

THE STANDARD

NO. 125—VOL. V, NO. 21.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

HENRY GEORGE IN SCOTLAND.

GLASGOW, May 11.

I finished my Scottish trip, or at least the speaking part of it, at a great meeting in the Glasgow city hall on Thursday night, and before the afternoon closes will be over the border on my way south. I have not been as far north as I expected, the visit to Wick, which had been on the programme, having been abandoned by the committee in order to permit of some other meetings in the Lowlands. So I missed the walk along the beach by John o'Groat's house that I expected to take with Dean of Guild Brims, and the greeting of the other friends I count in Caithness and Sutherlandshire. But I think the committee were wise, and that the time that would have been consumed by the trip to the top of Scotland has been better utilized nearer the border. Caithness and Sutherlandshire are already represented by Dr. Clark and Angus Sutherland, and can be depended on in the next election, and it is in the districts that are not sure that time thus saved has been spent. Of the three weeks that I was to devote to Scotland the committee originally promised me one as a holiday, for they were patriotically anxious that I should see "bonnie Scotland" when the sun was on it and the leaves were coming out, and all my previous trips have been in winter and during the shortest of the short days. The week's holiday in Scotland gleamed before me like an oasis, but when it came to the reality it was only by strenuous efforts that I got one day of it, and that I had to put in a futile effort to catch up with pressing arrears of personal correspondence. But I think good work has been done.

All my speaking—with the exception of one meeting at Campbelltown, on the Cantire peninsula, in the duke of Argyll's dominions, has been in the Lowlands; and could the requests that have come to the committee have been possibly acceded to, I could have put in effectively many weeks more, in spite of the fact that the days are now so long. The Highlands are all right. Their people will be all ready when the south is ready. This I learn from many sources. The reductions of rent and the sweeping away of arrears by the crofter commission are only whetting the appetite of the crofters for more. But they are doing a still more important work in raising the spirit of the people. It is a great thing for the men who have hitherto stood in dread of the power of landlords and factors, and been compelled to look up to them almost as a superior race, to sit at the same table with landlord or factor—

to tell their story and hear landlord or factor tell his—and then to have the commission decide against the "higher orders"—as it does when it decrees a reduction of rent. It is a new experience, and one that bodes no good to Highland landlordism.

Island of Lewis. The Rev. Donald McCallum, who has been foremost of all the Highland ministers in preaching the gospel of the land for the people, and who when he and I spoke together, when I was in Scotland before, seemed to me about

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO MR. HENRY GEORGE

FROM

THE DUNDEE AND DISTRICT UNITED TRADES' COUNCIL.

SIR—The Trades' council of Dundee, representing the working classes of the city, on the 16th of April, unanimously resolved to ask you to receive an address of welcome and of thanks for your great services in the cause of labor; and in accordance with that resolution, we desire to assure you that you have the council's warmest welcome amongst us and their most sincere thanks for the disinterested devotion with which you have pleaded the cause of the disinherited of the world.

Ever since you commenced to think you have had the industrial problem before your eyes, and you say somewhere that it gave you no rest till you solved it. Your solution was to replace a political economy that was truly called the "dismal science" by a system which is radiant with hope for the masses and impossible to call unjust to the classes. The great difference between yourself and preceding economists lies in the extreme simplicity and beautiful correlation of your laws of distribution as contrasted with the confusing unconnectedness of theirs. Three parties unite in production—the laborer, the capitalist, and the landowner—and the shares of each are wages, interest, and rent. The existing law of rent you accepted; it was with regard to the law of wages and the law of interest that you differed from the current political economy. If "the rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use," surely it is clear that the recompense left to labor and capital is all production minus this excess. That conclusion of yours is unavoidable, and it has an infinity of meaning. As far as labor and capital are concerned, it is as though all production yielded no more than what is secured at the lowest levels; it is as though there was no better land than the worst. That is a sufficient reason why wages are low, and why the reward of labor will remain low until it learns to ask that this excess shall be equally divided. This excess is produced not by any limited body of individuals, but by the whole community, and should belong to the whole community. "On the land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again—children of the soil as truly as is the blade of grass or the flower of the field;" and it is the most reasonable proposition in the world that every one has an equal title to land. It is instructive to analyse the motives of most landowners for monopolizing land. It is not to labor on it or to dwell upon it—both blameless motives when they covet no more than their equal share; they monopolize land almost solely that they may be able to intercept this excess—making others suffer that they may live in idleness and luxury.

The significance to labor of that part of your argument which deals with the effect of labor saving contrivances cannot be over estimated. Inventions take the place of men. It is all very well to say that they cheapen the cost of production, and that so the working classes are benefited. But let those who administer such comfort remember the law of rent. The rent of land is the excess of its produce over what is secured on the worst soil in use—otherwise called the margin of cultivation. It is undoubted that cost of production is lowered by inventions; but it is only in so far as it is lessened on the margin that the working classes share in the saving; it is rent which reaps the great increase.

With regard to that other branch of your subject—the relation of labor to capital—let it suffice to say that we fully appreciate the fact that the natural and just distribution of wealth by conferring the power effectively to demand would enormously increase the request for labor, and that this increase would enable labor to meet capital on neither more nor less than an equal footing. To put it shortly, it would be as easy for the employee to find the employer as for the employer to find the employee; under these circumstances capital would be shorn of its power to oppress.

In one of the most eloquent passages of your eloquent book you speak of man when his nobler nature is developed. "He works for those he never saw and never can see; for a fame or it may be but for a scant justice, that can only come long after the clouds have rattled upon his coffin lid. He toils in the advance where it is cold, and there is little cheer from men, and the stones are sharp and the brambles thick. Amid the scoffs of the present and the sneers that stab like knives, he builds for the future; he cuts the trail that progressive humanity may hereafter broaden into a highroad." True as this always is in the case of men who advance in thought and try to teach the world new truths, we think you are especially fortunate as a thinker in that the cause you advocate has made a progress that must astonish even yourself. In your native country, America, the New Crusade must be an uncomfortable fact for the mechanical politicians of the other parties, and it is inevitable that the best of the republicans and democrats will gravitate in your direction. In this country the most humdrum village does not escape a discussion of your theories, and you are no doubt aware that the Trades' congress—which meets this year in Dundee—has already resolved that the land must be nationalized. There is not a civilized country in the world in which your name is not known, and in which your adherents do not spread the light kindled at your flame.

In conclusion, let us express the conviction that if one-half of the working classes of these islands had a decent grasp of the laws of distribution as taught in "Progress and Poverty" it would go hard with our present state of industrial slavery; and let us again assure you of our deep gratitude for the noble work to which you have dedicated your life.

Signed on behalf and by authority of the Dundee and District United Trades' Council, at Dundee, this sixth day of May, 1889.

SEAL

THOMAS CONNIE, President.
EDWARD DE COURCEY, Vice-President.
PATRICK BRANNIGAN, Treasurer.

R. D. RITCHIE, Secretary.
JOHN WISHART, Members.
ARTHUR FORSYTH, of Council.

One of the little "straws" from the Highlands that has much pleased me is a bit of news that has come to me first from Donald McCrae, the schoolmaster of Balallen, who organized the deer raids, and afterward from D. C. Macdonald of Aberdeen, the counsel for the Lewis crofters. It tells of the promotion of the Rev. Donald McCallum of Waternish, Skye, to what is considered in the Western Isles a very fat living at Tiree, in the

the most telling speaker I had ever listened to, had only a *quoad sacra* charge in Waternish. That is to say the church of which he was minister, though belonging to the established kirk of Scotland, was not one of the legally established parishes with a revenue drawn from the "teinds"—the stipulated rent charges reserved for the support of the kirk when the immense property of the Catholic church in Scotland was, in spite of the

protests of John Knox, turned over to individual landlords at the time of the reformation. The *quoad sacra* churches are supported, and their ministers' stipends are paid, from a fund accumulated by contributions, legacies, etc.—a sort of established church home mission arrangement—and the positions and salaries of the ministers are generally not so good as those of the regular incumbents, who correspond to the English parish rectors.

The last incumbent of the Lewis parish was the Rev. Ewen Campbell. He had been a sailor in his youth, and had afterwards studied theology, been ordained, and obtained this parish in the Hebrides, where there was £200 a year to get and nothing whatever to do except to preach on Sundays and fast days to his servant maid and sexton—for the Rev. Ewen Campbell, being a bachelor, had neither wife nor children to swell his congregation. In Lewis, as in most parts of the Western Highlands, the people had walked out of the established kirk in a body at the time of the "Disruption," and had got to regard it as not much better than popery.

Though in his solitary life Mr. Campbell became a good deal of a recluse and eccentric, he was a man of considerable energy of character, and the landlord must oft have been tempted to couple his name with Dr. Watts's line:

Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.

For the Rev. Ewen Campbell having only two of a congregation and plenty of leisure for documentary research and ecclesiastical law investigations, set himself to ascertaining and asserting the rights of the church. The parish had been held for several incumbencies by ministers who were tacksmen (large tenants) of the great landlord, and the glebe lands had gradually been merged and lost in the larger areas they rented for sheep farming. Rev. Mr. Campbell set himself in the first place to discovering and proving up the boundaries of the ancient glebe, and by threat of proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts compelled the landlord to concede it. Then he addressed himself to the condition of the kirk. The landlord protested that there was no congregation, but the Rev. Ewen Campbell replied that that made no difference, as there might be a congregation some time; and anyhow, it was the landlord's business to repair the kirk. And the landlord finally had to do it. Then the Rev. Ewen Campbell addressed himself to the manse. This was in a very dilapidated condition, and as there was no legal escape, the landlord had finally to build a virtually new and commodious manse. At this point the landlord naturally thought he had satisfied his obligations to the church. But, no; in drawing the plans for a manse to be occupied by a bachelor minister, the architect had left out the nursery, which is, it seems, embraced in the legal regulations for the proper housing of a minister of the established kirk of Scotland. As soon as the Rev. Ewen Campbell had got well rested he called attention to the fact and demanded the nursery. This seemed to the landlord like adding insult to injury, and he warmly protested against the manifest absurdity of building a nursery as an addition to the house of an old bachelor. But the Rev. Ewen Campbell was deaf to all such remonstrances, or, rather, they only made him more deter-

mined to insist on his legal rights. Even if he was a bachelor, he insisted, he had the right to get married if he chose, and when he did get married he wanted a nursery for his children and a room for the children's governess. And besides, even if he himself never got married, his successor might get married and might badly need a nursery and a room for the governess. Finally he had his way. And so, having secured the eight square miles of glebe land, having had the church repaired, a proper manse built, and the nursery added to the manse, the Rev. Ewen Campbell rested from his labors, and about four months ago closed his eyes for the last sleep.

Now, according to Scottish ecclesiastical law—I believe it is a new law—a majority of heads of families, regular members of the established kirk, and communicants of the parish, can present a minister when a vacancy occurs. All of which had been pondered over by the schoolmaster of Balallien.

So, perhaps, it came that with the news of the death of the Rev. Ewen Campbell the Presbytery to which he belonged received a much more astonishing notification. During the years of his charge the old bachelor minister had got eight square miles of glebe lands, a repaired kirk, a new manse, and a nursery to the manse, but he had not added a single soul to the congregation. His death, however, had proved more potent than his life, for the document which the astonished presbytery received with the notice of the death of the Rev. Ewen Campbell, was a declaration signed by eighty heads of families in the parish, setting forth their earnest desire to return to "the kirk of their fathers" and to partake of a sacrament according to its form, and requesting that a minister be sent by the presbytery to examine them.

Of course the news of this reverse disruption that threatened to take the whole parish back from the free kirk to the established kirk was not long in coming to the ears of a free kirk minister. He was naturally aghast at a prospect of having the death of the Rev. Ewen Campbell reduce him to such a congregation as that to which the deceased gentleman had ministered in his lifetime, and at once bestirred himself to prevent such a disaster. But finding protestations to individuals useless, he at last got the whole eighty together, and after unavailing remonstrances finally told them that if they took such a course neither he nor any other free church minister would baptise their children. The people had merely listened till then, but at this threat one of the crofters got up and said that the schoolmaster of Balallien could preach a good sermon—in fact they liked his sermons better than any they had ever listened to, and if they could get their children baptised by no one else they were quite content to get the schoolmaster to baptise them. The free church minister resigned himself to his fate and left the eighty to theirs.

In due time the delegate of the presbytery came to the parish, and the examination of the applicants for admission to the established church began. The examination was vigorous, and more as if it were desired to keep these yearners after the faith of their fathers out of the established pale than to let them in; but they were all fully up in the prescribed questions, and the delegate had no alternative but to admit the whole eighty. And then, as if in imitation, the gamekeepers, gillies and other attaches of landlordism in the neighborhood also began to be seized with the desire to return to the faith of their fathers, and it began to look as if the election to the place of the Rev. Ewen Campbell would be a warm one.

But a day or two before the appointed time for the church members of the parish to express their preference it began to be whispered in game-preserving circles that the whole thing was a ruse to cover a deer raid on a larger scale than had yet been attempted, and the movements of the crofters seemed to give color to the suspicion. So strong did this at last become that by the hour appointed for the voting every game-keeper and gillie was at his post to protect the sacred animals, and the crofters, executing a flank movement, marched to the kirk and triumphantly presented the Rev. Donald McCallum, *quoad sacra* minister of Waternish and Tyree, as the choice of the parish for the incumbency made vacant by the death of the Rev. Ewen Campbell.

