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EDITORIAL.

With the close of the present year THE STANDARD completes its eighth volume. I shall at that time transfer it to Mr. William T. Croasdale, who will continue its publication in a form which will, I think, be even more agreeable to the majority of its readers than the present.

While this will give me freedom to engage in wider and more permanent work, it will involve little more than a nominal change in the conduct of THE STANDARD. Mr. Croasdale is the chairman of the single tax national committee; he has been connected with the paper from its beginning; and for a year past, during the greater part of which time I have been away, he has been the real editor of THE STANDARD. He has my confidence, as he has the confidence of the active men in our movement, and this step is taken with the approval of the executive committee and of the best friends of THE STANDARD. And while I shall thus rid myself of responsibility and gain the freedom I desire, I still expect, whenever there is occasion to address its readers, to do so through THE STANDARD.

This step is not a hasty one. I take it only after mature consideration and consultation with those who have assisted in carrying on the paper and such representatives of its readers as I could reach. And I take it with their conviction as well as my own, that I can in this way best serve the cause. When I started THE STANDARD, four years ago, it was because the most pressing need of the time seemed to be some journal which might bring the scattered friends of our cause into touch with each other and give coherence and steadiness to our movement, then in the stage most liable to diversions and aberrations. But even then I knew that there was other work for me to do, some of which, such as the writing of a primer on political economy, I had already announced, and I did not contemplate devoting myself to the paper for such a length of time as has been the case, even though I might have to stop its publication in order to free myself. And since the period when THE STANDARD rendered its greatest services, the formative period of our movement in the United States, the conviction that even at that alternative I could be of more use by withdrawing from THE STANDARD has been deepening in my mind. When I returned from England last year it was with the intention of doing this, but by the advice of friends deferred it for another year, even though my Australian trip would render my connection with THE STANDARD little more than nominal.

I returned from this Australian trip with the fixed determination of carrying out my previous intention, for in Australia, and still more in Europe, I was much impressed with the need for certain work which I hope hereafter to do. The delay in announcing this intention to the readers of THE STANDARD has only been in order to ascertain what arrangements could be made for carrying it on, or providing some substitute. This happily has been settled in the arrangement by which Mr. Croasdale will continue its publication. It will be unnecessary for me to bespeak for the paper under his management the continued and

even the more efficient support of THE STANDARD readers, for this I am confident they will freely give.

It is not without regret that I thus announce the severance of relations which have been so warm and close. While I keenly appreciate the shortcomings of THE STANDARD under my management I also appreciate the great service which it has been able to render, and the manner in which it has brought into touch with each other a band of earnest men and women whose confidence and friendship are to me very dear. Yet were I to continue THE STANDARD, it ought in justice to have my whole effort. But with demands on my attention that are far from being confined to the United States, it has even from the first been impossible for me to fully devote myself to it, while the calls in other directions have constantly become more pressing, and for the past two years I have only been able to give to the paper the smaller portion of my time and energy. And I more and more feel the call to wider and more permanent work. It is only about so much that any man can do, and to do one's best it is necessary to concentrate effort on that which is most important. I am fortunate in being able to leave THE STANDARD in such good hands. Mr. Croasdale will be able to do better for it than it has become possible for me to do; while on my part, should health continue, I hope to show its readers that the cause will gain by my freedom to devote myself to other things.

And for the same reason that prompts my withdrawal from THE STANDARD, that I wish to devote my time to the writing of the political economy for which I have received so many calls, as well as to some other work which seems to me needed, I shall not be able for some time to do any lecturing except to keep some old engagements and in a few special cases. I have already declined many pressing invitations, and must continue to do so.

As has often before happened when the most momentous consequences have seemed to flow from trivial accidents, the miserable Parnell-O'Shea business has, with explosive rapidity, worked important changes in the political situation in Great Britain and Ireland. The scandal of the diamond necklace, which in the last century so hastened the fall of the old regime of France, and the sending of a wave of revolution round the world, pales in the importance of its immediate, and in all probability of its ultimate effects, before that of the verdict in the O'Shea case.

For years the leader of the Irish parliamentary forces, the man on whom the Irish people, as is their wont, have been lavishing their praises and concentrating their devotion, following him as the kern of old time followed his chief—the "uncrowned king of Ireland," as he has not without reason been called, has in disregard not merely of the law of morality that differentiates men from brutes, but in disregard of the personal obligations which rest on the leader of a great movement, been carrying on a protracted liason not merely with a wife, but a mother. Obligated at last virtually to confess the crime in a court of law, he unabashedly proposes to continue, as though nothing had happened, his leadership in a

cause which has as its greatest strength the appeal to a moral principle, and of a people who, whatever may be their other defects of character, hold to and observe the sanctity of the marriage tie more sacredly perhaps than any other people in the Christian world. Defiantly assuming that this public scandal, with which the whole country is ringing, is no one's business but his own, and without the slightest sign of repentance or even regret, he replies to Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, that he should from motives of patriotism withdraw, with the most savage and venomous attack upon his late allies. And trampling on the men who have stood to him all too loyally through thick and thin, and appealing to the prejudices of the most bitter and unreasoning element of the Irish people, he proposes to tear the Irish movement to pieces, and to ruin if he can not absolutely rule. It is of a piece with much of Mr. Parnell's conduct in minor matters; it is of a piece with the Kilmainham treaty, and with the forcing of Captain O'Shea on the electors of Cork and down the throats of his parliamentary colleagues, or, rather, followers. It is probably the most astounding exhibition of cool assurance and callous unscrupulousness that has been given in recent times. But it cannot win.

The line where personal conduct becomes of public concern is clear. It is when it offends public morality. Mr. Parnell's relation with the wife of his special friend and parliamentary protege has long been talked of among the Irish leaders and in the gossip of the parliament house at Westminster. Mr. Gladstone probably knew nothing of it, for it is to the old man's honor that, as one of the London correspondents has sneeringly remarked, "He lives up in a balloon." But even the Irish bishops, who have so strongly supported Parnell, must have heard of it and probably believed it. So long, however, as the scandal rested in that stage there was no reason, save as a matter of prudence, that it should have effected the political support that any one rendered him. For the matter of personal morality was, so to speak, not in issue. It had not merely not been proved and not admitted, it not merely rested only on private gossip, but the public ignorance of it could not give to any political support of Mr. Parnell any flavor of disregard or condonation of immorality. But the moment it was admitted by the failure of the respondents to defend the suit for divorce and attested by the verdict of a court of justice, then it became a matter of public knowledge and public issue. Mr. Gladstone showed consideration to the last degree, and held off till the last moment, in the hope that without hint from him Mr. Parnell would take the course which a regard for public decency and the desire for the success of the cause he has led would have dictated. But he was at last compelled to act. For him not to have done so would have been to forfeit his power for good, and to destroy the prospects of all he has been working for. For, whatever be the morals of the class that is sadden with wealth, there is, thank God, no country where the English tongue is spoken, where undoubted, undenied, unblushing immorality will be disregarded in a public leader by the masses of the people. To put it in Labouchere's cynical

phase, Mr. Gladstone had a sufficiently hard task to carry home rule. He can not carry both home rule and adultery.

Mr. Parnell's manifesto, audacious to the last degree in the absence of the slightest allusion to the cause of the demand for his retirement, is as skillful as it is audacious in the suddenness with which the Irish leader turns on his tracks and appeals to Irish bitterness. While I am confident that it is not the real sentiment of the masses of the Irish people, there is a sentiment strong among an active class that regards with bitterness any alliance, even for mutually beneficial purposes, with any body of Englishmen, and that looks with hatred on the idea which Michael Davitt has best represented, of a union of the democracies of the two countries in an effort to overthrow the aristocracy of special privilege that oppresses the masses of both. This sentiment in ultra form I once heard expressed by an Irish leader, in words something like these: "We do not want to do anything for the English democracy. What we want to do is to win our own independence and at the same time help the English Tories to put the English masses under their feet for a thousand years!" It is his sentiment of embittered nationality to which Parnell makes his appeal, and on which he is prepared to fight. And he has on his side the strongest paper in Ireland, the *Freeman's Journal*, a paper with whose relative influence there is nothing in either the English or American press that can compare, inasmuch as it is the one great paper in all Ireland that is on the popular side. But for all this it is clear, and doubly clear since the strongest among his parliamentary supporters have joined Michael Davitt in demanding his retirement, that Parnell must fail. But he can, and doubtless will, destroy the solid phalanx in which the Irish representatives have stood, and produce in English politics great changes, of which the first phases cannot yet be foretold.

But the ultimate effect can be foretold. All change, all breaking of party lines, must ultimately tell in the direction in which the undercurrents of popular thought are setting. And that, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, is in the direction of the overthrow of landlordism and all the vast structure which is based upon it—in the direction of the single tax. Ever since Mr. Parnell's release from Kilmainham, in 1882, the whole force of the parliamentary party and of the organized Irish movement as controlled by him has been exerted against any radical agitation of the land question. The movement which Michael Davitt and John Ferguson started on the broad basis of the equal rights of all Irishmen to Irish soil has been turned into a mere political movement having no broader social base than that of special privileges to Irish agricultural tenants and the substitution for some large landlords of a greater number of small landlords. Parnell has really been a conservative force, and this miserable affair breaks away one barrier to radical treatment of the land question. The Tories may rejoice now, and it may be that they will pass their land purchase bill by Irish votes, but the popular current will have freer play on both sides of the Irish sea. With the breaking of Parnell's dictatorship there will be fuller and freer discussion in Ireland, and social questions must come to the front more rapidly and more strongly in Great Britain.

But what is probably the most important news of the day—more important than presidents' messages or the meetings of congresses or the rise and fall of polit-

ical leaders, is contained in a local item of the *Lockport Daily Journal* announcing that the Cowles electric smelting and aluminum company of that place are preparing to produce aluminum by a new process, which they say will enable them to make and sell it cheaper than copper. The process is yet secret and patents have been applied for, and doubtless in preparation for this a duty on aluminum has been imposed by the McKinley bill so that Americans can be compelled to pay more for American-made aluminum than it will be sold for in other countries. But evidently the days when aluminum will be as cheap as steel cannot be far distant. What new powers the common use of this metal may give the human race we can only now vaguely foresee, but beneficent as in themselves they must be, they can only under present conditions intensify the social problem. In every direction the strides of invention are tending to make the mere laborer more helpless, to make more inequitable the distribution of wealth, and to increase social discontent, and thus to react upon social and political questions.

HENRY GEORGE.

At the meeting of ministers recently held at Rev. Heber Newton's church to consider the duty of ministers toward efforts to secure better local government, Rev. Leighton Williams, of Amity Baptist church, made a remarkable address. He pointed to the fact that the municipal councils of many European cities are large and thoroughly representative bodies, and indicated a belief that our own board of aldermen might become a useful and honored body if really clothed with power to legislate for the city. According to the *Times* report Mr. Williams "advocated an extension of the city's territory by the annexation of Brooklyn and the suburbs into one grand metropolis and a single tax on land so far as the city's taxation is concerned." Mr. Williams has very clear views on municipal reform. Let us have real local self government and a system of taxation that does not discourage building and industry and New York city can take care of itself.

"For studious readers only" is the title of an editorial article in the *Hamilton (Ont.) Times*, in which the writer works out the problem of the application of the single tax to land values for raising all the money that that city needs for municipal, provincial and dominion revenues. The editor evidently not only understands the subject, but he comprehends the fact that the plan he advocates appeals to the most thoughtful members of the community.

On November 25 the state board of land commissioners met at Albany and granted several tracts of land under water to private parties on condition of the payment of merely nominal sums. The largest grant was that of sixteen acres near the village of Whiteston, which was apparently given away to William D. Bishop and Oliver B. Jennings. An application by the Standard oil company for 371,291 square feet of land under water adjacent to the First ward of Long Island City was laid over because of the objections of the people of that city to the grant. The protest insisted that the business that the Standard company proposed to carry on was detrimental to the public health and likewise dangerous to shipping. As the consideration of this matter is only postponed the people of Long Island City had better keep their eye on the land commissioners. The application of George Bradish for twenty-two acres under Little Neck bay, the granting of which was opposed by the town of Flushing, was denied on the ground that the town, and not the state, owns the land

in question. It is a lucky thing for the people of Flushing that they own this land, but they had better watch their own legal representatives to see that they do not give it away, now that the state has disclaimed all power to do so. Single tax men cannot do better work than fight every application of this kind. It is true there is very little land left to be given away, but protests against its alienation, when brought home to the people of the locality affected, are likely to lead them to think on the whole subject and to consider how the wrongs of this kind done in the past can be remedied.

The man who told Mr. Cavanagh that if the single tax once gave the people access to the land they would cut down all the trees and thus put an end to rain fall, gave an amusing illustration of the mental process that a number of people mistake for thinking. Nothing in the world has had so much to do with the destruction of the forests of this country as the monopoly of arable land by speculators, who drove men up mountain sides and into inaccessible places, that under any natural system would be devoted to forestry purposes for a thousand years. Next in importance to land monopoly in bringing about this result has been the stupid tariff laws that have denied our people the opportunity to obtain cheap lumber from Canada, much of which is produced in regions not suited to agriculture.

Tract No. 34 of the Single tax library, containing the platform adopted by the national conference, has a blank space on the second page that has not been filled out by any advertisement. The St. Louis single tax men have taken advantage of this to print on it an advertisement of their two clubs, the West End single tax club and the St. Louis single tax league, giving the place and time of meeting for each organization. They inclose these tracts and petitions in envelopes and distribute them wherever they have opportunity. The idea is an excellent one, and should be imitated by other clubs. The St. Louis men likewise print their advertisement on the margins of all the tracts they circulate.

The Brooklyn single tax club has been so fortunate as to secure William Lloyd Garrison as a lecturer at its Avon hall meeting in Brooklyn next Sunday evening.

As it becomes more manifest that the trend of events is toward absolute free trade, the so-called free traders who want to preserve a tariff for revenue only are beginning to be alarmed. A most notable evidence of this is the article from the *Springfield Republican* printed elsewhere. Readers who do not save their *STANDARDS* should cut this extract out and preserve it, in order that they may have the pleasure of comparing it with another editorial that will appear in the *Republican* in the course of three or four years, insisting on the folly of levying tariff taxes when there is a natural source of public revenue which, when thoroughly utilized, will relieve the people from any necessity for such burdens. The editor does not now know that he will write such an editorial, but he will, all the same.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

We take it for granted that all readers of *THE STANDARD* will at least have looked through President Harrison's second message before this issue of *THE STANDARD* can reach them. The document is not one that demands very serious study. Where it is not perfunctory it is simply an exhibition of a conceit so colossal that it is amusing in so small a man—a kind of grotesque misfit. The fact that the American people have, by such a majority

as was never before dreamed of, condemned the whole policy of the protectionist party, has no weight whatever with Mr. Harrison. In effect, he says they did not know what they were voting on, and he advises this discredited congress to stand by its tariff bill and go ahead with such partisan legislation as the force bill and the proposed apportionment bill as though nothing had happened.

Mr. Harrison not only ignores the recent election, but every other fact that interferes with his inherited theories. He declares that we are in the midst of an era of wonderful prosperity and that the cry of the unemployed for work is no longer heard in the land. This is the condition of affairs that the dupes of the protection superstition believe that a high tariff must bring about, and, now that we have the highest tariff we have ever known, Mr. Harrison assumes that it must have accomplished all that was predicted of it, and that therefore prosperity is here and all laborers are profitably employed. To the million of the unemployed this kind of talk is more exasperating than amusing. The only cloud on the horizon that Mr. Harrison can see is a financial difficulty in New York, for which he is happy to say the English people are responsible, and it is easy to see from other parts of his message that he considers the English a bad lot, capable of almost anything.

Though Mr. Harrison has the utmost contempt for the emphatic protest of the American people against the McKinley bill, he is gravely concerned over the wrong done by that act to the people of the Sandwich Islands, and he advises that this be remedied by an amendment to the law. While upholding to the best of his ability the prohibitory tariff policy of the McKinley bill, the president rejoices in some evidences that foreign goods are coming in in spite of that policy, and he devotes considerable space to schemes for subsidizing ships for carrying a commerce that the legislation he upholds is designed to destroy. He also dallies for a time with Mr. Blaine's pet idea of free-trade-with-a-string-to-it, which they call reciprocity. His whole treatment of questions of trade and commerce is weak and incoherent, while his plea in favor of the force bill ignores every argument made against that measure, and is as insincere as it is ineffective.

The best thing in the message is the declaration of the necessity for action by congress to prevent speculators from grabbing the water supply of the arid regions. The president says:

The urgency of the subject does not grow out of any large present demand for the use of these lands for agriculture, but out of the danger that the water supply and the sites for the necessary catch-basins may fall into the hands of individuals or private corporations and be used to render subservient the large areas dependent upon such supply. The owner of the water is the owner of the lands, however the titles may run. All unappropriated natural water sources and all necessary reservoir sites should be held by the government for the equal use, at fair rates, of the homestead settlers who will eventually take up these lands.

Mr. Harrison, in the sentence quoted, comes very close to the statement of a truth, the full recognition of which would frighten him. If the "owner of the water is the owner of the land, however the title may run," he is obviously, in effect, the owner of whatsoever is raised on these lands and practically the master of those whom he permits to work there. Mr. Harrison sees this and states it admirably when he declares: "It were almost better that these lands should remain arid than that those who occupy them should become the slaves of unrestrained monopolies controlling the one essential element of land values and crop results." He only needs to go a little

further to see that this is true of land monopoly of all kinds.

The remedy proposed is probably not adequate, but it is well that almost any remedy should be presented if it directs public attention to the question and compels even such a man as Mr. Harrison to apply single tax arguments to subjects, against the fair and reasonable consideration of which his mind is not closed by the narrow partisanship that dominates the greater portion of this message.

A PROFESSOR OR TWO.

Part I of the Journal of Social Science, containing "The Single Tax Discussion" before the American social science association at Saratoga on the 5th of September last, is now published. It may be ordered of the secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass., at thirty cents the single copy, \$13 for fifty copies and \$25 per hundred. The papers for the affirmative are by Samuel B. Clark, Louis F. Post and Henry George of New York, and James R. Carret and William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts. For the negative they are by Professor Thomas Davidson and Professor E. R. A. Seligman of New York, Edward Atkinson and Professor J. B. Clark of Massachusetts and President E. B. Andrews of Brown University.

The negative papers contain a variety of dazzling objections to the single tax. Nothing more entertaining could be desired, unless it might be a paper by each author for the negative on the papers of his colleagues. Professor Davidson denies that land derives its value from the growth of the community, while Professor Clark thinks the community has created it, and President Andrews refers to it as the creature of social deed and toil. Professor Seligman gravely doubts the adequacy of the single tax, but President Andrews, though anxious to welcome the same doubt, cannot find room for it. Mr. Atkinson says the tax on land values would be shifted to the occupier; Professor Harris says this would not be the case with agricultural land but would be with city land, and Professor Seligman says it would not be the case with any land except in some degree with city land in certain conditions which he does not specify. These are some of the simpler contradictions of these economical experts. As the clown at the circus said to the boy who asked whether the animal was a monkey or a lion, "You pays your money and you takes your choice."

But the choice is of wider range than even such elementary contradictions would indicate. From beginning to end it is difficult to find any point of agreement between these "men of light and leading" except an earnest desire not to believe in the single tax.

Professor Davidson bases his conclusions chiefly upon the notion that individual rights to property are derived from the state, and throughout his paper he not only considers value as if it were a substantial creation, but assumes that single tax men do the same. That value is merely a term of relation between different things in exchange—a mere abstraction—does not occur to him. And what to Professor Davidson is only one of several incidental confusions of thought, is adopted by Professor Clark as the starting point for a head-spinning theory, in which, by abolishing logical classifications, the essence of property is found to be a claim, not on any particular thing, but on the value that resides in it.

It is part of the business of professors to be wise, and these professors are wise; but Professor Seligman leads the host in this respect. He is simply omniscient. That, however, is accounted

for in part by his youth. He knows, among many other things, where the remedy for social wrongs does not lie, and in a general way, for omniscience scorns particulars, he knows where it does lie. It lies in "the slow and gradual evolution, in a hundred ways, of the moral conscience of mankind." Considering that mankind is a term which includes all professors of political economy, this is rather a hopeless outlook.

It is impossible here to adequately review the reckless statements and illogical deductions in which the Seligman paper abounds. Little more than reference can be made to a few points.

Wishing to show that the single tax would confiscate the products of the past, this professor argues that the selling value of land is a capitalization of its past rather than of its future productiveness. Now, it is true that the past productiveness of land does afford the chief test of its value. But it does this only because past productiveness is the chief test of future productiveness. It figures only as an indicator, not as a basis. When a man buys land, it is future not past products which he buys the power of appropriating. If the purchase were annulled, it would be this power of appropriating future products, not a power of appropriating past products, that he would lose. Land, no matter what its productiveness may have been, has no selling value unless it is expected to yield products to future labor. If it is expected to yield more, its value will rise; if less, its value will fall. The value of land is a capitalization of expected rent, not of past rent. Past rent has no more to do with the matter than his past labor would have to do with the present value of a slave. A land title is like a private taxing patent, which will sell for much, little or nothing, according to the taxes its victims are expected to pay in the future. In determining this, their past payments are considered, but only as an indication of their future payments. It is the future payments the purchaser of the patent buys, and they are the basis of its value.

Again, wishing to show that the single tax would cause a double loss to land owners, Professor Seligman resorts to arithmetic, where he seems to be as completely adrift as in political economy. He supposes, for example, the imposition of a ten per cent tax on the dividends of a class of corporations which, before the tax, were paying five per cent on stock quoted at par. This, he says truly enough, would leave to the stockholders only four and a half per cent, which, since the profits of other investments remain the same, would reduce the price of this stock to ninety. Having drawn from this example the astounding conclusion that the stockholder would lose double, "once in his decreased dividend and again in the depreciation of his capital invested in the shares," the professor applying the same argument to the single tax, says the owners "will lose both in the increased taxes and in the decreased value of their land." Was confusion ever worse founded? When the periodical loss is capitalized into a gross sum, that sum is the total loss. Whether we say the land owner loses one-half annually, or ten altogether, makes no difference. One is the equivalent of the other. He cannot lose both. The selling value being reduced from 100 to 90, the income is as before, since 4 1-2 is to 90 what 5 is to 100. Professor Clark describes value as "pure capital" and the things in which value resides as "concrete capital." Professor Seligman might take a hint from his colleague and call the loss of land value

"pure loss" and that of rent "concrete loss."

