

# THE STANDARD

NO. 167---VOL. VII, NO. 11.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1890.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

Published Every Wednesday at  
NO. 12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

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

### TERMS:

ONE YEAR . . . . . \$2 50  
SIX MONTHS . . . . . 1 25  
TWENTY WEEKS . . . . . 1 00

Advertising thirty cents per agate line.  
All letters and communications should be addressed and all checks and drafts be made payable to "The Standard."

When ordering change of address send old as well as new address.

The correct filling of orders is evidence of receipt of remittance.

"The Standard" is an exponent of the principles and a weekly record of important facts affecting social problems and national politics. It especially advocates the following great reforms:

**THE SINGLE TAX.** This means the abolition of all taxes on labor or the products of labor, that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land irrespective of improvements.

**FREE TRADE.** Not "tariff reform," but real free trade; that is, as perfect freedom of trade with all the world as now exists between the states of our union.

**BALLOT REFORM.** No humbug envelope system; but the real Australian system, the first requisite of which is the exclusive use of elections of official ballots furnished by the state and prepared and cast by the voter in compulsory secrecy.

Sample copies sent free on application.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL. George in Australia—Reception in Melbourne—Large Meetings in Sydney—George Cary Eggleston on the Labor Problem—A Frank Protectionist—Can't See the Inconsistency—THE STANDARD Twenty Weeks for One Dollar—The "Single Tax Platform" Tract—A Significant Movement in the South—A Call for the Fool-killer—Father Huntington's Rochester Utterance—A Confession That Protection Prevents Railway Construction—The Knights and Ballot Reform—Ballot Reform in Pennsylvania—The K. of L. Journal—Absurdities From California—The Woodyard System of Political Economy—Compelling Men to Erect Buildings.

TWO BOOKS ON LIFE. E. Yancey Cohen.  
NOVELISTS BEGIN TO SEE THE CAT. David L. Thompson.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT. Sarah Millin Gay.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY IN VERSE.

NEW YORK IN THE CIVIL WAR.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER. Henry George, Jr.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER. Rev. Harold Rylett.

LAND MONOPOLY IN JAPAN. Chas. E. Garst.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM. Dr. Crosby on the Rum Power—Western Mortgages—Is the Negro Sure of the Elective Franchise?—Dr. Hale's Confused Philosophy—Nationalism Once More.

SOCIETY NOTES.

CHRONICLES. A. P. Brown.

BALLOT REFORM. The Knights to the Front; Great Meeting in Cooper Union—Amendments to the New Jersey Bill—Progress of the Saxton Bill—Chauncey F. Black for an Exclusive Official Ballot—Better Outlook in Maryland—Meeting in Harlem—Promise of a Law in Maine.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT. The Tariff School—Discussing Taxation—Mr. Anderson on Free Trade—Governor Merriam Speaks Up—Indiana's Tariff Reform—Looking Toward Free Ships—Protection for Florida Oranges—Michigan Republicans Learning.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. Mr. Vogt's Phosphate Find—Free Trader and Single Taxer—Too Many Horses—How He Saw the Truth—Distributing Tax Burdens—An Active Missionary.

SINGLE TAX NEWS. Single Tax Platform—New York's Assessment—The Single Tax in Illinois—New York City Assessments—The Petition—The Schoolhouse Campaign—News from New States.

## EDITORIAL.

An Associated press dispatch from London, dated March 6, announces that Henry George arrived at Melbourne, Victoria, on that day, and that he was welcomed to the city by the mayor at a public meeting at the town hall. Mr. George sailed from San Francisco on February 8, and has therefore made the passage in twenty-six days. The fact that he was able to receive a public welcome, immediately, indicates that he arrived in good health. An official public reception to him in Victoria, the protectionist colony, is somewhat surprising. It is from the free trade colony of New South Wales that he received his special invitation to visit Australia.

The following is the latest dispatch received by the Press news association:

SYDNEY, New South Wales, March 11.—Henry George was entertained at a banquet last evening by the single tax club. He made a speech which was enthusiastically received. Mr. George is attracting large audiences but the theory he advocates is meeting with sharp criticism in the press.

In THE STANDARD of January 29 we printed an article by James E. Mills of San Francisco entitled, "The True Test of Economic Conditions," in which the writer insisted that in discussing the wages question we shall look beyond the mere ability to satisfy physical necessities and accept as our standard "the ratio of wages to reasonable wants." In the same issue we printed an abstract of an article by George Cary Eggleston that had appeared in the World, in which a similar idea was expressed. Mr. Eggleston's article was a vigorous and fearless declaration of the rights of workingmen to a larger share of the product of their labor. This was the first of a series of articles by this writer that have appeared in the Sunday World.

In his second article Mr. Eggleston replied to some of those who criticised his first, and he denied point blank the common assertions that there is plenty of work to be done in the country, that the cities are overcrowded by men who leave good situations seeking easier work, and so on. He declares positively that "there is not employment for men in the country, and the men who flock to the cities do so largely because of their inability to keep soul and body together in the rural districts." "The fact is," he continues, "that farming in this country no longer pays," and he cites numerous proofs of this assertion. He declares that "the prosperity of the country rests upon its agriculture and the legislation of the country tends directly and strongly to the destruction of agriculture." The result is that "the condition of the laboring man in this country, whether in city, town or rural district, is relatively less favorable than it was a generation ago." Mr. Eggleston denounces the cry of the monopolists and their newspaper organs that the poverty of the workingmen is due to their own fault as "brutal insolence," and says that "it means—if it means anything—that workingmen could easily keep soul and body together if they would deny themselves and their families all the comforts of life and devote their days to the simple task of getting enough food to ward off hunger. It regards workingmen as mere animals, and if working-

men were content so to regard themselves they could doubtless get on as suggested, for a time at least." He thus continues:

Fortunately American workingmen decline to regard themselves in that way. They claim the right to live as men and not as animals, to make something of their lives, to educate their children, to surround themselves with such refining influences as they may be able to command. In short, their wants are the wants of intelligent men, and not of a degraded and brutalized population; and inasmuch as their country has grown and prospered with enormous rapidity and its annual production is vast, these men rightfully contend that their labor, which is so productive of wealth for others, ought to give them the means of gratifying these reasonable desires. The fact that it does not do so is a conclusive answer to all arithmetical contentions that labor is better paid now in this country than it was a generation ago.

Mr. Eggleston disclaims all faith in "social and industrial nostrums" and "cure-alls," but he believes in the general desire for justice, and says that the problem before us is "to find out the causes of the evil conditions that we observe and to adopt practical means for their removal." As to agriculture, he says there is no doubt as to the remedy for existing evils, and it is the repeal of the laws that are choking the life out of it. He declares that he believes with his whole soul in free trade and would never fail to defend it on the ground that it is right, but that it is apart from all such considerations, and wholly upon considerations of policy, that he should "contend for the removal of those taxes upon the necessities of life which increase the cost of living to all men, and which particularly tend to the destruction of agricultural prosperity." This he considers the first and most important step—"the one thing of most pressing importance to all toilers"—and until it is done nothing will be done of enduring worth.

So far, at least, THE STANDARD can go hand in hand with Mr. Eggleston. We are agreed as to the facts and as to the problem to which they give rise, but when it comes to proposing a remedy, or even a scheme of amelioration for existing conditions, Mr. Eggleston reaches a most lame and impotent conclusion. What he proposes is that 5,000,000 of the 17,000,000 wage earners in this country shall save something out of their wages and he figures out the possibility of thus accumulating a fund of \$250,000,000 a year, that would practically make those workingmen, organized for such purpose of saving, the masters of the money market and the directors of industry. We do not by this seek to dispose of Mr. Eggleston's carefully thought out plan by a phrase, nor have we any controversy with him as to whether some such plan might not work out good results for all concerned. Under existing conditions, as described by himself, we do not believe such saving would be possible, but under conditions of justice we see no reason why such a plan might not pave the way for home building or the conduct of industrial operations on a basis of voluntary co-operation. We think Mr. Eggleston's plan is eminently worthy of the present consideration of the more prosperous workmen, even now, but it is not such a proposal as Mr. Eggleston's earlier articles pointed to.

It is no attempt "to find out the causes of the evil conditions that we observe and to adopt practical means for their removal." It is not in line with that all-important first step that he

urges—"the removal of those taxes on the necessities of life which increase the cost of living." It is in fact no remedy at all that he proposes, but a mere palliative, the highest possible success of which would be to lessen the number of those subjected to existing evil conditions by tempting 5,000,000 out of 17,000,000 wage earners to become capitalists to a sufficient extent to lift them out of the condition of the remaining 12,000,000. Surely Mr. Eggleston understands human nature too well to suppose that this would tend to decrease the number of those who are satisfied with things as they are. Its tendency would be precisely that deliberately calculated upon by the English Tories in their land purchase legislation. They desire a peasant proprietary, not for the sake of the peasants, but because they believe the best check to agrarian agitation is thus to increase the number of landlords, while leaving the agricultural laborers as poor and defenseless as they now are.

Mr. Eggleston seems to confess that the promise of his earlier articles has not been fulfilled. He says:

It may be true that radical, social and industrial changes are necessary or desirable; it is no part of my purpose to discuss that now; it may be that the adoption of the single tax, or the state control of railroads, or some other of the many changes, the making of which is the hobby of my several correspondents, would really work the miracles that are expected of them. The question whether this is the case or not is wholly foreign to the present discussion. It is true that I have given a certain measure of justification for these suggestions in what I have said with respect to the necessity of reducing or removing those taxes which tend to impoverish the toilers of the country, but that suggestion was rather incidental than essential to what I have had in mind to say.

All he sought, he says, was to "suggest certain practical means, not of revolutionizing society or of curing it of all its diseases at once, but of enabling wage earners to better their condition in that state of society in which we live." He failed even in this, for all that he proposed was a scheme to enable a considerable minority of the wage earners to do this. Now why should a man possessed of the sense and courage of Mr. Eggleston, one who is by sympathy and conviction a Jeffersonian democrat, thus falter and turn aside from the path marked out by his own logic? It is just as desirable that home trade shall be free as it is that foreign trade shall be free. There is no more to be achieved by lowering the taxes imposed by the tariff on the necessities of life than there is by removing domestic taxes on production and trade. We grant the imperative necessity of the first great step, but we insist on the equal necessity of each succeeding step until trade shall be free indeed, and every tax on production shall be removed. One reason that Mr. Eggleston refuses to go forward in this way is his fear that he may approve a panacea or advocate a cure-all. This is an impression that many have concerning the single tax proposition, and we regret to say that single tax men are largely responsible for the impression. It is not, however, the idea of the great body of thoughtful single tax advocates. Of course we have our various dreams of the possible under conditions of justice, but Mr. Eggleston has presented our practical programme in his earlier papers. We see that the evils under which society is suffering are economic. We recognize the fact that taxation is

the agency through which the economic maladjustment has been brought about, and hence we begin, as Mr. Eggleston does, by trying to knock off taxes on the necessities of life, and we propose to keep on in that line until no product of human labor is taxed. We know why we want to go on. Does Mr. Eggleston know why he wants to stop?

The reason for his failure to follow up the logic of his own first article is not simply the fear that he may adopt an "ism" or advocate a panacea. It lies deeper, and is to be found in a radical misconception of the cause of the evils that he sees so clearly. In his first article Mr. Eggleston emphatically declared himself "no socialist," and said he had "no patience with the mushy-headedness that thinks it possible to make human nature happy and good by denying it the healthful activities and competitions on which its welfare depends by the varied nature of its being." We have no doubt that Mr. Eggleston believes this and that he speaks with absolute sincerity when he says: "I hate injustice and robbery. I hold that no man has a right to enjoy the fruits of the unrequited labor of his fellow men." Nevertheless a failure to clearly comprehend everything that is necessarily implied by this last declaration has caused some confusion in Mr. Eggleston's anti-socialistic ideas, and the fundamental error that has side-tracked him from his course is socialistic to the core.

In his second article Mr. Eggleston declares that "the conditions against which all labor agitation is a protest have grown out of a change in the control of capital. Capital is the instrument of industrial production, and whoever controls the capital controls industrial production." In his third and last paper he parenthetically remarks that one of his correspondents has taken him to task "for saying that capital is the instrument of industrial production," and he adds: "He makes some fine distinction, which may be just enough, perhaps, but which it is not necessary to potter over." Just here is where Mr. Eggleston makes his great mistake. Individualist, as he is, he concedes the main point of the socialistic philosophy. If "whoever controls the capital controls the production," as Mr. Eggleston declares, then there is no alternative to a continuance of existing conditions but state socialism.

No control of capital can control production where men have easy access to natural opportunities. This is not a matter of "mere theory," but is proven conclusively by the economic history of our own country. In the colonial days when every farm hand might reasonably expect in course of time to become a farmer of his own land, the social status of the laborer was equal to that of his employer, and his wages were proportioned to his usefulness. For a long time after the union was established ease of access to land, and that only, kept up the wages of labor. This was fully recognized by the earlier advocates of the protective monopolists.

In 1827, while John Quincy Adams was president, and Richard Rush secretary of the treasury, the latter in his annual report made an argument in behalf of protection, in the course of which he insisted that the "encouragement of manufactures by legislative means would be but a counterbalance, and at the most a partial one, to the encouragement to agriculture by legislative means, standing out in the very terms upon which the public lands are sold." He further declared that "it cannot be overlooked that the prices at which fertile bodies of land

may be bought of the government, under this system, operate as a perpetual allure-ment to their purchase. It must, therefore, be taken in the light of a bounty indelibly written in the text of the laws themselves in favor of agricultural pursuits." This simply means that, land being easy of access, men rushed to it to employ themselves instead of becoming dependents on capital. There was no disguise at that time of the intention to check this tendency in the interest of manufacturers. Secretary Rush himself deprecates the spreading of a thin population over a great area of soil, and argues that the farmers ought to be willing, out of their abundance, to encourage capital to engage in manufacturing. Professor Sumner, alluding to this period, says that the protectionists of that time distinctly raised the issue and demanded that lands should not be sold cheaply because under that policy population would spread thinly over the continent instead of becoming dense in the old states, thus raising "the value and rent of land there to produce a class dependent on wages, i. e., a supply of labor, and to keep wages down."

Professor Sumner is the bitter and irrational opponent of the theories advanced in "Progress and Poverty," but even he clearly recognizes here that it was access to natural opportunities that retarded the growth of a wage class, dependent on capital for the means of existence. It is the men who see this clearly and who propose a definite remedy that shall tend constantly to open up natural opportunities to all who will, in the end, remain the only Jeffersonian democrats, the only defenders of individualism.

In the long run no real Jeffersonian democrat who hates slavery and denies the right of some men to grow rich through the unrequited labor of others can shut his eyes to the true remedy for the evils that Mr. Eggleston describes so clearly. No attempt to reduce the number of victims to industrial slavery that necessarily leaves the majority of workers dependent on the interest or good will of others for the opportunity to earn a living can have any great or permanent value to the mass, whatever may be its advantages to those who accept it. The cause of existing evils must be sought out and the effective remedy must be found. We single tax men, who believe that labor is entitled to its products and that capital is the useful ally and helper of labor, deny, point blank, that under natural conditions there can be any conflict or antagonism of interests between them, or that the greater can become dependent on the lesser. We insist that in a country like this, capable of affording ample support to a thousand millions of industrious people, it is absurd for less than seventy millions to permit themselves to be crowded, through the operation of foolish laws of their own making. We demand that taxation shall be so laid that it shall force men to bring natural opportunities into use instead of making it profitable to hold them out of use. We do not expect that men will suddenly cease to be selfish, but we insist that selfishness shall be enlisted on the side of production, instead of encouraged to prevent production. Open up the storehouse of nature to such a population as ours, and we have no fear of "overproduction." Let all who are willing to work have free opportunity to produce the good things that all need, relieve production of all taxes, fines and restrictions, and leave every man absolutely free to swap the products of his labor or ingenuity for such other products of the labor of

others as he desires, and we shall hear no more of overproduction, panics, strikes or lockouts. Human wants will keep pace with the power to satisfy these wants, and the enormously increased production per capita of to-day will be as equitably distributed as was the meager production of the time before invention had increased a thousandfold the productive power of labor. We propose no panacea, no patent remedy. We simply propose to strike down all monopolies created by law or custom, to restore men to their natural relations to one another and to the earth that they inhabit, and then leave them, in their individual capacity, to work out their own physical salvation without governmental assistance or hindrance. What is there in this programme that a free trader and Jeffersonian democrat like George Cary Eggleston should shrink from?

Mr. George W. Russell of West Newbury, Mass., appears to be a protectionist, and he is certainly a delightfully frank one. He glories in the great service rendered to the American people by the Standard oil company in reducing the price of coal oil from \$1.25 a gallon to 10 cents, and has apparently no doubt whatever that the whole credit for this reduction belongs to the Standard company. He opens his letter, which the Tribune, strangely enough, prints, with the declaration that "free trade on articles controlled by trusts would destroy our entire protective system." The Tribune does not seem to comprehend the fact that if this is true, the converse is true, and that the destruction of our protective system would put an end to trusts. Let the protectionists go before the country on that platform.

A Brooklyn correspondent says he fails to see the inconsistency between the two clauses of the New York state constitution, the first of which declares that the people, in their right of sovereignty, possess the property in all land, and the next of which declares that this right is vested in individual owners. To us the inconsistency seems clear, because in each case the declaration relates to the present and insists that the people at large now own all the land, while a comparatively small portion of the people also own all the land. The first declaration is the true one, and the individual ownership is necessarily a partial and modified ownership, granted on condition of service rendered to the sovereign power, such services being commuted into a money payment in the form of taxes. In England this condition is still implied by the theory of the law, and it is likewise declared by our own constitution, though the clause in relation to private ownership is defective in failing to state the conditional character of the grant. The question, however, is not a practical one, since the right to tax land carries with it the power to do all that the single tax men demand in the way of giving to the public its proper income from its own property.

The fact was recently stated in our editorial columns that the profits on the sale of THE STANDARD through news companies are very small, indeed, and that the best possible service its friends can render the paper is to obtain direct subscriptions. In response to this we have received a number of letters saying that many people do not feel that they can afford to pay \$2.50 at once for a year's subscription, and suggesting that we name a stated price for a shorter time. In response to these suggestions we have added to our terms the line, "Twenty Weeks, \$1." Of course this involves more bookkeeping on the part of our

business office, but it enables any one to obtain the paper directly as cheaply as it can be bought at the news stands and to make a convenient mail remittance. A paper of the quality of THE STANDARD cannot be sold at a lower price than five cents, and nearly every other paper of the class is sold at ten cents a copy, with a subscription price of \$3 or \$4 a year.

The single tax platform, which is regularly printed at the head of the single tax news in THE STANDARD, in compliance with numerous requests from our readers, has been printed in tract form. It will be sent to any address at \$1.50 per thousand. The first edition of 10,000 copies has already been sold. This brief presentation of the single tax doctrine was prepared by Henry George for the World almanac, and is probably the most succinct statement of that doctrine that has ever come from his pen.

In a special dispatch from Aberdeen, Miss., to the Memphis Appeal the following paragraphs follow each other:

Unusual interest was shown here to-day in the purchase of lands sold by the sheriff as delinquent for taxes. The list of lands offered for sale was not so large as heretofore.

A slimly attended meeting of white renters of farming lands was held at the court house to-day to formulate and present their grievances against the landlords of this county.

It is altogether probable that such a meeting was slimly attended, but the mere attempt to hold it shows that a new era is dawning in the south and that economic questions are coming to the front. The processes that are at last forcing our northern farmers to think are becoming operative in the south and public attention there cannot be forever monopolized by the eternal negro question. This is the fact that not only concerns single tax men but free traders as well. It will not do for the latter to depend forever on the influences that have kept the south "solid." They must extend their educational work in that direction if they would avoid the danger of serious defections in the future, when economic issues divide the southern people.

The Railway World of Philadelphia rebukes the president of Columbia college, George William Curtis, and others for testifying "to their admiration of a man, who, though his private character is justly respected, holds opinions irreconcilable with the stability of society." The paper goes on to declare that the fact "that Mr. George is a pleasant spoken gentleman instead of a wild-eyed mountebank does not alter the destructive tendencies of his teaching," and then draws up a lurid picture of the terrible dangers of mob law, riots, etc. The best comment on this astonishing editorial comes to us in a private note from another editor of a trade paper, who remarks that "there ought to be a bill introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature to abolish the office of fool killer, or else make him perform his duty."

An anonymous correspondent interprets Father Huntington's declaration at Rochester to mean that a community is better off on account of idle and vicious men within it. Nothing could possibly be further from Father Huntington's meaning. He is the advocate of a system that proposes to put an end to involuntary idleness by giving every man a chance to work and to enjoy the product of his labor. He sees that the obstacle to the accomplishment of this purpose is the monopolization of natural opportunities by those who will not use them themselves or allow other people to do so. Speaking of conditions as they now exist, he simply stated a fact, which is entirely patent, and that is that if the number of men now idle were suddenly

to become useful and enter into competition for work with those whose opportunities for work are restricted, the immediate result would be to make misery more general, since many of those who are now maintaining themselves in decent comfort would either be thrown out of work or have their wages cut down. No more damaging criticism on the existing system could be offered than the statement of this simple and obvious fact. Of course no sane man wants to see drunkenness and vice continue, but men who have studied existing conditions see very plainly that so long as access to natural opportunity is artificially restricted enforced idleness will continue to produce misery, which will in turn lead to drunkenness and vice, and that the only remedy is to change the conditions that cause this tendency instead of confining one's efforts to curing the mere symptoms of the disease.

The international American conference has recommended the building of a railroad to run, perhaps from Hudson's bay to Patagonia. The tenth clause of the paper adopted by the conference declares "that all materials necessary for the construction and operation of the proposed railroad shall be exempt from import duties." Why is this recommendation made? Can there be any other possible interpretation than that the imposition of such duties makes the building of railroads more expensive? If the various governments concerned concede this, and propose to relieve an international road of the burden, why should they not as separate governments relieve their own people disposed to build railroads from a like burden? The mere insertion of such a clause carries with it the condemnation of the system to which every government participating in the conference is more or less committed, and to which the government of the United States is apparently fanatically devoted. If tariffs make people rich, all of the nations interested in this enterprise ought to try to make each other rich by taxing railway construction supplies. If, on the other hand, tariff taxes impede such enterprises, they must impede all other enterprises, and it is nonsense for the governments of the two American continents to build railroads with a view to bringing their people into closer commercial relations, while they erect legal barriers against the freedom of trade, through which alone international commerce can be made profitable to all concerned.

#### THE KNIGHTS AND BALLOT REFORM.

The meeting of the Knights of Labor in behalf of ballot reform, held at Cooper union on Monday evening last, was in many respects the most remarkable mass meeting held in this city for years. No previous notoriety was given it in the newspapers; in fact, so slight were the notices that a vast majority of the people of New York probably failed to hear that such a meeting was to be held. The Knights of Labor depended on their own agencies for calling a meeting of their own members, and there is no doubt that ninety-nine hundredths of those present were members of that order.

The meeting left no room for question as to its temper, spirit and purpose. It declared boldly for the passage of the Saxton bill, and there was no diplomatic pretense of ignorance as to the men who are standing in the way of the success of the reform. Mr. Archibald, master workman of the Paperhangers' national union, who supported Governor Hill in 1888, openly declared that if the governor vetoed this bill again he should hereafter oppose him. Mr. Powderly, whose reception was a real ovation, talked with perfect frankness about the existing sit-

uation, and declared that the republicans in Pennsylvania are in favor of ballot reform in New York, and the democrats of New York are in favor of ballot reform in Pennsylvania. The great meeting itself, and the remarkable reception given Mr. Powderly, afford conclusive evidence that the Knights of Labor are still numerous and enthusiastic in this city.

The newspapers of New York in their issues of Tuesday morning clearly demonstrate the utter incapacity of the news departments of the various journals published here to comprehend the proportion or significance of events. The Sun, which has shamelessly abandoned all pretense to report events with accuracy, deliberately undertook to belittle the meeting and deceive its readers. It began its account by declaring that "some Knights of Labor and a number of the believers in Thomas Platt had a meeting in Cooper union last night in favor of kangaroo ballots." It then goes on to say that "between them they managed to fill the big hall;" and yet further on the paper speaks of an outside meeting. Its story manifestly does not hold together. The World, whose news department evidently is out of harmony with its editorial page on the subject of ballot reform, gave a very inadequate report. The Star dwelt on the fact that four remnants of the late united labor party, who have received office from the republican administration, were on the platform. The Times did not regard the meeting as worthy of a display head, while the Herald, Press and Tribune gave the item prominence, though their reports were entirely inadequate. Yet this was beyond all question the greatest meeting held in New York for years, except the mass meeting in behalf of the World's fair, and this would have been an even greater meeting than that had the weather been equally propitious. Thousands were turned away, though the attempt to organize an overflow meeting was not highly successful, because the plaza in front of Cooper union was filled with slush, and the police, of course, could not permit a crowd to block the sidewalk.