Mr. McCallum is not yet installed, but that is only a matter of a month or so. He is sure of the place in that time if he lives, and will soon be in possession of the eight square miles of glebe, the comfortable stipend, and the new manse with nursery attached. Mr. McCallum is as yet a bachelor, like his predecessor, but he will probably soon correct that error.

When he is inducted the crofters of Lewis will have eight square miles on which to build huts in case they are evicted, and the possession of this tract by a clergyman of the Rev. Donald McCallum's sympathies opens another possibility. The glebe land abuts on an arm of the sea up which the salmon of Lady McDonald (who is now the owner) come in great numbers in the proper seasons. There is one point from which a net properly stretched across the inlet would swoop in pretty much all the salmon that come in and leave the gentleman to whom Lady McDonald has sold the right to fish salmonless. Whether the incumbency of the glebe land carries with it the legal right to fish is a law point not yet determined, but the Rev. Donald McCallum is a man who is likely to let the onus of proving that it is not devolve on the landlords.

There are so many clergymen who find that the road to promotion is the betrayal of justice and the preaching of a gospel suited to the tastes of the very class that Christ denounced, that it is refreshing to hear of a clergyman who has been called to a better position and a higher salary, because of his advocacy of the equal rights of all men, and we can all wish for the Rev. Donald McCallum that his predecessor's foresight in making the landlord erect the nursery may in due time be justified in his case, and that the fishing on his new estate may be good.

Speaking of salmon, a carpenter was recently heavily fined in Newcastle for infringing the rights of the duke of Newcastle by catching some of them off the Northumbrian coast. The theory, if there was any theory, must have been that the salmon were the private property of the duke, not that the carpenter was trespassing on the duke's ocean. But in the cases of Donald McCrae and the other crofters who were prosecuted for killing deer, it was held that deer were *feru nature* and could not be subject to property rights until taken. Therefore the deer raids involve no legal offense in killing the deer, but only that of trespassing on the deer parks.

Donald McCrae gave me information of hunts that are contemplated when the hunting season begins that will, if properly carried out, attract a great deal of attention. The crofters like to wait till the proper season for killing deer, even when their purpose is to get rid of them.

I began this letter with the intention of giving something like a review of my trip in Scotland. But a chapter of accidents has made it impossible now to do so in

time to catch a mail. I can only say at this time that it has been very successful and exceedingly gratifying to me. My audiences have been large, my reception of the warmest kind. Our friends everywhere are awake and full of hope, and I have everywhere found evidences of the greatest progress.

My hardest work is now, I hope, pretty nearly over, and by next week I will be able to send a full letter.

HENRY GEORGE.

INTERVIEW WITH HENRY GEORGE.

Progress of the Single Tax Movement in Various Parts of the World—Answers to Questions About the Proposed System—The Irrepressible Widow and Orphan.
Dundee Advertiser, May 7.

Yesterday one of our representatives had an interview with Mr. Henry George in his hotel. Mr. George, who is a good specimen of the frank, easy-going American, received our representative with courtesy, and when it was made known to him that an interview was wished in regard to his propaganda, Mr. George readily agreed. He was asked:

"What progress is the cause you espouse making in Great Britain?"

"Very great progress. This is perceptible to me wherever I go. However, it has been a progress, as it were, beneath the surface—a progress in thought and education, and its full effects are not yet seen in politics, but will be so as soon as the land question comes fairly up."

"Have you as many followers proportionately in Scotland as in England?"

"In proportion to the population I am inclined to think more."

"I suppose you have made and are making a large number of 'converts' in America?"

"We have been all these years steadily moving forward in America, and during the last year, and especially since the election, our ideas have been progressing with great rapidity. This is largely owing to the discussion on the tariff question, between protectionists on one side and tariff reformers, who are half protectionists, on the other; we single tax men, as we are called, are the only ones who precisely know what we want. We are out-and-out free traders, and on this question we have magnificent opportunities to bring our views under discussion. We supported President Cleveland in the last election tooth and nail, but were perfectly satisfied with his defeat. I not only felt this myself, but on going home after visiting this country I found that the feeling was shared by all our friends throughout the states. If Mr. Cleveland had been elected president a republican senate would have blocked the way to any radical action, while the protectionists who yet remained in the democratic body would have claimed the victory as due to their moderation. As conditions are now the free trade element must get full possession of the democratic party by the next presidential campaign, or else split it in two, and the struggle will be a square one. Education on the tariff question is going rapidly forward in the United States, and the late victory of the advocates of protection only means their more thorough defeat in the future."

"Have you any information of the progress of your ideas on the continent of Europe and in Australia?"

"They are making some progress on the continent. They have started a paper in Germany. Michael Flurscheim, a large manufacturer in Baden-Baden, has left his business and now devotes himself to the propaganda. In Holland I am also assured that the cause is making steady way, and although I can only speak English I have accepted an invitation from our friends at Amsterdam to go over there and address them. In France we have some friends; I cannot tell how many. And so in other countries in Europe. "Progress and Poverty" is now being translated into Turkish. In Canada the progress we are making is almost as rapid as in the United States. In Australia and New Zealand we have also been making great strides in advance, and in South Australia a law has already been passed, giving to localities the power to place their taxation on land values alone. I have not been to Australia, though I have been for a couple of years most strenuously urged to go out there. I have learned from South Australians whom I have met here that they believe that that colony will be the first to adopt the single tax. Mr. William Webster, now of Aberdeen, was the first, I believe, to propagate our ideas in Australia."

"What is your opinion regarding the claim of the eight thousand families in Western Australia to be put in possession of the entire colony?"

"Well, I presume what they want to do is to establish a state as we call it in America. I don't see why they should not. As an American and follower of Thomas Jefferson, I believe most strenuously in local self-government, or, as you call it here, home rule. I believe the people of every locality should have the right to manage their own affairs, and that general affairs should be managed by the representatives of the various communities embraced in the federation. The federation principle, which I hope some day

will be adopted on this side of the Atlantic, is indeed the only principle which can unite flexibility and strength over an extensive area."

"I understand your proposal is to take the unearned increment of land from the present owners and to give it to those who really create it—that is, the whole people?"

"Yes; that is to the community."

"Where would you draw the line in applying that rule? Suppose a sum of £2,000 or £3,000 belonging to a widow with a family of three or four children had been invested within the last ten or twenty years in fees within the boundary of a city, would you take from a family in such a position the unearned increment without compensation?"

"Yes; I would make no distinction."

"Are you not rather cruel in dealing with people in the circumstances I have mentioned?"

"No; I don't think so. That argument was wont to be used against us in America. The injustice is in the continuance of the present state of things. If widows and children are to be hardly used by the proposed change they could be taken care of. Such widows are not one-hundredth part of those widows who suffer under the present iniquitous system."

"Would you apply the same doctrine to houses where, in consequence of improvements effected by the community, rents were doubled or trebled?"

"The improvements made by a community never increase house rents or the value of houses. What improvements increase is the value of the land. Where the rent paid both for houses and ground is increased in a growing community the increase is always in the value of the land, never in the value of the houses."

"We will shortly have a case in Dundee which, if your ideas were carried into effect, would be easily settled when the time arrives. Almost in the center of the city we have a fine breathing space—it has been called one of the lungs of the town—locally known as the Barrack park. The park was for a number of years used as a military parade ground, but in 1854 it was leased to the town for nearly thirty-six years at an annual rental of £25. The lease terminates in 1890, and it is now proposed to feu the park, and it is expected that it will bring at least 15s. per pole. It belongs to an earl, of whom the people generally know less than of the shah of Persia. Still, he is the proprietor of the ground, his forefathers having received the park in the eleventh century as a free gift. In recent years the park has risen very much in value, simply because of the growth of the city. How would you deal with a case of that kind?"

"Under the plan I propose his resumption of the ownership in the park would compel him to pay a tax so heavy that he could not afford to retain the land in his possession and hold it lying idle, and would take from him what he could get by feuing it for buildings. Under such conditions he would be willing to get rid of the ground for little or nothing. The great advantage in making municipal improvements under the plan I propose is obvious. If the city authorities wished to widen a street or to obtain a site on which to erect public buildings, or to turn ground built on into a public park, it would only be necessary to pay a little more than the value of the buildings to be demolished."

"At what figure do you estimate the economic rent of Great Britain?"

"I have not made an estimate myself, but undoubtedly it is enough to pay all imperial and local taxation and leave a surplus."

"You do not propose to interfere with improvement?"

"No; improvements should be absolutely free of taxes or burdens. I would tax nothing that would make the nation richer."

"Are there not some improvements which merge into value of land so insensibly that you cannot distinguish them?"

"Yes, there may be; for instance, in the case of a hill leveled by the Romans, or a marsh filled up, we would not now be able to distinguish from the operations of nature, nor is there any reason for our doing so."

How Free Traders are Made.

"Single Tax" in Parkersburg, W. Va., Sentinel.

From the standpoint of the protectionist the tariff question is a very mysterious question—too deep for human comprehension. It is very like the problem put by the small boy to his teacher: "My parents have two sons, but I have no brother—how can that be?" It was too deep for the teacher until he found that the small boy had heard—then it was very simple. When the "common" protectionist is trying to understand how the foreigner pays the tariff, how people get rich by taxing themselves, how the tariff makes wages higher at the same time that it makes goods cheaper, he is indeed grappling an "intricate" question. But when it dawns on him that these are all lies, then he becomes a free trader and the whole question loses its mystery.

The Overfed Protective Infant.

Philadelphia Record.

Chauncey M. Depew in his centennial oration referred to "the infant industries which the first act of our first administration sought to encourage." But the tariff of Washington's time only averaged 12 per cent. Public sentiment would not then have consented to a tax of 47 per cent, such as is imposed now, when the infant has attained the full measure of its growth.

WHAT THE PAPERS IN GREAT BRITAIN SAY.

The Ayrshire Post.

There is more danger in underrating than in overestimating the importance of the movement in favor of land nationalization. It has reached a stage at which it can be no longer blinked out of existence. Its opponents may not like it, but they are better to look at it and to understand that the crusaders are getting more numerous every day, and that wherever Mr. Henry George raises his standard they come literally rushing in. Two or three years ago Mr. George was not regarded at all as a dangerous man. His opinions were dangerous, not himself. He dropped upon the unruffled surface and there was a splash, but the wisecracks, and, indeed, the country at large thought the circles created by the contact with the waters were not extending, and were not likely to extend. What society wished to take place, it thought would take place. But society was mistaken, as it generally is. Wherever Mr. George goes to-day he is met by crowds of sympathizing admirers; his views are readily assimilated, and when he leaves he does not take them away again with him. They remain; they keep on spreading, and where a few years ago it was very rare to find a man who talked of land nationalization or of taxing the landlords off the soil, supporters of these views are now so common as hardly to be considered extremists. And the views themselves are, in their intent, very "taking." They grip. People see for themselves what a terrible gulf there is between the many and the few. Wealth is in few hands, land is in fewer; and the masses get poorer and poorer. It is no matter for surprise that men, working and slaving for a bare pittance should welcome any one or anything that holds out the prospect of relief to them. The landlords keep rigid grasp of all they have and on all they can get. In the country districts the populations keep steadily going down. In the cities the East Ends are becoming more and more crowded. The colliery owner pays men a beggarly pittance for their toil; the sweeter makes life miserable by his parsimoniousness and his grinding exactions. The land is hedged in and walled about so that the masses can no more than look at it; and they are expected to rest satisfied with their public parks and the amenities of the country roads. Glens and straths that once carried large populations now carry large droves of sheep or deer. The emigrant ships are loaded with those who cannot get room to live at home. Discontent is being fostered all round, and, though there are brighter spots here and there in the darkness, the darkness itself is abounding.

Into this unhealthy moral condition Mr. George drops his balm. He has not to manufacture a case. It is at hand, and his audiences know it and feel it. They can tell what unremunerative labor and grinding poverty mean, and they turn naturally to the man who says he can heal their afflictions. And without doubt his proposals are, in their way, both simple and enchanting. Remove all taxation on labor, on the handiwork of man; lay all the taxes on the land and drive the landlords off it. The scheme is simplicity itself, and if it were only feasible and honest no fault could be found with it. We could with pleasure see the land nationalized; but to simply tell the landlords that they must go, seems to us to involve a wrench of common fairness in dealing, and of principle, for which there is no justification. We do not take this view from any sneaking sympathy with the landlords. Many of them have inherited land which their forefathers stole, without waiting to consider anything about the morality of their transactions; and those in that position, who hold up their hands because the people propose to treat them as their forefathers treated others, are not worth wasting sympathy on. And of the many who have come honestly by their estates, there are comparatively few who do not use their rights in the most selfish conceivable fashion. They call their lands their own. They claim absolute right to do what they like with them; and the poor man who dares to walk their acres is rudely ordered on to the highway. The landlords as a class have shirked their duties and their responsibilities. They were bound at one time to maintain the army, for instance; but the taxpayer knows who has to pay for the armaments of the kingdom. The position of the lands bristles with anomalies and with monopolies; and if they are doomed to fall they will have brought down their doom on their own heads. They retain every privilege they can get hold of; and if they could help it, the masses would have nothing save the beggarly allowance they now possess, and the right to live. Hardly even that. But retaliation in kind is not honest; and of the two alternatives—to take their land without paying for it, and to tax them out of existence—it is hard to say whether of the two is the more reprehensible. Better a sudden than a lingering death; and better on the whole to bid them go than to multiply their taxation until their domains are riven from their grasp by the inexorable taxgatherer. Yet—and there is no good trying to blink it—it is one or other of these alternatives that they may have to face unless they make haste to agree with their adversary quickly while they are yet in the way. The country has no desire to read them separate from

their inheritance, without compensation; but if they keep on in their present attitude and defiantly insist on the "rights" which they have given themselves—stolen in most cases—the fault will be their own if they land themselves in destruction. For socialism is spreading, and changes come rapidly on the country. The more quickly things grow in great political and social matters, the more accelerated is the tendency to progress; and therefore, if the present *non possumus* attitude is maintained, there can as yet be no foretelling what the end may be. Of one thing, however, we are certain—they cannot be worse than they are. It is a most gratifying sign of the times that the working classes are taking their self amelioration into their own hands. It is they alone who can work it out. They can expect nothing, look for nothing, hope for nothing from the landowners as a class. The farmers know that, in bitter experience. If this amelioration is to come at all it will not be without a drastic change in the existing conditions; the sooner the few look to their position the better.