Again, compelled to admit that the single tax was never tried in France, yet wishing to appeal to history for its condemnation, Mr. Seligman says:

It is a fact, perhaps unknown to most of those present, that a serious attempt was made in another country to naturalize the single tax. Margrave Charles Frederick of Baden was a devoted student and follower of Quesnay, and decided to put his ideas into practice. He chose three little towns in his domain—Dietingen, Theningen and Balnigen—and during the seventies abolished all taxes, replacing them with a single tax on land. The experiment with this impot unique lasted only a few years. It produced such dire distress among the farmers and peasant owners, such shameless exemptions of all other classes, as almost to cause an uprising; and it was ingloriously abolished never to be renewed. So much for the only practical realization of the single tax.

Is Professor Seligman quite sure of his history? Is he perfectly willing to fish it out of its acknowledged obscurity, and upon a candid statement of all the facts which are accessible to him, to repeat his assertion that Charles Frederick's experiment was an application of the single tax under discussion at Saratoga?

No wonder Professor Seligman considers the science of political economy "the deepest, the most difficult, the most complex of all sciences." A man whose mind is in such chaos that he confounds the single tax on land values with Charles Frederick's crude experiment, who cannot distinguish between the relation to land values of past and future production, and who is so befogged with a problem in simple arithmetic as to suppose that depreciation of a principal sum involves two substantial losses—depreciation of principal and reduction of income—is just the kind of man, even though he be a professor of political economy at Columbia college, to find in the simple principles of political economy the most difficult and complex of sciences.

NEW DEVICES OF VOTE BUYERS.

Mr. Robert White of Buffalo, in a letter concerning election frauds under the new law, describes one plan of operation that was not mentioned in the articles on this subject in the last issue of THE STANDARD. It is as follows: The briber writes over some erased name on the paper ballot a fictitious name, as, for instance, "A. Smith," and gives it to the bribed man. To the next he gives one on which the name "B. Smith" is written, and so on through the whole alphabet, if necessary. Another briber may do the same with the name "Jones," the only precaution necessary being the selection of a name that is not on the regular ticket. The watcher, when the votes are counted, can easily make a memorandum of the persons thus voted for, which will enable the corruptionist to find out with certainty whether or not those he has promised to pay vote in accordance with their agreement. Mr. White says that Robert Earl, who was on both tickets, was the candidate sacrificed in this way at the late election, but that the plan can readily be applied by the sacrifice of some candidate at any election. He thinks that those politicians who are accustomed to pay bribes did not see their opportunity in time to fully utilize it this year, but he predicts that henceforth it will become a common practice unless the law is amended. He says:

The new law, by enforcing strict secrecy upon each voter in casting his ballot, has reversed all the established usages of the corruptionists and thrown them temporarily into confusion, but by unveiling the purchased ballot to party workers after it is cast, through the paper dodge, it is responsible for this new form of fraud, and our hoodlum politicians when they become proficient in utilizing the advantages it offers, will, in the near future, convert it into a passport to office for themselves and give us an unprecedented harvest of political corruption.

We fully concur in Mr. White's view

as to the necessity for an amendment to the existing law that will put an end to this method of identifying the ballots of bribed voters, but we do not think that he is right in his opinion that the present law is entirely responsible for it. The same system could have been practiced under the old law, and this was not done because there were, at the time, other methods of giving assurances to those engaged in bribery that votes were cast in accordance with corrupt agreements. The new dodge is simply a method of meeting a new difficulty, and it requires further legislation to remedy an evil not anticipated by the framers of the existing law. Thus far, we see no remedy other than that already suggested, which is the adoption of the real Australian ballot and the compelling of voters to make a choice between the regularly nominated candidates. This will appear to some like a curtailment of a personal liberty, but the general welfare demands that this new system of fraud shall be broken up, and this consideration is more important than that which merely gratifies the whims of people who take a strange pleasure in throwing away their votes. If any of our readers can suggest a different remedy we hope they will do so.

One thing should be borne in mind in this discussion. The men who practice this new form of fraud practically give evidence that bribery is going on. Any honest attempt to enforce the law against bribery would be sure to lead to the discovery of the men engaged in this performance, and it is highly important that the friends of pure elections shall give some attention to the enforcement of such laws and the improvement of the existing, and thoroughly inefficient, corrupt practices act.

BALLOT REFORM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

One of the issues in the late political contest in Pennsylvania was ballot reform, and Mr. Pattison's election was a triumph for that idea. Unfortunately, however, the people of Pennsylvania failed to lay their ax to the root of the corruption prevailing in that state, and the result is that the legislature, which alone can take steps toward reforming their existing monstrous electoral system, cannot reasonably be expected to do anything to reform that system.

Our experience in New York, however, shows that when the people are once aroused they can sometimes force a reluctant legislature to do their bidding, and we are glad to hear that Mr. William Hughes, of 290 Beaver avenue, Allegheny, Pa., has sent out a circular to all of the single tax clubs of the state asking them to use their influence in having a petition in favor of ballot reform circulated with a view, if possible, to obtaining so many signatures that the legislature will not dare disregard it. This is the plan that we pursued in New York a year ago, and we found it effective. We also found by experience that the form of petition best adapted for use was that of our single tax petition, permitting each individual to sign a separate petition instead of trying to obtain numerous signatures on one sheet of paper. The reasons for this are too obvious to require argument.

We hope that the response to Mr. Hughes's circular will be favorable, because we doubt if any greater service could possibly be rendered by the single tax people of Pennsylvania than the establishment in that state of the Australian system of voting. It is needed everywhere, but nowhere more than in the corruption-ridden commonwealth that has just mustered up courage to throw off the rule of Boss Quay.

GRAINS OF SAND.

"That is a fine suggestion made by General Booth in his late literary sensation, 'Darkest England,' when it is proposed to provide the houses of the rich with receptacles for stale food to be distributed among the poor," remarks Sir Marrowfat with an air of sumptuous charity. "The wonder is that some of us hadn't thought of it before. It is a very benevolent operation, besides saving a man the beggarly necessity of sometimes eating a made over dish under a false notion of domestic economy. Dare say that heaps of mouldy truck which will be deposited in these food saving banks set at the doors of the rich will be greedily relished by the poor devils who'll think they are feeding on the choicest luxuries of the land. Crumbs from the rich man's table—eh?" Sir Marrowfat pulls down his waistcoat over his comfortable stomach with a satisfied chuckle.

"The very proposition, while it is prompted by a knowledge of the most acute need, is a burning shame to any civilized nation," observes an attentive sandmote.

"Now, what is it that you vaunting disturbers of the public peace would have, anyhow? To set up the scum and refuse of the earth in high places and to put the necks of respectable law-abiding citizens under the heels of idiots and criminals?" questions Sir Marrowfat, pushing up his gold bowed spectacles with an annihilating stare at audacious sandmotes. "It looks like that, 'pon my word. And the general, himself, goes too far when he proposes that work shall be provided for those who can find none. This would involve too great an outlay to begin with, and the investment, in all probability, would not be self-sustaining. As for the colonization scheme, that is better, though it is expensive and only temporary after all. For how long would it be before these wretches who breed like rabbits would overrun the colony to which they are exported and make a fresh appeal to our generosity? Better hold the excrescence in the slums where growth can be in a measure suppressed and hunger appeased by such cold victual as we can divide with the dogs. Now, what is there in a charity like that to be called a shame to a civilized nation, I want to know?"

A shame, because "a charity like that" is not justice—no, nor even a recognition of justice, which must be the foundation of any charity that is worthy of the name. It is something to minister to the bare animal needs of a wretched class that has been developed by centuries of wrong and oppression; but when we sit down satisfied with this sop to conscience, hugging the comfortable delusion that we are really doing a magnanimous thing for which we ought to be commended, then our boasted charity is a degradation to us. And not to us alone. It is a degradation no less to those who are compelled to accept it. The bread of charity or the refuse of the rich man's table is not the food that properly nourishes any human being.

It is contrary to the true order of existence for any man or any woman that is able to work to be reduced to the precarious chances of charity for the means of subsistence.

As for those not able to work, it is a higher sentiment than alms-giving which impels the strong and full handed to play the part of providence in any case of need. It is a recognition of divine law and service.

But at the last analysis it is a disgrace, to call it by its mildest name—a burning, branding disgrace to any civilized nation to flaunt in the eyes of the world the profuse splendors of a government on which lies the murderous blot of a want that cries to heaven—a want created first and last by wholesale robbery and injustice, the distress of which a pitiful, tender hearted man seeks to alleviate by scraping the plates of the thieves who have devoured the substance.

Better this than nothing? Who shall say? There is such a tremendous loss in the whole operation. One can hardly count any righteous gains in it all. And

which is whiter, the soul of the criminal, or his, or theirs who either actively or passively help to make the conditions that breed the criminal? In that grinding pressure of want which deadens the fine sensibilities and crushes out the energy and hope of the ordinary human being, one can almost respect the rude spirit which, instead of supinely sinking under the hardships and privations of the desperate life struggle, has force enough to rouse in assertion of the rights, though it be in violation of moral laws already broken by those who sit unaccused and uncondemned in high places. When we glance over the story of "Darkest England" and look at the statements of the homeless seekers of work who sleep at night in the storm abutments made soft by a chance bit of waste paper, we wonder how the magnificence of the royal city can excite the admiration and emulation of the new world.

What, indeed, are all the glorious achievements of science, art, invention, philosophy, religion, while under the glare of their triumphs we hear the smothered sound of this deep under current of human want and misery which none of these mighty powers have made any valiant effort to resist? Vain are all the marvels of progress, the glories of art, the wonders of discovery, the wisdom of savants, the systems of philosophers, the illumination of prophets, the triumphal splendor of the church, if through none of these potent forces there is found a road to the souls of the law givers who stand before high heaven as the exponents of truth and justice.

For science, art, philosophy, religion, age and civilization have failed of their ultimate use and end if they have not established in the earth the law of human brotherhood whose first principle is violated when one of its members—the weakest and lowest—is forced to become a suppliant for charity.

Yet, in all this let there be no under-rating of the sweetness of "Christian charity under the sun," though it deals with effects rather than with the causes which it is the Christian's duty first of all to attack. And under the name of charity, too, we blush to know that the greed of selfishness often grips at the throat of its objects, as illustrated in the following clipping from the letter of an inmate of a charitable institution in one of our own famous cities:

"It is claimed that positions have been found for over 200 needy girls." The girls themselves might give the interesting information that if one is unfortunate enough to come to the home before she has found employment, she doesn't have a luxurious position thrust upon her but she hustles out and gets it herself. The 'good ladies of the board' call it a charitable institution. It is just a little bit galling to a self-respecting, self-supporting young woman to live on charity and pay four hard dollars a week for it. If the house were well furnished and the living fine, it might come under the head of charity, but viewing it from the standpoint of a rickety table and a rheumatic chair, it is hard for the victims of the home to recognize the charitable side. * * * We recognize the fact that there is a feeling of safety in the house (so long as we keep our doors locked), but we will never be able to find the 'charity' though we search for it with a microscope."

A. L. M.

THE SINGLE TAX IN DENMARK.

Through the kindness of Mr. Henry George I have received a book printed in Danish (For og imod Georgeismen in Denmark), published by Fernando Linderberg, Copenhagen, and I will make some extracts from it.

It contains the single tax platform and many arguments published in several newspapers for and against Georgeism after the conference held by the followers of Mr. George in the city of Odense. It concludes with the speech made by George at the banquet held in Australia.

There is not and cannot be in it anything new that the single tax men have not heard before, but it will be of inter-

est to single tax men, and especially to Scandinavians, to know what they think of Mr. George and his theory in the little kingdom of Denmark.

The banner of "Free trade, free land and free men" is firmly planted there and defended by able and enthusiastic men, such as Senator V. Ullman of Norway (translator of "Progress and Poverty" into Danish), Editor Fernando Linderberg, Professor J. E. Lange, Rev. A. F. Pommerenke and others.

Professor J. E. Lange writes about freedom and equality. He says freedom without equality is the shell without the kernel, and equality without freedom is penitentiary life. To the production of wealth, we must have the land and labor and sometimes capital (which is stored up labor), therefore the produced wealth must be divided in three parts to the land owner, the laborer and the capitalist as ground rent, wages and interest. In prosperous times the land value increases very fast, and when it has reached the point at which labor and capital no longer gets a fair share of the produced wealth, then production stops and bad times follow and last until (1) land values are reduced; (2) new methods of production and communication have increased the original land value; (3) the worker has learned to be satisfied with a smaller share of the product. Then, again, commences production of wealth, which continues until it is stopped again by the rise in land value. What man has brought forth is his against all the world, and he has a right to call it his own; but no man has made the land, therefore it cannot belong to any man. That the fundamental principle of Mr. George's teaching, and he who cannot see the truth in that cannot follow him, etc.

Then come those who oppose Mr. George with the old story of compensation before you can tax land value. Everybody wants land. Nobody wants it. Too much revenue. Not enough. Oh, yes, it is very nice, but we have no use for it. Go west—to England.

Here is a sample of Mr. H. Hertel: Let us suppose what we all wish, and what we may expect, that in the near future land values will rise with us. The mortgage man will have to be satisfied with the same rate of interest, but, as the land value rises, it will benefit the land user and save the farm from father to son. It will give those who are now fighting to keep above water solid ground under their feet, make times happier for all land users. I am a sorry to say that some of those who write such nonsense, as that all we want is high priced land and we will be happy, pride themselves on being instructors of youthful minds.

Farmer N. J. Nielsen in favor of the single tax says: What does it mean when we farmers borrow every year from forty to forty-five million kroner on our farms? It means that we transfer so much owner's right to the capitalist. That is a change from ownership to leasehold. As land increases in value its ownership goes over to the rich.

Linderberg, in favor of the George theory, writes: That capital which stands in land is like the pirate on the high seas. It says, "Here is the land which you will be permitted to use, but you must give me a large portion of the value you bring forth. While you eat your bread in the sweat of your brow I will cut coupons, live in fine hotels, go to fine dinners. If you will not accept that you can not have access to the land, you can go—starve. The whole social question is included in that one thing, give man access to land. Let the man who cultivates the land keep the full return for himself.

The above discussion has gone on from January, 1888, to January, 1889. It seems that the argument must have had great effect, as the editor of the Lander asks State Economist Prof. V. Falbe-Hansen of the University of Copenhagen to write something to prevent the spreading of Georgeism. He does it in this style:

I fully indorse the other writers who have written against Mr. George, but as there are already many farmers who think very favorably of George, I will

make a few remarks: Henry George is, (here he praises him above all other men) but that is all that can be said about him. There is not a new thought in his book of any value, and there is any amount of wrong things. I believe that the reason so many go to America is because of the easy access to ownership in land; no one would cultivate the land if he could not own it. Some of the colonies in Australia had a system something like George's, but no one would cultivate the land, so it had to be sold to them. It is impossible to find the value of land, and how, therefore, could you tax it? If the state has to be the ground rent owner, then it must not only take the benefit, but also the losses. George says, as a rule all land values are always on the rise; there may be a short period of reaction, but, as a rule, they always rise. That is false. It is easy to see why George has come to this false conclusion. It is because he only looked at America, where it may be true, but in Europe it may be different. In the last fifteen years the ground rent has fallen in Germany, Russia, England and many other countries. Nay, it has disappeared altogether. It has not only eaten itself up, but all the labor and capital put into it. The state must therefore pay the losses, and where shall the money come from to pay them? My idea of George's ground tax is shortly expressed. It is half crazy, if not all crazy.

Although George has many followers, it is because of his splendid eloquence, his magnetic power—his power to obscure things, to represent the consequence of his idea. In these things he is superior to all. George has also a warm and affectionate feeling for that downtrodden class in society. Through all his books goes the same feeling. Therefore, it is easy to understand that such men as Ullman, Linderberg and others are fighting his battle.

Mr. Linderberg answers in a very able and interesting open letter, which is printed in the papers, and asks the professor how he will prevent the capital from eating up the farmers, as they have borrowed 643,000,000 kroner between 1871 and 1889, and it still goes on; also if he agrees with the Malthusian theory, that poverty comes from overpopulation, and that we can do nothing for it.

Professor V. Falbe-Hansen answers: That he will not discuss George's theory, as it is not worthy of discussion. In the Malthusian theory there is a great deal of wrong, but the principle of it is right, and he agrees that the cause of poverty is that the workers marry too soon and have too many children. Then he calls George a Jack o' Lantern that has led Linderberg astray.

I would suggest to the state economist professor that he read his writing over every morning, and if, after six months, he still swears by it, we will give him up.

Again an answer from Linderberg, and then comes the conference of George men in Odense, Denmark, October 14, 1889. It was very much like our late conference in New York; the only difference of opinion was as to an assertion that Mr. George's theory did not go far enough; but after all, they agreed that it was a very great step in advance, and that for the present they would be satisfied to gain that. Linderberg was the last of the four speakers, and he gave a history of the idea all over the world. Then comes as a finale of the book George's speech at the banquet in Australia, March 7, 1890.

The above is the second publication of Mr. Linderberg. The first (Henry George og hans Social Program) was also a most excellent book, that can not help to set any man to thinking who reads it. The author also publishes a newspaper twice a week, devoted to the single tax.

The movement in behalf of the single tax has to a great extent been confined to the English speaking race. This may be due to want of literature in other languages. That at least is no longer an excuse for Scandinavians with these two books in existence and more coming. We Scandinavians who are in the movement

already should try to place those books in the hands of every Scandinavian who is willing to read them, for they can not fail to make him a free trader if not a single tax man.

The Scandinavians all over the country have beneficial societies with libraries. These are again formed into one whole body, and we will use that channel for the distribution of the book. I will, in a short time, have a limited number to dispose of at cost, or for free distribution.

Will you Scandinavians help me to do the work, that it may be true, as Mr. C. J. Buell of Minneapolis, Minn., remarked after last election? The descendants of Thor and Olaf have awakened up and will put Cleveland on a free trade platform in 1892, and I may add Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, on a single tax platform in 1896.

W. C. MUNCH.

1537 S. Twelfth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

BOOTH'S DARKEST ENGLAND.

In his work on darkest England General Booth compares the ivory raiders, who brutally traffic in the unfortunate denizens of the forest, to the publicans, or saloon keepers, who thrive at the expense of the poor. The two tribes of savages, the baboon human and the hard-some dwarf, who will not speak lest it impede him in his task, may be accepted as the two varieties continually present with us—the vicious, lazy lout and the toiling slave. He points out the sympathy which is extended to the London cab horse that is helped up when he falls down and is provided with rations so long as he is able and willing to work, and asks why sympathy should not in like manner be extended to the fallen samples of humanity. His scheme of regeneration consists of helping the outcasts, the drunkards, tramps, beggars, harlots, etc., and in passing by the struggling poor, who number 3,000,000 in England, Scotland and Wales, and who receive from time to time relief from the poor house to supplement their earnings, and who constitute one-tenth of the population. It is for the lowest class that General Booth seeks to provide by means of the Refuge, the Shelter, the Labor factory, the Household salvage brigade and the Labor bureau and the City colony. He proposes to utilize the refuse labor to the application of the refuse material, using the Household salvage brigade in collecting it, and it will consist of old bottles, umbrellas, broken victuals, old clothes, newspapers, etc.—in fact, anything that by expenditure of labor can be turned to account. All these will be deposited at the labor yard, duly sorted, bottles washed and classified, umbrellas mended and fragments of same utilized in repairing. The refuse victuals are to be turned to account, duly sorted, some for human wants, other for animals.

Some thousands of acres of waste land is to be obtained in Kent or Essex, and a farm established; here the waste products come in to feed men, horses, pigs and poultry. After probation in the London yard men and women are to be set to work on the farm, exercising and developing every faculty they are capable of, from the making of bricks, to the building of houses and culture of the soil. This is to be the nursery of the emigrant, who, when qualified, is to be shipped either to the Cape of Good Hope or Australia. There again immense tracts of land are to be duly prepared for his reception, and a rental charged to the emigrants for its use, the funds to be used again and again in further developments.

This is a very condensed outline of General Booth's scheme, which, if successful, may be claimed as a triumph of socialism; but since the objects of his solicitude can scarcely be considered free agents owing to their moral, mental and physical decrepitude, an exception must be taken on these grounds. As his plan settles down to the more practical side of the great issue, he, like everyone else who attempts the employment of labor on a large scale, is confronted with the land question. He must pay some landlord in London, either in rent or purchase money. His supposed waste acres in Kent or Essex will suddenly become ex-

ceedingly valuable. Again he will be confronted with the landlord, if he transports his colony to the Cape of Good Hope or Australia. It is true land is cheaper there than in England, but the role of landlord is played there as elsewhere for all it is worth.

Nor must we overlook the incontrovertible fact that not only does General Booth become a competitor with his cheap products of glass bottles, utilized refuse, cheap pigs, poultry, vegetables, umbrellas, with other things already in the market, supplied by competitive labor, but we are confronted with the painful fact that the regeneration and amelioration of the millions of paupers, tramps, criminals and harlots only adds another factor under our present social conditions to the desperate struggle for existence now going on in our midst, and the lowering of wages of the great army of workers already pushing upon the margin of existence. Though the whole mass of seething, sunken humanity be lifted up from its slough, great as the work is, noble in its purpose, humanitarian and desirable in its ends, the fact still remains that no palliative, though backed by the power of organization of General Booth and the combined wealth of the Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, can place mankind on the plane of equity till the inevitable law of "infinite justice" and wisdom is carried out, and the earth—the land—is restored to the disinherited children—the land that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and Jacob and the Teacher Divine proclaimed for the use of all, to have and to use and to pass on to posterity fitly cared for and fitly used, till earth and time shall be no more.

Jersey City.

WILLIAM SAUL.

THE WEST AND CLEVELAND.