However inadequate the newspaper appreciation of the event, those politicians who are standing in the way of ballot reform will find it unwise to ignore its significance. This was a meeting of genuine workingmen. There is danger ahead for politicians who resist their just demands. We also wish to say, and say with an emphasis that shall penetrate the minds of professed reformers inside of the democratic party, that the meeting of Monday night bodes ill to that party in New York unless from within its ranks there shall come forth reform leaders who will see to it that the stupid legislators, who are obeying Hill's behests at Albany, are not permitted to commit the democratic party of New York to the obstructive tactics of its unscrupulous governor.

#### BALLOT REFORM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Ex-Lieutenant-Governor Chauncey F. Black, in a recent conversation with the Washington correspondent of THE STANDARD, declared that he agreed with Governor Beaver in declaring that a satisfactory ballot reform law is impossible in Pennsylvania without a constitutional amendment. The constitution of that state requires that "every ballot voted shall be numbered in the order in which it shall be received, and the number recorded by the election officers on the list of voters, opposite the name of the elector who presents the ballot." How such a provision ever got into the constitution of an American state we cannot even imagine. It apparently is as deliberately designed to facilitate intimidation and bribery as is

the similar provision in the astounding federal election bill introduced into the senate by Mr. Sherman.

The Scranton Truth, which seems to be sincerely anxious for ballot reform, sees that under the existing constitution ballot reform is impossible, and it declares "that a constitutional convention is a straight road to ballot reform, and those who sincerely believe in it should lose no time in declaring their intentions and putting themselves in line." The York Democrat eagerly takes up the suggestion, while the Quay papers insist that there is no need of a convention, as the amendment can be made by two successive legislatures. The Patriot, however, points out that this would carry the existing conditions over to the presidential election, whereas the constitutional convention can provide an immediate remedy. The Patriot thinks there is need of a constitutional convention, in order that certain provisions now in the instrument shall be made self-enforcing, because the legislature has notoriously refused to enact laws for their enforcement.

We think the argument that a constitutional convention is the quickest way to bring about ballot reform, and overthrow the existing provision for giving bribers and intimidators evidence as to how individuals have voted, is a sound one, but we fear that neither Pennsylvania nor any other state will ever be able to devise a self-enforcing constitution. Constitutions and laws must be enforced, and until the people of Pennsylvania are ready to overthrow the party that has defied their state constitution they can accomplish nothing effective in that direction.

#### THE K. OF L. JOURNAL.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor says that single taxers "do not necessarily hold that occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land," but they think that, "with all taxes placed upon land, land speculation would cease and land could not continue to be held out of use. The Knights of Labor would take no chances, they know that land speculation is wrong per se, and they declare that for a man to cease to use and occupy land is to forfeit his right to its possession." Now, here is a distinction without a difference. Men who have really studied the land question know perfectly well that any attempt, by arbitrary action, to follow the programme suggested by the Knights of Labor Journal must necessarily fail, since all of the selfish instincts of man, together with his ingenuity, are enlisted against the attempt. Who can say how much use, or what kind of occupation, justifies possession? The slightest attempt to formulate a rule will show the inherent difficulties of the position.

On the other hand, the advocates of the single tax present an entirely practicable programme which, when established, will make it to the interest of a man to abandon any land for which he has no use. He will not only feel the immediate burden of taxation on unused land, but the fact that this tax will increase from year to year, as rental value rises, and thus take for the public the annual increase, will deprive him of that hope of personal advantage which now leads many men to pay very considerable taxes on unimproved property while holding it for a rise. What benefit can the rise bring to such an holder, if it is to be taken year by year for public use?

We are not able, of course, to fathom the motives that lead the Journal of the Knights of Labor to seek to minimize the declaration by that order in behalf of the taxation of land values. We know, however, from our own correspondence, that

the Journal's attitude is exasperating to a very large number of its own readers, and that it tends to deprive the order of the advantages it would otherwise derive from its acceptance of a practical plan for putting into force the principles its advocates. It is emphatically seeking to emphasize differences rather than agreements, and it is doing the order an injury by its course.

#### ABSURDITIES FROM CALIFORNIA.

The San Francisco News Letter of February 8 attempts to perform the intellectual feat of riding two horses going in opposite directions at the same moment of time. In one editorial article it exalts Edward Bellamy's pleasing novel into a position of vast importance as compared with the economic work of Henry George called "Progress and Poverty," after which it contemptuously dismisses Mr. George's works with the declaration that the single tax idea, having lost its freshness at home, has to be transported to Australia. The News Letter appears to be one of those papers that have risen superior to the necessity of agreement or even consultation among their editors, for on another page it compliments Henry George on having a level head in declaring that the present system of taxation as applied, is a barbarous fine upon thrift and progress, which favors the owners of vacant lots and makes a neat dwelling, a trim fence or an artificial stone sidewalk an extravagance that must be rebuked in the next tax bill, while half a dozen shade trees form a sinful luxury that must be atoned for by the payment of an annual fine. Our friends in California are doubtless capable of dealing with such manifestations of ignorance, but we will venture, from this distance, to give to the editorial staff of the San Francisco News Letter Mr. Dana's advice to democrats: "Get together."

The San Francisco Call is almost equally luminous. It quotes Mr. George's saying that tax is sometimes laid on dogs to get rid of them, and asks him triumphantly how he is going to collect government revenues after, by destroying its value, he has gotten rid of the land. After this has occurred the collection of government revenues will not interest the Call or any of the rest of us. There will be no land, no men, no government, no Call, and the question will remain unanswered so far as this earth is concerned. We will say, however, by way of further suggestion to our muddled contemporary, that the land is just as likely to disappear as the rental value of land. So long as land remains and men still exist to inhabit it, some places will be better suited for newspaper offices, for instance, than others. The most desirable land will therefore continue to have a rental value, and the source of government revenue will not dry up.

Mr. Frank Pixley in the Argonaut manages to spread a good many good ideas and a good deal more of carefully prepared and highly treasured ignorance over several columns of his bright paper. He quotes Thomas Carlyle and Lord Macaulay to prove that the superior advantages once enjoyed by laboring people in America were due to the greater accessibility of land. He demands that congress shall confiscate every acre of land improperly and dishonestly obtained, enact a law prohibiting alien absentee landlordism and providing for the repurchase of all land so held, and proceed by statute to restrain individuals and corporations from owning more than a reasonable amount of land. He declares that land is as much a necessity of life as bread, water and air, and that a government which does not protect its citizens in their rights to these necessities, is criminally recreant to its

highest obligations. He then mixes up Bellamy's dream and George's philosophy in hopeless confusion, and declares that the sacred right of private property in land is one of the essentials of an enduring civilization, while admitting that this self-same "sacred right" destroyed Rome and hastened the French revolution. As all of the contradictory utterances of the Argonaut appear to be written by the editor, we cannot but offer him individually the same advice that we offer to the collective staff of the News Letter. Mr. Pixley ought to be ashamed of such a display of ignorance and lack of logic.

#### THE WOODYARD SYSTEM OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Charity organization society, in order that it may not encourage pauperism by giving alms, requires that the recipients of its bounty shall saw wood as a condition precedent to the receipt of a breakfast. It is true there are plenty of people who are willing to saw wood in the ordinary course of business, and that such people, by the use of machinery, can saw and split it more cheaply than the tramps and unfortunates in the charity woodyards. Still something must be done to provide the idle with work.

The protectionists when driven to the wall frequently fall back on this simple theory. They insist that even though the protective system does not make it easier to obtain the total amount of goods that the people of this country would like to have, it does, under existing conditions, require that a larger number of men shall be engaged in producing the needed supply, and thus assures work to men who would otherwise be without it.

Advocates of neither of these policies have ever been able to comprehend that the true solution of the problem with which they both wrestle is to allow men to get at the opportunities to produce the goods that are wanted, and to permit them freely to exchange their products for those of other men. Whenever this condition is brought about protectionism will be laughed out of existence and charity woodyards will cease to be in demand.

#### COMPELLING MEN TO ERECT BUILDINGS.

The Chicago Economist notices a recent article in THE STANDARD in relation to the relative taxation of improved and unimproved real estate in New York, and says that it has made inquiry as to whether such discrimination exists in Chicago. The assessors answer that such is not the case, and that unimproved property is taxed relatively as high as improved property, though much of the real estate in Chicago pays a tax on only one-twentieth or one-tenth of what it is really worth. The Economist says "it is no doubt just that unimproved land should be taxed according to its value, irrespective of the fact that it pays no income;" but it does not consider it desirable that such property should be assessed in the slightest degree in excess of other property. It is not the business of the government, it declares, to force a man to put up a building.

THE STANDARD does not claim that it is the business of the government to force a man to put up a building. But it does most emphatically protest against any governmental policy that encourages a man to hold land out of use, and fines him for putting up a building, thus preventing men from putting up buildings. This is done by the custom of undervaluing unimproved land; but, even if this violation of law is corrected, the government will still be placed in an attitude of rewarding sloth and fining industry so long as it fails to levy all taxes on land values exclusive of improvements. The

question is not one of government interference with a view to forcing citizens to do this or that, but of the inevitable tendency of a certain system of taxation which it is within the power of the government to change.

Granting that it is open to government to levy the taxes necessary for its support in such a fashion as to make them rest most equitably and evenly on citizens generally, what reason can the Chicago Economist offer against the abolition of all taxes on the products of labor and the raising of the money necessary to meet governmental expenses by a tax on land values only? Everybody who lives on this earth must use land; and taxing it cannot make the area open to use any less. Men are apt to use land in proportion to their means, and looking at the matter from a mere fiscal standpoint, a tax on land values is the tax most evenly distributed, most easily collected, and most easily paid.

#### TWO BOOKS ON LIFE.

The first of these books\* was written about the year 1881. Its scope and purpose can be judged by the following dicta: "The origin of life, what happens subsequent to death, how the Creator originally was created, or obtained the power to create the world and all that therein is, must ever be a mystery to us; they are subjects the imagination may revel in, but the reasoning faculties admit them to be beyond the grasp of man's power. But life as it is, what we can do with it, how make the best of it, how secure all happiness possible, how avoid the present misery—these are subjects fully within our power, matters we ought to thoroughly grasp and handle." Discussing these various subjects in detail, the author in a candid way gives his reasons for accepting the teachings of science and for discarding theological fiction and supernaturalism. At the same time, far from calling himself an agnostic, he asserts, with the confidence of Spinoza, that God must exist, regarding nature not as antagonistic to, but as a manifestation of, God.

With respect to "life as it is \* \* \* how we can secure all the happiness possible, how avoid the present misery," Mr. Platt, while writing in a suggestive and reasonable manner for the English public of 1881, falls at this day sadly behind the times. This is the principal fault to be found with the book: it has not been brought up to date. For example, writing prior to the great enfranchisement of 1885, the author is in the dark as to the direction efforts for reform are soon to take. Were the book to be rewritten now, we should expect to find Mr. Platt on the radical side, not forgetting all about taxation, as he did forget in 1881, but devoting his first and last chapters to that interesting subject; and we might reasonably hope that while continuing to expatiate upon the beauty and wholesomeness of nature, he should write an eloquent essay upon the inalienable right of every man to the use and enjoyment of natural opportunities. All this might, we think, be expected from our candid author, unless perchance he adheres to that select and curious portion of the British public known in politics as dissentient liberals. In that event, of course, our understanding of Mr. Platt's solicitude for the happiness of society in general, and of the English "lower classes" in particular, has been much at fault.

But if Mr. Platt is behind the times, we fear that Mr. Weeks is a bit ahead of them. It is but just to inform the reader at once that "Human Life; or, The Course of Time, as Seen in the Open Light," is a poetical spiritual vision. Now the wedding of political economy to immortal

verse is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but one cannot trust oneself in believing that the reading public is as yet sufficiently well up in the "terms" to take to discursive economic blank verse so readily as to plain prose. We wish, however, to call attention to Mr. Weeks's effort to invest a stupendous subject with interesting adornments. "If," modestly says the author, "this aspiring muse lacks poetic grace, or if its adventure into the vast and well nigh untrodden poetic region of actual life and its natural laws is imperfect, it may perhaps serve as one of the pioneer attempts, and may prompt others, more able, to more successful efforts."

As to life and natural law, Mr. Weeks appears to be in complete sympathy with certain expositors of very advanced ideas concerning them. He has given much space to the doctrines and illustrations of evolution, which he considers *con amore*. We confess, with a feeling of humility, that we are unable to follow Mr. Weeks in his higher expositions of the development theory, whether in the angel life of heaven, or in the change from human life to angel life, or in even so elementary an evolution as the growth of the "spirit germ." Our author is at times so insistent upon the possibilities of great happiness upon this earth that one marvels at him for forsaking, even temporarily, the immediate vast poetic fields about him. But who shall restrain the poet? Among other things we are glad to find that Mr. Weeks thinks well of the taking of land values by the community. In his retrospect of past times on earth, the angel in heaven sings:

This crowning value all was held to be  
The property of him, or of the heirs  
Or the successors of the man who gain  
The 'legal' title long before it thus  
Was used; not of the whole community  
Which, by developing such industry,  
Had to the places greater value given

\* From poverty gain wealth, nor e'en a home  
Nor business place; and all the rest were forced  
To pay usurious rents which kept them poor.

The first book, or canto, of the poem—there are seven in all—presents a picture of the life of the future on this earth, during the radiant days of voluntary co-operation. It is decidedly the best written part of Mr. Weeks's book. No one can object to having so lovely and gracious a vision of society unfolded to his imaginative view. In scope and freedom and pure delight it makes Bellamy's poor municipality seem like a wart to Ossa:

A thousand garden cities met my eye,  
As far as sight could pierce; or rather, I  
Should say, it seemed like one great city,  
Which  
Was bordered on an hundred bays.

So much or so little of these two books. There are bound to be many more on the same subject, for the man who writes and the man who thinks must agree with Goethe, who said, when speaking of Life, "wherever you strike, you will find it interesting." E. YANCEY COHEN.

#### NOVELISTS BEGIN TO SEE THE CAT.

The novelists are beginning to see that all is not well. Two years or more ago Mr. Howells, in "Annie Kilburn," sent a cold shiver down the back of those lazy pious people who wrap themselves in a mantle of selfish comfort and excuse themselves from the labor of thinking by parroting "The poor ye have always with you." Mark Twain dropped recently into the same irreverent vein in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," as the columns of THE STANDARD have shown; and now Mr. Howells again jars the proprieties by talking high treason against the sacredness of things as they are. In "A Hazard of New Fortunes," part 2, chapter 12, occur these words in answer to the question, "How much money can a man honestly earn without wronging or oppressing some other man?"

Not the most gifted man that ever lived, in the practice of any art or science, and paid at the highest rate that exceptional genius could justly demand from those who have worked for their money, could ever earn a million dollars. It is the landlord and the merchant princes, the railroad kings

and the coal barons (the oppressors whom you instinctively give the titles of tyrants)—it is these that make the millions, but no man earns them. What artist, what physician, what scientist, what poet was ever a millionaire?

The last sentence of book 9, chapter 3, "Progress and Poverty," is "How many men are there who fairly earn a million dollars?" If this little sermon of Mr. Howells's, from the lips of Lindan, were not directly inspired by a reading of the text quoted from "Progress and Poverty," then the coincidence is merely a fresh illustration of the often-noticed fact that when the world is ready for a new truth, it is present sporadically in the air and takes root at the same time in many places.

The further elaboration of the sentiment quoted has a curiously familiar sound:

Yes, when they have gathered their millions together from the hunger and cold and nakedness and mire and despair of hundreds of thousands of other men, they "give work" to the poor! They give work! They allow their helpless brothers to earn enough to keep life in them! They give work! Who is it gives toil, and where will your rich men be when once the poor shall refuse to give toil?

And again in chapter 8, part 5, March says:

But what I object to is this economic chance-world in which we live, and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be law, as inflexible in human affairs as the order of day and night in the physical world, that if a man will work he shall both rest and eat and shall not be harassed with any question as to how his repose and provisions shall come. Nothing less ideal than this satisfies the reason. But in our state of things no one is secure of this. No one is sure of finding work; no one is sure of not losing it. I may have my work taken away from me at any moment by the caprice, the mood, the indigestion of a man who has not the qualification for knowing whether I do it well or ill. At my time of life—at every time of life—a man ought to feel that if he will keep on doing his duty he shall not suffer in himself or in those who are dear to him, except through natural causes. But no man can feel this as things are now; and so we go on, pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting aside and trampling underfoot, lying, cheating, stealing; and when we get to the end, covered with blood and dirt and sin and shame, and look back over the way we've come to a palace of our own, or the poor house—which is about the only possession we can claim in common with our brother men—I don't think the retrospect can be pleasing.

After the above, is it permissible to just suspect that Mr. Howells has seen the cat? DAVID L. THOMPSON.

Plainfield, N. J.

#### WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

#### AND THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

(THIRD PAPER.)

In August Mr. Garrison returned to find that the long and exciting Harrison-Van Buren campaign had made sad havoc in the ranks of the abolitionists. The charge of "infidelity" was now brought against Mr. Garrison, whose deeply religious nature found comfort in a belief of great moral and spiritual beauty, untrammelled by forms. These attacks on their leader, and his reappearance in the lecture field, soon awoke the old fervor. Most moving is the account of the maiden speech of that late "graduate from the 'peculiar institution' with his diploma written on his back"—Frederick Douglass—and the scene which followed Mr. Garrison's cry, "Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or a man?"

For years abolitionists had besieged congress with anti-slavery petitions, which had always been laid on the table or buried in committee. John Quincy Adams (no abolitionist) had been indefatigable in presenting them, watching for the lapse of the constantly renewed "gag rules" which prevented their discussion. In 1842 the first petition for the peaceful dissolution of the Union was presented by him; it was signed by citizens of Haverhill, Mass., not professed abolitionists, and was based on economic grounds, affirming that the revenues of one section were drained to "sustain the views and course of another section, without adequate return." It is instructive to note the tone of the southerners at this time; they who had threatened disunion whenever the encroachments of the slave power seemed likely to be re-

\*Life. By James Platt, F.R.S. Authorized American edition, reprinted from the twenty-first English edition. 16mo., pp. 318. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1889.  
Human Life; or, The Course of Time, as Seen in the Open Light. By Caleb S. Weeks. Pp. 359. New York: Samuel C. W. Byington & Co. 1889.

sisted; they who did secede later on the election of a president opposed to the extension of that power, could now hardly find words strong enough in which to declare the sacredness of the Union, and to condemn those who suggested its dissolution. Nor was this inconsistent; a northern proposal of disunion was *deadly to slavery*. The Liberator soon hoisted its flag in the shape of this declaration: "A repeal of the union between northern liberty and southern slavery is essential to the abolition of the one and the preservation of the other." The threatened annexation of Texas and the attempt to censure Mr. Adams strengthened the no-union sentiment of the north. In 1843 the Massachusetts society passed this resolution, written by Mr. Garrison and afterward substituted for the less pungent declaration given above: "Resolved, That the compact which exists between the north and the south is a 'covenant with death and an agreement with hell'—involving both parties in atrocious criminality—and should be immediately annulled." The doctrine of "no union with slave holders" had been earnestly discussed in all the anti-slavery meetings of the year before, though not always formulated in resolutions. In a couple of years, however, all had fallen into line. As this position of the abolitionists has been more misunderstood and misrepresented than any other, it has been clearly set forth in volume three of this book by copious extracts from editorials, resolutions and official utterances. The liberty (third) party assumed the anti-slavery nature of the constitution and supported the doctrine by a sophistical course of reasoning. The Garrisonians averred its pro-slavery character practically and historically, and in consequence the necessity of a peaceful dissolution of a union based on an immoral compact; and a refusal, on the part of true abolitionists, in the meantime, to take an oath in support of that constitution or to vote for one who must do so. So "they alone of all the population of the United States had washed their hands of slavery historically and in time present."

In 1845 Mr. Garrison took part in the various conventions called by "conscience whigs" to protest against the admission of Texas and consequent extension of the slave power. In vain he labored to hold them to his standard of "no union with slaveholders," the only logical ground for opponents to stand on. In the last days of the Tyler administration, senate and house agreed upon the joint resolution prescribing the terms for the admission of Texas, and before the year was out admission was an accomplished fact. The abolitionists rightly judged that the slave power, grown over-confident in its dreams of southern expansion, had taken another step toward its own destruction. Not so the majority of their countrymen. The triumph of our arms blinded the nation to the shame of the Mexican war. Robert C. Winthrop had said, "Our country—however bounded;" and Daniel Webster had followed with "I am for the constitution as our fathers left it to us, and standing by it and dying by it." The liberty party indorsed the war.

In 1846, Mr. Garrison undertook a third mission to England, principally to aid the Scotch anti-slavery men in forcing the leaders of the Free Church to send back the \$20,000 which their agents had collected in the southern states as the reward of their discreet silence on the subject of slavery. But other work lay ready to his hand, and his four months abroad were very busy ones. In 1847 he made his first western tour, often speaking three times a day in the open air to audiences numbering four or five thousand.

The year 1848 opened with an anti-Sabbath convention; the list of signers to the call had a decidedly anti-slavery complexion, which can be easily accounted for by these words of the Rev. S. J. May: "The infidelity of the anti-slavery movement consists of this simple thing, that it has overlooked the churches of the land in the practical application of Christianity to the wants, wrongs and op-

pressions of our own age and our own country." In the summer Mr. Garrison welcomed the free soil party as evidence that "the anti-slavery agitation is spreading among all classes at the north." "As for the issue that is presented—free territory—it is weaker than the spider's web; a single breath of the slave power will blow it away. . . . Every other movement except that of a DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION will be laughed at by the south." In this new political body, the liberty party was merged. In congress this year and the next the admission of Oregon with its prohibition of slavery; the question whether California and that vast tract known as New Mexico should be admitted as free territories; whether the Missouri compromise line should be extended to the Pacific; whether the slave trade should be abolished in the District, caused acrimonious debate, and the increasing numbers of fugitive slaves whose return was blocked by the "personal liberty laws," passed at the instance of the abolitionists by most of the northern states, kept the south fretful and heated. A lull in the series of stirring events which marked the progress of the abolition movement permits us to allude to Mr. Garrison's daily work. Writing, talking—no small part of his duties—speaking, making up his paper, drafting resolutions, drawing up petitions, preparing addresses, often in the lecture field, always on the business committees of anti-slavery meetings, president of the American society, head of the Massachusetts board, planning the attack, leading the assault, general and soldier—we wonder when Mr. Garrison found time for his serious illnesses, and where he got the strength to survive them; we wonder how he retained his benignity of aspect, his serenity of mind and gentleness of manner.