Reynolds's Weekly.

The English Land Restoration League, be it noted, is preparing extensively to petition parliament to take the full economic rent of land in town and country in lieu of all rates and taxes whatever. The Single Tax on Land Values is the true antidote to Budget juggling and mystification. It is the potent germ of the co-operative commonwealth that is to be. More power to the Land Restorers and the Prophet of San Francisco.

Dumfries and Glasgow Saturday Herald.

Mr. George is the only political economist who has managed to make that dismal science fascinating. The volume on which his reputation rests—"Progress and Poverty"—is as interesting as any romance.

Labor Tribune, London (miners' paper).

Mr. Henry George has been addressing some meetings of miners in Ayrshire this week, and has been opening the eyes of the men to some grand truths. His new gospel is very popular here, and only wants some one to head the movement, as Bright and Cobden headed the Anti-Corn law agitation—to place it in the front of the burning political questions of the day.

Greenock, Scotland, Telegraph.

The visit to Greenock of Henry George, the famous American writer and land law reformer, has been a marked success, so far as the attraction of popular interest is concerned. Notwithstanding the important circumstance that admission to the Town hall was by priced tickets, that spacious meeting place was yesterday evening—keeping off the gallery—quite filled. A glance at the arena audience showed that it was composed of from twelve to fifteen hundred of the cream of the workmen of the town and district. That such a number of working people should have been attracted to the hall, and should have persuaded themselves to pay for their seats, is a striking proof of the advance of the land question in public opinion as a matter of practical politics, and also a remarkable testimony to the power and influence of the author of "Progress and Poverty." The address, a report of which will be found in another column, was a clever piece of platform work—logical, incisive, and pawky. As a gentleman in the audience last night remarked, "His talk is even more racy than his writing." There is considerable truth in the observation.

Thomas G. Shearman in Kansas City.

On Thursday evening, May 16, Mr. Shearman delivered a lecture on "the single tax" in Kansas City, Mo., under the auspices of the local single tax club. Turner hall was well filled, there being present a large contingent of the Kansas City bar, while the Wyandotte atheneum society attended in a body. Mr. Shearman spoke for an hour and a half in the style so familiar to New York audiences.

Mr. Shearman asked his audience if there is not an element of danger present when nearly one third of the wealth of the country is in the hands of one hundredth of its population; and the rate at which this class is widening will, thirty years from this time, place three-fifths of the total wealth of the United States in the hands of 100,000 of its inhabitants.

We have, he continued, climate and fertility of soil that will produce enough for all our necessities, but for some reason there are many who work who do not receive a living proportion of that which they produce; others who cannot work although the opportunities in the shape of unused land almost surround them. The largest part of what they produce is taken from them in some way, and it is by taxation of some kind. The question before the people is one of taxation. If we abolish indirect taxation we must, of course, use the direct. We have tried the income tax, and the tax on personal property and improvements. They only served to promote dishonesty and burden industry. There is but one tax that can be levied and carry out the requirements of justice, and that is the single tax on land values. At the conclusion of his lecture Mr. Shearman spent an hour answering questions. He was listened to with the greatest attention throughout his entire lecture, and was frequently interrupted by applause.

Meetings of the Cleveland Club.

Cleveland, O.—All persons interested in discussions of social questions are cordially invited to attend the next meeting of the single tax club on May 28, at Orvey hall, S. E. corner 4th and Sycamore streets, at 8 p. m.

AN IMPORTANT MOVE IN CHICAGO.

The Single Tax Club Appoints a Committee That Waits on the Tax Assessors and Gets Them Interested—The First Practical Step Toward the Single Tax—Getting Down to Facts and Figures—Other Notes of Interest—Rev. Father Higgins to Speak Before the Club.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Our club has undertaken some practical work that may prove effective in two ways. It is expected to check in part the maladministration of existing assessment laws, and to call public attention pointedly to the general subject of taxation.

At the meeting two weeks ago, on my suggestion, a committee was appointed to wait upon the three assessors of the city for the purpose of protesting against the under assessment of vacant lots and lands within their districts. The committee consisted of: Edward Jones, Evening News; H. W. McFarlane, assistant ticket auditor Northwestern railway; John Z. White, secretary American Tariff reform league; Robert H. Cowdrey, Chicago Condensing company, and J. T. Ripley, chairman of the Western classification association. I was ex-officio chairman.

The committee met at once and drew up a memorial to be presented to each assessor. The memorial briefly set forth our position, called attention to the effect of personal taxes, and particularly urged that unimproved lots be assessed at their value relatively to those improved.

On Tuesday the committee waited upon Assessor B. R. DeYoung of the South town. He received us courteously, and listened with attention to what we had to say. He seemed anxious to avoid discussing the administration of the present law and equally anxious to discuss the single tax. The latter he attacked as unjust because it would permit some persons entirely to escape taxation. He admitted, however, that the single tax was more easily assessed and more cheaply collected than any other. When pushed, he denied that unused lots and lands were let off with lower assessments in his district than improved pieces. He declared that no such inequalities as we deprecated existed as far as he knew, and he told us that if any were pointed out to him, he would make correction at once. He said, however, that he ignored the law, had always done so; that he was governed by custom, which was higher than law; and that he was elected to take care of the interests of those who elected him, and would do so in any event.

Mr. Thomas J. Cantwell, assessor of the West town, was met by appointment the following evening. His interest was caught at once and closely held. Like Mr. DeYoung, he was quick to dispute the justice of the single tax, but when we pointed out that we were only demanding the enforcement of the present law, he settled down to the consideration of the facts and principles which we brought out. He became really enthusiastic when he began to perceive the effect of the action we urged him to take. For fourteen years the lots and lands in his district have been assessed on the same valuation. In one instance he pointed out, lots now held at \$500 per front foot, have been assessed on a value of \$15 or \$20 per front foot; and acre property has been assessed at agricultural rates only, although valued in the market at from \$2,000 to \$5,000. When we showed him that by raising the assessments on these vacant holdings, land would be cheapened, that in consequence labor would retain more of its produce, that production would be stimulated and that building would experience an unprecedented boom, he all at once saw a good deal of the cat and pledged himself to promote the purpose we had in view as far as he could under the law. He also urged our committee to inspect his books from time to time and to post him on any matter of interest in connection with our work.

I was unable to be present at the interview with Assessor S. B. Chase of the North town, but the committee found the gentleman courteous and disposed to give them every attention. He discussed the principles of taxation and invited an inspection of his books, agreeing to correct any inequalities that might be brought to his notice.

The committee reported at Thursday night's meeting and the club was highly pleased with the work done. We were authorized to continue along the same line, gathering statistics and preparing for such action, before the board of equalization or in the courts, as may be deemed expedient under legal advice. It is our purpose to make it extremely uncomfortable to somebody before we get through.

Here is a circular which explains itself and which shows that the people are everywhere putting their thinking caps on and that the land speculator is getting pretty well along toward the end of his tether.

To the Resident Tax Payers:

Within a few days the assessor will begin the assessment of the real and personal property in the villages of South Evanston and Rogers Park. Now is the time for those who have built homes for themselves in these villages to look to it that there is a fair assessment made.

A reference to the assessor's books will show that improvements are assessed from one-sixth to one-fifth of every dollar they cost, while lots that last year could not be bought for from \$15 to \$30 per front foot, and are now held at from \$20 to \$40 per foot, are assessed at from one-seventh to one-tenth,

and as low as one-eleventh of their market value.

It is this discrimination in favor of the non-improver as against those who build on and improve their property that has made your taxes so burdensome.

This unequal assessment is not altogether the fault of the assessor. The present incumbent of the office has followed in the footsteps of all his predecessors. He is simply grounded in the custom that has always prevailed of jumping with both feet on any man who improves a piece of ground by building a home on it.

It rests with the home owners themselves whether this custom will be adhered to in the assessment about to be made.

The vacant land owner is up and doing and will see to it that the burden of taxation is shifted from his land onto your home unless you give the matter proper and immediate attention.

Respectfully inform the assessor that you believe a \$1,000 lot should pay as much tax as a \$1,000 house, and that where property is held at and is selling at \$15 to \$40 per front foot it should be assessed on that valuation; or if assessed at a lower valuation than its selling price then improvements should be given the same consideration.

BY ORDER OF COMMITTEE.

The Rev. Father Higgins, S. J., has signified a desire to attack the doctrines of the single tax and he has been invited to present his views before our club. He will do so at a future meeting.

The friends of Mr. C. S. Darrow, the eloquent single tax lawyer, will be pleased to learn that Mayor Cregier has placed him in a responsible and lucrative position in the city administration. Mr. Darrow's popularity is increasing day by day.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

IN HER LAST SLEEP.

Miss Marcia Hammond of Port Angeles, W. T., Dead—A Life Long Informer—She Leaves Money for "Spreading of the Light."

PORT ANGELES, W. T., May 12.—It becomes my painful duty to announce the death on April 26 of Miss Marcia Hammond, aged sixty-nine years, one of our best workers in the cause of the single tax. She has been a life long reformer; and soon after the publication of "Progress and Poverty" became a convert to its teachings, and since that time has labored in season and out of season for the cause.

Among her correspondence we find letters which show something of her history as a reformer. She was a member of the Hopedale community and of the North American phalanx in their time, but spent most of her laborious life as a teacher of small children, in which work she took extreme delight. Letters to her from Henry Ward Beecher and Wendell Phillips prove her interest in the anti-slavery movement.

At her death Miss Hammond was possessed of a house and lot in Port Angeles and \$300 of the stock of the Puget Sound co-operative colony, of which she was a member, and a few personal effects—in value altogether about \$800. All of this she has conveyed to F. S. Lewis and Robert Shields of this place to be devoted to the spread of the Henry George doctrine. As soon as possible we shall notify the reader of THE STANDARD of the course to be pursued by her trustees, and of the amount to the credit of the fund, the expenditure of which she left to their judgment.

F. S. LEWIS, M. D.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

The rooms of the Manhattan club were filled last Sunday evening, when Benjamin Reeco delivered his address on "The evils of railroad management: their cause and cure." The lecturer showed what a burden excessive railroad building had placed on the people of the country, and while favoring legislation immediately that would lighten this burden, still he thought that the burden could be lifted permanently only through the adoption of the single tax. Next Sunday evening Gilbert E. Lang will speak on "protection or free trade for Ireland"—which?

At the business meeting of the club a committee from the Brooklyn Central club presented a resolution from their organization calling for a national conference of the single tax men. The Manhattan club did not favor the project for the present; but they asked the Brooklyn committee to join with the Manhattan club in a call for a meeting to make suitable arrangements for receiving Henry George when he returns home. The Brooklyn committee agreed, and the call will soon be issued.

The rooms of the club are cool and pleasant despite the hot weather.

This Means Work in Nebraska.

OMAHA, Neb.—The Omaha single tax club would be glad to hear from all Nebraska single tax men in regard to the prospects for active work throughout the state. We can furnish good speakers with experience, in both city and country; single tax speakers free of charge, if their expenses can be provided for by local single tax men. In this way, even if there is but one single tax man in a county, if he will arrange school house and court house meetings and take care of the speakers while in the county, a great waking up can be accomplished at very slight expense. Address

PERCY PERCIVAL,

1514 South Fifth street, Omaha, Neb.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
NEW YORK May 31st, 1889.

The work of the enrollment committee has heretofore been carried on in a room in the annex to the New York hotel, at 721 Broadway. On the 1st of May the annex passed into other hands and on the 15th the committee moved to new and comfortable quarters at No. 36 Clinton Place (E. Eighth street) immediately over the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club. The new rooms are much more convenient of access than the old.

Though the petitions continue to come in slowly the work of the committee has by no means ceased and the opportunity for completing the enrollment has been fully utilized.

Active preparations are now making for the attempted organization of workers. The delay has been intentional for the additions to the list of workers constantly making will make the work more effective. The letters to the workers will go out on or about June 1 and each will receive a list of all the workers in his own town or city. Where clubs exist members of such organizations are urged to have the club call a meeting of all the workers with a view to strengthening the organization and promoting propaganda work. Where no clubs exist and there are ten or more workers it is recommended that clubs be formed and where there are not enough workers to form a club they are urged to form a single tax committee and appoint the most active of their number secretary, in order that the enrollment committee may have one correspondent in each place where the single tax doctrine has taken root.

The suggestion is also made that out of these organizations may come a movement that will result in the appointment of a representative general committee to take up the work of correspondence when the present voluntary enrollment committee shall have completed its work and forwarded the petition to congress. Of course the work thus far done must not be lost, and the completed enrollment will give to the local organizations about to be formed such an opportunity for recruiting and propaganda work as they could have obtained in no other way.

