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THE STANDARD

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

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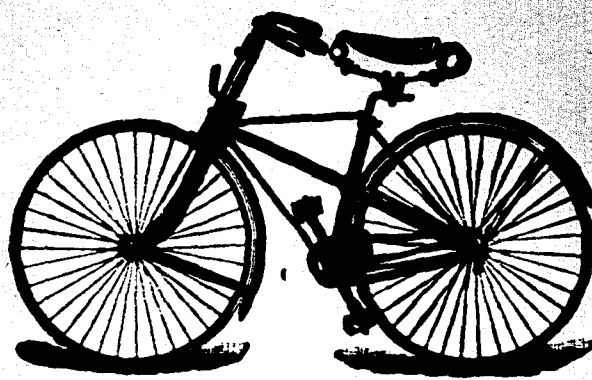
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VOL. X.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1891.

No. 3.

THE OHIO DEMOCRATS.—The renomination of Hon. James E. Campbell for Governor of Ohio appears to have been a foregone conclusion. On the first ballot he received 509 votes to 134 for Lawrence T. Neal, 56 for Virgil P. Kline, and 1 for Tom L. Johnson. This heavy majority and the accompanying enthusiasm indicate that Governor Campbell is the real choice of the Ohio Democrats, and they are surely the best judges as to the candidate to be chosen. Kline and Neal are both excellent men, and either would have made a strong candidate; but the former had apparently no support outside his own county, and Neal was probably handicapped by the vociferous support of the Cincinnati enemies of Governor Campbell.

Of course, it is not easy at this distance to enter into the details of the quarrel of the Democratic politicians of Cincinnati with the Governor. The general impression among outsiders is that Governor Campbell was right in purpose, if not in methods, in his warfare on the Cincinnati ring; and this feeling is further strengthened by the bitter opposition to his renomination, shown by the infamous Cincinnati Enquirer, a satanic newspaper that loves evil for the sake of evil, and instinctively hates good. This combination of opposition has inclined many Democrats outside of Ohio to love Governor Campbell "for the enemies he has made." Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that many capable and honest Democrats in Ohio doubted the wisdom of his renomination. The majority of the party evidently thought otherwise; and now that he is nominated he will doubtless receive the votes of all true Democrats in Ohio, except, perhaps, those whose support has been repelled in advance by the silver plank in the platform.

It is to be hoped that the declaration in favor of the free coinage of silver may not have this effect. It was undoubtedly a concession to the Alliance element, and it may win more votes than it will drive away; but, nevertheless, it was bad politics to force it through the convention against the votes of nearly half the delegates, since it clearly introduced an element of dissension in a party that is perfectly and enthusiastically united on the main issue of the campaign. This is, and always has been, the ground of THE STANDARD's urgent advice to the Democratic party, to leave the currency question alone until the fight against protection shall have been won. If the Democrats lose Ohio it will be because they have thus chosen to needlessly complicate an otherwise simple situation.

So far as the tariff is concerned the declaration is a straightforward denunciation of the protective idea, and a demand for a tariff for revenue only. This is all that could reasonably have been expected from an Ohio Democratic Convention, and it is a great advance over the kind of declarations the Democracy of that State and its present candidate were prone to but a few years ago. In fact, the declaration of the convention in favor of a graded income tax is, of itself, evidence that the party is beginning to prefer direct to indirect taxation. The form of direct taxation commended is by no means a good one, but any demand for direct taxation is a great step forward.

The speech of Governor Campbell, accepting the nomination, shows even greater progress than the utterances of the platform. His allusion to the tariff views

of Washington and Garfield, and his unreserved expression of preference for the Free Trade declaration of the latter, were courageous utterances that ought to command for him the earnest support of Free Traders, no matter what may be their ideas on minor questions; and if the Governor's speech and the other anti-tariff speeches in the convention are made the key-note of the campaign, all questions that divide Democrats will be forgotten, and the people of Ohio will bury Major McKinley beneath the avalanche of votes by which they will repudiate the fraud and humbug of so-called protection.

A TIN PLATE ROW.—We have already said that Niedringhaus is likely to be of use to the Free Trade propaganda. The prediction has speedily been verified. The ex-Congressman with a tin mouth has forgotten his extreme solicitude for the welfare of the American workingman and insolently slapped "organized labor" in the face. William Weiche, president of the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, has gone to St. Louis to try and arrange the difficulty that has caused the workmen in Mr. Niedringhaus's iron rolling mills to strike. Heading a committee of strikers, he called on the "little tin god." Niedringhaus refused to permit the committee to enter the sacred precincts of his private office, but coming out into his main office, where he was sure to find an audience of admiring clerks, he waived the visitors aside with his lordly arm and refused to confer with them, as a committee, though as individuals applying for employment he was willing to incline his august ear to any humble petition they might desire to offer. A tin-type of the scene would have a sale that would exhaust the whole output of the American tin plate mills, now that the one Welshman who ran Niedringhaus's own tin plate mill has joined the strikers.

The angry president of the association with a long name has been moved to make some revelations that demonstrate his right to a respectful hearing at the hands of Niedringhaus. They were accomplices in a criminal conspiracy, or at least partners in a swindling business. Mr. Weiche says that when the McKinley bill was pending, the tin plate associations were afraid to go openly before Congress to ask for an increased tariff on tin plate, and therefore they went to the workmen engaged in making iron and steel plates and asked their help, saying that it was necessary to have laborers go before the committee. The workmen of the association with the long name very naturally wanted to know what there was in it for them. The tin plate association, after much talk, finally agreed that if the McKinley bill became a law they would pay "15 per cent. extra for soft steel work and 20 per cent. extra for changed iron and steel." We do not know how much this amounts to, but it was evidently sufficient to induce Mr. Weiche and his associate laboring men to join, in the name of organized labor, in demanding increased duties on tin plate. Having got what he wanted, Mr. Niedringhaus refuses to even recognize the association with which he so eagerly treated some months ago.

We have no sympathy whatever with the cheated and insulted workmen. These associated iron workers have their headquarters in Pennsylvania, and they have

long been in league politically with the ring of protected employers in that State. This incident shows the reason for that unnatural alliance. The workmen are bribed. That is what was done in this case. Mr. Weiche need not pretend that he was deceived. He did not care a brass farthing for the fact that an increased tariff on tin plate would add something to the cost of living of all workingmen in the United States. He saw plainly enough that Niedringhaus and his crowd expected to make money by the change they were urging, and he refused to help them unless he and his crowd were "let in." As soon as that was fixed, Weiche began clamoring for an increased tariff, injurious to workmen in general, and he was animated in this matter by precisely the same selfish motive that governed his fellow conspirators. He became a catspaw to rake chestnuts out of the fire for Niedringhaus & Co., and he now has nothing to show for it but burnt toes. We are glad of it. We hope it will always be so with these fellows who are secretly hired to endorse the demands of monopolists "in the sacred name of labor." They are traitors to the cause they claim to represent, and corrupters of politics more dangerous than the regular political corruptionists. The revelation of the intrigue between Niedringhaus & Co. and Weiche & Co.—how eminently American these names sound—will open the eyes of workingmen generally to the methods by which "labor delegations" in behalf of Protection are organized, and at the same time inspire politicians with the courage to treat such delegations as contemptuously as Mr. Niedringhaus treats them.

IS FARM LABOR SCARCE?—The Metal Worker, of this city, in a recent issue remarked that "the alleviation of the drudgery of farming by the extensive introduction of machinery for agricultural purposes does not seem to make farm work attractive," and therefore "the supply of men through the agricultural regions of the country is below the demand." In this utterance the paper quoted merely echoes a statement that has of late frequently appeared in papers that seek to show that the working people of this country have at present no just cause for complaint. The Metal Worker has, we presume, merely accepted without due consideration statements that, while true at the moment, do not warrant the inferences drawn from them as to general conditions. Every Summer there doubtless is a scarcity of farm labor in many parts of the country, and to some extent agricultural machinery is responsible for this.

The actual truth in this matter is obvious to any one who will make the slightest effort to see it. The editor of THE STANDARD lives in Summer in Sullivan County, in this State, a purely agricultural region, where most farms are mortgaged to nearly or quite their full value, and where labor can easily be obtained by the year for from \$18 to \$20 a month. Just now, however, it is practically impossible to hire a man to cut wood or do the simplest kind of labor for \$1.50 a day. This is to many of us a most uncomfortable fact, and probably some Summer boarder at Monticello or White Lake has already written to the Evening Post quoting this condition of affairs as evidence that the laborers in the agricultural regions of New York are highly prosperous.

The explanation of the present "scarcity of farm labor" in Sullivan County is, however, very simple. The principal crop of the region is hay, and this is the haying season. For months past mutual agreements between farmers to help one another have been in existence, and laborers have been engaged in advance for work through haying. The number of laborers required on each farm at one time is larger, because the

grass is cut by machines and raked by horse power. These machines must be followed by a swarm of men in order that the hay may be promptly taken care of. By the end of July the whole crop will be in mow or stack, and one can obtain all the labor he needs at very moderate rates. Then men who are now getting \$1.50 a day and refuse to work outside the hay field because of prior engagements, would jump at an offer of \$20 a month for twelve consecutive months, and that without board.

This is merely a specific illustration of a general condition. The effect of agricultural machinery has been to concentrate into two short spaces of time, at seed-time and harvest, the demand for agricultural labor. At other seasons the opportunity to such labor for employment is uncertain and precarious, and the tendency among those not tied in some way to the soil, especially in Winter, is to drift to the cities in search of "a steady job." This aggravates the "over crowding" in towns, and when harvest time returns the absence of former harvesters makes an even greater "scarcity of agricultural labor," which serves as a text for Summer editorials in the "silly season" in journalism.

GENERAL WOODFORD'S SPEECH TO THE TEACHERS.—General Stewart L. Woodford has held several high public positions, and he came within one vote of receiving the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Garfield. He is a notable campaign orator of the old school, and it would not have been at all remarkable had he entertained the New York State Teachers' Association with glittering generalities and patriotic boasting, interlarded with compliments to the teachers and their vocation. It is, therefore, significant of the present drift of thought that this veteran political orator should have made "The Labor Problem" his theme on such an occasion, and opened his speech with the declaration that "the politics and the statesmanship of to-day revolve upon economic questions."

It is equally significant that in such a speech so much attention was given to the land question. It is only within recent years in this country that such men as General Woodford have recognized that, outside of Ireland, there is any land question other than the old one of the proper distribution of public lands—a question that disappeared when all the really desirable public lands passed into the hands of private owners. General Woodford has manifestly caught a glimpse of the one great and abiding question that lies back of all such temporary land questions as that which excited our people fifty years ago. He sees that "all wealth is produced by labor, from the earth," and demands that "the men and women, to whom God gives life, shall have a chance in the soil and on the dust of which they are made." He asked his hearers: "Ought not the trained intelligence and educated intellect of this land to devise ways that shall not hamper industry, that shall not rob labor, that shall protect the filial and paternal instinct, and yet that shall give a direction to American law in the line of distributing land, not aggregating it?" This "may not be a great question now," he said, but "there is coming a time when it will be a tremendous question;" "there is coming a time when even in this fruitful land there shall be hunger for land and hunger for bread."

In many of his questions and suggestions the speaker seemed disposed to probe to the very heart of the problem, but his proposal of remedies did not go further than the enforcement of the laws regulating corporations, and the amendment of those in relation to inheritances and bequests. What a pity it is that a man who sees so far should not see farther. General Woodford is too well

informed not to know something about the Single Tax, but his speech clearly shows that he has no comprehension whatever of the great principle that underlies that proposal and enlists in its advocacy thousands of the best and most thoughtful men and women of the world, some of whom, doubtless, were in the audience when this speech was delivered. Such people recognize as fully as does General Woodford the right of a man to be secure in the product of his labor; they recognize that it is natural for men to seek homes of their own that they can hold as long as they wish; and they declare that the only system under which this natural desire can be generally gratified is one that shall take away from men all inducement to hold not only vast tracts of land, but any land at all that they do not put to profitable use.

The people who accept the doctrine of the Single Tax do not stand baffled as does General Woodford before the problem of labor organization. They are not compelled while admitting the right of labor to organize for warfare against capital to deny to it that coercive physical power by which alone laborers can prevent themselves from being defeated through the necessities or cowardice of men of their own class. Accomplish, say, the Single Taxers, by a definite programme easily understood, the object for which General Woodford only vainly sighs; give men a chance to earn their living out of land no longer monopolized by either natives or foreigners; and thenceforward capital must look to promoting industry as its only hope for reward, and workmen will individually refuse to work for any man for less wages than they can earn by working for themselves. Under such circumstances many men will doubtless find it more profitable to work for others; but this profit will be their inducement, and if they cannot obtain it they will need no organization to enable them to quit working for less than natural wages. Under present circumstances there is antagonism between labor and capital; under natural conditions such antagonism would be as impossible as a contest between the right hand and the left. So long as the relations between labor and capital are those of warfare, it is useless to demand that either side shall use only the methods of peace. The way to real peace is through the establishment of just conditions; and this can be done only through the destruction of the very evil against which General Woodford blindly and vaguely protests—the monopoly of land by men who hold it for the purpose of compelling other men to pay them for access to it before permitting them to produce wealth in the only way, as General Woodford himself admits, that it can be produced.

THE THIRD PARTY IN THE SOUTH.—The determined attempt of the Alliance leaders to create a sentiment in behalf of a third party movement in the South, unless the Democrats there accept the Sub-Treasury scheme, is likely to do more toward destroying the Alliance movement than anything that could be done by people outside the ranks of that organization. No new party has the slightest chance of carrying this country in 1892. No man not absolutely blinded by foolish optimism, or by crass ignorance, even dreams of such a thing. It is highly improbable that the third party, unassisted, could choose Presidential electors in any State in the Union. Whatever hope the Alliance leaders had of accomplishing anything lay in acquiring sufficient influence to lead the Democratic party to endorse some of their demands while refusing others on which the Alliance people themselves are not united, as, for instance, the Sub-Treasury and land loan schemes. Therein not only lay

the hope of the Alliance, but the chief danger that threatened the Democrats.

The refusal of the People's Party's representatives in Kansas to even consider the question of coalition with the Democrats in that State, followed up by this deliberate attempt to pave the way for Republican success by organizing a third party in the South, can have no other effect than to arouse against the Alliance the partisan wrath and prejudice of Democrats everywhere, while it will remove all inducement that the Democrats might otherwise have had to risk division in their own ranks for the purpose of placating and conciliating an uncertain number of outsiders. Looking at the matter from a merely political standpoint, the present course of the Alliance leaders is little short of suicidal. If it had been started three months sooner, the silver plank would not have been put into the Ohio Democratic platform; and if it continues, and goes far enough to awaken real alarm and indignation among Democrats generally, all likelihood of concessions to Alliance demands will disappear long before the Democratic National convention meets next Summer.

We shall be sorry to see a really honest movement against unquestionable evils lose all influence so speedily, but if such a result is brought about the Alliance will have to blame only itself for yielding so unresistingly to the domination of chronic third party cranks, who pride themselves on the impracticability of their politics, and who invariably wreck any cause that does not escape from the fatal embrace of their all too ready espousal. If the farmers had possessed the practical political sagacity to take advantage of an existing issue, and aid the Democrats in destroying protection, there is no reasonable demand that they could have made of the triumphant party that they could not have easily compelled it to grant. They will see this some day, but it may then be too late.

PROTECTIONISTS SILENCED.—The Tribune is not slow in comprehending the real meaning of the Ohio Democratic platform. It says:

The Democratic party is rallying around the old standard of Free Trade. Last year there was only one leader of the party in Ohio who ventured to proclaim himself a Free Trader without equivocation and reserve. This year the State Convention condemns Protection as an iniquitous policy, favors "a tariff levied for the sole purpose of producing a revenue sufficient to defray the legitimate expenses of the Government economically administered," and calls for a graded income tax. A tariff for revenue only was what the Democratic National platform demanded in 1876 and 1880. This is what the Ohio Democrats now want, but being mindful of the fact that England, with its revenue tariff, is compelled to tax incomes, it adopts that feature of the Free Trade system. By demanding the imposition of the income tax, they emphasize in the most practical way their absolute conversion to Free Trade. In fact, they virtually revive the tariff plank of the Democratic National Conventions in 1856 and 1860, which declared:

The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive Free Trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

We are glad that the Tribune understands the platform, and recognizes in it a distinct return to the sound principles and traditions of the Democratic party. On such platforms the party won victories in the past. It swept the country in 1856, and it would have swept it again in 1860 had not the slavery question become the one dominant issue, and divided the Free Trade party into two warring factions, while calling a new and united party into existence; but the new party did not then think of going further on the tariff question than to demand that a tariff for revenue should be so adjusted "as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." Hence, though the divided Democratic party was beaten in 1860, no one can pretend that its defeat was due to its advocacy of Free Trade. Thenceforward for several years the party was deservedly beaten on war issues, before which the tariff question was entirely lost sight of. In 1876 the party practically returned to its historic declaration of

principles, and it elected its candidate for President, though he was fraudulently denied his place at the instigation of the men whose money bought the elections of 1880 and 1888. We fail, then, to see in the Ohio platform any reason for alarm to the most partisan or the most timid of Democrats.

Having discovered that the Democratic party intends to establish Free Trade, and is not afraid to say so, the Tribune is absolutely nonplused for a reply. Hitherto, it and other Republican papers have found it sufficient to shout "Free Trade!" as though that were equivalent to shouting "mad dog!" and the only response from Democratic leaders and newspapers has been a denial that convinced no one, and disgusted intelligent men of principle. Now that a courageous Democracy faces its opponents and meets the cry of Free Trade by replying, "Yes, we are for Free Trade; why not?" the Republicans are breathless with surprise.

All the Tribune can manage to say is that England has Free Trade, and the Southern Confederacy incorporated a positive prohibition of protective tariffs in its Constitution. Well, what of it? Both England and the Confederacy recognized the writ of habeas corpus, and the right to trial by jury. Shall the United States, therefore, abolish these safeguards of freedom?

DEMOCRATS AND SINGLE TAX.—The Indianapolis Journal is not merely a fanatical Protectionist paper, but it has brought itself to admire and laud indirect, or, as Mr. Shearman calls it, "crooked," taxation as something desirable for its own sake. It "sniffs the battle from afar," and sees that the final struggle must necessarily be between the Single Tax and the system it has espoused, and therefore it hates the Single Tax with a watchful hatred that makes it quick to recognize anything that tends that way. Its vision is, in fact, so sharp that it sometimes sees things tending our way not apparent even to eyes accustomed to recognition of the faintest outlines of "the cat." The latest cause of distress and alarm to our Indianapolis contemporary is the organization of "The Tax Reform Association" in this city. The paper gives in full the admirable declaration of principles adopted by that association, and says:

This is signed by a number of prominent Democrats, some of whom are zealous advocates of Free Trade. This so-called tax reform movement is part and parcel of the Free Trade movement and the single land tax movement, the first of which is already and the other is sure to become a recognized tenet of the Democratic party.

This will be surprising news to some of the numerous Republicans who are members of the Tax Reform Association. They certainly are in favor of State legislation in New York, in accordance with the principles to which they have subscribed; and we take it for granted that they will not abandon their belief simply because the over-sensitive and somewhat suspicious organ of Republicanism in Indiana tells them that if they continue in this course they will eventually land in the Free Trade camp. The truth is that the Tax Reform Association is not advocating the Single Tax. We should think better of it if it did so, but its members cannot yet see that they ought to include buildings and other improvements among the products of labor for which they demand exemption from taxation. Hence, while we should be glad to claim these gentlemen as Single Taxers, we must regretfully confess that they are not such yet, and that some of them, at least, are violent opponents of our ideas. Let us hope, however, that the accusation of the Journal, though now unfounded, may some day become true.

