORGE'S TRICKY DOUBLE.—The St. Joseph Herald appears to have been made the victim of a very weak practical joke by which other papers have been gladly deceived. A special correspondent, writing to the Herald from Chicago the day after Christmas, said:

Registered at the Grand Pacific yesterday, December 25, was Henry George, of New York. It has been rumored for several months that Mr. George is an apostate from the faith professed by him a few years ago.

"Upon what basis should the taxes be founded?" Mr. George was asked.

"Until recently I would have answered that question without hesitation," Mr. George said. "However, I am now inclined to doubt the wisdom of my own argument. I have been thrown against the practical side of the world, and I am now inclined to think that no man should profit by another man's industry."

The Des Moines Leader notes this, believing that Mr. George is not correctly reported, but thinking that "an authoritative declaration from him on the subject will now be in order."

A declaration from Mr. George is hardly necessary. On Christmas Day he was in New York, not in Chicago, and no interview whatever could have been had with him by any one in Chicago. He has not been there for months—nearly two years.

It is rather funny to think of Mr. George's doubting the wisdom of his own argument because he is "now inclined to think that no man should profit by another man's industry." It was this inclination that led him to make his argument. And, as all who have read him know, argument was never stronger, nor more clearly and convincingly put, than his argument showing that "no man should profit by another man's industry;" nor, until he appeared, was any feasible plan proposed by which each may secure the profit of his own industry, while all are benefited by the advances of civilization.

We fear that Mr. Edward Atkinson's astral body has been playing tricks upon Chicago correspondents of country papers.

THE NEW YORK TAX REFORM ASSOCIATION.—This association believes in taxing only land and improvements. That is all right as far as it goes, and, as a step toward the single tax, it should be encouraged.

The association sends its literature to any one who asks for it, and since its platform is so constructed as to commend itself to the average and thinking business man, it might be used as an entering wedge to introduce our views. The officers report that no difficulty has been experienced in raising several thousand dollars for its work, which has been very extensive and successful.

Similar self-supporting associations could be started in other States, especially since that of New York expresses itself as willing to aid with counsel, literature, and explanation of its methods. This work should not be undertaken by single taxers, however, where the means to carry on other work in an effective way can be had.

The single tax is far better than any such illogical system as this association proposes. Its declaration of principles declares that mortgages and capital engaged in production or trade should be exempt from taxation, because such taxes discourage production and drive capital away; and yet, with charming simplicity, it goes on

to say that real estate, by which term it clearly includes houses, trees, crops, and factories, should bear the main burden of taxation. Do not these gentlemen know that a tax on trees discourages planting them; that a tax on buildings lessens their number; that factories and barns can be driven away by taxes? If not, their attention is called to a comparison of the abandoned farms of New England, with its thriving towns which have carried off so many New York manufacturing plants by means of a promise of exemption from taxes only for a few years.

The wonder is that such one-legged logic as that upon which this association stands, could secure the approval of ninety-eight college professors out of one hundred and seventy-three, as the association says it has done. On second thought, however, that is not so wonderful as it seems at first blush.

UNITED STATES SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT.—

At the beginning of a year it is well to take our bearings and to consider the possibilities of advancement. If all that are interested in the single tax movement do this, each for himself, with a profound consciousness of personal responsibility, ill-digested plans will be carefully analyzed, and, judicious adaptation of methods to circumstances being secured, erratic activity will give place to intelligent and effective effort.

Our ultimate purpose is the appropriation of land values, which are developed by the progress of society and not at all by individual exertion, to the uses of society. We aim to make land public property. Not by dividing it up, nor by turning it into an open common, nor by means of government ownership and leases; but by leaving titles as they are, so as to secure possession to individuals, and exacting from owners, in the form of a tax, the pecuniary equivalent of the advantages of ownership as distinguished from use. This implies the abolition of all taxes and the taking by government of all economic rent; and while confirming individual rights to private property and establishing public rights in public property, it would make labor free to exercise its powers and reward the laborer with the full fruit of his industry.

In pursuit of this purpose we are constrained to recognize a stupendous fact, one that advocates with more enthusiasm than discretion, too often ignore. We live in and are governed by the great body of the people, whose thoughts form slowly and whose progress, except when passion takes the place of reason, consists in a series of slight advances. Nothing is more difficult to the average mind than to emancipate itself from its environment. Men do not, as a rule, comprehend the possibilities of great changes, and they shrink from making leaps that to them are leaps in the dark. But little by little, now obliquely to the right and now to the left as a ship beats against the wind, and once and again straight ahead, but always in the same general direction, they can be urged on and on, until the goal is reached. To understand this fact is the first great lesson for single tax men to learn. Once understood it furnishes a test by which, when questions of temporary policy arise, every doubt may be determined.

It was this characteristic of human nature, so clearly recognized in "Progress and Poverty," that suggested the fiscal method of land reform which has given our

movement its name. We seek to abolish all taxation save that upon land values. Our immediate purpose, therefore, is a radical change in methods of raising revenues. But this can no more be accomplished at a single bound than can our ultimate purpose of making labor wholly free. The chasm is not so wide, but the leap would be equally impossible. Though Lake Erie is narrower than the Atlantic, the man who attempted to jump across the lake would get a ducking as certainly as he would if he tried the ocean. The single tax, regarded merely as a fiscal reform, alike with the social reform toward which it leads, must be approached by degrees.

It was because he perceived this that Henry George welcomed the timid tariff reform declaration of President Cleveland. That was a step in the direction of free trade, which in turn is a stride toward the single tax. Nor was it the probability of early tariff reform legislation that made Mr. Cleveland's message so important to us. It was the certainty that it would set the people thinking about a minor reform in our direction, which would lead them to think about further reforms in the same direction. It was the needed initiatory force. Free trade being, so far as national affairs are concerned, not only a stride toward, but part of the essence of our ultimate reform, the projection of the tariff issue into the field of practical politics was an event of such beneficent import to us that we should have been culpable had we ignored it. That some who thought they were with us did ignore it does not alter the case.

Mr. Cleveland's message led us to support the Democratic party, and events have proved our wisdom. That party has been driven on by the discussion until its most influential newspapers, especially in the West, and its best leaders everywhere, are free traders. Whether the party will commit itself to a radical reduction of the tariff in the next campaign remains to be seen; but, however that may be, it is certain that a powerful faction, which will gain in strength as the fight goes on, is already enlisted in support of free trade principles. To men who expect to accomplish reforms by merely setting up ideals and admiring them, this may not be encouraging; but to men who take the trouble to understand the conditions of political progress, it is full of hope and promise.

The advantages of this situation impose corresponding obligations. It is not by flitting in and out of the Democratic party or fluttering around it that we have brought many of its leaders and papers into sympathy with us and influenced its policy, but by giving it our hearty support, on the sole condition that it move in our direction.

Against reaction we should rebel; but while the party goes forward, however slowly, and notwithstanding the exasperating tactics of reactionaries, we are obliged to recognize the conditions of party warfare. Party leaders, like military leaders, while indifferent to bushwhackers between the lines, are extremely solicitous not to arouse discontent within the camp, and to allay it if it appears. As part of the political movement toward free trade, we are friends of the party that tends in that direction; and while we are friendly, it will be disposed to consider our wishes, that our influence may be secured and our apathy prevented. But as third party men, we should be enemies, able to marshal but a fraction of our strength, and our organization would be fought and all its demands opposed. This, if we would effectively promote our reform, indicates our proper relations in national politics, though not necessarily in local politics.

In local politics it will usually be expedient to affiliate with the party to which we are attached on national

questions. As a rule this is necessary, in order to retain the confidence and inspire the fears of party representatives who give official expression to party principles; and in general it will be found the most effective method of promoting local reforms in the direction of the single tax. There are circumstances, however, in which such affiliation becomes impossible. When the local party organization is arrayed in opposition to the principle in national politics that is our sole inducement for acting with the party, there is an example; and other examples might be cited. In these circumstances single tax men in the several localities are the best judges of their own policy. Others cannot understand the conditions, and should be cautious even about interposing advice.

Besides the political form of agitation, there are a variety of ways in which the single tax idea may be propagated, some of them as auxiliaries to the political and some wholly independent of it. An example of the former is the petition to Congress for a taxation investigating committee, now about to be presented, the success of which has made petitions of every kind so common as to develop a danger of wearying the people with their "everlastingness." The work of the Single Tax Propaganda Committee is an example of the latter. Other examples, in the form of propositions for setting single tax men at work, flow in to us with almost every mail. Some appear to be good, some are useless, some involve labor out of all proportion to results, some are impracticable, and some are positively bad, while all bear the stamp of having been conceived without adequate thought and proposed without consideration or any sense of responsibility.

There appears to be a widespread notion that no work can be set on foot except by the National Committee of the Single Tax League. Accordingly, every plan that occurs to the mind of any one is forwarded to the committee for it to experiment with; and if the committee doubts the expediency of any plan, its action is promptly followed by censures from the proposer. The fact is that it is not the function of the committee to set single tax men at work. Every single tax man is at liberty to do any work that seems good to him, and to push any plan that he approves. The opinion of single tax men generally will test the worthiness of his aim; success will determine the usefulness of his plan. And it is the duty of each member of the National Committee to adopt and promote such plans for work in his State as may, in his judgment and that of his local co-workers, be best adapted to local conditions. This is as true regarding work of general as that of local scope. In some places it has been done. Among these are Rhode Island, where Senator Garvin and his associates have adopted a plan, which, intelligent in conception, is proving to be successful in operation; Reading, Pa., where Charles S. Prizer and his associates have made the single tax an influential factor in local government; Chicago, where the single tax club, under the leadership of the national committeeman, Warren Worth Bailey, has become a force which is counted with in politics and legislation; Minnesota, where a band of single tax men have placed the single tax movement on a high plane and made it influential over the State; Michigan, which, by judicious activity, has been made probably the most promising single tax State in the Union; Missouri, where the moulders of public opinion, both newspapers and men, have been brought into co-operation; Parkersburg, West Virginia, which has been turned into a missionary station whence unique and effective work proceeds; Iowa, where W. Edwin Brokaw has been kept "on the

road" sowing seed broadcast, and a State organization is under way; Newark, N. J., where Theodore J. Werner has established a systematic mode of placing literature where it will do most good; and New York, where the plan of county home rule in taxation is laying a solid foundation for radical single tax agitation.

In all these instances the men who originated the plans have assumed the responsibility of executing them. They did not dream them out, and then ask others to experiment; they thought them out, and a consciousness of their own responsibility obliged them to think carefully. Some of these, or others yet to come, may develop into national proportions. If they do, the whole movement will be benefited all the more. And should any plans thus put forward prove upon trial to lack the element of usefulness, the movement at large will not be burdened with a list of ridiculous failures, as it would be if the National Committee took charge of every scheme that to its proposer seemed the very best in the world.

No single tax man need wait for work to do until the National Committee lays it out for him. He will find work on every hand, if he looks about him instead of fixing his eyes upon "headquarters." And when he shall have done this work well he will be surprised to discover how much better qualified he is than ever before for considering plans of work that may require the co-operation of all the single tax men of the country and the official sanction of the National Committee.