At this writing reports from Kansas City indicate that the first of the meetings arranged by the committee for Mr. Thomas G. Shearman was a most gratifying success, and this was undoubtedly partly due to the fact that the local organization obtained from this committee envelopes addressed to all the signers of the petition in Kansas City and its suburbs.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 53,270
Received during week ending May 21, 830

Total 54,100

By a slip of the pen a singular error crept into the last report, by which the number of signatures received during the week ending May 14 was reported as the number received "during the week ending April 29."

Contributions other than those received from regular subscribers during the past week have been as follows:

A. J. Bostwick, Sharon, Conn.	\$2 00
J. J. Ryan, Sharon, Conn.	2 00
Frank Arnold, Brooklyn	1 00
Charles E. Reid, Kansas City, Mo.	1 00
F. F. Avery, Holton, Kan.	1 00
George W. Wood, Poplar, Mont.	3 00
W. G. Sellers, San Francisco, Cal.	5 00
Billy Radcliffe, Youngstown, Ohio	1 00
Chas. H. Mueller, Sturgis, Dak.	1 00
George Breed, Cold Spring, N. Y.	1 00
Single tax men of Passaic	1 00
C. V. Harbottle, Pulaski, N. Y.	1 00

Sundry stamps \$20 00
31

\$20 31

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,387 20

Total \$1,407 51

Of course this amount has not begun to pay for postage and literature sent out, but it has very materially aided in such distribution, and this has in turn paved the way, we hope, for the foundation of local organizations that will undertake to use the enrollment for circulating literature in their own neighborhoods.

WM. T. CROSDALE, Chairman.

The following are extracts from letters received by the committee:

Geo. D. Liddell, Providence, R. I.—P. H. Flanagan and I tackled a pawnbroker yesterday but he would not sign the petition. He wants the states to have the privilege of levying duties on goods imported from other states and says the Pennsylvania iron industry is being ruined by the cheap product of

the south, etc. I suppose he has sense enough to see that with the single tax in operation his occupation would be gone.

C. F. Knight, Frankfort Springs, Pa.—Mr. H—, whose name I send, is an ex-republican free trader who has become an active and enthusiastic advocate of the single tax. We are violently shaking the walls of protectionism in this neighborhood. Last fall the republicans were on their muscle, politically, and the democrats did not vote for fear of free wool. To-day things are reversed. The democrats are on their muscle and the republicans have stopped to investigate, and not a few of them have already jumped over the tariff wall.

R. C. Utess, Brooklyn, N. Y.—There is no reason why, with proper effort, 100 workers could not get 8,000 signatures in this city. The pamphlets are doing missionary work in various places and circulating them is like throwing a handful of seed in a field; some of it will take root—all will not perish. The inclosed will make 453 signatures to my credit.

D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.—Our city council, after expressions of opinion through the press and by the board of trade, laid on the table a proposition to revive the license tax on all business pursuits. It has increased the liquor license from \$50 to \$400 per quarter. I hope to see a single tax club in Oakland as soon as a suitable man to lead them has been found.

Harry W. H. Daniel, Port Angeles, Wash. Ter.—I wrote to the secretary of the Puget Sound Co-operative Company last December asking the chances for getting work here. He sent me a glowing description of the place and said a young man need have no fear about coming here. I also wrote to the editor of the Commonwealth, and his reply was that "When I tell you that five hundred landed here to-day (January 20, '89), you can judge of the labor market yourself. They are coming by the boat load on every trip." When I came up on March 15 there were four hundred and fifteen who left San Francisco for Seattle and Tacoma. The land is being taken up under the timber act here very rapidly. Of course people who take it up run the chance that some one will homestead over them. I have myself jumped a claim. The claimant swears that the tract is only fit for timber, yet over half of it has not a tree on it, and on the remainder there is hardly enough wood for buildings and fences. I intend to help anyone who wants to jump a claim. The fellows who are taking up so-called "timber" land sell it to speculators for \$50 and \$100, and these in turn demand \$30 and \$40 per acre.

W. H. Harvey, Baltimore, Md., sends a circular issued by a real estate agent in that town announcing a free excursion over the B. & O. to Lansdowne, a new suburb of Baltimore. The opportunity is, of course, described as a golden one, and running in large type across the page is the following: "Remember that it is the people that make the land valuable." The circular thus continues: "When 800 to 1,000 persons become separate owners of a tract of land the value is at once enhanced manifold by reason of the combination of interests. Out of such a number many will improve their holdings and thus the foundation is laid for a prosperous section of our city. Don't forget that the lots you buy to-day are as good a speculation as those of the built-up portion of the city several years ago." Our friends, the enemy, are certainly becoming very frank when in advertising land speculation they remind the people that it is they who make the land valuable and suggest that those who are sure to build houses will largely increase the value of the lots of the people who do nothing.

G. A. Menger, St. Louis, Mo.—We are still moving slowly toward free trade. The protected trusts are doing the work for us.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo.—As to the situation here I am glad I can write cheerfully and hopefully. Our club is in splendid working trim and the members are actively and enthusiastically at work educating themselves and the heathen round about. I attended one of the regular Tuesday night meetings recently, the first I have been able to attend since the reorganization, and it was a most interesting and profitable one. The regular exercises consist of readings from "Progress and Poverty," followed by comments and discussion, and other speeches and addresses. I spent the winter at the state capital, and I did some work that I am sure will result in making converts—converts who will make other converts, who will not be dead heads in the enterprise to use a Blaineism. A few members of the legislature have already seen the cat and others faintly perceive the outlines of the animal, while still others promise to investigate. I delivered two addresses in the house of representatives, one on "Land Monopoly" and one on "The Single Tax as a Remedy for Land Monopoly," both largely attended by members of the legislature and citizens of the capital. So, in spite of other work, I have not forgotten to do something for the single tax.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bull, Ill.—The circulation of the petition causes a great deal of discussion and inquiry and I am now daily asked to answer questions concerning the single tax. Almost every literary society of this neighborhood has discussed the single

tax. Mr. George's books STANDARD tracts and other single tax literature that I have distributed free for the past two years are bearing fruit. For over a year I have offered \$100 to anyone who can show me a better tax than the single tax. Nobody has yet claimed the reward. One of my neighbors over a month ago acknowledged that he could not earn the money himself, but would bring somebody who could. I gave him permission to bring anybody from anywhere, but nothing came of it, and this is the closest approach that anyone has made toward claiming the prize. I tell the people that I am open to conviction and would pay the money cheerfully, for if convicted of my error I would save money by the operation, since I would then cease to spend money for spreading the light. However, since I am convinced of the justice of the single tax I will not silently consent to systems of taxation that rob the people and do not give them full value for what they pay. No one who understands the single tax can in justice to himself and others submit without protest to the present system any more than he could allow highway robbery to continue if he could easily prevent it.

Activity in the Steel Manufacturing District.

JOHNSTOWN, Pa., May 14.—An intelligent audience in which there were a few ladies gathered at the rooms of the Henry George club last evening. Mr. A. J. Moxham talked at some length upon "Woman's influence in the Henry George movement." He said that men sneer at women taking interest in politics, saying that they lower their sex and standing thereby. The Henry George people believe, however, that women have a right to take part in any movement for the good of the race. As instances he cited the work of such women as Pharaoh's daughter, Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale and other women of note. Women, he said, had a perfect right to vote, think and use their accomplishments to influence civilization. They had a perfect right to compete with men in the different arts and industries, and experience has shown that they are able to hold their own against the smartest of men when they have a mind to. In this great movement for the moral and social elevation of the masses, woman's influence is, as it should be, on the right side. As to taxing land values alone, the speaker said that it would inure to the benefit of women as much, if not more, than the men.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, made some very interesting remarks which were listened to attentively.

Hon. John M. Rose, in answer to the question as to why the Australian ballot bill did not come up for consideration in the recent legislature, gave the rather startling answer that it was because two or three men did not want it to come up. Numerous questions were asked and answered, and a number of persons not members of the club responded to the hearty invitations to address the meeting and ask questions. The question for the next meeting is: "Will it be expedient to abolish the present system of taxation and raise all state, county and municipal taxes from a direct tax on land values, exclusive of improvements."

Notes About the South.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 12.—For the past three weeks I have been in Oklahoma attending to business, and when opportunity presented itself talking single tax. After returning and reading THE STANDARD I feel delighted with Mr. George's success in Europe, and with the progress being made all along the line in this country.

In Decatur and Huntsville I talked single tax and distributed tracts. In Florence I met our friend Chas. Stockell, who is working hard and incessantly. From all I saw I corroborate the statements that the south is booming—land booming. Men are working for one dollar per day and where work is scarce, for less. In a church I attended in Tusculum the minister, who I was informed was from Texas, gave such an interpretation of God's laws that I concluded he must have rubbed against the cat.

The suggestion of Bolton Smith of Memphis to have a state conference of our friends, I think is a good one. We could then form a plan of general action. P. H. CARROLL.

To Organize in Scranton.

SCRANTON, Pa., May 20.—All advocates and friends of the single tax in the city of Scranton are requested to meet in Noakes hall, corner of Spruce street and Franklin avenue, on Friday evening, May 31, at 7.30. Let every friend of our cause make it a point to be present, so that we may form a strong and effective organization.

By order of committee.

ARTHUR MAGEE, Sec.,
914 Capouse avenue.

No Authority to Solicit for the Free Trade Club.

NEW YORK, May 17.—Editor of THE STANDARD.—May I ask you to publish a notice that Adolph Reising, formerly an employe of this club, has no authority to solicit any money on its behalf, as we have just learned of his doing so in a most inexplicable manner.

E. J. SHRIVER,
Chairman General Committee,
New York Free Trade Club.

ANOTHER ADDRESS TO HENRY GEORGE.

The Eastern Branch of the Scottish League Presents a Testimonial of Regard.

The following address was presented at a public dinner to Henry George at Bridgeton Cross, Glasgow, April 27, by the executive committee of the eastern branch of the Scottish land restoration league:

TO HENRY GEORGE, ESQ.

Sir: The executive committee, members and friends of the eastern branch, Scottish land restoration league, desire to express their heartiest welcome to you, on this your second visit to the Bridgeton parliamentary division of the city of Glasgow. There are many men now in active connection with this organization who can look back to the occasion of your first visit to Bridgeton, when you came among them as the "pioneer of the principle of the equal natural rights of all men to the land" on which, and from which, they must have their existence, and they have still cause to remember your eloquent appeal to their sense of justice, and humanity, your vivid exposure of the subtle and disastrous effects of the unjust system of "private property in land," and the powerful reasoning by which you won their hearts, enlisted their support, and cast on them the responsibility of men, who, recognizing a better social condition, should strive for its attainment. The men of Bridgeton have not been behind in the progressive politics of the day.

Bridgeton has recently taken a prominent and leading part in the great political and social questions that have engrossed the attention of the electorate of this country, and the advanced political creed of the bulk of its electors makes Bridgeton the most fitting place to proclaim the doctrine of the single tax and to receive and do honor to the apostle of "the land for the people." We are proud of your name and we glory in your work. We recognize in the single tax principle the practical application of the views so ably expressed in your books "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems." Nor have we been indifferent to our duty and responsibility as single tax men, who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state and would strive for its accomplishment. We have not been idle in Bridgeton; there are many indications of the progress of your views. By the utterances of the parliamentary and municipal representative of this division, by the unanimous resolutions of the Liberal association, the municipal ward committees and other representative bodies; by the financial and influential assistance given us in our educative work, it is no exaggeration to assume that there is a predominant opinion in favor of the taxation of the values of land (for imperial and local purposes) not merely as an alteration of the present unsatisfactory system of taxation, but as a step in the direction of the solving of the social problem.

To help us in this work, to infuse new life, new hope, new ideas into our minds, we welcome you to Bridgeton, but not for that object only, but that you may gratify the growing desire of many recent converts to your views, to see and know you, whom they have learned to love and admire through the medium of your writings. It is our earnest desire that your visit may be productive of much interest in the question upon which you have come to address us, and that many may be led to recognize the justice and urgent need of the reforms you propose, and notwithstanding the gigantic nature of the great reform to which you have set your hand, we pray God that He may long spare you to carry on your great philanthropic work, and that you may be enabled to see in your day the fruits of your labors in the ushering in of a brighter and happier social condition for the mass of mankind.

JOHN KINNAIRD, Chairman.

GEORGE PATON, Secretary.

Meeting in the Eastern District of Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, E. D.—The Brooklyn (E. D.) Single tax club has moved from Phoenix hall, and now meets every Wednesday evening at the Old Homestead, 380 Bedford avenue, near South Fifth street. The meeting on Wednesday, May 15, was presided over by the president, Mr. McGuinness, who read a paper on the religion in the single tax. After a discussion that followed Mr. Newman recited Tennyson's poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade," and Mr. Deverals sang "Free Land, Free Land, Free Men."

All persons residing in the eastern district and who are interested are earnestly requested to attend these meetings.

R. A. LINDSAY, Cor. Sec.,
363 Driggs street.

The Proposed Printers' Lecture Bureau.

The printers' meeting to prepare a resolution asking Typographical union No. 6 to establish a lecture bureau, which was announced to be held last Sunday, was postponed on account of an important special meeting called by the printers' union; but the meeting will positively be held this coming Sunday, May 20, at the rooms of the Manhattan club, 36 Clinton place, at 3 o'clock, when it is hoped that all printers in favor of establishing such a bureau will attend.

ENGLAND AND THE SUGAR BOUNTIES.

Tory Tariff Builders Trying to Lay the Foundations for a Protective Edifice.