Eminently just were the comments of THE STANDARD anent the Thurman birthday banquet and the ovation to Mr. Cleveland thereat so spontaneously resulting. Exactly truthful, also, was THE STANDARD'S declaration that, so far as the great mass of anti-protectionists and anti-republicans are concerned, "Grover Cleveland is already nominated for 1892." Surely it ought so to be. If ever a public man earned leadership, and really won leadership, for principle and the hazard and cost of personal advantage, that high honor was earned and won by Grover Cleveland when he, with a courage more than heroic, pushed to the forefront of battle the issue of tariff reform in the interest of the people. Of course that man of heroism and resolute daring ought to be the democratic candidate for the presidency in 1892. Of course, no other candidate than he should be so much as thought of in 1892. But, can the democratic and free trade masses be sure that what ought to be in 1892 will then be? Will the "ought to be" prevail in 1892? Can there be any assurance, or even decent promise, that it will so prevail unless there shall first be a good deal of persistent watching and voiceful demand on the part of the people against the mere politician?

These questions merit more considerate attention than most persons who read these lines will at first thought be disposed to admit. Just now the writer is in receipt of a private letter from New York, written by one who is in constant touch with party leaders of national repute in the democratic ranks. That letter says:

"Mr. Cleveland is now the biggest man in the country, and if the democratic national convention were to be held this year he would be nominated by acclamation in spite of New York. But I am afraid of Hill and his clever manipulation. If the great west will but stand firm we shall have Cleveland in 1892. But New York will be manipulated for Hill, and what may be the influence of that? Who can tell?"

These words, too, but echo what was said to me, when in New York and Philadelphia two and three weeks before the election, by men who stand high in democratic councils in those cities. Mr. Cleveland had, while president, "displeased the politicians," it was said. His nomination in 1892 was hardly to be expected, there-

fore, however great the seemingly popular demand for his candidature. Much more of a similar character could be here reported. But, this is enough to point attention to the fact that it will not do for the friends of tariff reform, and much less for the advocates of free trade and progressive democratic principles, to quietly assume that the leader of their choice and the men of their hope will of necessity be their candidate in 1892. Instead, all such true democrats should be now, and again, and again warned to be vigilant and aggressive if they would have worthy leadership in the next presidential campaign. The people must assert themselves as against the mere politicians. These last must be told, and that in words red hot with purpose, if needs be, a truth that they will do well to heed. It is, that scheming and manipulating to deprive Mr. Cleveland of the nomination, or to cut off from him the support of his own state, will but bring upon the heads of the conspirators an avalanche of popular indignation and wrath. Particularly must such admonitions have explicit utterance in New York, "right out in meeting." And in New York it cannot be too early understood, and comprehended unmistakably, that the democratic masses of the northwest can never be brought to the support of any man who attempts to interpose his own personal ambition to compass the defeat or the weakening of Grover Cleveland in the democratic national convention. Evidently it is time now that these truths be plainly stated. The voice of the people is abroad. It must be heard. It declares: "Honor only to the men who have honored principle. Therefore, honor first of all to Grover Cleveland."

EDWARD RUSSELL.

Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 26.

THE POINT OF LEAST RESISTANCE.

Those who are familiar with Mr. George's writings and speeches know well that he insists upon the wisdom of attacking the point of least resistance. For thus only shall we avoid waste of time, energy and money. Thus only can we work quickly and effectively.

When President Cleveland's message made a little crack in the wall of special privilege which separated us from freedom, Mr. George was quick to cry out that here was the point of least resistance and to lead his band of single tax men to the help of the tariff reformers. Our cause became a political movement, our weapons the educational campaign, the stump speech and the ballot. That this course was considered wise by single tax men throughout the country, the character, size and enthusiasm of the late conference attest. But it was not only wise, it was inevitable. As surely as water flows down hill, so surely do men seek to gratify their desires by the least exertion.

Only in the case of women do single taxers seem to doubt the beneficence of this law. The desires of single tax women are identical with those of single tax men, but to attempt to gratify them by the least exertion would be, they are told, unwomanly. To attack the point of least resistance would be, in their case, to step outside their sphere. They are invited to form separate organizations banded together in a national league for the purpose of moral propaganda, because the political work in which the single tax men of the country are earnestly engaged is unsuited to their sex. In other words, they are asked to attack the point of greatest resistance, to spend time, energy and money in far greater proportion to the result than their brothers. For, mark you, the result aimed at is the same. Only through political action can our principles become law. How fortunate is it, then, that through circumstances quite beyond our control the necessary political phase of our reform comes so early. So early and with such a rush that the religious, moral and economic principles underlying the theory of the single tax are making their way unsuspected into the minds of men by the

point of least resistance—their political interests.

No; ours a political movement, and the moral propaganda is included in it. In vain to try to separate them. Women will form local societies, and they may form a national association, but the work of these will be comparatively ineffective and their vitality in proportion to the closeness of their touch with the great body of single tax reformers. It is useless to compare these societies of single tax women to those of the Women's Christian temperance union. The members of the Woman's Christian temperance union are the great army of that reform.

If the delegates at the conference were really interested in this idea of a separate organization of women to press the religious and moral side of our theory on the attention of this country, if they really expected much from such a movement, they would have asked the consideration of that Woman's Christian temperance union, the largest and most active woman's organization in the world, for the single tax. But they were after votes, and, therefore, they cast sheep's eyes toward the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' alliance. As far as it is possible to judge from the report of the debate on the woman question at the conference, and the discussion since held in the columns of THE STANDARD, single tax men generally take no interest in this question of woman's work and separate organization. Their indifference is an excellent measure of the usefulness of such organization and such work.

And now we come to the root of the matter. Every woman in the United States might be converted to the single tax theory, and only insofar as she could influence the voters of her acquaintance would her opinions be of value to the cause. Had she the ballot in her hands, not only could she cast it for the right, but the fact of her possessing it, of her being on a political equality with men, would give her words on political and economic subjects a weight they do not now possess and assure her an audience which now turns a deaf ear. Cannot the clever women who have been writing to THE STANDARD, and who are indifferent to woman suffrage, see that it is the moral even more than the political effect of her disfranchisement which is harmful to her and to society? Had woman the ballot, the question of separate organization in the single tax cause would never have arisen. She would have taken her place beside the men without question and tobacco would never have dimmed a principle.

But women have not the ballot and the majority of the single tax men don't care that they should. Gentlemen, let us have the courage of our convictions. Let us acknowledge that "equality of opportunity" is equality of opportunity for Chinese, negroes, women or white men.

We are fighting a campaign in the great war of good against evil; every time we do justice we lessen the point of least resistance. SARAH MUFFLIN GAY.

WHAT WOMEN CAN DO NOW.

"While I sat musing the fire burned," and while we are discussing whether it shall be a separate or an associate organization, the weeks are flying by and we are losing the strength we might gain by a more intimate acquaintance.

I trust I was not the only one whose heart glowed with pleasure on reading the letters in THE STANDARD by Frances Mine and others; the speech of Margaret Brennan at the conference; or when Mr. Garrison told of the woman in Philadelphia who kept a boarding house for a livelihood and studied "Progress and Poverty" for pleasure.

It would give me pleasure to shake hands with each of these across the states and without cant or affectation ask, "What cheer, sister?" So you, too, believe in doing something more than putting glass prisms in broken windows, in order to teach the poor the beauties of the rainbow, and cultivate in them more refined tastes. You, too, are saddened

by the cry of little children, and the extra burden of bread winning laid upon motherhood. You, too, feel indignant at the proud insolence of the haughty rich, not against yourself, but against your more unfortunate sisters. You, too, have had your heart stirred with joy at the glad news that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living" and of a better day coming; and you, too, long to tell it to those about you, who are so heavily laden, that they at least may see the same star that you see and so take hope.

If we cannot tell it to the learned, we will tell it to the common people who heard Him gladly; for after all, truth is apprehended by the moral rather than by the intellectual nature. It is the pure in heart that see God. It may require genius to first discover the star, but there is many a shop girl, typewriter, school teacher, et al., who could be made to see the same star if pointed out to them, and though they cannot vote, yet "Ideas are in the air," said Emerson, and the sum of all their knowledge will help to create a moral sentiment that shall influence voters unmistakably.

Let us not think so much about organizing as of first becoming somewhat acquainted, and then, I doubt not, there will be tracts written and work done, for we shall each be an inspiration to the other, and whether we join in attending the clubs with the men will depend altogether upon the courtly graciousness with which they throw away their cigars and rise up receive to us. We shall surely not attend unless treated with the deference worthy of us, and then, as Margaret Brennan said, "We will do them good and not evil all the days of their lives."

To exchange only a few letters among each other, would result in adding fresh names to the letter writing corps and new signers to the petition.

ELIZA STOWE TWITCHELL.

34 Appleton st., Boston, Mass., Nov. 21, 1890.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, Nov. 15.—We have had a very exciting week. A frightful railway accident, due to the momentary forgetfulness of a signal man upward of sixty years of age, and just recovered from a concussion of the brain; the wreck of a war vessel, with loss of all hands; the summoning of parliament, the speeches of ministers and ex-ministers—all these things have occupied the public mind, but only two or three things are of importance. The public feel that the railway accident has made necessary a large amount of control of railways; that the loss of the *Serpent* renders imperative a serious overhauling of the great spending departments; that the importance of Lord Salisbury's recent speech at the lord mayor's banquet lies in the prominence he gives to the labor question, and that the summoning of parliament marks the beginning of the end so far as this government is concerned. It is useless to speculate when we are so near the events themselves; but there is a general anticipation in certain well informed quarters that the government measures on the Irish land question and some other questions are only intended as feelers. There is a vague feeling that we are pushing on to a political cataclysm not a whit less momentous than that which has occurred in the United States.

General Booth's scheme is being well pushed and advertised, but there is some doubt as to whether it will come off. The amount of money required is so enormous that people feel they would like to have some control of the work. But General Booth cannot very well allow any division of responsibility in authority. And many people of course see clearly enough that however promptly and efficaciously the submerged tenth is rescued, another submerged tenth will take its place, unless the causes which produce the submerged tenth are removed.

Of course the social question is mainly a question of economics, and apart from the moral aspect of the question—which may be discussed by divines and all sorts of well meaning men—it must be discussed

by economists, or those who seriously study economics. There has long been under discussion among those interested in such questions a method by which the students of economics might assist each other's studies, and the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* is this morning able to make the following very interesting announcement:

A meeting is shortly to be held in London, under the presidency probably of the chancellor of the exchequer, to discuss proposals for the foundation of an economic society. The convener is Mr. Alfred Marshall, professor of political economy at Cambridge, and the presence has been invited of lecturers on economics at the universities and public colleges, the councils of the London, Dublin and Manchester statistical societies, members of the committee of the British association, and others. The principal object the promoters have in view is the establishment in connection with the society of an economic journal, the need of which, they point out, has long been felt in England. Economists in this country "who have something to say that is too technical for the ordinary magazines and too short for a book are sometimes compelled to give their views to the world in the columns of a foreign periodical, or as a publication of the American economic association; but more frequently they put it aside till an opportunity should offer for working it out more fully and publishing it as a book, and that opportunity too often does not come." Thus, English economists, especially the young men among them, are placed at a great disadvantage, and this feeling—a strong and widespread one—has led to the holding of many private meetings on the subject at Oxford, Cambridge and London; and lately the matter has been under the consideration of the economic and statistical committee of the British association. Various suggestions have been made for the conduct of the journal and as to the scope of the society, and these, I am informed, will be fully discussed at the forthcoming meeting.

HAROLD RYLETT.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, Nov. 22.—The proverbial nine days have hardly expired and, accordingly, Mr. Parnell is still the topic of the hour. There is the strongest feeling in England that the Irish leader should retire, at all events for a time; and Mr. Davitt has joined in the demand. No one seems to entertain the slightest doubt of the guilt of Mr. Parnell. That seems to be taken for granted. For myself, I can only say that the more I ponder the evidence and the facts which are known to all who have been intimately associated with the Irish movement the more convinced I am that Mr. Parnell may after all be innocent. You have only to disbelieve Captain O'Shea, no very great task, and to believe that the castle party and the government party are equal to a good deal in the way of suborning witnesses—also no very great task—to be at all events convinced that the guilt of Mr. Parnell has not been conclusively demonstrated.

The incident, however, has had a most remarkable effect—an effect which aptly illustrates the truth of the old adage that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The effect to which I refer is seen in the proceedings of the national liberal federation, whose annual meetings have taken place this week at Sheffield. I was present, and was struck by the chill which seemed to affect the delegates. One after another the speakers referred to the condition-of-England question, and it was only such references as bore upon the social life of the people that anything like enthusiasm was manifested. Then Mr. John Morley rose and made some complimentary references to the new president—Dr. Spence Watson of Newcastle—the gentleman who took the chair for Mr. George at that gentleman's Newcastle meeting. Passing on, Mr. Morley remarked that he had noted that in listening to the remarks made by previous speakers the audience responded most promptly and showed most cordial sympathy with the questions affecting social life. The audience cheered this declaration with great heartiness. It was the key note, not only of Mr. Morley's speech, but of the whole of the subsequent proceedings. It seemed to be recognized that the home rule plank of the liberal platform had been so seriously damaged that it was absolutely necessary to place more reliance on the planks. And now, as a result of the Parnell scandal, you may take it that English social questions rather than Irish

home rule will form the staple of political discussion between now and the general election—that, in fact, the election will be fought on English questions really, and that Irish questions will hold a subsidiary place.

It is the fault of the Irish parliamentary party that the cause of home rule should have been left in this position even more than by Mr. Parnell. The Irish parliamentary party began by hating English radicals; have never sympathized with the aspirations of any people but their own, and have even gone out of their way, over and over again, to curse men who, following the lead of Michael Davitt, have sought to show that the cause of the common people of whatever nationality is a common cause, and can be most effectually advanced by common effort. So it comes to pass that the Irish question has been for so long a question of one man rather than of a nation. The speech of Mr. Morley places the question in its true position. After dwelling on the representation of labor, the eight hour bill, urging the claims of municipal authorities to extended powers and functions, and even going so far as to urge a national insurance scheme, and commend General Booth's experiment, Mr. Morley proceeds to emphasize the fact that the liberal party believed in home rule for Ireland because of its justice and expediency, and not because this or that man was associated with it. Clearly, from henceforth, home rule, instead of being the only plank in the liberal programme, will be simply one of them. We shall have no more Irish members going around the country warning English workmen not to muddle the issue by discussing other questions than home rule. We shall find the liberal party rousing itself once more. What the by-elections, significant as they have been, have failed to do, viz., compel the liberal leaders to face social questions, this Parnell incident has succeeded in doing.

And the one social question which above all others seemed to be most urgent in the minds of all the speakers, as well as of the audiences, at the federation meeting this week, was the taxation of land values and ground rents. Over and over again it was referred to—the only exceptions being Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt—and every time it was touched the audience warmly responded. I think I remarked last year upon the fulfillment of Mr. George's prophecy that the single tax would enter English politics by way of the taxation of ground rents. This year shows once more how true was the insight which prompted the remark. I append the resolutions arrived at by the conference and I ask my readers to observe not only the order but the contents of them. The resolution referring to "a thorough reform of the land laws," is a little mixed. It contains the "survivals" of the old economy, but it may be taken from me that these "survivals" have no real vitality. The resolutions are as follows:

That this council, after another year's experience of coercion, repeats its condemnation of the Irish policy of the government as violent and futile, and demands the restoration to the Irish people of their constitutional right to free speech, a free press, trial by jury and independent magistrates:

And, being satisfied that the British people have long since made up their minds in favor of Mr. Gladstone's policy for the establishment of an Irish legislative body for the management of exclusively Irish affairs, it urges the immediate dissolution of parliament, in order that the sense of the country may be taken upon this great issue.

That this council is of opinion that the time has come for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, and for the application of the tithes to the public purposes of the principality, and declares that this question should be dealt with in the next parliament, as soon as Irish home rule is attained.

That this council considers that the present state of the registration laws is a public scandal and injustice, and declares it to be of the first importance that they should be amended without delay by the appointment of responsible registration officers, the reduction of the qualifying period to three months, the abolition of the disqualification now attaching to removal from one constituency to another and by such other means as are necessary to secure to every duly qualified citizen

his full electoral rights. The council at the same time declares that the franchise should be based solely on the principle of "one man one vote;" that the duration of parliaments should be shortened; that returning officers' expenses at parliamentary elections should be placed upon the rates; that all elections should be held on one and the same day, and that the principle of payment of members of parliament by the state should be recognized.

That this council declares that the interests of good government urgently demand that the London county council should without delay be put in possession of full municipal powers, including the control of its own gas and water supplies, markets and police, and should, by taxation of ground values and by other financial reforms, be enabled to govern and improve the metropolis without undue pressure upon the occupying rate payers, and that the new powers thus asked for should, where they are not already enjoyed, be conferred on all other municipalities.

That this council again affirms its repeated declarations in favor of—

Free education in schools under popular representative control, the establishment of continuation schools and increased facilities for technical and intermediate education;

A thorough reform of the land laws, such as will secure (a) freedom of sale and transfer; (b) the just taxation of land values and ground rents; (c) compensation to town and country tenants for both disturbance and improvements, together with a simplified process for obtaining such compensation; (d) the enfranchisement of leaseholds; (e) compulsory power vested in town and county councils to acquire and hold land for allotments and small holdings, the provision of dwellings for the working classes and other purposes;

The disestablishment and disendowment of the established church in Scotland;

The direct popular veto on the liquor traffic;

The development of local government by the establishment in the counties of district and parish councils;

The equalization of the death duties upon real and personal property;

The just division of rates between owner and occupier;

The taxation of mining royalties;

A "free breakfast table;"

The extension of the factory acts; and

The "mending or ending" of the house of lords.

That in view of a general election, which cannot now be long delayed this council urges the liberal party in every constituency at once to complete its organization and make all needful preparations for an early and perhaps a sudden appeal to the electorate.

The best speech of the meeting was made by Mr. Percy Bunting, the editor of the *Contemporary Review*. It was too thoughtful and quietly academic in its tone to be appreciated at first, but presently as the speaker's drift began to be seen, a few marks of appreciation were thrown in, and then the audience "caught on." The speech was entirely on single tax lines.

As an indication of the development of economic thought, I may mention that at the last meeting of the Manchester statistical society Professor Munro, the president, delivered his presidential address, taking for his subject, "The Taxation of Chief Rents." In the course of the address the professor stated explicitly that chief rents are to Manchester what ground rents are to London—though there was this difference that a chief rent arose on a sale and a ground rent on a lease, that in the former case no readjustment of the amount was possible, while such a readjustment was possible in the second case. But in both cases the professor made it clear, that there should be a revenue from taxation of the values represented by the rents. He proposed to exempt existing chief rents from the tax, however—from no good reason that I could see, and I challenged him on the point. But, as I had to leave the meeting, I did not hear the reply.

As a further indication of the same development of thought, I may mention that the economic association alluded to in a recent letter has been formed in London. The chancellor of the exchequer presided.

HAROLD RYLETT.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 1.—In a little more than thirteen weeks from the hour congress convenes to-day the second session will have expired and with it the Fifty-first congress. In this short session but a few measures other than the appropriation bills can possibly be passed, and, of these, reapportionment, ship subsidy and international copyright matters take

the lead. There is much speculation as to the provisions of the reapportionment bill, it being evident that the official announcement of 62,000,000, instead of, as estimated, 63,000,000 of population, and the result of the November elections will cause a change in the plans; and, indeed, Mr. Dunnell, chairman of the census committee, from which the bill to be passed will be reported, now intimates that the membership of the house should be increased to 348, and not to 354, as named in the bill he personally drew and submitted to the house a few months ago.

Any reapportionment bill must take cognizance of the fact that the center of population has traveled westward, and that there must be a relative increase of representation there; so that if the membership of the house were to remain at its present number of 332, the eastern section of the country would have to lose, while the western section gained members. If he acted upon his former idea of a house of 354 members, Mr. Dunnell would give New York and the six New England states their present number of representatives, from Virginia and from Ohio he would take one, to Pennsylvania he would give two and to New Jersey one, and would distribute twenty members among the western states. To this the strong objection was raised that no state would wish to see its representation diminished, and Mr. Dunnell now says that fixing the membership at 348 will require no state to diminish its representation, while the proper relative increase can be given to the western states.

This on its face would seem to be the least objectionable plan that could be devised. In states where the apportionment of members is not disturbed there would be no call for a redistricting, and even where there was an increase of representation, members could be elected by the state at large. It would avoid the gerrymandering of districts by state authorities where the democrats have gained sole or partial control, though the republicans could have no just ground for complaint against this partisan practice, since until now they have been the beneficiaries of it. But this is not all that must be considered. The question involves more than an avoidance of a democratic gerrymander. It is a question of restoring the proportion between districts which have become greatly distorted by the growth of the shifting of population. In New York state, for instance, the cities of New York and Brooklyn have grown relatively very much more than the rest of the state, so that they should be represented in congress by more than twelve of the state's thirty-four members, which was the proportion fixed ten years ago. In Massachusetts, Boston has been the point of largest growth, and an observance of the principle of representation would require that its quota should be increased. Chicago's large increase in population during the decade came practically out of the state, so that if Illinois were re-districted Chicago should have one or two more and the remainder of the state one or two less members. And what is said of these states may be said of others.

The cities of New York, Chicago and Boston are democratic in their politics, and an increase in their representation commensurate with their relatively augmented population would add to the democratic strength in congress; but that can afford no legitimate excuse for the party now dominant in congress refusing itself to draw afresh, or to permit to be redrawn, the lines of congressional districts. A refusal to correct such glaring disparities must certainly prove the charge of a sinister motive—of an attempt to perpetuate its power at any cost. And all the indications are that this is the course that will be pursued. A bill will be agreed upon in republican caucus and will be rushed through the house under pressure of a "special order" from the committee on rules.

It being accepted by the democrats here that the result of the November elections was in favor of a much reduced tariff, and the party being committed to free trade in certain raw materials, such as wool,

iron ore and coal, which have contributed an important part of the revenue, the question arises what shall be taxed to make up the deficiency? Most of the leading democrats turn to the income tax. Besides Mr. Mills, who announced himself during the campaign for "free trade and an income tax," Mr. Bland of Missouri, Mr. Wike of Illinois and Messrs. Holman and Bynum of Indiana have pronounced in favor of it, and, for that matter, I am informed that the income tax is generally favored throughout the west, irrespective of party. Certainly the Farmers' alliance would support it, having for their platform the equalization of taxation, striking, as they do, at big fortunes. There are some democrats, however, like Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky, who, while they believe in it, do not just now wish a fresh issue introduced until the times demand it. It is a question of inexpediency with Mr. Breckinridge. But the matter is, nevertheless, fast coming to the front.