The difficulty of maintaining distinctive and enthusiastic organizations makes some of our friends despondent. When they compare the uproar of a few years ago with the quiet movement of to-day, they incline to look upon the agitation as having lost vitality. This is natural, but it is a mistake. The later stages of the movement have been more quiet, but they have also been more wide spread and effective. And never has single tax work been so general and so effective as it is to-day. If organization is difficult, that is because this is not an organizing period; but the principle is spreading out in all directions and taking firm root. The reform is in the air. Individuals are repeatedly astonished to learn of the conversion of other individuals whose sympathy would be least expected. Business men are affected; so are professional men, workingmen, and farmers; and among the politicians most remarkable progress has been made. Some day, not far distant, organizations will spring up in a night all over the country. They will seem to be miracles of growth. They will in fact be but the fruits of the quiet work of the preceding years.

PROTECTION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.—Our Australian letter, which appears in another column, was written on the eve of the vote in the New South Wales Parliament, which we reported two weeks ago. As stated recently in these columns, the protectionists won by a vote of 50 to 3, all the free traders except three refusing to vote at all. It now appears that the protection policy will prevail in the colony until the elections, when, as Mr. Farrell predicts, the protectionists will be routed and the treacherous labor members punished. Mr. Farrell's letter this week gives the only clear idea that has yet appeared in this country of the political situation in New South Wales.

ABOUT COMPETITION.

W. W. Head, secretary of the Shearers' Union, writes me from Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, saying:

DEAR SIR: Socialism of the Bellamy brand is spreading here, and the only thing we have to offer as an argument against their doctrine is an admission that the single tax will and must necessarily bring voluntary co-operation and less governmental machinery—less rule, or more law and less force—anarchy of a sort. Of course, there is no great fight between

us, as Socialists admit the pooling of land values is the first step toward reform; but they set as much value on the nationalization of banks and capital as that of the land, and want to start right away to nationalize those things which we believe are not in their nature monopolies, and which would not be monopolies if land values were taken by the people. In short, they do not believe in competition and want to abolish it right away. If we stick to competition and regard it as almost a natural law, what about the waste involved in our present industrial system? Taxation of land values will not prevent the employment of labor uselessly in advertising, etc., etc., or will it? If so, how?

Answering Mr. Head's question in spirit, rather than in letter, I would say: Yes; it will. For while the useless expenditure of labor in advertising or any other branch of effort could not be prevented without interfering with natural rights and without stifling useful effort, I take Mr. Head to refer to that waste that goes on where three stores are started in a place where two would suffice, or where a hundred men are found in a business or profession in which sixty or seventy could do, and would be glad to do, all that is needed. This waste of effort, which is very striking all over the civilized world, the Socialists propose to prevent by abolishing competition—that is to say, by abolishing the liberty of men to dispose their efforts as they please. They would have the State manage and control all production and exchange, so that so many men (and necessarily such and such men) should be assigned to this branch and place of effort, and so many men (that is to say, such and such men) should be assigned to that.

On the other hand we, who for want of a better term style ourselves single tax men, but whose fundamental idea would be better expressed by some such term as equal rights men, or individual rights men, or natural order men, propose to get rid of this difficulty in a much easier and better way. Instead of abolishing competition, we would abolish restrictions on competition; instead of imposing more restraints on individual liberty, we would remove all restraints upon the liberty of any one to do anything that did not interfere with the equal liberty of others. The reason for, and the efficacy of, our method will be seen when the cause of the waste of which our Australian friend is thinking is traced.

From what does overcroding of businesses and professions proceed? Does it not proceed from that seeming glut in the labor market which causes the opportunity to labor to seem a boon, and reduces the wages of labor in the primary occupations to so low a point? And from what does this spring? Does it not manifestly spring from those restrictions which deprive men willing to labor of access to the natural opportunities of exerting labor? Is this not clear whenever we consider that the natural opportunities for the useful employment of labor offered by the globe on which we live are simply illimitable, and that so long as desire continues for things that the exertion of labor produces there must always be an unsatisfied need for the useful exertion of labor?

What the taxation of land values irrespective of improvements would do, would be to make land useless except to the user; to make the mere monopolization of land unprofitable and impossible. And thus it would open to laborers the primary necessity and opportunity for all labor. At the same time, by taking for the use of the community the great sums that now go to non-producers, it would do away with taxes that greatly lessen earnings in all branches of productive effort, and remove the restrictions they impose. With land thus opened to labor, and with the products of labor thus freed from taxes, the one-sided competition that now shows itself in the seeming overplus of demand for employment, would be met and relieved by the demand for labor and the products of labor. This relief in the market for the primary forms of labor would necessarily show itself in all others, that is to say, in all businesses and professions, both by withdrawing the competition of those not needed there, and for whom better opportunities would be opened where they were needed, and by the increased demand for commodities and services consequent on the increased purchasing power of better employed and better paid laborers. Men would cease to push into places and vocations where they were not needed, for the simple reason that places and vocations where they were needed would be open to them, and would pay them better. And the play of this free competition would have the effect of determining, through the free will of individuals, what number of men, and what men, should devote themselves to each of the manifold branches of industry, in order to secure for society at large the most economical use of productive forces, and the largest result in desired satisfactions. But it cannot be said that this would absolutely end useless effort, for the reason that, as to many things, what will be useful and what useless cannot be determined without experiment. All new inventions, discoveries, and adjustments, involve experiment and the liability to useless effort; but to stop this would be to put an end to progress. Thus, effort may be wasted in advertising, where a man thinks that the public will want a thing which the result proves that they do not. But to prevent this would be to prevent the public being apprised of things that they do really want.

And where the conditions of equal freedom are fulfilled, where

all men are placed on an equal level with regard to natural opportunity, and with regard to the benefits of an advancing civilization, the freedom of individuals to do what they choose (provided, of course, that they do not infringe the equal freedom of others) will result in the greatest benefit to society at large.

And here is the differer and it is fundamental and irreconcilable, between the Socialists and single taxers. They propose to cure the evils that have come of restriction by more restriction. We propose to cure the evils that have come of restriction by giving freedom. And a man cannot favor the Socialistic scheme and the single tax scheme at the same time, any more than he can go east and west at the same time.

HENRY GEORGE.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., Nov. 30. — It may be as well, before going into the details of our political position, to explain the circumstances that have led up to it. Americans, in common with most people not cognizant of all the influences at work here, or seized of the whole truth, may suppose that, because we have a protectionist government in power pledged to introduce protection, the mother colony of the Australasian group is going to abandon the free trade policy to which she has so long clung. This mistake has been made in Great Britain, according to our cablegrams, and Lord Salisbury has grieved at the prospect of our falling away from free trade. There is nothing to be apprehended in that direction, as I will show.

At the general election which came upon us suddenly some months ago, three distinct political parties entered the field. The old free traders, who opposed any move in the direction of protective duties; the protectionists, whose objects are sufficiently indicated by their name; and the labor party, comprising both elements pledged to a platform whose only suggestion for the raising of public revenues is land value taxation. The free traders polled 90,344 votes, the labor candidates 75,765, and the protectionists only 63,539. The distinct declaration upon which the labor representatives received support was that they would not let any question of altering the existing tariff come before a large number of measures regarded by the labor bodies as of more importance to them. They called this "sinking the fiscal issue;" and at a caucus of the labor members, held immediately before the opening of Parliament, it was determined that a certain definite course should be pursued with regard thereto. The members agreed that they would solidly resist every attempt to bring up the fiscal question for settlement by Parliament, and that after the principle of "one-man-one-vote" had been established by a bill amending the electoral laws the tariff question should be remitted for decision to a plebiscite of the whole body of voters. This resolution has been acted upon faithfully up to the present time. Before the late government were accidentally defeated two motions raising the fiscal question were defeated.

In the face of this position Mr. Dibbs, who holds office by a chance that is almost ludicrous, will attempt to force protective duties upon the colony. To-morrow it is expected that 15 per cent. ad valorem duties will be imposed against imports, and to-morrow night in the assembly the new treasurer is to make his financial statement. It is thought that several of the labor members, who are at heart protectionists, although they sneaked into Parliament on what is virtually a single tax platform, will support Mr. Dibbs. If this should prove to be the case, he may possibly be enabled to hold office for a while in defiance of the people. But if he can do this it will only be until the first opportunity arises for an appeal to the country, which must result in his overthrow. And the labor members who show themselves so treacherous to their party organization as to vote with him, will find short shrift before political death when their constituents can reach them. Speaking at Newtown, one of our principal suburban constituencies on Saturday night last, Frank Cotton and John Hindle, the two labor members, declared that if the labor party purposed supporting Mr. Dibbs they would resign rather than do so. As the matter stands at present there is danger that the newly formed labor party will split into fragments over the tariff question. That this Labor Electoral League will retain its power and continually extend it there is no doubt, however; and that the influence of unionism generally will be directed against protection in any shape or degree is quite sure.

It is doubtful if anything better for free trade could happen than the imposition for a time of such duties as Mr. Dibbs proposes. They are so manifestly contrary to the public will, and so plainly the result of indecent haste to help on the cause of monopoly by a mere accident, that a strong revolt against them would follow.

As anticipated in my last, Mr. G. H. Reid, who is first, last, and always a free trader, has been appointed to the leadership of the opposition, a post which he will fill with considerable ability. Mr. Reid does not yet fully comprehend the single tax, but is at present in a school where he cannot but learn its meaning. He upholds land value taxation, however, as a source of revenue-raising, and has a scorn and hatred of protection which would induce him to adopt almost anything that would block it. There is evident just

now a very active growth of single tax feeling throughout the colony. The publication of a long series of articles in the Daily Telegraph, giving the substance of Henry George's reply to the Pope's Encyclical letter, has had a great effect upon public thought. The weekly circulation of the paper has been very largely increased, and there is plenty of evidence that the truths embodied in "Progress and Poverty" are now for the first time being brought home to many. There has been a good deal of discussion and correspondence on the subject, especially in the country districts, where it is most needed.

In the other colonies nothing of consequence has transpired during the past month, parochial politics chiefly occupying the time of the various Legislatures. In Victoria the proposal to establish the franchise on a basis of one man one vote has aroused a storm of opposition, which is perfectly sure to result in the overthrow of the measure. It passed the Assembly, but in the Council—the elective Upper Chamber—was opposed, even by the four members of the ministry introducing it who have seats there. It was urged that in addition to one vote for manhood, all persons having property over a certain value in land or houses should have another vote "for thrift." With this amendment the bill has been sent back to the Assembly, by which it will probably be accepted. Queensland has done nothing in the way of legislation worth speaking of, and South Australia is still muddling on over various unjust and stupid proposals to get better access to land for a favored few individuals at the expense of some one else.

JOHN FARRELL.

SHALL IT BE A THUNDERBOLT?

Undoubtedly ex-Governor Senator David B. Hill has the right to hire a house in Albany, although an ordinary bachelor is accustomed to content himself with lodgings, wherever he may be when taking a vacation from the place of his business. Ex-Governor Senator Hill is an office holder by profession. He has lately shifted his position from that of a State office holder to one nominally in the employ of the nation, but really to a position from which he expects to employ the nation as he heretofore employed the State of New York, in his own behalf. With a selfishness and an indelicacy never before exhibited, after being elected U. S. Senator he still held on to his gubernatorial office until the very last second of the year 1891, and then reluctantly resigned it, apparently into the hands of Mr. Flower who, as all appearances indicate, will be by name the constitutional Governor of New York, while he will really be the Lieutenant-Governor of David B. Hill.