When it does come true, the Journal will again see with regret the passage of quite a number of good men from the Republican to the Democratic ranks; for under existing circumstances that is the tendency of Single

Taxers. Wiser than some professed believers in the Single Tax, the Journal sees this, and says: "The advocacy of a single tax on land goes hand in hand with the advocacy of Free Trade." This is obviously the truth now, but the time is not far distant when the logic of events will make true the converse declaration that "the advocacy of Free Trade goes hand in hand with the advocacy of a single tax on land values." To the vision of the Indianapolis Journal, sharpened by hate and fear, this is already apparent, and it says:

This single land-tax idea has secured a strong foothold in the Democratic party, not, perhaps, among the farmers and masses, but among the leaders and moulders of Democratic policies. It is so closely allied to Free Trade and the abolition of tariff duties as to be almost a logical necessity of the advocacy of that policy.

Our Hoosier contemporary is mistaken as to the masses, with the exception of the farmers. Farmers have fallen into the same error as the Journal in thinking of the Single Tax as a tax on land, instead of land values. A tax on land based on area would be intolerable to the farmers, and under the mistaken notion that the Single Tax would be a tax on area they have largely opposed it. But as they gradually come to see the truth, that land values in farming districts stand still or retrograde while land values in urban and mining districts constantly increase, they drop their first hostility to the idea of making land values the sole basis of taxation; and the day is not far distant when they will join the more thoughtful of the workingmen in demanding the Single Tax. Meanwhile, the "leaders and moulders of Democratic policies" are, as the Journal says, coming our way; not eagerly, nor even willingly, perhaps, but because they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the people are drifting toward Free Trade, and they know that Free Trade involves direct taxation. With thoughts once turned in this direction, they simply cannot fail to see that a Single Tax on land values is not merely a sufficient and convenient source of revenue, but the only kind of direct taxation that a free and intelligent people will permanently submit to. Some of them may still dally with the foolish and discredited notion of a perjury-promoting income tax; but eventually they must come to the one system that enables government to live on its own natural income and to exempt the product of individual labor and capital. This tendency is manifest to all who try to see; but it is, nevertheless, pleasant to have it pointed out by our esteemed enemy, the Indianapolis Journal.

TO ANSWER THE ENCYCLICAL.—Henry George has suspended work on his forthcoming treatise on Political Economy, for the purpose of preparing an answer to the Labor Encyclical of the Pope. When this is ready for publication he will resume work on his treatise. Mr. George's recovery from his illness is so complete that he is now in a condition of health as good as he ever enjoyed. He divides his time between his desk and his bicycle.

POLITICS AND CROPS.—We do not know that the Protectionists are yet prepared to insist that a protective tariff promotes the fertility of the soil or assures a copious rain fall, but there are some indications that they will attempt to stuff some such idea down the once unresisting throats of the Western farmers. The Tribune unconcealedly looks to a good yield of wheat and hay to promote Republican success in the West. It says:

This bids fair to be a year of bountiful harvests for the entire West. Go where one will this statement greets him: "Let us have a year of good crops and fair prices and that will be the end of Democratic successes."

This is equivalent to saying that if nature should give the Western farmers a brief respite from the

threatened ruin to which they have been brought by Republican legislation they will turn back and again vote for protection. If this be true it has had no parallel in history since the days of Pharaoh, who always refused to let the Israelites go as soon as the particular plague that had forced his consent began to subside.

A "SOFT SNAP."—In a recent issue of the New York Press appeared an editorial article reviewing a recent report, which the Press writer says "suggests a very interesting hypothesis to students of the land question, and particularly to those who, like Malthus and Henry George, fear that the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence will some day be too great for the capacities of food production." We take it for granted that the man who wrote the sentence quoted is a salaried editor. He is in luck. Few men so ignorant have the good fortune to find a publisher stupid enough to pay them for exhibiting their ignorance.

ONE INDUSTRY IN DANGER.—"To put the Republican party out of power," says the Recorder, "would put American industries out of joint." Only one of them: the industry of the gentleman who, after serving for years as business manager of a Democratic newspaper, obtained money from a syndicate of foolish Republicans to enable him to turn the opinionless Recorder into a Blaine organ. We doubt if a Democratic triumph can affect such an enterprise one way or the other. Many crazy things have been done in journalism, but none that we know of equals the attempt to breathe life into a still-born paper by linking its fortunes to those of a discredited and corrupt politician who is a physical as well as a political wreck.

HOW BOUNTIES HELP THE POOR.—A press dispatch concerning the probable effect of the new bounty law on sugar-growing in Louisiana says that if the crop comes out anything like what is expected the bounties will aggregate \$9,000,000. Most of this money, the dispatch continues, "will go to the big planters and companies," while the expectation of large profits for the planters, drawn from the pockets of other taxpayers, has, according to the same dispatch, "resulted in the largest importation of sugar machinery into New Orleans ever known, mounting well up in the millions." The machinery comes mainly from France and Germany. This is the way in which the McKinley bill helps the poor and encourages American industry.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

LONDON, July 11.—Another spoke has been stuck into the wheel of Republicanism by the so-called pageant at the passing of the German Emperor through the London streets yesterday, and the paraded extravagant fetes which are being given in his honor. It is true that yesterday the streets were profusely decorated and that immense crowds were out, but the decoration was done for the most part by sycophants, politicians, and shop keepers, who were compelled to make demonstration to keep patronage; and the crowds came out for the most part to "see the show," just as they turn out to see the Lord Mayor with all his absurd but immemorial toggery and equipage on "Lord Mayor's Day," or as our own people turn out to see Barnum's circus. There was some cheering but it came from a crowd that cheered everything indiscriminately—a rushing fire engine, post office vans, liveried coachmen with powdered hair, and odd, shabby-looking individuals, who by some ludicrous accident from time to time got in between the lines of police and soldiery. And even if what cheers there were at the time had been genuinely for royalty their sweetness must have been soured by the hisses and groans with which they were mingled. It was, indeed, a strange spectacle, showing, if it showed anything, that a Republic in Great Britain is not far away.

Everywhere the Republicans and social reformers have been busily at work making contrasts that must hasten the downfall of monarchy. While the daily papers are filled with accounts of the State

opera, the reviews, deputations, garden parties, the State dinner at Windsor with £2,000,000 (\$10,000,000) worth of gold plate on the table, and the scores of other goings-on in honor of a young man from Germany, there have been hundreds, if not thousands, busily showing the other side of the social picture. Frank Smith, ex-commissioner of the Salvation Army, for instance, with several others, got a barge, and making it fast last night to the Thames embankment, close to Blackfriars Bridge, where the procession but a few hours before had passed, and where the flags were still fluttering, with the aid of a lime light and a large screen exhibited something of England's "chamber of horrors": 5,000,000 of England's population destitute (Giffen); 7,000,000 almost devoid of nourishment (Hoyle); one in five of London's population will die in the poor-house, hospital or asylum (Fred. Harrison); 90 per cent. of the producers of wealth have a weekly wage that scarcely suffices to keep them in health (Fred. Harrison); number of child thieves, 32,000; total number of acres of productive land idle, 22,000,000; total amount of money received by fifteen members of royal family during present reign, £23,210,000—and so on. In this way the visit of the German Emperor helped forward the discussion of social and political questions.

Again the crofter question has been brought up in Parliament, and again it is the same old story of shameless, callous outrage and cruelty. The Highland landlords, driving the peaceable, God-fearing farmers from their little crofts to the barren and rocky sea-shore, where they are compelled to get out of the sea a large part of the rent they must pay, follow up their work by expatriating the crofters, sending them over the ocean to tenant other lands, which their "graces" and their "worships" and their "what-nots" had got hold of and wanted to make valuable. For it should be known that these great Highland landlords individually own large quantities of land in British North America and the United States, besides possessing stock in large land development companies, and they hold the small Scottish farmers in much the same estimation as they hold so many head of cattle, to be packed about, worked and bred at the will, and for the sole benefit of the landlords, who all the while keep up a villainous lying that makes the blood boil the more furiously.

It has just come to light that the Government here had practically acceded to a plan for a wholesale deportation of crofters and cotters. The plan proposed was an advancement by the British Government of £150,000, at a small per cent., to the British Columbia Government, which would be unable to raise so large a sum for such a purpose all at once, for the transportation from so-called "over-populated" districts in the Highlands to the island of San Juan, in the Pacific, off the coast of British Columbia, not far from the United States line. These crofters would be expected to farm and fish, and the island has, it is said, "been surveyed in readiness," which means that the mangle is prepared to squeeze out of them the last drop they have to give from their labor.

Angus Sutherland, Member of Parliament for Sutherlandshire, Scotland, the scene of some of the most atrocious wholesale evictions, or "clearances," as they are called, and who welcomes the Single Tax as a solution of the land problem, asked the Government in the House of Commons the other day what it intended to do about this matter. The reply was evasive. Mr Sutherland has reason to believe that it was the intention at the close of the session, when there would be no time for discussion, to rush a bill through Parliament granting the loan to the British Columbian Government. He is not so certain that they will try it now, however, as his question has drawn attention to the scheme and a heated discussion is likely to ensue if the question is brought before the House.

The true inwardness of the whole matter was shown most pointedly by Mr. Sutherland in testimony he gave before the Colonization Committee of the House which reported several months ago in favor of deportation. Mr. Sutherland has furnished me with a verbatim copy of his testimony, which turned inside out the cooked up and delusive reports respecting the prosperity of the two crofter settlements which had already been made in Canada—at Killarney, in Manitoba, in 1888, and at Saltcoats, in the Northwest Territories, in 1889. The Canadian Colonization Board presented a long array of figures and so-called testimonials proving that everything there was lovely. But that they really know the settlements were failures is shown by their giving up the idea of further settlement there, for the present at least, and their desire to try the island of San Juan next. Mr. Sutherland's statement laid bare the ruinous failure of the former attempts at Canadian settlement, and showed how these unfortunate people were induced to go out there by false promises, only to find that they must mortgage themselves up to the eyes to the railroad or to the land companies to get even the rudest appliances—mortgages from which they could not hope to escape; and, indeed, that many of them had by stress of necessity become day laborers on the railroad, and others had actually to be given food to keep them from starvation's door. Something like a sensation was caused when he read a letter from the secretary of the Toronto Caithness Society, a Scottish benevolent organization existing for some years in Toronto. A

part of the letter was as follows: "During the present Winter a great deal of destitution prevailed among the Crofter settlers. Several deaths took place, and money and clothing had to be collected from the charitable to send to those in distress. In this work St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, turned its school room into a store for the receipt of cast-off clothing and other necessities, and sent about half a ton weight to the distressed districts, many other places sending smaller quantities. The Dominion Government at first denied the truth of the foregoing statements, but now admit in every particular that they are correct. They admit fully that clothing was absolutely necessary, and thank the donors for sending a supply. They admit the failure of crops, and have asked Parliament to vote \$10,000 to supply seed to the wretched settlers. This, then, is the truth concerning the poor deluded men and women taken from their homes on false pretences, starved on the journey, defrauded of their rights in the land, and left to starve till the appeals of their friends brought relief. The whole scheme of crofter emigration was conceived and carried out by the land companies, whose sharks in this country prey upon the poor deluded settlers, and whose shareholders in England and Scotland are the deer forest gang. The two governments were the willing tools of the 'exterminators,' and did not seem to care a straw how the people were used so long as they were got across the Atlantic. It is the intention of the true friends of Canadian immigration to show up the system of kidnapping crofters and others, and bringing them here to be deceived and starved."

There was a good deal of squirming when Mr. Sutherland read this letter to the committee, several of whom were of the "deer-forest gang," and again there was a stir when he quoted the *Winnepeg Sun*, which said that "the original settlers are mere herders for the North West Land Company now that their mortgages are foreclosed." And, then, in the quietest manner in the world, a manner which, however, but added bitterness to his words, he went back to the shameless history of the Highland outrages and exterminations, of the killings and burnings, of the old manner of clearances by the binding of hands and feet of helpless men to get into the possession of the chief the lands that belonged to all the clan in common, and of the modern methods of lying and cheating, starvation and the "law," till the hardy Highlanders had been driven to the bleak and barren coasts, or to other lands, and 2,300,000 acres had been turned into deer-forests. And to what purpose was much of this land put, off which they had been driven? The Glen Canip forest in Sutherlandshire, for instance, comprises 33,000 acres, yet from this vast tract forty deer of an average value of fifty shillings each, representing £100 a year, are killed; and of winged game 300 brace at five shillings per brace, representing £50. Altogether, the yield of the forest is £150 a year.

Mr. Sutherland quoted the memorial of the Highland proprietors to the Secretary for Scotland to the effect that "the great majority of holdings are quite insufficient to support the tenant and his family out of the produce of the land, and that very few of the tenants are able to stock holdings sufficiently large to afford a sure and decent maintenance;" and he declared that the only thing now to do was to break up the deer forests and give the people access to the land.

Notwithstanding all that Mr. Sutherland said and all that came from other quarters, the Colonization Committee, as was expected, reported in favor of the further depopulation of the Highlands, and, among other things, recommended the previously mentioned loan to the Canadian authorities to help along the work of transportation. And so the work of transportation goes merrily on. However, this will not continue much longer. The Highland people have always bitterly disliked the idea of leaving their native hills, and, as Mr. Sutherland told the committee, now "they can make their feelings respected, because they have been armed with the franchise," and a wonderful education of the people has been going on since 1885.

The hope of municipal bands to give concerts in the densest and poorer parts of London has been knocked in the head, or, at least, badly crippled. It was proposed to have fifty instrumentalists for three months at a cost of £2,800, which, for the amount of pleasure it would give, and for such a great and rich city as London, would be a mere drop in the bucket. Yet, by a vote in the County Council of 46 to 37, an expenditure of "not exceeding £1,500 was authorized, to be applied in contribution towards the expense of providing such bands." It is believed by many of those following the matter that this practically kills the project for the present. The landlord interest, which at all times endeavors to spend the County Council's money for its own direct benefit, is as yet too strong to permit all the popular measures being carried.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

When the proxy system of political representation first appeared it contained in some degree theoretical justice, but seemed to lack practicability; it is now amended into something like practicability by throwing out all the justice. That a majority of the voters of

this country have a right to give their proxies to Mr. Blaine, thus constituting him the legislative power, need not be questioned, however mischievous such a scheme may be in its actual working. But when it is proposed in good faith that we shall adopt a system which gives to little Rhody and barren Nevada the same power, practically, in the national Congress as is enjoyed by New York and Pennsylvania, I, for one, must protest.

Mr. Adams says: "Each year a primary or nominating election is held in every State, at which each voter in the State can cast one vote for one candidate for Congress. The first or highest seven candidates on the list of votes received become the Congressmen for the State; but after it has thus been ascertained who the seven are to be, a final election is held one month after the first, at which each voter casts one vote for that one of the seven whom he prefers for his representative, and the result of this last election determines what voting power each Congressman shall have." A decision of such a Congress, according to Mr. Adams's amended scheme, requires both a majority of the proxies and a majority of the Congressmen. As no measure can be passed which has not "the support of a majority of the Congressmen themselves, considered simply as persons," and as "each State has an equal number of members," it will occur that twenty-two States, with a population of eleven millions, and having 154 of the Congressmen, can prevent the other twenty-two States, with a population of fifty millions, from acting. Thus will be presented, under a system designed to maintain political equality, the spectacle of five-sixths of the people going down on their knees to the other one-sixth. Under this system, which is put forth in opposition to the wasteful quota scheme, a Congressman will represent by his personal vote 856,836 persons in New York, and 6,537 in Nevada, which, as the power to prevent action is equal to the power to act, will give the citizen of Nevada 131 times as much power as is enjoyed by the citizen of New York. Equal State representation in the present Senate will overthrow itself, as did slavery in the hands of the Lagrees; but, joined with such a scheme as the proxy system, it will be as slavery under the indulgent St. Clair. Is it a lack of "open mindedness" which sees injustice in such a scheme, or is it the blindness of fond paternity which does not?

But suppose the system to be amended again, as it doubtless will be, and the Congressmen from the different States based upon population as at present, how are they to be chosen? Mr. Adams lays down a rule: Each voter shall vote for one man, and the required number (this in anticipation of the amendment) shall be chosen from those standing highest on the list. But indulgent as Mr. Adams has shown himself to be, I am sure he cannot overlook this deformity in his offspring: Suppose 30,000 Free Traders and 40,000 Protectionists are voting in a State which has seven representatives; if the voting is exactly right, the former will have three and the latter four. But suppose the Protectionists have among their candidates a man like Blaine, who will receive most of the votes, say thirty-five thousand, while the other five thousand are scattered among a number of candidates. Is it not plain that should the Free Traders happen to cast their votes more evenly, it would be possible for them to elect the whole remaining six? Which is at fault here, a disposition "to scare up" objections or fond paternity?

Is Mr. Adams willing to amend his scheme to the extent of apportioning Congressmen among the States according to population and electing them by the quota system as a basis for further argument upon the proxy feature?

But whatever may be said of the different proposed remedies, there can be but one opinion of the disease itself. Kansas has seven Congressmen, or one to every 14.3 per cent. of the voters. In 1884 the Democrats of that State cast 37.2 per cent. of the total vote, but failed to elect a man. In 1886 they cast 40.3 per cent., with the same result. In 1888 they polled 31.9 per cent., and again failed to elect a representative. Missouri has 14 representatives, or one to a trifle over seven per cent. of the voters. At the last election the Republicans polled 39.8 per cent. of the total vote, but failed to elect one Congressman; almost 40 per cent. disfranchised, when 7 per cent. should have had a representative. In thirteen States, not including those Southern States where there is "no opposition," the Republicans in 1890 polled 41 per cent. of the total vote, and got 10 per cent. of the representation; the Democrats cast 55 per cent. of the vote, and got 90 per cent. of the representation. The Democrats in thirteen other States polled in 1888 43.8 per cent. of the vote, and secured 13.8 per cent. of the representation; while the Republicans, with 52.2 per cent. of the vote, got 86.1 per cent. of the representatives. In 1888 the seven States—Kansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Nebraska, Minnesota, Vermont and Rhode Island—sent to Congress 25 representatives. The Democrats cast 38.5 per cent. of the total vote, but did not have one representative.

It will be noticed that as a rule the party which lays out the Congressional districts secures to itself the lion's share of the representation. It may be urged by some that what a party loses in one State it gains in another. But this cannot be. Republicans in New England are, or were until lately, Protectionists,

while those of Minnesota and other Western States are largely Free Traders. Pennsylvania Democrats are mostly Protectionists; while those of the West are Free Traders, as far as they know how to be. Eastern men want "hard" money; Western men want "soft" money. Even among Single Tax men there are decided differences as to matters of detail and policy. But the old parties not only disfranchise each other where either is in the ascendancy, but they shut out the new parties entirely. They not only strangle the minority parties that are formed, but deny existence to those that would be but for the fact that men know that under the present system third party votes are thrown away.