That "year of compromise, reaction and violence," 1850, saw northern subservieney to the slave power increase under the leadership of Webster and Clay, and show itself in mobocratic interruption of anti-slavery meetings; saw the death of Taylor and the unhesitating signature of the fugitive slave bill by his successor, Millard Fillmore, the northern "doughface;" saw the consequent flight of terrified negroes over our northern border; the activity of kidnappers and, inevitable accompaniment, the firm determination on the part of the "saving remnant" of the north to disobey the new man-made law in obedience to the "higher law" of conscience and humanity. These opposing forces found their most marked expression at the May meeting in New York when a mob of bullies, incited by the incendiary language of that "truly Satanic Scotchman, James Gordon Bennett," in the Herald, and by the equally ruffianly invocations of the Globe, and led by Isaiah Rynders, "a blackleg and a bravo," interrupted the proceedings by yells and imprecations and threats of violence. The righteous indignation of the reader is apt to be overcome by his amusement at the complete moral triumph of the abolitionists on the first day; their calm good breeding, tact and wit turned the tables completely on their brutal adversaries. The speeches of Frederick Douglass and the Rev. Samuel R. Ward, a large man "so black that when he shut his eyes you couldn't see him," as Wendell Phillips said, demonstrated alike the humanity and the capacity of the negro and gave the lie direct to the statement of the mobocratic spokesman that the black man was not a human being, but belonged to the monkey tribe. This picture of Mr. Garrison, from the pen of Dr. Furness, must close our allusion to one of the most interesting scenes described in these volumes. "The close of Mr. Garrison's address brought down Rynders again, who vociferated and harangued, at one time on the platform, and then pushing down into the aisle like a madman followed by his keepers. Through the whole nothing could be more patient and serene than the bearing of Mr. Garrison. I have always revered Mr. Garrison for his devoted, uncompromising fidelity to his great cause. To-day I

was touched to the heart by his calm and gentle manners. There was no agitation, no scorn, no heat, but the quietness of a man engaged in simple duties." Though warned, the police did nothing to protect the abolitionists in exercising the right of free speech, and neither on the days following nor for two years after was it possible to hold the annual meeting in New York. Passing over the meetings in protest of the fugitive slave law, the arrival of George Thompson and the welcome given him by the Boston mob, the formation of vigilance committees to protect colored citizens and fugitive slaves, we come to a scene in pleasing contrast to the Rynders mob. This was the soiree in Boston on January 24, 1851, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Liberator. It is impossible to choose a sentence from the speeches for quotation, when all are so fine. He who has followed Mr. Garrison thus far in his noble career must sympathize with every word of Mr. Thompson's tribute to his friend, must feel himself in accord with the affirmative cry of the audience to the question of the eloquent orator, if Mr. Garrison had demonstrated by his deeds the truth of his declaration: "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

The blood of liberty loving citizens was kept seething in their veins by the fast recurring inhuman fugitive slave cases of this dreadful year. In Boston it reached fever heat when poor Simms was sent back into bondage by the aid of Massachusetts officials, Massachusetts police and militia, a United States vessel and United States money. Shortly before this the rescue of a negro in Boston, Shadrach by name, seemed to the president an occasion grave enough for a proclamation. A hundred northern white men, thousands of colored seamen from the north had been deprived of their liberty, and outrageously ill-treated in southern states, and official state commissioners (Messrs. Hoar and Hubbard), sent to those states to test the constitutionality of such atrocious acts, were driven away by lawless violence—and who cared? Yet, "a poor, hunted, entrapped fugitive slave is dexterously removed from the court room and the whole land is shaken!" wrote Mr. Garrison. In the political field the year 1852 marks a complete surrender to the slave power all along the line. The two great parties bid shamelessly by promises of support to the compromises, including the fugitive slave law, for the favor of the south, which "emphatically elected for her perfect service the democratic party." The year 1853, a memorable and restless year in Mr. Garrison's life, with its dozen conventions, including the Bible convention, which gave the finishing touch to the satisfaction of his clerical enemies, need not delay our consideration of the exciting events of 1854, the passage of the Nebraska bill, "against the strongest popular remonstrances, against an unprecedented demonstration of religious sentiment, against the laws of God and the rights of universal man, in subversion of plighted faith, in utter disregard of the scorn of the world, and for purposes as diabolical as can be conceived of or consummated here on earth," to use Mr. Garrison's language, and its consequences, the Kansas troubles, the real beginning of the civil war. The bill breaking the pledges given by the south in the Missouri compromise, opened a tract of about 400,000 square miles to slavery. Emigrants, aided by organized societies in New England, and others in greater numbers from the northwest, tried to hold the tract for freedom. "Border ruffians" from Missouri invaded the territory and cast votes in wild excess of the whole voting population against them. Rival legislatures were elected, rival constitutions were adopted, the illegal and pro-slavery receiving the support of the national government. Governor Reeder, elected governor during a bloody struggle of years. Emigrant aid societies furnished settlers with rifles, but

Mr. Garrison and his followers held to their non-resistant faith. The south in its delirium talked of reopening the slave trade. Meantime it seemed to many whigs and democrats of the north, that the slave power by overstepping 30 deg., 30 min. north latitude had absolved them from their own pledges. In the disintegration of parties which followed the "know nothings" had a brief lease of power, and we see the beginnings of the republican party in Ohio. The gloom of '54, deepened temporarily in Boston by the rendition of Anthony Burns during a week of greater excitement than had been known since the revolution, and in the north generally by the conviction that slavery would finally sever the Union, was lightened in '55 by various instances of anti-slavery resistance; notably by the address of the Massachusetts legislature to the governor, praying for the removal of Judge Loring for having, as United States commissioner, sent Anthony Burns back into bondage; and for the passage later of a very stringent personal liberty act, both in response to petitions of abolitionists. The most interesting occasion of the year to Mr. Garrison was the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Boston mob, in the very hall from which the Boston female anti-slavery society had been expelled. Mr. Garrison spoke with good cheer of the contrast between 1835 and 1855, finding "all the signs of the times encouraging." These signs multiplied in 1856; the republican party entered the field with a presidential candidate on a no-extension to slavery platform, and might have elected him had it not been for the idolatry of the north for the Union, which, since the meeting of the constitutional convention, had induced her to retreat before every encroachment of the slave power, and which, four years later, drove her to make a stand. Wanton bloodshed in Kansas and the cowardly attack of Preston Brooks upon Mr. Sumner in the senate as he sat defenseless, pinned down by his desk, helped to stiffen the backbone of the "free society" of the north, described by one southern paper as "but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists." In the chapter bearing the caption of "Fremont" long extracts are given from Mr. Garrison's writings at this time that we may thoroughly understand his position, as always a logical one founded on the Christian ethics. Never did man square his practice with his preaching more exactly than Mr. Garrison; in private as in public his life was in perfect harmony. We find him at this time, as often before, preaching true Christianity to clergymen and arousing the hatred of men by his strict adhesion to principles. Writing of the duty of abolitionists at that crisis, he said: "We are to see to it that we make no truce with slavery, either directly or by implication; that we give it no religious or political sanction;" at the same time he admitted that the "republican party embodied the whole political anti-slavery strength of the country—the legitimate product of the moral agitation of the subject of slavery for the last quarter of a century—" and that its success as against the parties of Buchanan and Fillmore would be a cheering sign of the times.

SARAH MIFFLIN GAY.

#### NEW YORK IN THE CIVIL WAR.

Thomas S. Townsend tells in a volume of 400 pages the story of New York's share in preserving the union (1). The narrative occupies twenty chapters and is followed by three appendices, which occupy more than half the book. Appendix I gives an alphabetical list of officers and privates in New York regiments who distinguished themselves in the civil war, with a brief sketch of their services. Appendix II gives sketches of New York militia regiments that took part in the war. Appendix III gives an alphabetical list of commissioned officers of the volunteer regiments of New York

(1) "The Heroes of the Empire State in the War of the Rebellion," by Thomas S. Townsend, commander of the Library of National Records, New York: A. Lovell & Co., 5 East Fourteenth St. 1865. 75c.

who were killed or died from the effects of wounds received or diseases contracted in defense of the government during the civil war.

#### UNIVERSAL HISTORY IN VERSE.

"Annals of the Earth" (1) is an ambitious narrative partly in rhymed stanzas, but chiefly in blank verse, by C. L. Phifer. It is published in Chicago, and the printing is execrable. Mr. Phifer's rhymes suggest a bad imitation of Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, and his 7,000 lines of blank verse seldom suggest Milton. Mr. Phifer's volume displays a reverent spirit and a remarkable acquaintance with history, natural philosophy and mythology.

(1) "Annals of the Earth," by C. L. Phifer, author of "Voices," "Weather-Wisdom," "Zaphnath-Paneah," etc. Chicago, Ill.: American Publishers' Association, 1890.

#### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH—THE VARIOUS MEASURES BEFORE CONGRESS AND THE PROSPECT OF LEGISLATION—TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE POST OFFICE COMMITTEE—EMBARRASMENTS AND PERPLEXITIES OVER THE TARIFF BILL—A CONSTITUENT OF REPRESENTATIVE WILSON'S OF KENTUCKY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10.—Representative Taylor's postal telegraph bill introduced into the house this week is based on the English system. It provides that a board consisting of the secretary of state, secretary of war and the postmaster-general shall cause to be built, or shall buy lines of telegraph where such are needed. These government telegraphs shall be self-sustaining, the postmaster-general being required to so fix the rates that the earnings and expenses shall be as nearly equal as possible. Until experience shall indicate the proper charges the rate shall be for all telegrams sent over a single circuit or unbroken line of telegraph, without relay, and requiring but one operator at either end, without regard to distance, one cent for each word, counting the address and signature, but not the date. But no telegram so sent shall cost less than fifteen cents. For each additional circuit or relay, requiring an additional dispatcher and an additional receiver, an additional charge equal to that made for sending the same message over one circuit, without relay, shall be made. Mr. Taylor tells me that his bill contemplates that "single circuits" shall exist between each of the big cities, so that it will cost no more to send a dispatch from Washington to Chicago or from New York to San Francisco than it would to send the same message ten miles away. In this the principle would be the same as that observed in our letter charges, and would make a most favorable contrast to the charge now made by the Western Union company of forty-nine cents for ten words sent only five hundred miles. The plan also provides that stamps shall be used, as in our mail system. Mr. Taylor is very much in earnest about the necessity for a telegraph system, which, while cheap and reliable, shall not be controlled by individuals or corporations, but he is decidedly opposed to any make-believe scheme for leasing lines like that proposed by Postmaster-General Wanamaker. The postal telegraph should, he holds, become a permanent part of the postal system, and the government should own the full equipment necessary to take in this new business.

Representative Wade of Missouri, whose bill providing for the establishing of a government system, without reference to the lines existing, was noticed at the time of its introduction a week or two ago, is opposed to the Wanamaker bill for the same reason.

A bill introduced by Mr. Anderson of Kansas in December last, provides ten millions of dollars for the building and equipment of a telegraph system. This bill empowers the postmaster-general to establish three main lines of telegraph with branches, the northern line to extend from Bangor, Maine, to St. Paul, Minnesota, the central line to extend from New York city to Topeka, Kansas, and the southern line to extend from Baltimore, Maryland, to San Antonio, Texas—there being shoots from each of these lines leading off to the other important cities. The wires of a main or branch line may, however, be connected with the wires of any railroad or telegraph company which has received a grant of public land or of the credit or bonds of the United States, or with the wires of any telegraph company which accepts the provisions of an act entitled "An act to aid in the construction of telegraph lines and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military and other purposes." Compensation for the use of such lines is duly provided for. The rates for the transmission of messages by the Morse meth-

od shall be thirty cents for each ten words or less, exclusive of address or signature, and three cents for each additional word. But in the event that the fac simile process of transmission shall be used the unit of charge for a given letter or note telegraphic sheet shall not exceed fifty cents for the former and thirty cents for the latter.

It is too early yet to say what will come of these bills. I have seen Mr. Wade and Mr. Taylor and both are uncertain as to how many adherents their measures would find were they to be reported to the house. They both seem confident, however, that some kind of a bill will be passed this session. The house committee on post office and post roads is holding hearings every Tuesday and Friday and receiving statements, which, however, have special reference to the Wanamaker bill which authorizes the postmaster-general to "enter into a contract with responsible parties to connect a certain number of post offices with each other for telegraphic purposes by leased wires and instruments, to be operated by post office employees, to carry messages for the government and for the people." Of all the testimony presented perhaps the most interesting was that given by Dr. Norvin Green, president of the Western Union telegraph company. His apprehension that congress was about to enter as an all-powerful competitor, and thus destroy the monopoly which his company enjoys was apparent from the weak and silly objections he made to the Wanamaker bill. He raised the points of inexperience, unreliability, want of promptness and expense, all of which are met, without looking further, in the economy and efficiency of the post office system. Mr. D. H. Bates of New York said he represented a company of responsible gentlemen who were prepared to build and maintain telegraph lines proposed in the Wanamaker bill, provided the rates were increased so as to admit of reasonable profit to the company. Such an arrangement would on the face of it be exceedingly bad, for, as Mr. Bates stated, this company would expect to do a large business outside of the public postal service. Having the great government contract to sustain it, it could enter the field for independent business and reduce rates until it had crushed out all competition. Mr. Ralph Beaumont, chairman of the legislative committee of the Knights of Labor, in his address before the committee made the all sufficient answer to this in declaring that the government was abundantly able to purchase, maintain and operate the whole telegraph plant without furnishing business opportunities for anybody else.

Representative Hopkins of Illinois, a member of the post office committee, says the indications are that the committee will present to the house the Wanamaker bill with some modifications. He was unable to say when the report would be made, as much work is yet before the committee. He said he personally favored the Wanamaker bill, as it subjected the government to small expense and no risk to try the experiment of a postal telegraph, and he made special reference to the point that the postmaster-general's plan would apply at first to only 400 cities. The necessity for an experimental stage was said to be necessary before we could have ballot reform, too, when it was only necessary to look across the sea at England to learn of its complete success. And likewise the timid ones now have only to turn their eyes toward the British islands to see a practical demonstration of the efficiency and economy of the postal telegraph system, owned and operated by the government.

For some reason or other things have come to a standstill in the committee on ways and means. It is more than a supposition that Mr. McKinley and his co-workers are in some secluded spot wrestling with the sugar schedule. Mr. Carlisle and the other democratic members of the committee sit in unconcerned tranquility, knowing that delay only brings the protective issue, sharp and clear, closer to the congressional election campaign of this summer and fall. The belief gathers ground that the tariff will be increased, and very materially. There may be a cut in sugar, especially as this would give something to the countries taking part in the Pan-American conference, some of the delegates to which are said to be much disappointed at the small performance of the United States in the matter of freeing trade relations. Reductions may also be made in a few things where internal competition has reduced prices, and several additions may be made to the free list, but, with these exceptions, it seems probable that the tariff will go up all along the line. Now that it has come to a matter of legislation the "grand old party" appears to pull seven ways on the tariff issue. As a southern member of the house said to me, there are some republicans here who are like ducks on

a southern lake, swimming placidly along unconscious of the alligator underneath. But there are not a few like Allison and Butterworth who see the rapid change in the popular mind and are hedging. Senator Allison's repudiation of his own high tariff bill of two years ago, and Major Butterworth's open advocacy of free trade relations with Canada, are making a good deal of embarrassment, and must have added to Mr. McKinley's perplexities in no small degree. A sign of the times is an interview with Colonel Joseph K. Rickey of Missouri, telegraphed from New York to the Washington Post, in which he depicts the desperate condition of the farmers of his state, and tells of their emphatic demand through their alliances for "absolute free trade," among other things. This interview has drawn a good deal of attention, and must have an encouraging effect upon democratic congressmen.

The case of Representative Wilson of Kentucky shows that the congressman's life is not altogether one of pleasure. Mr. Wilson recently received a letter from one of his constituents, who said he had made an engagement to deliver an address, but found that he would not have time to prepare it. He therefore wished Mr. Wilson to write it for him. The subject was, "The Beauties of Nature," and the correspondent hoped Mr. Wilson would make the address "sensational and deep!"

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

#### OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

EVERYBODY PLEASED WITH THE PARNELL COMMISSION'S REPORT—SOCIALISM, THE SINGLE TAX AND ENGLISH LIBERALS.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, March 1.—Circumstances of a private character have occasioned the suspension of my usual letter for the last week or two. Happily, however, nothing of capital importance has occurred since the date of my last letter. True, parliament has opened, and has been going on for nearly a fortnight; but for all that has been done, the members of the house of commons might just as well have postponed their appearance at Westminster. All the talk is not about what this session is going to produce in the way of legislation, but about when the government will appeal to the country. For my own part, I should not be surprised at anything. Really the most notable event connected with parliament is the death of Mr. J. S. Biggar. The honorable member will be greatly missed. He was pure good nature. He was loyal to his party, and was trusted more than is common. Quite lately he was disposed to view the idea of taxing land values with favor, and at the recent meeting of the national liberal federation at Manchester, at which he was present, he voted in favor of the resolution to which I have previously referred as committing the liberal party to the principle of the single tax.

It is also true that the report of the special commission has been issued—but if the judges had deliberately agreed to present a report which should please everybody they could not have succeeded more perfectly. The report is exactly what I told you it would be. The Irish members are acquitted of any complicity in crime, but the land league is condemned all round. Certain members are condemned for having formed the land league for the purpose of overthrowing the English connection through the destruction of the landlord garrison, and among these is William O'Brien, who had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the land league and only joined it in the last few weeks of its existence. Everybody is pleased. The Tories profess that they are glad Parnell and his friends are acquitted on the more serious counts. One doesn't believe them, for the Tories as a party are unworthy of credence. The liberals claim the report as a victory for them, and dwell on the facts that while the Parnellites are acquitted on the more serious charges, those upon which they are condemned are only such as they were well known to be guilty of when they were in alliance with the Tories. The whole affair may be dismissed. It will be made a stalking horse for a long time. But the main fact is that the liberal party remains unaffected by it.

There are troubles in the party, however, and they have a close relation to our question. The socialists are a distinctly growing power. The recent German elections and the proposed labor conference combine to strengthen the feeling in the minds of many workers that there is something in socialism. And the liberal leaders will not see that their choice is between socialism and the single tax. They appear to be inclined to oppose the former while they are not prepared to adopt the latter openly and frankly, notwithstanding that they accepted the principle at Manchester. This hesitation on the part of the

front bench shows itself in curious ways. It leads to a row in the Star office. T. P. O'Connor wants to run the Star on purely average Gladstonian lines. The acting editor, Mr. Maningham, will not agree to this and resigns. A private correspondent tells me: "There is a quarrel going on in the party of which this is a part and symptom. John Morley is our great enemy. He is for opportunism, and has got T. P. in his clutches."

My own fear is that we shall have an election too soon. If we had one now we should win on the Irish question, but we should not be as far forward as I should like on the English social question, of which the single tax is the solution. I must be brief this week, but will write more at length in a few days.

HAROLD RYLETT.

#### LAND MONOPOLY IN JAPAN.

THE FLOWERY KINGDOM JUST LIKE THE REST OF THE WORLD—MISERY OF THE CLASSES.

SHONAI, Yamagata Kan, Japan, Jan. 29.—I first read of the single tax movement in that great religious journal, the Christian Commonwealth of London, and a few months since I bought in Tokio "Progress and Poverty" at a price twenty-five per cent cheaper than its price in America, and read it with the intense interest. Since that time the single tax has occupied most of my thought day and night and my great desire is to see it put into operation at once.

As I have had nearly seven years of intimate relations with the Japanese, being a Christian missionary, I think perhaps some facts about them may be of interest to your readers. I have tried to start a single tax discussion in Japan by writing to the greatest paper in English, and also a letter setting forth the main principles in Japanese to a famous journal. That wages tend to the starvation line I have no doubt. The Japanese are famous for having reduced their living to the proverbial "one straw a day." They eat rice and radishes with but little else, though many a poor man is happy to get a piece of fox, dog, otter or crow meat to help him out. They have a salty preparation of wheat that "goes a long ways." Their clothing and houses are alike economical. They wear thin cotton clothing next the skin and straw overcoats. A pair of sandals cost from three to eight-tenths of a cent. Their floors are covered with mats, on which they sit, eat and sleep. Of furniture they have almost none. For fire they use charcoal the year around. A coal buried in the ashes will last a long time. The houses are largely roofed with straw and the sides are largely paper.

I have been all over North Japan, and there is a great deal of good wild land. The great northern island of the empire called Ezo is about the size of Ireland, very rich in soil and with a good climate, yet the government only got enough people there to hold it because they feared Russia would take possession. It is to-day a howling wilderness.

The wages of the lower classes are just enough to keep them hanging on to the starvation line "by the skin of their teeth." The least misfortune takes them off by the thousands. Yet a Japanese official has been heard to say the cholera is a thing to be thankful for, it carries off "lots of rubbish." Here in the interior a coolie can be hired by foreigners at thirteen cents a day for only one day at a time. But if a man can get six or eight cents a day from his Japanese master he is happy.

A young man goes out as an apprentice; works at a trade for seven years on poor food and clothing; then gets about thirty or forty dollars with which to start in business for himself. Workers of America, think of supporting a family of four or five on three or four dollars a month and being rather proud of one's position in society? Most of the people are not educated up to being discontented. They hide their sorrows and die.

Is it to be wondered at that they believe there is no God? Is it surprising that the gospel makes such slow progress. The strength and glory of the gospel of Christ is shown that it can stand and coexist with such an all-pervading evil as the land monopoly and Christian divisions. The perfect day for the church is coming, but this great wrong must be righted first. Then God's mercy will shine man's inhumanity out of existence, and God's goodness will be an axiom among men. May God bless THE STANDARD in the noble duty it fulfills.

CHARLES E. GARST.

#### NOTES AND QUERIES.

Macon, Ga.—Although a land holder myself, yet ever since reading "Progress and Poverty" and Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics," the common right of humanity to the earth has seemed to me a self-evident proposition; and though Mr. Spencer now

shows a desire to back down from the position taken by him in the greatest of his works, the arguments there put forward appear to me as unanswerable as ever. There is one difficulty, however, in the practical working of the proposed reform which, I confess, I cannot clearly see the way out of. It is this: Human nature being what it is—and even the most hopeful optimist cannot claim that it is perfect—I do not see how, under a system of unbridled individualism with its fierce competition, speculators are to be kept from inaugurating a sort of "sweating system" in land, which will bear harder upon the poor than our present system of landlordism. For instance, A, being a capitalist, or a politician, or other influential person, will secure a valuable lease from the government on easy terms. This he will sub-let at a handsome profit to B and C, who, in their turn, will let to D, E and F, and so on, down to the poor farmer, who will thus be little better off than a feudal serf.

Mr. Henry George has shown in the Arena for January that "legal restrictions (and by legal restrictions, I take him to mean taxation) on any branch of business will introduce into politics a special element which will exert power proportioned to the pecuniary interests involved;" and can we hope that, when land becomes the only commodity thus restricted, it will escape the cupidity of the speculators and oppressors that are bred by the cruel struggles of a competitive individualism? E. F. A.

You have stated a possible danger of land nationalization. In the single tax movement the term "land nationalization" has been frequently used approvingly, but such use of the term relates to the essence and not to the form of the proposed change.

One of the reasons for adopting the single tax as the mode of restoring their natural rights to the people is that it avoids the very dangers you fear. We do not propose that the nation, nor even the state or the city, shall lease land. What we propose is that the existing form of ownership shall continue, but only as a form. In substance, it will be private possession as distinguished from private ownership. Private possession gives rise to economic rent, which is greater or less according to the degree in which the land to which it attaches is more desirable than the best land that has no possessor. This rent offers a basis of taxation which will compel the citizen to pay taxes according to the value of his privilege. Such a tax could not be added to the price of any product nor deducted from the value of any labor. Nor could it be evaded either by favoritism or corruption because the value of land is known to the whole community, and if there were but one tax, the tax of everybody would also be known to the whole community, and it would be easy for every taxpayer to learn whether he was fairly treated.

There would be no restriction upon land, as you seem to suppose. The single tax would do nothing but take from the possessors of scarce land the difference in value between it and the best land which was not possessed.

When good men's eyes and hearts are opened to the justice of our principle of taxing land values, it becomes a hard task for them to contain themselves. They would assert themselves but for the surrounding conditions. Here is a case in point—an extract from a letter sent to a friend in this city by a well known rabbi in a western state. THE STANDARD is permitted to print it on the condition that neither name nor state is mentioned: "You must not urge me so strongly to take hold of the tax problem of the day. If I take hold of it at all I will do so with all my might, and then there will be a crisis in my career. I cannot afford yet to step down from the pulpit and to sacrifice everything I am working for. Later on, if opportunity will present itself, I will not care for myself, but will work for the common cause. My wife, too, will work with me."

The Knights of Labor of this country number about 275,000 members in good standing. The American federation of labor claims 600,000, though that claim can be considered vapory. But admitting that it has that membership, the two great labor organizations of this country have under their control 875,000 working people. Frank Pixley of the San Francisco Argonaut claims that at this time there are in the United States not less than 1,000,000 workmen in enforced idleness—that is, unemployed, willing to work, but not able to get it. Investigation would, without doubt, reveal many thousands more than Mr. Pixley's estimate. But, accepting his figures, it seems that there are 135,000 more unemployed throughout the United States than there are members in both the great labor organizations. There is food for reflection in these figures for the eight hour advocates.

The gaslight, coke, natural gas and electric lighting companies of Indianapolis have been sold to an eastern syndicate, under the ownership of which all are consolidated, with the exception of the Consumers' natural gas company. The total amount paid for the

companies is \$4,000,000, of which one-half goes to the gaslighting and coke company. Among those interested in the purchase are Baron Jearmanowskie of Amsterdam, Henry J. Davidson, Charles F. Dietrich and E. C. Benedict of New York. Indianapolis is the city that has been urged by its most influential newspaper to grant no long term street car franchise, and exact from corporations enjoying monopoly privileges the highest obtainable rental.