It will be humiliating enough for Governor Flower to acknowledge to himself that he will be the tool of Hill, who will remain at Albany to supervise him; but it is tenfold more humiliating to all of us, who for the most part are not professional politicians, to reflect that while Hill is the slave of Tammany, and Flower the slave of Hill, we are the slaves of them all. If there is anything as clear as daylight it is that the Democratic party of New York is to be forced, if possible, into the abandonment of Cleveland, and into the advocacy of David B. Hill for the next President of the United States. We have a most unpleasant remembrance of the treachery of Hill at the last Presidential election. We know that in order to secure his own election as Governor he instructed his runselling partisans of New York City and Brooklyn, and their clientage, to combine with Republicans of the same stamp, so that Harrison should get the vote for President and Hill should get the vote for Governor. The scheme was a success. It was unfortunate in its consequences for the nation and for the State of New York; the one is saddled with the McKinley bill, and the other is still dominated by perjury and whisky.

"Well, what are we going to do about it?"

Nothing just now, but to wait patiently for the platform and the nomination of the coming Democratic convention. If the platform shall refuse to make tariff reform the main issue, and if the convention shall nominate David B. Hill for President, we will bolt. That's all. And when we bolt it will be a thunderbolt, as these political tricksters will discover to their cost.

JOHN CODMAN.

GOETHE ON THE SINGLE TAX.

Goethe, who was justly called many-sided, had a glimmering perception of the injustice involved in the untaxed private ownership of great landed estates. Here is a remarkable passage from Wilhelm Meister. Lothario speaks:

"No property appears to me quite free from flaw except it contribute to the state its due portion."

"How," said Werner, "you would rather that our lands which we have purchased free from burden had been taxable?"

"Yes," replied Lothario, "in a suitable degree. It is only by this quality that our possession of it can be made secure. In these new times, when so many old ideas are tottering, what is the grand reason why a peasant reckons the possession of a noble is not burdened and lies a burden on him?"

"But how would the interest on our capital agree with that?" said Werner.

"Perfectly well," returned the other. "If the state were regular, and fair contribution would relieve us from the feudal hocus

pocus, would allow us to proceed with our lands according to our pleasure, so that we were not compelled to retain such masses of them undivided, so that we might part them more equally among our children, whom we might thus introduce to vigorous and free activity instead of leaving them the poor inheritance of these our limited and limiting privileges, to enjoy which we must ever be invoking the ghosts of our forefathers. How much happier were men and women in our rank of life if they might with unforbidden eyes look around and elevate by their selection here a worthy maiden, there a worthy youth, regarding nothing further than their own idea of happiness in marriage. The state would have more and, perhaps, better citizens, and it would not so often be distressed for want of heads and hands."

"I can assure you honestly," said Werner. "I never in my life thought about the state. My taxes, tolls and tributes I have paid because it was the custom."

"Still, however," said Lothario. "I hope to make a worthy patriot out of you. As he alone is a good father who, at the table, serves his children first, so is he alone a good citizen who, before all other outlays, discharges what he owes the state."

AN INSIDE STORY OF SPECULATION.

The Traders' stock exchange, 76 Devonshire street, Boston, Mass., has lately published a little book of sixteen pages giving points to the uninitiated. Buying on a "margin" is illustrated, together with the terms "bull" and "bear;" and a variety of general information is given, all calculated to encourage the timid, who "letting I dare not wait upon I would," have hitherto refrained from such speculations. The book is frankness itself. One quotation from the chapter on "successful speculators" is specially interesting:

If the inside story of speculation could be written it would indeed read like some grand romance or fairy tale. With the savings of a few months or weeks even, many a magnate of "the street" laid the foundation of a colossal fortune. Jay Gould was once a book canvasser; Jim Fisk peddled goods throughout the New England states, driving hard bargains with the housewives; Phil. Armour drove a pork wagon in Chicago; Cyrus Field worked in a dry goods store; and the great head of the biggest telegraph company in the world was once a poor telegraph clerk. Andrew Carnegie, the Pittsburgh iron master, was a messenger boy when he came to this country, earning enough to hardly keep him in salt and potatoes. Nobody supposes these men made their millions, for they are all many times millionaires, and there are thousands throughout the United States in the same company—by hard work simply and by the slow process of savings banks (excellent and honorable institutions, but too slow for the go-ahead American who cannot see but that they have the best of the bargain in the use of his money). No, it may as well be told. The great financial kings of the North American continent made their millions in speculation, and presumably they don't care who knows it.

HOW THE WORK GOES ON.

A prominent lawyer of Texas, to whom a friend sent a copy of Henry George's reply to the Pope, in acknowledging the gift, writes:

I thank you very much for sending me Henry George's reply to the Pope's Encyclical, which I have read with much pleasure, and, I believe, with profit. It seems to me that Mr. George's argument is unanswerable, and I am thoroughly imbued with the conviction that the single tax theory is founded both in reason and in religion. However, I intend to read and investigate further, and if I find nothing to change my present conviction, I shall be a zealous advocate of the single tax theory, and shall consider it my duty to do all in my power to advance it. The religion of Christ has for its very foundation love for our fellow-creatures, and a Christian who will not do all he can to alleviate the sufferings of his unfortunate brother is Christian in name only. The book referred to makes clear to me the fact that poverty is an artificial condition of life, brought about by greed on the one hand, and a mistaken idea in regard to the right of private ownership of land on the other. The theory of free trade, advocated by many in the Democratic party, is a step in the right direction, but it is only a step, and industry and its legitimate fruits must be as free from all burdens as the air we breathe before poverty can be banished from the land. I am very glad you called my attention to Mr. George's works, for I must admit that I had condemned his theory without investigation.

"BY NATURE YOU MEAN GOD."

The New Church Messenger concludes the most intelligent and appreciative criticism of Henry George's reply to the Pope yet published with this implied rebuke:

That the science of economics should be placed on this spiritual level is much. That spiritual doctrine should be brought down to the level of economics is as much more. There is a summing-up value in the fact that the Pope, speaking for the old economics, says, "Nature;" George, speaking for the new, says, "By Nature you mean God."

HOW TO ABOLISH ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM.

In the following reference to the alien land law of Illinois, the St. Louis Chronicle goes to the marrow of the alien land law question:

William Scully, an Irishman, who in his native land learned the lesson of landlord greed, lives in England, and owns townships of fertile farm lands in middle Illinois, which are rented for all that can be got out of them to users. The Legislature of Illinois tried to rid the State of this devil-fish by the passage of a law against the ownership of her soil by an alien. This law has been declared unconstitutional by an inferior judge, and it is probable that the decision will be sustained. The work of the Legislature was therefore in vain. But the object of the law can be obtained and much good accomplished in other directions if the next session of the Legislature will pass a law providing for the taxation of all land in the State up to its

annual rental value independent of improvements. Scully would be driven from the State with all his tribe. His holdings would be worthless, and the State would have so large a fund in its Treasury that all legitimate public improvements might be undertaken.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1891.

The best and surest subject of taxation is the thing that performs stays in one place that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the assessor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1891.

The Bee does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it pauses only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, Jan. 5, 1892.

TO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE: The petitions praying Congress 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, is now ready for binding. As soon as that work is completed the petition will be presented in the House of Representatives. The original slips will be so arranged that a Congressman can readily turn to any post office town in his district, and inform himself without trouble as to the number and personality of the signers among his constituents, and the genuineness of their signatures. It is now necessary that the committee be put in possession of a sufficient fund to pay for binding and shipment. The amount cannot at present be definitely stated; but it will not vary much from \$10 for each State represented in the National Committee, and a call for that amount is now made. Members representing States are therefore requested to collect and forward without delay the sum of \$10 each for this purpose.

Contributions forwarded by individuals not members of the committee will be credited to the State from which they come, and any surplus will be applied to national work.

Although the work of collecting petitions is now at an end, any petitions received prior to binding will be inserted.

Subscriptions to this committee's fund remain as reported last week, viz.:

Cash contributions for week ending Jan. 5 are as follows:	
Mrs. Frances M. Milne, San Luis Obispo, Cal.	1 00
Mrs. F. M. Tenet, San Luis Obispo, Cal.	1 00
James Robertson, Woonsocket, R. I.	1 70
C. A. Decker (add), Brooklyn, N. Y.	3 00
	6 70

Cash contributions previously acknowledged..... \$1,667 97

Total..... \$1,674 67

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week.....	114,483
Signatures received since last report.....	791

Total..... 115,074

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Members will this week receive the names of the new divisions to which they will hereafter belong in place of their present ones. The new divisions are arranged, as far as practicable, according to locality, and each division consists of three to four members. It has been thought best to make this increase for convenience in apportionment and with the hope that the effectiveness of the work may be correspondingly promoted. This arrangement will enable us to avoid the danger of making targets of merely local prominence the recipients of too many letters from all parts of the country, while at the same time it will permit us, when desired, to direct the efforts of several divisions upon one individual. The experience of the corps has shown that, as a rule, three or four letters at a time are more likely to arouse interest and discussion than if the target receives a dozen or more and is flooded with literature. In the case of newspapers, however, and of persons of national reputation, who are accustomed to judge of the importance of a matter by the size of their mail on the subject, the strength of the whole corps can be turned upon them with good effect.

In connection with these changes I wish to say here that in the general work of the secretaryship I shall continue to have the co-operation of Miss Fanny Mendelson and Mr. L. O. Macdaniel, who have been giving me their assistance for the past few months, and in everything affecting the interest of the corps I shall have the benefit of their counsel.

We hope, by the gradual introduction of some new features, to make the corps one of the most effective branches in the work of single tax propaganda, and trust all members will continue to give us their enthusiastic support.

This increase of divisions will, of course, necessitate a larger number of targets, and I shall therefore be greatly obliged if STANDARD readers, as well as members, will be on the lookout for suitable targets and send me their names as often as they can. If readers cannot join the corps, but will become regular senders of names, I shall be very glad of their assistance.

Divisions B and D—Professor Francis N. Thorpe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, one of the speakers at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Peace Society, November 26, 1891, where everything that would make peace possible was to be considered.

Divisions C, J, L, and P—Hon. Marshall Arnold, member of Congress

from the Fourteenth District of Missouri, a free trader and favorable to the single tax. Address at Washington, D. C.

Division E—Rev. G. B. Russell, Shellburne Falls, Mass., stated in a recent discourse that the single tax was a revival of the feudal system of land tenure.

Division F—Dr. Clara Marshall, 131 South Eighteenth street, Philadelphia. Explain principles of the single tax.

Divisions G, H and P—W. S. Potts, editor Patriot, New Lisbon, Ohio, favors free trade, and might accept short articles explaining the single tax.

Division I—J. B. Tillman, West Plains, Mo., prosecuting attorney for Howell County. Free trader and favorable to the single tax.

Division K—True Hickox, Boonville, Mo., was a delegate to Farmers' Congress at Sedalia, November 16, 1891. Explain what the single tax will do for farmers.

Division M—Rev. S. M. Wilbur, Portland, Oregon. Unitarian minister, of liberal social views, and desirous of advocating the truth when understood.

Divisions A, N and O.—St. Louis Republic, December 13, contains an editorial in answer to a question as to the effect of the abolition of rent as a means of decreasing want. After stating that taxes paid on land leased from the State would be rent, the same as if paid to a private owner, it says: "We can see no way of abolishing rent. The only question is of increasing or decreasing the amount of rent collected by the State as taxes; and if the farm in which the title to occupancy is granted, as between a leasehold title granted by the State and the title in fee, the latter seems to us in every way preferable."

Then follows an excellent argument for freedom of trade as a source of prosperity. It remains for the Republic to be shown how greatly the present system of land tenure and taxation restricts production.

1674 Broadway, New York. MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL, Secretary.

NEW YORK.