As a cure for this deplorable state of affairs we offer, not a new fangled scheme which would arouse all the combativeness of the people, and which at best is of doubtful utility, but a slight modification of the present system. It was not proposed that Hare's whole theoretical scheme be taken up, as Mr. Adams gratuitously assumes; but his main idea as it appears in what is known as the amended Geneva free list. It will be time enough to consider theoretical perfection when we have gotten the people reconciled to practical and possible measures. To secure practical proportional representation, it is only necessary to abolish the present districts, which have only been in existence since 1842, and apportion the successful candidates among the parties by quotas. Each party, old or new, big or little, may present a list of candidates for Congress. It may present only as many names as it expects to elect, or more; the number of candidates on a ticket does not alter the party's strength. The voter now chooses his ballot, and numbers the names on it in the order of his preference. If but one candidate of that party is to be elected, he marks that one No. 1; if two, Nos. 1 and 2, and so on. Now, when the whole State vote is counted, it is divided by the number of representatives to which the State is entitled, and the quotient is the quota or number of votes necessary to elect one representative. Dividing any party's vote by this quota will give the number of representatives to which it is entitled. The candidates of the party will be taken in the order of the voters' preferences. To illustrate: Missouri in 1890 cast 463,043 votes for Congressmen, which divided by 14, the number to be elected, gives as a quota 33,074, the number of votes necessary to elect one man. Dividing the 184,337 Republican votes by the quota gives five full quotas and a remainder of 18,967. The 253,736 Democratic votes contain seven full quotas and a remainder of 32,218. The United Labor men polled 23,492 votes. As two more representatives are required, they are given to the parties having the largest unfilled quotas, the Democratic and United Labor parties. This gives a State delegation of five Republicans, eight Democrats and one United Laborite, instead of fourteen Democrats as at present—thanks to the slave pens into which the members of the minority parties were put to prevent their joining hands with their fellows.

There is nothing theoretical about this. It is a plain and simple plan which requires the least possible change in present laws, and excites the least prejudice; it is within the comprehension of any voter, and may even be mastered by members of Congress by diligent study.

Chicago, Ill.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

FOR FREE HIGHWAYS.

In a widely scattered community business is done at a disadvantage. The merchant, unable to build up a large trade, is obliged to charge high prices in order to make up for scarcity of business. But in a crowded city he can sell at lower prices, and make larger profits. Both merchant and customer, therefore, profit by the simple circumstance that population is dense. But before the merchant can build his store, or the resident erect his dwelling, in the expectation of enjoying these benefits, he must procure a suitable location. In paying for such location it is clear that it is not strictly the land itself that he pays for, since if it were only land that he wanted, he could go into the country and buy enough for \$5; what he does pay for is the privilege of enjoying the benefits that accrue from density of population. In every city there are certain streets that are thronged with people during the day, which are considered choice spots for business purposes. Buying or renting such a location upon which to erect a store is equivalent to procuring a license to do business where business can be done to advantage. Men who own the land on which population is dense have the power to grant other men licenses to produce wealth, or to withhold such licenses, as best pleases themselves. The unfairness of this practice is apparent.

One reason that density of population brings increased wealth-producing power, is that it tends to make exchange of products quick and easy. But it is not enough that population should be dense; obviously, transportation facilities should be perfect also. The man who grows oranges in Florida cares nothing about the business of manufacturing snow shovels; the man who digs coal from the mines of Pennsylvania cares little about the manufacture of lobster nets; but these and all other producers have a mutual

interest in the provision of ample facilities for cheap and speedy exchange of products. The less labor required to effect exchanges, the more labor can be utilized in production. The manufacturer is sure of a market, while the consumer is sure of his supplies when he wants them. It should, therefore, be the first concern of the public to build up a perfect system of communication and transportation. This should be continued up to the point where to go to further expense would bring no resulting benefits.

It has been suggested that the public build and maintain the railroad beds and tracks, and open them to free competition among transportation companies. Let us walk into the Equitable Building in New York, with its hundreds of busy tenants. We find ten passenger elevators in different locations in the building. These constitute the transportation facilities for its tenants and their clients and patrons. We inquire of the superintendent, and do we find that the policy of the building's proprietors is to build the elevator shafts, and furnish them with guide rails, and then let out the ten elevator privileges to ten different transportation companies, each company furnishing its own elevator, relying upon competition among the ten companies to keep down the rates of fare? No. We find that the proprietors would not consider such a plan for a moment. It is obviously their interest to collect no fares.

The Equitable Building is a little city in itself, and the principle upon which it manages its transportation lines is applicable to larger cities, to the State, and to the nation. The better the facilities for trade, the more can the city collect for the privilege of living and doing business within its limits; and such increased ground rents will be of course a sign of increased prosperity of its citizens. Such increased revenue can be devoted to still further increasing business facilities. These improvements, however, if carried beyond a certain point, would bring no attendant increase of revenue. That point would be fixed by the population of the city itself; for manifestly no merchant would give a very large sum for the privilege of doing business in a community numbering say a thousand inhabitants, no matter how far it might have carried the work of developing its business facilities.

We witness every day in full operation a practical solution of the transportation question, in the free delivery system universally adopted by retailers. If the retailers of any city should dispose of their delivery wagons, leaving each customer to provide his own arrangements for delivery of his purchases, they would shortly find business very dull indeed. As it is, some large retailers even go so far as to deliver packages free within a radius of a hundred miles from their stores. Others at certain seasons provide free horse-car rides for their patrons. Could not the retailers of any city well afford to bear nearly if not quite the entire expense (not so very great) of operating all horse-car and elevated railroads, furnishing free transportation to all passengers? As a matter of fact, would a city suffer any loss by furnishing free and adequate transportation within its limits? Would not business be done to so much better advantage that producers and consumers could afford to share the expense? Take two cities substantially on an equality in other respects, but one allowing private parties to conduct its transportation business for their own gain, and the other providing its own ample facilities, for the sole benefit of the public, and making all transportation free, which city would eventually become the more prosperous, and which could realize the larger amount from business men and residents for the privilege of trading and living within its limits?

It is true that we have not now enough tracks and cars to accommodate the traffic if transportation should be made free. Neither would so many elevators be required in the Equitable Building if a small fare were charged each passenger. If the city of New York had, up to the present time, exacted tolls of every foot passenger and vehicle it would not have so many streets as it now has, nor would it need them, and if anybody proposed that foot passengers and vehicles be allowed to travel free he would very likely be met with this same objection, that the streets would not be sufficient for the increased traffic. Admitting this, yet the streets should be improved and added to until they would accommodate the increased traffic; and if it is going to be a benefit to the people of the country to have transportation free, if the benefit is to be so great as to more than balance the cost of free transportation, then sufficient additional facilities should be provided to meet the increased demand.

At the present moment there seems to be no practicable solution of the question how to raise funds for this purpose; and inasmuch as nearly everything in the way of cheaper and better transportation facilities inures now to the benefit of the landowner, it would seem to be a waste of labor to urge that the community should at once proceed to manage its own transportation arrangements. But when, under the operation of the Single Tax, those who are benefited by such facilities cease paying the landowner therefor and begin to pay the community the advantages of the public's performing the function of transportation will be so patent as to need urging upon nobody's attention, and it will also be easily perceived where the necessary funds are to come from.

Brooklyn, July 6, 1891.

B. C. STICKNEY.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

That good man and eloquent genius, the Rev. Robert Collyer, tells a story of a Chinese merchant who aided a young Anglo-Saxon by advancing to him a large loan. When the young man spoke of the question of interest and security the good merchant cut him short by exclaiming: "I don't want to make any money out of you, I want to help you!" This merchant, says Mr. Collyer, with a shrug of the shoulders and a sweep of the arms that express considerable indignation, "was one of those people whom we bar out!"

If the treaty which guarantees that Chinese laborers shall not migrate to this country is not renewed, some other means will be found to keep the Celestials out. They will be kept out of the "land of the free," and will be debarred from American citizenship. A few daring and enterprising Chinamen may succeed in smuggling themselves into the limits of the great Republic, but their act will be a crime, and they will run the risk not only of being forcibly sent back to the place whence they came, but of being hunted and killed by mobs of the "sovereign American people." John Chinaman has friends here, but they are in the minority, and are easily outvoted and silenced.

A large majority of the general mass of our people and, consequently, of our politicians, are earnestly opposed to Chinese immigration. Many great statesmen and journalists, like Hayes, Conkling, Edmunds, Hoar, Curtis, Dana, etc., have been equally earnest in demanding that the Mongolian be allowed to change his residence at will; but some of those men are dead while the others seem to have subsided, at least so far as the Chinese question is concerned. It is left for noble men and Christians, like Robert Collyer, to defend, with tongue, pen, and ballot, the right of every man, whether white, black, or yellow, to better his condition by travel or by emigration.

The adherents of the anti-Chinese immigration policy advance many plausible arguments in support of their views.

First, there is the argument of the average voter, who asserts that the Chinese laborer will live on rats and rice and work for a few cents a day. In China, where laborers are plentiful and man's wants are few, the ordinary workman can command but a small price for his labor; and, when he first alights, homeless and penniless, in a strange land, it is natural that he should offer his services at a price which would be called "fair" in China. But for how long a time will he be willing to work for such low wages? He came over here to gain riches, and he will speedily discover the way to do it. The immigrant from Europe, where labor is so cheap that American Protectionists call it "pauper labor," soon learns to clutch after big wages with a more than Yankee greed; and John Chinaman, with his great powers of imitation, will not be slow to do the same. Indeed some writers, who have personally inspected the Chinese portions of the Pacific Slope communities, say they have uniformly asked and received fair wages, while the reports to the contrary are pure fabrications. One Washington citizen favored a great increase in the cost of licenses for Chinese laundries, on the ground that the yellow laundrymen asked enormous prices for their work, and would eventually carry all our money to China, if not prevented by law! It is said the Chinese live on rats and spend too little for groceries. Undoubtedly the assertion of ignorant and malicious enemies of that race; but, if true, what of it? Has not every one the right, generally speaking, to eat what he chooses; or must his diet be prescribed by act of Congress, or by the mobs of which Congressmen stand in such awe?

Second, there is the argument of the moralist, who asserts that the Celestials introduce, among our civilized rum drinkers, the habit of opium smoking and eating. Now, it certainly is no worse for a Chinaman to use opium in San Francisco than in Peking; and, if the Christians of California contract the habit, it is their own fault. Americans send missionaries, at considerable expense, clear to China, to teach the inhabitants of that empire what to believe and how to live. If the Chinese are worth saving, why not do the work more rapidly and effectively by allowing them to come to us? Is our morality so flimsy that the presence of heathen would undermine it? The moralist should also remember that Anglo-Saxons forced the Chinese to buy their opium, when the government of the latter endeavored to check its consumption.

Third, the argument of the patriot, who says the Chinese take no interest in public affairs and do not desire to become American citizens. This statement, if true, is nothing against the Chinese. That they mind their own business, do not meddle in public affairs, do not intrigue for office or become the popular support of demagogues and corrupt officials, makes them all the more desirable as a foreign element in American society, which will not cause contention and strife. Moreover, those patriots should remember that the Chinese are not allowed to vote or to become naturalized.

Fourth, they are charged with preserving all of their barbarous customs and modes of worship, and with refusing to assimilate with Americans. How is it possible to assimilate with those who hate and persecute them? If a colony of Americans should move to China, the

members thereof would be slow in giving up their religion or their peculiar customs; and the Chinese should be excused if they exhibit a weakness for the religion and manners of their fathers.

To conclude: the opposition to Chinese immigration arises from the same natural causes as the desire to overcome and annihilate the weaker animals. In the world of evolution the struggle for existence is generally a necessity; and, after the necessity ceases, the combatants either do not recognize the fact or have inherited a love for driving rival competitors to the wall. The world is not big enough for all that are born into it; therefore, be alert, be aggressive, conquer or be conquered! According to the professed belief of most civilized men, we have outgrown those conditions which make fellow men rivals for space and life itself, and have come into harmony with new laws which were enacted to secure "peace on earth, good will to men." Under this new régime love is the controlling force, and the aggressive powers of man's nature are to be spent in rigid self-examination, in uncompromising warfare with the Devil! I believe that the arguments against Chinese immigration are invalid, that they are founded more on race prejudice and unbrotherly hatred than on the logical sincerity of their supporters; but, if valid and logical for the world of animal evolution, what must be said of the professed Christian who is ignorant or hypocritical enough to advance such arguments or to view them with any feelings but those of horror?

W.

STELZNER'S GRUNDZINSGEMEINSCHAFT.

Under the title of Grundzinsgemeinschaft, or community-of-ground-rents, a characteristic example of word building which would delight Mark Twain, Alfred Stelzner writes a pamphlet, marked Berlin, 1890, to prove that the idea of land nationalization is of German origin.

Mr. Henry George has on several occasions repudiated any claim to absolute priority of ideas in the great field of land reform. He has frankly admitted that the fundamental conception of the Single Tax has occurred to other men at various periods of the world's history. This pamphlet, even if correct in its conclusions, is therefore welcome to every man who has the reform at heart, as an evidence that the world is beginning to appreciate the value of the Single Tax, if the different nationalities are already disputing as to who has a prior claim upon it.

I regret to say that I have not been able to procure the pamphlet itself; my only knowledge of it is derived from a review which appeared in the April number of the newly founded Schweizerische Rundschau, but which is sufficiently comprehensive to give one a good idea of the contents.

Stelzner maintains that the principle of common ownership of land was practically applied by primitive German law, and was only set aside by the introduction of Roman law and the growth of the Feudal system. He shows how the land passed into the hands of the sovereign and his nobles; how the free peasants became serfs thereby; and how, in modern times, in spite of the abolishing of serfdom, the mass of the people are still in a state of servitude to landlords. Stelzner then considers the present reaction which has arisen against this servitude, and claims the honor of pioneer in the movement for a physician and philanthropist, Dr. Theodor Stamm, who in 1871 issued a book entitled "The Deliverance of Famishing Humanity." "Stamm," says Stelzner, "considers the transformation of the private ownership of ground rent into a community ownership as the rescuing task of civilization." The pamphlet further describes the work of the "Allwohlbund," which, like the "Bund für Bodenbesitzreform," carries on the propaganda of the Single Tax in Germany.

As Mr. George's book on "Progress and Poverty" did not, I think, appear until 1879 or 1880, Stelzner's claim of priority for Stamm must be admitted; but this, of course, in no way detracts from the merit of our great American exponent's work. It still remains true that Mr. George worked out his remedy for the social problem independently, that he presented his facts and elaborated his plan with a skill and eloquence which far surpass those of any other collaborator in the same field, and that it was his book which, bursting upon the world with irresistible force, obliged every one to pause and listen to the arguments of the Single Tax.

On the whole, this German pamphlet is only another sign of the universality of the hope for land reform, and a source of encouragement to those who are laboring in the good cause in America.

Boston, Mass.

W. D. McCrackan.

NEW BOOKS.

"IT."—Mr. Hood's remedy* for the abuse of strong drink would be to make the manufacture and sale of alcoholic stimulants a Government monopoly. He would, however, divorce the National Gov-

* The little book, "It"; or, How to Suppress the Liquor Traffic Without Prohibition." An independent treatment of the liquor question. By W. I. Hood. Copyrighted, 1891. Published by W. I. Hood & Co., Akron, Ohio.

ernment from connection with the liquor traffic and leave the whole matter in the hands of the States. The State Governments should, he thinks, provide a pure, untaxed liquor, to be sold in sealed packages by responsible persons and not to be "drunk upon the premises." He believes that cheapness and purity of liquor would promote true temperance and that the disappearance of the garish saloon would remove a temptation. There is a kernel of truth in the idea that the freeing of liquor from taxation would probably promote temperance. But the drink traffic need not be made a Government monopoly. Once liquor is made sufficiently cheap the saloon will be a comparative rarity, for the profits of the business will not justify the tawdry splendors of present drinking places.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

PRESIDENT POLK ON THE ALLIANCE.—It was to have been expected that the North American Review would obtain some official outliving upon the subject of a movement such as that of the Farmers' Alliance, and accordingly one is not surprised to find in the July issue a paper by L. L. Polk, President of the Alliance. Mr. Polk talks of the farmers' discontent. His article is in large part a reply to George E. Waring, Jr.'s, article in the June issue of the same periodical. Mr. Waring had affirmed that the Alliance movement threatened a grave disturbance in the equilibrium of national affairs, to which Mr. Polk replies that there is no such equilibrium. The farmers are moving to restore a lost equilibrium. Mr. Polk scorns the suggestion that farmers are not the most important section of the community. He insists that the farmers believe in equal rights to all, special privileges to none; but seeing that the statute books are full of class legislation in favor of bankers, manufacturers, and shipbuilders, the farmers are ready to demand like privileges for themselves. Remove the former, and the farmers will rescind their demand. The average land-owning farmer cannot hope to attain fortune in a lifetime, while the speculator in futures and the manipulator of stocks may achieve it in a single day. "National prosperity" is a term of doubtful application to a country, a large part of whose people are struggling under adverse circumstances resulting from national legislation. He that has anything above the necessities of life may be regarded as prosperous, but he usually holds such surplus by virtue of such legislation or compact as the individuals of the community are willing to submit to. Mr. Polk is sure that we can legislate for ourselves, prosperity or adversity.

The farmer cannot with advantage leave his plow, yet he would not bring up his son to the trade. This shows that under present economic conditions almost any trade is preferable to farming. Farmers' sons are crowding the cities. The farmers' discontent arises chiefly from evil legislation—the work of men who have betrayed the trust placed in them by busy men. Farmers have asked in vain for a fair chance, and now they have taken the law into their own hands. The farmer has been deceived so often that he no longer trusts the promises of politicians. The farmers did not create the necessity that has called them into political activity.

Mr. Polk closes with a passionate defence of the Alliance against the charge of political corruption.

WHAT MR. CLEVELAND HAS SAID.—George F. Parker, whose relations with Mr. Cleveland are highly confidential, contributes to the July issue of Belford's Magazine "Some Sentiments and Sayings of Grover Cleveland." It must be owned that the "sentiments" rather than the "sayings" are noteworthy, for, in spite of the fact that Mr. Cleveland's phrases have been much quoted, it is his matter rather than his manner that is excellent. Apropos of Governor Hill's claim to the phrase, "I am a Democrat," Mr. Parker says that no man can be regarded as the originator of the expression, but that Mr. Cleveland's use of it antedates Governor Hill's. "I am a Democrat," said Mr. Cleveland to the committee that notified him of his nomination for the Presidency in 1884, "because I believe that truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy." Mr. Parker says of the phrase "public office is a public trust," that it was the outcome of Colonel Lamont's search for a title to a campaign life of Mr. Cleveland. It took the form "Public office a public trust." Mr. Cleveland's nearest approach to it was "Public officers are the servants and agents of the people." Mr. Parker disclaims for Mr. Cleveland the authorship of the phrase "Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation."

The body of the article is made up of noteworthy extracts from Mr. Cleveland's letters and speeches the past ten years.

BOIES AND IOWA.—Frederick W. Lehman, whom Iowa, unhappily for herself, has lost, and Missouri has gained, gives in the July Belford an interesting and valuable sketch of Governor Horace Boies, and at the same time rapidly traces the progress of well deserved Republican decay in Iowa. Mr. Lehman shows that the Republican party successively adopted, for politic reasons and

against the convictions of its best men, both prohibition and protection. The result has been a steady decline in the Republican majority, and the final election as a Democratic Governor of Horace Boies, a conscientious Republican who left the party when he could no longer stomach its heresies. It is worthy of note that in 1865 Mr. Boies, then a resident of Erie County, N. Y., came within ten votes of being nominated the Republican candidate for District Attorney, against one Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate. Mr. Boies removed to Iowa in 1867, and he separated himself from the Republicans on State issues before Mr. Cleveland's message of 1887 left honest men of the Boies type no resting place short of the National Democratic party. Mr. Lehman says that Governor Boies' speech at the Reform Club dinner in this city will be used against him in the next campaign, but hardly with success.