"The Industrial Depression in New Zealand, Its Cause and Its Only Cure," is the title of an address delivered before the Auckland knights in January last by H. W. Farnall. The address has been issued in pamphlet form and sent to THE STANDARD. It shows that New Zealand, one of the youngest of organized communities, is suffering from land monopoly. Mr. Farnall's remedy is the single tax. He says: "It must not be supposed that the founders of the laws and institutions of this colony started on their work entirely unassisted. This was not so; in the year 1844, a committee of the house of commons was appointed to take the affairs of New Zealand into consideration, and make suggestions as to the course she should steer. Some of Britain's ablest statesmen were on this committee; they sat for a long time and examined a host of witnesses; the report of the proceedings occupies a very bulky volume, but in their report they make a great point of one thing, and this they most earnestly impressed upon the English parliament and those engaged in framing our institutions; that was, that before all else a land tax should be at once imposed. The committee points out that unless this be done precisely what we see before our eyes in this year of jubilee would happen. The whole country would be monopolized by a few in large estates, bona fide settlement would stagnate, and the masses would be pauperized. It seems rather a singular thing that a committee of Englishmen, chiefly land owners, who it is to be supposed fully realized the comfortable position that they themselves were in through land monopoly, should have strongly warned this colony against the same thing. But they did so in the most emphatic manner, though nothing came of it. I claim that the neglect to impose this land tax was one of the main causes of the trouble from which we have for years been suffering, and from which we shall continue to suffer and go from bad to worse until such a tax is imposed."

Many representatives of the rubber trade met in this city several days last week and reached some sort of a compact which they say is not a trust. The price of rubber goods, however, will be advanced twenty per cent all along the line, to meet the advance in the price of crude rubber.

According to the daily papers, Newark manufacturers seek to form a combination with a capital of \$50,000,000 to control and extend the export trade in American manufactures with all parts of the world. Doubtless many of these gentlemen are friends of the tariff, which is a combination to control and restrict the trade in American products with all parts of the world.

"The Coming Tax Reform, a Concise Statement of Its Principles and Advantages," is the title of a pamphlet by Walter I. Webber of Sharon, Mass. Of course the reform is the single tax, and Mr. Webber's pamphlet is a discussion of its justice, advantage and necessity.

Out in Kansas the Knights of Labor, the Farmers' alliance and several minor organizations of farmers have combined, not to form a party, but to hold the balance of power and thus bring pressure to bear upon political parties.

St. John's guild, whose business is to aid the poor of this city in various ways, has issued its twenty-third annual report. The guild maintains a seaside hospital for children and provides fresh air excursions on its "floating hospital." Nearly 400,000 persons took part in last year's excursions.

The managers of the New York eye and ear infirmary will lay the corner stone of the institution's new building at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon next. The new building will be erected at the corner of Second avenue and Thirteenth street. Bishop Potter will make a prayer at the corner stone laying, Mr. Depew will preside and George William Curtis will make the principal address.

The Knights of Labor and the Farmers' alliance of New Jersey have formed a joint organization to be called the Industrial senate, whose object shall be to better the condition of wage earners and tillers of the

soil. Every assembly district in the state was represented at the meeting for organization, and although the representation of the Farmers' alliance was small letters were read from gauges throughout the state approving of the scheme.

The Neighborhood guild of Forsythe street gave a reception an evening last week, and explained its method of work to many interested visitors. The guild is not a charity in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but is organized for the purpose of aiding the tenement house dwellers by advice, instruction and sympathy. Several young men of education live the year round at the guild's headquarters in the heart of the east side tenement district. The guild is in need of money to carry on its work.

Frederick Roberts wanted work. He hunted for it in the ordinary manner, until reduced to the extreme depths of poverty. Then, to add to his trouble his wife was taken severely ill. He became desperate, and one evening last week he said to her, "I'll try to find work by other means; and if that fails God knows what will become of us." The following day he walked along Broadway, with a pasteboard sign, which extended almost to the sidewalk, fastened by cord around his neck, on which the passer-by could read:

I am not Bret Harte, Bill Nye or Berry Wall, nor am I George Francis Train or Nellie Bly's brother. I am simply a married man, a street railroad employe (by request) who has used every means to find employment. I am an earnest worker, and I am willing to go at anything. Please do not stare at me, as I am very modest. Yours truly, THE SANDWICH.

The people who stared at him saw a tall, well-dressed young man with pinched features. A crowd gathered round him, perhaps marveling at his method of trying to get a job. A policeman saw him, and also saw that the sign he carried was the cause of the crowd that was blocking the sidewalk, so he took Frederick Roberts to jail, charged him with disorderly conduct, and locked him up. And thus the majesty of the law has again been vindicated, and poverty, in the person of Frederick Roberts, no longer stalks abroad.

Just before his death John Jacob Astor closed negotiations for the five vacant lots on the northeast corner of Fifty-ninth street and Fifth avenue. The price he promised to pay was \$300,000. The title will pass on April 1, and the contract will be completed by William Waldorf Astor. The Tribune says that the lots "will remain idle until they can be rented on leasehold at a good interest on the purchase price."

It is so frequently asserted that a tax upon land values alone would not suffice for public revenues, that it is pleasant to find argument to the contrary in a paper which uses its influence against us. The San Francisco Chronicle is one of the great papers opposed to the single tax, and here is one of the reasons for its opposition:

The immediate effect of this [the adoption of the single tax] would be to pour into the [public] treasury a sum so great that communism would inevitably follow, unless the authorities, by extravagance, should prove equal to the task of getting rid of the hoards. We see no escape from such an outcome.

Pittsburg has a liberal city council. At one meeting, held February 27, the right to use the streets was given away to ten surface railroad companies. The franchise covers almost every street in every direction from the heart of the city to the suburbs, amounting to some eighty miles of road in all. It is estimated the franchises are worth, as a total, \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000.

J. H. Wells of Brooklyn sends THE STANDARD a copy of a small circular, which is being generally distributed by single tax men across the river, containing what will be news to the average citizen. It is as follows:

THE LAW OF NEW YORK STATE is that all estate, both real and personal, shall be estimated by the assessors at its full value. Yet vacant lots are only assessed one-half as much as improved property of the same selling value. To tax them as the law requires would promote improvements, raise wages and reduce rent. Besides that, IT WOULD BE RIGHT.

Jared G. Smith, assistant agriculturalist of the agricultural experiment station of Nebraska, writes the following interesting letter, inclosing a signed petition, to the single tax enrolment committee:

I inclose this blank form which came to me through one of the men in our employ. I fully indorse the sentiments expressed, especially in regard to absolute free trade, and the non-tining of industry by taxation on improvements and commodities. I believe that all wealth is the product of manual, physical labor applied to land, and that every man is entitled to the wealth that he pro-

duces. Strike out taxes on labor and you will solve the labor problem. Prevent speculation in land values; do away with governmental robbery of the many for the benefit of the few; place in the hands of the many (the government) all enterprises in which there can be no competition; make it impossible for a man who does not produce anything to live; give us protection for the farmer and the mechanic instead of for the millionaire and the capitalist. If single tax will do that, then put me down as an advocate of "tax on land values."

The Kansas City Star, in its issue of February 19, prints in its editorial page, in full, the single tax platform as it appears in THE STANDARD. The Star prints it for the information of its readers.

The Forum Extra, whose first issue is for March, 1890, will be put forth monthly, and will contain "short studies of living problems," reprinted from various numbers of the Forum. The first issue contains articles by Senators Hampton and Morgan on the race problem in the south.

Miss Cora Dreisbach of Frankfort, Dak., expresses the opinion that it would have been a very good thing for Robinson Crusoe to have had a high tariff raised by protection or otherwise against liquor. We fail to see why, as we cannot remember that Mr. Crusoe ever got drunk. Miss Dreisbach asks what barrier could be any more effectual than prohibition. We might ask our correspondent what barrier could be any less effective, judging from the results of prohibition in the states where it has been enacted. A much more effective barrier, good under all conditions, would be the indisposition to get drunk. Miss Dreisbach asks us to bear in mind that prohibition can be as well enforced as any other law or regulation, but unhappily we cannot bear in mind that which experience has shown is not true. We are free to admit that the people who believe that appetites can be curbed and regulated by statute law are more logical in proposing prohibition than in fighting for high license, but we have no faith whatever in the effectiveness of law for such a purpose.

The new tory land bill for Ireland provides for state-aided emigration and abolishes the land courts and land commission.

#### THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

What a thunder of drums! what a glitter of arms!  
Where files the procession in shimmering lists;  
What a pageant! as onward and out through the mists  
Of the streets they advance mid the bugles' alarms.  
We know that the throne, and the harp, and the lance  
That redden in mist all the glare and the bloom  
Are but parcel and piece from the property room,  
And yet how the glare and the glitter enchants.  
Men drunk with the pageant move on, and the pave  
Resounds with the clattering hoofs of the steeds,  
In their trappings of tinsel, and bugles and beads—  
Ah, me! and this knighthood is dead in its grave  
Several centuries gone—all its chivalry proud—  
And the lie is the only thing real. Do I grieve  
That the piece is a part of a child's make-believe,  
Just a palace of sand, just a castle of cloud?  
Ah, no! there's a darker shade over it all;  
It is this: that a wrong and a truth that will be  
Would out,  
Are unheard in the noise of the multitude's shout,  
And the drums beating down some babe's agonized call,  
The wail of some orphan, some widow's appeal;  
I tell you such music, if once understood,  
Would sweep London streets with a mightier flood  
Of humanity, full of a holier zeal.  
No pageant of chivalry dead in its grave,  
No tinsel of knighthood, no sweep of a sword,  
But the dawning to men of the face of their Lord;  
Of the Lord of a love that is mighty to save:  
Who shall whisper, "To-night there is death in the town,  
Death that is death, just because of your law!"  
This heard, then as near as could be without flaw,  
What a world would arise on the wreck of our own!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

## DR. CROSBY ON THE RUM POWER.

The Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, who is certainly not a friend of the single tax and hitherto has carefully abstained from any hint that he took other than the current conservative view of Mr. George, opens an article in the March Arena on rum and the rum power with this remarkable paragraph:

Henry George is a thoughtful man, a philanthropist and a most attractive writer. Those who oppose his views can but admire his honesty of purpose and frankness of expression. He is a sincere patriot, seeking the good of the country, and, instead of being the demagogue that some have proclaimed him, has always shown an independence of thought and action characteristic of the honest American. It is a pleasure to deal with such a true man even in the way of controversy. Mr. George, in his article in the Arena on the rum power, proposes what he thinks is the proper treatment of the giant evil. He treats the subject in his usual forceful and vigorous way, clear in thought and masterly in language.

This unexpected utterance, however, does not prevent Dr. Crosby from entering strong protest against Mr. George's article urging that the way to destroy the rum power is to remove the restrictions upon the sale of strong drink. Dr. Crosby insists that Mr. George is wrong in assuming that it is more important to destroy the political rum power than to destroy intemperance. He says there are two fallacies in this position; one is that any political tyranny is worse than moral death, and the other the failure to see that the destruction of intemperance would destroy the rum power. He believes that it were better to be dominated by the czar than by our personal lusts; that a country is better off with a virtuous population governed by a wicked oligarchy, than with a depraved population governed by just laws. Rum in the rulers is better than rum in the ruled, for the rulers are few and the ruled many. The best way to make moral reform in government is to make a moral community. If intemperance were eradicated, the rum power would be nowhere. Therefore the aim of abating intemperance is also an aim at the rum power. The legislation that can reduce the one must weaken the other.

Dr. Crosby cites Mr. George's objections to various restrictions upon trade, and reminds him that in the iron, cigar, match and whisky trades the combinations, which Mr. George deprecates, are to support the tax, but in the case of opium they are to avoid tax by smuggling. The effort in the first cases is for monopoly, but in the last it is against monopoly. In the first the endeavor is to use law for undue personal advantage, but in the last it is to break law. He also reminds Mr. George that everything gets into politics. Because education, religion, sanitary matters and public service get into politics, Mr. George would not abolish all legislation on these subjects. Where people break law, as in smuggling opium, the question is whether it is more expedient to continue the law and punish the smuggler, or, because detection is difficult, to alter the law and make opium free. But when people use the law, as in the restriction of the rum traffic, to build up monopolies and rings, the question is which is the more expedient, to continue the law and address ourselves to the checking of monopolies and rings, or to alter the law and allow rum to be free. Mr. George, says Dr. Crosby, advocates this latter method. He considers the whisky ring sufficient cause for abolishing the trade in ardent spirits. This Dr. Crosby thinks a most startling position. He says also that Mr. George's belief that cheap rum would weaken the treating habit, and the removal of restrictions would abolish saloons, seems so wild that one hardly knows how to reply to it. Dr. Crosby believes that if New York city had one thousand saloons instead of the six thousand eight hundred and eleven, although hardened drinkers would go on drinking, thousands of young men would escape temptation. With cheaper liquors the drunkard would treat more and be glad to get off with less expenditure. He thinks the idea that the removal of restrictions would abolish saloons "equally crazy." The result, in Dr. Crosby's opinion, would be the conversion of every grocery, confectionery and fruit store into a saloon. It is not the name "saloon," but the thing saloon, that we wish to destroy. In making free rum the means of destroying the whisky rings, we should be filling the land with drunkards in order to check a political cheque. The price is too fearful, thinks Dr. Crosby. He calls it Mr. George's "plan of national suicide."

Dr. Crosby then addresses himself to the problem of preventing monopoly under a stringent restrictive law. He recognizes that in reducing the number of saloons, the law would favor monopoly, but he accepts the danger. The liquor seller, under a high

license, would observe the law lest he lose his fee. Any tax or license fee makes monopolies to a greater or less extent. If Mr. George's single tax should be put on the land, only the rich could own the land, thinks Dr. Crosby. The rich would have a monopoly; they could afford to lose on land while they piled up their money from other sources. Of course these opinions of Dr. Crosby's throw a peculiar light upon his knowledge of the land problem.

The doctor rapidly outlines his plan for restraining monopolies under a restrictive liquor law. It is this: the interests of employees should be guarded by a system of law combining the ideas of co-operation and arbitration; cornering the market should be prevented by judicious limitations; purchase contracts for things not in existence should be void; combinations to raise prices should be made hazardous; conviction for any offense should forever incapacitate the monopolist for having a license; punishment for infraction of the law against monopolies should be severe.

Dr. Crosby dissents from the idea that intemperance results from the adulteration of liquor, and cites, in support of his dissent, the fact that samples of whisky taken from one hundred groceries in New York city were found pure save for a dilution of water. It is the expensive wines that are adulterated, and for these the low saloons have no sale. Dr. Crosby closes his article with the declaration that to destroy the whisky ring is not to destroy the rum power, and that to permit the social tyranny of the rum power to continue is to dig the grave of all American institutions.

## WESTERN MORTGAGES.

Professor Jas. Willis Gleed sets forth in the March Forum some instructive facts concerning western mortgages. His article relates generally to mortgages on real estate, lying west of the Mississippi river, and particularly to such mortgages in Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado. Five mortgage companies at Topeka report \$22,000,000 in outstanding mortgages, ninety per cent invested in Kansas. Five companies at Kansas City report \$68,000,000 outstanding, this amount being placed in a dozen western states.

Professor Gleed believes that these mortgages have played a highly important part in developing the west, and by way of proof he submits figures as to western growth that need not be quoted here. The western mortgage business was begun by individual brokers who invested for others. Their profit lay in the margin between the low interest capitalists would accept and the high interest borrowers would pay. The broker operated without capital. One of them in Kansas City has made nearly \$10,000,000 since 1870. Individual brokers have now given way to corporations. There are probably two hundred such corporations now operating in Nebraska and Kansas alone. The most profitable method pursued by these corporations is as follows:

Whatever the proceeds of the note and mortgage, the negotiator receives all the expense of making the loan in his commission. The negotiator sometimes receives as high as fifteen per cent commission on a five years' loan, and for many years one company never received less than ten per cent. The local agent exacted all he could above this amount. Another custom is to secure commission by notes and a second mortgage. This commission is payable in ten semi-annual instalments. On default in the payment of one instalment, the whole sum becomes due. Embodied in the note or mortgage are all conceivable provisions for the protection of the lender. On default in the payment of interest or in the performance of any of the agreements, the lender may declare the whole amount of principal and interest immediately due. Sometimes the first interest instalment is paid and the second defaulted. The company remits to the eastern investor and declares the whole debt due on account of the default. The borrower wishes to pay up and resume the loan, the company collects the amount of the defaulted interest, with interest compounded thereon, at the highest legal rate, and takes a further commission for reinstating or renewing the loan. The borrower who wishes to pay for his mortgages before it is due must pay something for the privilege. He is usually permitted to do it on payment of two per cent per annum for the unexpired time. Sometimes the security is so large that the investor is in no danger. In such a case should taxes be unpaid, the company may either redeem in behalf of the owner or buy at tax sale for itself. In the former case the amount paid for taxes will bear the highest legal rate of interest. In the latter

case such amounts will, under some statutes, bear interest at the rate of twenty-four per cent.

The eastern investor runs some risks because he must depend upon the judgment and honesty of others. Deliberate fraud is rare, but there are cases like this: A quarter section owner wishes to sell at \$500, having just obtained government title to his land. The agent of a loan company accepts on condition that he first execute to the company a mortgage for \$500 and then make a deed. The mortgage is sold in the east without guarantee. The manager of the company thus has title to the land subject to the mortgage, which he has not agreed to pay. He can thus profit by a rise in the land value without having invested a penny. This is called buying with a mortgage.

Another danger to investors is from "booms" do not last. Professor Gleed also quotes the local agent of a company who said to his employers: "In this matter please understand that I am a rascal. I want to make loans. Take care of yourself."

Professor Gleed declares that there are no more free lands fit for general agriculture. In June, 1880 there were 17,800,000 acres of arable government land. In June, 1883, there were only 5,000,000 acres of such land, and this has long since become private property. In a general way, land fit for agriculture can no longer be had from the federal government. Professor Gleed thinks that depression in agriculture and the low price of older farm lands are partly due to the fact that the east has been competing with the practically free arable lands of the public domain. This competition has ceased, and a rise in agricultural lands is inevitable. This fact is a protection to the investor in western lands. Other things that may tend to make safe loans originally invested without particular care are the general development of the west, the growth of mineral industries in Colorado, and the natural increase of population. Professor Gleed then gives some suggestions as to how investments in western mortgages may be safely made. The offer of an unusually high rate of interest is *prima facie* evidence of poor security, but not conclusive. In new and rapidly developing countries rates are often high and securities good. In a new country where land adapted to agriculture is being rapidly settled, unskilled laborers without capital, but with such opportunities to secure farms, can pay high rates of interest at least for a few years, and still profit by the operation. He warns against wild-cat companies, and also says that there is danger in the investor's taking the land, because good tenant farmers in the west are rare. The loan companies get rid of their land as fast as they can with a reasonable profit, because large holdings do not pay. He believes that farms are decreasing in size in Nebraska, Kansas, western Iowa, and Missouri. Good town property is more easily rented and cared for than farm property, but the most dangerous of all securities are lots in small towns and lots adjoining cities.

## IS THE NEGRO SURE OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE?

Albion W. Tourgee endeavors to show through an article in the March Forum that the post bellum amendments to the federal constitution do not make it incumbent upon the states to guarantee to the negro of the future through statutory or constitutional legislation the right to vote. Judge Tourgee discusses at considerable length the attitude of the federal constitution toward the elective franchise in the states and sums up his conclusions thus:

Until the outbreak of the war each state defined the right to vote, determined who should be entitled to exercise that right, in what manner and subject to what restrictions it should be exercised in all elections, national as well as state. The result was that the classes entitled to exercise the right to vote in the several states were as distinct and various as the soil and climate of these different subdivisions of our territory. In no two of the states were the conditions precisely the same, nor are they now. In thirteen of them, persons not citizens of the United States may even yet legally vote for congressmen and for electors of president and vice-president, as well as for state officers. The possession of specific property, the ability to read and write, and in one case good character, are among the various qualifications of those on whom alone the right to vote is conferred in different states.

Judge Tourgee then cites some of the important legislation upon the elective franchise, following the close of the civil war, and cites those parts of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which contain the phrase "right to vote." They are:

But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state being

twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

He insists that the clauses of the two amendments here cited do not confer upon any one the right to vote, and that one does recognize the power of the state to deny or abridge that right, and that it does not condition the denial or abridgment as to those not male citizens of the United States or for certain specific causes. He then inquires: "What is the right to vote? Is it a right attaching to citizens of the United States, as such, simply because of their citizenship? Does it mean a right that a citizen of the United States has to be made a voter or to be allowed to become a voter in any state on arriving at a certain age? Is there any such right inhering in one not an actual voter?" This last contains the heart of Judge Tourgee's contention. He admits that his view is not that taken by judicial writers, and that so far as he is aware it is accepted only by some professional friends. It is a view at war with his convictions as to the merits of the case, but he believes that there is nothing in the fourteenth or fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution to prevent a state from denying forever to the negro not yet of legal voting age the right to vote. He takes this view regretfully, but believes that when the precise point shall have been presented to a court of last resort it will be impossible to sustain the obiter dicta of the supreme court as to the scope of this amendment. He submits these views in the hope that they may serve to stimulate the conscience of a people professing justice to a fuller comprehension of the obligations resting upon them as the debtors of the most wronged race of which history gives us any knowledge.

## DR. HALE'S CONFUSED PHILOSOPHY.

Dr. Hale's "social problems" department in the Cosmopolitan for March is chiefly a glorification of the post office department. He regards the postal system as the universal educator, and finds in the fact that it works well for the federal government to create a monopoly for carrying printed matter at low rates a justification for the Blair education bill. He thinks this is fraternal, not paternal government, and says:

So soon as government ceases to be government from above, and is merely "the common sense of each" working out in universal law, we find a hundred such instances where the united strength of all men can do that which one man cannot do alone, and which is better done by the hands of all than by any selected number. When one says this in a constitution of government, or in an essay on government, everybody approves, and perhaps even skips the passage as commonplace; and when one does the thing, as it has been done in this matter of carrying the dictionaries and the magazines, it becomes matter of course so completely that nobody remembers that it is done at all. But when one proposes it as a new enterprise—as in my city of Boston they are proposing now that the city of Boston may make its own electricity, exactly as I believe it does make its own brooms—then dainty people, or those whom I call gilt-edged people, turn over in their beds, and, with as loud a voice as they can, they say "Socialism" or "Communism" or "Anarchy."

Dr. Hale gives no sign of having thought out in his mind or acquired from the record of others' thoughts, any clear conception of the line where the duty of the individual and that of the community meet.

## NATIONALISM ONCE MORE.

Thomas B. Wakeman, Edward Everett Hale and Congressman McAdoo of New Jersey join in a "symposium" on the "New Nationalism" in the March issue of Bedford's Magazine. Mr. Wakeman thinks that the new nationalism is by Americans and for Americans, and not a foreign importation or an adaptation of foreign socialism. He finds in President Harrison's last message a drift toward nationalism. He cites the attitude of the old individualists, and says that humanitarians, some Christians, and above all, the socialists, revolt at the conclusions of the individualistic philosophy. He thinks that the "higher nature of human will, precience and conscious effort is being brought to bear to modify social tendencies in two directions," anarchy and socialism. Of the latter nationalism is the variety evolved in America. Mr. Wakeman then contrasts individualism as represented in the anarchic view and socialism, and insists that the single tax is only a palliative of the competitive system. He sees in the tendency toward the formation of trusts and the concentration of industries generally an object lesson in nationalism. He thinks that nationalism will develop

naturally out of our present conditions and believes that all anarchists, who are true to themselves, will find in the voluntary and general co-operation of nationalism the only foundation possible of that liberty which is the chief good of life. It is childish to cry for the fruit while refusing to sustain the co-operative law and order which alone can produce it. "There is no reason except stupidity, ignorance and poor economy why our republic—that is our commonwealth—should be an immense poor house, with half of our people in constant and acute agony about the bare means of subsistence from day to day." Increasing combination and centralization of industries are inevitable, and we are confronted thereby with the choice of nationalism or despotism. Competition cannot be controlled or defeated by legislation. It must be replaced. Mr. Wake-man closes by declaring that what he has said must not commit the magazine, or even the dreamers when they waken to action.

Dr. Hale's part in the symposium is characterized by his usual confusion of mind as to the limits of governmental action. He sees nationalism in the public schools, the public road, the city sidewalk, the health and insurance fund for the sailor. He asks, with considerable acuteness, why the middle of the street should be less sacred than the sides? He sees nationalism, furthermore, in public gas supplies, public water supplies, public hospitals, the post office. He believes that the telegraph and the railroad must in time be treated as these are treated. He cites the "receiver" of bankrupt railways under supervision of the United States courts as an object lesson of value. He says finally that the nationalists are willing for the present to work for municipal gas works, municipal water works, municipal electric lights, and the like. He thinks these things and public telegraphs will be the first steps toward nationalism.