William Spalding, of Brooklyn, writes: "The world do move." If, five years ago—yes, even two years ago—I had been told that I should live to hear an exposition of the single tax in an aristocratic Episcopal church on Sunday evening in the conservative city of Brooklyn, I should have regarded it as the rankest sort of single tax optimism, or that I was promised a length of days beyond that allotted to human life; but the marvel has come to pass. I have just come from the Rev. Charles R. Baker's lecture on "The Single Tax of Henry George," in the Church of the Messiah, and I wish to call the attention of those desponding spirits who think we are making no progress to this event.

While the lecture set forth only the single tax (limited), it is a great leap forward, when we consider the time and place and surroundings, and must have had an ominous sound in the ears of the staid old landlords of that congregation. The lecture was a clear and forcible presentation of the single tax from the standpoint of the limited advocate; the illustrations were well chosen and aptly brought out the points made, by showing that the air we breathe and the life-giving sunlight were manifestly God's gift to man—all men—and therefore none could be rightfully deprived of them or made to buy their use of other men. He then made the point clear that land is just as necessary to human existence as either the sunlight or atmosphere, and for the same broad reason that it is the gift of God to all His children, was wrongfully appropriated by the few, resulting in involuntary poverty of the masses by depriving them of their natural, God given rights.

Tracing all land titles to force and fraud, instances of the oppression made possible by landlordism were given in Ireland, Scotland, and our own country, not omitting our own city of Brooklyn. The reverend speaker emphasized the statement that the trend of events all over the world was towards the adoption of the single tax.

All this is, of course, trite enough to us single taxers; but that such a note should be heard from such an unexpected quarter seems like a bugle-blast of triumph.

A glowing tribute was paid to Henry George as a thinker and writer, and a force in the world for good which is being felt and heeded the world over. The reply to the Pope was favorably compared with the best utterances of all time, in unsparing praises of the argument and eminently Christian tone. I can, of course, give no adequate report of the lecture in this hasty note, but I think it will do great and permanent good, by dispelling prejudice against both Mr. George and the single tax in a locality where prejudice is about the only sentiment expressed for either.

NEW JERSEY.

Theodore J. Werner, of Newark, writes that the Newark Club is engaged in the work of supplying Henry George's letter to the Pope to the clergymen of Newark. With each book they send the following letter: "Dear Sir—The Newark Single Tax and Free Trade Club take pleasure in forwarding to you the latest contribution towards giving light on the social question, 'An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.,' by Mr. Henry George. It is the most thorough exposition of the moral side of the single tax doctrine ever published. Believing that a knowledge of the question at issue and the remedy we propose is all that is necessary to induce the clergy and all good men to give us their sympathy and support, we ask you to read this pamphlet. As the Pope says, 'A remedy must be found, and found quickly.' Please read at your leisure. If you wish to retain the book the price is thirty cents (in stamps or money). Please forward the amount or book (after reading), for which find stamp enclosed, to Theodore J. Werner, care of Sargeant Manufacturing Co., Newark, N. J."

The success of this work has been highly gratifying, and considering the prejudice created against the single tax in Newark by its reckless identification with nearly everything that is objectionable in social and religious controversy, the success is remarkable. Mr. Werner's deserved reputation for sincerity, probity, and public spirit has had much to do with this result, which might even more easily be secured in other cities if such men would become responsible for it.

Writing on the subject Mr. Werner says: "A few days since I had a wel-

come call from Mr. Potter, of Belleville, this county. He informs me that he has practically converted a number in his vicinity to our views; but the question they now ask is, What practical work can you indicate for us to bring about the result you aim at. This is the question that the new convert is sure to ask himself if not of others. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, here in New Jersey the only work for the single taxer to do is to spread the gospel quietly and persistently, incidentally taking a hand wherever the question of taxation, payment for franchises, and the rights of the whole people are concerned. My experience so far has been extremely encouraging. I personally delivered George's letter to the Pope to a number of clergymen here, and in every case they accepted it and promised to give it their close attention. Several of them spoke of Mr. George and his works in the highest terms. From others I received payment for the book, with thanks for sending it, and a few returned books, saying that they were already supplied. Mr. George has put into our hands a weapon with which we can reach a class of people (and just the class that we want to reach and must reach), that nothing else he has written would make one-tenth the impression on. By this plan each book can be made to serve four or five persons if returned after reading. If paid for, the stamps can be used to supply more books. Let single taxers through the country try this. I am certain they will be encouraged by the result. Half a dozen of us have chipped in and furnished the money to send out about sixty books; but I want to cover the State, so that every clergyman will have an opportunity to read it. If there are any quiet single taxers in this State that sympathize with my plans, if they will send me either money or books, I am more than willing to do the work of sending them out. Books can be bought in small lots at a discount."

PENNSYLVANIA.

Charles S. Prizer writes from Reading: On Saturday evening, January 2, the single tax was the theme for discussion at the meeting of the School of Effort of D. A. 130, K. of L. There were many members of the order present who had never before heard the single tax explained. The speakers were piled with questions, and the usual objections were raised. Robert F. Butler, a veteran worker in the K. of L., made a speech in opposition to the single tax. His criticism was founded on the assumption that single taxers wished to assess land at its value before there were any improvements in the county, and he asserted that if this were done the one tax on land values would be ridiculously inadequate. After he grasped the real meaning of the single tax he admitted that it appeared to be a more expedient system than the present one. The School of Effort is an organization within the Knights of Labor, whose object it is to educate the members of that order by means of essays, lectures, and debates. The school is doing good work in Reading. In its discussions there seems to be no desire to avoid practical political issues. At the next meeting the tariff will be the question for debate.

The Wernersville, Penn., Debating Club has arranged for a debate on the single tax, and has asked the Reading Single Tax Society to send up three or four speakers to participate in the general discussion that will follow the formal debate by members appointed from their club. Their request will, of course, be complied with.

At the Teachers' Institute of Schuylkill County, held at Pottsville last month, Daniel T. Guinan, of Mahanoy City, a member of the Committee on Resolutions, secured the adoption of the following:

Whereas, It is a well known fact that the lengths of the school terms in the various districts of Schuylkill county, and throughout the State of Pennsylvania, are wholly different, varying from six to ten months in length according to whims or caprices of directors, and their willingness or unwillingness to impose taxes on themselves and their constituents; and the salaries of teachers of the same grade of qualifications are as different in amounts as the length of terms in the several districts, owing to the same influences, varying from twenty-six to one hundred and fifty dollars per month, and the same may be said of the several school buildings, considering architecture and comfortableness, and also of the school furniture and apparatus in the several districts; and

Whereas, We believe that every child born in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is entitled as much as any other child to a common school education without regard to race, condition or location;

Whereas, Under the present system of taxation it is impossible to secure to every child within its boundaries the great and equal privileges to a common school education to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitles him, and which recognize this fact by providing a bountiful source of revenue conforming to human regulations in the development of society; and

Whereas, As society advances, as civilization begins and progresses, the need of school revenue appears and increases with the social growth; and

Whereas, Beginning with the beginning of civilization, there arises a value touching land that no individual can say "This is mine"—a value that is clearly due to the progress of society and due to that alone—which, resulting as it does, from the collective thrift and enterprise of a State or community, becomes the public property of that State or community and provides a public revenue for the educational requirements of a progressive age and an advancing civilization: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the interest of education demands a uniform and just system of raising the necessary revenue, which will not on every side be antagonized by selfish interests or the cunning devices of human integrity.

Resolved, That we consider it the duty of teachers, one and all, as seekers of the good, the right, and the true, to examine the question of raising school revenue, and that we favor the discussion of the matter at our next Institute.

Other members of the committee who joined in the recommendation were F. R. Miller, superintendent of schools, of Mahanoy City; L. A. Freeman, of Ashland; and B. F. Patterson, of Pottsville. Mr. Guinan now wants assistance, in the way of suggestions, facts, figures, etc., that will enable him to prove the benefits of the single tax in an agricultural school district where the salary of teachers is \$26 a month for a six months' term, and in a mining district where the salary is \$60 and the term from nine to ten months.

RHODE ISLAND.

Dr. Garvin, of Lonsdale, writes concerning the movement in the town of Cumberland to concentrate all local taxes upon land values: Three public meetings have been held during the past week. The first one on Monday evening was in the extreme southern end of the town and was addressed by

William A. Macleod, Esq., of Boston. The second was held four miles further north, with Mr. Levi H. Turner, of Boston, as speaker. The third occurred yet three miles farther to the northward, among the farmers, and was addressed by Mr. S. H. Howes, of Southborough, Mass. The attendance at all of these meetings was reduced in numbers by the great prevalence of the "grip" in this locality.

The meeting in the agricultural portion of the town, however, was attended as well as had been expected. The twenty-five persons present manifested much interest in the subject as presented, and several of their number participated in the discussion which followed.

More than a hundred of the farmers of the town have, during the past week, been supplied with literature, including the "Address to the People of Rhode Island" and "The Town of Cumberland," two circulars dealing with the single tax locally applied.

An abstract of Mr. Howes's address was printed in the Woonsocket Reporter, a daily paper having considerable circulation in the northern part of Cumberland. The report was as follows:

Howes expressed pleasure at being present to take part in the movement going on here, as the single tax has become a matter of practical politics in Cumberland. He stated that he had studied the tax question as assessor in a farming town, and believed that the farmer would be a great gainer by the exemption of personal property and improvements from taxation. All taxes under the present system are shifted to the consumer in increased prices or the producer in lower wages, but the single tax cannot be so shifted. If the consumer finally pays all taxes, to tax any product of labor anywhere in the course of its development is to do him injustice. At present we treat the producer of wealth as we do the criminal—we fine him—and as a fine is imposed for the purpose of checking crime, a fine on production will tend to check production. We sometimes exempt manufacturers of factory products from taxation; why not exempt the manufacturer of food products—the farmer—as well. The farmer is deserving, he is industrious, temperate and frugal. At first thought it would appear that the farmer is a large land owner, but such is not the case when values are considered. When values rather than areas are taken into consideration we find the farmer to be a small user of land. One-thirteenth of the land values in the United States are on Manhattan Island; forty-six per cent. of the land values of Massachusetts are in Boston, seventy-seven per cent. in the twenty-five cities of that commonwealth. Professor William Z. Harris states that the land held for building lots in Massachusetts exceeds in value the land held for agricultural purposes in the ratio of ten to one. The working farmer is not primarily a land owner. His interest as a laborer and capitalist is always greater than his interest as a landlord. As a laborer, as a capitalist, as a consumer, he will be benefited by the single tax. As a landlord he will find his occupation gone. If his unearned increment is larger than the product of his labor and the earnings of the money he has invested it is for his interest financially to have the present system continued, otherwise it is not. Let him consider the social and moral advantages of the single tax, let him consider the future of his children and he will not oppose it. The abolition of taxes on personal property will benefit the farmer, because his property is all in sight and cannot escape the assessor's eye. The speaker quoted the opinions of Prof. Sanborn, President Miner, of the North Dakota Farmers' Alliance, and Congressman elect Warner, as to how the single tax would affect the farmer. Though neither of these are avowed single tax men they all agreed that it would affect the farmer favorably. The speaker then gave some figures from the valuation book of his own town to show that the farmer and mechanic would have lower taxes. He then showed how the cost of village improvements would fall under the single tax system, as they justly should, on those benefited financially.