Mr. Scott Wike of the Twelfth Illinois district is a warm advocate of an income tax, and in this represents the feeling of his people. Believing that the democrats in congress are committed not only to a very material reduction of the tariff, but to a large extension of the free list, he is conscious that this will cause a great reduction in the revenue at a time when the outgoing majority in congress will have left a heavy legacy of debts, and, therefore, when as large if not a larger revenue is required. The income tax is his means of supplying the deficiency. Nor is this new with him. Last session he introduced a resolution in favor of the raising of \$130,000 annually by an income tax. He has the double purpose of raising revenue and of taxing accumulations of wealth, which, he says, are becoming a serious menace to our republic, and it is only a measure of self-preservation to tax them. Seventy-two millions were raised in 1872 by this means, and incomes of \$2,000 and less were exempted. Mr. Wike would make it easier for the masses of the people, for he would exempt incomes up to \$5,000. He had intended to make a speech on the subject during the session, but there was too much excitement over other matters.

All these men heard more or less about the single tax during the campaign, and in Mr. Wike's district particularly they were very active. The election in the latter place was, by the way, a very interesting one. "My people," said Mr. Wike, "are not a bit afraid of free trade. That was the chief sentiment in my platform and it was conspicuous in my speeches. My vote was not only two thousand, five hundred more than ever before, but I received the biggest vote in Illinois for congress. The fact is, wherever I spoke I apologized for not having worked, in all these years, for a greater reduction than four or five per cent in the tariff. Free trade has no terrors for my people."

I asked Benton McMillin of Tennessee what was the sentiment among his constituents regarding the tariff? "There is a firm determination," he said, "not only to undo the very great increase of tariff rates embraced in the McKinley bill, but also to have a substantial reduction of the rates existing before that outrageous measure was forced upon the country. The question during the canvass was not of tariff or no tariff. The question was of tariff reduction, in face of the fact that a very large revenue had to be raised in some way or other, and no income tax was in existence. But the disposition is that the tariff taxation should be reduced to the needs of the government economically administered. There is, however, a very considerable feeling among my constituents for an income tax and it does not seem to be confined to the farmers."

I asked him about the farmers and the sub-treasury plan, and he replied: "So far as I have been able to discover the majority of the farmers of Tennessee do not favor it. Indeed, a candidate I know who opposed the scheme on the stump received a much larger vote than ever before."

As the causes of the recent sweeping changes at the polls he answered: "What

else was to be expected from a people wedded to the principles of democracy—the principles of republican government? When the house met it ran riot without rules for months. At last, when that could be endured no longer, a set of rules was adopted, the most invidious. The precedents of a hundred years were overridden; the rights of the minority were utterly disregarded. But this was only the means to accomplish an end. What was that end? First, a large number of men duly elected were turned out, and those not elected put in their places. This also was done to accomplish an end, for the force bill was passed by the house, which was to subvert the government—take the elections away from the people and turn them over to officers appointed for life—turning the legislative branch of the government over to the tender mercies of the judiciary body, the latter holding office by life tenure. Next, the McKinley bill was passed, which, with the administration bill, raised the tariff from 41 per cent to more than 65 per cent average rate of duty. It set up the principle of taxing one man to make another man's vocation pay by the establishment of the bounty system. It was also sought to rob the people of the United States of the power over the purse strings by making the appropriations run for fifteen years to pay these bounties. Then under the plea of reciprocity the taxing power was taken away from the people and congress, and given to the president of the United States, authorizing him, without convening or consulting congress, to put a tax of from one to two cents a pound on sugar, three cents a pound on coffee, and ten cents a pound on tea. He might impose \$50,000,000 of taxes and remit them at will. And while the people were being robbed in this way on the one hand by the majority, their money was being squandered on the other with a reckless prodigality that would have made the husk-eating prodigal son blush with shame, because he had been outdone. I repeat: what else but a landslide, but a ground swell, was to be expected from such a people as the American? Verily, the mill of the gods grinds terribly fine!"

It is interesting and instructive just at this time to read some of the things that were said in the early history of the tariff in this country. In the first session of the First congress, in 1789, on a resolution proposing duties on certain articles imported into the United States, and in answer to Thomas Hartley, member from Pennsylvania, who made a plea for such a measure as would "tend to protect and promote our domestic manufactures," James Madison of Virginia explained that the measure should be regarded as an extraordinary one, as it was required to meet a deficiency, arising from the very loose government under the Articles of Confederation, and that it should not be considered as permanent. In these clear words he delivered himself for freedom of trade:

I beg leave, therefore, to state the grounds on which my opinion, with respect to the matter under consideration, is founded, namely, whether the present system should be a temporary one or a permanent one? In the first place, I own myself a friend to a very free system of commerce, and hold it as a truth, that commercial shackles are generally unjust, oppressive and impolitic; and it is also a truth, that if industry and labor are left to take their own course, they will generally be directed to those objects which are the most productive, and this in a more certain and direct manner than the most enlightened legislature could point out. Nor do I think the national interest is more promoted by such restrictions than that the interests of individuals would be promoted by legislative interference directing the particular application of its industry. For example, we should find no advantage in saying that every man should be obliged to furnish himself, by his own labor, with those accommodations which depend on the mechanic arts, instead of employing his neighbor, who could do it for him on better terms. It would be of no advantage to the shoemaker to make his own clothes to save the expense of the tailor's bill, nor of the tailor to make his own shoes to save the expense of procuring them from the shoemaker. It would be better policy to suffer each of them to employ his talents in his own way. The case is the same between the exercise of the arts and agriculture, between the city and the country and

between city and town, each capable of making particular articles in abundance to supply the other. Thus all are benefited by exchange, and the less this exchange is cramped by government, the greater are the proportions of benefit to each. The same argument holds good between nation and nation, and between parts of the same nation.

In 1824, during the discussion of what was the highest tariff bill up to that time, thirty-five per cent, Daniel Webster made one of those magnificent pleas for freedom of trade and against the protective idea which in after years, when he had surrendered principle and had gone over to the other camp, he never attempted to answer. Henry Clay, who was then speaker, and who took the floor to support the bill, had just spoken. Here are a few passages from Webster's response:

It is a little astonishing, if it seemed convenient to Mr. Speaker (Clay), for the purposes of distinction, to make use of the terms "American policy" and "foreign policy," that he should not have applied them in a manner precisely the reverse of that in which he has in fact used them. If names are thought necessary, it would be well enough, one would think, that the name should be, in some measure, descriptive of the thing; and since Mr. Speaker denominates the policy which he recommends "a new policy in this country," since he speaks of the present measure as a new era in our legislation; since he professes to invite us to depart from our accustomed course, to instruct ourselves by the wisdom of others, and to adopt the policy of the most distinguished foreign states, one is a little curious to know with what propriety of speech this imitation of other nations is denominated an "American policy," while, on the contrary, a preference for our own established system, as it now actually exists, and always has existed, is called a "foreign policy." This favorite American policy is what America has never tried; and this odious foreign policy is what, as we are told, foreign states have never pursued. Sir, that is the true American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor, and best sustain the whole population. With me it is a fundamental axiom, it is interwoven with all my opinions, that the great interests of the country are united and inseparable; that agriculture, commerce and manufactures will prosper together, or languish together; and that all legislation is dangerous which proposes to benefit one of these without looking to consequences which may fall on the others.

We have heard much of the policy of England, and her example has been repeatedly urged upon us, as proving, not only the expediency of encouragement and protection, but of exclusion and direct prohibition, also. We have heard it again and again declared that the English government still adheres, with immovable firmness, to its old doctrines of prohibition; that although journalists, theorists and scientific writers advance other doctrines, the government of the country are too wise to follow them. It has even been most sagaciously hinted that the promulgation of liberal opinions of these subjects is intended only for a delusion upon other nations, to cajole them into the folly of liberal ideas, while England retains to herself all the benefits of the admirable old system of prohibition. We have heard from Mr. Speaker a warm commendation of the complex mechanism of this system. The British empire, it is said, is, in the first place, to be protected against the rest of the world; then the British isles against the colonies; next the isles respectively against each other—England herself, as the heart of the empire, being protected most of all and against all.

Truly, sir, it seems to me that Mr. Speaker's imagination has seen system, and order, and beauty, in that which is most justly considered as the result of ignorance, partiality or violence. This part of the English legislation has resulted partly from considering Ireland as a conquered country, partly from the want of a complete union, even with Scotland, and partly from the narrow views of colonial legislation, which in early and uninformed periods influenced the European states.

But there is one place in this speech which is particularly important at this period when the "prohibitionists" in this congress propose, by a bounty system, to raise up a little "merchant marine" in place of that large and vigorous shipping which flourished under freedom, but which "protection" drove from the seas:

In the first place, what is the condition of our commerce? Here we must clearly perceive that it is not enjoying that rich harvest which fell to its fortune during the continuance of the European wars. It has been greatly depressed, and limited to small profits. Still, it is elastic and active, and seems capable of recovering itself in some measure from its depression. The shipping interest, also, has suffered severely, still more severely, probably, than commerce. If anything should strike us with astonishment, it is that the navigation of the

United States should be able to sustain itself. Without any government protection whatever it goes abroad to challenge competition with the whole world; and in spite of all obstacles, it has yet been able to maintain 800,000 tons in the employment of foreign trade. How, sir, do ship owners and navigators accomplish this? How is it that they are able to meet, and in some measure overcome, universal competition? Not, sir, by protection and bounties; but by unwearied exertion, by extreme economy, by unshaken perseverance, by that manly and resolute spirit which relies on itself to protect itself. These causes alone enable American ships to keep their element, and show the flag of their country in distant seas. The rates of insurance may teach us how thoroughly our ships are built and how skilfully and safely they are navigated. Risks are taken, as I learn, from the United States to Liverpool, at one per cent; and from the United States to Canton and back, as low as three per cent. But when we look to the low rate of freight and when we consider, also, that the articles entering into the composition of a ship, with the exception of wood, are dearer here than in other countries, we cannot but be utterly surprised that the shipping interest has been able to sustain itself at all. I need not say that the navigation of the country is essential to its honor and its defense. Yet, instead of proposing benefit for it in the hour of its depression, we propose by this measure to lay upon it new and heavy burdens. In the discussion the other day of that provision of the bill which proposes to tax tallow for the benefit of the oil merchants and whalers, we had the pleasure of hearing eloquent eulogiums upon the portion of shipping employed in the whale fishery, and strong statements of its importance to the public interest. But the same bill proposes a severe tax upon that interest for the benefit of the iron manufacturer and hemp grower. So that the tallow chandlers and soap boilers are sacrificed to the oil merchants, in order that these again may contribute to the manufacturers of iron and the growers of hemp.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

FROM AUSTRALIA.

LETTER FROM QUEENSLAND.

THE GREAT STRIKE—DEATH OF PROTECTION—THE SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM—QUEENSLAND LEADING IN THE SINGLE TAX.

BRISBANE, Queensland, Oct. 26, 1890.—It is but five months since Mr. George left Queensland, yet a startling series of changes has since taken place. When bidding him "good-by" at the railway station and lamenting my own necessity of remaining in such an inactive and out-of-the-way place, he predicted there would soon be plenty of activity in Queensland. This prediction has been fulfilled. In two months after that the then existing government had been defeated upon their taxation proposals, an all-round property tax being unanimously and hotly condemned by the public and being carried only by a bare majority in the legislative assembly, which was considered such a crushing defeat that the government relinquished the reins of power and passed from office. In less than three months the whole of Australia was plunged into one of the greatest and most disastrous industrial conflicts on record, which has already lasted over ten weeks, and extended itself from the northernmost to the most southern point of Australia, while in less than five months a new government, reversing the policy of their predecessors, has passed, or almost passed, a new taxation measure, placing Queensland in the principles of the single tax a long way ahead of the rest of the world.

It may be of interest to the readers of THE STANDARD to explain some of these matters more in detail.

First in reference to the "great Australian strike." Five years ago in Queensland business was everywhere prosperous, an immense influx of immigrants occurred and the result, as usual, was a tremendous boom in land and shortly after, also as usual, an equally tremendous financial crash. Similar circumstances, in some cases a little later, in others a little earlier, also occurred in the rest of the Australian colonies, out of which arose an intense and widespread industrial depression, with its concomitants of unemployed processions and meetings, and a loud outcry for "protection" and the formation of unions. Recently this organization of laborers and artisans into labor unions "to resist capitalist oppression," has been going on with increasing and astonishing swiftness, rivaling the one time remarkable development of the American Knights of Labor. With this rise of labor organizations and anti-capitalistic feeling came necessarily also the danger of industrial conflict. Various skirmishes were constantly taking place and the feeling on each side kept rising higher, until it became evident that sooner or later a huge battle between labor and capital must be fought. This was suddenly precipitated by the claim of a young society, "The marine officers' association of Australia," which had branches in every colony, to affiliation with the other trades and labor union bodies, and the refusal of the master shipping association to recognize or employ any marine officer so affiliated. This led to the marine officers withdrawing in a body from the ships and to

the calling out to their assistance by the labor authorities of the whole of the seamen, wharf laborers, cooks and stewards and a number of other unions for the purpose of more effectually blocking the ships. Ultimately the strike extended to the miners, draymen, and also other minor unions, and at one time threatened to extend to every affiliated union in the colonies, including the whole of the shearers of Australia. The fight raged fiercely from the most northern town of Queensland to the most southern town of South Australia, along a coast line of some 3,000 miles, paralyzing the industry of the whole of Australia. For a while it seemed as if the labor unions would win, but as time went on it became more and more evident that, as with the American Knights of Labor, they had met with a crushing defeat, until now after ten weeks the struggle seems absolutely hopeless. Various reasons will be given for the defeat, but to myself those to which it seems to be due are two in number, viz., the existence of an immense number of unemployed, thus providing a supply of "blackleg" labor to fill strikers' vacant places, and the admixture into the battle of extreme socialistic sentiment. The former of itself would probably have caused a defeat of the strikers, the latter undoubtedly alienated from them to a large extent public sympathy and immensely strengthened the hands of the employers, and is generally recognized as one of the greatest mistakes of the conflict. It is but fair to say that the officers' claim for affiliation, while being admitted within their rights on all hands, but by some denied to be expedient, was forced upon them by the previous action of the ship owners' association in refusing or neglecting to redress certain admitted grievances of the officers which had existed for a number of years; also that the call to arms came while the various unions' attentions were almost solely directed to the perfecting of their organizations, and thus found them quite unprepared. The defeat, however, will not be without its compensating advantages, one of which will be that henceforth the unions will probably abandon the barbaric method of strikes and turn their energies to political and social reforms. The strike has also had the good effect of thoroughly rousing public attention to the great social problem. I believe that in this way the strike has advanced us several years.

Another great change that has taken place since Mr. George landed in Australia last March is in the matter of protection. Protection, which before that its advocates so loudly proclaimed was "coming" where it had not come, is now dead—absolutely dead. In all the Australian colonies at the present moment not a voice is raised in its defense, and there is none so lowly as to do it homage. Mr. George's visit and the appearance of an unemployed agitation in Victoria, which is par excellence the protective colony, have stimulated the growing realization of the social problem and the consequent perception that both protection and mere Cobden club free trade are in themselves matters of little consequence. The whole discussion has now passed, or is quickly passing, into a contest between single taxism versus socialism. Into the camp of the latter are finding their way the unconscious protectionists, carrying their absurd fallacies to their logical conclusions—the taking away from the worker the whole of his earnings, handing it over to a soulless corporation called the state and the doling of a little of it back in charity; and the prevention of exchange between individuals, as before they would prevent it between nations. Who can doubt, from a contest between the clean cut, logical position of the single tax theory and the absurdities of socialism, which will emerge victorious.

But the most important matter of my communication is the passing through the Queensland legislative assembly of a measure adopting the single tax to an extent as yet unknown. I have previously stated that a change of government had occurred. This was largely due to the previous government's taxation policy. Owing to a variety of circumstances, a large deficit in the treasury had occurred. An increase in the tariff was then made, partly for the sake of relieving the treasury and partly for protective purposes, which, however, as might have been expected, only resulted in making matters worse all round. Industrial depression intensified and the deficit increased. It was then proposed to increase the revenue by an all round property tax. This proposal, however, was hotly contested both inside and outside the assembly, ending in a nominal victory but a virtual defeat of the government, with the result that they resigned. Sir Samuel Griffiths, the leader of the opposition and the liberal party, was then sent for by the governor and requested to form a ministry, in which he succeeded. The deficit, however, still existed, and it was necessary therefore to bring forward some new taxation proposals. These consisted of a dividend tax, a tax upon insurances, and the reduction of a previously existing endowment fund whereby the government agreed to give to municipalities one pound for every pound raised in rates, and to local divisional boards two pounds for every pound raised in rates. The new proposal was to give to the local divisional boards one pound for every pound raised in rates, and to municipalities thirteen shillings, leaving the municipal and local bodies to ob-

tain the remainder by increasing the rates. These proposals were carried.

In consequence of this it became necessary to confer upon divisional and municipal bodies fresh powers of rating. At first it was intended that these should fall as previously, upon land and improvements alike, but in committee the bill was altered so that the whole of the rates should fall upon the value of land alone, exclusive of improvements, and the power of rating was increased to threepence in the capital value, with power to increase again to a further threehalfpence in cases of necessity. The bill as thus amended has now passed, almost unanimously, its final reading in the legislative assembly, and has only to run the gauntlet of the legislative council (our upper house) in order to become law and to come into active operation at the commencement of January next. I may also say that it has already safely passed its first reading in the legislative council without obstruction of any kind whatever.

The probability, therefore, is that in a few days more Queensland will have the high honor of being in the great reform in the van of the world—of adopting the single tax to such a degree that it may almost be called a practical experiment of the theory, at any rate to an extent as does not anywhere else exist. It may be as well to notice that third in the capital value, reckoning the rental value at five per cent (though here the basis of rating is eight per cent), is five shillings in the pound rental value. This experiment in the application of the single tax will be watched by its advocates and opponents with the greatest interest. It is true that we have also other taxes, including the two new ones, but we have already experienced the result of the older ones, and the new insurance and dividend taxes are but of a minor character, and cannot, in my opinion, neutralize the immense and far-reaching results of the new valuation and rating bill upon the lines of the single tax.

LETTER FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE CONGRATULATIONS—THE GREAT STRIKE AND ITS EFFECTS—SINGLE TAX ACTIVITY.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., October 27.—The report of the first national conference of American single tax clubs, which appeared in THE STANDARD of September 10, has been read with delight by thousands in these colonies. We had looked forward to a success from the moment the call had been issued, but not to a success so magnificent as has resulted. The splendid gathering which met in the Cooper union hall on the first day of the conference represented earnestness and ability from almost every quarter of the United States, in a degree that surpassed anything we had hoped for. With such a force behind it—with so many clear minds to direct and clean hands to push—the single tax movement will in the next decade inevitably make its mark in your land. And the influence of the McKinley bill, it seems to me, will be mighty, through evil, for good. Such a colossal act of national tyranny and stupidity cannot fail to arouse revulsion against protective logic among people who still preserve their sanity.

The harvest of Mr. George's tour through Australia has yet to be reaped, but the crop is above ground and coming on well. There has been a lull in single tax organization and in definite propaganda, owing to the great strike. Just as plans were being matured to bring together all the single tax elements scattered throughout the colonies into workable combination this strike began, and everything else had to fall behind for the time being. We have had troubles between labor and capital before, but nothing at all on a scale so comprehensive as this. It suddenly paralyzed the whole of the colonies, and brought business almost to a standstill. Only with the greatest difficulty could the various governments contrive to keep the railways running, and for some nights Melbourne was left in darkness through the stoppage of the gas works.

There was no direct cause for the strike in most cases, and the men merely went out to support the claims of the marine officers to affiliation with the trades unions, which was opposed by the ship owners. It is nearly over now, however, and the result will go to the advantage of the laborers, who will go at a loss rather than a gain, while non-union laborers under long engagements have taken the places of thousands of the unionists. Of course, while the tumult was going on all sorts of wild proposals were made in the name of labor, and the colonies rang with the oratory of protection, socialism, profit sharing and so forth. But a great deal of good, solid single tax teaching was done by several of our leading men, who took advantage of every crowd and hammered home the truth. There is no doubt that in Australian unionism a splendid force exists which, if wisely directed, could accomplish almost anything in the way of legislation. Without question or murmur, in defiance of all risks and losses to themselves, the men threw down their tools everywhere in obedience to the call upon them, and showed their readiness for any sacrifice whatever. The sacrifices were all in vain, though, and the complete failure of the strike has opened their eyes considerably to the weakness of unionism when pitted against monopoly. There is not now a branch of any union but has among its mem-

bers single tax men who are being willingly listened to.

Just as soon as things have calmed down the single tax leagues throughout this colony will be put rigorously in motion, and I think with results that will surprise those who think the movement is not progressing. The incessant discussion which Mr. George's lectures started has turned thought in our direction very decidedly. Since he left several by-elections have taken place, in all of which the single tax has played a very prominent part, those candidates who opposed it being defeated in every case. In some centers, notably Lithgow and Goulburn, the movement has been kept going with the utmost ardor, and has grown greatly in strength. In the other colonies there are good men constantly at work, and a good deal of the current newspaper literature of Adelaide consists of reports of Mr. Liston's lectures. The Adelaide single taxers are also displaying fresh activity in the formation of leagues, while in New Zealand an admirable pamphlet, entitled "Is single tax a remedy," by some unknown writer, has had a great circulation and produced a marked effect. It was a bitter disappointment to our New Zealand friends that Mr. George was unable to extend his tour to that colony. His visit would have had a large influence on the approaching general election (the first under the one man one vote principle there) and he would have had an opportunity of seeing one of the loveliest and richest countries in the world rendered miserable by foolish laws. But Sir George Grey has not lived in New Zealand in vain, and his splendid championship of human rights is beginning to be rightly appreciated, as I feel sure the election will show.

JOHN FARRELL.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM SYDNEY.

THE STRIKE—BLUNDERS AND TIMIDITY OF THE PARKES GOVERNMENT.

[From a private letter to Mr. George, dated Sydney, Oct. 28.]