Mr. McAdoo's article is entitled "The Millennium by Law." It is a trifle lazy, but he acknowledges that the apparently wild radicalism of a decade may be the settled policy of a future generation. In examining plans for the amelioration of the human race, he would ask whether the scheme be in harmony with the known facts of the universe, as shown by experience; whether it be suited to men and women with the virtues, vices, weaknesses and powers of humanity. He believes that the dead level of communism is stagnation and death, and that the wise general rule gives full play to individual industry, courage, wisdom and virtue. He rejoices in the written constitutions of the federal and state governments, and thinks if the rules of the game have been of late made unfair to one side, it is better to repeal them than to try to offset them by equally vicious ones in favor of the other. He says finally that we can, at the outset, in American legislative bodies, apply to all measures the Jeffersonian test for men, somewhat paraphrased, and ask: "Is it in accordance with the letter and spirit of the constitution? Is it honest? Is it practicable? Is it just? Is it wise?"

#### SOCIETY NOTES.

A choice lot of old wines from the cellar of A. T. Stewart was sold yesterday, March 5, at the Fifth avenue auction rooms, near Twenty-seventh street, by order of Mr. Stewart's executors. The collection included sherries, Madeiras, ports, clarets and some miscellaneous liquors. Some of the highest prices were these: Chillingworth sherry, \$2.50 a bottle; thirty cases of 1844 Johannisberg, bottled in 1866, \$4.50 and \$4 a bottle; 1867 Madeira, \$4.50 a bottle; "Talisman," 1844, and "Carvarhal," 1815, \$5 a bottle. A. J. Quinlan paid \$5.25 apiece for five magnums of "M. Y. green seal," of 1819. "Sercial P" brought \$4.50, and "Verdallo" of 1846, \$3.25 a bottle. Brayton Ives paid \$5.50 for "Wanderer," 1829; ex-Judge Horace Russell and Mr. Winthrop got some "Reserve" of 1828 at the same price. Edward G. Gilmore, of Niles's garden, gave the highest price of the sale, \$7.25 apiece for three bottles of "Lynch," 1817. After the Madeiras came red wines, \$4 a bottle being the best price paid for them. This was brought by a dozen of Chateau Margeaux, of the vintage of 1848. Some of the choice Chateau vintages went at \$1 and \$2 a bottle. A case of Holland gin went at \$3.50 a bottle, and five cases of Scotch whiskey at \$3. The total was somewhat under \$15,000. The prices were considered fair for an auction. Ex-Judge Hilton and Mr. Murphy were the largest purchasers. Other buyers were Richard A. Saffield and Messrs. Carter, Starbuck, De Witt, Johnson, Church, Barger, Butler and Walker, James O. McDermott of Brooklyn and Colonel Roome. The Manhattan club also bought a little, and it was said that the Knickerbocker club was represented.—[New York Tribune.]

Portland, Me., March 1 (Special).—A sensational scene was enacted on the busiest portion of Congress street, Portland, Saturday noon, when that thoroughfare was crowded. A man and woman poorly clad and evidently

in straightened circumstances were looking at a shop window, when suddenly the woman turned and exclaimed: "How long is this to last, George?" There was no reply and they walked up the street. When near Congress square, the woman suddenly stopped and opening a small package of powder, swallowed the contents, exclaiming: "This ends all." Her companion picked up the package and saw a white powder on the box and read the words, "Rough on rats." It seems that they stopped before a drug store and the woman went in and asked the druggist for some snake root. This was given her, and then she purchased a box of "Rough on rats."

A crowd quickly collected and she was taken to the drug store where the poison was purchased. Doctors were summoned and emetics applied and the poison was taken from her stomach. When the doctors were giving her the emetics, she remonstrated and said she wanted to die.

The husband said his name was Howland A. Hunt and the woman was his wife. He said they belonged in Lewiston. They came to Portland from Bath Saturday morning, to secure work, having been unsuccessful in the search for employment at Bath, and at their failure to do so the woman tried to commit suicide.—[Exchange.]

The acme of bathing is a porcelain-tiled room with white ware enamel tub, where the aroma of violet essence floats on the vapor of a warm bath. Every sense yields to the subtle relaxation, the sweat flows softly, the very hair takes a silkier and more pliant texture, the delicate perfume soothes the nerves and steals into the brain like an opiate. Beds of flowers are not to be compared to it, and if one can step from the drying sheet to a warm, airy chamber and lie down in warm linen and light blankets for an hour, she has had a rest which goes far to the creating of beauty. The skin has lost its upper layer of dust and waste particles, softened by steam and washed away by the soapy bath, the blood flows through every delicate branch, depositing new elastic tissue, the skin grows transparent, pearly with the vapor it has absorbed. The eye is dark and liquid with the blood fed to the optic nerve; the muscles, warmed and nourished, are supple; the stomach at rest, its frequent inflammation allayed for the time. A rest and some light food should follow, a cup of coffee or glass of sherbet, when, if ever, a woman will be at her best, mentally and physically.—[New York Journal.]

It is supposed that when he hanged himself, last week, Charles Wagenfund was suffering from softening of the brain, the disease showing itself in the frequent head pains which he complained of. Wagenfund was a Prussian, forty-seven years old. He was employed as janitor at No. 47 Orchard street. Wagenfund lived there with his wife and two children. He was a first class cabinet maker, and during his twenty eight years' residence in this country has had continuous employment at his trade until recently. Being cut of work seemed to him a great hardship, especially as his health was growing poor. Each day he would start out in search of work only to return at night more disheartened and gloomy than ever.—[New York World.]

A very lively meeting of the Beefsteak club, a social organization of the uptown brewers, was held Thursday evening, March 6, at Oppermann's Turtle bay brewery, in East Forty-fifth street.

The objects of the meeting were to decide to whom should be awarded the silver medal for the largest beefsteak-eater of the club, and who should receive the silver medal as the best amateur chef.

The reception rooms of the brewery were handsomely decorated, and at the upper end of the main apartment were two immense gas ranges, so that the cooking could be done in presence of the company and no chicanery indulged in.

The silver medal for the largest beefsteak-eater, was adjudicated to Henry Clausen, Jr., and it being unanimously decided that from Chris. Hetzel's gas range had come the best cooked steaks, the prize as amateur chef was awarded to him.—[New York Sun.]

#### A NATIONALIST ON MR. GEORGE.

The California Nationalist.

Similarly with regard to the single tax movement, headed by our late visitor Mr. Henry George. It seems to me impossible that nationalists, who regard the competitive system as the source of all our evils, can coalesce with the champion of competition, but Mr. George is also the uncompromising foe of monopoly and special privilege, and it would be impossible to over-rate the value of his services as an exciter of thought on economic questions. In this week's issue, as in those which will succeed it, we shall have repeated occasion to notice the movement of which he is the head and front, since it too is—in my judgment at least—playing no inconsiderable part in the moulding of the future.

#### THE ULTIMATE OF ALL POLITICS.

Montreal Star.

German legislation of late years has been tending toward state socialism, while the popular instincts and prejudices of other peoples are opposed to it. The true ideal of government is one that contemplates the administration of justice only, leaving all subjects free to pursue their own happiness. It may not be attainable in the present stage of human development, but it should be the ultimate object of all politics.

#### CHRONICLES.

1. Now, in the first year of Benjamin the Protectionist, there came unto him envoys and messengers from the far countries.

2. And they said, Show us of your works and of your possessions and of the objects of your worship, for your fame has gone abroad among all nations and the report thereof has reached even unto us.

3. Lo, we are dwellers in a goodly land; we have flocks and herds and fields and also mines of gold and of copper and of precious stones.

4. And our rivers surpass the rivers of India and of Egypt, our forests are spread out upon the high lands and are filled with every costly and precious and sweet scented wood.

5. And our plains touch the sky upon every side and are covered with grass for the cattle and herbs of every kind for the service of man.

6. Let us, we pray you, bring of our wool and our copper and of our strong fibers that in return we may receive of you engines and fabrics and implements of every kind.

7. For behold, the countries where we are wont to exchange our products are far away and only to be reached by long journeys over waters where no path is.

8. And moreover their engines and mills and implements are of the pattern of ancient days.

9. Let us exchange freely together our products, our ideas and fraternal greetings, to the end that we may all reach conditions wherein peace and brotherhood shall prevail and poverty and ignorance melt away.

10. Surely the Time Spirit shapes the destiny of the nations, and one is builded up and another is cast down even as they obey or disobey the great natural laws; for the same are none other than the laws of the most high God.

11. And then were the magnates and managers exceeding glad, and their pockets were much moved, for from long time had they stirred up these messengers and envoys to consider and to consult upon these things.

12. And they conferred and took counsel together saying, We will show these men of our works and of our wealth and our great prosperity.

13. Moreover we will declare unto them the objects of our worship to the end that they too may fall down before the same gods and we may become as one people.

14. And then for the space of many days were the messengers carried up and down in the land and made to journey to and fro in it.

15. Moreover they were made to see the mills and the mines and the schools and the great temples of industry, and they broke bread in the presence of great captains of industry and in the palaces of managers of men.

16. Now in those days the nation greatly honored God with their lips, but their heart was far from Him and they had small faith in the natural laws of trade or of the universe.

17. But they said, We can enact better laws; nature is imperfect and unsafe and the supreme law is not to be trusted.

18. So it came to pass they had made unto themselves a great idol, having seven heads and ten horns.

19. And the name of the idol was Protection, and it was in the form of a great beast with scales of copper and of tin plate and of iron like unto fool's gold.

20. And the name of the first head was America for Americans, and the second was Restriction, and the third Revenue.

21. And the fourth was Ignorance, and the fifth Selfishness, and the sixth Stupidity, and the seventh was Fraud.

22. And his ten horns were gilded with brass, that they might seem to be gold; and the horns turned every way, and were made exceedingly sharp.

23. And the first were bounties to industry, fear of overpopulation, hatred of foreigners, fraudulent quotations, balance of trade statistics and humbug.

24. And the five other were Home Market, the American System, Corruption of Politics, Subsidized Press and Trusts, also called Private Affairs.

25. And the idol stood upon a pedestal great and high, much worn by fool's kisses, and it filled the whole country, and the name thereof was land monopoly.

26. And the idol's temple was unique, and was one of the seven wonders of the world, so that there had never been the like of it since there was a nation unto that same time; no, nor ever shall be.

27. For the temple was none other than a wall great and high and builded around, and about to encompass the whole land.

28. And the wall was covered with sharp points to the end that whose came over it with merchandise should be seized upon and held and severely torn thereby, and much of his merchandise taken away and left fast upon the points.

29. And cunning workmen wrought early and late to create continually other and sharper points.

30. Howbeit the high priests of the idol,

they and the wives of them, found favor in the sight of the watchers of the wall; they only could go forth with three trunks and return with forty-five.

31. For the watchers fearing for their position if they refused would place foils upon the sharp points and so bring silks, laces and precious articles safely over the wall.

32. And the high priests and the Benjamites set the people on to cry with a voice as the roar of many waters, Great is protection which has made the sea and the land and all industrial prosperity.

33. Now this had lasted many years, and the few had grown rich and increased in goods, but the miners were naked and hungry, the needle women were sorely overworked and underfed, and the farmers began to ask of each other, Where is our prosperity?

34. So when the messengers had seen it all (only they had not been shown the poverty and hard fare of the toilers) they communed and took counsel together,

35. Saying, this people neither honoreth the natural law nor regardeth the natural right; they are wholly alien and gone astray, and except they take down the wall, at least for us and our people, we can never freely exchange with them.

36. Though their ships come to us loaded with wares and with merchandise, yet must they return to them empty, for let their prices be never so low and their implements never so good, we can pay for them only with the products of our own land; neither can we have part of our products torn away from us in passing over their idolatrous wall.

37. And one of the messengers said, Lo, they count us as aliens and a strange people; in the market places they gaze at us and stare us out of countenance in the club houses.

38. Are we bead-clad monsters from the far islands or wild savages of the forest?

39. Moreover he continued and said, Let the barbarians keep their wall and abide in content with their idol; let them subsidize ships to bring in that which their wall keeps out; let them walk in darkness and call it day, or do whatsoever they list.

40. But the Time Spirit bids me return to my nation; we can effect nothing here. And so they departed each to his own country.

A. P. BROWN.

#### TEAR AWAY THIS BAR TO HAPPINESS.

Detroit News.

Lying athwart the pathway of our nineteenth century civilization is a great menace to the liberty of the people. This menace is the monopoly of land—the monopoly of natural opportunities to gain a living—on which and through which every other monopoly depends for its existence. It is because of the monopoly of land that great armies of men and women are tramping the country unable to find employment. It is because of the monopoly of land that in the centers of commercial activity people are huddled together like beasts, breeding diseases and raising to a fearful rate the death roll. It is because of the monopoly of land that industry and enterprise are put at a disadvantage with idleness and fraud. Land monopoly is the creator of a set of base-born children whose hideousness is acknowledged by all, but whose parentage is not so clearly perceived. The monopoly of land is to-day the great cause of ignorance and poverty; it is the adamant wall that forms for the civilized communities of the world their unfavorable environment.

To tear away this bar to happiness and good living in its truest sense is the object of the intelligent social reformer. He alone of the vast army of benevolent people who are interested in ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate and downtrodden sees the correct way of reaching the disease. And so he throws aside the plasters and palliatives prescribed by prison reform associations, soup house societies and poor committees, and applies the knife of the surgeon to the very root of these—the monopoly of the opportunity of self-employment.

#### THE STAGNATION OF SOCIALISM.

J. H. Levy in Personal Rights Journal.

A brief and brilliant span of existence may be attained by a socialistic state by living on the moral and intellectual capital of its predecessors; but it soon runs through this capital, and goes out like a spent quib, and makes a nasty smell. Any good that is worth having cannot be thus superimposed on us. Even to rulers the system is disastrous. It may start with very able and worthy men; but how is this crop to be renewed? Such men may found hierarchical or despotic systems, but they are themselves the products of free communities as the energy and public spirit of our socialist leaders are products of those elements of our present system which they would eliminate. Caesar was not born of Caesarism; and more genuine saviors of society have arisen in the same way. When repressive laws had done their work, and Europe rotted under the influence of the Pax Romana, her resurrection came from those rude and rough nations of the north who prized freedom and—most fortunately for mankind—had never passed under the heel of the Roman. But if repression does its work once more—if, false to our history and our heritage, we surrender one after another of our liberties out of coward fear of poverty, disease, drunkenness, competition of foreigners, or aught else—if we, having influence with our neighbors, lead them once more on this fatal path, I see no manly barbarians in the north to save us. I see but a silent expanse of eternal ice—the fitting symbol of that stagnation and death to which we shall have gone, because we had not courage and the intelligence to remain free.

## BALLOT REFORM.

## THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

## THE KNIGHTS TO THE FRONT.

THE GREATEST MASS MEETING OF YEARS—BALLOT REFORM THE SLOGAN—LABOR WILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT OR KNOW THE REASON WHY.

Not since the meeting of the night before the mayoralty election of 1886 has such a multitude been seen assembled in this city as met at Cooper union last Monday evening. The '86 meeting was held at the close of the most exciting political campaign that had occurred in this city for twenty years; the meeting of Monday was held when there was no political excitement, and on a bleak night.

A call had been sent out to the Knights of Labor to gather at Cooper union to place the seal of their approval on the Saxton ballot reform bill, now pending in the legislature, and to warn the legislators and the state executive that if the bill did not become law at this session the Knights of Labor would leave no stone unturned to secure the defeat of the parties at fault.

By 8 o'clock the hall was packed, and preparations were made for an outdoor meeting. After fighting against the cold weather and sloppy street, and being unable to stand on the sidewalk because of the desire to keep a passage way open, the outside meeting had to be abandoned. But inside the crush was absolutely terrific. Not another man could have been squeezed into the hall at any time after the meeting opened until it adjourned.

George Murray, M. W. of District 49, opened the meeting, and read a series of resolutions adopted at a late convention of representatives of the district assemblies of the state of New York, at Troy about six weeks ago. Among these resolutions, Mr. Murray said, was one requesting the order throughout the state to hold meetings and agitate for the passage of the Saxton reform bill, because it was a measure in the interests of labor. This remark was greeted with thunderous applause. Then Mr. Murray introduced as chairman of the meeting O. D. Culver, M. W. of the carpenters' district, who, after a few remarks, introduced James F. Archibald, M. W. of the Painters and decorators' national district assembly.

Mr. Archibald opened his speech by giving a statement of the objects of the meeting, and showed how the adoption of the Saxton bill would be to the interest of working people. He had been, and was yet, he said, a friend of Governor Hill. When the governor vetoed the Saxton bill before, Mr. Archibald had approved the governor's act on the ground that he believed the governor had been conscientious in the matter; "but," said Mr. Archibald, "in the Saxton bill as it now stands every concession has been made that the governor asks, except one—the unofficial ballot. To give way on that point would mean to give away the object for which the bill was framed—the prevention of bribery and corruption at elections. If Governor Hill vetoes the Saxton bill this year, he will do it because he thinks the interests of the politicians paramount to those of the people; and I will then use what influence I have, be it great or small, against him and against the legislators who vote against the Saxton bill."

Mr. Hicks, M. W. of the Building trades assembly, and John Maguire, secretary, followed with brief addresses, the latter calling the attention of such of the audience as were of Irish birth to the conditions that prevailed in Irish elections up to the time of the adoption of the Australian system in Great Britain, when, through a system of coercion and threats of eviction the peasantry were compelled year after year to vote for candidates of their landlords as members of parliament. "When the Australian plan of holding elections was adopted," he said, "the thing changed; and the peasantry sent their own people to represent them in the councils of the kingdom, with the result that now the Irish problem is the most prominent question before the English people. That's what the Australian system has done for the working people of Ireland, and that's what the Australian-Saxton bill will do for the working people here."

Mr. Maguire struck a responsive chord when he said this, for the applause and cheers were loud and long continued.

T. B. Maguire, a member of the general executive board and one of the old guard of Forty-nine, was greeted with cheers when he stepped to the front. He presented a ludicrous picture of General Spinola posing as a friend of the workingman, and an imitation of a candidate for congress or the legislature addressing his constituents on the necessity

of electing him. Then, becoming serious, he pointed out that there was really but very little freedom in this country so far as the workman is concerned; that our system of balloting was not free at all; and that it was necessary to bring about a change immediately. This could be done through the adoption of the principles embodied in the Saxton bill. "You all know me," he said. "What I have to say, I say openly, in halls or from the tail of a cart. I do not vote with either party; but I give notice here that I will, from now on, use all the ability at my command in a campaign against any and every man who works or votes to defeat the Saxton bill, and I know of thousands of knights who will be with me in this, and who will agitate, and agitate, until every politician opposed to ballot reform is politically dead, and we have men in the legislature who will legislate for the whole people, instead of for corporations, monopolists and the corrupt politicians and the robbers of the public."

Mr. Maguire retired amid a storm of cheers, showing that his ideas were in close accord with those of his audience.

When Mr. Powderly came to the front he was cheered again and again. It was fully five minutes before he was permitted to speak. When the tumult had subsided he began his address.

He said he had canceled other engagements when invited to attend this meeting for several reasons. Among them were, first, that from this platform, and at this time, it was necessary before a great meeting like this to declare the position of the order of the Knights of Labor on the question of ballot reform; second, the story was being industriously spread throughout the country that the knights of New York city were not in favor of the Saxton ballot reform bill. He had come here to see if that was true. He now knew the truth; he would be able to say to the order, wherever he went, that the stories they had heard of the New York knights was not the truth—that as good knights, seeking the good of their fellow workers of all lands, inside and outside the order, they were in favor of the secret ballot. As for himself, he did not know all the details of the Saxton bill; but he did know that it included the essential features as approved at the general assembly of the K. of L. of 1888, chief among which was the secret official ballot, printed and distributed by the state. Since the general assembly's action the Australian system had become law in ten states; but New York, whence the idea had sprung, was still lagging in the rear, through the machinations of enemies of the people, who saw that their power would be lost by the adoption of any such measure, and the people themselves would take control of public affairs. "Under present conditions the secret ballot is necessary, if we would save the republic," said Mr. Powderly, "and I here state that from this time on I will not raise my voice in favor of any other reform until we have secured the secret ballot." Tremendous applause greeted this declaration, renewed again and again. Continuing, Mr. Powderly told a series of stories to show how the illiterate voter was cared for under the present method of carrying on elections—how he was duped and made an ass of generally; and he said that under the Australian or Saxton plan the illiterate voter would have less chance of being fooled than he is now. "Now don't," said Mr. Powderly, "be deluded with the idea that you will hasten the bringing about of the Saxton bill through the organization of a third party. You will get it sooner by working on the lines of the existing parties. Help those who are with you in this reform; fight those who are opposed to you. Then it will soon be 'good politics' for one or the other of them to take up your fight, and when that is done, success is not far off."

It was near the close of his address. Mr. Powderly looked at his memorandum, and made a slight pause. He then looked at his audience and said: "I find two words here, 'unearned increment.' It brings to me thoughts of an absent friend who has crossed the western sea, there to battle for humanity—Henry George. [Great applause.] It has been said that there are between us differences of principles. That is not true. [Applause.] Mr. George and I stand on the same platform. [Great applause.] We differ only as to the methods by which those principles can be brought into being."

The meeting closed with three cheers for the Saxton bill, three cheers for Powderly and three cheers for the order of which he is the head. For an hour after the adjournment groups of men could be seen in all the avenues leading from Cooper union, discussing the subject of ballot reform. It was a great meeting, and if its effects are not felt at Albany now, they will be felt in the fall election.

## AMENDMENTS TO THE JERSEY BILL.

THE HUDSON COUNTY BALLOT REFORM ASSOCIATION TAKES A HAND—FEAR OF THE DEMOCRATS.

The Hudson county ballot reform association has prepared a report on Senator Werts's bill prepared for presentation to the joint ballot reform committee of the New Jersey legislature. The report suggests various amendments to the bill. These are the amendments suggested, and accompanying is part of the language of the report:

In the second section change "three to four," thus making each party have an equal representation on local boards of registration and election.

Amend section four by adding after the word "registers" the words "by residences in cities." This is the way the registry lists are made up in New York city and is one of the greatest safeguards against "colonization" of voters.

Section 31, line 21, reads: "Said election clerks shall, on the morning of election, and before proclamation of the opening of the polls, deliver the packages of ballots \* \* \* with the seals thereof unbroken."

This provision is rendered nugatory by sections 33 and 34, which provide that any voter, upon application ten days prior to an election, can obtain as many ballots as he pleases in blocks of fifty, and that the ballots so obtained may be voted.

Sections 33 and 34 should be omitted from the bill in question, or from any bill where the author asserts that it is a genuine ballot reform bill. Such omission, however, need not and ought not to preclude the furnishing of fac simile official ballots on different colored paper from the official ballots, for the guidance of illiterate voters, but not to be voted.

Section 39, line 10. This part of the section might be advantageously amended by providing that the words "for" and "against," be printed in connection with any proposed amendment submitted to a vote of the people, and that the voter strike out either word, leaving the uneraser word to express his preference.

Amendment No. 3. Section 42, lines 27 and 28. The provision that each campartment shall be kept provided with a sufficient supply of official ballots, would open the door to a number of frauds. Such temptations to violate the law and to risk incurring the penalty thereto attached, can be easily avoided by making the election clerks the distributors of the official ballots, one for each voter, with a provision for spoiled ballots and an accounting for each ballot before the voter is allowed to leave the polling place.

Section 43, lines 4 to 12. The provision that a voter should remain within the secret apartment, even though he has brought a prepared ballot with him, is simply farcical. A better method than that is to allow only such votes to be cast or counted as have been actually prepared in the booth. Only in the very exceptional case where a voter desires to vote for a name not already on the ballot should he be permitted to write such name or to use a paster.

Section 45, lines 19, 20, 21. The provision that any voter may supply himself with a punch is absurd.

The provisions that no person, under penalty of \$25 for each offence, shall show his ballot after it is prepared for voting, to any person in such a way as to reveal its contents, or that he shall receive a ballot prepared for voting are impossible of enforcement when the ballot may be prepared before election day. They are excellent, however, where the distribution of the official ballot is restricted to the polling places on the day of election.

Section 59. This section is impossible of enforcement as long as any voter has the right to supply himself with official ballots prior to the day of election.

At a secret meeting of the joint committee the state board feature was opposed by the republicans, and a compromise was finally effected, providing for a county board of registration in place of the state board, which shall consist of three members, two appointed by the chairman of the democratic and republican county committees and one appointed by the governor. The county boards will, in turn, appoint the election officers of each precinct in the county, of whom each political party is to have an equal share.