A member of the German reichstag is quoted as saying that in one year the German government gave to the manufacturers of sugar some \$10,000,000 in bounties, and he added: "I cannot discern the smallest gain to our country. The profits of the system have only been reaped by England. It is German sugar that has enabled England to give sugar to her cattle; it is German capital that has so developed the English manufacture of sweets that it successfully competes with the German manufacture in the markets of the world and in Germany itself. We pay one and a half to two millions sterling to enable England to consume what would probably be worked up by our German industry. Gentlemen, I fear that this industry has made us the laughing stock of our English cousins."

The German member of parliament was only partly right in his last statement; for there are some Englishmen who do not think German refiners should be allowed to send their sugar, for which they receive two cents a pound bounty, to England, and so undersell the English refiners. And these gentlemen, Tories, protectionists, "fair traders" (a kind of financiers who think that foreigners can be made to pay England's taxes) and, of course, the poor English refiners, under the leadership of Baron de Worms have of late been appealing to their fellow citizens, for laws which shall prohibit foreign bounty made sugar from being sold in the English market. And the result has been? Well, it never rains but it pours. Everything of late has played into the hands of the liberals and radicals, the advocates of home rule and free trade, the opponents of wars and tariffs that beget wars. From the time when this proposal to readopt the fatal restrictive policy of bygone days was taken up by the Tories, the liberal press and platform of England has seemed to say: Here is our opportunity. Now let the people see the difference between fetters and freedom. And it was, indeed, an easy task for the free traders. In the hot and lively discussion which ensued the following facts were brought to light. There are in England between four and five thousand people engaged in the sugar refineries, and while some refineries have been closed, it is said that the total amount of sugar manufactured in England has not decreased, but as here under our sugar trust, it has been done by fewer and larger concerns. As for the English colonies not being able to compete for the English market, it seems that some of those colonies care so little about the English market that they put an export duty on sugar. Now, there being four or five thousand people employed in the English refineries, how many are there in the industries for which sugar forms the chief, or one of the chief, "raw materials?" On this point the London Star says:

There are at least 150,000 people employed in the sugar confectionery trade who have benefited. That is to say, the new industries dependent on cheap bounty-fed sugar provide for all the men injured so far as the refining is concerned, and for a host of others as well. Besides these there are packers, makers of machinery, of wrappers and labels, making at least 170,000 dependent on those industries whose basis is cheap sugar. The sweetmeat industry, the chocolate makers, fruit preservers, and many kinds of fancy bakeries are in this position, and would be ruined by the abolition of the bounties. Besides these there are 38,700 shopkeepers on the registers of the Confectioners' union who sell exclusively sugar goods, and the number might be quadrupled if we count the army of people engaged in the baking trades, whose basis is flour, but who use sugar in the production of their goods. Over £22,000,000 are invested in sugar confectionery business in Britain; and the question is whether or not this mass of wealth and this army of people is to suffer for the sake of five thousand people who in the end would not be benefited in the slightest by the change. This is not taking into account the harm done to every sugar consumer by reason of increased price.

Let us look at the matter from another point of view. During the last five years fruit cultivation has almost trebled in England to meet the increased demand of the jam makers, a demand dependent on cheap sugar. Whereas, three years ago one pound of jam cost the poor man 7d., he can now, thanks to the bounties, buy a three pound glass jar of good English grown fruit jam for the same money. If the sugar convention is agreed upon as its projectors desire, this new fruit industry will vanish, and further agricultural depression will result.

There are many other industries that would be disastrously affected by the convention. Owing to its cheapness, sugar is now largely used for the clarification of soaps; the bright glycerine soap formerly made with spirits is now made with sugar—some specimens containing eighteen per cent—and is both cheaper and less harmful, not cracking the skin as the old kind used to do. This would be stopped

if the bounty ceased—sugar would be too dear.

Again, sugar now enters largely into fertilizers for crops; it is one of the finest things in the world for removing scale from boilers; when mixed with the proper ingredients it forms the most perfect cement, harder than stone; in scores of ways the cheapness of sugar has caused it to be used in various industries, all of which would be harmfully affected if we are foolish enough to refuse the gift offered to us annually by those countries whence come the bounties. And all this is to be done for the sake of about a dozen sugar refiners; their interest is to be considered higher than that of the much larger industries that treat refined sugar as a raw material. The people in all those industries are bigger fools than we take them for if they allow it.

All of which is a bad showing for the Baron de Worms and his Tory friends. But the free traders go further and say, Where will this thing end? Sir Thomas Farrer writes to a London paper saying that the Argentine republic has just granted bounties on beef, and he adds:

Of course Baron de Worms and Lord Salisbury will at once proceed to exclude Argentine beef from our ports. In the case of sugar our own industries are small, and are not suffering exceptionally. In the case of beef, it is our great agricultural interest, our farmers and our land owners, who suffer from low prices, and that, as we know, exceptionally. Everything which the baron urges in favor of retaliation on bounty fed sugar tells much more strongly in favor of retaliation on Argentine beef, which ought certainly on his principles to be excluded from our markets.

And, indeed, some of the protectionists, including the Baron de Worms, are quite willing to carry their policy to its logical conclusion, and do this very thing.

But the only trouble is that the Tories are beginning to find the ground shaky. Even they see the fearful results that would follow if the continental nations should retaliate by prohibiting certain English manufactures, the probable result of a war of tariffs; and they see, too, that the memories of corn law days are not dead yet. It looks like a misstep, a very impolitic action, such as any shrewd politician would have avoided, as it has but strengthened the other side.

WORK AMONG NEW CHURCHMEN.

Important Declaration of Rev. R. R. Rodgers of England—A Monthly Paper to be Started.

John Filmer, secretary of the New Churchmen's single tax league of this city, sends us the following letter just received from Rev. R. R. Rodgers, who is said to be the most active New Church minister in Great Britain:

BIRMINGHAM, May 9, 1889.

To J. Filmer, Esq.—MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your circular in re Henry George's book "Progress and Poverty." I have had a copy for years. I have read it. I met the author when he visited England a few years ago, and my opinion of that book was then and is now, summed up in the one sentence "I would rather be the author of 'Progress and Poverty' than of 'Hamlet.'"

Mr. Henry George lectures in our town hall on Saturday, May 18. I am on the committee of arrangements, and I hope we shall have a crowded audience.

The formation of your "league" is a step forward, and commands my entire sympathy. If you think I can do any good by being enrolled a member, by all means add my name, and if I can do anything to promote your cause I shall be happy to serve if I am able. Wishing you every success, I am, yours truly,

ROBERT R. RODGERS.

The New Churchmen's single tax league is collecting a sum of money with which to start a small monthly paper which shall be devoted altogether to the work of "spreading the light" of the new political economy.

Progress in Connecticut Under the Protection Regime.

HARTFORD, Ct., May 21.—I think it time that I should report the progress we are making under the protection administration. I told you the Hartford Carpet Company, whose factory is in Thompsonville, Ct., was putting in some new machinery which would reduce the labor necessary to one-half, and now the work is finished, so that a considerable number of the people of Windsor Locks, especially the married ones, will not fuss around for new styles of dress this summer, but will just wear the clothes they wore all winter. Then, too, Montgomery's woolen mill has not done any night work for the last three months, and was shut down altogether a week ago for an indefinite period. The wages paid in this mill when in full blast are: For girls, 87 cents for a day of ten hours; for men, \$1.10 per day of ten hours. You will therefore see why the fashionable dressmakers and custom tailors of Windsor Locks are not likely to be overworked this summer.

Work is dull in Meriden, Ct., too, some of the shops working only eight hours per day, while one shop has been closed for the last three weeks. The people of South Manchester have to be very careful of their conduct, for most of them had their wages cut since election and there is a crowd waiting for an interview with Mr. Cheney every morning. Mr. Cheney is a silk manufacturer and is monarch of this place, and the crowd who watch for him are industrial slaves begging for work.

JOHN CATINA.

THE VETO OF THE SAXTON BALLOT REFORM BILL.

Perhaps David Bennett Hill fears it would jeopardize his chances for the presidency some day if the people were permitted to vote for whom they pleased without fear of being victimized for not voting as their political or industrial bosses dictated. When the six millions of Empire state citizens come to realize that their public affairs are dominated by a ring of two or three score of men they may decide to elect a governor and legislature not opposed to a free ballot and a fair count.—[Journal of United Labor, organ of the General assembly, K. of L.]

It seems remarkable that it remained for Governor Hill alone to discover that the Saxton bill was "cumbersome, impractical, misleading, useless, revolutionary and unconstitutional."—[Craftsman (organ of the International Typographical union).]

While ballot reform bills almost exactly like that which Governor Hill jumped on with a veto of 10,000 words, words, words, have been supported by democrats in other states, he is determined that the unlimited voting power of this city, under Tammany rule, with a Tammany police board, and with all the most vicious and corrupt elements of our population as willing tools, shall not be restrained by any sort of ballot reform.—[New York Mail and Express (rep).]

Not one of the objections [to the Saxton bill] which Governor Hill makes with such obvious insincerity and at such wearisome length has been raised anywhere else.—[New York Post (ind.); supported Cleveland].

With a few weak words about the state constitution, Governor Hill puts aside a measure prepared after two sessions of deliberation, in response to a universally admitted necessity, carefully discussed by the press, and approved by the reform element of both political parties. But it is not necessary to dilate on this despot veto. There is the governor's act, and there is the vetoed bill. The people will not fail to consider both; and this flagrant abuse of power will sink deeper and deeper into the popular mind.—[Syracuse Standard (rep).]

We are disappointed over the governor's action in vetoing the Saxton bill. Until yesterday we had hoped that he would lay aside his wearisome pettifoggery quarrel with the republican majority of the legislature, and delight his friends and surprise his opponents with a manly message approving this reform measure, even with its faults and defects, and such it certainly possesses. But David B. Hill is David B. Hill still; he cannot rise to the demands of a great man, a magnificent opportunity.—[Syracuse Herald (ind.); supported Cleveland].

The principal thought which thrusts itself on the reader of Governor Hill's message in disapproval of the electoral reform bill is that the power of vetoing legislation is a dangerous power, when it is in the hands of an ambitious, unprincipled man.—[Syracuse Standard (rep).]

There isn't a sound argument in this veto message. It is from beginning to end the palaver of a demagogue, who thinks that he can delude the common people by high sounding phrases and declarations of what he would be glad to do were circumstances different. It is a characteristic Hill veto.—[Elmira Advertiser (rep).]

Governor Hill's veto of the Saxton ballot reform bill is the straw which should break the public camel's back. His action is a direct slap in the face to actual reform, and, while it will please a few of his cronies at Albany and the Tammany hall braves in New York, it will disgust the more respectable element of the democratic party.—[Buffalo Express (ind.); supported Cleveland].

His argument in favor of the maintenance of the voter's right to write his ballot if he chooses, is an argument in behalf of the marked ballot he vigorously denounces elsewhere, for a man's handwriting is a better identification than any printed or stamped device.—[Auburn Bulletin (ind).]

The position of the governor may be summed up in a very few words: He has no objection to the official ballot, provided unofficial ballots are permitted also; he has no objection to the main safeguard for those who would vote fearlessly and honestly anyway, provided the briber and the bribe-seeker, the intimidator and the deceiver, are given full swing with those on whom they are accustomed to work.—[Auburn, N. Y., Advertiser (rep).]

Governor David B. Hill has vetoed the Saxton electoral reform bill. Few expected he would do otherwise, for the reason that David B. Hill is not for reform. He is for David B. Hill.—[Troy Telegram (rep).]

Gov. Hill's message is a very long one, but his objections are not of the definite and weighty character to justify the defeat of a great reform measure. Corruption at elections is the crowning evil of our times, and the plan proposed would strike a damaging blow at bribery at the polls.—[Troy Press (dem).]

In his message vetoing the Saxton ballot reform bill Gov. Hill holds in effect that it won't work. But one reply to this portion of his argument is necessary. It has worked.—[Rochester Herald (dem).]

He does believe in the Linson bill, which he inspired, and which was simply devised as the way how not to do it. If he really wanted electoral reform he would concede the features which he criticizes, and which those who have most carefully investigated the subject deem to be essential to the operation of the law.—[Rochester Democrat (rep).]

The objections offered by Governor Hill to the Saxton bill are mere pretexts. He is opposed to safe-guarding the ballot, not to any

particular method to that end.—[Utica Herald (rep).]

Governor Hill pretends to find constitutional objections, but he has to invent hypothetical cases to make them fit.—[Newark News (ind.); supported Cleveland].

Governor Hill will be lauded by the machine politicians, who regard with jealousy all safeguards thrown around the ballot, and who see in these secret reform measures their own annihilation as bosses, but by the men whose good opinion and support it should be his highest ambition to obtain his disposition of the bill will be justly condemned.—[New Haven Register (dem).]

This (the veto message) is one of the most impudent addresses a governor ever made to a legislative body. In effect, he is taking legislation out of the hands of the men chosen by the people to enact it, and assuming to impose his own notions upon them.—[Springfield Republican (ind.); supported Cleveland].

Governor Hill is in the race for the democratic nomination for the presidency, and he is not going to sanction any measure that will interfere with his henchmen's manipulation of the vote of New York in the interest of David B. Hill, should he be fortunate enough to receive the democratic nomination of the bill will be justly condemned.—[Lynn, Mass., Bee (ind).]