Dr. William Barker writes from Providence: We are watching the work in Cumberland and giving such aid as we can. The campaign there frequently furnishes a text from which to do a little preaching here. There never was a time when more active, but quiet, work was being done by single tax men throughout the State. Good single tax literature is being judiciously distributed among thoughtful educated men, and, of course, we hope to make converts, but failing in that, hope at least to make opponents. Rhode Island can furnish a lesson to those ardent single taxers who would get legislation in advance of public demand for it. In 1889 we worked for and secured, without much opposition, an act requiring the towns which published a tax book, to print in separate columns the amounts assessed on land, improvements, and personalty. We expected to get much data to help our cause, but I think only three towns complied with the law, and last year the county members secured its repeal on the ground that it did no good and made expense. There is, however, abundant reason to believe that the "bottom reason" was the fear that a correct knowledge of the manner of levying taxes would make the geese squawk too much. The good old way, plucking without the noise, was more comfortable for the assessors, so they worked for a repeal and secured it. However, we got much valuable material from the three towns that did publish in accordance with the statute. East Greenwich was one. I have been through the entire book, and find that to raise the same amount on the same valuations by the single tax method, 305 persons would pay more and 413 would pay less, so that could the matter be put to a vote of the taxpayers, and were they to be governed by self-interest, the single tax plan would be adopted by a majority of 108. No doubt, a similar result would be shown in many other towns had we the data to determine it. Had we educated public opinion to demand exact information regarding what we are paying taxes on, and then in response to that demand secured our legislation, it would be on our statute book now. Our real work at present, and for some time to come, is educational. Get the people to think right and they will then make right laws.

VIRGINIA.

At the meeting of the Single Tax Democratic Club of Virginia, No. 1, held at 1227 Main street, Charlottesville, the secretary reported that letters had been written to Geo. St. John Leavens, secretary of the National Committee of the Single Tax League, informing him of the organization of the club; to Chauncey F. Black, of York, Penn., to like effect; to the editors of College Topics, the Charlottesville Chronicle, and the Jeffersonian Republican, to like effect; to the Jefferson and Washington Literary Societies of the University of Virginia to like effect, also offering to provide speakers to discuss and explain the single tax; to the Democratic County Committee of Albemarle County, to like effect, and offering to furnish speakers for any mass meeting upon the subject; to the Farmers' Alliance of Albemarle

County, to like effect, also explaining that the single tax is especially in their interest and that it has been heretofore grossly, and often willfully, misrepresented to them.

The platform adopted by the National Conference of the Single Tax League of the United States, at Cooper Union, New York, was read, and the following resolution was carried:

That although in the opinion of this club certain points in that platform are open to serious criticism, yet for the sake of bringing this club within the organization of single tax clubs, the platform be adopted as read, with the reservation that modifications thereof and therein are desirable, and will be presented by this club to the next National Conference.

Mr. Kerngood then requested the president to explain certain features of the single tax, especially how it could be claimed that a tax on franchises would not be recouped to themselves by the owners of the franchise of a monopoly, such as, for instance, the Standard Oil Company, by an increased price of their commodity; also, whether bonds and stocks should be exempted from taxation, and if so, why.

ILLINOIS.

H. O. Cummings, editor of the Sycamore Democrat, writes from Sycamore: I have been talking "single tax" here for the last few days, and have aroused a little interest, especially among the farmers. The idea is entirely new to them, and most of them do not take kindly to it, but I know from their talk that a proper understanding will bring them into line. A few farmers are ready to accept it, not because they understand the theory, but because it offers a solution of their difficulties. With a proper agitation of the question here, adherents by the dozen could easily be had. I have distributed what few single tax tracts I have, where they will do the most good. The opposition, I find, comes only from prejudice and ignorance, and this nearly all from people living in the city. I shall make an effort in a little while to establish a single tax club here. I will have to work my way carefully, but in time I can accomplish something. The farmers, I think, are ripe for it here, and, after a little agitation, will warmly welcome the idea. If you can possibly put me on track of some single tax tracts that can be gotten cheaply, please do so. A rich reward will come from sowing them here. I have been able so far to meet and answer the questions they ask, but the skeptics are many.

Friends who can spare some literature might send it to Mr. Cummings. He is doing excellent work and deserves assistance.

Warren Worth Bailey writes from Chicago: We had another excellent meeting on the 31st, holiday pleasures notwithstanding. There was no set programme, but discussion was started on request by Dr. Lewis, a new member, who noted certain apparent objections to the single tax in its practical workings. They are the objections that always suggest themselves to the new convert and arise wholly from confusions of thought. He feared that in taking the full rental value of land we should practically confiscate the results of past labor; but Mr. White met this by saying that it was not past but future rent that would be collected. Every title to land is now held subject to the laws of taxation that exist or may be enacted, and if these should involve the taking of economic rent, holders could make no reasonable complaint. Good short speeches were also made by Mr. Cooling, Mr. Wells, Mr. Nolan, Mr. Day of Elgin, Mr. Addington, secretary of the St. Louis Reform club, and others. Mr. Day, who is a prominent drug man at Elgin, the great watch factory town, is a new member of the club, and one that we may well be proud of. He is young, energetic, enthusiastic and intelligent, and he shows that he has the making of a good talker in him. He reported good progress at Elgin and said that in a short time a club would be formed. Two or three informal meetings have already been held, at which there were a dozen earnest men present, and at the next gathering it is hoped that the number will be greatly increased. Edward Osgood Brown is to be invited to go out and deliver an address on the single tax, and it is believed that this will be the signal for the inauguration of organized work in this thriving little city. A good deal of informal work has already been done by Mr. Day, Mr. Percy Roberts, and other friends at Elgin, and they propose now to let their light shine. I wish the brethren at Springfield, Jacksonville, Aurora, Decatur, and Bloomington would do likewise. They are not living up to their opportunities.

Here, in Chicago, we propose to redouble our efforts. We intend greatly to increase the membership of our club, and in other ways to accelerate the progress of the movement. And I want here in this way to address an appeal to those members who have not been attending regularly. I want to urge them to come out and help. Remember the words of the lamented Croasdale: "A single tax man is a man who does something for the single tax." What are you doing? Are you aiding the club in its work? Are you assisting to increase its membership? Do you give the officers the encouragement of your voice and advice in the performance of their duties? Are you remaining away through indifference or pique? If so, now is the time to throw off the one or forget the other. Remember the cause and let it command your best endeavors. We can do a tremendous work during this year if we will all pull together, and that is what I am striving for. Will you take hold and pull with us?

IOWA.

Richard Spencer writes from Burlington: In THE STANDARD of the 30th ult., I am credited with organizing or submitting a plan of organization for this State, which I desire to correct. This movement, as I am informed, was set on foot by a number of single tax men at a meeting held at Des Moines at the time of our State fair last fall, including Messrs. Booth, Brokaw, Ballinge, Haggerty, and others. I was not at the meeting, being prevented from attending by other engagements and duties. While, as I have said, I am not entitled to the credit of either formulating the plan or of setting it in motion, I am heartily in accord with the movement which, in whatever form it ultimately takes, shall have my cordial co-operation and support.

MISSOURI.

"Uncle Tom," of St. Louis, sending twenty-two petitions, says: 1 is a civil engineer, 2 owner of a brass foundry, 3 and 4 turners, 5 and 6 clerks, 7 a driver, 8 a boss plumber, who said: "I am somewhat a speculator in real estate myself, but I want to see vacant lots taxed according to their value." 9 a cabinet maker, 10 a gasfitter, 11 and 12 are "drummers." Being compelled to play "Nicodemus" for two years and a half of the time the petition is in circulation, and not having the opportunities of Brother Brekaw, now of Iowa, and Brother Baker, of Albany, N. Y., and others, had, I have been able to let in "on the ground floor" only 765 signers to the petition. Among my fellow-employees I am known as "Single Tax," "Single," "Tax," "Uncle Leo," and some refer to me as a "crank." All of which is very sad, but if they can stand it I can.

KANSAS.

E. C. Clark, Esq., writes from Hutchinson: The late Senator Plumb expressed much more of truth than he thought when he perhaps carelessly said, "The present Alliance and People's party movement would soon either die out or resolve in favor of single tax." A less doubting Thomas would have avoided the alternative of that observation, and given more positiveness to his terminal prediction. The adoption and spread of single tax literature is growing apace in Kansas, while the sub-treasury land loan subterfuge is rapidly dying out, and we feel hopeful that in the platform of the people's party, for the campaign of '92, that and kindred errors will find no place.

The stress of hard times that prevail generally in this State is a great obstacle in the way of getting pay literature in the field and hands of those inclined to investigate. For the past two years I have delivered a large number of lectures on the single tax and free trade among the farmers, and have no difficulty in removing the prejudices that have been entertained in city and country from purposely garbled quotations from Mr. George's writings. The people begin to see the difference in the effect of a tax on land values and a tax on land. Strange to say, many of the advocates of the single tax have not, and do not, as yet emphasize the great distinction between a tax on land and one upon land values only, irrespective of improvements or betterments, the result of man's labor. Many fail to see the difference between the return to monopoly, because of land ownership, and the return to capital—in other words, they capitalize land and condemn any policy that will remove the tax from capital, not seeing that it is as land owners, that enormous gains and advantages accrue and that capital really suffers by it to the same extent as labor. Upon this point of distinction light is now falling and the webs of confusion disappear. The Alliance Gazette, edited by Mr. Warren Foster, and which is the official organ of the F. A. and I. C., in Reno County, leans our way, though its editor was formerly a little too recalcitrant to be in nice keeping with his real faith, for there is no stronger friend to the single tax movement than he. This paper is but a little more than a year old: its editor began with nothing, save a fair amount of brain faculty and some courage, but was hampered by a lot of superficial policy schemers of the taterdemalion type of political depravity, whose peculiar influence bore harder upon the bread and butter question than upon his sentiments. The success of the paper, however, has loosened this pressure and we may look for an evolution.

We are pleased to note the good work being accomplished by Mr. George's criticism on the Pope's encyclical. It will have a twofold effect, both salutary, and will prove another lever by which we may continue to say "The world do move."

MEXICO.

J. L. Caldwell writes from Amarillo, Texas: Press dispatches inform us that the committee of the Mexican Economic Congress, considering the subject of alcabalos—interstate customs—has made its report. It recommends such an amendment to the national Constitution as will guarantee "absolute freedom of circulation for domestic goods throughout the republic, unimpeded by taxation of any kind, which is universally acknowledged to be detrimental to commerce and industry." To devise a new method to replace this alcabalos is yet a duty imposed upon this economic congress, which it expects to perform after the proposed constitutional amendment has been passed and ratified by the State Legislatures.

The dispatch significantly adds: "Foreigners in Mexico have time and again suggested that the States impose a heavy tax on unoccupied lands, that it would support local governments, and would ultimately have the additional effect of causing landed proprietors to sell such lands as they do not utilize to persons who will make use of them, materially increasing the production of the States. * * * These suggestions have not been favorably received by the Legislature, because it is evident that a tax on unoccupied lands would be stoutly opposed by landed proprietors, who constitute a very influential element in the country."

STANDARD readers need not be told who these "foreigners" are: but a suggestion to our National Single Tax League to help at this particular juncture those "foreigners," to emphasize the value of their suggestion to the Mexican Legislature might not be entirely amiss.

THE SYDNEY DEMOCRAT.

Sydney, New South Wales, enjoys the distinction of possessing an illustrated single tax paper. The Sydney Democrat, more than a year old, contains pointed cartoons illustrating Australian politics, in which free trade and the single tax figure conspicuously, and a great variety of strong and terse reading matter of interest to single tax men and free traders.

THE ONE ISSUE.

Kate Field's Washington.

Altogether, the revenue reformers have every reason to congratulate themselves on the outcome of the fight this year. It brings their idea to the front as the predominating one in the campaign for the presidency in 1892. Other issues will be lost sight of in the general demand for the settlement of the tariff question.