NEED OF AN ELASTIC CURRENCY.—David M. Stone talks of the need of an elastic currency in the July issue of the Forum. After ridiculing current remedies for the tightness of money and insisting that very little currency is needed for the world's transactions, Mr. Stone admits that one great fault of our present monetary system is the absence of provision for the demands of the community in which the various forms of credit are of necessity little used. The currency is not elastic in any sense. A banking system that should permit issues of notes on credit would exactly meet the difficulty. The sub-Treasury plan of the farmers would not answer the purpose. No farmer, save in rare instances, was ever benefited by clinging to his crops for a rise in the market. Mr. Stone gives this as an opinion resulting from fifty years' observation. The way to get more money is to earn it. Wealth got by other methods eats like a canker.

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW.—Aldace F. Walker's article on the "Operation of the Interstate Commerce Law" in the July issue of The Forum traces rapidly the legislative process through which the law was evolved, and draws interesting conclusions as to the workings of the statute. Mr. Walker believes that the law is weak in that it depends upon competition as the safeguard of the public. In prohibiting unjust discrimination as to shippers, while permitting unrestricted competition, the law sought to abolish an evil while leaving its cause undisturbed. This was largely the fault of the House, which radically amended the original bill as passed by the Senate. The House was responsible for the short haul clause and the anti-pooling clause. The operation of the law seems to have been to intensify former conditions. The tendency of railway rates has been steadily downward for nearly thirty years. In 1865 the rates were three times as great as in 1885. This tendency is largely due to the interstate commerce law. Half a dozen devices were successfully resorted to for evading the clause prohibiting discrimination among shippers. Then came a far-reaching remedy in the shape of an amendment adding imprisonment to the penal features of the law. This was followed by a cessation of secret rebates to favored shippers. But 1890 saw a new relaxation in the obedience to the law. Shippers and railway officers refused to testify before grand juries, on the ground of danger that they might incriminate themselves. In the beginning of this year a determined effort was made by the railroads to prevent the cutting of rates. This was especially on lines west of Chicago and the Mississippi. Here comes the question of pools. How shall each company get a fair share of the business that is common to all? The English law, while forbidding discrimination permits pooling. If it had been permitted since 1887 much secret rate cutting and most of the traffic disturbances would have been spared the country.

Mr. Walker says that the short haul clause has been generally observed. One effect of this clause has been to cause loss by driving roads into competition for through business over routes longer than the most direct line to a given terminal. The statute favors the direct line. The effect has been to deprive many jobbing centres of business. Some jobbers have succeeded in obtaining relief through State legislation, which has partly nullified the act. Mr. Walker is sure from this that interstate commerce cannot be satisfactorily regulated until commerce wholly within States, as well as interstate commerce, shall have been brought under the same rules.

Mr. Walker closes by declaring himself a believer in the fundamental principles of the law, and by pointing out that one of its effects has been to make capitalists hesitate about entering upon large railroad enterprises.

PROTECTION AND PATERNALISM.—Mr. George Gunton is fortunate in possessing not only a politico-economic philosophy of his own, but also a school and a magazine in which this philosophy is taught in all its purity. The leading article in the July issue of the Social Economist bears the marks of Mr. Gunton's own handiwork. Its title is "Protection and Paternalism," and in it Mr. Gunton says alike to both Protectionist and Free Trader: "A

plague on both your houses." Mr. Gunton conceives protection to be one thing and paternalism another. He twits the New York Sun for opposing the factory laws as paternalism while upholding protective tariffs, and he sneers at everyday individualists for opposing both factory laws and tariffs.

Mr. Gunton insists that the factory laws are a species of protection, a species that he believes in, and that tariffs properly adjusted may be an equally wholesome form of protection. Here, in a few words, is his definition of such protection:

"Now the characteristic feature of protection is that it secures opportunities for developing the best possibilities of the protected, tending ultimately to make protection unnecessary. Whereas the characteristic feature of paternalism is that it restricts opportunities for developing the best possibilities of the protected, and thus tends to make paternalism permanently necessary."

Mr. Gunton is, as far as he sees, a consistent philosopher, and having thus defined protection, he argues from this definition as a premise. The State, he soundly says, exists only that the individual may have the best opportunity for his highest development. Thus the State is justified in passing Australian ballot laws, in passing laws to restrict the hours of labor and to protect women and children from various forms of oppression in the course of factory work, and finally in establishing protective tariffs—all to the end that the people may grow into sturdy strength and be able to do without these helps. Protective tariffs, in particular, he justifies as temporary expedients to protect high civilizations, with the high wages that come of high standards of living from low civilizations with the low wages that come of low standards of living. It would be absurd, he affirms, to attempt by tariffs to protect ill-paid laborers against well-paid laborers. He seems, however, in all this to ignore the fact that our well-paid workmen furnish the cheapest labor in the world, since the labor cost is usually lower in American goods than in those manufactured elsewhere. Taking Mr. Gunton at his word, then, it is stupid and useless to attempt by tariffs to protect our workingmen against the pauper labor of Europe.

Mr. Gunton's opportunism was never more clearly set forth than in this very paper, and opportunism, if ever necessary, is so because men either wilfully or blindly disregard some larger remedy than the palliatives that are offered by such opportunism. It is so with Mr. Gunton's opportunism. When once the right of access to national opportunities is accorded to all mankind, the best of the petty palliatives that he has to offer will be useless, even as tariffs are already becoming useless in the eyes of the American people. It is not to be forgotten, either, that while the factory laws and the ballot laws are broadly human palliatives, protective tariffs, by Mr. Gunton's own admission, are designed only for the narrower purpose of securing to a single nation some imaginary advantage over sister nations.

SIR HENRY PARKES ON FEDERATION.—Sir Henry Parkes's article on "The Union of the Australias," in the July issue of the Contemporary Review, is somewhat disappointing, since it is neither a historic review of federal growth nor a complete argument in favor of the federal system. Sir Henry, who has done more than any other one man to further the formation of the proposed Australian union, apparently realizes the danger that we shall yet have to face, of a confederation of States unequal in territory yet having equal representation in one branch of the Legislature. Sir Henry rejoices in the comparative exemption of Australia from the more squalid forms of poverty, and affirms that there are not only aspirations for national life, but the material conditions of manhood. He writes with stern contempt for those that have not the breadth to see the advantages of federation, and unhappily with somewhat like contempt for those that cherish the republican spirit. He admits that the federal idea has crystallized in only a few minds, but he prophesies its complete triumph. He hopes for this result as early as next year, and he believes that the twentieth century will see Australia in possession of a "plenitude of authority and happiness of which the poet has never dreamed."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—William Labban, who writes on Imperial federation in the July issue of the Westminster Review, seems to think that such a union of Great Britain and her colonies must be preceded by a partial dismemberment of the Empire. There can be no true federation, thinks he, save of independent States. Furthermore, he believes that Great Britain will hardly be willing to see the Parliament of Westminster degraded to the rank of a provincial assembly. The Crown might summon an Imperial Council without direct political power, and over that the sovereign might preside. Meantime, colonial federation, to which there can be no serious objection, might proceed. In time, perhaps, the Parliament might dissolve the political Nexus with the colonial governments. Then would emerge sovereign states prepared in a measure for Imperial federation.

Then, thinks Mr. Labban, scientific federation would be at least

possible. For the abandoned tie of allegiance to the crown would be substituted allegiance to the race. This might form the basis of a new confederation of the Anglo-Saxon race, from which America could hardly long remain absent. But there would be no need of an organization with the political powers of a state, since all the great purposes of a true federation could be performed by a deliberative and consultative body.

ENGLAND AND THE JEWS.—Those Americans that fear the influence of foreign immigration into this country will have their terrors quickened by reading S. H. Jeyes's "Foreign Pauper Immigration," in the July issue of the Fortnightly Review. Mr. Jeyes is troubled by the influx of Russian Jews into England. He gives figures that seem insignificant beside the returns from Castle Garden, and bewails the fact that various charities have in effect encouraged the coming of pauper and semi-pauper Jews to England. It is found that while these people do practice some arts hitherto not practiced in England, they also enter into competition with native unskilled labor and bring down wages. The Englishman strikes rather than submit to wages that make it impossible to keep up his accustomed standard of living, while the Russian Jew takes a reef in his belt at every reduction of wages, and works on. Mr. Jeyes holds the Jews chiefly responsible for the sweating system, and quotes the Bishop of Bedford as saying that they are flying from one great evil in Russia to produce an intolerable evil in Great Britain. Mr. Jeyes wonders whether the working classes will permit this to continue. He would not positively exclude all these flying thousands, but he would send back those without visible means of support. He is convinced that England is sending us good Englishmen, and herself keeping poor Jews, the old and penniless, who have neither money nor energy to bring them to the United States. He is convinced that the populace will yet take to Jew baiting if this immigration is not checked. The labor leaders could raise a Judenhelze to-morrow if they would. England cannot go on keeping open house for the paupers of all the world.

BARON HIRSCH'S PHILANTHROPY.—Baron de Hirsch gives his views on Philanthropy in the July issue of the North-American Review. He believes that the possession of great wealth lays a duty upon the possessor, but he is opposed to the old system of almsgiving and pauper making. The great problem in philanthropy is to make workers out of those that must otherwise be paupers. He finds his highest purpose in bringing to the followers of Judaism the possibility of physical and moral regeneration. He will make farmers of Jews, but he thinks it unwise to encourage their emigration to the United States, since there are already many Jews there. He is convinced that the Argentine Republic, Canada, and above all, Australia, offer the best asylums for his people. He expects to begin with the first named country. He feels sure that his mission is a good one and is sanguine of success.

STORY OF THE WEEK

ENDING SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1891.

RENOMINATION OF GOVERNOR CAMPBELL.—The Democrats of Ohio have renominated Governor Campbell. Their Convention met in Cleveland on Wednesday. Allen W. Thurman, the temporary chairman, devoted his opening speech almost exclusively to the tariff question, urging that all side issues, no matter how important they might seem, be let alone until the question of taxation is settled on an honest and just basis. He described the Protection policy as a continual barrier to commercial prosperity, and ridiculed the notion that a country can be made rich only by buying from and selling to itself; and of reciprocity, which he characterized as a Democratic and not a Republican doctrine, he asked why, if it was good with South America, it would not be better with Canada and Europe. After Mr. Thurman's speech, the Convention, in compliance with the new voting law, selected a party emblem to distinguish Democratic ballots. The Republicans had chosen an eagle, and the Democrats selected a rooster.

The platform endorses the administration of Governor Campbell, and commends the Legislature, especially for its adoption of the Australian ballot; it favors a graded income tax, and denounces the extravagance of the "Billion Dollar Congress," and the despotic rule of Speaker Reed in the House of Representatives; and while it congratulates the people on the defeat of the Force bill, "intended to destroy free elections," it opposes sumptuary laws and favors home rule in municipalities. Liberal and just pensions for deserving and disabled soldiers and sailors of the Union and their widows and orphans are advocated; the persecution of the Jews by Russia is deplored; and, regarding commercial relations with Canada, the removal of the "embarrassing and annoying restrictions which now vex our people without yielding any substantial revenue to the Government," is urged.

The tariff plank of the platform is as follows: "We are opposed

to all class legislation and believe in a tariff levied for the sole purpose of producing a revenue sufficient to defray the legitimate expenses of the Government economically administered. We accept the issue tendered to us by the Republican party on the subject of the tariff, as represented by the so-called McKinley Tariff act, confident that the verdict of the people of Ohio will be recorded against the iniquitous policy of so-called "protection," championed by the Republican party in the interest of favored classes against the masses."

Thus far there was no contest regarding the platform. It had been unanimously reported by the committee, and it was unanimously adopted by the convention. But a warm contest, terminating in a close vote, arose over the question of silver coinage. The committee had reported the following in the platform: "We denounce the demonetization of silver in 1873 by the party then in power as an iniquitous alteration of the money standard in favor of creditors and against debtors, taxpayers and producers, and which, by shutting off one of the sources of supply of primary money, operates continually to increase the value of gold, depress prices, hamper industry and disparage enterprise, and we demand the reinstatement of the constitutional standard of both gold and silver, with the equal right of each to free and unlimited coinage."

A minority report, signed by nine members of the committee, including Congressman Harter, furnished the basis for debate. It was as follows: "We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, recommend the adoption of the following resolution as a substitute for the plank in the platform on the free and unlimited coinage of silver: We believe in honest money, the coinage of gold and silver and circulating medium convertible into such money without loss, and we oppose all legislation which tends to drive either gold or silver out of circulation, and we believe in maintaining the coinage of both metals on a parity. We also recommend that the resolution declaring for a graduated tax on incomes be stricken from the platform."

The minority report was rejected by a vote of 300½ to 399½.

When nominations were in order, ex-Congressman Follette, of Cincinnati, presented the name of Lawrence T. Neal. This nomination was personally hostile to Governor Campbell. It represented the animosity of the Cincinnati faction attacked by the Governor during his present administration, and which has actively opposed his nomination from personal and factional motives. S. D. Dodge, of Cleveland, nominated Virgil P. Kline, who represented the radical Free Trade wing of the party, which was hostile to Campbell only because it did not regard him as a sufficiently pronounced Free Trader to cope adequately with McKinley. The only other nomination was that of Campbell, whose selection had already been conceded.

On the roll call Campbell received 508 7-16; Neal, 134 9-16; Kline, 56, and Tom L. Johnson, who was not a candidate, 1. The Kline men immediately moved to make the nomination unanimous, and the motion was declared carried, though the Neal party shouted "No!" in chorus.

Congressman Tom L. Johnson, of the committee appointed to notify the Governor of his nomination, introduced the nominee to the convention. In his speech of acceptance, after discussing a variety of local issues, Governor Campbell said in substance:

The electors of Ohio have other reasons for voting with us this year besides such as solely affect this State. The battle before us is essentially a national one, for the Republicans of Ohio have unreservedly identified themselves with every phase of the iniquitous legislation accomplished or attempted by the Fifty-first Congress. Pre-eminently, also, does the Republican leader in Ohio (whose high character and conspicuous career but emphasize his advocacy of bad legislation), stand for that pernicious tariff measure which was rejected at the polls last year by the people of the entire country; a measure identified with his name, saturated with his ideas, and wrought by his hands; a measure designed, as has been well said, in the interest "of monopoly, by monopoly, for monopoly;" a measure which is bringing about the worst of all centralizations—the centralization of wealth, with its debasing and destructive results; a measure which has already in many cases made less work and lower wages for productive labor; a measure which has forced the farmer of Ohio to sell his wool, in some instances, as low as twenty cents a pound, and that, too, in a market where he pays more dearly for hundreds of necessary articles which are but insufficiently sweetened with the humbug of bounty-produced sugar; a measure which forces from the labor of the country \$14,000,000 each year for the benefit of prospective tin mines, owned by capitalists who live in England, and prospective tin plate works to be operated by labor imported from Wales; a measure which, as it came from the hands of its author, did not, in the opinion of an eminent Republican, "open a market for another pound of pork, or another barrel of flour;" a measure which could not be forced down the throat of a reluctant Senate until sugar coated with the old Democratic doctrine of reciprocity—a doctrine finally, though feebly, embodied in the bill in spite of opposition from the great Ohio Protectionist.

Referring to Mr. McKinley's speech of acceptance, in which he said that the Republicans follow the tariff teachings of Garfield, Governor Campbell said: "The Protection of Garfield was, to quote his own words, 'that kind of Protection which leads to ultimate Free Trade.' Let the Republicans of Ohio who have not gone mad on Protection, come over this year and enroll themselves with us under a banner inscribed with those burning words of Garfield."

Governor James E. Campbell was born July 7, 1843, at Middletown, Ohio. He served in the Navy during the war, enlisting when scarcely of age. After the war he was admitted to the bar, and for four years he was Prosecuting Attorney. He was elected as a Democrat to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses. While in Congress he inclined toward the Randall wing of his party, but he supported the Mills bill. He was elected Governor in 1889 over General Foraker.

The other nominations were: For Lieutenant-Governor, W. V. Marquis, the incumbent; for Auditor, T. E. Peckinbaugh; for Attorney-General, John P. Bailey; for Treasurer, C. E. Ackerman; for Judge of the Supreme Court, Gustavus H. Wald; for Commissioner of Common Schools, Charles C. Miller; for Member of the Board of Public Works, John McNamara; for Member of Food and Dairy Commission, H. S. Trumbo.

In an interview after the convention Governor Campbell said that the tariff question and not the silver question would be the fighting issue of the campaign.

MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATS.—On Wednesday the Democratic State Convention for the nomination of Railroad Commissioners was held at Jackson. About one-fourth of the delegates were in favor of the sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance. Knowing that if a platform were adopted it would antagonize that scheme, they opposed the appointment of any committee on resolutions, arguing that such a platform would drive large numbers of Democrats from the party; but by an overwhelming majority the motion for the committee was adopted. The defeated faction say that by this act the convention, instead of stamping out the third party movement in the State, as was intended, has strengthened it.

KANSAS DEMOCRATS.—Thirty Democratic editors of Kansas met at Topeka last week for conference, and it is now learned they adopted resolutions opposing any alliance of the Democratic party with the People's party. A vote among them on Democratic candidates for the Presidency showed twenty-six for Cleveland and two for Hill.

ALLIANCE FARMERS OPPOSED TO SUB-TREASURIES.—The State Convention of Texas Farmers' Alliance members opposed to sub-treasures, in session at Fort Worth, has declared against the sub-treasury and the land loaning schemes, and government control of railroads, as paternal and centralizing in tendency and it has arranged for holding a national convention of all alliance members opposed to the sub-Treasury scheme.

MORMON DEFEAT IN SALT LAKE CITY.—At an exciting school election at Salt Lake City on Monday, the issue was between the Mormons on one side and the anti-Mormons, under the name of Liberals, on the other. The Mormons attempted to secure the Board of Education, in which they had been represented by but four members out of a total of ten. Neither party made any gains in the Board; but the Liberals increased their majorities in all the precincts they had carried before, and reduced the Mormon majorities in the others.

CALLING IN GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS.—The Secretary of the Treasury has issued a call on forty-two national banks for nearly \$4,000,000 of Government funds now on deposit with them.

REFUNDING THE FOUR-AND-A-HALF PER CENTS.—The first lot of four-and-a-half per cent. bonds have been refunded at 2 per cent., in accordance with the decision of the Cabinet reported July 8, under title "Extension of the Four-and-a-half Per Cents."

GLASSBLOWERS LEAVE THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—The glassblowers, in convention at St. Louis, have decided to withdraw from the Knights of Labor.

THE NIEDRINGHAUS STRIKE.—Last week 300 men went out of the mill of ex-Congressman Niedringhaus, the tin tariff agitator, at St. Louis. They struck on account of his refusal to allow extra wages for work on metal used as a base for tin plate. The strike still continues. William Weiche, President of the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, advised a committee of the strikers to wait upon Mr. Niedringhaus. The committee acted upon the advice; but Mr. Niedringhaus, while declaring his willingness to confer with them as workmen seeking employment, refused to receive them as a committee.