In so far as Governor Hill can do it he has managed to put his party in a false position in a matter of the greatest immediate practical moment. Ballot reform must come. It hardly admits of a doubt that the presidential election last year was carried by means and methods which a fair and secret ballot would have prevented. The only good that can result from Governor Hill's veto is that it will result in taking him out of the list of available presidential possibilities. Sooner or later the people of New York will have ballot reform in spite of him.—[Philadelphia Record, ind.; supported Cleveland].

Governor Hill is a practical politician, and, in common with all practical politicians of both parties, is opposed to the principle underlying the measure—that of an absolutely secret and honest ballot. If it had become a law the practical politicians in New York would find their occupation gone.—[Philadelphia Times (ind.); supported Cleveland].

Governor Hill deceives neither the democratic party nor the friends of ballot reform. He has vetoed every measure of the kind that has come before him, because both he and his party prefer to keep the election machinery as it is, and for the same reason any ballot reform bill that may be passed while he is governor will share the same fate.—[Philadelphia North American (rep).]

We are disgusted with Governor Hill and his ways, and tell him frankly that the democrats are growing weary of his sort of politics.—[Pittsburg Post (dem).]

Governor Hill of New York, has vetoed the Saxton electoral reform bill, after taking plenty of time to consider it. He did not need the time, for his well known hostility to such a reform led people to expect a veto.—[Pittsburg Chronicle-Telegraph, (ind.); supported Cleveland].

It is not difficult for this demagogic governor to find excuses for arresting the progress of reform in any direction, whether it be for greater security of the ballot, better regulation of the liquor traffic, or any other measure involving good government.—[Pittsburg Commercial Gazette, (rep).]

David Hill is a lovely type of purity in politics and of political reform!—[Rockwayville, Pa., Record].

Governor Hill seems to be a bad egg.—[Reading, Pa., Herald (ind).]

Governor Hill is a practical politician of the most unscrupulous sort, and he could not be expected to approve a measure which would rob practical politicians of much of their power, or, at the very least, make it very difficult for them to "work" the electors to suit their purposes.—[Altoona, Pa., Tribune (ind).]

Governor Hill of New York vetoed the election reform bill (the Australian system) of course. That is what he is there for. He does not propose that the paradise of democratic fraud (New York city) shall be shorn of a single opportunity. The real objection is that this bill would make it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to perpetrate those frauds which, since the days of Tweed and Tilden, have arranged majorities to order.—[Indianapolis News (ind.); supported Cleveland].

David B. Hill evidently does not want to be president of the United States. His veto of the Saxton ballot reform bill puts him as completely out of the list of presidential possibilities as Ben Butler or Jeff Davis is, and he must have known that it would.—[Indianapolis Sentinel (dem).]

Governor Hill's reasons for vetoing the Saxton electoral reform bill are discreditable to him as the chief executive officer of the state.—[Memphis Appeal (dem).]

Governor Hill will not be believed by many thoughtful people to be a real friend of election reform.—[Richmond State (dem).]

The Herald has felt that the Australian system would happily interfere with deals such as elected Harrison and defeated Miller in the last New York campaign.—[Chicago Herald (dem).]

The veto of the Saxton bill by D. B. Hill is one more evidence that the present governor of New York relies for political success upon the support of the unprogressive and corrupt element.—[Chicago Inter-Ocean (rep).]

Governor Hill has vetoed the ballot reform bill and his political slide has commenced.—[Elkhorn, Wis., Independent (ind).]

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

"Buy real estate on credit," is the advice I get from a landed proprietor. "Interest is falling and city rents are rising. Now, that piece of property of mine on Fifty-ninth street is paying me well with a big mortgage on it. I have borrowed something more on it as security than I paid for it in 1885, and I am paying four per cent on the mortgage. My rentals, however, are yielding more than seven per cent net. Don't you see how profitable it is to be in debt, sometimes?"

A denizen of an inland city, whom I met last week, told me that the place has far outgrown some of the narrow thoroughfares of its early days and that a system of street widening has been begun. Very curious are the claims presented by some of the land holders. One of them charges the city with the difference of rental between his present ramshackle premises and those he might have built had he not been prevented from doing so by the city's declaration twelve years ago that his street was to be widened. Another man, whose business in gross volume is proved to be under \$10,000 a year, wants \$25,000 damages for disturbance.

A Hartford man lately told me this story about the local machines of that place: "It isn't necessary to be a very radical reformer in order to see that it is not a good thing on general principles for the manager of a street railway to be also a member of the city government, and when such a man was nominated this spring by the party with which I usually vote at city elections, I made up my mind to scratch him. On going to the polls, however, I found his name on the opposition ticket also, and there were no other ballots than those of the two regular parties to be had. To my mind that fact was circumstantial evidence of wire pulling. It is time we should be made independent of caucus nominations even in city elections."

The Central single tax club of Cleveland, Ohio, has a "Press Committee." It undertakes to direct the energies of the members who advertise the single tax by writing letters about it and to look up the local newspapers likely to print letters about it. All the newspapers of Cleveland are closely read by members of the committee, and on the publication of anything that gives cause for a letter, the editor of the paper printing it hears from a member of the club. If he pays no attention to his correspondent, he is likely to hear from the sixty members. A very good model, this, for other single tax batteries.

A New Orleans correspondent notes these facts: "In the United Kingdom the single tax men have no protective tariff to attack, but they have a useless titled aristocracy with all its attendant wrongs, a state church which the great mass have not any use for, laws of entail and primogeniture, and a whole host of minor wrongs to rouse their feelings. The 35,000,000 people, living in a territory not larger than some of our states, compose a nation that has a greater influence on the world than the rest of Europe combined." He adds: "Suppose among John Bright's effects to-day were found a paper urging the single tax reform, what an effect it would have!"—his thought being that, while a public man might decline to hurt his prestige by advocating the truth while living, he might by avowing it posthumously add to his fame and work the world a blessing. Alas, it is true; the world is so bad that many a man dare not be as good as he wishes to be, for very fear of it.

La Revolte, of Paris, "organe communiste-anarchiste," gives in its issue of the 11th of May an account of a strike at Como, in Italy. It succeeded. The peasants obtained a reduction of fifteen per cent on all rents and a lessening of the hours of daily labor. The day laborers and cart drivers, says La Revolte with the sobriety of recording a solemn fact, gained an increase of 100 per cent in their wages—from ten cents to twenty cents a day!

The society for political education has just published, from No. 330 Pearl street, two new economic tracts, numbers 25 and 26 of its series, one on "Electoral Reform" and the other on "The Liquor Question in Politics." That on electoral reform reviews the abuses developed under the laws at present governing elections, giving special attention to the

gross corruption of politics in the city of New York, and contains besides the text of the Massachusetts ballot reform act and that of the Saxton bill. The tract on the liquor question summarizes the situation and explains the points at issue in remarkably clear style. The society's tracts are worth having in the reformer's bookcase. They give in a nutshell facts as seen and conclusions as arrived at by a liberal, if not radical, circle of economists.

A correspondent writes to the Christian Standard from San Diego, Cal., describing the means taken to relieve the "destitute classes" of that place. There are actually destitute classes in that land of milk and honey. The writer says that the Union missionary society of San Diego was organized one year ago. It has a board of five directors, one from each of the leading denominations of the city. Its mission house is worth \$800. Its Sunday school has 130 children. Its prayer meetings on Thursday evenings are attended by an average of forty-five persons. The people who attend the mission are of the "poor and the outcast, the lame and the halt." The mission has a soup kitchen, where a large bowl of soup is given out every day to anybody who will call for it between eleven and two o'clock. Nearly a hundred do call for their soup daily. The missionary also gathers up cast-off clothes and old furniture and gives them to the poor. The correspondent of the Christian Standard says: "This is grand work!" And this kind of grand mission work, statistics and all, is actually necessary to-day in newly settled Southern California!

A throw-around sheet, got up to look like a newspaper with a stated day of issue and a regular circulation, fell into my hands last week. It fairly bristled with dispatches, news articles and editorials about twine. I am told that 250,000 copies of the paper were printed and are being distributed among the wheat farmers who use twine in binding. My informant believed that the twine combine had adopted this means of making its defense to the farmer. Whatever its object, the farmer may, after reading the paper, conclude that it is really a good argument for free trade, as it has not been able to hide the fact that the tariff is primarily the cause of short stocks, high prices and manufacturers' disputes and agreements. Go on printing, Messrs. Syndicators. Knowledge is power. The farmer may learn from your give-away papers more than you mean that he shall. GRIFFE.

To Get It Before the Benighted.

HALLETSVILLE, TEXAS, May 12.—The following is the best plan to ventilate single tax ideas, as it will cause our enemies to sow the seed for us. A good way to get our views brought to the attention of men is for single taxers in different counties of the United States to have the following notice inserted in their local papers, as an advertisement:

Two thousand dollars' reward is hereby offered for a book that will refute Henry George's work, "Progress and Poverty."

Monopolistic journals will publish this as an "ad." when they would not in any other way give space to anything on the subject.

After several insertions, change off to another of George's works, and then another, until all have been brought before the public. ALLEN WATSON.

Protest Against Low Taxes on Land.

LYNN, Mass.—The Single tax league of this city has issued an address calling attention to certain inequalities in assessments, comparing the valuation of improved and unimproved adjoining lots and protesting against the low taxes on land.

The Eastern District (Brooklyn) Club.

The Eastern District (Brooklyn) single tax club meets at 350 Bedford avenue every Wednesday evening. All single taxers and all other persons interested in the subject are invited to attend and join in the discussion.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Our lands are passing rapidly into the hands of capitalists and syndicates. (Summit, Miss., Enterprise.)

It is beginning to dawn even on a few republican minds that this country is too rich in resources to be confined to a home market for its products. (Pittsburg Post.)

The single tax idea is the only equitable system of taxation. It is very improbable, however, that the people will be sufficiently educated in the next fifty years to grasp the idea, stop running after false gods, cease trying to grow rich by taxing themselves, quit attempting to lift themselves by their bootstraps. (Detroit News.)

Just in proportion as the wealth of the world aggregates in the hands of the few, the common people become poor and dependent. (San Francisco Standard.)

FASHION PLATES AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Gaunt Face of Poverty Peers Into the Boudoir of Opulence and Calls for Justice—A Straw That Shows the Wind.

A few days ago I chanced to see lying upon my mother's sitting room table a copy of a London periodical, entitled The Lady, a journal for gentlewomen; price, threepence. The paper in question is devoted to the fashions. It is rich in illustrations of the newest styles, and contains fifteen pages of advertisements. Curiosity led me to examine somewhat particularly a publication upon a subject with which, I am free to confess, I have very slight acquaintance; and my diligence was rewarded by some interesting discoveries.

To judge by the title of the periodical and the reading matter of its first pages, one should say the paper has a circulation among a decidedly well to do class. There is a long array of "Social Notes." "The passage of the royal yacht last week from Portsmouth to Cherbourg was very smooth, and the queen enjoyed it immensely, remaining on deck nearly the whole time. Princess Beatrice, who is also an excellent sailor, kept her majesty in countenance," etc. "The Hon. Mrs. Lowther gave a charming carnival dance at Lowther lodge on Shrove Tuesday. Mrs. Lowther is the sole surviving daughter of the late Lord and Lady Wensleydale, who for fifty years were prominent in the most cultivated section of fashionable society," etc. "The duke of Richmond and Gordon completed his seventy-first year last week. It may not be generally known that his grace is also duke of Aubigny in France, a title conferred by Louis XIV on one of his maternal ancestors," etc. "The earl and countess of Arlue have been staying at the Hotel des Anglais, San Remo," etc. All of which are in the line of the "Fashionable Intelligence" of the Morning Post, and are adapted to enlighten and entertain the subscribers of The Lady, most of whom, no doubt, own mansions in Mayfair and Belgravia.

Yet this can scarcely be the fact. For farther along I came upon four or five pages of very closely printed matter under the caption of "The Lady Exchange and Sale Column," in which, the publisher informs us, "advertisements are inserted at a charge of 6d. for twenty words." The nature of these advertisements showed me in an instant that I was wrong in supposing the readers of The Lady to belong exclusively to higher swell-dom. Here are some of them:

Fur—Dark brown real tail boa; Russian fur; valued at 55s.; immediate sale imperative; only 18s. If on approval, post expenses must be paid. [1337]

Infant's first shirts, fine cambric, trimmed, 1s. each, or good exchange in braided dress, ulster or fancy work, etc. [1366]

A lady would be glad to do fancy work of any kind. Is an experienced and good worker, and has many testimonials from The Lady's subscribers. [6670]

Lady has some things suitable for boy of ten; also some of her own things to dispose of. Surbiton. [1741]

A young lady in reduced circumstances would be glad to make children's liberty silk hats, in any color, trimmed with ribbon, for 6s., all found. [6081]

A naval officer's daughter, entirely without means, entreates orders for Shetland crocheted shawls, white, black, or colors, 3s. 2 1/2 each. [6080]

Lady is parting with several gold rings at 10s. each. Also gold lockets, 10s. and 41; cost more than double. [9618]

Clergyman's wife has six solid silver teaspoons; about 200 years old; 25s. the six, or what offers. Approval for postage. [9632]

These are but a few samples. I took the pains to count the entire list, and there were 970 advertisements. Mayfair and Belgravia with a vengeance! But it is genteel poverty, is it not? How much nicer than going to the pawnbroker!