OBJECT LESSONS.

This department contains facts, gathered from all parts of the world, that are of current interest and permanent value, and illustrate social and political problems. Information from trustworthy sources is solicited.

LABOR IN COAL PRODUCTION.

Springfield Republican.

One of the subjects investigated by the Federal Commissioner of Labor in his recent report is the cost of producing bituminous coal here and elsewhere. We have a tariff of 75 cents a ton placed on this product, which is said to be greatly needed to protect our high-priced labor from foreign pauper competition. Commissioner Wright presents returns of cost of production (run of mine) from forty-seven establishments in the United States, five in Canada, thirteen in Great Britain, and nine on the continent of Europe. They may be summarized as follows:

AVERAGE COST OF PRODUCING BITUMINOUS COAL PER TON.

Elements of cost.	United States.	Canada.	England.	Europe.
Labor.....	\$0.648	\$0.842	\$0.780	\$0.456
Clerks and officials.....	0.017	0.025	0.029	0.016
Supplies, repairs and taxes.....	0.063	0.177	0.195	0.200
Total	\$0.728	\$1.044	\$1.004	\$0.672

Should a special bill putting coal on the free list be introduced in the next Congress, the advocates of the present tariff would have an opportunity to point out why a duty of 75 cents a ton is necessary to protect higher-priced American labor; and in the face of these results they should be given such an opportunity. If the average labor cost of mining a ton of coal is only 64 cents in the United States and 84 and 78 cents in Canada and Great Britain, the necessity of a tariff of 75 cents a ton to protect labor is not exactly apparent. Nor is it any more apparently to be justified by the difference in labor cost for the United States and Europe, and by the total cost of production in the respective countries it certainly is not.

In another part of the report the commissioner brings together budgets for 702 families engaged in coal mining in various States and countries, showing their income and expenditures. The results are summarized as follows:

FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN COAL MINING.

	Income per Family from Husband.	All Sources.	Expenditure per Family for Rent.	Food.	Other.
Alabama.....	\$576	\$673	\$47	\$229	\$352
Indiana.....	338	375	53	123	204
Ohio.....	367	459	49	214	192
Pennsylvania.....	429	576	70	260	241
West Virginia.....	404	637	89	252	306
Average, U. S.	\$427	\$550	\$61	\$237	\$243
Belgium.....	\$292	\$427	\$19	\$218	\$138
Germany.....	258	391	39	194	137
Great Britain.....	377	495	48	246	164
Average, Europe.....	\$361	\$482	\$45	\$240	\$160

It would thus appear that while labor in the United States gets less for mining a ton of coal than in Great Britain, for example, it is able to mine more and so receive a little larger aggregate return. In Ohio and Indiana the average return or income per family and per husband is smaller than in Great Britain. While as compared with Europe the coal miner in the United States spends more for rent, a trifle less for food, and considerably more for other purposes, it is impossible to judge from the totals whether he lives better in the United States or not. At any rate the American family more often fails to make both ends meet. Of 508 families in the United States making returns, 207 or over 40 per cent. report expenses in excess of incomes: while of 194 families in Europe making returns only 31 or less than 20 per cent. report deficits in the year's family accounts. Where the American loses largely is on clothing, his expenses being some 30 per cent. larger than the European's. And from the fact that the latter spends more for amusements than the former, it is probable he goes quite as well clothed. The European also spends more for liquor and tobacco, but less for labor organizations. But while 134 of the 508 American families own the houses they live in, only two of the 194 European families make such a report.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

The New York Court of Appeals has rendered such decisions in the several election cases as will give the Democrats control of the Senate as well as of the House. In the case of the Fifteenth Senatorial District the court decided that the certificate declaring Osborne, Democrat, elected, though regular in form, was based upon a false return; but the State Board of Canvassers nevertheless awarded the election to Osborne.

Ex-Congressman Bishop W. Perkins (Rep.) has been appointed by the Governor of Kansas to fill in the United States Senate the unexpired term of the late Preston B. Plumb.

Roman Catholic Bishop of Brooklyn John Loughlin is dead.

General M. G. Meigs, Quartermaster-General U. S. A., is dead.

FOREIGN.

The French Chamber of Deputies has passed the new tariff bill, which provides for the admission of American pork, though under a high duty, and the Senate has passed it with slight amendments.

An abortive attempt was made to blow up Dublin Castle, the vice-regal residence. The Physical Force party is suspected of the attempt.

Chili is willing to submit her differences with us to arbitration.

Many members of the Salvation army were injured in an attack by a mob at Eastbourne, England, and the police were for a time powerless to stop the outrage.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Miss F. S. T., of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes: Mr. Werner, of Newark, sends a report to THE STANDARD of December 23, of a lecture delivered there by Mr. Janes, of Brooklyn, who quotes Mr. Potts as saying that in Boston the value of improvements is greater in proportion to land values in the districts occupied by the wealthy than in those occupied by the poor. In my early experiences as a free trader and single taxer I have been called upon to confront a great many "facts" that were not so; therefore, let me warn young single taxers to examine the facts before trying to account for them. Protectionists are possessed of more facts of that kind than any other class of people I have ever met. But these gentlemen are not protectionists, therefore their "facts" are liable to be correct.

I have not consulted statistics on this subject, but as this state of things would exactly coincide with a single taxer's views, I am inclined to think it true. We know two things: first, that taxes upon improvements discourage improvements, and second, that the present forms of taxation bear more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich. We should, therefore, look for a state of things such as Mr. Janes describes, rather than such as Mr. Werner says exists in Newark. We too often forget that ground rent is paid now. Under the single tax it will be paid to government, and not to certain citizens, and by this change all improvements will be free from taxation. The present methods of taxation prevent the poor from improving their land in the same degree that the rich can, and when a new method is suggested which will enable them to do so, tears are shed for the "poor man" and the injustice of the new system.

That all changes from bad laws to good ones bring about some suffering which would not have occurred under the old, is true. But this suffering is the result of evil in the old, and is more than compensated for by the improvement wrought by the new. If a man has worked many years and paid some thousands for a piece of land, and then the single tax becomes law, and his ground rent is taxed higher than he had anticipated, his loss is entirely the result of present unjust taxes; he is compensated by freeing whatever improvements he may make, and will save future generations the trouble he has had in paying so much for land.

If Mr. Janes finds that the single tax bears heavily upon the poor, what can he think of every form of taxation we have now? He certainly could not contrive anything more unjust or severe upon the poor. The poor now pay the land tax and cannot get out of it, and beside that they pay over four thousand other taxes. Would they be worse off if the one went to the government and the other into their pockets, and enabled them to improve their land in some proportion to the rich?

Edward J. Shriver, of New York, writes: An ideal method of voting by no means implies that the voter shall be forced to weigh the individual merits of candidates against his will; yet that is the only possible merit of the Massachusetts system of arranging the names, as compared with the columnar system, under party headings (the original proposition of the New York League, by the way), except that the latter does make it a shade easier to tell from the outside whether the voter votes a straight ticket or not, by the time that he spends over the operation. But this last is a very minor objection compared with the trouble imposed by the necessity of going through such a long list of names as we have to vote for in this country, with all the chances for unintentional error which the latter entails. The great majority of men do unquestionably want to vote a full party ticket in most cases, and they have a right to have this made as easy as possible for them, which is far superior to the right of the occasional Independent. Indeed, the more politics can be kept on party lines, the surer we are to have principles to the fore. If we want ballot reform to permanently succeed, it must be advocated on lines that will not have to be defended all the time against the charge that it is a mere fad of the perpetual minority.

J. G. Eldridge writes from Perry, Ia.: I have noticed in the articles of some of your correspondents statements in regard to the different effects the single tax would have on the rich and the poor. One writer from Newark last week was agitated because an opponent had claimed that the single tax "would bear heaviest on the poor," because Boston statistics seemed to show "that the value of improvements was greater in proportion to land values in the districts occupied by the wealthy than in those occupied by the poor." It seems to me that such writers forget what the single tax really aims to do. If I rightly understand it, it is not to make every one pay taxes in proportion to his wealth, but in proportion to the rental value of the special privilege he enjoys by holding land more valuable than that which would be open for general use without rent. This would be no unjust burden to any one, as all, rich and poor, would be used alike, and have nothing to pay for that which they did not get a full and exact equivalent for. The adoption of the single tax system would abolish taxes altogether. According to the literal meaning of the word, there would be no tax. Individuals would simply buy from the community the valuable privileges it had created, paying it the market value only for what they purchased, and the community would defray the expenses of government and of public improvements out of its own funds without asking individual aid from any. Am I not right? And if so, where would the single tax fall in equity, let the valuable improvements rest where they may?

SAVE THE POPE FROM CORRIGAN!

Toronto Grip.

Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, has startled the common sense world by laying down the doctrine that the utterances of the Pope are to be accepted unquestioningly as an end to all controversy, not only on religious questions, but on questions of every other kind. Hereafter, according to this eminent prelate, Catholics must believe that private ownership of land is right, because in his late encyclical the Pope goes on that assumption. They are equally bound to believe in all the other politico-economical ideas set forth in that document, and thus to give in their adhesion to state socialism. When his holiness wrote his letter he probably did not dream of such a use of it. It was not an ex cathedra utterance, and so, did not

come within the scope of the infallibility doctrine. Moreover, it contains some teachings which are unquestionably erroneous. The Pope may be an infallible authority on spiritual matters, but he knows no more about political economy than any other man who has not made a special study of the subject.

PERSONAL.

Tom Loftin Johnson, member of Congress from the Twenty-first district of Ohio, has been assigned to the Committee on the District of Columbia. He has thereby become an Alderman of the Capital City of the United States. This position will enable him to do work for the single tax for Washington,

even if it does relegate him to a back seat so far as the tariff question is concerned.

Mr. Johnson is a great great grandson of Colonel Robert Johnson, who emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky in 1779, and who was the father of President Van Buren's Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson. Colonel James Johnson, a brother of the Vice-President, and great grand father of Tom L., led a regiment against the British at the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh fell. Colonel James Johnson, Tom L.'s grand-father,



also fought in the war of 1812, and was for many years a leading man in Kentucky. A son of his, Colonel Albert W. Johnson, who served in the Confederate army throughout the war, married Helen Loftin, daughter of a prominent and wealthy Tennessee planter, and one of the children of this marriage was Congressman Tom Loftin Johnson, who was born in Kentucky July 18, 1854.

Congressman Johnson began business life as an errand boy in the office of the Central Passenger Railroad of Louisville. At the age of 16 he was made secretary of the company and the office was placed in his charge. An invention or two gave him a financial start, and when still but little more than a youth he became the owner of the entire street railroad system of Indianapolis. He subsequently settled in Cleveland, Ohio, where he became deeply interested in the street railroad system of that city and where he now lives. He has other large railroad interests, and is engaged with Arthur Moxham in the manufacture of steel rails at Johnstown, Pa.

In 1884 Mr. Johnson's attention was attracted to the single tax. He was so impressed with "Social Problems," which he read on a railroad train, that he procured "Progress and Poverty." Though this convinced him, he yet feared that his lack of college education might have made him a victim to eloquent sophistry, and he submitted the book to his lawyer, L. A. Russel, of Cleveland, for an opinion as to the soundness of its logic. The opinion regarding the logic was favorable, but Mr. Russel disputed the premises. Johnson regarded himself as capable of judging the premises, and being reassured as to the reasoning, he declared himself a convert. Since that time he has never let an opportunity slip to advance the doctrine. Even his lawyer finally acknowledged that the premises as well as the reasoning of "Progress and Poverty" were sound, and at the Conference a year ago he attended as a delegate and sat in the committee on platform.