Mr. Weiche explains that a large part of the Niedringhaus trouble

is due to an attempt on the part of the Tin Plate Association to repudiate an agreement with the Amalgamated Association for lobbying for the McKinley tin tariff. He says that representatives of the Tin Plate Association came to the Amalgamated Association, representing that an increase of the tariff on tin plate would boom the industry and help the iron and steel workers, and induced the association to send a committee before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives to advocate the increase as a measure of protection to American labor. The Amalgamated Association agreed to do this, and carried out the agreement, on condition that the new wageschedule should allow 15 per cent. extra for soft steel work and 20 per cent. for changed iron and steel. The object of the condition was to secure to the workers part of the benefits of the tariff. But, having got the assistance of the association and secured their object, the manufacturers, says President Weiche, are now attempting to recede from their part of the agreement.

BARDSLEY'S DEFICIT.—The expert accountants employed by the Council's Committee of Philadelphia, report that the net sums chargeable to Bardsley are \$1,585,602.95 for the State of Pennsylvania, and \$1,008,949.00 for the city of Philadelphia, making a total of \$2,594,551.95. To offset this, they find that \$919,673.47 was deposited in various banks, that the due bills of the Keystone Bank aggregate \$925,000.00, and that the Keystone bank checks paid by Bardsley amount to \$196,043.19. These figures leave a total net deficit of \$553,835.38.

CONNECTICUT DEADLOCK.—John Addison Porter denies the statements of Lynde Harrison regarding the late election in Connecticut, reported under this title last week.

ADVERTISING UNDER THE POSTAL SUBSIDY LAW.—The Postmaster-General advertises, under the postal subsidy law, for proposals from steamship companies for carrying American mails to foreign countries in vessels of American build, of the best construction and highest speed in their respective classes, owned and officered by American citizens, and manned with crews three-fourths American. The American ports from which service is proposed are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, Norfolk, Port Tampa (with service from Mobile), New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, Seattle, and Tacoma. Absolutely new service for American ships is invited for the transatlantic lines from New York, Boston and Baltimore; a line to Buenos Ayres from New York, and one from Philadelphia; a line from Port Tampa to Venezuela and to the east coast of South America; a line to the same ports is projected from New Orleans and from Galveston, and a new line from New Orleans to Aspinwall, calling at the ports on the North coast of Central America and the ports on the Spanish Main. A new line on the Pacific coast from San Francisco to Chili and to the west coast of South America is proposed, and a new line from Seattle or Tacoma to China and Japan; also a new line from San Francisco to Melbourne.

The bounties, per mile of the shortest practicable outward voyage, are: for first-class vessels, \$1; second class, \$2; third class, \$1, and fourth class, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents. It is estimated by the Post Office Department that the annual cost to the Government will be \$2,795,000.

PROTECTING AMERICAN YACHT BUILDERS.—The Treasury Department, in the case of W. K. Vanderbilt's yacht, "Conqueror," has decided that foreign built yachts, owned by Americans, are subject to the tax for lighthouse purposes of fifty cents a ton every time they enter an American port in a different district from that in which they shall have already paid the tax for the same voyage. The only alternative is to register the yacht abroad and fly a foreign flag.

EDISON'S INCANDESCENT LAMP PATENT.—The United States Circuit Court for New York, by Judge Wallace, has decided a long pending suit between the Edison Company and the United States Electric Lighting Company, in which Edison's patent for the familiar incandescent electric lamp is sustained. This decision, if it stands, will give to the Edison Company the monopoly of the incandescent lamp for six years to come, and millions of dollars for past infringements. An appeal to the new Federal Court of Appeals is contemplated, and the case will probably go, ultimately, to the Supreme Court.

THE COLORADO DESERT LAKE.—At latest reports the Salton Lake, an overflow described July 8 under title "Flooding of the Colorado Desert," covered an area of 2,000 square miles, and was still rising. Its source seems now to be settled. A party of newspaper men have made the whole distance by water from Yuma, on the Colorado River, to Salton. About fifteen miles south of Yuma they found a bar forming across the channel, and the water twelve feet deep, pouring into the desert through a break in the bank.

Turning into the new channel and traveling westward, after a three days' voyage they entered New River, the channel of which had been dry "since time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Here they found a break through which the water flowed northward, and on Monday of this week they ran into a vast lake, in the midst of which was a deep channel, which they followed until Tuesday morning, when they entered Salton Lake, and finally reached Salton. Confirmatory reports are to the effect that an immense body of water is running from the Colorado River into the desert at several points south of Yuma, and that scarcely any water is flowing in the channel of the river below Hardy's.

FINAL BURIAL PLACE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.—The widow of Jefferson Davis has decided the friendly contest between Virginia and Mississippi, for the final burial place of the late President of the Confederacy, in favor of Virginia; and the body will soon be removed to Richmond, where a mausoleum and a monument are to be erected.

NINA VAN ZANDT'S ROMANCE.—Nina Van Zandt, who will be remembered as the interesting young lady that August Spies married by proxy while in prison in Chicago awaiting death on conviction as an Anarchist, makes a remarkable statement on the eve of her marriage to an Italian, named Stefano Malata, which occurred on Thursday. She says that her family, who knew Spies's mother in Germany, was enlisted by Spies's lawyers in a plan to save him by throwing into his case an element of romance, in which Nina was to figure as his betrothed. For a long time she would not consent, but was finally prevailed upon. She says she never believed in anarchy, and was not even a martyr, but only "Exhibit A" in the case. Of Spies she saw very little. He was not insane, she thinks, but was a man of chaotic education, earnest, and full of brilliancy, who went the wrong way. The attorneys for Spies indignantly deny the story, and Captain Black, one of them, says that both he and his wife endeavored to prevent the marriage. Nina Van Zandt's mother refuses to say more than that the story is true.

TORY SENTIMENT.—On Tuesday, at a meeting of the United Club in London, Lord Salisbury, the Tory leader, spoke of the political outlook in England. The danger of church disestablishment he regarded as considerably removed. Of electoral reform, he thought that it was unreasonable that a man should have but one vote instead of having as now a vote for every voting place in which he owns property; but woman suffrage seemed to him to demand consideration, and he was inclined to think that it might be necessary to disfranchise illiterate voters. He did not regard Home Rule as having effected any lodgment in England, and his references to the next general election indicated that it might not occur until August, 1893, when the life of the present Parliament expires by limitation.

Notwithstanding this intimation that Parliament may continue until 1893, it is reported that electoral agents are actively preparing for dissolution next Spring. The remark about woman suffrage has caused intense excitement among influential Conservatives, and agents are pressing to know if this is to be an essential part of the Conservative programme. Conservative members of the Commons have given warning that a woman suffrage plank would at least call forth protests from a powerful section of the party; and the Council of the Conservative Association, at an informal meeting on Friday, decided to intimate to Lord Salisbury that the party is too much divided on the question to make its adoption wise. Salisbury favors woman suffrage because, from the conservative disposition of women, he expects them, as voters, to counterbalance the radicalism which he supposes manhood suffrage will introduce.

INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL.—The International Council of the Congregational Church, consisting of about 300 delegates, of whom 100 are from the United States, met in London on Monday afternoon. The Rev. Dr. Bevan, of Melbourne, Australia, was elected president, and President Cyrus Northrop, of the University of Minnesota, the Rev. Dr. A. H. Quint, of Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Rogers, of London, were elected vice-presidents. The Council is still in session.

TORY-FREE EDUCATION BILL.—The free education bill has passed its second reading in the House of Lords as it came from the Commons.

COPYRIGHT CELEBRATION.—On Thursday night the English Society of Authors celebrated the American copyright law with a dinner at the Hotel Metropole, London. Lord Monkswell presided, and Minister Lincoln, Professor Huxley, James Bryce, M. P., and Brander Matthews were among the guests. The toast to the President of the United States, proposed by Lord Monkswell, was responded to by Minister Lincoln; and Brander Matthews replied

for the American Copyright League to the toast proposed by Mr. Bryce.

DEPARTURE OF EMPEROR WILLIAM.—On Sunday morning the Emperor and the Empress of Germany attended religious services in London at St. Paul's Cathedral; and in the afternoon they visited Lord Salisbury at Hatfield House, where they remained until Monday afternoon, when the Emperor went to Windsor to bid farewell to his grandmother. Returning to London, he went in the evening to Scotland, where he embarked upon his yacht, and after inspecting the Forth Bridge across the Firth of Forth, he sailed for Norway. Of the occurrences at Hatfield House, except such as were of a social character, nothing is known; but it is conjectured that the interview there between the Emperor of Germany and the Premier of England had important bearings on the relations of the two countries.

AMERICAN PORK IN FRANCE.—The French Chamber of Deputies has approved the Government bill fixing the tariff on salt pork, ham, and bacon at twenty francs per one hundred kilos—about two cents a pound. The French ministry has at the same time proposed a decree rescinding the decree against importation of American pork, which was made ostensibly to protect the French people from trichinosis, but really to protect them from cheap pork. The Chamber of Deputies approves the proposal, and it has gone to the Senate, which, however, has not yet acted.

POLITICAL TEMPEST IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER.—On Thursday, a Boulangist questioned the Ministry as to the manner in which the Alsace Lorraine passport regulations are enforced. It was charged that the German regulations place vexatious restrictions upon French commercial travelers who cross the line eastward, while the French government in no manner restricts German commercial travelers passing the other way. M. Ribot, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that nothing had occurred to warrant an explanation; but upon appeal to the Chambers he was overruled by a vote of 288 to 203, the Right, the Boulangists, and the Radicals combining against him. On the following day, after making an explanation that consisted only in the statement that the government had received no complaints, M. Ribot demanded a vote of confidence in the Ministry. The vote was taken and the Ministry was sustained by 319 to 108. Hardly had this been done when M. de Freycinet, President of the Council and Minister of War, was prompted to resign by the refusal of the Chamber of Deputies to grant the sum of \$120,000 which he had proposed for the Ecole Polytechnique. Upon the refusal, the session of the Chamber was immediately suspended and a Cabinet Council summoned. The Council, by representing to M. de Freycinet that this adverse vote did not imply want of confidence in the Ministry, persuaded him not to tender his resignation.

FRENCH LABOR BILL.—The French Senate has passed a bill establishing a ten-hour work day for women and children in factories, forbidding their doing night work, and prescribing for them one day of rest in seven.

FIRING AT PRESIDENT CARNOT.—Paris was excited on Monday by a report that the French President had been shot; but the report proved to be true only in part. While attending the official opening of a new thoroughfare, the Avenue of the Republic, the President was assailed with a pistol shot by a frenzied man who, pushing through the crowd, exclaimed as he fired, "I'll prove that there are more Bastilles to be demolished." The shot went wide of its mark, and the assailant, who was at once arrested, proved to be a lunatic just released from an asylum.

ILLNESS OF THE POPE.—On Thursday, the Pope was taken suddenly ill. He soon recovered; but a tendency since to fall into a profound sleep, even when taking the air in the Vatican gardens, alarms his attendants.

ARREST OF BELTCHEFF'S ASSASSINS.—Two students have been arrested in Sofia, Bulgaria, for the assassination of Constantine Beltcheff, the Bulgarian Minister of Finance. The murder occurred on the 27th of last March. Beltcheff and the Premier, Stambuloff, had been walking and were about to enter their official residences, which adjoined, when three shots were fired at Beltcheff and he was killed. The assassins could not be distinguished in the dusk, and the murder has ever since been a mystery. It was conjectured that Stambuloff had been the intended victim, and that Beltcheff was shot by mistake; the general appearance of the men in a dim light being very similar. No motive for the murder of Beltcheff could be thought of, while Russian intrigue would have accounted for the murder of Stambuloff. The two students who have just been arrested confess the crime.

SUFFRAGE EXTENSION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.—In opening Parliament, Lord Jersey, the new Governor of New South Wales, announced bills entirely remodelling the electoral laws, by which the franchise will be extended among men and given to women.

CHINESE RIOTS.—Native attacks upon foreigners continue in China. An outbreak at Woo-Hoo was reported June 30, under title "Massacre in China;" and on June 7, another occurred at the same place, and an English customs officer with his native servant and a Methodist missionary were killed. The missionary, while passing through the town, was hooted at by a mob, and a riotous boy went so far as to hit him with a stone. The blow knocked him senseless, and then the whole mob fell upon him. When they had finished, he was a mangled corpse. Heat d with excitement the mob cried, "Death to the foreign devils," and rushed for the residence of the English customs officer. Assisted by his native servant, both armed with swords, he defended himself, and the two killed several rioters; but they were finally overpowered, and the officer's dead body was horribly mutilated. The Governor of the town, as soon as he heard of the outbreak, sent troops to subdue the mob, and order was soon restored.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

INSUFFICIENCY OF THE SINGLE TAX.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Ten years ago I became a convert to the doctrine of the Single Tax through reading "Progress and Poverty." I believe in what is called "Single Tax unlimited," or the full confiscation of rent by the State. I believe it to be the grandest fiscal, social, and moral reform yet proposed for the alleviation of the conditions and tendencies of the universal course of civilization. For many years I also believed that its adoption would result in the permanent abolition of poverty; but from later study and reflection I am led to believe that its benefits to labor, like all other proposed remedies, though splendid while they endure and valuable in clearing the way to final reforms, will be temporary, and that after a season the same influences which now tend to diminish the reward of labor will reassert themselves. I desire to state briefly my reasons for this belief, and that you will at your convenience express yourself in THE STANDARD on the correctness of my position.

The basis of my belief is the universality of the law of rent.

The adoption of the Single Tax system does not involve the abolition of rent, but only its transference from the private landlord to the State. Under its operation labor would undoubtedly gain: First, by access to land now held for speculation or for inferior uses; second, by the abolition of pre-payment of purchase-money, or capitalized rent; third, by exemption from all taxes save rent; fourth, by increase of productive power. But notwithstanding these gains to labor, the everlasting tide of rent after a period of recession would again begin to steadily rise.

With the increase of population, which would be greatly accelerated by immigration attracted by the wonderful prosperity born of the new era, and by the very effect of the new productive power created by the greater freedom of action and by the enlistment in industrial pursuits of the present great army of unemployed, competition for the use of land would spring up rapidly and rent would begin to rise. Improvement in the arts and in labor-saving machines would exert the same influences as at present in creating competition in labor, and would thereby increase of rent.

The rivalry of organized capital with labor would present the same unequal contest as to-day. For, while capital may be the offspring of labor, and in its natural or inert state may be ancillary in its relations to labor, yet organized under the genius of man and aided by mechanical inventions and art, not to speak of monetary and commercial devices, capital develops potential qualities which operate dynamically as differently from inert capital as the steam which drives the engine from that which comes from the nose of a tea-kettle.

Organized capital could, under the new system as well as now, out-bid labor in the payment of rent, not only in manufacturing and mining industries, but even in the cultivation of the soil. Through the aid of mechanical appliances it would be only a question of time when a large portion of the soil would be cultivated like the great ranches in California; men with blankets employed a few months at seed-time and a few months at harvest and turned out on the road the rest of the year.

Nor can I see that the conditions of the new regime would abolish trusts. If rent were taken by the State for the use of coal, iron, or oil lands, the profits resulting from the private monopoly of these lands would disappear; yet the great trusts could undoubtedly still offer a higher rent than the laborer, and thus labor be forced to compete for wages.

It is true that all this increase in rent will go to the State and may be expended for the general benefit. But though these expenditures furnish the people with every public convenience, as free

transit, light, water, baths, amusements, libraries, universities, gymnasia, etc., yet, unless food, shelter, and clothing were provided, poverty and want would not be prevented; and if these latter were provided gratuitously, civilization would assume the form of the Roman civilization of the Augustan age, and be doomed to certain decay.

But the very relief caused by exemption from taxation and by these public expenditures would be turned against labor. Just as the poor rates in England were used to supplement wages, so would these ameliorations in the condition of the masses be used as an excuse for the reduction of wages, the advantage of which would be sure to capital, to be absorbed in increased rent, which would in turn be taken by the State, and the same cycle of events repeated.

I admit that the employment of labor by the Government in public improvements, and the increase of the productive power of labor, as well as trades unions and co-operative schemes, would be frictional elements tending to retard the movement I have described, and delay but not avoid the final result of the law of wages.

The foregoing considerations force me to believe that the only method to secure the permanent relief of labor will be for the State to apply the proceeds of rent to the employment of labor in the various industries, beginning first, as nearly all Single Taxers agree, with those that are in their nature monopolies, and gradually assuming the management of others as they become artificial monopolies, through the combination of capital, a process which will eventuate in a form of Socialism, in which there will be a true equality of opportunity, in which every citizen shall be ensured employment at wages that shall maintain a reasonable standard of comfort, and yet the reward of labor be proportionate to skill and industry, thus destroying the fear of want while preserving the zeal engendered by competition.

Just as tariff reformers do not appear to see that the logical result of their arguments will lead to real Free Trade, and that the Single Tax is the necessary sequence of Free Trade, so I do not think that Single Taxers realize that the nationalization of land and governmental control and management of natural monopolies are but degrees of progress from the system of competition to that of social co-operation.

Santa Barbara, Cal., July 14, 1891.

JAMES L. BARKER.

[Your last paragraph goes far to account for the result of what in your first you describe as "later study and reflection." The statement is careless and the thought confused, and in both respects it is in marked contrast with the earlier passages of your letter. Single Taxers do not aim at "the nationalization of land," in the sense of the Socialist, who would "nationalize industry." They seek to make the rent of land common, leaving the land itself to individual use and control. Nor is the Single Tax a degree of progress toward any military type of socialism; you might as well refer to aerial navigation as a degree of progress toward deep sea soundings. If, however, by the term "social co-operation," you allude not to military types of socialism, but to that perfect "association in equality" which Mr. George, in "Progress and Poverty," describes as the law of human progress, more study and reflection may convince you that competition, from which you seek an escape, is an essential principle in the operation of this law.

Your preliminary statements are generally so true and clear that it is difficult, at first, to discover what has misled you; but as your after advances, it appears in bold relief. It is the fundamental fallacy of the Socialist and all his brood—protectionists, nationalists, paternal philanthropists, and the like: as workingmen must work to live, work must be provided for them or they will die. The Socialist provides work by nationalizing industry, and, with rules and regulations, putting each human belt upon its appropriate wheel, each cog in its place, and every peg in its hole. The Protectionist bars out foreign products to save home work for home consumption. The paternal philanthropist "gives work," after the manner of his equally generous but more indolent prototype who gave pennies. And you, like these, anxious to provide work for the workingman, would have the State "apply the proceeds of rent to the employment of labor." This shows that all your "later study and reflection" have been distorted by the notion, vague perhaps but potent, that in civilized society workingmen are necessarily dependent on others for work to do. When you clearly perceive that others are dependent on workingmen for things to consume, and that in the absence of privilege each must work for all in order to share the products of all, your concern for the workingman will begin and end with demanding his emancipation. This is comprehended in the plea against privilege, and it takes practical shape in the Single Tax movement.

It is true that under the Single Tax "the everlasting tide of rent, after a period of recession, would again begin steadily to rise." But why would it at first recede? You know the reason, and inferentially you give it. It is because the Single Tax would kill land speculation. Under that system, only the use of land and not its

ownership would be profitable, and this would reduce rent to the normal level. And why would rent, after this recession, rise again? You do not suppose that land speculation would reappear; you know that under the Single Tax unlimited it could not. The reason you give, and the true one, is that production would increase. Rent would rise, but only in response to renewed demands for land for use; its rise, therefore, would be normal. Thus far we are agreed. But you fear that the normal rise of rent would encroach upon wages, and thus reduce the laborer again to dependence. This error proceeds from your careless assumption that the encroachment would be upon wages as a quantity. It would not be so. With the speculative element eliminated, wages as a *proportion* would fall with the rise of rent, but wages as a *quantity* would continually rise.