The strike still drags its weary length along, inflicting great hardship and causing great stagnation. The struggle must end disastrously for the labor bodies while there is so large a supply of non-union labor available to fill the places of the unionists. The struggle has long ceased to be against individual employers; it is a fight now between combined laborers and combined capitalists, and the result is a foregone conclusion—capital will waste but labor must starve in the long run or give in.

Another by-election has just taken place, a parliamentary vacancy having occurred through the death of Mr. Alfred Lamb, one of the members for West Sydney. The official free trade party made an egregious blunder in the selection of a candidate to fill the vacancy. The late Mr. Lamb was one of the principal parties to the labor dispute, and when he died the laboring men determined they would not elect another capitalist to fill his place, notwithstanding which the free trade association election committee put forward a capitalist whose parsimony was equally as well known as his conservatism. He was a large employer of labor and was asserted to have once declared that five shillings per day was enough for any workman to support himself and family upon. Through internal dissensions within the various labor unions a labor candidate was not nominated, and the only opposing candidate therefore was a man in whom sobriety was the exception not the rule, and whose speech on the hustings at the nomination was characterized by the grossest language. This man who professed to espouse the cause of labor was supported by the riff-raff of the protectionist party in our legislature, although he himself disclaimed having any fiscal creed, and I am ashamed to say declared his sympathies with the single tax movement. He was elected by a two to one majority.

The government has seriously imperiled the free trade cause by a series of unpardonable blunders since the commencement of the strike; they have done everything to antagonize the wage earners toward them and to strengthen the hands of the opposition, the prominent members of whom have lost no opportunity of posing as the champions of labor, and thus taking advantage of popular prejudice. The government has, in fact, repeatedly broken their pledges to the people and the parliament, and has brought nothing but discredit upon the free trade party. The last straw was supplied when, in contravention to their announcement, that the long delayed scheme of tariff revision and direct taxation would be unfolded in the treasurer's budget speech on the 15th inst., they merely submitted a financial statement, and deferred once more indefinitely the long-promised statement as to their taxation proposal. Their excuse for doing so was that it would be unwise to risk a dissolution and have an appeal to the electors upon the fiscal question during the present labor crisis.

This was mere "bunkum." There never was a more favorable opportunity for announcing a scheme whereby the working classes would be relieved of a heavy load of taxation through the customs, and the burden placed upon shoulders more capable of bearing them. Previous to the melancholy exhibition of weakness and cowardice the opposition were hopelessly demoralized and the cause of protection well nigh dead. But now Sir Henry Parkes's government has put

powerful weapons in the hands of their enemies, which are being used with consummate skill and cunning against the government and the free trade party generally, and should a dissolution under such favorable conditions to the opposition now be forced, the government and their supporters will find themselves in the humiliating and ridiculous position of facing their constituents without a financial policy. I cannot resist the suspicion that the free trade party is being wilfully betrayed by its leaders in parliament.

A number of our single tax men favor the idea of severing our connection with the Free trade association in consequence of the growing conservatism of its older members, but others believe that we can drive them forward in spite of themselves more effectively by increasing our numbers on their membership roll.

W. E. JOHNSON.

SOCIETY NOTES.

A handsome evening dress is one of the most perfect turquoise blue "damas" combined with a delicate salmon pink and daintily embroidered with gold and turquoise. Another evening gown that is especially unique in design is composed of the palest yellow "damas" and satin of a like hue. The design of the embroidery is fleur de lis, which is done in silver and lace. The high Medici collar is also embroidered in silver and lace of the same pattern, making a most dainty combination. A third evening dress is of embossed satin of a rich shade of "vieux rose" combined with velvet of a somewhat darker shade and contrasted with more velvet of a peculiar but extremely handsome shade of green, making a unique and very handsome costume. An elegant dinner dress is of deep rose-colored satin and silk brocaded in a delicate design of yellow rosebuds, richly trimmed with pale gold embroidery. One of the handsomest of the ball gowns consists of a skirt of rose tulle embroidered in silver. The train is of deep rose silk and satin, brocaded in silver half-moons, the bodice being of the silk, richly trimmed in silver and embroidery. —[New York Journal.

A tiny baby, with a silky fringe of black hair and bright black eyes, lay in her mother's lap last night, tossed her little arms about and looked up at her parent and smiled. The mother, black-haired, too, smiled back to the babe, but her eyes were not so bright, for she looked through tears. The baby is four weeks old. Its father disappeared five months ago. The mother, Margaret Smith, born in Ilion, N. Y., supported herself by hard work for awhile. Then, without a penny in her pocket, she was forced to seek retirement. She found it on the top floor of the rear tenement at No. 407 West Forty-ninth street, with a little widow, Mrs. Stephan, who said to the woman, whom she had never seen before: "Come in. Take that room. Pay me \$1 a week if you can; if you haven't it it matters nothing. I'll share with you." And she did share her coffee and her bread—all she had. There are three rooms on the top floor of that rear tenement; one is kitchen and parlor, one the hostess's, one Mrs. Stephan's. The babe was born. As soon as her mother could move she tried to place it somewhere so that she might go to work and repay Mrs. Stephan at least the money she owed her. One philanthropic institution would not receive her baby because she had been married; another, because it was overcrowded. So there she sat yesterday, and, while the tiny one crowded and awung its arms, she wept. But little Mrs. Stephan said, cheerily: "Oh, she will find a place for the little Margaret, and then she will work. Meantime I will take care of them; but we are all very poor."

Last season a woman prominent in the social world gave a luncheon to eighteen ladies, which cost her \$40 per head. Among the items were saddle of lamb, \$15 per saddle, and eighteen peaches at \$10 each. Think of it, \$160 for peaches alone. It was in January, however, that the expensive affair was given. —[New York Journal.

There was a five-pound stone tied firmly to a rope that encircled the waist of an unknown woman whose body was yesterday taken from the North river. A coarse towel, the four corners knotted together, formed a sling in which lay the fatal weight carefully wrapped in a baby's pinafore. Mute testimony these of murder or suicide, and the police at first were strongly inclined to believe that foul play had caused the woman's death. Only a slip of paper found later in the dress pocket served to convince them that, discouraged and despondent, the woman herself had appealed to death. The paper was a crumpled bit torn from the want column of a German newspaper, and indicated that she had sought employment as a domestic. —[New York World.

A pretty red luncheon was also one of the swiftest entertainments as well as one of the most expensive of last season. It was also given in January and was in honor of a well known New York woman who had married a title. Of course the dishes were red, flowers red, and other table decorations in keeping. The hostess even went so far as to give her guests food of the same color. There were rich red tasteless strawberries, which cost at least twenty cents each, and possibly fifty; there were ice-cream in color, and so on through the menu. The luncheon was given to twenty-two ladies and cost

\$700, or a little over \$30 per head. The menu for an ordinary luncheon would consist of oysters or fruit, which, of course, must be as rare as possible; consommé, served in cups; course of fish, entree, a pretty entree, such, perhaps, as terrapin, served in silver saucepans; sorbet served in a dainty shape, perhaps in boxes of satin; broiled quail, pate de foie gras and a glass of some sort in a fancy box and coffee. —[New York Journal.

Several longshoremen were smacking their pipes at the Pike street dock, East river, on Monday night. A pale faced young man dashed past them and jumped into the water. Policeman Donohue of the steamboat squad, with the aid of a boathook, pulled him out. He had remained perfectly motionless in the water, but when he saw that an attempt was being made to save him he struggled to escape from the rescuer, so that he might die. He had not the strength to render much resistance, however, as he had been without food for almost four days. He was taken to the Church street station, where, after being provided with food, he was locked up on a charge of attempted suicide.

At the Tombs yesterday he gave his name as George Wanzer, and told a story of much suffering. He was born in Hamburg twenty-seven years ago and studied at the University of Rostok. Not wishing to remain in Hamburg he came to this country, and landed at Castle garden seven weeks ago. A few marks constituted his whole possessions. He was willing to work, but the fact that he had no trade was against him. He found it impossible to obtain employment. He then thought of applying for a position on the police force, but was informed that he was ineligible. Practising law was out of the question. He had no money to rent an office, and so acquaintance through which to establish a clientele. There was nothing left but to die. Having no means to obtain poison or a pistol he threw himself into the river. He said he was sorry he had been rescued. His story amounted to a confession of guilt and he was held for trial. —[New York World.

Dinners cost about the same as luncheons, possibly a little more. The average dinner will consist of about ten courses, as an extra number of courses would stretch it out too long, owing to toasts, etc., and the caterer will supply it for from \$10 to \$12 per head. Naturally the expense depends on the rarity of the wine and the delicacies.

The wines generally used are Chablis, sherry, hock, Bordeaux, champagne, Bourgogne, Madeira and liqueurs. The most expensive dinner known last season was one given by Mr. Pinard, which cost \$40 per cover. The flowers and music are a very heavy item, and will add materially to the cost. The majority of dinners given average about \$12 to \$15 per cover. The big dinners that are given during the season, such as the St. Nicholas, the Ohio society, the Business men's association, cost about \$10 a plate. The most expensive dinners of the winter, as a general rule, are the smaller ones, given either at home or at a public dining hall, such as Delmonico's, Sherry's or Pinard's. —[New York Journal.

OURS IS THE CHEAPEST LABOR.

S. D. Union in Brooklyn Eagle.

The labor cost of production in the United States is less than in any other country, except, perhaps, as to a very few things. In the United States it cost 64 cents to produce a pound of woolen goods from a certain quality of wool; in England it costs 69½ cents, using wool of the same value, and this, notwithstanding that the wages here are a third higher than there; that the machinery costs forty-five per cent and the dyes thirty-five per cent more here than there. From pig iron, on which we have paid \$7 a ton tariff duty, which raises its cost to \$13 a ton, we can manufacture articles at a less cost than England, and particularly those on which the most labor has been expended, and can compete with and even undersell such productions of English make, even in the markets of England, and this, notwithstanding the pig iron only costs the English manufacturer \$6 a ton, he having no tariff to pay. When we exchange our products, and they are necessarily labor products, for the products of foreign labor, we benefit both the home and foreign laborer, we give opportunity to capital that would otherwise remain idle. We give employment to shipbuilders, to sailors, to those who make furniture for the ships, to those who provide provision for the ships, to longshoremen and all freight-handlers, to thousands who would otherwise be idle.

THAT'S WHAT'S THE MATTER.

Boston Globe.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker is trying to interest his party in postal savings banks. It would be more to the purpose if the party would stop the McKinley nonsense and give the people a chance to save something. It is easy enough for anybody to find a savings bank; the trouble is to find the savings to put in it.

SO THEY HAVE.

Philadelphia Record.

McKinley prices are seen and felt by every workman and woman who goes into a store to make purchases of necessities of living; but the promised McKinley wages have utterly failed to materialize.

THIS IS CRUEL, BUT TRUE.

Memphis Appeal-Avalanche.

The New York Sun continues killing Governor Hill's chances for the presidency by supporting him.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

WHO OWNS LONG ISLAND SOUND?

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: New Rochelle is a pretty place. I spent a night there recently at the house of a friend.

"How delightful it must be here in summer," I said to him; "you are right on the sound, and can have plenty of boating and bathing besides the cool salt air."

"Well, so far as I am concerned," he replied, "that is true, because the house I lease happens to be the property of a man who owns beach privilege. But the most of the population of the place (about 20,000) can't get to the water. Half a dozen rich men own the whole beach. Nobody can get to the water without their permission."

Now, isn't that a shame? And isn't it a singular and curious thing that twenty thousand people will allow half a dozen of their number to fence them off in this way? What is the matter with them that they don't build a broad road, half a mile wide, if they want to, along that beach, so that they can go there when they please and enjoy themselves? Owning the beach is equivalent to owning the sound, since we cannot get to the water except by way of the beach. It seems to me that New Rochelle is a particularly good place in which to preach the single tax doctrine.

BROWNCHIEF.

A BRAND NEW OBJECTION.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: All single tax men are familiar with the stock objections to our theory, but I have just heard a brand new one. A friend of mine—an intelligent bank clerk, by the way—recently said to me: "Say, I've been thinking over this single tax idea, and I want to say most emphatically that I'm not in favor of it." I asked his reason. "Well," he said, "I'll tell you. In the first place, your George men want to take all the taxes off improvements and place them on the value of the bare land. Am I right?" I told him he was. "And you claim that this system will compel speculators to improve their land, sell out or give it away rather than pay the increased taxes, and that then the poor man can get the land and cut down the trees and fill up the swamps and build houses and factories, and then everybody will have plenty of work, and the wages must go up and all that sort of thing. Am I right?" I answered yes. "Well, now," he triumphantly continued, "I am going to show you where this idea would injure the people instead of benefiting them. Now, listen. In the first place, if you know anything about natural law you must know that wherever there are trees there is rain. You remember the time when Grover Cleveland prevented the lumber pirates from destroying the forests on the ground that it affected the rain fall?" I told him I had heard of some such thing. "Well, now," he continued, "if the single tax were adopted all the trees would be cut down and houses, farms and factories built in their place, and then where are you going to get your rain from, eh?" And he struck an attitude that would have made Ajax turn green with envy.

When I recovered from my fit of laughing I told him that before we could have the single tax we must first have lots of tariff reform, and with the restrictions on trade removed and the grand old ad valorem party down in the bottom of Lake Oblivion, I thought the (free) trade winds might be induced to blow us over a little once in a while.

"Well," said he, "that's the way with you cranks and fanatics; you see only one side of a question, and if a fellow brings up a good argument you make fun of him." I told him I would ask THE STANDARD about it, as possibly some of its readers might be able to solve this really serious question.

This objection reminds me of one I heard at a meeting of the Knights of Labor. I was speaking on the single tax and dilating on the increase in building and agriculture, the demand for labor it would cause, and the good wages we would get if it was only adopted. One of the brothers asked me in perfect good faith what I intended to do when the land was all built upon? I told him that by that time I expected to be laid away under the daisies, and I was perfectly willing to leave that problem for future generations to solve.

I have written this letter to show how some apparently intelligent men, when they meet with a new idea, will think out an objection, and, having secured what they consider a good one, store it away in the interior of their cranium and never think upon the matter again. All we can do is to keep pounding at them. Tear down their fortifications as fast as they erect them, and when they have become exhausted and thrown down their arms, they are ours.

Fanatic, the insects hissed, till he taught them to understand. That the highest crime may be written on the highest law of the land. Disturber and dreamer, the Philistines cried, when he preached an ideal creed, 'Till they learned that the men who have changed the world, with the world have disagreed. That the remnant is right when the masses are led like sheep to the pen, For the instinct of equality blunders till aroused by instinctive men.

D. CAVANAGH.

THE FARMERS ARE THINKING.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In consonance with the recent suggestions of Mr. E. O. Brown in THE STANDARD, since I first saw the true light, a year ago, I have never lost an opportunity to spread the glorious gospel of freedom and plenty. I am quietly but earnestly at work in the cause with tongue and pen, in a sort of hand to hand battle, stirring up my friends to look into the matter. I pass my STANDARD along each week to some one I know who will be likely to read it, generally to some leading farmer, as I think the hope of the country is in the farmers.

Following up a former talk with one of the leading farmers of Carroll county, who is also an active alliance man, I sent him a copy of THE STANDARD, and received the following reply, which is suggestive of the present direction of the zephyrs:

SAVANNA, Ill., Nov. 17, 1890.

C. W. Kellogg, Chicago, Ill.—Friend C.: can you tell me where I can get some light on graduated income tax?

We (the alliance) will let politics rest a while and take up the question of direct taxation. Thanks for copy of STANDARD. Yours, truly,

JOHN HANDEL.

This letter indicates that the harvest is ripe among the farmers. They are ready and anxious to learn of some more just and equitable mode of taxation. Let every single taxer bend his energy to scatter seed among the farmers, and show up the benefit and justice of the single tax scheme. They are the ones bled by the vampires of protection, and they are the ones who will be mostly benefited by the single tax. As fast as they can be made to understand it, they will fall into the ranks and work earnestly. The Farmers' alliance men are very strong in this state, and present a glorious field for the new gospel of plenty. If THE STANDARD can furnish the information desired in the above letter please state it, for I believe that the graduated income tax, "to be hated needs but to be seen." To kill it needs but to show its baleful workings.

C. W. KELLOGG.

Chicago, Ill.

A COLORADAN REJOICES.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The fiat has gone forth. There is a God in Israel. The party of spoliation is consigned to political oblivion. If there is no punishment after death its leaders may enjoy the solitude of a never-ending night and thus blot out from the tablets of their memory the awful ghosts of their wickedness. The people have arisen to the majesty of manhood and disgorged the last wad of war animosities.

The McKinley bill did the work. It demonstrates the old proverb, if a thing is good the more you hear of it the better, if not good the less the better. The people have spoken in no uncertain manner, and in a voice that is heard throughout the land, declaring that protection is the father of trusts, that trusts are the father of mortgages, and mortgages are the usurpation of the land; that the three are one in effect, and if continued must in the very nature of things consign the poor to a condition of poverty, from which there would be no refuge this side of the grave.

Let us be of good cheer. A new hope is dawning; the dark clouds of partisan superstition are being dispelled by reason. Plutocracy has reached the zenith of its power. The problems that are before us will be solved by discussion instead of concession. The march of human events is toward liberalism.

The dogma of protection no longer rises to the level of common favor among the toiling millions. Reform is the watchword and war cry, and it will swing clear around the circle. Even Colorado is marching to the music of reform. At the late election some of the professional spoilers were relegated to private life, while others were admonished that when the people speak through the ballot it is like unto the voice of God calling the wicked to judgment.

R. R. GASKILL.

Denver, Col.

NOW YOU'RE A-TALKING.

Boston Globe.

The people of Massachusetts want free coal, free iron and free wool; and if the republican managers don't grant these boons they will bear from this state again in '92. You hear us, Major McKinley!

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

AFTER FREE TRADE, WHAT?

THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER HAS SENT OUT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO PROMINENT ADVOCATES OF TARIFF REFORM IN THIS CITY.

Dear Sir—The Commercial desires to find out to what extent the tariff reformers of this city believe in absolute free trade. You would confer a great favor by sending us your answer to the following questions:

1. Would you reduce or abolish the taxes on raw materials?
2. Would you reduce or abolish the taxes on machinery?
3. Would you reduce or abolish the taxes on necessities?
4. Would you reduce or abolish the tariff altogether?

To effect such reduction or abolition:

1. Would you favor an income tax?
2. Would you favor a tax on inheritances?
3. Would you favor a tax on land values?

We would be glad to receive a letter embodying your views on these questions.

Very respectfully,
HAROLD GODWIN,
Managing Editor.

We take it for granted that a summary of the replies will be published and, as Horace Greely used to say, "it will be mighty interesting reading."

CONCERNING CUSTOM SHOEMAKING.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WAGES IN THAT INDUSTRY HERE AND IN BRITAIN.

"Shoemaker," New York City.—I think there is nowhere a better illustration of the merits and demerits of free trade and protection than in the condition of the custom shoemakers of America and those of Great Britain. The same class of shoes is made in both countries. There is absolutely no difference between a custom shoe made in London and one made in New York. Even the most expert workman could not tell whether a shoe is made here or in England, Ireland or Scotland, unless the maker's name or stamp is on the sole or upper. The same kind of leather and other materials are used in the making of fine shoes in both countries. Generally speaking, too, the men working at the trade in America come from England, Ireland, Scotland and Sweden. I question if there be more than a dozen native American custom shoemakers in New York and Chicago. The only difference then between the condition of the shoemaker here and in Great Britain is the difference produced by protection and free trade. I know of no other factor that can make the slightest change in the wages paid in both countries. In England everything is protected. Otherwise, the conditions are exactly the same.

Now, as I am neither a free trader nor a protectionist, as I believe that the social condition is too hopelessly bad to be affected much either for better or worse by these rival systems of political economy, I think I am in a position to state fairly whether the shoemaker is better off in free trade England or in protected America, and I believe that no intelligent, fair-minded shoemaker in New York will question what I say about the trade in either country.

The hours of labor in the shoe workshops in Britain are generally from 7 in the morning to half past 6 o'clock at night, except on Saturday, when the shoemaker takes his half holiday, like other tradesmen.

In the community workshops in America the working hours are generally from 6 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night on week days and on Sunday from 6 in the morning to 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Some shops are open all day on Sunday, and in no single case that I know of are any of the workshops closed all day on the Sabbath.

So much for the hours of labor in free trade England and in protected America. Concerning the Sunday labor here I will say in passing that some men do not work on that day, but at least sixty per cent do regularly and ninety per cent occasionally.

The wages in Britain have, during the last thirty years, increased more than 100 per cent per pair and per week. In America the wages during that time have slightly increased per pair, but have decreased fifty per cent per week.

The Amalgamated society of boot and shoemakers of Great Britain has just issued its 118th quarterly report from 7 Barton crescent, London, W. C. And the secretary, writing of the last quarter's work, says: "The progress throughout the Union has moved with such rapidity during the last quarter that the exceptional and highly satisfactory results obtained appear more like a dream than actual realized facts." And he goes on to state that the rise in wages for the last three months averages thirty five per cent.

Now, while trade was rushing in England during that time, what was the state of affairs here? The truth is that never since Black Friday was there such hard times among the shoemakers of this country. Work was almost at a standstill, and men were only too glad when they could get shoes to make at a reduction of wages amounting to almost sixty per cent. Many men went to England where they got work, and have since written to their friends in New York that they will never return, as they are much better off where they are.

In England no year passes without a rise of wages in some part of the country. If

any custom shoemaker in America were to propose to ask for an increase of pay his companions would put him down for either a rogue or a fool. Yet, in spite of all this, the majority of the "craft" are protectionists. And, as they have to work from 6 in the morning to 10 at night, they are likely to remain so. But a few have had their eyes opened lately. May the light continue to spread.

"TALK OF RISING PRICES."

THE PROTECTIONISTS DENY THAT THE MCKINLEY BILL WOULD REVISE PRICES, BUT THE FACTS ARE AGAINST THEM.
New York Times.

Up to the end of the campaign our high-tariff friends asserted that prices had not been raised. After the election they admitted that prices really were raised during the campaign as the result of a "vile democratic conspiracy." Now they say that such prices as were raised have been lowered. "There is no more talk of rising prices on account of the McKinley act," says the Philadelphia Press. "The free-trade howl about higher prices," says the Cleveland Leader, "has ceased. It was merely a campaign dodge."