Being a single tax man, Johnson was, of course, a free trader; and in the Congressional elections of 1888, he ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket in a district that had always been a stronghold of protection. In the city precincts, where "protected" workingmen voted, he had a majority; but this was overcome in the farming regions. He was defeated by only 600 votes, however, and in 1890 he was elected by 3,500 majority. This year, in the State election, Johnson had charge of his Congressional district in behalf of Campbell, and increased the vote over 500. During the Speakership contest Mr. Johnson, with the Breckenridges, was in the lead in support of Mills. For that he has been shelved by Speaker Crisp, but he is not the man to stay shelved. Mr. Johnson married a descendant of his own great-great-grandfather, a daughter of Colonel Robert A. Johnson, of the Second Kentucky Confederate Regiment. They have two children, a boy and a girl, and they reside at Washington during the session.

Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, is vexed at the system of toll gates with which his municipality is protected, somewhat after the manner in which the whole community is protected with custom houses. In an interview with a Detroit Tribune reporter, he says: "It is a disgrace to the city that there should be a toll road in its limits, or on any approach to it. It is a relic of the dark ages, and only one other city on earth is so cursed, and that is Quebec. Instead of toll roads, which prevent farmers from coming here to trade, the roads should be as free as air, and the best roads that could be built."

Hamlin Garland begins a new serial story in the January Arena. It is a story of the West.

Alfred Russell Wallace discusses "Human Progress" in the January Arena.

Count Adolphus Norraikow and Mr. Emery McLean, of New York, have made a joint translation from the original Russian of "The Power of Dark-

so pleasant; and, therefore, you should regard them with veneration, gratitude, and love, no matter what kind of people they are, or what they do to you afterward.

To bring you into the world was a duty and a privilege to them, an honor and a benefit to you; therefore, you owe them obedience and devotion, but they owe me for your board and keep!

You don't seem to me to make that quite clear, said the Baby. It doesn't seem to hang together. You say it was by inevitable natural law that I came at all?

Yes, said Society.

Then why should I owe them for doing what they ought to do, and couldn't help doing? And if it was what they ought to do and couldn't help doing, why should they pay you for it? asked the Baby.

You owe them for their affection, care and support, said Society.

But I have their affection, care and support, or I couldn't live, said Baby. I've a right to it.

I tell you it makes no difference to me whether you live or not, said Society.

Oh, come now! I know better than that, if I am young, said Baby. Who are you, anyway? I am Society.

And what are you made of?

People, said Society, with some reluctance.

Aha! I thought so. And the better the people are the better you are—is that not so?

Yes, said Society, with even more reluctance.

And the people are all Babies first, aren't they? And the better the Babies are the better the people are, and the better you are! cried the Baby, who was beginning to take notice, and feeling his feet. Talk to me about parents! My business is with you, you old fossil! My parents are temporary guardians, but you and I are permanently connected. Why, you short-sighted ostrich! What hurts me hurts you, and what helps me helps you, and without me there wouldn't be any You! And there you sit and plaster your wounds, and nurse your diseases, and fight your vices, and pretend you own the earth! You are a hollow, crack brained, discrepant old rudiment! Be off with you, dodo! I'm Society, myself!

But Society, though on its last legs, was bigger than the Baby, and put more dirt into its mouth, and the Baby died.

But there are more Babies.

SOME OF HENRY WARE ALLEN'S WORK.

Two Republics of Mexico.

Mr. Allen has succeeded in creating considerable local interest in the Henry George "single tax" system. In an interview with a Two Republics' reporter, which appeared in the issue of the paper of the 23d of July, Mr. Allen gave at some length the main arguments on which the theory is based. Later he contributed an article to the Mexican Financier on the same subject. This aroused criticism on the part of El Universal, which, in a lengthy article, combatted the theory. Two replies soon after appeared, one by Mr. Allen himself, and one by a single taxer, who used the nom-de-plume of "A. Z." El Universal thereupon recurred to the attack in a lengthy article, to which a long reply was inserted in that paper in the form of an article signed by Mr. E. Van de Velde, followed by comments by the editors. Later on another article appeared in El Universal attacking the theory, and there the matter stands at present. Mr. Allen has certainly succeeded in raising great interest in the question which he so ably and earnestly advocates. He says that the position taken by El Universal is based on a misconception. That paper will have it that Mr. George is a Socialist, whereas, says Mr. Allen, the very opposite is the fact. Mr. Allen declares himself very much surprised, as well as pleased, at finding a considerable number of single taxers here.

DEPENDS UPON THE DEFINITION OF "STATESMAN."

Boston Journal.

That ardent Democratic and single tax organ, the New York STANDARD, declares that "a free trade Democracy, led by the free trade Congressmen, with Mills at their head," would prove invincible. The large majority of Democratic statesmen seem to be exactly of the other way of thinking. Just now they are chiefly busy in repudiating their old free trade convictions and trying to persuade the people that they are better protectionists than the Republicans.

ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The Times of Chicago has made a careful estimate, and declares that there are no fewer than 25,000 idle men in that city alone. Recently an explosion took place in the new water tunnel under the lake at Chicago, killing a number of men. Within an hour after the disaster the places of the unfortunate men had been applied for a dozen times over. The work was very hazardous, as shown by the accident, and was not very well paid. Yet the contractor stated the following day that he could, within twenty-four hours, have got 500 men to fill the places of the five who were killed or disabled by the accident. Every advertisement of "help wanted" in any newspaper of general circulation brings from a dozen to a hundred answers, and there have been single advertisements of this character in New York papers which brought answers by the thousands.

DEAL GENTLY WITH THE LITTLE ONES.

Our Country.

[A child when asked why a certain tree grew crooked, replied: "Somebody trod upon it, I suppose, when it was little."]

He who checks a child with terror,
Stops its play and stills its song,
Not alone commits an error,
But a grievous moral wrong.

Give it play and never fear it;
Active life is no defect.
Never, never break its spirit;
Curb it only to direct.

Would you stop the flowing river,
Thinking it would cease to flow?
Onward must it flow for ever;
Better teach it where to go.

THE A. B. C. BABIES.

New York World.

Three babies have been born in this world lately, and about them an idle man might write for hours and days. Consider how close to each other fate has put them in the alphabet and how far apart in other ways! A. B. C.—Astor, Bissell, Cleveland. These three babies have one thing in common, and woman's rights ladies may make capital of the fact if they want to. From the physical point of view, at least, their three mothers are much superior to their three fathers. Everybody knows about Mrs. Cleveland. Mrs. Bissell is a splendid type of an American woman, and so is Mrs. Astor, who was Miss Willing. The three would make fine additions to any woman's boat crew or tennis match. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bissell, his former law partner, on the other hand, are much too big to be voted perfect, and young Astor is much too weak and unsubstantial. A trained novelists might take those three infants and make money weaving a tangled tale about their lives. The Astor baby might live to edit a Henry George paper and the little Bissell boy to take the little Cleveland girl into everlasting partnership, or any number of other interesting combinations might be made.

EQUITY IS EQUALITY.

A. E. Brown.

Merit is moral, and if all men were equally good, and from unselfish love were equally industrious in promoting the welfare of the community, what conclusion could be justly arrived at other than the proceeds of labor should be divided equally among the people.

But as many persons are depraved and regardless of the interests of others, and are not possessed of a conscience or love of others, which would cause them to do their share, if a living was assured them, therefore, an equal division of wealth, without regard to who produced it, is undesirable as well as impracticable.

The labor of man has resulted in a product. Around this product and partaking of it are gathered those who produced it, as well as some who did not.

How should this product be divided?

What should be the aim of the lover of justice and equity?

He will surely not be pleased to see the shrewd and unscrupulous managers and manipulators of railroads and corporations obtaining gigantic fortunes by questionable means.

He will oppose arrangements tending toward

the impoverishment of the masses to enrich the few.

As near as can be he will strive to perfect such an adjustment that each shall receive an amount of goods equal to what he has produced.

Any step toward such a desirable condition of affairs will cause the vast majority of those who are getting something for nothing, or a great deal for a very little, to set up a dreadful wail.

Any reform which tends to prevent them from getting more than they earn will arouse their opposition; its advocates will receive the seal of their condemnation.

The apostles of equal rights and opportunities, of justice and fair play will be considered dangerous citizens.

Epithets, such as anarchists, heathen, and lunatics, will be showered upon them by monopolists, both great and small.

But those who oppose equal privileges and equal burdens, and a division of wealth gauged by the merit and industry of those who produce it, are themselves the dangerous citizens.

They are the anarchists, the heathen, the lunatics.

The word which some of them profess to venerate lays down the rule, that "if any man would not work, neither should he eat," and also that every man shall receive "according as his work shall be."

We ask nothing better than this, and will be satisfied with nothing less.

HILL'S CANDIDACY.

Atlanta (Ga.) Journal.

If ever a man schemed for the Democratic presidential nomination David B. Hill is that man. If the arts of a wily politician can win the nomination it will go to Hill. But it must be remembered that this is a big country, and even as wily a politician as Governor Hill will find it harder to handle the political wires in forty-four States than in one.

OVERWHELMED WITH PENNIES.

The Tribune.

The penny-in-the-slot machines are becoming a source of annoyance to the officials at the Sub-Treasury. Nearly all the companies owning these machines have their headquarters here in New York, and all the pennies put into them in all parts of the country are shipped directly here. The companies deposit the pennies at the Sub-Treasury, and as a result there are now 10,400 bags, each containing 1,000 pennies, stored away in the vaults. Each bag weighs seven pounds, making a total weight of 72,800 pounds, or thirty-six tons. Last March, when the deluge began, there were only 4,900 bags in the vaults. If the practice is continued the penny supply of the country will soon be accumulated in New York, and there will be no pennies left to work the machines with.

CALL NOT PAIN'S TEACHING PUNISHMENT.

Amelie Rives, in November Harper's.

Call not pain's teaching punishment: the fire

That lights a soul, even while it tortures, blesses;
The sorrow that unmakes some old desire,
And on the same foundation builds a higher,
Hath more than joy for him who acquiesces.