Mr. Voorhees raised another objection to that section of the bill which provides for alphabetic registration lists, and offered an amendment providing for registration by residences as an additional safeguard against colonization. There was considerable discussion also over that section of the bill which provides that the official ballots may be distributed ten days before election. Senators Martin and Carter and Assemblymen Voorhees, Erwin and Cole opposed it strenuously, but no definite action was taken upon the clause.

According to the correspondent of the New York Times, the bill is greatly endangered by the attitude of the democratic members of the legislature. He accuses the democrats of an intent to delay the bill until after the Jersey City charter election, with the hope that intended democratic frauds at the polls may not be checked.

The New Jersey state board of trade has passed a resolution urging the adoption of an adequate ballot reform measure and recommending that the selection of election officers be intrusted to the courts.

The new industrial senate of New Jersey, made up of the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' alliance, resolved to urge amendments providing for non-partisan election boards and the exclusive use of an official ballot, to be kept in the election booths and handed to voters only.

## PROGRESS OF THE BILL.

SOME AMENDMENTS IN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The judiciary committee has reported to the New York assembly several amendments to the Saxton ballot reform bill in addition to the Beckman amendments already published in THE STANDARD.

The only vital amendment permits an unofficial ballot to be used, not only when a

man dies, but also when a man withdraws or becomes ineligible.

This clause may cause some discussion in the house, as it is contended that a dummy candidate might be put up and withdrawn in order to work in the use of unofficial ballots.

The ballot reform bill and the corrupt practices bill have been made a special order in the assembly for Thursday.

The Hon. Chauncey F. Black has written from his home in York, Pa., to the Young men's democratic club of Brooklyn, expressing his belief that the exclusive official ballot is an absolute essential to any system of true electoral reform.

Senator Poe of Baltimore, who introduced the Democratic business men's association ballot reform bill into the Maryland senate and then deserted it, has returned to his first love, having been forced by public opinion to break with the democratic bosses. This gives some hope that the Maryland legislature may pass an efficient ballot reform bill.

Simon Stearn delivered last week before the Twenty-third district branch of the New York ballot reform league in Mt. Morris academy an address in favor of ballot reform. Other speakers were T. B. McGuire, W. O. Eastlake and Percy B. Adams. Resolutions indorsing the Saxton bill were unanimously adopted.

James H. Manley, Mr. Blaine's right-hand man in Maine, has written a letter to the Lewiston Journal declaring himself favorable to the Australian system of voting. He admits that he opposed the Australian ballot bill in the Maine legislature during the session of 1889, but only upon the ground that the system was then an untried experiment. He has examined into the workings of the system in Massachusetts and is satisfied of its excellence. He hopes that the system may be made to apply to the election of members to congress in every state and territory in the land. He also favors a public sworn statement of electoral expenses by each candidate. Mr. Manley's word is law with the republican party in Maine.

## THE HINDU SKEPTIC.

San Francisco Star.

"I think till I weary with thinking,"  
Said the sad-eyed Hindu king,  
"And I see but shadows around me,  
Illusions in every thing." (1)

"How knowest thou aught of God,  
Of his favor or his wrath?  
Can the little fish tell what the eagle thinks?  
Or map out the eagle's path?"

"Can the finite the infinite search?  
Did the blind discover the stars?  
Is the thought that I think a thought,  
Or a throb of my brain in its bars?"

"For aught my eye can discover,  
Your God is what you think good—  
Yourself flashed back from the glass  
When the light pours on it in flood."

"You preach to me to be just,  
And this is His realm, you say.  
But the good are dying of hunger,  
While the bad gorge every day."

"You say that He loveth mercy,  
But the famine is not yet gone;  
That He hateth the shedder of blood,  
Yet He slayeth us every one."

"You say that my soul shall live,  
That the spirit can never die—  
If He was content when I was not,  
Why not when I have passed by?"

"You say I must have a meaning,  
So has dirt, and its meaning is flowers,  
What, if our souls are but nurture  
For lives that are higher than ours?"

"When the fish swims out of the water,  
When the bird soars out of the blue,  
Man's thought may transcend man's knowledge,  
And your God be no reflex of you!"

(1) Hindu metaphysicians say that the material world is unreal—"maya"—i. e., "illusion."

## WHY?

Philadelphia Ledger.

Ex-President Cleveland will serve as an "awful example" for the Henry George clubs if, as reported, he has sold "Oak View" for \$149,000, thus getting over \$100,000 of "unearned increment" out of his speculation.

## MIGHT AS WELL KILL THEM AS STARVE THEM.

Boston Globe.

"Another terrible mine accident" is getting to be a regular daily dispatch from Pennsylvania. Do the coal barons hope to settle the strikes by killing off the men?

## THE "SINGLE TAX" WAIT?

English Young Ladies' Journal.

Some of the newest names given to waiters will afford suggestive matter for pleasant or serious chat during the interval for breathing; such, for instance, as "It is time to propose," "The single tax," etc.

## PRAISE FROM SIR HUBERT.

Quincy, Ill., Journal of Industry.

While we do not agree with Mr. Perry on the single tax theory, we must say that he is working with untiring energy to give this movement prominence in this part of the country.

## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

### THE TARIFF SCHOOL.

The Reform club's sub-committee on tariff reform for the city of New York has rented the large meeting room on the second floor of Cooper union for every Friday evening, from this time to the middle of June, for the accommodation of those who propose attending the school (for the study of the tariff question) that the committee is about to establish. The first meeting will be held on Friday evening, March 14, when preliminary addresses explaining the object and marking out the proposed course of study will be made by Mr. E. Ellery Anderson and Mr. William T. Crossdale.

The only conditions of admission to membership in the class will be an agreement to attend its sessions with reasonable regularity. There will be no charge whatever for expenses, and the "text books" used will be the Reform club's own publications, which are studies of the tariff as applied to particular materials or special industries. These pamphlets are exceedingly condensed presentations of the results of special study, under the direction of the committees on industrial statistics and literature, and at each meeting a pamphlet covering the subject of the next succeeding lecture will be presented to each person present in order that those attending may familiarize themselves in advance with the facts and figures. It is necessary that the attendance shall be reasonably regular, in order that there may be no break in the continuity in the course of instruction. All who choose to present themselves for enrolment on Friday evening, ready to comply with these conditions, will be heartily welcomed by the committee.

### DISCUSSING TAXATION.

#### MR. FORAN GOES PART WAY WITH THE SINGLE TAXERS AND HEARS SOUND DOCTRINE.

The Hon. Martin A. Foran, Mr. Tom L. Johnson and Mr. L. A. Russell spoke at a recent meeting in Memorial hall, Cleveland, Ohio, under the auspices of the Central single tax club of Cleveland. Mr. Foran was the first speaker, and his subject was taxation. According to his theory taxes are the compensation which property pays the state for the protection that the state affords. Taxes are direct and indirect. The tariff tax—and it is a tax, and nothing but a tax—is indirect. While he believed trade should be as far as possible untrammelled, he thought that the chief objection to indirect taxation was not that it restricts trade, but that it bears heavily on the poor. He then laid down Dr. Engel's laws of indirect taxation:

1. The greater the income the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence.
2. The percentage of outlay for clothing, rent, fuel and light is approximately the same, whatever the income.
3. As income increases the outlay for luxuries increases.

Mr. Foran illustrated these laws by comparing the outlay of the workman earning \$1,000 per year with that of the capitalist having an income of \$20,000 per year. He reached the conclusion that the workingman would expend fifty per cent of his income for food for himself and family, and the capitalist only ten per cent; that the workman would expend forty per cent of his income for clothing, fuel, rent and some minor necessities, and the capitalist approximately the same percentage of his income. This would leave to the workman ten per cent of his income for luxuries; to the capitalist sixty per cent of his for the same objects. But indirect taxes are laid chiefly on what people eat, wear and drink, so that the poor man spending fifty per cent of his income on these things pays more than his share of indirect taxation, as compared with the rich man whose expenditure for these things is only ten per cent of his income. Furthermore, as indirect taxes are now laid, they fall more heavily on the necessities of life than upon the luxuries, so that if the rich man may buy luxuries with sixty per cent of his income, he would contribute little to indirect taxation. The poor man's cheap blanket is taxed sixty per cent; the rich man's costly blanket only thirty per cent. Mr. Foran then considered the question of other than indirect taxes. He objected to a direct tax by the federal government upon the states on the ground that it might necessitate an invasion of state rights. He confessed his unfamiliarity with the single tax on land, or land values, as Mr. Johnson corrected him, but proceeded to argue against it. He agreed with Herbert Spencer and Henry George that we cannot justify the possession of land with the power to transmit it indefinitely through ages yet to come. He believed, however, that if the government practically owned land or even levied all its taxes on land values that the amount of the tax would be added by the land owners to the products of the land, and thus be shifted upon the consumer. This, like all indirect taxes, would fall most heavily on the poor man. Mr. Foran then attacked Mr. George's idea that wages are high where land is free; that where land is high wages are low; that the difference in wages in different communities depends upon the productivity of no rent land; that the way to increase wages is to abolish rent and private ownership in land. As to the first of these, Mr. Foran asked, "What do you say about India or any other country where land is fertile and machinery is

scarce?" As to the second, "Rents are highest in cities, but wages are not lowest there." As to the third, "Wages are higher in New York than in Philadelphia, although land around Philadelphia is as productive as that around New York." As to the fourth, "If you want to increase wages you must decrease the hours of labor and elevate the standard of the citizen." The value of labor is dependent upon the cost of producing it, and that cost is measured by the amount required for the maintenance of the laborer's family. When the elder Brassey, building a railway in India, doubled the wages of the Indian laborers, they worked only half a day, because half a day's wages would maintain them according to their standard of comfort.

Mr. Foran then gave his theory of taxation, though modestly and with a frank admission that he had grave doubts about the question. He believed, however, that the best tax was that assessed on the property according to its value in money. He would also limit the ownership of land. He believed it within the power of government to limit the amount of money that any man may have; that the danger of possessing too much money was illustrated in the recent senatorial election in Ohio, when a mere millionaire carried off the prize from tried and able men.

Mr. Johnson followed Mr. Foran in a brief exposition of the single tax.

Mr. Russell then spoke. He attacked Mr. Foran's system of taxation, which he said was like that proposed by the French minister of finance, whose idea was to confiscate the property of thirty rich nobles, and with the proceeds pay the kingdom's debt. This was in accordance with Colbert's idea of plucking the goose that will make the least squawking. Mr. Russell thought this system unworthy of a free people. He would rather have United States bayonets pointed at him to enforce the proper payment of public burdens than have the United States authorize a thief to steal from him his tax. He believed that the average man present paid for federal taxation nearly a dollar a day. He believed that Mr. Foran's idea of taxing all property according to its true value in money by a uniform system of taxation could not be enforced. Men would hide their property and swear falsely. If it could be done it would be unjust, for a man should not be taxed for saving; there should be no fine upon thrift. Mr. Russell then illustrated the single tax in this way: If every man who entered the hall that night had paid a fee of ten cents, each would not have obtained the same return for the money expended, because those who entered had varying capacities to profit by what they heard. It was just, however, that each should pay for the opportunity to hear. So all live upon the earth, and each should pay according to the room he takes, according to his chance, according to the natural opportunities which he monopolizes. He agreed that there was a modicum of truth in Mr. Foran's statement that men pay taxes in proportion to what they consume; but if a man took possession of ten acres, fenced it in, and left it unimproved and unused, the single tax would make him pay for the monopoly just as much as if he had raised a crop or built a house on the land. His only method of recouping himself would be, use the land himself or let some other person use it.

#### MR. ANDERSON ON FREE TRADE.

##### THE EX-CONGRESSMAN TALKS TO THE GEM CITY SINGLE TAX CLUB.

Ex-Congressman Geo. A. Anderson of Illinois made an address recently on the commercial freedom before the Gem City single tax club of Quincy. Mr. Anderson is not a single taxer but he is an absolute free trader and an open minded student of political economy. His speech was heard with great satisfaction by the members of the club.

Mr. Anderson declared that the national trait of our country is human sympathy, and that the political party that had possessed this trait most strongly had always been most successful. The party of to-day that has the broadest outlook for human sympathy is the party of most promise. One cause of the quarrel with George III in 1776 was that he cut off our trade with all parts of the world; and the colonies then went to war largely for the sake of free trade. Now, a little over one hundred years from that time, we are debating whether trade with all parts of the world should be free or restricted. National isolation flies in the face of civilization. Our diplomatic relations might as well be discontinued if our policy is to be one of discouragement to commerce. An exchange of ideas, manufactures, inventions is advancement. Trade is the life of a nation as it is of a city. Nearly every city in the world's history, prior to the building of railroads, was built upon some waterway. Chicago is great because of her trade; Chicago knows this, and to hold her advantage she projects railroads in every conceivable direction so as to make transportation as free and cheap as possible. But the policy of our government in foreign relations is in direct conflict with this wholesome local policy. We seek to cheapen transportation to the various quarters of the world and then increase the burden of such transportation by duties higher than are needed for legitimate purposes of government. We

discuss questions of commercial union with our neighbors, and yet insist upon a tariff that keeps out their goods. We lament the decline of our merchant marine, and yet refuse to permit a vessel owned and run by American citizens and manned by American seamen to sail under our flag, because the vessel is of foreign build. We denounce combinations that control the various staples of our markets and yet refuse to open our ports to those who would come into competition with such combinations. The question is whether this policy is in the interest of the few or of the many. If capital were used in honest enterprise to furnish steady employment to labor and lighten labor's burdens by a spirit of humanity we might be reconciled to the aggregations of wealth; but when we see capital selfish, lawless and cruel, seeking to raise prices and reduce wages, exercising the powers of government to levy tribute upon the people, invading with evil influence municipal, state and national government, and even by a sort of financial diplomacy filling by the score seats in the United States senate, we wonder if we have not forgotten for what purpose this government was established.

Mr. Anderson cited, among other causes at work to create extremes of poverty and wealth, the immense growth of corporate franchises, the giving away of public lands to corporations, the farming out of public functions to such corporations. He traced to these things the popular prejudice against corporate power. He believed the time had come when the republic must grant its favors, if any be granted, to the weakest and poorest instead of the wealthiest and most powerful. Turning to trusts he found their origin in the system of discrimination practiced by our government. He denounced the abuses of trusts and the hypocrisy that professes that all favors asked by capital of government are for the benefit of labor. He did not pretend to solve the problem of trusts. Perhaps government will take charge of all monopolies and public corporations, perhaps co-operation may be invoked, perhaps some system of taxation may be found by which the burden of government may fall on wealth alone. He rather inclined to a profit-sharing system, but had little hope that capital would readily pay in profits what it refuses in wages. But even if the question of distribution of profits were settled, there would remain the great question of overproduction. With artificially narrowed markets it must be difficult to meet this problem. He would favor a policy to break up monopoly by opening our markets to the world. We cannot expect to enlarge our commerce by having the vessels that carry American products to foreign countries return in ballast. When ocean travel has been made safe and rapid, when every port and business center of the world has a commercial representative from every respectable power, when the genius of the nineteenth century has bound the nations of civilization with postal service and ocean cables, it is too late to talk of national isolation or commercial wars. Commerce must turn her face outward; upon the broad oceans lie her fields of conquests, and her victory will not be won until the stars and stripes shall be seen on every water, until the market place of the world shall be the great metropolis of the country whose soil and climate and minerals, whose very institutions and free people, mark her as the greatest of countries, the most favored of nations.

#### GOVERNOR MERRIAM SPEAKS UP.

Governor Merriam of Minnesota, in a recent speech before the Farmers' alliance at St. Paul declared for strong measure of tariff reform. His speech was so much at odds with one delivered by him during the campaign of 1888 that the Globe published them in parallel columns, and editorially welcomed him into the ranks of the democratic party. It is believed by many sanguine democrats that the Minnesota republicans will be compelled to desert the protection idea this year. The governor is a keen politician, and one who would not stake his popularity with the republican party on such a profession if he did not believe that his party would go with him. He said among other things:

A word as to the question of national taxation, an important factor in connection with the reduction of the cost of living. A careful consideration of the subject leads me to the conclusion that many of the present burdens laid upon the people might be dispensed with, and were the laws creating them eliminated from the statute books no inconsiderable sum would be saved the producers of the west. The expenses of administration have to be borne, but, in my judgment, the necessary revenue for the purpose should fall upon the shoulders able to bear it. Tax the silks, the diamonds, the liquor and tobacco, and remove it from those necessary articles most widely diffused in their uses. Selling our products, as we do, in competing with the markets of the world, and compelled, as we now are, to accept unremunerative prices, the people should not be hampered by legislation effected for the benefit of any especial class, and which deprives them of no inconsiderable portion of the fruits of their toil.

The tax levied upon articles of food of various kinds, as well as upon many staples of common requirement, is a burden upon every farmer of the state, and the laws governing these levies should be changed or nullified at the earliest practicable moment. It is certain that the western farmer should be relieved from any taxes that are instituted in the interest of any particular locality, indus-

try, or aggregation of capital. It is exceedingly difficult to prove to the farmer that it is to his interest to remove the tax from luxuries like liquors and tobacco and retain it upon sugar, clothing, hemp from which binding twine is made, and the like, articles which he has to have, and I fully agree with him, when he declines to understand the logic of any such arguments.

#### INDIANA'S TARIFF REFORMERS.

The Indiana tariff reform league had its meeting last week in Indianapolis; there were 200 delegates in attendance. The league is thoroughly organized in every congressional district except the First, and in that several local leagues have been established. There are local leagues in seventy-five of the ninety-two counties, and in many counties there are subordinate township leagues. A committee was authorized to gather statistics by counties, with a view of showing the evil effects of the tariff. Such questions as these will be put: How many merino sheep are there in your county? State the average number of fine wool sheep owned by each man? How many woolen manufactories have you now or since January 1, 1890? Are they all in operation? If not running, why? Did they close, and when? How many manufacturing establishments have you? If closed, when and why? How many idle men in your county? If possible give an exact statement of the real estate mortgages now outstanding? What are the average daily wages of laborers in your county? A plan for reading clubs was well received, and the issuing of pamphlets and publication of articles in the press were urged. Tariff reform work will be pushed in the colleges of the state. These officers were elected:

President, Edgar A. Brown, Indianapolis; secretary, Thomas J. Hudson, Indianapolis; treasurer, John F. Fensel, Indianapolis; vice-presidents, first district, W. H. Stone, Booneville; second, J. H. O'Neal, Washington; third, Charles A. Many, Scottsville; fourth, Oscar L. Fultz, Greensburg; fifth, Frank Ader, Greencastle; sixth, R. C. Griffiths, Delaware county; seventh, Dr. W. C. Thompson, Indianapolis; eighth, C. W. Wellman, Sullivan county; ninth, D. A. Wood, Kokomo; tenth, George Burkhardt, Logansport; eleventh, M. W. Lee, Bluffton; twelfth, S. M. Foster, Fort Wayne; thirteenth, Charles H. Reeve, Reymouth.

Mr. Cleveland directed a letter to the convention commending the work of the league and declaring that the democratic party was never nearer to its fundamental principles than it was in its contest for tariff reform.

#### LOOKING TOWARD FREE SHIPS.

John M. Forbes of Boston submitted last week to the house committee on merchant marine and fisheries a bill to permit citizens of this country to buy ships abroad and sail them under the United States flag—in other words, for free ships. The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled:

That for the period of ten years from and after the passage of this act so many of the various provisions of title 48 of the Revised statutes of the United States, entitled "Regulation of Commerce and Navigation," embraced in chapters 1 and 9 of said title, and from section 4,131 to section 4,305, both inclusive, as prohibit or restrict citizens of the United States from purchasing ships built in other countries and to be used in the foreign carrying trade, or which imposes taxes, burdens or restrictions on foreign built ships employed in the foreign carrying trade when owned by American citizens which are not imposed on ships built in the United States, be and are hereby suspended, and it shall be lawful thereafter for the period aforesaid for all citizens of the United States to buy ships built in whole or in part in any foreign country and have them registered as ships of the United States for employment in the foreign carrying trade, and when so purchased and registered and employed in the foreign carrying trade such ships shall be entitled to all the rights and subject only to the same regulations as are provided by law for the government and management of ships built wholly within the United States and controlled by citizens thereof.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That no ship built in any other country and purchased and registered by citizens of the United States, as provided in the preceding section, shall be employed in the coasting trade or engaged in the transportation of freight or passengers between the ports of the United States.

He said among other things: "I ask only for the protection of the flag for my property. I have been driven out of the China trade by iron and steel coming in and driving out my wooden ships. I find the only way I can carry on my trade with China today is buying vessels abroad twenty-five per cent cheaper than I can here."

#### PROTECTION FOR FLORIDA ORANGES.

Half a dozen protectionists urged at the semi-tropical exposition in Ocala, Fla., the other day, that the growing of oranges in that state must cease if a tariff against foreign oranges is not imposed, and the farmers' alliance of the state adopted resolutions calling for such protection. The Ocala Banner, a staunch free trade newspaper, ridicules the idea, and says:

For twenty long years this paper has been persistent in the statement that Florida could beat the world in growing oranges. We have expended bottles of ink and reams of paper in giving data to prove our assertions. We have given the cost of the land; the cost of clearing and fencing it; the

cost of the trees and the planting of the same, and the cost of tending the grove until the trees come into full bearing, and then we have carefully given the annual receipts and the annual expenditures. And we have made the one largely exceed the other. To prove that our assertions have always been within the bounds of reason and on the lines of truth, we have given from time to time, and from year to year, individual illustrations of men starting on nothing and in a few years becoming comfortably well off, and of others, still more successful, amassing great fortunes in a few years, by engaging in this splendid and remunerative occupation.

Our years of labor have come to naught. Our individual illustrations of the orange growers, who began life with empty hands and now count their profits on oranges by the hundred thousands; our tables, furnished us by the orange growers themselves; our carefully collected data, the work of twenty years, are scattered to the winds by the orange growers themselves, for all at once they tell us that in the growing of oranges Florida cannot hold her own with any other country in the world, and unless the orange industry is "protected" orange growing in Florida is a "gone" institution.

And so the story goes. We are told that wheat growing has ceased to be remunerative in Dakota; farmers in Kansas are burning corn for fuel; wool growing is unprofitable in Ohio, and unless a Chinese wall of exclusion is built along our frontiers and sea shores, American manufacturers, farmers, fruit growers and artisans will be absolutely ruined by foreign competition.

America, with her boasted freedom, genius and ingenuity, cannot, we are told, hold her own with any other nation in the world. We are a helpless people, afraid to measure strength with the puniest nations around us. And the longer we are "protected" the more "helpless" we become.

It is too bad.

#### MICHIGAN REPUBLICANS LEARNING.

A correspondent writes to THE STANDARD from St. John's, Mich., saying: "I think from the expressions I hear every day from the farmers that come in, that if there was to be another general election this spring that one-half of all that voted for protection before would vote to do away with protection; that they had become satisfied that protection is only to benefit the manufacturers and a detriment to the laboring classes."

Adolph Wimpheimer of New York has protested before the house ways and means committee against any increase of the duty on "skivers," which oddly-named material is used for hat linings. Mr. Wimpheimer protests that the duty on skivers is already too high, and that it merely goes to enrich the two firms in this country making skivers and hat bands. This is an unfortunate argument to advance before a republican committee, as our friends the protectionists believe that the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many is a laudable object of governmental solicitude.

The Hon. Edward J. Phelps, recently United States minister to Great Britain, discussed the other day civil service reform, ballot reform and tariff reform with a correspondent of the New York Times. He regards all three as essential and expects to see the tariff question the issue in 1892.

Brewers declare that the proposed increase of the duty on hops, now about forty-four per cent, if carried out must be accompanied by an increase of the duty on imported beers, and of course protectionists see nothing improper in this so long as the consumer is taxed.

Rhode Island democrats, at their state convention last week, where candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor were elected, declared for tariff reform, and congratulated the state on the passage of the ballot reform law.

The state convention of Iroquois clubs recently in session at San Francisco reaffirmed the faith of the young democracy of California in tariff reform, ballot reform and civil service reform. At the banquet following the convention Mr. Cleveland was toasted as the next president of the United States, and a portrait of the ex-president was unveiled at the moment amid great enthusiasm.

The organization of tariff reform clubs in Maryland goes steadily on. By the end of the year every county in the state will have its association in running order.

It is reported that the Harvard college overseers' committee on the teaching of political economy has raised the free trade score, and that John F. Morse, who made the majority report on the subject, bewailed the fact that Harvard yearly produced a solid phalanx of free traders. Doubtless Mr. Morse would like to hire some one to be a protectionist and teach the heresy at Harvard. It would be just as wise to hire a professor to teach as truth pre-Copernican theories of astronomy, the one fluid theory of electricity or any other hourly philosophic heresy.