We have recently directed attention to the advances made by the carpet manufacturers since election, to the largely increased cost of the albumenized paper used by photographers, to the higher prices of oil cloths and linoleum, and to several other changes of like nature. Let us see what some of the trade journals of last week say. The Dry Goods Chronicle of the 22d inst. says, speaking of "domestic woollen goods":

With the upward tendency of wool under limited supplies and restrictive tariff clauses mill owners will find it no easy task to supply their consumptive wants unless at enhanced values, which, as a matter of course, must enter in some way into the cost of the manufactured goods.

About American silk ribbons the Chronicle has this to say:

Those who wish to continue in the ribbon trade will be necessarily obliged to look for some advance of prices.

These remarks are made about foreign dry goods:

As to prices, there is a steady tendency toward full new tariff standards, and while all lines have not as yet reached the top figure, the evening-up process is gradually but surely going on, and will ere long reach a satisfactory basis to importers, at least, if not to buyers.

It is said with respect to heavy overcoatings that there is not a large surplus of stock on hand, and that "this, together with the advance in the raw material, would point to the realization of better prices in the near future." The Chronicle publishes the new prices of carpets with these comments:

The rapid advance in the price of silver and foreign exchange caused a corresponding rise in the price of Donskoi, East India, Persian, South American, and other wools, while in the meantime tariff changes had cut off all rags wastes, Chinese, camel hair, highland wools, etc., to say nothing about "sorting clauses," which make it a very dangerous business to import any sort of wool except very low carpet grades, lest the same may come under prohibitory clauses. There being no way to shirk paying extremely high prices for carpet grades, they in turn [the manufacturers] are necessarily bound to ask for some compensatory advance in the price of carpets.

The Dry Goods Economist of the same date says in its review of the market for imported goods:

Spring prices will be much nearer to the new tariff standard than fall figures have been. Spring orders have been of satisfactory volume and fancies will be marketed at full new rates.

The following appears in the Economist's correspondence from Boston:

The only stiffening up and advancing of prices that has not been maintained is that made by the cotton mills when cotton was high, as cottons are practically selling at the prices of six months ago. Staple cotton goods, wash dress fabrics, worsted dress goods, white goods, black dress cottons, cotton hosiery and underwear are so largely sold in advance of production that prices are very firm.

"No article of such general use has been so greatly affected by the McKinley tariff," said the Economist on the 15th, "as have linen pocket handkerchiefs of every description." The Commercial Bulletin of the 14th contained the following paragraph:

Horse blankets are stiffening somewhat in price. East India wool, which enters largely into the manufacture of these goods, has advanced considerably as a combined result of enhanced rates of foreign exchange on silver and the new tariff.

The same journal published on the 23d the following report as to the market for imported dry goods:

Prices are firm all along the line and slowly advancing to full new tariff standards. As just at present buyers want few goods, these advances are being stoutly resisted in many instances, but importers express every confidence in the establishment of full prices later in the season when retailers are forced to fortify their stocks.

It appears, therefore, that there is still some "talk of rising prices," and that it is not true that "democratic success has a direct tendency not only to check rising prices but to bring them down with a rush." To those

who so stoutly maintained up to November 4 that there had actually been no advance of prices, who admitted afterward that prices had been raised, and who say now that prices have fallen to the old level, we commend the following remarks in a letter sent to the Tribune by Joseph Nimmo, jr., formerly chief of the bureau of statistics:

All I can see and hear convinces me that the recent rise in prices—in part fictitious and in part a legitimate appreciation of values—was the overwhelming cause of the republican defeat at the recent election. * * * Already the people are beginning to see that the present appreciation in prices is a symptom of prosperity. * * * The people of this country put the present republican administration in power on the promise to pass just such a law as the McKinley tariff act, and I believe that the exposure of the ridiculous pretenses on which that recent election went against the grand old party will lead them to sustain that law in 1892.

These statements can of course be easily reconciled by those who are loyal to the high tariff policy. Unfortunately for the party, a great many republican voters did not understand in 1888 that "just such a law as the McKinley tariff act" was to be passed, and now they would like to have a large part of the act repealed.

NONSENSE OF A "FREE TRADE TARIFF."

Samuel Tilden laid down the democratic position in the St. Louis platform of 1876, which was "tariff for revenue only," and that declaration has been reaffirmed directly or indirectly in each democratic national platform ever since. There is no room for "incidental" or any other sort of protection in that proclamation. A tariff for revenue only must be restricted to duties on non-competitive goods, like tea, coffee, rubber, chocolate, etc. That principle opens our ports to all European manufactures free of duty.—[Chicago Tribune.]

This is the raw head and bloody bones that is brought out to alarm the country every time the possibility of democratic revision of the tariff is suggested. It has been paraded, ever since the principle of a tariff for revenue only was proclaimed, as a free trade ogre. The democratic idea is without doubt such a tariff with the incidental protection it affords; but the party is also as strongly committed to the policy of raising the bulk of the national revenue from taxes on imports as to the other policy of limiting the purposes of the tariff to the raising of revenue. That has been its creed ever since the days of Jefferson, and it is so strongly held in the organization that there is not the slightest room for believing it can be uprooted for years to come by any class of tax revolutionists who may have paraded with the opposition in the last election.

What, then, would be the outcome of the most radical application of the democratic tariff policy? Free trade, as the Tribune would have us believe, and as the republicans have all along sought to prove? By no means. Considerably more than \$200,000,000 must each year be raised from taxes on imports. Here is the distribution of these taxes in 1889:

On breadstuffs,	\$1,161,000
Chemicals,	5,000,000
Cotton manufactures,	10,841,000
Earthen and stoneware,	3,694,400
Fancy articles, perfumes, etc.,	2,781,000
Fruits and nuts,	4,000,000
Flax, hemp, jute and manufactures,	11,500,000
Glass and manufactures,	4,526,500
Iron and steel,	16,909,300
Jewelry, etc.,	1,232,000
Leather and manufactures,	3,417,000
Wines and liquors,	7,786,400
Silk and manufactures,	7,342,500
Sugar and molasses,	55,995,100
Tobacco and manufactures,	11,200,000
Wood and manufactures,	1,800,000
Wool,	5,982,000
Woollens,	35,373,600
All other articles,	18,252,600

Total revenue from customs, \$218,995,900

Now we are told that this revenue can be raised as well by a tariff on non-competitive commodities, such as tea, coffee and sugar, and on luxuries such as liquors and tobacco. This method of revision would leave in the above list the items only of sugar, tobacco and liquors, the revenue from which would not aggregate above \$75,000,000. Let us add to that the item of jewelry and throw in \$10,000,000 in taxes on the higher grades of silk, fancy articles used by the rich, and sundry articles of like character with the above taken from the general item at the bottom.

We yet only have \$80,000,000 of revenues, and there is \$134,000,000 more to be raised. Where are we to get it? From tea and coffee? Only about \$38,000,000 worth of both is yearly imported free of duty, and if any sort of tariff was imposed it would manifestly be less, and the higher the duty, the smaller the importation. England finds that a duty of about thirty three per cent brings the maximum of revenue. Such a duty, we will say, would cut our importations of tea and coffee down to \$75,000,000. We would thus get a revenue of \$25,000,000 here. But we still lack over \$120,000,000 of the needed amount. Where is this to come from? If the rates are increased on tobacco and liquors, etc., importations will fall off and the revenue will remain the same. We cannot get it from raw hides because they go free under the tariff-for-revenue plan. We may rake and scrape through the present free list and tax rubber and non-competitive chemicals and so on, and

fail to raise more than \$20,000,000, and \$100,000,000 is yet to be found from customs taxes.

Manifestly, to raise this, resort must be had to competing manufactures. With wool on the free list \$20,000,000 raised from importations of woollens will give larger protection than the present taxes of \$35,000,000. And with other raw materials on the free list we must get nearly as much revenue from cotton, glassware, finished iron and steel products, etc., as was raised from those sources under the old tariff. Anybody can see for himself that, with \$220,000,000 to be raised yearly from customs, there is simply no escape from a levy on manufactured goods so big as to be amply protective. It is, therefore, fudge and nonsense to talk about free trade under a tariff for revenue only. As John Sherman said twenty years ago, "the wit of man could not possibly frame a tariff that would produce \$140,000,000 in gold without amply protecting our domestic industry." The tariff-for-revenue scare should frighten no one.

FORCED TO ADVANCE PRICES.

New York Times.
In some of the down town tobacco stores a new scale of prices for imported cigars went into effect yesterday. Cigars which had been selling for ten cents apiece went up to two for a quarter, while the old two-for-a-quarters were sold at fifteen cents each, a corresponding advance being made with the more expensive grades. When some of the uptown dealers advanced prices a month ago because of the Chinese wall policy declared that the fact that the other dealers did not advance their rates was proof that no increase was necessary. But the men who kept prices at the old figures were those who had big stocks on hand, and as soon as they reached new goods they were forced to follow the example of their up town brethren. In some cases yesterday the advance was explained by a placard prominently displayed, stating that the new rates were made necessary by increased duties. "There's no combination between dealers," said one merchant. "It is simply this: we have kept to old prices as long as we could, and now we are forced to advance them when selling stock brought in under the new tariff."

BALLOT REFORM.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THE SERVICES RENDERED TO BALLOT REFORM BY HON. CHAUNCEY F. BLACK.

A correspondent, who signs himself "True Democrat," in a communication to the Philadelphia Record, says:

It was not a mere coincidence that the head of our democratic societies was foremost in advancing the improvement, devised by our Australian kindred, for safe guarding the secrecy of the ballot; his eye was the first to discover, his pen the first to debate, the method by which alone this important reform can be assured to our state—an amendment repealing the provision of the state constitution, under which secret voting is impossible. The gains which have been made by the democrats wherever the reform ballot has been adopted were foreseen by him, and have handsomely vindicated his judgment that the cause of the party—which is the cause of the people—has nothing to fear and everything to hope from an electoral plan which throws the people more upon themselves, and leaves them less at the mercy of the baleful forces that too often control the floating voter. Mr. Black's efforts in behalf of electoral reform were called forth by the fact that he saw it was a move in behalf of the people. It was the right thing, and therefore the only course for him was to call his party to the front of the battle to secure it.

The more we search into the record and character of Chauncey F. Black the more we find to admire and love; he has the head to understand and the heart to feel for all the people; the genuineness of his religion is proved by his love for humanity and fidelity to principle even in the smallest thing, and the country is reaping a rich harvest from the good seed he has sown. A man's true greatness is not measured by extent of fortune or success, but the standard of a community is measured by the kind of men it elevates. We write, of course, without his knowledge; he never speaks for himself—content always in doing his duty, preserving his dignity and working for humanity.

His individual efforts have largely assisted in the great reduction of the republican majority in Pennsylvania, and in electing Patterson. The national triumph of the democratic party is his triumph, and was only rendered possible by its having followed the principles and policy he laid down. He received every democratic vote, has been a truly victorious, and no one in the commonwealth holds so enviable a position, or warmer place in the hearts of his countrymen; and from this vantage ground he will with renewed zest go on with the good work for the liberty and elevation of the whole people.

YES; A DANA DEMOCRAT.

Ohio State Journal.

Chief Gall is among the leaders of the Indian revolt. Judging from the name he must be a democrat.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

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 outgrowth 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 exertions.

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 specu-

lators 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.

THE SINGLE TAX IN ST. LOUIS.

PROMINENT MEN WHO ARE IDENTIFIED WITH THE MOVEMENT IN THAT CITY.

Chicago Times.

The single tax movement in St. Louis has received in the last few months an impetus almost if not quite unprecedented in the history of political, or, more properly speaking, economic reforms in the west. League No. 2, known as the West End single tax league, was organized three weeks ago, and its membership is composed of a class which commands respect in both the business and the social world.

The master spirit of the movement is N. O. Nelson, a man whose fortune can not be enumerated by less than seven figures and who is president of the largest plumbing and steam fitting establishment in the west. Mr. Nelson is the author of the most extensively read book on profit sharing that has ever been published and he practically applies that doctrine in his own business as the employer of nearly 1,000 hands. He is also the founder of the industrial village of St. Claire, near Edwardsville, Ill.

Rabbi Sale of Shaare Emetti synagogue, one of the wealthiest Jewish congregations in the city, and also a member of the wealthy Sale family of wholesale merchants and property owners here, is a member of the league and an enthusiastic disciple of George. In a recent speech he declared that Moses was the first single tax advocate and that Henry George is the modern reformer to whom the people must look for industrial freedom.

John M. Dutro, treasurer of the St. Louis car wheel company, never misses a meeting and is an active missionary in the cause who has already won several proselytes.

Professor Dillard, principal of Marr institute, the most aristocratic young ladies' seminary in Missouri, is president of the league.

Judge T. J. Portis, general attorney of the Missouri Pacific railroad (Gould's southwest system) is a convert and an enthusiastic one, too. He is immensely wealthy, his salary from the Missouri Pacific alone being \$30,000 a year.

Among the other active members are the following: W. B. Addington, a prominent druggist and large real estate owner; George F. Durant, general manager of the Bell telephone company of Missouri; B. C. Keeler, manager of the Crane elevator company, and A. B. Durro, Missouri agent for the Connecticut mutual life insurance company. There is also a fair sprinkling of lawyers and newspaper men.

In view of the fact that such inroads have been made into what might be called the inner circle of conservatism, a brief history of the single tax movement in St. Louis will prove interesting.

Henry George made his first appearance in St. Louis ten years ago, and was entertained by a "select few" in the private office of the librarian of the public library as the "clever author of a new book." His second lecture here was before the land league, and was unheard of outside of that circle. He then came here and lectured on the rights of labor and the struggling single tax or anti-poverty advocates, as they were then called. Three years ago he delivered his fourth lecture in St. Louis in an overflowing house, hundreds of the best people in the city hearing him. The local single tax league was then permanently on its feet, and a steady demand for its literature was manifest from that time forward. The fifth visit of the author of "Progress and Poverty" to St. Louis was in marked contrast to his first. It was made in 1889, while he was on his way to Australia. The Merchants' club gave him a banquet, at which the governor of the state responded to the toast, "Our Guest," and there were present lawyers, doctors of divinity, journalists, economists of every school, and thinking people generally, who vied with each other in doing honor to the visitor.

Since Mr. George's visit the movement has grown rapidly.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE U. S. NATIONAL COM., 12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, DEC. 9, 1890.

The national committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee

tee 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 widespread 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.

The attention of officers of single tax organizations is called to the resolution adopted at the national conference to the effect that all organizations subscribing to the national single tax platform shall be eligible for membership in the league. Thus far but very few clubs have formally subscribed to the platform and enrolled themselves in the league, and officers of organizations that have as yet made no move in the matter are earnestly requested to bring the question before their clubs and apply at once to the secretary of the national committee for enrolment.

As the space accorded to this committee for the advertisement of single tax organizations is limited, the present club list will soon be withdrawn, and a new list made up only of clubs enrolled in the league will be published.

The subscription list has been added to during the past week by a subscription:

Thro' L. E. Siemon, Cleveland, Ohio. \$4 50
Subscriptions previously acknowledged 1,200 50

Total \$1,205 00

Cash contributions for same period are as follows:

Wm. W. Rose, Kansas City, Kan. . . \$0 25
James R. Carret (add.) Boston, Mass. . 5 00
Ernest J. Foord, Chicago, Ill. . . 1 00
Total \$6 25

Cash contributions previously acknowledged 736 31

Total \$743 56

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 92,870
Signatures received since last report 449

Total 93,319

For news budget see "Roll of States."

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

On December 2 there began at Ocala, Fla., a meeting whose results will profoundly affect the future of our country. The Farmers alliance, flushed with recent victory, claims to hold the balance of power, and is now formulating its demands and deciding whether or not to join hands with the Knights of Labor and kindred bodies for immediate independent political action. If we can show its leaders the overwhelming importance of absolute free trade to the farmers and induce them to confine their efforts to securing this one supremely important reform, they can easily insure its accomplishment. But if they declare for a multitude of minor measures they will not only waste their own strength, but may set back for many years the tide of reform now rising.

Below are the names of the prominent delegates. Please write at once to all you can of them. Address, care the National farmers' alliance, Ocala, Fla. If you write later than December 7, mark your envelopes "Please forward."

Governor Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Governor W. J. Northen of Georgia, Governor J. P. Buchanan of Tennessee, Isaac McCracken, ex-president of the Agricultural wheel; C. W. Macune, ex-president Farmers' alliance and Co-operative union; Evan Jones, ex-president Farmers' and Laborers' union; L. L. Polk, president of the National farmers' alliance; J. H. Turner, national secretary; Ben Terrell, national lecturer; A. Onzo Waddell and J. F. Tillman of the executive board; R. C. Parry, member of the judiciary committee; R. J. Sledge of Texas, Colonel Robert Beverly of Virginia, ex-president Farmers' national congress; H. L. Loucks, ex-president National farmers' alliance; R. F. Kolte, who is contesting Senator Fugh's seat in the Alabama legislature, and the following presidents of state alliances: S. B. Erwin, Kentucky; W. B. Morgan, Arkansas; A. E. Cole, Michigan; Thomas W. Force, Indiana; C. M. Butt, Wisconsin; Huzh Mitchell, Maryland; Maj. Mann Page, Virginia; T. S. Adams, Louisiana; S. M. Adams, Alabama; Walter Muir, North Dakota, and J. S. Rogers, Florida.

Ex-Presidents J. A. Tetta of the Louisiana alliance and Paul T. Davidson of Arkansas, Major George Christman of Virginia, T. G. Blood, secretary of the Illinois state alliance; T. D. Hinkley of Illinois, Oswald Wilson of New York and J. B. Dines of Missouri will also be present.

Among the congressmen-elect of the Fifty-second congress who will be delegates are Ben Cliver of Kansas, Colonel L. T. Livingston of Georgia, S. B. Alexander of North

Carolina, R. W. Everett of Georgia, E. T. Stackhouse of North Carolina and W. H. Beeman and Clark Lewis of Mississippi.

When a man writes an article which he believes will meet with general approbation, and is rewarded with a shower of disapproving letters, his first impulse is to claim that he "did not say it," or that he is "entirely misunderstood." This has recently been illustrated most amusingly in several cases by our targets. It makes it necessary, however, for us to have in all cases proof of our assertions conveniently at hand. Hence, in sending in targets send always printed slips of utterances or editorials marked plainly with date and name of paper it is clipped from. A prominent prohibition paper was quoted from a few weeks ago, but when Brown of Memphis took it to task it was naturally inclined to dodge. He kept at it, however, and as a result its 300,000 readers will have an opportunity to read a radical single tax article. The editorial discussion of the single tax in the Voice and its symposiums on the single tax and free trade are largely, if not entirely, due to our efforts. Please don't forget to tell your friends that it costs nothing to join and that our efficiency depends on our numbers.

W. J. ATKINSON,
Box 271, Haddonfield, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY.

AN ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN ON THANKSGIVING NIGHT.

The members and friends of the Manhattan single tax club were treated last Thursday evening to an entertainment by the Elkers dramatic club. The performance was given by Mr. Henry Frey, Gus Brooks, humorist and comedian; D. Ambrose, ventriloquist; Billy West, banjoist and comedian; George Mundorf, pianist; M. Stanley, mouth harmoniciat; M. Jordan, Dutch comedian, vocalist and dancer; Theophile Schneider, violinist; H. Sanders, acrobat, and W. Wood, recitationist.

To-morrow evening will occur the regular monthly meeting of the club. It will be a more than usually interesting meeting, for the managing board and its sub-committees, as well as special committees, will make reports as to the work done by them during the year just closing.

Samuel B. Clarke, the author of the pamphlet, "A Lawyer's Criticism of Henry George," will address the club on Thursday evening, December 11. On the same evening the election of officers for the year will take place. On December 18 will be given a stereopticon entertainment and on the 25th a smoke talk.

BROOKLYN.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST WOMEN'S SINGLE TAX LEAGUE—THE OLD PROTECTIVE THEORY AND THE NEW.

Mrs. Robert Baker.—Brooklyn has been the first city to form a woman's single tax club. The initiatory steps were taken at a meeting held in the rooms of the Brooklyn single tax club No. 7, when twenty ladies were present. Having selected Miss Emma Smith temporary president and Mrs. Robert Baker temporary secretary, a committee consisting of Mrs. Thompson, Miss E. J. Turner and Mrs. Morgan were appointed to prepare a plan of practical work for the club. The next meeting was held November 21, and it was decided to hold meetings every second Friday at 3 p. m. After the adoption of the first four paragraphs of the single tax platform as a platform of principles, chapter 9 of "Social Problems," was read and discussed.

The following are the names of those who formed the club: Miss E. Smith, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. A. D. Morgan, Miss E. J. Turner, Miss Ella Turner, Miss N. R. Nye, Miss A. A. Chapman, Mrs. C. R. Gilbert, Mrs. T. B. Preston, Mrs. St. ut, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Crane, Miss R. M. Rogers, Miss E. J. Wagon, Miss A. C. Watson, Miss Burton, Mrs. E. Corkill, Miss J. A. Rogers, Miss M. Cranford, Mrs. Robert Baker.

Pending the election of permanent officers Mrs. Thompson, Miss E. J. Turner and Mrs. Morgan were selected as an executive committee.

W. F. Withers.—Mr. Frederick W. Hinrichs lectured for us on Sunday evening. His arguments were directed against the advocacy of protection as a means of benefiting the working classes. The dishonesty of this plea was shown by quotations from Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay, who both advocated a protective tariff on the ground that it would encourage foreign operatives to come in and compete with American operatives, and so reduce wages for the benefit of the American manufacturer. The same argument was made by Senator Morrill in 1861 and 1864, when by reason of the draft labor was scarce and wages consequently high. And still later Senator Sherman expressed the same opinion.

Mr. Hinrichs gave statistics to prove that while inventions and improvements had steadily increased the productive power of operatives, their relative wages had been as regularly decreased; that whereas in 1850 the workman got 20-25 per cent of the product of his labor, in 1880 he only received 17-19 per cent of it. The conclusion of the matter was that the beneficiaries of production are not the operatives, but the capitalists.

Next Sunday evening, December 7, William

Lloyd Garrison will deliver a lecture, entitled "The old abolition and the new." Of course, no one needs to be urged to go and hear William Lloyd Garrison, but we owe it to our friends to announce the lecture.