To illustrate: Let production be 12, with rent 5 and wages 7. Eliminate speculation, and rent would fall, say to 3, leaving 9 instead of 7 for wages. Here is both a proportional and a quantitative increase of wages. It is the temporary recession of rent to which you refer. Now, let rent rise to 8, higher even than it was in the speculative era. But since, with speculation eliminated, rent cannot rise unless production does, let us suppose production to have risen to 24, or double what it was before. Then rent, now at 8, is one-third of the whole, whereas before it was only one-fourth. Here is a proportional increase of rent, due to the causes you specify; and it follows, of course, that there is a proportional decrease of wages. There is also a quantitative increase of rent; but wages as a quantity instead of decreasing have increased. As 9 in a total of 12, wages were three-quarters; while as 16 in a total of 24, they are only two-thirds. Proportionally, therefore, they are reduced; but as a quantity, they are higher by the difference between 9 and 16. It might be said that greater production implies larger population, and, therefore, that wages are lower for each, notwithstanding the larger wages fund; but you need no caution regarding this point.

If you study and reflect you will recognize the general principle, and the more you study and reflect the clearer will it become, that though material progress tends to increase normal rent and to diminish normal wages, if we consider them as proportions of aggregate production, it tends to increase both, if we consider them as absolute quantities; and you will see that the speculative element in rent is essential to the reduction of wages considered as a quantity. This general principle comprehends the answer to your fear that wages, under the Single Tax, would tend to the minimum.

It is thinkable, though not possible, that a time might come when, all the land of the globe being subjected to the most intense cultivation, even the poorest would have a value. Then a limited monopoly of land, even under the Single Tax unlimited, might occur. But we are dealing to-day with actual and probable conditions, not with fanciful dreams.—ED. STANDARD.]

TO REWARD INVENTORS:

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: I fully agree with W. E. Brokaw in the general principle he advocates in his article in STANDARD of July 8, the rewarding of inventors as public benefactors by the State. By the adoption of this method the powers and resources of the Government would be used for the benefit of the inventor and manufacturer alike. This would be in accord with true Democratic ideas of a government by and for the people. It would facilitate and extend the use of useful inventions by bringing them before the people and securing to all freedom to make and use them. The law now in force discourages the use of improved devices and restricts their manufacture to a minimum. One might think it was framed to enable proprietors of patents to levy tribute upon the necessities of others rather than to secure deserved reward to inventors for skill and labor expended.

Some of friend Brokaw's details I consider of doubtful utility: that, for instance, requiring inventors to report at the end of one year the number of their inventions in use, and so on each succeeding year. This seems to me a twofold wrong when it is proposed to deprive inventors of the control of the products of their own skill by giving unconditional liberty to manufacturers to appropriate their inventions, and in doing so take from them the facilities most necessary to establish their claim for remuneration.

The expense of gathering such statistics annually in a manner that would be acceptable to the department would exclude inventors of moderate means from participation in the rewards offered by the Government, as only men of wealth could raise the funds to collect such proofs. This method would offer opportunities for fraud upon the Government by making it to their advantage for inventors to report a greater number of their inventions than were in actual use.

When the State rewards inventors, as proposed by Mr. Brokaw, their inventions will become public property, controlled by the State, the Government having the right to determine upon what conditions private parties should be permitted to manufacture them. The Government could turn this supervisory power to good account without placing any perceptible burden on manufacturers by

requiring them to get a permit from the Commissioner of Patents to make patented articles, such permit making it obligatory on the parties receiving it to have the word "patented" in a conspicuous place on every article, and report annually to the Patent Office the number of patented articles made, under pain of forfeiture of right to make such goods in the future.

This plan would strike me as more feasible and less liable to abuses, besides placing the department in communication with all who make patented articles, which might be of great service in getting information as to the merits of the respective articles made by each.

Buffalo, July 14, 1891.

ROBERT WHITE.

GENERAL RECIPROCITY.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: In drafting their platforms, might not the Democrats do well to insert some such Reciprocity plank as this: While we vigorously denounce such sham Reciprocity as that contained in the Blaine-Aldrich *retaliatory* amendment to the McKinley Tariff bill, yet we so heartily endorse *real*, *genuine* Reciprocity with *all* nations as to advocate offering them a remission of our present duties on their exports in exact proportion as they remit duties on ours.

Boston, Mass.

D. WEBSTER GROH.

GENERAL WOODFORD ON THE LAND QUESTION.

General Stewart L. Woodford, of Brooklyn, made a speech before the New York State Teachers' Association at its recent session at Albany, on "The Labor Problem." He thus spoke of the common declaration that the interests of labor and capital are identical:

Now, I know that there is a beautiful euphemism, in which we all delight to indulge, that capital and labor are one. We are all pleased to say that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are one. It is pleasing to state and restate the golden truth that capital is best served when labor is best rewarded, and pleasing to state the corollary, that labor is happiest when in union with capital. Now all this is true, and in some millennial age I pray that the suggestion of the clergyman, and the dream of the poet, and the euphemism of the politician may all be realized. But when Lazarus, working eight or ten hours a day, with back bent, goes out on Sunday afternoon, and, walking up one of our great city avenues, sees where Dives lives, it is very hard to get the poor fellow to understand practically that labor and capital are one. When he goes back to the tenement house, and up rickety stairs, and through fetid atmosphere climbs his way to where the wife and the babies are, brutalized by compulsory associations with want, or with drunkenness, or possibly with crime, uncomfortable in the heat and dirt, neither he nor wife nor babe understand how labor and capital are one! They are one in the great sweep of God's truth. They are one in the good time coming; but to-day and now it will be Christian, it will be wise, it will be patriotic, for those of us who, thanks to fathers, thanks to Providence, or thanks to our own thrift have our own places on the capital side of this question—it will be well for us to understand that between the tenement house and Fifth avenue there is a great gulf fixed which you and I ought to try in some way to bridge over. And hence, not venturing even to dream that what I suggest is exact or positive truth, conscious that all thought upon this question to-day will need continuous revision, I wish, in the few moments left me, to put to you three or four simple questions. If I can get you, who are educated men and women, to begin thinking practically about these things, I shall have more than answered all the purpose I had in coming.

The general first took up the question of great corporations, and insisted on the vital necessity of compelling them "to live absolutely inside the law, with all that this involves." He next took up the land question and spoke as follows:

If all wealth is produced by labor from the earth, if the land is at the basis of the State, should not the law hinder every attempt to aggregate land and transmit it in great bodies to posterity? I presume this may be a startling question to ask the conservative teachers of our public schools; but yet remember that in England to-day they have reached the point where the State has had to step in between landlord and tenant and fix the rate of rent. What would be thought in this land of ours if there was an attempt to tell the landlord what he should charge either for house, or factory, or tenement house or farm? And yet, just as certain as that sixty millions of people to-day mean one hundred millions fifty years from now; as certain as that one hundred millions fifty years from now means two hundred millions one hundred years from now; as certain as that two hundred millions one hundred years from now mean ultimately a population that will startle imagination, I tell you, my countrymen, sooner or later we have got to meet the problem that the men and women to whom God gives life shall have chance in the soil and on the dust out of which they are made! Now, do not misunderstand me. I am not going to talk any wild agrarianism. I recognize the right of a man to labor—nay, I recognize and assert the duty. I recognize the right of a man to be secured in the product of his labor, and the duty of the State to protect him. I recognize that it is as natural for a man to seek a home of his own as for the bird to build its nest. I pity the man who doesn't want soil of his own, not owned by the State but owned by himself, as the home for wife and children. But in our dealing with land in our laws inherited from old England, are we not just reversing the way that God deals with us? What is there in which you have greater property than in your body? Nothing. Wherever you go that body is yours. You may take it upon any man's farm, and while you stand there

your body is absolutely yours, and the use of the soil beneath your feet is yours. You pass, you take it with you, but when you die that which was more your property than anything else in the world, under the providence of God, molds back into dust, passes into the earth, the sky, the air. Even the attempt of the old Pharaoh to make mummy of it and to keep it forever is at the last futile, and the body, which was yours, God dissipates and scatters. Under the theory of our human government, a man who has accumulated one hundred millions of dollars in real estate, though he has no right to primogeniture under our American system to entail it in perpetuity to the eldest son and eldest son of eldest son, is yet permitted to pick out the preferred son. We recognize primogeniture of intellect, and the man with a hundred millions of real estate can give, by his will, the whole of it to the boy who can best take care of it and can make two hundred millions out of it. And so it passes on, possibly guarded by our system against the accidents of stupidity and of dissipation, which in England may, and so often do, dismember the estate. Let us protect labor, let us protect saving; but I leave this question with you: Is there not great wisdom in the theory of the French law, which requires that when a man dies his real estate, at least, shall be divided among all the children that he leaves, so that the tendency of society shall be always to make as many landowners and as many landholders as there possibly can be? Is there not ultimate danger in any system that possibly permits as few landowners and landholders as can be? I ask you to take the question away with you. I may be wrong in the suggestion; it is not ventured with dogmatism. But with an earnest thought of what this great future is to be, I want to ask you, educated men and women, teachers, ought not the trained intelligence and educated intellect of this land to devise ways that shall not hamper industry, that shall not rob labor, that shall protect the filial and parental instinct, and yet that shall give a direction of American law in the line of distributing land, not aggregating it? It may not be a large question now; there is coming a time when it will be a tremendous question. It may make little difference to you now that great railway corporations own dukedom after dukedom as they stretch out toward the sunset. It may make little difference to you now that men coming from across the sea, where already there is the rumble of tottering thrones, have bought great estates upon our Western land, beside which the great estate of Devonshire is but a county to a State: it may be little to you now, but there is coming a time when even in this fruitful land there shall be hunger for land and hunger for bread. God help the republic to build wisely now, when it has the chance and the power, so that it may not have, at terrible cost, to tear down and rebuild in the years that are to come! Careful study of the old Greek system of land laws and of the Hebrew code, with its semi-centennial year of jubilee, may and will be pregnant with suggestions to us all.

He finally discussed the subject of organized labor, and, while admitting that many strikes have been unwise and evil in their results, he insisted on the right of workingmen to organize for the promotion of their own interests and asked: "What will counteract the accumulation of capital in corporations except the organization of labor on the other side? Is there any more natural remedy? If there is what is it?"

"BACK TO THE LAND!"

To the land, to the land! From its dust we have sprung;
And still to its verdure our footsteps have clung.
Fair childhood hath sported in innocence gay
Where the field flowers broder with beauty the way.
From garden and wildwood the lover hath sought
Bright blooms meet to offer the queen of his thought.
And beautiful age, with the sweet brow of calm,
Feels the light breeze of evening breathe blessing and balm,
While she roams in the Past with the lover and child,
And smile the blue skies as of old they had smiled.
Shall Hope's blossoms wither and drop from the hand,
And Memory darken? No! back to the land!

In the dew of the morning the long furrow shone,
While blithe in its wake the glad sower pressed on,
Rejoicing in faith of the harvest to come
With plenty and peace for the loved of his home.
But the toil of the bondsmen no largesse returns,
Earth's seed time and harvest that dull tillage spurns.
Shall Monopoly's tool to his "quarters" slink back,
With the bloodhounds of slavery still on his track?
Shall the vision of home be a maddening dream
Till the brain hath forgotten to hope or to scheme?
Shall we barter our birthright, and prodigals stand,
With husks for our vintage? No! back to the land!

Great storehouse of Nature, accursed be the day
That locked from earth's children thy treasures away,
And gave to the grasp of the robber the key
That was meant but to open and leave thy wealth free.
But the hour hath sounded; the great clock of Time
Hath marked on the dial the death stroke of crime.
The strife of the ages is on; shall we dare
To falter and palter—our trust to forswear?
Shall we traffic in souls while our gold is piled high?
Or, in Poverty's shadow, shrink, craven, to die?
Our heritage beckons; rings forth the command,
"Go ye up and possess it!" Back, back to the land!
San Luis Obispo, Cal.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

TRICKS OF A HIGH PROTECTIONIST.

Henry George, Jr., in Boston Globe.

A few weeks ago I came down from Liverpool in company with two Congressmen—one an absolute Free Trader from Ohio, the other a high Protectionist from a more eastern State—the latter a member of the last Congress who voted for the McKinley Bill. During the journey a hot tariff discussion arose, and one of the points the Protectionist Congressman contended for was that a tariff might increase prices at first, but that internal competition would quickly reduce them. A fortnight afterward the following conversation took place in the magnificent Hotel Metropole:

Protectionist Congressman—I have just ordered at Poole's \$2,000 worth of clothes. I gave a fellow a guinea to tell me what kind of clothes I needed. I gave another a guinea to pick out the cloth. I gave another a guinea to do the cutting. I have also bought \$250 worth of shoes and \$100 worth of walking sticks.

Free Trade Congressman.—Why did you buy all these things here? Why didn't you get them in the United States?

P. C.—They are cheaper here.

F. T. C.—What would your constituents think if they heard you say that?

P. C.—For heaven's sake, don't breathe it. If it got out that I bought a lot of clothes in England I would be ruined politically.

F. T. C.—What are you going to do about the Custom House at New York? Going to declare all these things?

P. C.—No. You see I consider that a man has the right to carry in what befits his station. These things make a year's outfit for me. I will take the customs officer aside, and when I tell him who I am it will be all right, don't you see? I shall take over a watch for a present, and, of course, I shall pay whatever duty the law requires on that.

A few days later the Free Trade Congressman, who was about to escort a party of eight or nine, three of them ladies, to Paris, was joined by the Protectionist Congressman.

The clothing of the Free Trade Congressman's party filled eight trunks; that of the one Protectionist Congressman filled seven, and he had a man to look after them. One trunk was filled with shoes alone, and every one of the fifty or sixty pairs had a last in it to prevent creasing or curling.

As the boat neared the French coast the Protectionist Congressman said to the Free Trade Congressman: "You had better let me see to getting the trunks through the custom lines here. I can do it expeditiously."

"Go ahead; take full charge," was the reply.

So when they got to the pier the Protectionist Congressman took out of his pocket a big envelope, and out of that he took a big paper with a large red seal and the signature of James G. Blaine, written in great, bold letters.

The paper called on all concerned to treat the holder with all the distinction and courtesy due to a United States minister.

This was shown to a customs official, who read it, took off his hat, bowed profoundly, and said that every attention would be shown, and that of the fifteen trunks belonging to the party he would ask to examine only a few.

And he pointed out for his subordinates to search five trunks belonging to the P. C.

EVEN DOGS SUFFER THROUGH THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Jeweler's Weekly.

"Talking about smuggling reminds me of a trick I saw resorted to by a passenger on one of the big steamers a couple of years ago," said a loquacious commercial traveler. "You know there is a duty on diamonds, and one of the passengers had three large stones worth several thousand dollars, which he had purchased in London. The problem of how to evade paying the duty on the stones worried him considerably, but at last he evolved a plan, and a few days before the steamer arrived in New York he proceeded to execute it.

"The chief officer had a little skye terrier, and the passenger after considerable coaxing induced him to sell the dog. As soon as the smuggler gained possession of the animal he tied him up and gave him nothing to eat until just before we were to go ashore. He then procured some fat meat from the cook, and cutting off a piece a little larger than a walnut made a hole in it into which he placed one of the diamonds.

"A dog will generally bolt a piece of fat without chewing it, and of course a diamond will go down with it. The hungry dog swallowed the meat, as his owner expected he would, and in a short time the three diamonds were safely stowed away in his interior. The diamond smuggler had no difficulty in evading the vigilance of the Custom House officials, and was soon on his way up town leading the dog by a string.

"I met him again a few days afterward, and asked him how he recovered the stones. 'Easily enough,' he replied. 'As soon as I got home I shot the dog and found the diamonds after a short search. Of course I was sorry for the dog, but dogs are cheap and the tariff on stones is high, and I never allow sympathy to interfere with business.'

HE DID NOT OWN IT.

It is related that when Ethan Allen, in our American Revolutionary War, attempted, with a few hundred Green Mountain boys, to capture Montreal, and was himself captured and carried a prisoner of war to England, King George III. offered him the Governorship of the State of Vermont if he would become a loyal subject of Great Britain—and this is said to have been his reply: "Your Majesty's offer reminds me of another high personage who took our Lord and Saviour up into a high mountain and offered Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof if He would fall down and worship him; but the poor devil did n't own a foot of it."

LAND OWNERS, FOR INSTANCE.

Texas Sittings.

Capital and labor could get on well enough together if there were not so many men trying to get capital without labor.

IF THAT'S GOOD, WHY NOT HAVE MORE OF IT?

New York Recorder.

Free trade among four and forty States and reciprocity with the South American republics are good enough for America.

LABOR MAKES IT; LANDLORDS GET IT.

Detroit Journal July 14.

During the recent arbitration on the street railway assets which were being transferred to the City of Toronto, the following facts were elicited: The street railway was owned by Frank Smith and George Kiely, millionaires. During the four weeks between May 17 and June 13, 1890, after paying all expenses of operating the road, they added to their fortunes from this one source the sum of \$28,470. There is no evidence at hand that those were unusually busy weeks for the company. Accepting it as an average, their net annual profits amounted to \$370,110.

Now, the board of arbitrators fixed the value of the whole plant, the rails, barns, cars, horses, etc., at \$1,400,000 in round numbers. Allowing 10 per cent. as a fair return for the capital invested, or \$140,000, and after deducting it from the actual profits there is left \$230,000 for the year, which must represent approximately the annual value of the franchise, that is, of the monopoly in the streets given to them by the city.

Another significant fact in regard to those four weeks is that the 715 men employed by Smith & Kiely were paid in wages only \$22,533. In other words, two men received as interest on their capital and on their franchise \$6,000 more in one month than their 715 employees received, 604 of whom worked every day.

It is Victor Hugo who says, in "Les Miserables," that England "creates wealth admirably; she divides it badly." That is applicable to this western continent, also. The returns for capital legitimately invested in the production of wealth are not, as a rule, excessively high. The low rate of interest which now obtains proves this. The producer, as a producer simply, is not making any too much money. It cannot be said that the wage earners are getting a fair share of what they produce. Who do get it? The men who control the legal monopolies in land, railroads, etc. The Vanderbilts have produced much wealth, but only a small part of what they possess. Trinity Church, in New York, hasn't produced a penny, but owns \$150,000,000 worth of property. Since the first Astor bought and sold furs, not one of the family has done any productive labor, yet their possessions are nearly as great as those of Trinity Church. The Standard oil people owe their untold wealth to a combination of land and railroad monopolies. The same is true of the coal barons.

Is there not some connection between these enormous and easily acquired fortunes and the fact that the men who depend upon their wages are kept so near the edge of want? And in discovering a remedy for this unjust distribution of wealth, may not the production of wealth be increased?

THE MEANING OF THE TERMS.

Kansas City Star.

"Tariff reform," says the New York Recorder, "is only another name for Free Trade." Well, Protection is only another name for robbery. and as between robbery and Free Trade the people prefer the latter every time.

A HARMLESS DELUSION.

New York World.

Reciprocity that consists in taking the tariff taxes off of other nations and leaving them unabated upon our own people is a delusion that will not delude. Justice, like charity, should begin at home, though neither should end there.

BUT WILL "THE PEOPLE" SEE THE SHAM.

New York World.

When the taxpayers begin to contribute \$15,000,000 a year in bounties to sugar growers, as they must do next year under the McKinley law, "free sugar" will be at least one-third sham.