#### YES, THAT'S BETTER.

Chicago Tribune.

Dreamer—What do you think of "Looking Backward?"

Practical Man—I think it will pay better to look straight ahead.

## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

### SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### NEW YORK'S ASSESSMENT.

IT HAS INCREASED OVER \$68,000,000 SINCE 1880, AND THE TAX PAYERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION IS AROUSED.

The Tax payers' protective association of this city is somewhat shocked to learn that the real estate assessment for 1890 is \$68,291,144 more than that for 1880. The counsel of the association has issued a circular calling attention to this increase, declaring it of vital importance, asking each member whether his property is affected, and urging him to ascertain the facts through the association.

The Tax payers' protective association, as its name implies, is organized for the purpose of protecting the interests of those on whom taxes are assessed by the city; and this, of course, means the owners of houses and of lands. The tone of the circular seems to indicate that the association originated in the fertile brain of a lawyer who saw in such an organization an opportunity to earn a rent income. It costs \$2 to be a member, and the association undertakes to notify its members without their special request of any increase in the assessment upon their property. The payment of the annual fee secures information as to the assessment on one house and lot. For each additional house and lot \$1 is charged.

It may be of interest here to note some changes in the assessment of important properties. The New York Times building presents an interesting case; and the growth of the assessment there may easily account for the sudden change in that paper's attitude toward the single tax. The Times building occupies the most conspicuous corner of Printing house square. The land measures 8,155 square feet. Before the present noble structure was erected this plot was occupied by an old brick building of small value. The assessment in 1888, while the land was thus occupied, was \$300,000. According to plans filed with the city authorities the cost of the new building was \$600,000. Accordingly, when the assessment was made in 1889, the levy on this property was raised from \$300,000 to \$550,000, the building then being "in progress," as the assessment books say. This year, when the building is finished and occupied, the assessment is \$900,000. That is to say, five-sixths of the whole estimated cost of the new building has been added since 1888. No wonder a line of two per cent per annum on half a million dollars, for enterprise, opened the eyes of the Times to the iniquity of the present system of taxation.

The history of the World building, at the corner of Park row and Frankfort street, is almost identical with that of the Times. French's hotel, a crazy old structure, which as a hotel property has proved disastrous of late years to several proprietors, recently occupied this corner. The assessment last year, when the hotel property had just been demolished in preparation for the erection of the World building, was \$300,000. The plot, which has been slightly enlarged since then, now measures 15,000 square feet. The World building, according to plans filed, will cost \$630,000. When the assessment was made for 1890 the building was well under way, though the prospect was that it would hardly be ready for occupancy before next winter. Accordingly the assessment now is \$500,000, "in progress." Mr. Pulitzer has been fined at the rate of about two per cent per annum on \$300,000 for his enterprise in erecting a fine structure. Next year the assessment will probably approximate \$1,000,000.

Now note an instance in contrast with these two. Every person acquainted with Park row will recall that just opposite the post office, on the east side of Park row, below Beekman street, is a block of cheap, old-fashioned brick buildings, occupied by newspaper offices, hotels and various other business concerns, and undoubtedly yielding an immense rent. The building at the south east corner of Park row and Beekman street is one of these structures, and its site is as fine perhaps as any on Park row, save that of the Times building. The building is a six story brick structure, worth at most \$15,000 or \$20,000. It occupies a lot 48x61 feet, or about 3,100 square feet in area. The assessment is \$120,000. In other words, an inadequately improved plot about three-eighths of the area of the Times plot is assessed at less than one-sixth the latter.

### THE SINGLE TAX IN ILLINOIS.

MR. C. F. PERRY MAKES ESTIMATES SHOWING WHAT IT WOULD PROBABLY YIELD.

In a communication to the Chicago News Judge C. F. Perry of Quincy, Ill., presents some figures with a view to meeting the objection urged by the opponents of the single tax theory that "a tax on land values only would not maintain all government." His estimates of assessments of land values in Illinois and in Cook and Adams counties are based on the auditor's report for 1889; those of state and local taxes on the auditor's report of 1887, that of 1889 not being at hand. He accepts Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's estimate that Illinois now pays in federal taxes about \$24,000,000 annually and \$10,000,000 more in the shape of profits on taxes and to protected interests, and that under direct taxation \$18,000,000 would be this state's proportion. As to the rate of assessment, he quotes the statement made at the meeting of the state board of equalization last August

by Judge Edward Scott that "the local assessments in counties for 1880 amounted to only a little over \$700,000,000, while Governor Oglesby's revenue commission had ascertained all the taxable property in the state to be worth \$4,000,000,000, and that, allowing that taxable property to the amount of \$500,000,000 (one-eighth of all) escaped all assessment, the property could not have been assessed at more than about one-fifth of its real value on an average."

In the tables which follow Mr. Perry has made from all assessments of improved land, even railway track land, a deduction of 50 per cent for the value of the improvements, and assumes that the result, the multiplication of the annual value by five, is the real value of the land. To all other land values he added the current taxes on the land, estimated (at \$3.50 on the \$100) at \$12,000,000. Here are his figures:

#### TAXES IN ILLINOIS.

|                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| State tax.....                        | \$4,300,700  |
| County tax.....                       | 4,800,000    |
| City tax.....                         | 8,100,000    |
| Town, district and local taxes.....   | 12,000,000   |
| Registered bond fund tax.....         | 1,500,000    |
| Added for caution.....                | 1,000,000    |
| Federal taxes.....                    | 18,100,000   |
| Aggregate taxes under single tax..... | \$30,000,000 |

#### LAND VALUES IN ILLINOIS.

|                                                                                                              |                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Agricultural Land—</b>                                                                                    |                 |
| Improved land (27,500,000 acres) excluding improvements.....                                                 | \$807,500,000   |
| Unimproved land (7,000,000 acres).....                                                                       | 127,000,000     |
| <b>Real Estate—</b>                                                                                          |                 |
| Improved town and city lots (100,000), excluding improvements.....                                           | 478,700,000     |
| Unimproved town and city lots (534,000).....                                                                 | 131,000,000     |
| <b>Railroad Land—</b>                                                                                        |                 |
| Track land (12,651 miles) including right of way but excluding buildings, track, and other improvements..... | 139,000,000     |
| "Class D" land (5,000 acres).....                                                                            | 1,500,000       |
| "Class D" lots (7,000).....                                                                                  | 4,000,000       |
| <b>Other Corporation Land—</b>                                                                               |                 |
| Land of 296 corporations, including street railways, water, light, mining, and other companies.....          | 21,400,000      |
| Current taxes on land.....                                                                                   | 12,000,000      |
| Aggregate land values.....                                                                                   | \$1,726,000,000 |
| Annual rental value at 6 per cent.....                                                                       | \$103,560,000   |
| Excess of rental value over taxation.....                                                                    | 53,000,000      |
| Annual rental value at 3 per cent.....                                                                       | 51,700,000      |

#### TAXES IN COOK COUNTY.

|                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| State tax.....                        | \$1,100,000  |
| County tax.....                       | 1,700,000    |
| City tax.....                         | 5,600,000    |
| Town, district and local taxes.....   | 3,000,000    |
| Added for caution.....                | 600,000      |
| Federal taxes (estimated).....        | 5,100,000    |
| Aggregate taxes under single tax..... | \$17,000,000 |

#### LAND VALUES IN COOK COUNTY.

|                                                                    |               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Agricultural Land—</b>                                          |               |
| Improved land (33,100 acres), excluding improvements.....          | \$18,200,000  |
| Unimproved land (105,000 acres).....                               | 17,000,000    |
| <b>Real Estate—</b>                                                |               |
| Improved town and city lots (140,000), excluding improvements..... | 267,500,000   |
| Unimproved town and city lots (301,000).....                       | 99,000,000    |
| <b>Railroad Land—</b>                                              |               |
| Right-of-way track land (1,631 miles), excluding improvements..... | 21,000,000    |
| "Class D" land (35 acres).....                                     | 10,000        |
| "Class D" lots (900).....                                          | 3,500,000     |
| <b>Other Corporation Land—</b>                                     |               |
| Land of 81 corporations.....                                       | 15,000,000    |
| Current taxes on land.....                                         | 3,400,000     |
| Aggregate land values.....                                         | \$344,700,000 |
| Annual rental value at 6 per cent.....                             | \$20,682,000  |
| Excess of rental value over taxation.....                          | 9,000,000     |
| Annual rental value at 4 per cent.....                             | 17,700,000    |

#### TAXES IN ADAMS COUNTY.

|                                       |           |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| State tax.....                        | \$70,000  |
| County tax.....                       | 120,000   |
| City tax.....                         | 80,000    |
| Town, district and local taxes.....   | 230,000   |
| Registered bond fund tax.....         | 150,000   |
| Added for caution.....                | 50,000    |
| Federal taxes (estimated).....        | 500,000   |
| Aggregate taxes under single tax..... | 1,200,000 |

#### LAND VALUES IN ADAMS COUNTY.

|                                                                  |              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <b>Agricultural Land—</b>                                        |              |
| Improved land (386,000 acres), excluding improvements.....       | \$15,000,000 |
| Unimproved land (131,000 acres).....                             | 2,700,000    |
| <b>Real Estate—</b>                                              |              |
| Improved town and city lots (7,700), excluding improvements..... | 10,000,000   |
| Unimproved town and city lots (2,900).....                       | 800,000      |
| <b>Railroad Land—</b>                                            |              |
| Right-of-way track land (136 miles), excluding improvements..... | 1,600,000    |
| "Class D" land (56 acres).....                                   | 4,000        |
| "Class D" lots (15).....                                         | 71,000       |
| <b>Other Corporation Land—</b>                                   |              |
| Land of five corporations.....                                   | 150,000      |
| Current taxes on land.....                                       | 500,000      |
| Aggregate land values.....                                       | \$20,000,000 |
| Annual rental value at 6 per cent.....                           | \$1,200,000  |
| Excess of rental value over taxation.....                        | 600,000      |
| Annual rental value at 4 per cent.....                           | 1,000,000    |

Mr. Perry does not pretend that these figures are absolutely accurate, but says that after making a liberal allowance for inaccuracies there will still remain a sufficient revenue for all purposes of government.

### THE SCHOOLHOUSE CAMPAIGN.

Parkersburg, W. Va.—The winter with us down here has been a quiet one, the distribution of STANDARDS and tracts being about the only work done apart from the constant fear to face presentation of the land question. Contrary to general belief the farmers do not indulge in newspaper reading to any great extent, and except a few leading men in each neighborhood, who are the large landowners, they do not take any paper at all. One farmer, who has been persuaded to take THE STANDARD, told me that he had never taken a paper in his life. The country people are very religious, and the bible is their authority and gives color and direction to their arguments.

The mass of them can only be reached, as we have been reaching a few of them, by holding debates and talks with them in each neighborhood. They are naturally shy.

but very conservative and suspicious, but invariably treat our speakers courteously and listen closely and critically. There are always one or two men in each neighborhood who either oppose or adopt the ideas put forth by us; we know that that locality will never stop arguing the land question after we have once planted the seed among them. Distribution of STANDARDS and tracts about the public square on court days of course scatters our ideas all through the county, and where possible—and it is easy in our county—it helps to get squibs in the county paper. But this does not reach the bulk of the tenant farmers and the small farmer who must be reached if any progress is to be made. A dogged persistence in school house campaigning is about the only practical way that I see as yet that has yielded returns among the farmers, and we will continue it this coming season. To any who propose to try our plan, I would say that while it has its pains in stiff legs, and suspicious looks, and cold avoidance at the first meeting, and you cannot afford to go more than twice or three times into any locality, yet it has its compensation in the feeling that you have aroused thought along right lines, and that, no matter how cold your reception may have seemed, the seed is planted that will certainly show a return in a few weeks, when this neighborhood must be visited again.

W. I. BORRMAN.

## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,  
36 CLINTON PLACE,  
New York, March 11, 1890.

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

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending March 11, are as follows:

|                                       |        |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Through J. R. Gibbons, E. Saginaw.    | \$6 00 |
| W. Geddes, M. D., Washington, D. C.   | 12 00  |
| Through I. B. Sparks, Franklin, Ky.   | 4 50   |
| O. J. Sutton, Brooklyn Village, Ohio  | 1 20   |
| "Hion," N. Y.                         | 1 20   |
| Wm. H. Ryan, Columbus, S. C.          | 12 00  |
| K. C. S. T. Club, Kansas City, Mo.    | 6 00   |
| J. P. McCarthy, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.    | 5 00   |
| Through W. B. Borland, Saginaw.       | 2 70   |
| Through A. A. Curtis, Danbury, Ct.    | 6 00   |
| Through P. S. Fay, Cleveland, Ohio.   | 7 20   |
| Through B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh.       | 4 20   |
| Through S. D. Guinn, Brooklyn, N. Y.  | 6 60   |
| Owego S. T. Club, Owego, N. Y.        | 12 00  |
| Through E. Lucas, Roxbury, Mass.      | 1 20   |
| Through T. E. Devitt, Lynn, Mass.     | 6 00   |
| Through H. R. Mathews, Trenton, N. J. | 5 40   |
| Through W. McKendrick, Marysville.    | 28 50  |
| Garratt Mahon, Savannah, Ga.          | 3 00   |
| Through D. Wassergut, Butte, Mont.    | 12 00  |
| Through R. Eyre, Johnston, Pa.        | 9 90   |
| Chas. Wehile, Newark, N. J.           | 1 50   |

\$154 10

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . 2,853 55

Total . . . \$3,007 65  
Cash contributions for the week are as follows:

|                                        |       |
|----------------------------------------|-------|
| George Boeck, Murray, Neb.             | 60    |
| "Democrat," Wyandotte, Mich.           | 1 00  |
| David Armitage, Barbaboo, Wis.         | 1 00  |
| Omaha S. T. Club, Omaha, Neb.          | 2 00  |
| Ries Doune, Onset, Mass.               | 2 00  |
| Geo. W. Nickerson, Onset, Mass.        | 50    |
| C. B. Day, Newark, N. J.               | 1 00  |
| Carl Toense, Cleveland, Ohio           | 25    |
| J. Culross, Sprague, Wash.             | 50    |
| Shenandoah S. T. Club, Shenandoah, Pa. | 2 00  |
| J. E. Morier, Troy, N. Y.              | 2 00  |
| Chas. Luke, Hion, N. Y.                | 50    |
| Alfred Williamson, Hion, N. Y.         | 50    |
| S. H. Deltry, Hion, N. Y.              | 50    |
| George Smith, Hion, N. Y.              | 50    |
| Olof Pearson, Lexington, Ky.           | 50    |
| J. H. Frances, New Britain, Conn.      | 2 00  |
| Mark Noble, Pawtucket, R. I.           | 1 00  |
| J. C. Fletcher, Brooklyn, N. Y.        | 50    |
| "C. P." Roselle, N. J.                 | 1 00  |
| Through C. B. Marriam, Meriden, Conn.  | 1 00  |
| "Republican," Garland, Pa.             | 1 00  |
| Through B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh, Mich.  | 10    |
| Chas. Ford, Denver, Colo.              | 1 00  |
| James Hill, Patterson, N. J.           | 1 00  |
| Jose Gros, Morristown, N. J.           | 2 00  |
| D. A. Learned, Stockton, Cal.          | 2 00  |
| George W. Thacher, New York city       | 5 00  |
| S. E. Ford, Morristown, N. J.          | 1 50  |
| Boyd Cornick, M. D., Mascoutah, Ill.   | 1 00  |
| William Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.       | 1 00  |
| Thomas Woodliff, Virginia City, Nev.   | 20    |
| "Coring Single Taxers," Corning.       | 1 00  |
| W. Wellstood (add.), New York city     | 1 50  |
| "Single Tax" (add.), State of Wash.    | 10 00 |
| R. A. Hall, Marysville, Mont.          | 1 00  |
| J. W. Innes, Marysville, Mont.         | 60    |
| Contributions in postage stamps        | 2 26  |

\$53 31

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . 518 00

Total . . . \$601 31

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . 76,139

Received during the week ending

March 11 . . . 633

Total . . . 76,772

G. St. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

## NEW YORK CITY ASSESSMENTS.

For the week ending March 8, 1890.

## IMPROVED.

No. 233 East Fifty-ninth street, five story brick tenement. Sold for \$26,000, assessed \$9,000, or 45 per cent of its value.

No. 322 East Seventy-seventh street, four story brick tenement. Sold for \$15,550; assessed at \$9,000, or 57½ per cent of its value.

No. 310 West Eighty-sixth street, four story stone front dwelling. Sold for \$40,000; assessed at \$16,000, or 40 per cent of its value.

No. 231 East 114th street, five story brick tenement. Sold for \$22,000; assessed at \$12,000, or 54½ per cent of its value.

Nos. 64 and 66 East 122d street, two five story stone front flats. Sold for \$60,000; assessed at \$24,000, or 40 per cent of its value.

No. 309 West 128th street, five story brick flat. Sold for \$26,000; assessed at \$12,000, or 46 per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above seven buildings is 47 per cent.

## VACANT.

North side Sixty-seventh street, 350 feet east of Third avenue, 27.6x100 10. Sold for \$13,500; assessed at \$4,500, or 33½ per cent of its value.

South side Seventy-fifth street, 400 feet east of Ninth avenue, 40x95. Sold for \$24,850; assessed at \$10,000, or 40½ per cent of its value.

North side Ninety-second street, 250 feet west of Ninth avenue, 25x100 8. Sold for \$11,000; assessed at \$4,000, or 36½ per cent of its value.

South side Ninety-sixth street, 250 feet west of Ninth avenue, 50x100 8. Sold for \$25,250; assessed at \$14,000, or 55 per cent of its value.

North side Ninety-ninth street, 175 feet east of Fifth avenue, 125x100 11. Sold for \$55,000; assessed at \$15,000, or 27½ per cent of its value.

South side 121st street, 75 feet west of L. xox avenue, 125x100 11. Sold for \$60,000; assessed at \$22,500, or 37½ per cent of its value.

The average assessments on the above six parcels of land is 38 per cent.

## THE ROLL OF STATES.

## NEW YORK CITY.

THE SIGNERS TO THE PETITION TO BE CANCELED—THE REFORM CLUB TO START A CLASS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE TAXES.

Every resident of New York city who signed the enrollment committee's petition will, if he can be found, be visited within the next week or two. This was arranged at the monthly meeting of the Manhattan single tax club, held last Thursday evening. At the February meeting a committee had been appointed to divide the city into neighborhood districts and report a plan for finding the single tax people, or sympathizers, who were not affiliated with the club. The committee reported last Thursday evening in favor of the assembly district division. They also reported that they had copied on cards the names of the New York city signers to the petition—numbering over 5,000—and had distributed them into their assembly districts; and they recommended the appointment of a committee of sixty from the club, at the same time suggesting the names, to take the matter in hand, which recommendation was adopted. On a roll call, fifty of the sixty answered to their names. The roll call ended, the committee was divided up into sub-committees for each of the assembly districts, who, after a short recess, reported the names of their chairmen. Then the names taken from the enrollment committee's petition were distributed to all the chairmen, who immediately went to work, assisted by their committees, and sorted them into "neighborhood" districts, and each of the committees took such names as were assigned to them, ready to begin their visits on the following evening. It was nearly midnight before all the arrangements were completed. Mr. Oliver Summer Teal gave valuable assistance in classifying the names, and the club gave him a unanimous vote of thanks. The whole committee meets again this Thursday evening, March 13, to hear reports of progress from the sub-committees. Interest will be added to the occasion by the fact that the agitation committee has arranged a "sketching party" for the same evening. Signor Carlo Brizzi will again preside at the piano, and will excel his efforts of two weeks ago.

The agitation committee announce a lecture for March 20, and a "comers" for the 27th. At the entertainments and lectures in the future vocal and instrumental music will be a feature.

Colonel R. G. Ingersoll has acknowledged the receipt of the copy of "Progress and Poverty" sent him by the club.

## BROOKLYN.

AN ADDRESS FROM A MEMBER OF THE CORDON CLUB.

The speaker last Sunday, March 9, was W. H. Pollock of the Cordon club of London, who spoke on the evils of protection. Mr. Pollock alluded to the assertion frequently made by protectionists that the Cordon club sent large sums to America to further the cause of free trade. So far from this being the case, he declared that great difficulty would be experienced by any one in search

of the club, which was only enabled to pay \$125 per month rent for a dingy room on the top floor back of a six story building, and that the little money they were enabled to raise was expended in the purchase of literature to enlighten the heathens upon the true beauties of free trade.

The address, which was mainly devoted to showing the fraud practiced to obtain a tariff upon various articles contained in the schedule, was particularly interesting to those who wish to meet protectionist statistics with equally imposing ones for free trade. Among the items enumerated, it was shown that, in the case of starch, all of this article bought for domestic consumption cost the consumer just twice the amount paid by the foreign consumer; and that all sugar sold for export cost 2 85¢ a pound less than that for home consumption.

On Wednesday evening March 12, President Aitken will appear before the two-per-centers, Room 24, Cooper union, and uphold the single tax.

The seventh chapter of "Protection or Free Trade" will be read and discussed at the regular meeting Wednesday evening.

The club soon hopes to undertake some practical work in connection with the city assessment roll. All those who are willing to assist in this work are requested to communicate with the president, Peter Aitken, 134 Kosciuszko street, in order that the work may be so distributed as to be carried on systematically.

## NEW YORK STATE.

William Young, Yonkers.—We have changed our meeting place to 13 North Broadway, where we intend to hold public meetings every Tuesday evening. It will be our aim to have speakers on different topics come and address these meetings as often as possible.

## ILLINOIS.

TWO YEARS AGO AND TO-DAY—HOW THE CAUSE IS MOVING ON.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago.—The ferment in this city is greater now than ever before. It is impossible for a busy man like myself to keep track of all that is taking place of interest to unitaxers, but I see enough to amaze me and fill me with fresh courage and hope. Now our doctrine is in the air. The newspapers accord us courteous treatment; so at times they are even cordial; one or two have been all but committed to our cause; and their general tone is such as to warrant the assumption that when the time comes practical help from this source may be expected. Further than this, discussion has become practically universal. It is no longer confined to our club and a few labor assemblies. Nothing, however, more clearly shows the progress that has been made than the editorials in the Tribune, which treats the single tax seriously and as a practical question. When the break is once made, it will then be a mere matter of keeping on; and I think there is public sentiment enough to back up such a journalistic champion.

At our meeting last night (March 7) the following officers were elected: W. W. Bailey, president; Miss Lenora Beck, Hon. Jonathan B. Taylor, J. Ripley, vice-presidents; Frank W. Irwin, secretary and treasurer. The election was conducted as nearly as possible in conformity with the Australian system.

Charles J. Moertel, Chicago.—I would like to assist in the organization of a single tax club in the Ninth and Tenth wards combined. If there are others in the said wards of the same mind, please address as above, No. 1 Summer street.

## MINNESOTA.

POPULARITY OF THE SINGLE TAX—THE HIGH PRICE OF COAL.

C. J. Beech, Minneapolis.—Last Saturday evening, March 2, I dropped into a mass meeting of what is known as "The people's political reform club." One of the speakers referred in no very complimentary terms to our present system of taxation, "which burdens the poor and lets the rich escape." When he sat down I offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that the burden of taxation should be made to fall less heavily on the homes and industries of the people, and more heavily on those who hold land idle for speculative purposes.

The motion was instantly seconded from

all parts of the house, and, after restating, was passed with a tremendous chorus of "ayes" and only one solitary "no."

Last evening our league joined with the Coal exchange of Minneapolis to discuss the causes of the high price of coal.

## CONNECTICUT.

S. T. Bridgeport.—W. J. Gorsuch, on last Sunday afternoon at the Studio building, lectured on "The social problem." Mrs. Gorsuch added to the pleasure of those present by reciting "Down in a coal mine."

## NEW JERSEY.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—The club has adopted a resolution which provides that from now till after the fall election, this club shall devote its time and effort, almost exclusively, to the congressional petition and tariff reform agitation. This, we think, is the most important work immediately before us and should receive all the attention that we can possibly give it, without, of course, neglecting any opportunities to advance the single tax.

One of our members reported that on his way to the meeting he saw some boys at play on the street and was not a little surprised to learn that the game was called "The Single Tax," but was not able to find out just what it consisted of. That brought down the house. Surely we are making progress.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

H. Valet, Philadelphia.—I am instructed to inform you that we have formed the South-wark tax reform club, and have elected the following as officers: President, John Cosgrove; secretary, H. Valet.