We must also remind those who appreciate good music, that a concert will be given at Association hall, Bond and Fulton streets, on Wednesday, December 10. We are going to have another "stag racket" at the club house next Saturday night, and we hope that the members of neighboring clubs will come in and share our mirth with us. It will cost them nothing, and we will assure them a jolly good time.

The Woman's single tax club, which meets on Friday afternoons at 198 Livingston street, will discuss "The right to the use of the earth" next Friday.

NEW YORK STATE.

B. J. Krause, Auburn.—I herewith send six petitions with signatures. This is a place where protection is rooted in the people. It has been poked into them until they can't or won't see anything else. I lived in Syracuse before, which is about as bad. If you try to tell them anything besides republicanism they will call you a crank, a fool or a kicker.

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE MASSACHUSETTS LEAGUE FORMALLY ORGANIZED—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON ITS PRESIDENT.

J. R. Carret, Boston.—There was a large attendance at the meeting of the single tax state central committee of Massachusetts on November 30. The chairman, Mr. E. M. White, called the meeting to order. After discussion the draft of a constitution prepared by a special committee was adopted, and the name of the organization was changed to Massachusetts single tax league. The following were chosen officers:

President, William Lloyd Garrison of Brookline; vice-presidents, Thomas J. Hastings of Worcester, Hamlin Garland of Boston, John R. Roche of Boston, Edwin M. White of Boston, Louis Prang of Boston, John P. Sweeney of Lawrence, Sylvester C. Fay of Southboro; treasurer, Mark W. Cross of Boston; five members at large of the general committee, James R. Carret of Boston, Harry Lloyd of Boston, William F. Morrell of Cambridge, Mrs. Levi H. Turner of Boston, Thomas R. Fitch of Braintree.

As soon as seven of the local clubs accept representation in the league and elect each a delegate to the general committee, a meeting of the latter will be called to organize. It is hoped that prompt action will be taken by the local clubs, so that the organization of the committees can be completed at an early day. Voluntary contributions will be asked for on the plan adopted by the national committee, and it is hoped that the executive committee of the league will be able soon after their appointment to gratify the desire of single tax men in Boston and vicinity for the means to do better work by securing permanent headquarters.

I took advantage of the gathering of so large a number of single tax men to contradict a report that had appeared in a local paper that THE STANDARD is to be given up. I made a brief statement of the proposed change in its management, and urged upon all to become subscribers if not already such, and to use every effort to obtain new subscribers for it.

W. L. Crosman, Roxbury.—At a meeting of the Roxbury single tax club held on Tuesday evening, November 25, the following motion was made and carried:

That the Roxbury single tax club subscribes to the national single tax platform and that our secretary apply for the enrollment of this club in the Single tax league of the United States.

NEW JERSEY.

A CAPE MAY EDITOR GETS WORSTED IN A SINGLE TAX DISCUSSION.

Joseph Dana Miller, Jersey City.—The Jersey City standard single tax club will meet Thursday night, December 4, at assembly rooms for the discussion of a plan for a series of public meetings. All members are urged to be present. It also seems advisable to some of the members that the state league be called together and see what can be done toward perfecting some plan of agitation. What say the single tax men of New Jersey?

M. J. Flynn, Camden.—Inclosed you will find six petitions, also a couple of postage stamps to help defray mailing expenses. In this batch you will find one bearing the name of J. J. Crandall, a gentleman of the same calling as Louis F. Post. He is not an actual member of our club as yet, but I verily believe that if he attains another round on the ladder of liberal mindedness that our roll of members will contain his name, and that he will make a good working disciple in our glorious cause of reform.

William Porter, Cape May.—The discussion I had begun with the Star has been cut off, the editor refusing to publish my reply. I am not idle, however. Am preparing an article to come upon him from another tack. A drug clerk does not get much chance and less money to aid the cause.

PENNSYLVANIA.

"UNCLE TOM" URGES SINGLE TAX WORKERS TO RENEWED ACTIVITY.

"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr.—The inclosed eight signatures to the congressional petition bring my share up to 312, residing in four counties. In round numbers we have now 93,000 signatures, and to make 100,000 it is necessary that each "worker" should send in three more signers. "Workers," be up and doing. We have less than a year in which to get signers before the petition will be presented to congress. Now is the time. Plenty of men are standing on the corner playing Micawber. Go for them; they will listen. If you do not catch them in the winter, and with an empty stomach, you never will.

The petition was greatly neglected last winter, and you should make up for it this winter—your last chance before Tom L. Johnson gets hold of it. With the exception of about seventy the writer secured all his signers on the public roads, as he has no other way of getting them.

Being single handed and in a delicate position, it is uphill work, and your uncle trusts that those who have not been as active as they should and could have been will now put their shoulders to the wheel and push for all they are worth.

If of the original 2,000 workers each one had sent in 100 signers only, we would have had 200,000 signatures long ago. As some of the workers sent in over 1,000, it would be interesting to know what you have been doing all this time. Don't be afraid; imitate the protectionist and use plenty of check and wind. What if they do call you a crank; you are probably one anyway.

Remember your children; remember, that if you do not help to change present social conditions your offspring will grow up to worse than slavery. Remember that it is your duty to save them and others from such a fate; and remember what you are asking for when you say the Lord's Prayer, and you will not feel like sneaking out of it as you probably do now.

Is it your intent to keep up with the procession or will you pose as a drone? Nobody expects you to do more than you are able to do. Do you intend to do it? If so, go ahead; if not, the sooner you give up the claim of being a worker the better.

William W. Niles, New Brighton, Beaver County.—Inclosed you will find my first installment of thirty-two signed petitions. I have had but little trouble in securing these, having had but two refusals so far. As a rule democrats will sign after reading the petition, but republicans appear suspicious. However, there are several republican signatures among the lot.

ILLINOIS.

A CHICAGO NEWSPAPER'S FAVORABLE ATTITUDE—A NEW CLUB ORGANIZED.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago.—Mr. Walter Thomas Mills will give us a talk on December 4, Judge Bangs on the 18th and Henry D. Lloyd on January 15. Mr. Lloyd is not with us, nor is he against us. Just now, as he says, he is an inquirer.

The Chicago Daily Globe has distinguished its favorable attitude to the single tax cause by reprinting in full at my request Mr. George's admirable exposition of the new economy from the Christian Advocate. I called on the editor and represented to him that the Illinois federation of labor, in advocating an investigation of the single tax, gave a sufficient warrant for the publication of the article in question, and he very quickly assented to my view. The Herald also agreed to print the article, but it is not likely to do so, because the Globe printed it first. I believe that the friends of the cause throughout the country may secure the publication of this splendid statement of our economic doctrine if they will go to their democratic, independent and labor editors and tell them that the single tax is the subject of widespread inquiry, especially among the workingmen. It certainly is worth trying.

I have just received a very interesting letter from John Farrell, our good Australian friend. He tells me that he has been forced by ill health to resign the editorship of the Sydney Telegraph, the great free trade organ of advanced liberalism. However, he continues on the editorial staff, and, of course, his influence on the policy and tone of the paper will not be lost. Mr. Farrell tells me that the good work goes bravely on, and he feels certain of an early victory for the cause of freedom, notwithstanding the recent defeat of organized labor, which has set the employing and conservative classes dead against the whole reform movement. Mr. Farrell sends his regards to all the brethren on this side of the globe, and expresses the hope that he will be able to meet us all in Chicago at the great universal single tax conference which we are contemplating for 1893.

It is announced that Mr. George will have a joint debate with Russell G. Horr at Plymouth church in this city this winter, but the exact date is not yet known.

Mr. George V. Wells, one of our faithful workers, is just recovering from a protracted illness.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago.—The following single tax committee has been formed

at South Chicago, Ill.: President, John Black, box 512; Robert Atchison, Dr. F. N. Benson. The news received from the state in reply to my recent circular is quite encouraging. I believe the next year will witness a considerable growth of the movement in Illinois, and particularly in Chicago.

N. Niles, Bellville.—I send you herewith thirty-two petitions. For most of these names I am, or rather we are, indebted to James Winter, an English miner here, who has taken two copies of THE STANDARD from the start, and who, with Robert Cummings of Du Quoin, another coal miner, is in the front rank of our advance guard for southern Illinois. We elected a German farmer, Peter Seibert, to the state senate by 1,103 majority, 300 ahead of his ticket. He made a splendid canvass, as bravely as John M. Palmer made of the state at large, and is one of the three single taxers certain in our legislature. You shall hear something drop there next winter. Seibert came to this country when six years of age from Grossumstadt, Hesse Darmstadt, his native place; is about forty-six, self-educated, a farmer all his life and will be heard.

Many of us saw Henry George for the first time last week in St. Louis. He brought us the cheering news from Texas that Dr. Boyd Cormick is regaining his health in San Antonio.

TENNESSEE.

AN ALLIANCE OFFICER WHO SEES THE CAT AT LAST.

R. N. Crawford, Dexter.—I see the cat at last. I have been trying to find out about single tax all the year, and now I am single tax and free trade all over. I have never seen "Progress and Poverty." I do not know how to apply for it. I am a member of the Farmers and laborers' union. I want to consolidate with Knights of Labor. I want us to get together and do like a hen has to do when she sets on twenty goose eggs—just spread ourselves. I am organizer of farmers and laborers' unions in Shelby county, Tenn. I am deeply interested in the labor movement. I am chaplain of Shelby county union, and I pray for reform; and may the God of the universe help us against monopolies and speculators, for we are oppressed sorely.

S. T., Memphis.—The single tax is making great headway here. The Rev. Dr. Long preached here to-night against the single tax. I do not hesitate to say that a good many of the preachers are in the same box as the landlords. They want an easy living, and take the easiest way of making it.

MISSOURI.

FATHER HUNTINGTON IN ST. LOUIS—MARTIN WILLIAMS GOES TO FLORIDA TO ADDRESS THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE—THANKING THE PIONEER SINGLE TAXERS FOR STANDING TO THEIR COLORS—AN ECHO OF GEORGE'S VISIT TO ST. LOUIS—THE "WARD COMMITTEE" SYSTEM IN KANSAS CITY—40,000 POPULATION LOST IN A YEAR.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—The single tax league now meets every Tuesday night at its club room, room 14, 307½ Pine street, with business meetings the first Monday in each month at the same place. But the chief work of the league will be its semi-monthly meetings, which will be held hereafter the first and third Thursday evening of each month at Bowman's large hall, northeast corner of Eleventh and Locust streets. At each meeting addresses will be made by one or more prominent citizens, followed by discussion.

For the first Thursday in December the address at Bowman's hall will be made by Rev. Dr. Sonneschein, of Temple Israel. At the meeting on the third Thursday I H. Lionberger and Conde Palen will speak.

H. Martin Williams has gone to Ocala, Florida, for the purpose of addressing the national convention of the Farmers' alliance. The single tax petition to the Missouri legislature is booming throughout the state, and signatures are coming in by each mail.

Father Huntington lectured here Tuesday evening before the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and in one section of his address stated the principles of the single tax movement.

Charles E. Reid, Kansas City.—The district locals did good work before the elections, (these district locals are the practical, crystallized shape that the "ward committee" system has assumed), and they are in a fair way to promise an energetic campaign here this winter, and to perform more real propagandist work in two months than the club by itself alone would accomplish in as many years.

People are leaving here—all that can—and flocking to Chicago, Fort Worth, Dallas and Galveston.

The sale of THE STANDARD during the past month—since the district local work was inaugurated—has largely increased among the newsdealers who keep it in stock.

A frightful winter lies before the people of this city. Men by the thousands are out of work; men reputed wealthy a year ago cannot raise five hundred dollars cash for even business purposes. The newspapers, of course, belie the real situation, but it is true that this city has, nevertheless, lost within a year forty thousand population.

W. B. Addington, St. Louis.—I believe that every member in the two single tax clubs in St. Louis wanted to get out in an open lot and throw up their hats and "hollo!" when Memorial hall was filled last night with an audience of ladies and gentlemen representing the intelligence of the business, professional and labor community, who came to attend the Henry George lecture entitled "What is the single tax?" The character of the audience showed that they came to learn, and from the frequent applause they seemed to "catch on" and enjoy the lecture very much. The single tax men regretted that they could not get a larger hall for that date, but considering the haste and with the time at hand we congratulate ourselves on our success. The single tax question is growing, and it has come to stay. We are glad to be able to make a comparison between now and four years ago, when Mr. George was here. None of us now are "afraid of our horses," and we later members of the single tax tender our thanks to the old St. Louis league for their work in the dark days of the question which is now bringing such good fruit. We are going to stir things up this winter.

We hope soon to have Mr. John Z. White of Chicago with us, next week Hon. Tom L. Johnson, and maybe in February Mr. Henry George again. The West End single tax club will get in their new quarters about December 1.

L. P. Custer, St. Louis.—After Mr. George's lecture here, at Memorial hall, on my way down town in a street car, I overheard a gentleman, apparently well-to-do, say to his wife that the audience that listened to Mr. George was a fair indication of the advance his teachings are making throughout the country. "Because," said he, "two years ago he (Mr. George) could not have obtained such a hearing." This is no doubt true, but to my mind the audience that filled the hall that night was not a fair indication of the advance the single tax idea is making generally. I feel that on every hand the subject is better understood and more generally accepted than Mr. George, himself, realizes. I seldom find sufficient opposition to the idea, when broached, to render it necessary to enter upon a discussion of the points at issue. That flippant manner that obtained so generally two or three years ago has almost entirely disappeared, and in its place men will lend respectful attention whenever the subject is uppepmost. This is hopeful, to say the least.

Mr. N. O. Nelson, a reputed millionaire, and the head of the immense manufacturing establishment in this city, the N. O. Nelson manufacturing company; H. Martin Williams, Henry Hoffman and a couple other gentlemen drove with Mr. George after the lecture to Tony Faus's and entertained him at lunch, as he had scarcely taken a bite before the meeting, after leaving the train. After satisfying the inner man our leader came to his hotel, the Southern, where quite a large number of the faithful were in waiting to greet him. The gentlemen who had come down town with him, with the exception of Williams and Hoffman, took leave of Mr. George at the entrance to the hotel, and he then devoted an hour to those who had come to speak to him and feel the pressure of his hand. There were about fifteen or twenty of them and all took seats with Mr. George inside the circle in the center of the magnificent rotunda. It was quite a picturesque group, with Martin Williams's long form looming up one side, his bald head reflecting the rays of a bright electric jet into the faces of those who sat at his side, and Mr. George occupying the central position. I would like to have named all who composed this group, but I do not know the names. All those who enjoyed the pleasure of sitting around Mr. George on this occasion are poor men; yet this fact did not seem to sway our friend and leader in his devotion to the claim of those who felt a desire to pay their respects to him. That this gathering proved attractive in that splendid hotel rotunda, is well testified from the fact that during the whole time the reception lasted many guests of the hotel, and others, stood gazing with mingled curiosity and bilarity at the, no doubt, odd group of people that sat listening to the voice of him who, no matter what part of the civilized world he may be in, can thus sit down and be surrounded with his friends. This scene would have afforded a study for the artist worthy of his best efforts.

William W. Rose, Kansas City.—I inclose fourteen more signed petitions. Our state has elected some good and honest men to the state legislature, and as usual the fault with them is ignorance; therefore, it is our endeavor to put them on the right track. We want to begin on the Australian ballot. The legislature meets in January, 1891, and one democratic representative from this district, Dr. J. O. Milner, will, if we can fit him out in time, introduce a bill for the Australian ballot.

WASHINGTON.

JAMES A. HERNE LECTURES BEFORE A LARGE AUDIENCE AT SEATTLE.

James A. Herne, Tacoma.—Inclosed please find petition handed me by Mr. L. Ennis of Seattle, Washington, a very earnest single tax man. There are a number of single tax men there, but they have no organization. They are anxious to have one and have requested me to address a meeting they have

arranged for that purpose. I have complied and will endeavor to set the single tax before these friends in such a manner that they will be induced to thereafter discuss it, if nothing more. I will also read Professor Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw," and hope that you will hear good reports of the result of my work. And so the good work goes bravely on.

I have the pleasure to announce to you that I have been elected an honorary member of the San Francisco single tax society—no small compliment, as that society is composed of some of the best men and women of San Francisco.

James A. Herne, Seattle, Nov. 23.—I came over here last night and talked on the single tax to a large crowd of enthusiastic listeners. A heavy rain storm prevented many from attending—especially women—so we feared the storm would ruin us altogether, but the hall was well filled. There are some earnest workers here. They are about to organize a club. I believe I have helped them. I concluded the meeting by reading Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw." I hope you will hear good results from my last night's work. If Mr. George comes out this way he must not fail to take in Seattle and Tacoma. He will be greeted by large audiences in both cities, and I know of no cities in the country to-day that are more in need of the single tax.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

C. B. Hemingway, Washington.—I inclose ten petitions. Nos. 1 to 5 are single tax men who have never taken any part in the movement in any way, but will do so whenever a distinct movement is begun—like, for instance, the urging of the passage of a direct tax of \$1 per capita on the various states, to be collected through an assessment of land values. The others are interested.

VERMONT.

J. R. Hoadley, Rutland.—After nearly two months of hard work (9) the legislators of Vermont have adjourned sine die; but just before departing from the state house they abstracted from the state treasury about \$50,000 for services. All the bills for the relief of the overtaxed farmers and laborers were killed and we will have to wait two long years before anything can be done in that line.

DELAWARE.

J. M. Dorney, Wilmington.—Inclosed find twelve petitions. I am travelling for a business house and scatter single tax literature and language right and left. Some of the signers are single tax men, some are democrats, sick of the tariff; some are radical republicans, yet willing to have the matter brought before congress. The light is breaking. More anon.

MINNESOTA.

A. M. Goodrich, Minneapolis.—I inclose forty-eight signed petitions. Only one of the five Minnesota congressmen who voted for the McKinley bill escaped the wrath of his constituents. The single tax men were everywhere in the front rank, and we won a victory which surprised the most sanguine. The next move will be on the state legislature, with a good prospect of having the constitution amended in our favor.

COLORADO.

H. C. Niles, Denver.—I inclose twenty-one signed petitions, and have to report that at our meeting November 13 we passed a resolution indorsing the platform and expressing our desire to be enrolled as a member of the single tax league.

TEXAS.

E. W. Brown, Houston.—Mr. George has so thoroughly fired us up that we are in a thoroughly aggressive mood now.

NEBRASKA.

J. A. Haggstrom, St. Paul.—I send fourteen more signers. Two of these are lawyers. One was the democratic candidate for county attorney but was defeated. I will try and get a hundred more signers within the next month.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.—Inclosed find four more signatures to the petition. Last night our local club met and reorganized; adopted the national platform as their constitution; adopted by-laws and fixed fees and dues. We started out with nine charter members and elected John B. Houten president, A. M. Weeden vice-president, L. E. Brickell secretary-treasurer. Meets every Wednesday night in the basement of the Granite block. The members are going to work the county thoroughly and organize clubs in every township as soon as they can. They propose to make this county solid for single tax by the fall of '92, and I think they will. John B. Houten was just elected clerk of the circuit court, running away ahead of his (democratic) ticket. A. M. Weeden's father was just elected county judge on the same ticket. L. E. Brickell is one of the city aldermen. So you see the movement is in good hands in this county.

OREGON.

James A. Herne, Portland.—There are some glorious single tax fellows here, among whom

S. B. Rigger is a very prominent one. He is one of the most conscientious single tax men I have ever met. He hunts up and reads all that he can get hold of in opposition to it. As he says, "I want to be sure that I'm a single tax man from pure principle—from a knowledge that it's the only remedy—not because it appeals to me in a personal sort of way."

I see by the Seattle Times that I stirred up the opposition by my allusions to Carnegie on his charitableness, which he calls philanthropy.

Mr. George would be greeted by tremendous houses here all through the northwest.

CLEVELAND VS. HILL.

A LIST OF LEADING DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS AND HOW THEY STAND.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

We do not think it especially profitable to discuss presidential quantities now, and we do not propose to devote much space to such matters for some time to come. Nominations will not be made for more than eighteen months, and in the meantime the democratic press can best advance party prospects by continuing its educational work on the tariff question and making out a safe and wise course for the democratic house of representatives to pursue. It may interest our readers to know, however, that of the leading democratic and independent papers of the country their preferences, as between Cleveland and Hill, have been expressed as follows since the recent elections:

FOR CLEVELAND.

New York Times.
New York Post.
New York Commercial Advertiser.
Brooklyn Eagle.
Boston Globe.
Boston Herald.
Boston Post.
Providence Journal.
Springfield Republican.
Baltimore Sun.
Philadelphia Times.
Philadelphia Record.
Pittsburg Post.
Hartford Times.
Buffalo Times.
Buffalo Courier.
Albany Argus.
Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Indianapolis Sentinel.
Evansville Courier.
Terre Haute Gazette.
Logansport Pharos.
Chicago Times.
Chicago Herald.
Chicago News.
Chicago Globe.
Chicago Mail.
St. Louis Republic.
Kansas City Times.
St. Paul Globe.
Milwaukee Journal.
Detroit Free Press.
Memphis Appeal-Avalanche.

Memphis Commercial.
Nashville American.
Mobile Register.
Galveston News.
Montgomery Advertiser.
New Orleans Picayune.
New Orleans Times-Democrat.
Charleston News and Courier.
Richmond Times.
Richmond Dispatch.
Dallas News.
Florida Times-Union.

The New York World, the New York Herald and the Louisville Courier-Journal have not expressed themselves. Neither has the Cincinnati Enquirer.

THERE WAS NO PLACE TO MOVE TO.

There lives out in Joe Cannon's district in Illinois an old farmer who is a zealous republican, one of the red-hot partisan stripe. When he heard of Cannon's defeat he said to his wife, who is one of those women who obey their lord and master blindly: "Mary, pack up everything. I'm going to move." "Why?" asked Mary. "Because Joe Cannon is beat, and I won't live in a democratic district." "Very well," said Mary, with a little resigned sigh. Then the old man went to town to sell his farm. There he heard all the election news. He returned home, and entering the house said: "Mary, you can quit packing up. I ain't a going to move." "Why?" inquired Mary. "Because," he replied sadly, "there's no place to move to."

NO ROOM FOR DANA'S DAVEY.

Savannah News.