Although The Lady is ostensibly devoted to the fashions, there is a surprisingly large amount of space given to serious subjects. I came upon an interesting article entitled "The employment of children." After speaking of the performances of little bespangled waifs in the pantomimes at the Court theatre and at Drury Lane, the writer says, "It must be recognized as a fact of life, that, in one way or other, the children of the poor will always be made to work for money. Wherever a good opening for their employment is offered, parents will take advantage of it. If by undesirable legislation the doors of theatres were henceforth closed to children, the very same little beings who had danced for six shillings a week in the pantomime would be turned out to earn wages at some other trade. Too probably their parents would turn them out into the streets to whine and cringe for coppers. Physically, acting in the pantomime is better than begging in the streets; it is a hundred times less distressing than standing about in the piercing wind and the pouring rain soliciting passing charity."

Doubtless perfect truth. Our editorial, philosophical man-milliner is full of the milk of human kindness, and his columns are drenched with sociology. Reading on a little I came to an article bearing the ominous title, "Wages of Women," and found an account of a lecture Mrs. Fawcett had been delivering at the ladies' department of King's college. Mrs. Fawcett thinks that the remedy for the sorry lot of women workers is to be found

"not in indiscriminate and thoughtless temporary help, but in strong and warm support to our working sisters in their efforts to find suitable employment and in the endeavor to obtain for them that thorough technical education which is given to men, and to provide them with adequate protection in the competition which the search for employment must involve."

Our editor deserves praise for opening the subject. But he should seek for more luminous conclusions than the perfectly stale and flat ones Mrs. Fawcett arrives at.

Farther along was still another article, with an inspiring title: "A Cure for the Great Evil of Poverty." "Aha," I exclaimed, "a single tax man masquerading as a fashion-plate monger!" In the article referred to the writer draws a vivid picture of contemporaneous suffering. "Go down to the London docks any morning of the year and watch the hungry, almost savage, crowd of able-bodied men fighting like wild beasts to gain the privilege of earning 5d. an hour for the hardest work. Each day there are eight thousand of these men turned away from the dock gates because with all their efforts they cannot get work to do." "In South Staffordshire and East Warwickshire married women with large, young families wield heavy hammers for twelve or fourteen hours a day. Their husbands, though they cannot work harder, and often work much less, are otherwise as wretched. Except drink, they have no variety in their lives. Wages have been diminished continually, and they do not attempt to fight against the fall." The dreary story is carried out to considerable length. "And now for the remedy," triumphantly exclaims our writer, "for all these horrors on horrors' heads accumulated!" Do not, he says, look to education. "One educated man or woman would have every chance among others who are uneducated; but his or her chance is no better when all are equally educated than it was when all were equally ignorant. General education is no remedy for this thing." Well, what is? "Do not look," he goes on, "to such quack nostrums for this great evil as that of land nationalization. That was exploded as soon as true thought was brought to bear upon it. The cause of so much misery is over-population (Ye shades of Malthus!), and the remedy, the only remedy, is colonization, state colonization—in other words, colonization by the state." And then follows the whole delightful programme, as set forth in the scheme of the National association for promoting state colonization, of which the earl of Meath is president.

One can the better understand, by coming upon such matter as I have quoted, how greatly the minds and consciences of English men and women are agitated at the present moment upon these questions. Here is a strictly narrow and technical publication taking to discussing these serious subjects for the benefit of a large and conservative body of readers, if with scarcely a ray of true enlightenment, at least with sympathy and candor. It is a promising sign. The truths of the single tax will fall as manna in the wilderness among these thirsty wanderers seeking the promised land. Soon (God speed the day!) makeshift schemes like state colonization, forceful, cruel and ineffectual, will be lost in the wise and salutary legislation that the coming great liberal parliament will enact for an awakened, soul stirred and joyful nation. E. Y. COHEN.

To Join the National Democratic Society.

The Westside single tax club at a recent meeting appointed a committee consisting of George A. Hollis, Frank Sullivan and Montague R. Leverton, to inquire into and report on steps to be taken by members of the organization should they desire to join in the formation of democratic clubs or societies to be affiliated with the National democratic society of which Hon. Chauncey F. Black is president. The committee reports that it sees no objection to single tax men joining the democratic society, since its chief object is the dissemination of the principles of Thomas Jefferson, and these principles embody the essence of all for which single tax men are contending, and since, furthermore, it has nothing to do with the corrupt machine which has ruled and still rules the democratic party. "A reorganization of the democratic party in New York city and state," says the report, "is absolutely essential to the triumph of real democratic principles. By forming and joining democratic societies and affiliating with the national society presided over by the Hon. Chauncey F. Black, single tax men may be putting themselves on the road powerfully to influence such organization."

The committee, in conclusion, recommends that in the organization of any democratic society the proportional system of representation be adopted in the election of its officers so far as may be applicable.

Glad You Have Been Amused.

Wheeling, Va., Register. Henry George's vigorous crusade against the private ownership of land has excited more amusement than alarm in this country.

The Single Taxers Will Oblige, if the Democrats Won't.

Chicago Journal. The republicans are already "spoiling for a fight" on the lines of 1888, and want it to continue until 1892.

Duxford, Mo.—E. Foley.
Gardner, Ill.—J. S. Cumming.
Glion Cove, Long Island, N.Y.—Herbert Lorouner.
Grandview, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.
Greene Falls, N.Y.—John H. Quinn.
Guilleville, N.Y.—Wm. C. Wood, M.D.
Grand View on the Hudson, N.Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—I. J. McCollum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Peber.
Haverhill, Mass.—Chas. F. Brock.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. McConments, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornesville, N.Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark.—Wm. Albert Chapman.
Hoosick Falls, N.Y.—F. S. Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H. H. Thompson, corporation attorney.
Idarothschild, Kas.—J. G. Malcolm, M.D.
Ilion, N.Y.—George Smith, P.O. box 302.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. P. Custer, president. Single tax league. W. U. Tel. Co. Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, Von-
neumann building avenue.
Illbruck, N.Y.—C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N.J.—S. B. Walsh.
Jersey City, N.J.—Joseph Dana Mill Jr., secretary Hud-
son county Single tax league, 86 Ege avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. West, 2124 Highland avenue.
Kewada, N.Y.—V. D. Quigley.
Kittsburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kingston, N.Y.—Theodore M. Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N.Y.—James McMann, 21 Eugene street.
Lonsdale, R.I.—Dr. L. P. Garvin.
Leicester, Mass.—J. A. Johnson, cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Brown.
London, England—William Standards, 177 Palace Cham-
bers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dodge, 30 North Alameda street;
Rexford, 149 North Hill; or A. Vinetola, P.O. box 17.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kid-
der street.
Lytle, Minn.—C. P. Wenham.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church
streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common
street.
Madison, Dak.—E. H. Evenson.
Mahanody City, Pa.—J. N. Becker, president Free trade
union.
Manlius, Mich.—Albert Wakley, or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union
telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo. A. E. Reynolds.
Marlborough, N.Y.—A. H. Bairdon.
Mass., Tox.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional
district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Halston, Sr., president Montana
single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Mauntings, India Ocean—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump
street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform
club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 225 Alabama
street.
 Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P.O. box 580.
Middletown, N.Y.—Chas. H. Fuller, P.O. box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis.—B. McGuff, 157 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax
league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E. L. Rydov, secre-
tary.
Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa—J. A. Adams, city marshal, M.D.
Mt Vernon, N.Y.—J. B. Luttrell.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Cannm, president Democratic
club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N High street, secre-
tary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—A. Ashrop, member Henry George
association.
Newark, N.J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental
street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N.Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary single tax club,
222 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Mer-
rimack assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D Warren, room 11, 102
Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S Waters, Maritime associa-
tion.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax
league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 89 Taylor
street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member
Single tax association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha
club, P. O. drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M Browne, 13 Marshall
street; H Myers, P.O. box 357.
North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1826 North
Broadway.
Northville, Conn.—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw B Haskell.
Ocean, N.Y.—George Ball, pres. Single tax association.
Timothy Horan, sec. 53 Railroad street.
Oklahoma Wash.—Charles Carroll, Adams street.
Omaha, Neb.—Emilia R, 322 Virginia avenue; Percy
Peppoon press single tax club, 1512 S 5th street; C F
Beckett, sec. h w cor 27th and Broad streets.
Orday, Dak.—H I Garland, member Tax reform asso-
ciation.
Owego, N.Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Passaic, N.J.—J J Barnard, P.O. box 181.
Paterson, N.J.—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county
Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North
Main street.
Parkersburg, W Va.—W I Boreman, member of Single
tax association.
Pawtucket, R.I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street
or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary
Pennsylvania George.
Piermont, N.Y.—Charles R Hood, P.O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Roberts, 172 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore.—B B Riggen, 48 Stark street, R H Thomp-
son.
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—William C Albro.
Providence, R.I.—Robt. Grivee, 32 Sutton street;
Dr Wm Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax asso-
ciation.
Pulaski, N.Y.—C V Harbottle.
Racine, Wisc.—H V Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Frank R. 1013 Penn street; Charles
Gordall, 15 S 6th street.
Reynolds, Bridge, Conn.—John Carpenter, box 20.
Richmond, I. d.—M Ritchie, 913 South A street; J. E.
Tull, 156 South Third street.
Ridgely, N.Y.—L. S. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
Rochester, N.Y.—Charles A Hall, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N.J.—Road Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Mrs James G Maguire, Superior
court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Jane Frances M Mineo.
Seattle, Wash Ter.—F P Morrow.
Seneca Falls, N.Y.—Vin H Adkinson, P.O. box 56.
Seaton, Conn.—A J Posty vice librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Samuel Marsh, president Single tax
club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S B Howes.
South Gaston, N.C.—W L M Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N.Y.—C L Dodrick,
president Progressive association; John Sheehan, sec-
retary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpff, secretary Tariff re-
form club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McCrea, secretary Sangamon
single tax club, 62 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—J. C. Smith, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax
league, 276 Bacon street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary,
room 3, 319 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D A Learned.
Stoneham, Mass.—Dr W S Condon Brown.
Stratford, Ct.—George G Greenleaf.
Syracuse, N.Y.—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street;
H R Perry, 119 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4
Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single
tax club, 59 Greene street.
Toledo, O.—J. T. Jones, secretary Single tax club, No 1,
N Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F C Clarke, 138 K st.
Trenton, N.J.—H R Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N.Y.—B B Martis.
Tuckahoe, N.Y.—Albert O Young.
Unionville, Conn.—J. M. McAuliffe.
Utica, N.Y.—Thosweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or
Daniel M Buckley, grocer, south west corner First and
Catharine.
Valencia, Ariz.—W L Sutton, Edna N H R Co.
Vandalia, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and
Opera block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Garrity, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakefield, R.I.—David Harrower.
Washington, D.C.—Dr William Geddes, 1719 G street, N
Y. secretary National single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M Buch.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y.—A B Stoddard.
Wheeling, W Va.—John L Frank, 2461 Edd street.
Whitstone, Long Island, N.Y.—George Harwell.
Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Assessors J. John cigar store; Thos Douglas,
president single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—A W Dennis.
Worcester, Mass.—R F Page, Lake View.
Yorkers, N.Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
Yorkstown, Ga.—John Seidler, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio.—W H Lehigh, 27 Van Buren street
C A Potwin, pres. single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.
Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every post office in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

THE STANDARD is not sent to subscribers after the expiration of the time paid for.

Subscribers should renew a week or two before the expiration of their subscriptions to prevent the loss of any numbers.

For the fourth time in seven years Mr. Labouchere has made his motion in the English house of commons to abolish the hereditary principle of the house of lords. At first this motion received no support from the leading men of the commons of either party, but on this occasion it was supported by the whole liberal party, and out of a house of 361 was defeated by only forty-one votes. An hereditary house of lords will soon be one of the curiosities of the past, and an hereditary executive will not be long in following it.

A new conspiracy against the life of the czar has been discovered. It was among the military officers and had extensive ramifications through the army. Several hundred conspirators have been arrested, and the cable reports have it that the czarina is completely unnerved by the discovery. How the czar himself feels about it is not reported.

We who have the power of curing evils of government by the peaceful agency of the ballot can have no sympathy with conspiracies against the lives of public officials, nor conspiracies of any kind that aim to accomplish their objects by means of violence. If we suffer from bad government the fault is with ourselves, for the remedy is in our own hands. But in a country like Russia, where the czar is autocratic, and refuses his people a constitution to govern himself as well as them, there is but one remedy and that the conspirators of Russia have adopted. Not only is it the best way, in that it involves the lives only of the crowned criminal and of those who make the voluntary sacrifice, but it is the only way. Civil war would be sanguinary and hopeless, while regicide is economical of human life and if pursued as a policy will make an autocratic throne too dangerous to be enjoyed.

In addressing his employees on the occasion of "sharing" his profits with them, John Wanamaker told them that enthusiasm, conscience, improved methods and leadership are the best kind of capital, and become "dollars in your pockets and mine." Without commenting upon the strange political economy that counts personal qualities as capital, it would be interesting to know by what theory of ethics Mr. Wanamaker holds it a proper thing for other people's enthusiasm, consciences, methods and leadership to become dollars in his pockets.

The English court of appeal has decided that women cannot sit in the county councils. The case in which the decision was made was that of Lady Sandhurst, who was elected to the London council. Miss Cobden was elected at the same time but as there was no man to contest her seat she continues to exercise the functions of a duly elected county councilman, while Lady Sandhurst, whose election was contested by a man who, if he could not get as many votes as his woman competitor, could get more judges, is excluded from the council. The London correspondent of the Evening Post justly observes that this is another instance of a legal dictum

to the effect that words in a statute implying men include women when it is a question of going to jail, but not when it is a question of going to the ballot box. English courts are not peculiar in this mode of construction—the courts of the United States have shown the same disposition; but it is strange that in a country, the highest office of which is held by a woman the courts should strain a point to keep women out of subordinate offices.