BARON GLOBO.

Thomas D. English in Auckland (New Zealand) Justice.

On the banks of the Rhine, the bold baron of old,
Like a spider enwebbed, sat alert in his hold;
And when burgher in tunic, or clerk in his gown,
Jogged along on the highway to abbey or town,
Impartial to all who were able to pay,
Down he swept with his stout men-at-arms on his prey.
Some parted with silver, some parted with gold,
But all paid their toll to the baron of old.

To the Emperor Conrad, who sat on the throne,
Came burgher and priest with a pitiful moan;
Conrad heard with knit brows, and with evident ire,
And cried, "The foul robber is playing with fire.
Good knights, and brave vassals, this fellow shall know
That the law bears alike on the high and the low."
And widely the justice of Conrad was praised
When the baron was hanged and his castle was razed.

Now, we have a baron who plays the same game—
His methods may differ, his ends are the same;
Poor pay to his hard-toiling wage-slaves he deals,
While with papers and parchments their produce he steals.
He rends them asunder at will or in whim,
All the strength of their sinews is now "owned" by him;
Our farmers and laborers all are laid low,
To swell the fat purse of the Baron Globo.

Is Justice a farce, and are laws but a jest?
Do our courts only act at the baron's behest?
And have we no Conrad, no monarch, whose sword
Can reach in his stronghold this baron abhorred?
Ah! yes, in the People. Once roused for the right,
They are potent these cogging forestallers to smite;
And woe to the wretches who waken their ire—
Baron Globo, beware! you are playing with fire!

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, July 21, 1891. }

The National 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 solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee, and is now engaged in circularizing newspapers in every State, calling their attention to the wide-spread interest now shown in the subject of the Single Tax, and urging that they call on the press companies supplying their ready prints and plates for Single Tax matter.

Subscriptions to this committee's fund remain as reported last week, viz :..... \$1,684 40

Cash contributions for the week ending July 21 are as follows :

William Hancock (add), Wyoming, Penn.....	2 00
Robert Aitchison, South Chicago, Ill.....	50
S. D. Guion (add), Brooklyn, N. Y.....	80

\$3 30

Cash contributions previously acknowledged..... 1,559 17

Total..... \$1,562 47

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week.....	108,081
Signatures received since last report.....	247

Total 108,328

For news budget, see roll of States.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

A club, called the Women's Municipal Club, has been organized in Argentine, Wyandotte County, Kansas, of which the immediate object is to arouse the women of the place to their duty in the exercise of their present legal right of suffrage in municipal and school elections. But the wider aim of the club is to make a study of the methods of city taxation, the State Constitution, and general questions of Government. The President is Mrs. Thomas Kithcart; the secretary, Mrs. Dr. Burke. These Kansas women, by reason of their suffrage, are especially valuable reform workers, and we should present the Single Tax to them by letters and literature.

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase, President of the Rhode Island W. S. A., has published in pamphlet form her "Anti-Slavery Reminiscences." In conclusion she says, "The slavery of the black man is abolished. But in the process of overthrowing one great wrong there is always laid bare some other wrong, which requires for its removal the same self-sacrificing spirit the same consecration to duty as accomplished the preceding reform." Continuing, she speaks of the present subordinate, disfranchised condition of woman as the next evil to be overcome. Let us tell Mrs. Chase that social justice to both men and women is the firm foundation upon which all other reforms should be based.

The fruit growers of Los Angeles, San Bernardino and neighboring counties of northern California are now actively protesting against the unequal and grossly exorbitant taxes levied upon fruit trees, and meetings have been held to consider the best means of redress. J. W. Lord, supervisor, and A. J. Kendall, tax collector, both of San Bernardino (in county of same name) have been especially energetic in the reform movement. The editors of the Press and the Morning Enterprise of Riverside, Cal., and of the Los Angeles Times, of whom the first two are high-tariff Republicans and the third a strong tariff reformer, all express sympathy with the movement. We should write to all these men and explain the injustice and bad policy of taxes on improvements.

Names of corps members have been coming in so very slowly that I must again ask that they should be sent to me. I need to know the working force of the corps as a guide to the number of targets to be presented each week.

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

A SINGLE TAX MINISTER.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., July, 1891.—At the Fourth of July celebration in this city, the oration was delivered by Rev. J. S. Thompson, pastor of the Unitarian Church. When the committee on exercises invited Mr. Thompson to speak, they doubtless expected he would treat the great audience to one of the regulation Fourth of July eulogies of the American eagle, with a roseate picture of our glorious country and its "free institutions." Imagine their surprise, then, on hearing from the orator of the day an off-hand speech entirely outside of the popular rut and replete with radical, progressive ideas. In pointing out some of the great evils existing in our land, Mr. Thompson boldly denounced "special legislation in the interests of a favored few," the "useless United States Senate," and our present system of taxation. More than that, he declared himself unequivocally in favor of the Single Tax.

The following quotations from a city paper's report of his oration will give an idea of where Mr. Thompson stands on the vital question of taxation. Before touching that question, however, he paid his respects to the United States Senate as follows :

Every nation has enemies and friends within its own borders, and it is my intention to consider a few of our own enemies. The first and greatest is, perhaps, class legislation in favor of the few. A special enemy is the figurehead, deadhead or moral blockhead, who occupies a useless and expensive situation. In England the greatest figurehead is the House of Lords. In this country it is the United States Senate, which does nothing

which could not be better accomplished by the representatives of the people themselves.

On the subjects of government, paternalism and taxation, the report proceeds thus :

As to paternalism, and the idea that the State should do everything, the American people do not need a government nurse. Development by competition is just as necessary to the world as co-operation.

The speaker spoke of the evils of the present system of taxation, and enumerated the good points and the workings of the Single Tax or tax on land only. He said that a tax on land could not be evaded, and did not require an army of detectives to see what a man was really worth. Public opinion, he said, is rapidly setting in in favor of the Single Tax, and public opinion is king.

The speaker's strong points were very heartily applauded, especially his declaration in favor of the Single Tax. Mr. Thompson is comparatively a stranger here, having come to the coast from Massachusetts about eight months ago. But he has been here long enough to become a power in the community, and has on several public occasions demonstrated that he possesses the courage of his convictions.

I shall do myself the honor of forming his personal acquaintance.

RALPH E. HOYT.

BROOKLYN.

George R. Gage.—A meeting under the auspices of the Taxpayers' League was held at the Everett Assembly Rooms, corner Bridge and Willoughby streets, last evening (July 21), for the purpose of showing that public sentiment is in favor of the passage of the Local Option (taxation) bill. Messrs. Joseph McGuinness and A. J. Wolf addressed the meeting. Future meetings of this league will be held on the first Tuesday of each month at Eureka Hall, 378 Bedford avenue, E. D., and third Tuesday of each month at Everett Assembly Rooms.

MAINE.

H. K. Porter, Cross Timbers.—We have met with some opposition to the Single Tax in the lodges, but the Single Tax has got the long end of the string every time, and it makes the other fellows mad, and they try bulldozing schemes, but fail in that. They like the third party movement, where they think they will have a chance to make some tricks called law, to prevent those people to whom this Government has sold its domain from doing what they please with "their own property," as they themselves put it.

PENNSYLVANIA.

E. D. Burleigh, Philadelphia, July 19.—Three petitions. I have just returned from church, where they are holding "lay services" during the Summer months, and they have invited me to address them some Sunday in August, and I told them I should give them very radical doctrine in regard to practical righteousness. They said all right.

TEXAS.

Will M. Buell, Baird.—Seven petitions. I learn that one of my recruits has subscribed to THE STANDARD. I thought that after the wheat began to come in there would be money; but wheat is only bringing 58 cents, so most of the farmers are holding.

OHIO.

Billy Radcliffe, S. T., Youngstown.—Where is Billy Radcliffe? At home—been there two weeks, but will be on the road again next week working West and South through Ohio.

I wrote last from Pomeroy, Ohio, where I had several lively tilts with Protectionists, and, by the way, sold "Protection or Free Trade?" to the grittiest one and got his signature along with three others on the enrollment blanks. I next took Ironton, Portsmouth and Chillicothe. I got my talk in all right at Ironton and Portsmouth, but the rain cut me off at Chillicothe. Then I took the capital (Columbus), and there I had them right. They got to putting questions and I soon had Protectionists disputing each other in the crowd, and gave them some thing to think over until I see them again this Fall. They kept me out till 11.15, which reminded me very much of Newcastle, Penn., where one Saturday night the police shook the wheel of my wagon and told me it was Sunday morning, but he was policing on Eastern R. R. time, while I was talking on Central R. R. time. After Columbus, I gave Delaware and Cardington short talks, and then come home.

Books and tracts from Ohio Single Taxers will come in handy, and thing sent to Youngstown will be forwarded to me.

F. Burdett, Cleveland.—Thirty-five petitions. They are all good names, and took me two weeks to get.

ILLINOIS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, July 17.—Mr. Furbish's address last night was in a characteristic vein. It abounded in wit and humor, in pathos and sound economic thought. His theme was the money question, and he brilliantly supplemented the able address of Mr. White last Thursday evening. Like Mr. White, Mr. Furbish believes that the ideal money would be realized in a Government certificate, issued for services performed for the Government, and receivable by it for all dues. Such a currency would fill every requirement, and would possess a quality which a commodity money has not, nor has ever had, that of absolute stability. Mr. Furbish utterly rejects the metallic idea and claims that metalism has always been, and will ever be, the bulwark of special privilege. A very animated discussion followed Mr. Furbish's address, Mr. Place, Mr. White, Mr. Goehagen, Mr. Ripley and others participating therein.

As a sign of the times and of the progress of our ideas, the following is interesting. It was adopted a few days ago by the Central Council of the the Knights of Labor of Chicago :

Whereas, It appears that there will be a deficiency in the city funds available for street cleaning and putting the city in good sanitary condition for the World's Fair ;

Resolved, That the Aldermen of the city be asked to meet this deficiency by an increased tax on real estate that will be directly benefited by the location of the the World's Fair, instead of by an increase in the amount of tax licensing industrial pursuits, as has been proposed by the Mayor and Council.

Another incident still more strikingly illustrates the effect our modest, yet persistent, agitation, has had on the public mind. A few weeks ago the Council rushed through an ordinance granting a franchise to a new gas company. This ordinance, which made no pretence of offering compensation for the privilege it contemplated, was vetoed by Mayor Washburne, on the ground that it was contrary to public policy to grant away the highways of the people without recompense. But the ordinance, in spite of popular opinion, was passed over the executive veto, only ten Aldermen voting to sustain it. In recognition of Mayor Washburne's advanced position, as shown in his veto message, the Single Tax Club last night adopted the following resolution, offered by Mr. J. T. Ripley:

Resolved, That the Chicago Single Tax Club tenders its congratulations to Mayor Washburne on the clear convictions he has attained on the question of compensation to the community for the value of special privileges in the streets of Chicago as expressed in his message to the Council on the Economic Gas Company ordinance; and respectfully recommends to his candid consideration the proposition that the value of the special privilege of occupying valuable land within the city limits being also due to the presence of population should be the first recourse of the municipality for the revenue needed by the city; and that the money now needed for street cleaning should be raised by special assessment upon street abutters, rather than by taxes upon those citizens who avail themselves of common rights to the use of our streets for the carriage of persons and property, as hackmen and teamsters, who must pay to the owners of the site of Chicago all that the opportunity for such common use is worth, either in the form of ground rents paid annually or (in ground rent capitalized) the purchase price of land.

This resolution has been sent to the Mayor and to the ten Aldermen who stood by him in the final contest.

Wm. Coulson, Spring Valley.—We have had a strike here for the past two months, caused by the manager substituting diamond screen bars for the old flat ones, which was a violation of the contract between the company and ourselves, and was equal to a reduction of ten per cent. in our wages. We have just now settled to work under two weeks pay and the ignoring of the new check-weighman's law, lately passed by the Illinois Legislature, and the weekly pay bill, and I hope to be able soon to send you substo THE STANDARD.

I have now some good news to tell you. Assessor John Flynn has listed all the coal rights in this township for taxation, consisting of 19,000 acres, at \$6 an acre, but where the surface is taxed and both coal and surface belongs to the same party it is deducted from the surface. The result is, we will have about \$3,000 more for public purposes. I preached Single Tax to the Assessor, and reminded him of the action of the Assessor in St. Clair County last year, with the result that he consulted one of our lawyers here, who looked up the law on the matter and found the decision of the Supreme Court stating that coal in the ground was liable to taxation, with the result above. I am glad to know that THE STANDARD is making headway, and I hope that its circulation will continue to increase.

J. H. Readon, Elgin.—Five petitions. These are all men who are dissatisfied with things as they are, and they are not paupers either.

Charles C. Ford, Chicago.—Three petitions. My business (real estate) constantly reminds me of the glaring injustice of land monopoly.

IOWA.

W. E. Brokaw, Muscatine, Ia., July 17.—The crowd attending the circus at Cedar Rapids, Saturday, July 11, contained an unusually small number of men, so that we did not distribute but a few hundred tracts and papers. Mr. Kennedy assisted me a while. Monday morning I started south, leaving the train at South Amana, a German settlement. The large brick houses and their surroundings are so different from other settlements in this country that I could almost imagine I was in a foreign land. Finding that I would have to wait about five hours for the first train west from there, I left my grip to follow me by that freight train and I walked to Marengo, between five and six miles. All afternoon we had a lively discussion in the Court House, the County Recorder and other county officials assisting me in discussion with a lawyer and others. Not less than a half dozen expressed themselves in favor of the Single Tax.

Tuesday I continued the agitation by soliciting signatures. The Democratic editor promised to advertise "Protection or Free Trade?" for sale and perhaps offer it as a premium also. The County Recorder, with whom I stopped, subscribed for THE STANDARD. Wednesday the Deputy Auditor bought "Pa" Chase's book, the "Master Workman" and "Protection or Free Trade?" In the afternoon I went to Iowa City and there distributed tracts and papers to people attending Forepaugh's show.

Thursday I solicited signatures in Iowa City and sold a few books. I met two men who said they were inclined to believe the Single Tax the only right tax, but they would not sign the petition and said they were too busy to read books. I secured the hotel proprietor's subscription to THE STANDARD. Mr. Hostetter has been showing him the cat. I took the early Friday morning train for Muscatine, securing the signature of the restaurant keeper, Mr. Wilton, where I breakfasted.

S. G. Booth, Cedar Rapids.—Eight petitions. We are organizing for thorough propaganda work. Expect to keep Mr. Brokaw in the field constantly for some time to come.

WASHINGTON.

A. W. Lobach, New Kamille.—After long delay I enclose you sixteen petitions. My hand was disabled for a time so that I could not write without great inconvenience. By the delay I got several names of those who were not here prior to the 21st.

Five of them I got this evening. Had quite an argument with one of them, but he finally admitted that there would be just features in the proposed change. With the rest there was no hesitation. I wish my circumstances enabled me to canvass the Sound country for signatures. I believe I could get the names of 95 per cent. of the woodsmen. These names finish this camp. There is a railroad close by with seven or eight men, whom I shall see. There are other logging camps from one to five miles away that I shall try to visit in time.

RIGHT YOU ARE.

New York Recorder.
Democracy means Free Trade.

PERSONAL.

Benjamin J. Castles, of Scranton, has been appointed a deputy factory inspector for Pennsylvania. Mr. Castles is a Single Tax man, and active.

* * *

Duncan Wright died in Scranton July 11, after an illness lasting eight weeks. He was born in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland, in November, 1820. In 1853, with his wife and two children, he came to America, settling at Philadelphia. They remained there until 1867 when they went to Scranton, and have since resided there. The deceased is survived by his wife, three sons—Andrew, of Dover, N. J.; John, of Chicago; and Duncan, of this city—and three daughters—Mrs. Marian Hall, Barbara and Agnes, all of this city.

While in Philadelphia Mr. Wright was chosen the first chief of the Caledonian Club, the first organized in the country. Immediately after coming here he connected himself with the Good Templar movement, then just beginning, and was one of the most earnest organizers. He had an interest in the Mosely boiler works when the plant was in operation in Scranton. He at one time owned a pattern shop, but for several years has been foreman of the pattern department in the Scranton Stove Works. The deceased was ex-Chief of the Scranton Caledonian Club. He was allied closely to the labor movement and was master workman of Local Assembly 222, Knights of Labor, at the time of his death. Mr. Wright initiated General Master Workman T. V. Powderly in the order. The deceased was also a member of Robert Burns Lodge, I. O. O. F., and of Lackawanna Castle, Knights of the Golden Eagle. He was a man of uprightness and sterling character. The funeral took place on Monday. Mr. T. V. Powderly and District Master Workman Campbell acted as pall bearers. In his later years Mr. Wright was an active worker for the Single Tax, and his death is regarded with great sorrow by Single Taxers in the Scranton region.

* * *

Edward Ferguson, the well-known Single Taxer of Brooklyn, is in poor health, and has gone to Toronto, Canada, for a couple of months' rest.

THE CHEAP EDITION OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

Judge E. T. Fellows, Indianapolis, Ind.—Have sold Heitman & George, booksellers of this city, a thousand books. Send them show cards and ten thousand tracts. In addition to store sales they sell through agents and expect to need several thousand. I hope for several orders for a thousand each from clubs.

Ernest J. Foord, Chicago, Ill.—I enclose money order from Judge Tuiley for two hundred copies to be sent Illinois farmers. Have other orders in tow, I expect to bring into port soon. If you will send me a lot of those blue show cards I'll use them.

W. E. Brokaw, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.—Many editors promise notices of the edition. Wish I had magic lantern and Single Tax views to attract the crowds in my rounds. I can use about 500 tracts at each of following places: Keokuk, Knopville, Grinnell, Marengo, Washington, Corydon and Mississippi Valley; 1,000 each at Ottumwa and Creston; and 1,500 each at Des Moines and Sioux City. Will reach these places about dates named. Send circulars to suit miscellaneous crowds.

We will be pleased to send our extra 39 tracts in lots of 1,000 or more to any one who will distribute them, and we will pay the freight. All orders for books accompanied by ten cents a copy (in lots of ten or more), will be promptly filled. Address, W. J. Atkinson, Secretary, 834 Broadway, New York.

OUR TARIFF FAVORS ENGLAND.

Boston Globe.

One of the beauties of the McKinley tin-plate schedule is that it favors the English dealer and consumer at the very decided expense of his brother man in free America. This is not what was promised, of course. But it is, "the unexpected which always happens," particularly in the plans and calculations of the devotees of ultra protection.

In London, to-day, you can purchase a box of tin-plate for six cents less than a year ago, on account of the lower cost of steel bars. How is this in our tariff-ridden country?

On this side of the Atlantic the purchaser must pay one dollar more for a box of tin-plate than in July last. Or, to put the facts in another way, the American is charged for the same goods 24½ per cent. more than the Englishman.

The New England Tariff Reform League has again done the public a valuable service in pointing out the actual facts regarding this ingenious device for "protecting" the English dealer. Its figures are given by authority. They are not to be controverted.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the responsibility for this added burden to our industries. It is the tariff, the McKinley tariff, and nothing but the McKinley tariff.

McKinleyism, and McKinleyistic tin-plate duties particularly, must go!

THE RESULT OF MCKINLEYING WOOL.

Philadelphia Record.