## MISSOURI.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—Dr. W. B. Addington addressed the single tax league Tuesday night. Dr. Addington is working on religious lines mainly, and has already converted two St. Louis clergymen.

A plan has been proposed for the organization of social clubs auxiliary to the single tax league, designed to educate young men lately made voters and soon to become voters.

## IOWA.

M. V. Waters, Marshalltown.—We have a single tax committee here, of which James Skegg is chairman and Hans Erickson secretary. We intend to organize a club soon. We will be obliged to start small in numbers, but are full of hope and promise. I have given our newsdealer an order to leave THE STANDARD at the reading room of the Y. M. C. A. for six months. May it prove seed sown on good ground.

## CATARRH.

Catarrhal Deafness—Hay Fever—A New Home Treatment

Sufferers are not generally aware that these diseases are contagious, or that they are due to the presence of living parasites in the lining membrane of the nose and eustachian tubes. Microscopic research, however, has proved this to be a fact, and the result of this discovery is that a simple remedy has been formulated whereby catarrh, catarrhal deafness and hay fever are permanently cured in from one to three simple applications made at home by the patient once in two weeks.

N. B.—This treatment is not a snuff or an ointment; both have been discarded by reputable physicians as injurious. A pamphlet explaining this new treatment is sent free on receipt of stamp to pay postage, by A. H. Dixon & Son, 337 and 339 West King street, Toronto, Canada.—[Christian Advocate.

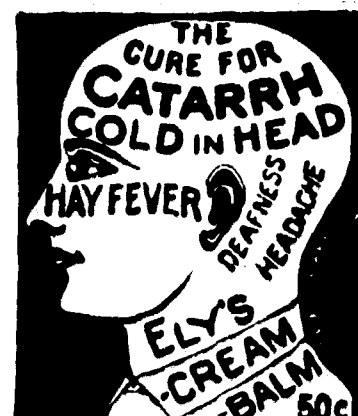
Sufferers from Catarrhal troubles should carefully read the above.—[Adv.

AS SOME of the back numbers of THE STANDARD are growing scarce, we will send 15 cents' worth of tracts in exchange for any of the following:  
Vol. I—No. 2  
Vol. II—Nos. 1 and 3

Graphic Shorthand,  
The Script System,  
Can be learned  
By Anybody.

Complete textbook for self-instruction, \$1.50. Lessons by mail. Send for pamphlet.  
MAO GREGORY & JONES, Publishers and Teachers,  
19 Union square, New York

Ely's Cream Balm  
THE  
CURE FOR  
**CATARRH**  
HAY-FEVER  
AND  
**COLD IN HEAD**  
Ely's Cream Balm is not a liquid, snuff or powder. Applied into the nostrils it is quickly absorbed. It cleanses the head, allays inflammation, heals the sores. Sold by druggists or sent by mail on receipt of price.  
**50c ELY BROTHERS, 56 Warren Street, NEW YORK. 50c**



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## MR. VOGT'S PHOSPHATE FIND.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In the Boston Post of the 5th inst. I came across an article with the heading in large type, "The Phosphate Find; the Story of Its Discovery." After reading the article I made a cursory search in the paper for an advertisement of some company "owning" land in the "phosphate belt" offering stock for sale, but found none, which led me to infer that it is really a "good thing," as the phrase is, since those who got in on the "ground floor" are not offering to let other people in on the same terms.

The story is that with which we all are so familiar; an immense natural deposit (this time of phosphate) is discovered, "one of the greatest discoveries of modern times, and one that is destined to be a source of incalculable wealth to the state, as well as an immense benefit in other ways." We are then told how it was discovered in April last; Mr. Albertus Vogt, a resident of Dunellon, Fla., determines to sink an artesian well on his place, locates a spot near the foot of his front yard, sets one of his servants, a mulatto boy named Tom, to boring and goes off for a day's sport. When he returns Tom tells him that the auger had got in a rock. He gives orders to have the auger dug out, and soon Tom comes running back with two huge teeth and the auger in his hands, and tells him of the strange bones and curious soil exposed by his digging. He gives orders to have a large hole dug out and then on examination satisfies himself that his embryo well contains an unusually rich deposit of phosphate. He sends specimens of the soil to eminent chemists in different cities and has the same report from all, the percentage of phosphate varying, but none less than sixty per cent.

At this point Vogt took a capitalist of Ocala into his confidence and a more thorough investigation was made of the land in that locality. Some idea was obtained of the depth and extent of the deposit. A vigorous buying and selling (of land) at once began in that locality. Fortunes were made in a night and the price of real estate rose with the rapidity of mercury. Matters were kept as quiet as possible, however, and it is not until very recently that any facts have been made public or people in general informed of the real value of the discovery.

"The day when doubts were expressed as to the actuality of the discovery has long since passed, and the reports of the eminent chemists who have made the innumerable analyses, together with the eagerness displayed by men of capital and high business standing noted for their cautiousness in investments in purchasing land through which the phosphate belt extends, have opened the eyes of the world to the enormous commercial value of this deposit.

"During last September a corporation was formed called the Dunellon phosphate company, and capitalized for \$1,250,000," of which Mr. Vogt is general superintendent, and he "states that the company is soon to be recapitalized at \$20,000,000." "The company owns 89,000 acres of land lying within the supposed phosphate district, beside the land held by its individual members." Another company is being formed of which a well-known millionaire and banker of Ocala is one of the chief movers. He is himself the possessor of 25,000 acres of the land. Real estate in the district is constantly rising in value, and capitalists, speculators and investors from all parts of the country are hastening to take advantage of all they can get. The phosphate lies so near the surface that the cost of mining it is comparatively small.

We are then treated to a eulogy of Mr. Vogt, who "has the satisfaction of having already raised an enduring monument for himself (built of phosphate), and of having made fortunes for hundreds beside himself." \* \* \* and who, "since his accession to such wealth, is known in the region round about as the duke of Dunellon. He and his brother, Mr. John Vogt, control a large extent of land, beside their interest in the Dunellon company."

"Tom, the mulatto, is a fine-looking fellow who bears his honors easily, as the scion of a noble race should do, for Tom claims to be a grandson of a former governor of the state." We are not told how much stock Tom received for his share in the discovery. Probably he has to be satisfied with "his honors," whatever they are, and with the privilege of earning a dollar a day, more or less, by working for it and digging out phosphate.

This tale needs no adornment. I have simply quoted the language of the writer of the article, transferring some sentences so as to put them in consecutive order. There was a deposit formed ages ago by the Ocean

and awaiting the time when men should discover it and make use of this bounty. It lies near the surface and is easily worked. Any man willing to work, with simple and common tools—a pickaxe and shovel and wheelbarrow, or mule and cart—can get it out from its natural place. Other workers can transport and crush it or otherwise fit it for use, and then again transport it to the fields of the north or of Europe, whose impaired fertility it is to restore. It is labor alone applied in different ways that makes it useful and gives it value and transforms it into wealth; but when it is discovered some men rush and scramble to acquire the land under which it lies. To dig out the phosphate? Oh! no; but to grasp the power given by a vicious social system, under which, sheltered behind the private monopoly of land, they can compel one set of workers to give up to them a large share of their earnings for the opportunity to work the deposit and make it of use, and another set of workers, the farmers, to do likewise for the chance to make use of the product of the labor of the others.

This writer tells us that this great phosphate find "is destined to be a source of incalculable wealth to the state," and he spoke more wisely than he knew, for so it will be under the single tax, when every man holding any part of the land under which it lies will be compelled to pay into the public treasury the fair value of the privilege which he has by reason of exclusive occupation of that portion of the land, being the advantage over other men in earning a living which comes from possession of that natural opportunity. But according to this writer's description, the "state," to which this deposit is now a source of wealth, consists of "men of capital and high business standing noted for their cautiousness in investments" and "capitalists, speculators and investors from all parts of the country," who display eagerness "in purchasing land through which the phosphate belt extends" and are "hastening to take advantage of all they can get," and under whose "vigorous buying and selling" (of land) "fortunes were made in a night, and the price of real estate rose with the rapidity of mercury."

This is the kind of "state" in which the great mass of the people who conform to the natural order and work for a living have very little to look forward to; it is the kind of state in which natural deposits formed by the Creator for the benefit of all mankind, and values created by the labors of all who work, are, so to speak, put up as prizes to be gambled for, and naturally, as in all gambling, a few walk off with the prizes and the great majority have nothing. It is the kind of state in which, though we profess that every man has an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, those rights are practically denied. It is the kind of state that ought not to exist. It is the fault of all the people, due chiefly to their ignorance, that it does exist, and it is the part and duty of single tax men to enlighten them and bring about its destruction.

JAMES R. CARRETT.

Boston, Feb. 27, 1890.

## FREE TRADER AND SINGLE TAXER.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Being an extreme free trader, I cannot keep from seeing the truth in the single tax. I am ready and willing to help all I can. I think it a shame that Kentucky is not represented by a "club." W. E. McGOODWIN.

Franklin, Ky., March 1, 1890.

## TOO MANY HORSES.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I have lately received the second number of the Christian Patriot, published at Morristown, Tenn., by the Rev. James B. Converse. After carefully reading its contents, I fail to clearly understand his ideas of the single tax. Again, I see nothing in the paper that refers to free trade without which there can be no single tax. I propose that he build a platform expressive of what he proposes to advocate that will be plain enough for us common people to comprehend and give it a standing place in his paper. It strikes me that he has too many horses attached to his patriot cart. His leader certainly is religion, a strong, vigorous and effective leader; next follows his horse prohibition, in rather bad condition just now. You remember that he was badly kicked last year in Pennsylvania by those old stage horses, democracy and republicanism, and recently received a severe whack over the head from the John Barleycorn horse in Rhode Island. However, he has wisely placed him just behind religion, who is sustaining him nobly. The third horse in the team seems to be ballot reform, a new horse, a colt, as it were, of great expectations, a fit leader of his little, ambitious, clean limbed, single tax horse, which he has placed in the shaft, and who

alone is able, with the talent in the cart, to pull through. Too many horses for so small a cart, Mr. Converse; you are overloaded with power. A single good principle, well and vigorously advocated, will accomplish more good than a dozen huddled together and advocated in a body.

C. B. COOPER.

510 East Twentieth street, New York city.

## HOW HE SAW THE TRUTH.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Several years ago I heard of the single tax, and thought it the most absurd, unequal and unjust idea that I had ever heard of, and Henry George the chief of cranks. But the single tax idea being brought to my notice several times, and knowing that something was wrong, I resolved to study the matter. The result is that I am an uncompromising, enthusiastic, unlimited single tax man. I think it impossible for any honest person to read up the pros and cons of the matter without becoming a convert. I am doing what I can to spread the single tax gospel. I have written many articles for country and city papers advocating the single tax. The Times, a protection paper at Savannah, Ill., printed eight letters that I wrote on the subject; and I am told that many converts were made in consequence. The Journal, another paper at the same place, has been advocating the single tax for over a year. All we need is to get people to investigate the question. The more people try to argue against it the sooner their conversion. I own considerable real estate, but that fact does not deter me from advocating the single tax, for I am fully convinced that the present system of land holding is wrong, and I am bound to advocate the truth, regardless of consequences.

C. W. KELLOGG.

Chicago, Ill.

## DISTRIBUTING TAX BURDENS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Referring to the communications in THE STANDARD of January 22, from Mr. James M. Jarvis of Mt. Pleasant, Mich., regarding his friend who thinks every one should pay for his protection according to his wealth, his and your answers of course are true. People should pay according to their monopoly of natural opportunities, and pay nothing else. Still it is well to remind those who wish men taxed proportionately to their wealth that the single tax is the only one that will do this, although it is a tax on monopoly and not on wealth, for, as you intimate, people almost invariably occupy, not only for business and residence, but even for pleasure purposes, the most valuable (and therefore costly) land they can afford. Why do they do this? Because it pays to do so, and I think, therefore, the single tax would be found in practice to differ from all other taxes in that it would not be regarded as a burden, being simply a payment for value received, while all other taxes compel men to pay for values they have themselves created at their own expense and from which the community necessarily derives an adequate benefit without taxing them at all.

Kalamazoo, Mich.

N. G. LESLIE.

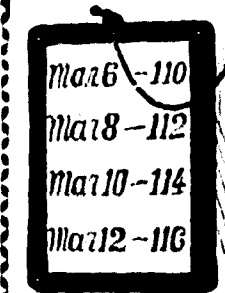
## AN ACTIVE MISSIONARY.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Some time ago a friend of mine in Reading, Pa., placed in my hands a copy of "Progress and Poverty." Up to that time I had been a dyed-in-the-wool republican and protectionist. He requested me to read the book. I told him that up to that time no arguments that I had ever heard were strong enough to turn me from my faith, but that I would read the

book and judge of it without prejudice. I fulfilled my promise and went further. I read "Property in Land," "Protection or Free Trade?" and "Social Problems," all in the space of two weeks, and I am pleased to say that my faith in republican principles, as they are now presented, and in the theory of protection, has entirely disappeared. Since my conversion I have been an earnest worker in the field, and have made twenty-five converts, each of whom has promised to try to convert as many more. I agree with Mr. George: no concession, no quarter to the enemy, single tax on land values and absolute free trade.

HENRY O. SKINNER.

St. Mary's, Pa.



**GAIN  
ONE POUND  
A Day.**

A GAIN OF A POUND A DAY IN THE CASE OF A MAN WHO HAS BECOME "ALL RUN DOWN," AND HAS BEGUN TO TAKE THAT REMARKABLE FLESH PRODUCER,

**SCOTT'S  
EMULSION**

OF PURE COD LIVER OIL WITH Hypophosphites of Lime & Soda IS NOTHING UNUSUAL. THIS FEAT HAS BEEN PERFORMED OVER AND OVER AGAIN. PALATABLE AS MILK. ENDORSED BY PHYSICIANS. SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS. AVOID SUBSTITUTIONS AND IMITATIONS.



The slightest pull at the chain fastens the concealed points into the lining of the pocket. You Want full particulars about the best watches made, our Keystone Dust-Proof and our mode of selling them at \$1 a week. We guarantee you absolutely against loss. Exclusive territory given to Active Agents. Prices, \$7 to \$150. Our special \$4.50 watch is the best watch made for Railroad use. We guarantee our prices to be the very lowest at which any watches of equal quality can be sold, and we protect our customers fully. We refer to any commercial agency. We have selling agents in every large city. We want AGENTS everywhere. Write at once to THE KEYSTONE WATCH CO., 304 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

## THE TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, 1,000 octavo pages, cloth. Mailed prepaid for \$1.50 by the American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, 20 Cooper Union, New York city.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (INC.) 104 E. 10th St., CHICAGO, ILL. BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING

**PAINLESS BEECHAM'S PILLS EFFECTUAL**

**THE GREAT ENGLISH MEDICINE**

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Distress and Brownness, Cold Chills, Pinching of Heart, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Heavy Blisters on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, Dreaming and all Nervous and Irritable Affections, &c. **THE PINKET DOSE WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES.** This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a Wonderful Medicine. "Worth a guinea a box."

**BECHAM'S PILLS**, taken as directed, will quickly restore females to complete health. For a

**WEAK STOMACH; IMPAIRED DIGESTION; CONSTIPATION; SICK HEADACHE; DISORDERED LIVER;**

they **AUT LIKE MAGIC**—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; strengthening the muscular system; restoring long lost Complexion; bringing back the Moon; regulating the circulation; and arousing the dormant faculties of the system. These are "Pills" admitted by thousands, in all classes of society, and one of the best preparations for the Nervous and Digestive Systems. **THEY HAVE THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD.** Full directions with each box.

Prepared only by **THOMAS BECHAM, Esq.,** Sole, Laneshire, England.

Sold by **BRUNNEN, Esq.,** 10, N. 10th St., New York.

**WILL SELL BECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.**

And inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention THE STANDARD.

## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

## ARKANSAS.

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

## CALIFORNIA.

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

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

**OAKLAND.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

**LOS ANGELES.**—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., A. J. Gray; sec., Clarence A. Gray, rooms 24-25 Bryson-Bonebrake block.

**SAN DIEGO.**—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, Novelette book stand, 439 Fifth st.

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

## COLORADO.

**STATE.**—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

**DENVER.**—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2351 Marion st.

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

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

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

## CONNECTICUT.

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

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

## DAKOTA.

**STATE.**—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box 146, Bristol.

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

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

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

## FLORIDA.

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

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

## GEORGIA.

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

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

## ILLINOIS.

**CHICAGO.**—Single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren North Bailey; sec., T. W. Wittler, 436 Milwaukee ave.

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

**JACKSONVILLE.**—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

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

**QUINCY.**—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 337 S. 3d.

## INDIANA.

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

**CLINTON.**—Single tax club; Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., W. V. Wells; sec., L. O. Bishop.

**FORT WAYNE.**—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

**EVANSVILLE.**—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

**RICHMOND.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. B. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 315 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Monahan, 980 Dodge ave.

**DAN MONROE.**—Single tax club. Pres., E. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballanger.

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnahan, 228 W. Broadway.

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

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

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

## KANSAS.

**ABILENE.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

**GROVE HILL.**—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

## LOUISIANA.

**NEW ORLEANS.**—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

## MAINE.

**AUBURN.**—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1227th st.

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

## MARYLAND.

**BALTIMORE.**—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, Druid hall, cor. Jay and Baltimore sts. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

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

**Single tax association of East Baltimore.** Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**BOSTON.**—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

**Neponset single tax league.** Every Thursday evening, 339½ Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lathrop, 43 Walnut st.

**Dorchester single tax club.** Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Lavis, 13 Leonard st.

**Roxbury single tax club.** Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

**STONEHAM.**—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

**LYNN.**—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

**WORCESTER.**—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

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

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

**ORANGE.**—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

**NEWBURYPORT.**—Merrimac assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac st.

**MALDEN.**—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

## MICHIGAN.

**STURGIS.**—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

**SAGINAW.**—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Wegener; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

## MINNESOTA.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

**South Minneapolis single tax club.** Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., F. F. Hammerley.

**ST. PAUL.**—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

## MISSOURI.

**ST. LOUIS.**—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

**"Benton School of Social Science."** Saturday, 8 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry B. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

**LA DUE.**—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

**KANSAS CITY.**—Kansas City single tax club. Lectures Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sunday afternoons at 3. Headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every week day until 10 o'clock p. m.; the public cordially invited. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., J. C. Williams, N. Y. Life building.

**HERMANN.**—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Haseuritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

**HIGH GATE.**—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

**OAK HILL.**—Single tax league. Pres., F. Debolt; sec., J. W. Miller.

**RED BIRD.**—Single tax league. Pres., J. S. Cahill; sec., J. Krawson, Red Bird, Mo.

## NEBRASKA.

**OMAHA.**—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 15th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 23d st.

**WYMORE.**—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamm.

## NEW JERSEY.

**JERSEY CITY.**—Standard single tax club. Business meetings every other Friday evening at the Avenue house, "Five Corners."

Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 Grove st.

**NEWARK.**—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 82 Broad st.; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 43 Warren place.

**PATERSON.**—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 132 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 169 Market street.

**S. ORANGE.**—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

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

**JANVIER.**—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney R. Walsh.

**CAMDEN.**—Camden single tax club. Pres., Louis M. Randall; sec., Wm. M. Callingham.

**WASHINGTON.**—Washington land and tax club. Pres., John Morrison; sec., W. H. Christine.

**BAYONNE.**—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. R. DuBois.

**PASSAIC.**—Single tax committee of Passaic. Pres., Oscar D. Wood.

## NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK.**—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 38 Clinton pl.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

**Harlem single tax club,** room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8:30 p. m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

**North New York single tax club.** Every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 2840 3d ave. Pres., James R. Small; sec., Thomas F. Foy.

**BROOKLYN.**—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Peter Aitken; cor. sec., Robert Baker, 884 Greene av.

**The Eastern District single tax club.** Each Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, W. C. T. W. hall, cor. S. Third st. and Bedford av. Pres., John Britton; sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

**Eighteenth ward single tax club.** Meets every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at 253 Evergreen av.

**BUFFALO.**—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburgh, P. O. box 190.

**ROCHESTER.**—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. H. Bluntach; sec., J. M. Campbell, 30 Charlotte st.

**ALBANY.**—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., James J. Mahoney, 2 Division st.

**SYRACUSE.**—Syracuse single tax club. 113 Walton street. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

**POUGHKEEPSIE.**—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albrow; sec., F. S. Arnold.

**AUBURN.**—Single tax club. Mondays, 7:30 p. m. College hall. Pres., Dan. Peacock; sec., H. W. Benedict, 6 Morris st.

**ELLENVILLE.**—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

**FLUSHING.**—Single tax club. Pres., D. C. Beard; sec., Fred Sheffield.

**NEW BRIGHTON.** S. 1.—Richmond county single tax club. Every Monday evening, Parabol hall, New Brighton. Pres., J. S. Coogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard, W. New Brighton.

**NORTHPORT.**—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

**OWEGO.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Perry Hyde.

**TROY.**—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

**COBES.**—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurand; sec., J. S. Crane, 128 Ontario st.

**GLOVERSVILLE.**—Single tax committee. Chairman, A. P. Slade; sec., Dr. Wm. C. Wood, 30 S. Main st.

**JAMESTOWN.**—Single tax club of Jamestown. Last Saturday evening of each month. Pres., Adam Stormer; sec., F. G. Anderson, 300 Barrett st.

**YONKERS.**—The Jefferson club, 85 Main st. Always open. Business meeting every Tuesday evening at 7:45.

## OHIO.

**STATE.**—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1633 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348½ S. High st., Columbus.

**CLEVELAND.**—Cleveland single tax club. Every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., 144 Ontario st., room 16. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., C. H. Nau, room 25, Standard block.

**CINCINNATI.**—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon. Club room, Bradford's block, n. w. cor. 6th and Vine sts. Pres., James Semple, 478 Central av.; sec., Alfred H. Henderson, 23 Clark st.

**COLUMBUS.**—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, 348½ S. High st.

**Columbus single tax club.** Meets Sunday at 3:30 p. m. Pres., H. S. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

**Tiffin.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

**HAMILTON.**—Hamilton single tax club. Every Saturday evening at 3:14 High st. Pres., Howard Rich; sec., Ambrose Strang, 742 E. Dayton st.

**GALION.**—Galion single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

**DAYTON.**—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 E. 5th st.

**AKRON.**—Akron single tax club. Pres., Jno. McBride; sec., Sam Rodgers.

**MIAMI.**—Land and labor association of Miami. Pres., C. F. Beall; sec., J. T. Beals.

**MANVELD.**—Manveld single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristol; sec., W. J. Huggins, 66 W. 1st st.

**TOLEDO.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 112 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a. m. Pres., A. R. Wynn; sec., J. P. Traversa.

**YOUNGSTOWN.**—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 6 S. Market st.

**ZANESVILLE.**—Central single tax club. Pres., W. H. Loughhead; sec., Wm. Quigley.

## OREGON.

**PORTLAND.**—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. 2d and 4th Thursdays of each month, Grand Army hall. Pres., R. H. Thompson; sec., S. B. Riggan, 48 Stark st.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

**PHILADELPHIA.**—Henry George club. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

**Southwark tax reform club.** Pres., John Cosgrove; sec., H. Valet, 512 Dunn st.

**Kensington single tax club.** Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 209½ Frankford ave., Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

**PITTSBURG.**—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p. m., 102 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yurdley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. E.

**BRADFORD.**—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. Pres., Phil. D. Tanguay; sec., J. C. De Forist.

**READING.**—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 402½ Penn st. Pres., C. B. Prizer; cor. sec., Grant Nagle, 208 S. Third st.

**ERIE.**—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

**EDWARDSVILLE.**—Jefferson ballot reform and single tax club. First Friday of each month. Pres., J. J. Smythe, M. D.; sec., J. P. Hammond.

**LEBANON.**—Lebanon single tax and land club. Pres., Adam Behny; sec., J. G. Zimmerman, 111 N. Fourteenth st.

**SCRANTON.**—Henry George single tax club. 1st and 3d Friday evenings of each month, Noake's hall, cor. Franklin ave. and Spruce st. Pres., Duncan Wright; sec., Arthur McGee, 914 Capouse ave.

**SHENANDOAH.**—Single tax club. Sunday, 3 p. m., 415 W. Coal st. Pres., Morris Marsh; sec., Thomas G. Potts.

**UPPER LEHIGH.**—Single tax committee. Pres., J. B. Carr; sec., George Mottee.

**JOHNSTOWN, Pa.**—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., Richard Eyre.

**POTTSTOWN.**—Single tax club. Meetings 1st and 3d Friday evenings each month in Weitzenkorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., H. H. Johnson, 530 Walnut st.

## RHODE ISLAND.