Ah, darkness teaches us to love the light;

Not as 'tis loved of children, warm abed,

And crying for the toys put by at night,

But even as a blinded painter might

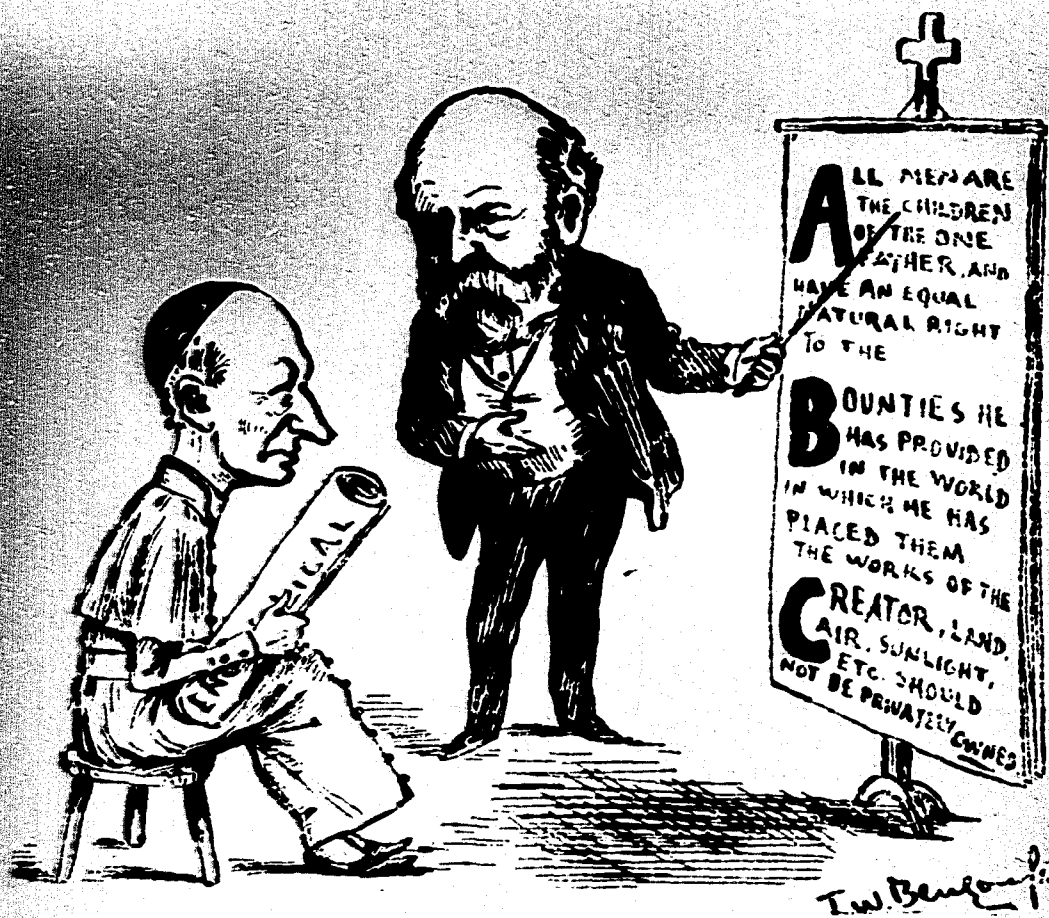
Whose soul paints on in dreams of radiance fled.

PARETIC DEMENTIA.

S. V. Clevenger, M. D., in Open Court.

One of the most formidable mental troubles is now known as paretic dementia. Formerly this disease had a variety of names, such as "general paralysis of the insane," "paralytic dementia," "progressive paresis," etc., terms which were so misleading that they were abandoned in favor of the more recent designation. It is a very common affection, in some asylums including one-tenth of the inmates, and numbers among its victims more business and professional men than any other form of insanity. Its onset is often very sudden, usually after business strain and worry. The former careful and respectable head of a family or business house may suddenly undergo a complete change of character, either so extreme

From Toronto Grip.



HENRY GEORGE'S OPEN LETTER TO THE POPE

as to be noticeable at once, or in ways not likely to attract the attention of others at first.

The most usual manifestations being in unsystematized ambitious delusions, the most common direction of which is that the patient possesses vast wealth. He may claim that he owns all the railroads in the world, that he is worth billions of dollars, or that he is the Almighty. The politician may content himself in asserting that he is the President of the United States, and an incident affords an amusing instance of the universal relativity of things, and shows that to both the sane and insane, ideas of magnificence are purely comparative: A female paretic in an asylum once told me that she was a very rich woman, and upon asking her how much she was worth, she said with an emphasis that was intended to overcome doubts, "Between two and three hundred dollars." The poor old woman had been a pauper all her life.

Paretics in asylums will often form great commercial combinations and may draw up contracts to dispose of all the coal mines on earth, or build a five hundred story house, or a transatlantic tunnel or bridge, or they may engage in other as extraordinary enterprises. The once thrifty and methodical person will neglect his business, frequent low resorts, descend the social scale in intimacies, wander aimlessly about, contract debts for the most absurd purchases, and may even commit theft, usually in a very stupid way.

It may so happen that an act of this kind may be the first thing to attract the attention of relatives or friends to anything unusual in the behavior of the individual, and very frequently friendless paretics have undergone imprisonment for such deeds long before the insanity was fully recognized.

THREE FACTS.

Bridgett's Golden Pellets.

There are three facts to be always borne in mind when studying the tariff question:

First—Free trade produces no revenue.

Second—Protection produces no revenue.

Third—Tariff for revenue when low produces revenue, and when very high is protection.

WE HAVEN'T PROPOSED.

Brooklyn Eagle.

Neither free traders nor single taxers should be or need to be repelled from voting with the Democrats. It is not necessary. Every little helps. They do not support Democracy because it agrees with them, but because they totally disagree with Republicanism. But the subject should be clearly discriminated. The Democracy should say to them: "By voting with us, you may become democratized. If so, well. Never think, however, that we can be yours. We can never love you even as a sister, let alone marry you."

The hand that rocks the cradle,
As the years go speeding by,
Is the hand that spans the baby,
And that makes the baby cry.—Puck.

GRANT BEFORE VANDERBILT.

New York World.

Speaking about Vanderbilt reminds me of a story told me by a certain noted newspaper man, as he received it from the lips of the elder Vanderbilt. It was an account of the occasion when General Grant, in desperation, went alone to Mr. Vanderbilt to borrow money to tide over the Ward-Grant business.

General Grant was not a business man. He knew nothing of business methods. He was keenly sensitive in money matters, and had seen much of poverty and pecuniary trouble. Few people can ever know what it cost General Grant in humiliation and distress to make that visit to Vanderbilt.

He sent his card in to Mr. Vanderbilt during the latter's business hours. When Mr. Vanderbilt saw the card he stepped out to the ante-room and there saw General Grant sitting with other people, waiting for an audience in the order in which he had entered. He greeted the General warmly, and asked him to step into the private office.

General Grant drew back, saying that there were other persons ahead of him, and he would await his turn. Mr. Vanderbilt insisted, and General Grant passed into the private office. He was not there over five minutes.

Mr. Vanderbilt seated himself, but General Grant remained standing, declining to take a seat and holding his soft hat, with military cord, in his hand.

Gen. Grant said: "I have come on a matter of business, Mr. Vanderbilt."

"All right," said Mr. Vanderbilt. "Is there anything I can do for you, General?" for he suspected the nature of the General's visit.

Said Gen. Grant, with a ghost of a smile: "I would like to exchange checks with you."

"Glad to hear it," said Mr. Vanderbilt, drawing to him a check-book and dipping his pen in the ink. "How much shall it be?"

Gen. Grant hesitated and looked away and finally answered in a low voice, "one hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

The check was quickly filled out and handed to Gen. Grant. He took it, grasped Mr. Vanderbilt's hand a moment and walked out hurriedly without a word.

The rest of the matter is known—the conveyance of the swords and relics, etc., to Mr. Vanderbilt.

I spoke of this pathetic story to John Russell Young, who was a fellow-traveller with me on a

Maine train one long and pleasant day recently, and he was certainly as near to Grant as any other man, who said he had no doubt of its correctness, and I have given it as it was given to me.

A MENACE TO REPUBLICS.

East Oregonian.

In our republic, as elsewhere, Herbert Spencer says he sees the state absorbing more and more the individual activity of man, and "intermeddling in all manner of ways in what should be private enterprise." Some day the people will awake to the fact that the state has absorbed the individual utterly. It is then that the struggle will begin, the terrific struggle of the individual to regain his lost rights. Herbert Spencer sees rightly. The tendency is toward socialistic systems and institutions, and this is, to a great extent, due to losing sight of the value of simple and direct systems and taking-up with every clumsy, complicated attachment which promises to give a living to every heeler and office-seeker of the party in power. The efforts of the republican party in establishing protective tariff laws has done much to take away and abuse individual rights. Our clumsy and complicated systems of taxation, in town, county and state, as well as in the nation, is responsible for much of the loss of individuality among American citizens and institutions. Governments, in order to be nearest the right, have to grow simpler. An improvement cannot come until the people awake to the importance of repealing laws instead of enacting more of them, as is the hobby at the present time. Numerous laws bring benefit to the lawyers and the "privileged classes," but they overburden, oppress and degrade the people. No republic can hope to stand that depends on improving or educating its citizens by law, by force, or by might.

WHO PAYS THE TARIFF.

St. Louis Chronicle.

McKinley and his school have endeavored to convince us that the consumer does not pay the tariff tax on imported goods, but that burden rests upon the foreign manufacturer. After much search we have succeeded in finding a case that supports this contention. A large number of Russians are without food, the crops having failed and the Government having despoiled them of their surplus on previous years. Certain pyrotechnic philanthropists in the United States propose to advertise themselves by sending a ship-load of flour, 30,000 barrels, to those Russians. Now, the Russian tariff on flour is 6 cents per thirty-six pounds, which would amount to close on \$10,000 for the ship-load. The persons who will consume this flour cannot pay the duty, having no means whatever, no wealth of any kind. Plainly, then, the foreigners must pay it.

Yes, but on second thought we are not prepared to make that admission. Suppose there was no duty imposed would not the \$10,000 contributed to pay duty be expended for more flour? By a reduction of the quantity of flour he might have obtained if there was no duty, is not the consumer—even the starving Russian peasant consumer—compelled to pay the tax?

A GRATIFYING COMMENDATION.

Educational Sapphire of Winona.

THE STANDARD, a single tax paper published by Henry George, is upon our exchange list, and after a careful examination of the paper we are justified in commending it to all those desiring a knowledge and understanding of the principles upheld by it.

QUITE AS MUCH.

New York World.

The result was, in fact, almost as much of a triumph for Governor Hill and Senator Gorman as for Mr. Crisp.

—ELY'S CREAM BALM—Cleanses the Nasal Passages, Allays Pain and Inflammation, Heals the Sores, Restores Taste and Smell, and Cures

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THE CASE FOR CATARRH GOLDEN HEAD MAYFEVER ELY'S CREAM BALM

THE PROTECTION SCOURGE.

Limas, Iowa, Weekly Sun.

Protection discourages regular and natural trade and starts expensive ways of doing things. The goods furnished by monopolists are almost always high priced and poor in quality. When articles of manufacture cost more, consumption is usually reduced, and it naturally follows there is less work to do. The rate of wages depends upon the number of people seeking work in relation to the amount of work to do. Under the McKinley tariff, when rich people visiting the continent of Europe can bring back with them \$500 worth of wearing apparel free of duty, it does not require much reasoning to understand that labor in America is cheated of its claims to work to the amount of millions of dollars by this McKinley bill. The working man is not a sharer in the benefits of these free importations, as he is not in the habit of visiting Europe. Neither does the wage-earner share in the monopoly profits of his employer. The monopoly system raises prices, makes poor work, reduces consumption, makes less work to do, and adds to the expense of living; it increases competition among the workmen and reduces wages.

I said it in the meadow-path,
I said it on the mountain-stairs;
The best things any mortal hath
Are those which every mortal shares.

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SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE
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PLATFORM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the hitherto field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, 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 blessings to all, and cause such an enormous production as such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

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

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ST. LOUIS.—Single tax league. Tuesday evenings at rooms of the Clerk of Criminal Court, Four Courts, 12th street and Clark avenue. Pres., Hon. Dennis A. Ryan, 1616 Wash st.; sec., T. J. Smith, 1515 Taylor av.

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EASTERN DISTRICT single tax club. Monthly meetings on the first Monday of each month, at 94 South Third street, Brooklyn. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

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GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec., E. D. Burlingame, 13 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesday of each month, at Vernon Hall, cor. Main st. and Chelton av., at 8 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society. Meets every Thursday and Sunday at 8 p. m. Social meetings second Tuesday, No. 30 South Broad st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

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