When he shall visit the wool counties in his campaigning tours in Ohio this year Hon. William McKinley will have no little trouble in explaining to the farmers the amazing gap between Protectionist promises and Protectionist performance. For example, here are June prices for wool this year and the two preceding years:

	Ohio XX.	Michigan X.
1889. (Before wool was McKinleyed).....	35c.	32c.
1890. (Before wool was McKinleyed).....	34c.	30c. a 30½c.
1891. (After wool was McKinleyed).....	31½c.	27c. a 28c.

Mr. McKinley will not be able to explain matters by showing that foreign wools have dropped in price. On the contrary, we are buying more Australian wool than ever and paying bigger prices for it, while the Ohio wools are neglected.

THE FACT AND THE PLEA.

Philadelphia Record.

The Fall River mill hands are to have a cut of 10 per cent. in their already meagre wages. And still the tariff pleads piteously for a suspension of public opinion till it shall have an opportunity to untie its sacks of riches.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

A glance at the extracts from the letters received during the past week and published below will show our friends that Single Tax men and women throughout the country are still earnestly at work extending the circulation of THE STANDARD. The returns of new subscriptions to date are not as large as we hoped for, but as hundreds of our workers have written us that they are determined to fill their quota at least, and that we shall surely hear from them soon, we feel that the success of our scheme is pretty well assured. The following extracts from letters indicate the progress of the work:

Henry L. Hinton, Grand-View-on-Hudson, N. Y.—Enclosed please find list of five new yearly subscribers and check for the requisite \$15. A little determination, I find, is all that is necessary to secure subscriptions.

James McDermott, Germantown, Penn.—Sends \$2 for two four months' subscriptions.

E. A. Hallett, Boston, Mass.—In sending \$6 for two annual subscriptions, says: "Here are two to help make up the increase of five thousand new names in THE STANDARD's subscription list."

William Halsted, Sandy, Utah.—Your paper is well worth twice the amount of its subscription price to those who have any desire to "see the cat."

William R. Boyd, Atlanta, Ga.—No more valuable paper comes to me than THE STANDARD. It should have 100,000 subscribers, and I will endeavor to supply my quota and now enclose three names for four months' each and post office order for \$3.

George Hawkins, New York City.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription and signs himself "Yours in search of another."

D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.—Enclosed find \$3 for two yearly subscriptions to THE STANDARD to the enclosed names. I may be able to send more names a little later. I regard it as the sacred duty of every Single Taxer to diligently go to work and secure his quota of subscribers and as many more as possible. The five thousand should be added within a month and as many more by the end of the year. As far as possible in getting new names, we should try to introduce THE STANDARD to new friends. Merely paying for and printing THE STANDARD will not do. It must be read.

B. Romberg, Black Jack Springs, Texas.—Enclosed find \$6, for which please send STANDARD and premiums to the following names. This makes three annual subscriptions I have sent in.

J. G. Lafferty, Pottstown, Penn.—Sends in \$3 for one annual subscription.

J. M. Beath, Atlanta, Ga.—Sends \$9 for three annual subscriptions to THE STANDARD.

W. H. Spencer, Thomaston, Conn.—Enclosed find \$3, for which send STANDARD and premiums to——. Hope to send you more names soon. (This is the second subscription received from Mr. Spencer in response to our appeal.)

Dr. Louis Cohen, New York, N. Y.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription.

A. P. Berry, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription.

L. P. Custer, St. Louis, Mo.—I will cheerfully—yes, enthusiastically—render what service I can in the work of procuring the desired five thousand new subscriptions. THE STANDARD is my meat and drink, as it were, and nothing would please me more than to see it eminently prosperous. You can depend on my doing all I can to help in the good work.

T. G. Drake, Long Island City, N. Y.—I will do all I can for our paper. I think it much improved, and believe that, with a little help from active Single Tax men, it can be made to pay.

George E. Chase, Philadelphia, Penn.—I enclose \$3 for one yearly subscription for the Rev. ——. I mailed several sample copies and prospectuses this A. M., and received this subscription by return mail. Am preparing to mail another lot with a personally written application to parties who are Free Traders or Single Taxers, or friendly to our cause. I hope to get more subscriptions, and think there is a good prospect. Will do my best in that direction.

C. S. Schneider, Richmond, Ind.—You can count on my doing all I can to increase the circulation of THE STANDARD. I have two names that I think you will get before the 1st of August.

O. L. Long, San Jose, Cal.—I shall do the best I can to increase the circulation of THE STANDARD, as I think no better work for the cause can be done. I think a Single Taxer that neglects to take THE STANDARD and do what he can to increase its subscription list is almost criminally negligent.

A. M. Allen, West New Brighton, Staten Island.—Sends in \$3 for one yearly subscription.

H. L. Dunnell, Worcester, Mass.—Sends \$5 for two four months' and one yearly subscription.

J. P. Cranford, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Sends \$6 for two annual subscriptions.

E. R. Stearns, Cincinnati, Ohio.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription.

W. C. Miner, Madison, Conn.—Sends \$4 for one twelve month and one four month subscription to THE STANDARD.

C. W. Grime, Reading, Penn.—In reply to your letter of June 19, I will say that I will try to get my quota of subscribers for THE STANDARD.

Edward Ferguson, Brooklyn, N. Y.—In sending \$9 for three yearly subscriptions, writes: "If I were possessed of that something (cheek, gall, or whatever it may be termed), necessary for canvassing, I would not be sending you only \$9. I am sorry to see that Brooklyn is doing so little to increase THE STANDARD's circulation."

Hon. J. R. Bishop, Cadillac, Mich.—Sends \$3 for one twelve months' subscription.

I. L. Shoemaker, Philadelphia, Penn.—Enclosed find check to your order for \$9, for which please send STANDARD and premiums to the enclosed three addresses.

Charles F. Smith, Perris, Cal.—Sends \$2 for two four months' subscriptions.

Fred J. Huppert, Port Chester, N. Y.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription.

G. I. Ap Roberts, River Falls, Wis.—Enclosed find money-order for \$3,

for which send THE STANDARD one year to——. Will get more subscriptions if I can.

M. A. Cross, Minneapolis, Minn.—Sends \$3 for one twelve months' subscription.

Robert Delaney, Memphis, Tenn.—Sends \$1 for one four months' subscription.

J. G. Muller, Stapleton, S. I., N. Y.—Sends \$3 for I twelve months' subscription.

W. E. Norton, Monroe, Ore.—Sends \$3 for another annual subscription to THE STANDARD.

F. M. Marquis, Grass Valley, Ore.—I shall do all in my power to furnish the quota assigned to me. Count on my doing all I can.

J. F. White, Indianapolis, Ind.—I enclose two more annual subscriptions to THE STANDARD, and hope to increase the number before August 1. You can count on my doing all in my power to enlarge the field of the paper.

Al. J. Steers, New York City, N. Y.—Sends \$3 for one annual subscription.

F. J. Miller, Plainfield, N. J.—I enclose check for \$6, for which please send STANDARD and other matter offered to——.

T. J. Hastings, Worcester, Mass.—I enclose \$1, for which send STANDARD four months to——.

Charles Stevenson, Omaha, Neb.—Enclosed please find \$9 in payment for three subscriptions enclosed. This fills my quota and one more. Have some more on the string but am not sure of landing them.

Mrs. Frances M. Milne, San Luis Obispo, Cal.—I am deeply anxious for the assured success of THE STANDARD. Its failure would be the heaviest, most disheartening blow to concerted action among Single Taxers one could well imagine. Being a woman, I cannot see how difference of view in politics has anything to do with the duty of sustaining it as the champion and exponent of the greater issue—the political part is merely the means to the end, about which opinion may differ or alter; but why, because a man does not agree with THE STANDARD's estimate of the Democratic party as being at least the most promising ally at present, should that hinder him from enlightening his neighbor through its columns as to the actual reforms advocated? Let the reader choose the tools to work with for himself. If a Single Taxer doesn't happen to personally fancy the tool labeled "Democrat," is that any reason why he should dictate to another the course from which he may or may not seek enlightenment? And aside altogether from "politics," for which I have very little fondness (and not having a vote feel no qualm of conscience there) you are giving us a paper which it is both a shame and loss to any American to neglect.

W. I. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va.—I enclose check for \$24 for eight subscriptions to THE STANDARD. Will try to send some more soon.

Irving W. Smith, Charles City, Ia.—For \$3 enclosed send STANDARD one year to——.

J. T. Ripley, Chicago, Ill.—Sends \$3 for his fifth subscription to THE STANDARD sent in since the issuing of our appeal.

Wm. Kirkpatrick, Newark, N. J.—Enclosed please find \$3 for three four months' subscriptions to THE STANDARD. Will send in more subscriptions in a week or so.

MOUNTAINS, BANDITS AND CUSTOMS OFFICERS.

Chicago Herald.

If the people of a sandy district abounding in pine on the headwaters of a river are prevented by mountains and rapids from exchanging with the people of a scantily timbered but prolific wheat yielding district down stream, neither community is so well off as it would be if the navigation of the river were wholly unobstructed, because neither is able to avail itself so fully of its natural advantages. The people up stream must produce food enough to sustain life out of a sterile soil, while they have a superabundance of pine; and the people down stream must produce what lumber they require at a great expenditure of labor and from inferior timber. It matters not whether the people of the two districts live under the same government or under different governments. Neither does it matter whether the barrier consists of an impassable mountain range or a regiment of soldiers stationed on the frontier with orders to let no food go up and no lumber go down. The economic effect of either barrier is the same.

If instead of an impassable barrier there is only a serious obstruction, the effect will not be different in kind, but only in degree. The insurmountable barrier prevents the realization of any profit from exchange. An obstacle takes away a part of the profit sufficient to cover the cost of surmounting it. And it makes not the slightest difference what the obstacle is. It may be shoals in the river which destroy a part of the cargoes, or a bandit chieftain, or a Custom House officer, who seizes and confiscates a like part, or exacts an equivalent ransom for the goods. The effect in any case is to prevent the communities exchanging from availing themselves fully of their natural advantages, and to compel them to make a wasteful expenditure of effort. But there is this surprising difference: The tariff obstructionist would remove the sunken rocks and exterminate the band of robbers at whatever cost to the public, and even subsidize boats and run them at the expense of the public; while, so far from removing the Custom House obstacle, he would commission the officer in charge to confiscate from 20 to 75 per cent. of the commodities shipped.

A SOCKLESS SPELLBINDER.

From the Chicago Times.

If it be true that Jere Simpson is to stump the State of Ohio against McKinley on the tariff issue, Republican organs will do well to have their laugh before the contest begins. The Kansas statesman astonished certain advocates of high taxes last Fall when he was called upon to defend his position before his constituents. The spellbinders who think to amuse themselves with this believer in freedom of exchange will learn more of economics by a single debate with such an antagonist than they could gather from a lifetimespent in reading high tariff journals. It is not a part of Simpson's faith that anything which interferes with perfect freedom can be of benefit to producers or consumers. And he has a way of demonstrating his faith that will be embarrassing for stump speakers who have relied upon partisan audiences for their applause.

THE SOUL'S ERRAND.

BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH, THE NIGHT PREVIOUS TO HIS EXECUTION.

Go soul, the body's guest,
Upon a thankless errand;
Fear not to touch the best,
The truth shall be thy warrant;
Go, since I needs must die,
And give the world the lie.

Go, tell the court it glows
And shines like rotten wood;
Go, tell the Church it shews
What's good and doth no good;
If Church and court reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Tell potentates they live,
Acting by others actions;
Not lov'd, unless they give;
Not strong, but by their factions:
If potentates reply
Give potentates the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
That rule affairs of state,
Their purpose is ambition,
Their practice only hate;
And if they once reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell them that brave it most,
They beg for more by spending;
Who, in their greatest cost,
Seek nothing but commending:
And if they make reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell zeal it lacks devotion,
Tell love it is but lust,
Tell time it is but motion,
Tell flesh it is but dust;
And wish them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

Tell age it daily wasteth,
Tell honor how it alters,
Tell beauty how she blasteth,
Tell favor how she falters;
And as they shall reply,
Give every one the lie.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
In treble points of niceness;
Tell wisdom she entangles
Herself in over-wisness;
And when they do reply,
Straight give them both the lie.

Tell physic of her boldness,
Tell skill it is pretension,
Tell charity of coldness,
Tell law it is contention;
And as they do reply,
So give them still the lie.

Tell fortune of her blindness,
Tell nature of decay,
Tell friendship of unkindness,
Tell justice of delay;
And if they will reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell arts they have no soundness,
But vary by esteeming,
Tell schools they want profoundness
And stand too much on seeming;
If arts and schools reply,
Give arts and schools the lie.

Tell faith it's fled the city,
Tell how the country erreth,
Tell manhood shakes off pity,
Tell virtue least preferreth;
And if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

When thou hast, as I
Commanded thee, done blabbing,
Although to give the lie
Deserves no less than stabbing;
Yet, stab at thee who will,
No stab the Soul can kill.

FREE BREAKFAST TABLE—TAXED WATER.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Free sugar, free tea, free coffee—a free breakfast table!—St. John Sun.

The water used with the tea, coffee and sugar continues to be lifted by a pumping engine taxed 30 per cent.; it passes through iron pipes taxed \$12 per ton and lead pipe taxed \$30 per ton, and when the brass cock, taxed 35 per cent., is opened, the water falls into a copper kettle taxed 35 per cent., or a tin kettle taxed 25 per cent. The tea or coffee having been made on a

stove taxed \$16 per ton, or not less than 30 per cent., it is poured from a teapot taxed 30 per cent., into a cup taxed 30 per cent., and the sugar is stirred with a spoon taxed 30 per cent. The table is taxed 35 per cent., the chairs the same, and the table cloth 25 per cent. What a jolly thing it is to have a free breakfast table!

WHY NOT GIVE THEM A BOUNTY?

St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Wheat growing has become so unprofitable in Virginia that the farmers have practically abandoned it. Why not give the Virginia wheat growers the benefit of a bounty as in the case of the Louisiana sugar planters? If the Government helps one weak industry it cannot justly refuse to help all. Of course the people would not stand a distribution of bounties among a host of industries, but it is the logical consequence of a vicious and unconstitutional policy which is even more of an outrage if applied to a few industries than if applied to all.

OH, WISE OLD SENATOR.

New York Advertiser.

If Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, who is camping at the Hoffman House, has his usual luck, his North Carolina gold mines will turn out a bonanza. The Senator was on his way to his California Summer home when he was recalled to New York by reports of a fine strike in his new investment, South. Senator Jones has made three fortunes since he left Cleveland, Ohio, to join the Argonauts. He says there is only one sure road to wealth, and that is through the accretions in value of real estate. "Buy real estate," he said to an inquiring friend. "Pick it out on the outskirts of a growing city and wait developments. The result is sure."

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the 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.

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

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Leavens, Secretary of the National Committee at No. 42 University place, New York.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., S. Byron Welcome, 523 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hodgkins.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society, room 9, 841 Market street. Pres., L. M. Manzer; cor. sec., Thomas Watson, 841 Market street.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Single tax club. Headquarters 303 16th st. Pres., Geo. H. Phelps; sec. James Crosby, P. O. Box 257, Highlands.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. Regular meetings fourth Friday of each month at office of B. D. V. Reeve, corner Union av. and Main st. Pres., B. D. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger.

CONNECTICUT.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. President, John Cairns; secretary, Arthur M. Dignam.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Meets first and third Mondays of each month at 8 p.m. Pres., Geo. W. Kreer; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 150 A st., n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newburgh, 64 Defrees st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Geddes, 1719 G st., n. w.

Washington single tax league. Executive Committee meets at the residence of President H. J. Schulteis, 92; H st., n. w.; Wm. Geddes, M.D., sec., 1719 G st., n. w.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 206 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 338 Hudson av; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 733.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; sec., Robt. Aitchison, box K. K., South Chicago.

BRACEVILLE.—Braceville single tax committee. Pres., John Mainwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

PEORIA.—Peoria single tax club. Meetings Thursday evenings in Court House. Pres., Jas. W. Hill, 310 North st.; sec., Jas. W. Avery.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 5th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec. Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Thos J. Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Krause. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m. Mansur Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts, room 12.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 5 South 3d st.; sec., M. Ritchie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur Mosena, 920 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

CEDAR RAPIDS.—Single tax club. L. G. Booth, pres.; J. T. Kennedy, sec.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolt; sec., W. W. Daniel, 803 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunling; sec., W. G. Andrews, P. O. Box 703.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m., in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; sec. sec., J. W. Hazel, 28 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 523 Columbia st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

Boston.—Single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m.

at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec. Emily T. Turner 5 Cambridge st.

BROCKTON.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. Weikindrick; sec., A. B. Barnard, 54 Belmont st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

HAVERHILL.—Haverhill single tax league. Meets every Thursday evening, at 73 Merrimac st. Pres., Geo. W. Pettongill; cor. sec., Edward E. Collum, 4 Green st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st court, Neponset.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac single tax assembly. Pres., Andrew R. Curtis; sec., Wm. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac street.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 969 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., Oliver, T. Erickson, 2303 Lyndale av., N.

ST. PAUL.—Single tax club. Pres., H. C. McCartey; sec., Geo. C. Madison, Room 912, N. Y. Life Insurance Building.

MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman; sec., Percy Pepon, 3507 Easton av, St. L.

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

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Herman Hermallink; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307½ Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Public meetings first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's Hall, 11th and Locust sts. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble st.

Benton School of Social Science. Meets every Saturday evening at 6839 Waldemar avenue. Pres., Henry S. Chase; sec., W. C. Little.

NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hamm; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Felton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Federal sts. Pres. Aaron Hand; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 520 Line st.

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

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 642 Newark av. Pres., Jas. McGregor; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 223 Grand st.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., John L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 169 Market st.

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

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business Meeting first Thursday of each month at 8 p. m. Club rooms, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres. Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Equal Rights club. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred. C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings; club house, 196 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Cor. sec. G. W. Thompson, 9 St. Marks av.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays, 196 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres. Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Miss Venie B. Havens, 219 DeKalb av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 406 Evergreen av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Public meeting on first Tuesday in each month, held at Eureka Hall, 378 Bedford avenue. Business meeting first and third Mondays at 94 South Third street. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 265 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pottenhofer, 385 Evergreen av.

ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday 7:30 p. m., Beaver-Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres. F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

BINGHAMPTON.—Tax Reform Association. Pres., John H. Blakeney; sec., Edward Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.

BUFFALO.—Tax Reform Club. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec. T. M. Crowe, 777 Elk st.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minchaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwabenberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martin, 576 River st.

WEST NEW BRUNSWICK.—Richmond County single tax club. Sec., A. B. Stoddard.

NORTH DAKOTA.

HATTON.—Hatton single tax reform club. Pres., A. S. Forslid; sec., T. E. Nelson; treas., M. F. Hegge.

OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Court, 237 Main st. (near P. O.). Pres., Jos. L. Schraer; sec., Dr. David De Beck, 139 W. 9th st.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 303 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Stemon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec. W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 South Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

HEMLOCK.—Single tax club. Pres., D. P. Sweeney; sec. James G. Hayden.

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PENNSYLVANIA.

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

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 210 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres. Edm. Yardley; sec. Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

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BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres. T. T. Vrenne; sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres. Jno. B. Hanten; sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S. Menken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

TEXAS.

EL PASO.—Single tax club. Meetings second and fourth Monday nights, 200½ El Paso st. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec. and treas., M. W. Stanton; cor. sec., G. H. Higgins.

HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7:30, Franklin st. Pres., E. P. Alsbury; sec., E. W. Brown.

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURG.—Parkersburg single tax league Headquarters, 506 Market st. Pres., W. H. Curry; sec. W. F. Thayer.

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