Brer Dana may snicker at the Hon. Grover Cleveland's rotund proportions and cavort around and shout for the Hon. Davey Hill just as much as he likes. But as long as the Hon. G. Cleveland stands in the presidential alley the Hon. D. Hill can't get by. He may just make a small geometrical calculation on that fact. Cleveland got there first, and he just about snugly fills up the aperture.

A FLAT FAILURE.

Cincinnati Times Star.

Outside of New York the struggle of Governor Hill to secure a personal following has been about the flattest failure to be noted in the field of politics.

THEY UNDERSTAND THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Haverhill, Mass., Bulletin.

There are, we regret to say, a large class of free trade ladies in Haverhill. They insist on going where they choose to trade.

PERSONAL.

On Thursday, November 13, Mr. Edward Quincy Norton spoke before the Commercial club of Mobile, Ala., on "How can Mobile be benefited?" Mr. Norton advised the club to advocate a change in existing methods of taxation, and especially recommended an examination of the proposition involved in the single tax.

H. B. Brown of Bay Shore, L. I., is contributing a series of strong articles against the protection delusion to the Signal, published at Babylon, L. I.

Henry Ware Allen has a letter in the Kansas City Christian Era, in which he demands that the readers of that paper shall work to bring about a condition in which more justice shall be done toward our fellows and less charity be doled out.

The Boston Globe of the 30th ult., contained a signed editorial by J. Whidden Graham, now of this city. The article was entitled, "Our currency; shall it be increased?"

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

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

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

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

Five subscriptions \$1 00
Twelve subscriptions 2 00
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THE STANDARD,

No. 12 Union square, New York city.

THEY ARE CASABIANCAS.

Chicago Tribune.

The New York Tribune, the Indianapolis Journal, and other defenders of the mill boss features of the McKinley bill are still "standing on the burning deck" and declaring, while the flames roar around their devoted heads, that they "will not go." They cry out that the misfortunes of the election were due simply to the fact that "the republicans did not understand the McKinley bill" and therefore did not go to the polls, preferring to wait till they had studied out the meaning and effect of that long and complicated law. It is the hope of these organs that with two years of study these stay-away republicans will understand the bill and will be found at the polls in November, 1892, voting with enthusiasm for republican candidates.

THEY SEE THE POINT.

Harrisburg Patriot.

If the duty of five cents a dozen on eggs, which the McKinley bill imposes, will make the agriculturists wealthy, the fact must have been overlooked by the farmers' alliance at the meeting here the other day. Leastwise that organization failed to pass a resolution thanking the major for his thoughtfulness. Are the members of the alliance ingrates or do they know a robber bill when they see it?

DEATH ON FITS.

Philadelphia Times.

Major McKinley is reported as "well satisfied with the result." He thinks "protection is stronger than ever," and that the people will soon become so fond of his bill that the next election will be carried on the same issue. Major McKinley recalls the country doctor who had got his patient just where he wanted him. He had thrown him into fits, and the doctor was death on fits.

PRESS FOR BALLOT AND TAX REFORM.

York, Pa., Gazette.

If now the democracy under the fresh and brave leadership of its re-elected governor shall press home, and press constantly, the issue of a constitutional convention for ballot reform, and for tax reform, the redemption of the state will be completed in the straighter and more decided majorities, with which we will carry it next year, and the year after.

"SON" DANA IS A PARK COMMISSIONER.

New York Sun.

He [Hugh J. Grant] may be put up for the [presidential] office in 1892. If he should not then get the nomination, he may be a candidate in 1896 or in the campaign of 1900.

"FALLACIES OF HENRY GEORGE."

A FATHER'S ADVICE TO A SON WHO HAS IMBIBED THE THEORY OF THE SINGLE TAX—THE DANGER TO THE LANDLORD CLASS OF THE SPREAD OF THE IDEA.

Bradford, Pa., Era.

MY DEAR SON: Your letter received, and although somewhat long will try and answer it in detail. I am surprised to find that you have been reading the books referred to, and would suggest that you drop them at once, and spend your time on more profitable work. Later on, after you have become well grounded in business methods and principles, it will be time enough for you to take up and pursue such reading.

I have for a long time been very familiar with the economic principles elucidated in those books (Henry George's), and this fact has given me a very great advantage over those, ignorant of these principles, with whom I have been brought into business relations. I look upon the agitation of this same question as the most dangerous, the most revolutionary of any political agitation started since the revolution of '78. It looks so simple, so very harmless, and yet it is as subtle and as far reaching as it is possible to conceive of. How very simple the process of mere change of the subject for taxation, and yet how completely would it metamorphose the entire fabric of our society. Capital, or "vested rights," will experience far more trouble with this latest "craze" than with all others combined, if I am a true prophet. I see you have got far enough along in the understanding of the "new political economy"—as the "single taxers" rather airily term the Henry George idea—to see that there are many fortunes "made very easily by the monopolization of land." And it is well that you bear in mind that ours is the result of this same monopoly.

No man can accumulate a fortune of anything like respectable proportions, as fortunes go in these days, unless he can control labor other than his own. Therein lies the secret of fortune building. It is not merely the hiring of laborers at \$2 per day and upon that \$2 investment clear \$2, \$3 or \$5. One would have to keep employed an army for long years in order to amass the snug sum awaiting you at my death, if that were the only source of income.

My father, your worthy grandsire, was a man of liberal education and had a thorough understanding of economic laws, and early trained my mind in the same subtle science. It is quite plain to the observer of human affairs that this economic science is becoming more widely disseminated or at least by a larger number of people, since Mr. George's writing.

The reasons why I advise you to discontinue the reading and discussion of this subject at present are: You are too young; you have not seen enough of the world; your untutored mind is too susceptible; you are therefore too easily to be led away from your own interests. There may be, as you say, "questions of equity involved" which, to one so unsophisticated, may have a controlling influence to your pecuniary disadvantage. It is paramount to you, as to all in your class and circumstances of life, that the present condition of things continue.

Although you may see clearly that "poverty and want, brought about by our present methods of taxation," still it is to be hoped you will not lose sight of the important fact that it is through the present method of taxation that you are enabled to pursue a course of study under the very favorable circumstances. I am, in fact, constrained to accept it as the all-wise providence of the Creator, that there should be poverty in order that there may be wealth sufficient in the hands of the few to enable them to spend their whole time in the acquirement of a knowledge of the sciences. No man who is tied down to the occupation of providing the material necessities for the body can give the mind a proper training or development; therefore, it might not be improper to attribute the present deplorable condition of the lower stratum of humanity to the will of God.

There are indeed many men remarkable for their erudition as well as many passages in scripture, holding this to be the condition intended by the Creator. Was not Christ Himself the son of a carpenter? or at least the son of the wife of a carpenter? and was He not poor? And then if this state of things were not of divine ordinance, why have these conditions continued ever since the time of Christ? Why should these conditions continue for one moment if they are not in accord with the will of God?

I would not be a god to you, a Pharaoh. I would not "harden" your heart; simply teach you the "first law of nature." After you have seen enough of the world and of human nature to place you upon a thorough understanding of it, you will have less of the femininity, less compunction as regards our retaining our advantages over the mass of humanity. You will see that to abrogate these advantages would be to disregard the "first laws of nature," self preservation.

A short history of our own accumulations and the manner in which they were made may be timely in this letter. Your grandfather left his home in Boston when about twenty-seven years of age and went to Chicago. He there commenced the practice of law, and at the same time invested his patrimony in real estate, mostly improved land

contiguous to the village. His law practice soon exceeded his necessary expenses, and from year to year he invested his small surplus of fees and rent in town lots. Both improved and unimproved.

Being a lawyer, he was thrown in contact with men of all grades of pecuniary circumstances, from the man on the best corner with a store to the one being sold out by the sheriff. His opportunities for bargains were, of course, many. In many instances he bid in property of his clients, if really of value, intending to give the evicted parties a chance to reclaim the property; and in many cases they did so, paying him for the use of money invested during the time of his holding.

But in much the larger number of cases the properties remained his. Your grandfather never manufactured as much as a pin; and never produced from the sale directly as much as a pea; and yet, after living there for only forty years, left at his death, property valued at \$1,500,000. He never paid out one dollar for labor other than remuneration for domestic service. I have followed his teachings and precepts to the letter; and as you already know, have neither manufactured nor produced, and still my accession to his properties, they have increased together with the constant additions and rent invested in not only in this state, but many others throughout the union, until the aggregate will reach close to \$15,000,000. No strikes affect me. I keep no "Pinkertons" and have no fears of destruction of property or loss by "boycott."

Other people advance the price for me, and I sell or hold as I see fit, that which every human being must have, if born, or in any other manner, imported into this United States. No man can manufacture a foot of real estate. There is only just so much of it, and it must be had. No man can live without it; therefore the more people the higher price of land. It seems very plain now what our advantages are; a knowledge of economic laws, and in the second an application of this knowledge to our profit. It makes no difference to me whether I own the land or not, so long as it is all owned by men having the same inclinations as I.

It only requires the less capital for me to realize the same profit from a given amount of capital. That is, my profit upon \$1,000 invested in land is the same as if I owned all the land, and will increase in value just as fast.

It is important since you have started upon the investigation of this question that you keep in mind all its bearings. It will not do to look upon one side only. But as your interest is entirely upon the side of wealth, it is most natural that, if partial at all, you should lean toward your class. At least, you will not be expected to take up the advocacy of theories that would dispossess you of your revenue. We, that is, those who have given this subject consideration, know very well that society creates land value; and we also know that no matter whether the community takes its own product or allows private individuals to take it, this same value will rise in exact proportion to the growth of the community; we also know that he who comes last to swell the total population must pay the most for the privilege of living and doing business within the scope of control or jurisdiction of this community.

The principle is very simple and easily understood. There are only so many feet frontage to be had, and after all is occupied, if another comes he must pay some one for his place or must move on. It is exactly the same whether you consider a rural or urban community. The more urban, the higher the price of the opportunity. This applies only to the land, as the reverse is true of everything produced of labor; the more competition there is for the possession of the products of labor, the more there will be produced, until the source of production, the land, is all utilized. It makes no difference whether used in production or held out of production, the effect is the same as though all were in use. Therefore land monopoly has the effect of forestalling or anticipating population, and when it does come, it must pay the privilege of remaining.

Your grandfather saw all this just as plainly as does Mr. George, years before the latter was born; so also have thousands understood this economic law many generations back; and there is no doubt in my mind that those who framed our civil codes understood it as well as does Mr. George, for our laws are framed with the clear intent of perpetuating this same system. Nothing is plainer. Mr. George would have the community take the yearly land value as a tax for the support of government, schools, roads, bridges, streets, walks, railroads, etc. In other words, he would have all local, state or federal revenues taken from the rental value of land, which would, of course, do away with all other taxes. It must be a very thick-headed child of fifteen who could not see that this would be at once entirely destructive of the value of land as property. There is, in fact, no land value except that created by the very improvements for which all taxes are levied to pay. The fact that a mob, for instance, like the Children of Israel, or any roving band of gypsies, take up their temporary abode upon a piece of land, does not make that land more valuable; but, let that mob, say of 1,000, organize government, lay out streets, build school houses and in various ways expend labor for the general good, and forthwith arises a value, which

attaches to the bare land or the site, etc. It is, moreover, in exact proportion to the money (or labor) spent for the public benefit that land value arises. In other words, you spend \$5,000 upon the location occupied, by a community and your assessor will find exactly \$5,000 of land value that was not there before.

Of course there is some little discrepancy in the two amounts, simply because, under the present system of collecting this revenue, which leaves the land value to accumulate in the hands of private parties, there is a speculative value arising along with the real value for use; that is, the holder presumes there will be, ten years hence, fifty per cent more population to compete for the same site, and will naturally add something to the real value; therefore land value generally keeps a little ahead of the amount that is taken and spent for public use.

Land value is of very little account in uncivilized communities. The higher the state of civilization the higher the land value rises.

What is civilization? Simply public aggrandizement. That society is in the highest state of civilization which comes nearest to perfection in the manipulation of public affairs. The most and best public convenience, the highest rate of literacy, the most widely distributed wealth as compared with the total wealth.

These things constitute civilization. The nation or society possessing the greatest number of these is the most civilized. In such societies land value is highest. I am of the same opinion as many others that at the present stage of civilization it is best that a few should be very wealthy and the many compelled to struggle with poverty, because in that condition humanity may, through those not compelled to labor, become possessed of knowledge which would probably be withheld for generations.

Of course, not all wealthy are erudite and not all poverty ignorant; but the trend of both is already marked as above.

You, my son, are, with others in your class, the future law makers. I shall soon have passed beyond participation in these affairs, and am anxious that you step into my shoes so lightly as not to cause a jar or commit a stumble. In order that our institutions should continue as they are, it is only necessary that the wealthy class, of which you are a member, should look to it that our present methods of taxation be maintained, or, if changes be made, that they be such as will not interfere with economic rent. Economic rent is what is carrying you through college, it is what gives me influence and prestige, it is what enables us to maintain our fine equipage of horses and servants, it is that which carries us to any noted point of interest in the United States and to foreign countries. What is economic rent? It is the rental value of bare land. Last year I harvested \$250,000 of it, besides a small crop of interest. And right here, my son, I wish to remark that this interest about which there is so much bosh written and talked, is the child of this same economic rent. It is almost appalling to contemplate the immense amount of interest paid on capital invested in land value. There are billions of dollars invested in land value, the interest on which must be paid before a wheel is allowed to turn or a spade to be inserted in the soil, unless a contract be made whereby interest must share in the production. Of course, this amount is added to the cost of the product and paid by the consumer. Who is the consumer? He is the laborer, the artisan, the farmer, twenty to one; therefore the poor pay nineteen-twentieths. But as long as you can keep before their eyes this greenback and silver question, this question of interest, you can keep them from an apprehension of this fearful chasm always open to receive \$90 out of every \$100 now necessary in the transaction of business. Herein lies the danger of the discussion of this Henry George craze. We must not discuss this question at all. Adopt the method lately pursued with such admirable results by the republican majority in congress. Let those few in the ranks of poverty who have their eyes open to this economic question shout as loud as they please, but do not answer them. But if perchance you happen out to a farmers' fair, then it will be safe to denounce this Henry George as a revolutionist and his theory as confiscation. In fact, adopt the policy of the wise working majority in Pennsylvania.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are drawn from labor annually by us, which would simply remain with labor were this "single tax" substituted for the many eluded entirely now by land value—\$30,000,000 annually in one bunch, and not a dollar assessed on land value. And this is not one quarter of the taxes levied upon industry that land value has no share in furnishing. The state of Pennsylvania, as also some others, does not assess land values at all, or in a few cases and to so small an amount that it is not worth mentioning. Even in the assessment for local purposes the valuation is so ridiculously low that it does not cover the actual cost of improvements plainly in sight.

For instance, that property on Ninth and Front streets, where your young friend lives, whose father pays me regularly every month \$50, or \$600 a year, I would not take \$8,000 for. The building could not be duplicated for less than \$4,000. That is assessed at \$8,000. The land alone on that corner is

worth \$4,500, and I shall raise the rent on that property next year to \$70 per month.

I merely mention these details in order to let you into the inwardness of the system whereby we hold our advantages over society.

This instance is not an isolated one; in fact my assessments are as high as any in our town; yet I do not consider that I have any land value assessed in this city, although I have hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth here.

Now, so long as a community sees fit to create a value from which I, as well as any others who have the ability, can draw for a support, aye, and even to build a fortune from, I propose to get my share of it, and want to put you in shape that you can do the same.

The community created this value and offers it with open hands and closed eyes to who ever sees fit to take. He who will not is but stupid to say the least.

You will, of course, keep this matter to yourself. The friend you mention as having called your attention to this subject and those books of Mr. George is undoubtedly a dangerous companion for you at present. Would much prefer that you drop his acquaintance or at least his intimacy. There is nothing but harm to you as the result of this agitation. Every dollar of taxes assessed and collected from land value is just that much taken from our income; and not only that, but it reduces our capital to the same extent; for, let it be clearly understood that henceforth the community are to take the value they create every year, and who, but those wishing to produce, could hold the subject of this value? If the yearly value were all taken in the form of taxes we would then be obliged to depend for our income upon the rental of buildings or the profits of trade, which would compel us to enter the field of competition in production, and thus we must employ labor in the building of houses, or in the distribution of the products, or in the production of wealth by application of labor to the land; for no one would pay us for the use of land, the yearly value or rental of which is taken by the community. If they take regularly the yearly value there remains no selling value, for the selling value is merely rental value capitalized. That is to say, a piece of land which is worth \$24 a year for use, would have a selling value of \$400, etc. So that the nearer the community comes to taking its own, the nearer it comes to making every member of that community earn his own living, which, of course, means in our case, go to work. Our income is nearly all derived from the rental of land. We own but very few buildings as yet; but within the next twenty years there will have fallen to our ownership buildings and other "improvements," which rent now at nearly the same as the land.

You see now, we absorb, in fact, the entire rental value of the buildings, and when their leases expire we shall have absorbed all, and then could stand the single tax a little better.

But this is already too long drawn out. Please let me know how you feel in regard to the matter when you write again.

YOUR AFFECTIONATE FATHER.

ONLY PROTECTIONISTS DARE SAY SO.

Chicago Tribune.
Has anyone the hardihood to say that prices will not advance after the old stock is worked off? That the manufacturer will have to pay three or four cents a pound more for his crude unwashed mixing wools and will charge no more for his cloths, and that prices will remain unchanged? It is sheer nonsense to claim it.

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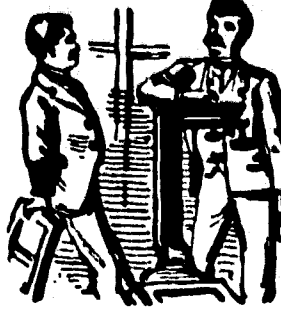
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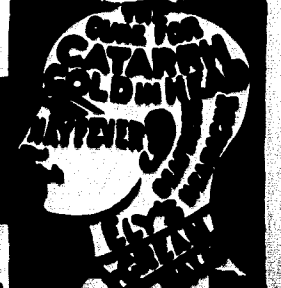
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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

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

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

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1066 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haskins.

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

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

COLORADO.

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

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

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

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

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

CONNECTICUT.

DANBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., John E. Jones; sec., W. E. Grumman. Address for the present, Sam E. Main, 10 Montgomery st.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 103 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. 8 p. m. every Sunday. Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

SHARON.—Single tax committee. Chairman, J. Ryan.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Pres., Geo. W. Kreer; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren North Bailey; sec. F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax committee. Pres., John Black, box 512.

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

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

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

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

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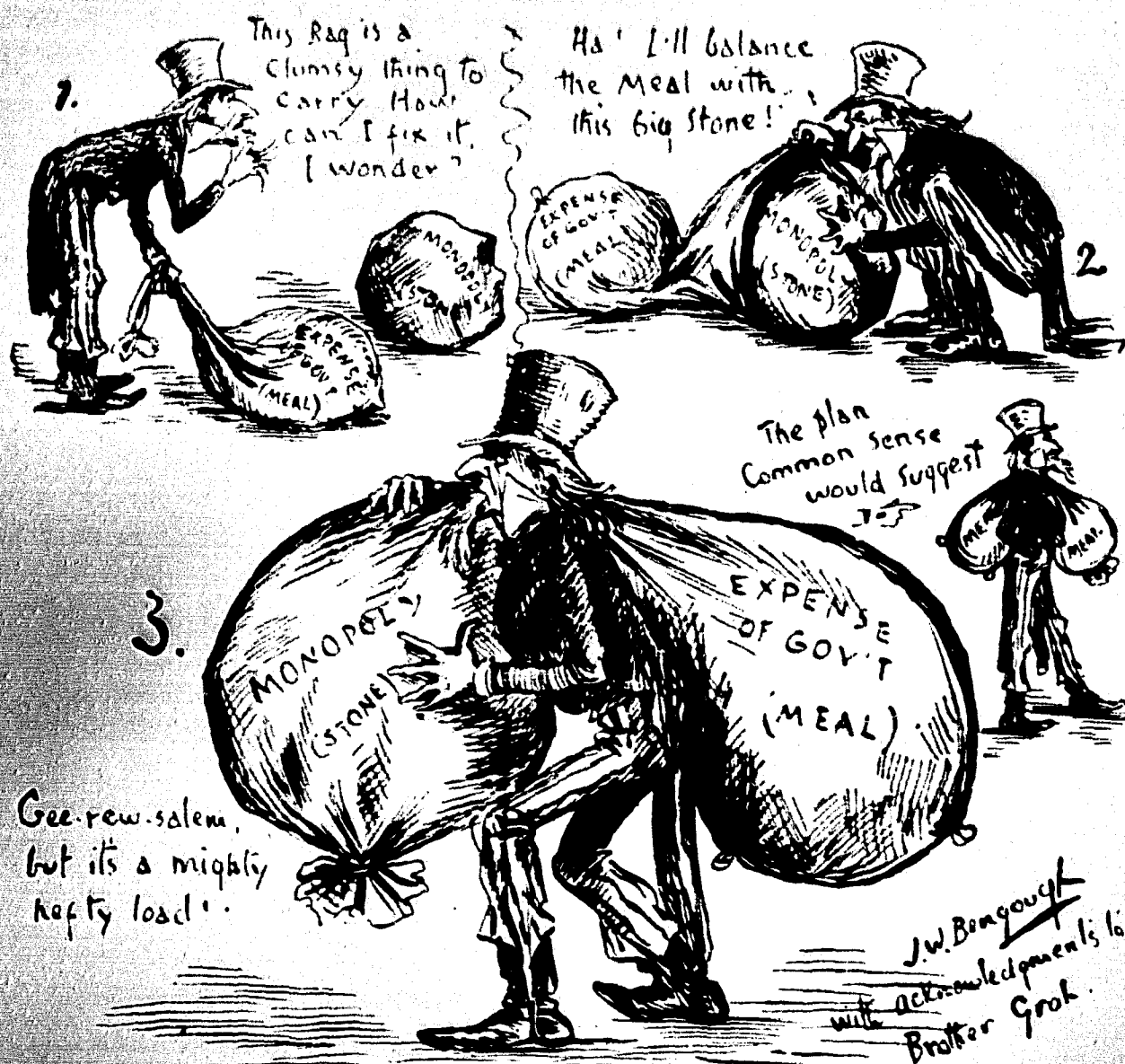
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