It is a gratifying evidence of the growth of opinion that the London county council has resolved by a vote of 2 to 1, in favor of allowing women to sit in the council, and has proposed a bill to that effect. This bill must come up in parliament and considering the disposition of both parties to favor the political equality of woman, it is very likely to pass.

Last week an officer of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to children arbitrarily seized a child of eight years of age, which he took into the custody of the society and kept from its mother for three days. The excuse for this outrage was that a complaint had been made to the society to the effect that the mother of the child kept it locked in her room daily while she went to work. Without making any inquiry or even going through the formality of procuring a warrant an officer of this irresponsible society forced his way into the room where the child was, and when the mother returned from her work, an hour or two later, the child was gone. The facts developed were that the mother works at crayon drawing and dressmaking, and when away from home leaves the child in her room, locking the door, but leaving the key in the lock, so that the landlady can, as she does, carry food to the child and go in at times to see how it is faring. When the mother is at home she teaches the child, takes it into the park, and otherwise treats it in a motherly way within the limits of her narrow opportunities. These facts appearing before the magistrate the child was released.

If the magistrate had sustained the officer of the society, there would have been no remedy. The mother could not even have appealed to a higher court. Last winter the World tried to secure the passage of a bill allowing an appeal in this class of cases, but it was opposed by Mr. Gerry, the president of the society, and defeated. It would be equally worthy the efforts of the World to exert itself for the repeal of the law under which these societies are organized, or at least to have the law so modified as to take from the societies that semblance of authority which, without adding to their efficiency in any legitimate function, makes them so offensive. The machinery of the law should be wholly official. It may be that private societies serve a useful purpose in seeing that officials do their duty, but nothing but harm can come of investing irresponsible, non-official organizations with official powers of a penal nature or permitting them to assume such powers. In the case of the child referred to its mother and the landlady with whom she lives would perform a valuable public service by taking proceedings against the society.

From North Dakota the report comes that the farmers propose the exemption of all cultivated land from taxation, and that the single tax men who are numerous in this new state will make an effort to have personal property exempted. The exemption of personal property would be a long step in the direction of scientific and honest taxation, but it would be a great mistake on the part of the farmers to advocate the exemption of all cultivated land. Their object is good, but unless the report is garbled, their mode is bad in principle and practically worthless. It is wrong that the improvement of land should be discouraged by taxation and the cornering of land favored by partial exemption; but the remedy does not consist in exempting cultivated land. Under such a system every foot of land in North Dakota would soon be "cultivated," and yet but little of it would be really culti-

vated. The law could be readily evaded; not so extensively in North Dakota at present, perhaps, as in other places, but extensively enough to make the system a failure. What the farmers should do, and what will accomplish their object, is to exempt the cultivator, which can be done by exempting all kinds of improvements and taxing the bare land according to its value, and whether cultivated or not. Add to this system the plan proposed by the single tax men, of exempting all personal property, and North Dakota will soon be the most populous and most prosperous state of the union.

The president has appointed John Jarrett to be United States consul at Birmingham. This is a good appointment, in harmony with the president's policy relative to the question of protection or free trade. The first notable appointment of the kind was that of Mr. Porter to be superintendent of the census, its object being to provide for a protection census. Mr. Jarrett's appointment is for the purpose of securing protection consular reports. We are inclined to think better of both Mr. Jarrett and Mr. Porter than the president seems to. We are not willing to believe in advance that they will color official figures to serve a purpose either of pride or gain. If it be said that they have heretofore colored figures for just such purposes, let it be remembered that then they were not upon oath, as the witness said when asked why he told the lawyer a different story from what he told on the stand. Is it not a little remarkable, though, that the two most important appointments, from a protection point of view, that a president elected on principles of national hatred of England has made, should be Englishmen?

In illustration of an argument it makes on the silver question, the Commercial Advertiser refers to the greenbacks when they were at a discount and says: "Nobody at that time thought of paying debts in gold that were legally payable in greenbacks, for the simple reason that the representative value of the greenback was less than the intrinsic value of the gold, though the legal tender value of the two was the same." The last part of this statement is not true, and the Commercial had better overhaul its argument to see whether the defect in the illustration may not point to a defect in the argument. The legal tender value of gold and greenbacks was never the same. Gold was receivable for public dues while greenbacks never were. That this is no immaterial difference is proved by the fact that gold notes, which though nominally were not actually redeemable in gold, were always at par with gold. The only explanation of the difference in value between gold notes and greenbacks is that the legal tender value of gold notes was the same as that of gold, both being legal tender for public as well as private debts; while the legal tender value of greenbacks was less than that of gold, greenbacks being legal tender for private debts only and not for public debts.

The Journal of United Labor, the organ of the Knights of Labor, has been looking over the industrial field since the presidential election, and finds that "the last four months have been a constant succession of shut downs and reductions of wages in every industrial centre;" that "the most perfectly appointed steel plant in the world has locked horns with the association of workers;" that the "building trades industries throughout the country are striking for hours and wages with indifferent success, winning in one place only to lose in another;" that "the miners of iron and coal, although not many of them on strike at the present time, are passing through a season of life and death struggle with poverty, working only quarter time at the poorest wages;" and that "the average factory operatives find themselves forced to accept even less wages than last season for their eleven or twelve hours of slavish toil, with scarcely a ray of hope for better things this side of the grave." And it sums it all up by saying that "there has never been a time since the

panic of 1873 when there were so many of this country's citizens idle as at the present time, and never since the war have wages paid to labor been so very meagre." So true is this dark picture which looms up before the heartlessly fraudulent theory of "protection to American labor" that the New York Tribune is forced to warn the plutocrats for whose interests alone the system is really maintained that if they "wish to break down the protective system they have only to make the working people feel that it is not for their benefit."

The danger to protection is indeed great at this time. It stands upon the pretense that high tariffs make work plentiful and wages good. A little thought exposes the falsity of the pretense; but independent causes peculiar to this country have kept up a relatively high scale of wages in spite of the tariff, and it has not been difficult to deceive large bodies of men into the belief that these relative high wages were due to high tariffs. But events are doing for the working people what abstract arguments could not do; they are proving by object lessons of the saddest character that protection does not keep up wages.

It is well enough for the Tribune to warn manufacturers that protection will break down unless they pay good wages, but the warning can serve no purpose. Manufacturers as a class, as well as laborers, are injured by protection. It is only here and there that a manufacturer benefits by the tariff, and he cannot afford to keep wages up when they are falling all around. No doubt he would be glad enough to do it, for he as well as the Tribune realizes that protection will break down if workingmen once discover the fraud that has been practiced upon them; but he cannot do it. The tariff can give extra profits to its few beneficiaries, but it cannot make extra places to accommodate the workingmen whom it throws out of employment.

Our experience with protection is duplicated in Germany. The great strike now in progress in Westphalia is not socialistic in its origin; it is the result of disappointment at the failure of the protective tariff (passed in 1879 with the same kind of promises to labor that we are so familiar with) to benefit the working classes. Instead of getting better wages in the mining districts have got worse and worse, until now, according to the special correspondent of the Herald, "if a man is fortunate enough to have work all the year round—sometimes they are laid off for periods—he makes about \$200 a year," out of which he must pay for oil, cartridges, powder and the tools he uses, and make compulsory contributions to relief funds in the management of which he has no voice. While the protective tariff of Germany has thus reduced wages instead of increasing them, it has increased the prices of coffee, bread, flour, pork, lard, beef, sugar, and so forth, all of which are heavily taxed.

The German emperor has made up his mind to take sides with the strikers, having first shot down a sufficient number of them to impress the survivors with his fatherly love. A wholesome scare probably did more to influence his intervention than any regard for the "mudsills" of his empire. A mudsill in place is useful, but disarranged it may bark a shin—even a royal shin.

From the Paper World, a journal published in the interest of the paper manufacturers, we learn that the manager of the Ticonderoga pulp and paper company has sent out to the trade a paper upon our commercial relations with South America, in which he recommends the subsidizing of a line of steamers between this country and the Argentine Republic. The idea is that the Argentine Republic offers a large market for our manufactures, and we should avail ourselves of it. He does not consider, however, that if we send goods to the Argentine Republic we must bring goods from the Argentine Republic. But goods brought from the Argentine Repub-

lie will have to be made by the pauper labor of that country, a labor that is much more pauper than the labor of England. And if the pauper made goods of the Argentine Republic come here they will compete with our goods, and thus compel our workmen to take the same low wages that prevail in South America. Why should the United States government subsidize a line of steamers to bring upon American workmen such a calamity as this? Why not leave matters as they are? We are now shut off from the Argentine Republic, because there are no lines of steamers between here and there, and it is to produce just that result between other countries and our own that we keep up a protective tariff. Instead of subsidizing a line of steamers between here and the Argentine Republic, let us subsidize all existing lines of steamers to go out of business and prohibit the establishment of new ones. That would be the way to get the benefit of our home market and protect our labor from competition with the pauper labor of the rest of the world.

A letter from Dr. F. S. Lewis of Port Angeles, Washington Territory, which appears in another column makes the sad announcement of the death of Miss Marcia Hammond, of that place, at an advanced age. Miss Hammond's life has been one long series of good offices performed. It has been spent in all the great reform movements of her time, commencing with anti-slavery and closing with anti-poverty. She espoused the cause of equal rights when it had but few advocates, long before it had grown important enough to come into politics. She was ever ready to do what she could, contributing money when money was most needed, and now at her death she leaves all her little wealth to the devotion of the cause she so much loved in life. Surely the example of such a noble soul is not soon to be forgotten.

SOCIETY NOTES.

No Newport garden party ever afforded a better display of beauty and picturesqueness than was to be seen on Thursday at the modest little restaurant on Riverside drive. Nature at this early season supplied the verdure which art and cultivation make permanent at a gentleman's country place, and wealth, beauty and milliners did the rest. One hardly knew which to admire most, the ladies in the most becoming toilets that a woman wears, the simple gauzes and muslins of summer, with broad hats bending under a weight of feathers or posies, or the glitter of equipage, harness and liveries, with the fine show of horseflesh on the outside. It was a picture in itself, and ought to become one in perpetuity by the organization of a club, and making the meetings semi-annual at least.—[New York Sun.]

John Wilhelm, a shoemaker, entered the bedroom of the flat he occupied with his wife at No. 109 Allen street, yesterday, and closed the door and windows. Then, turning on three gas-burners, he lay down upon a sofa and went to sleep. He was dead when his wife tried to arouse him. He was despondent because he was out of work. For some time he was janitor of the Synagogue Tifereth Israel in Allen street.—[World, May 11.]

The appointments of the dressing rooms of some children equal that of any lady of luxurious tastes. Here is a description given by a writer in the New York Star, of the suite of rooms occupied by a girl of 9. She has a beautiful little sitting room in white and gold. The walls are hung in rose tinted silks and special pieces of furniture, diminutive in size, and including a small secretary in ormolu with Sevres plaque that she may carry on her little correspondence. Here are her toys, the elegant gifts she receives, and here she entertains her friends. Adjoining this room is her bedroom in satinwood, her brass bed hung with blue silk curtains. A dressing room attaches and in this is the culmination of luxury. The dressing room is quite large. The marble bath is set against the wall. The low marble basin is supplied with perfumed soaps. Sponges of all sorts and sizes hang in racks. Perfumed waters in cut glass bottles, cold creams, delicate lotions, all find a place. On her bureau are laid out expensive brushes and exquisite toilet bottles and manicure cases in pearl. In one corner is placed a long cheval glass that she may contemplate her skirts and dainty footgear.

It was reported at the Thirteenth precinct police station last Thursday that Mrs. Charlotte Hagin was dying of starvation at No. 2704 Eighth avenue. On investigation it was found that Mrs. Hagin, a young woman, had been left a widow but a few weeks ago. She had a two weeks old baby girl, which was nearly dead from lack of nourishment and proper care. Mrs. Hagin herself was utterly destitute and very ill. The mother and babe were taken to the Harlem hospital, but the infant died before reaching the institution. The poor woman was nearly frantic at the loss of her baby, and it is feared that she, too, will die.

Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Astor and their family of children are at their Tuxedo cottage. They will go to Newport in July and remain until October.

MEN AND THINGS.

The press dispatches from Pittston, Pa., announce that nearly eight thousand miners have resumed work in the collieries of the Pennsylvania company, after an idleness of over seven months. They have resumed work, but not as completely as they might. They will still do some idling. The dispatch goes on to state that for the present they will only work half time. During June and the first half of July they will rouse their energies a little and work three-quarters time. After July 15 they will be in good trim for labor again, and will put in a full day's work every day.

There is nothing more marvelous about the human mind than its capacity of looking at a bit of news like this, and never seeing the absurd contradictions involved in it. If the telegraph should report that in some remote section a lot of people were starving to death, notwithstanding the fact that food lay around them in abundance, to be had for the mere picking up, nobody would believe, for an instant, that the facts were as stated. We should all say at once, It is impossible that men should act that way. The whole story cannot have been told. There must be something—some malignant influence or power—that prevents these people from getting at the food they need and want. And yet when we hear that eight thousand men, wanting food, clothing, shelter, everything that makes life comfortable, have been standing idle for more than seven months, with the ground beneath their feet full of the raw material of wealth, that their own labor could with ease convert into a product exchangeable for food, clothes, houses or anything else—when we hear this, and are told, furthermore, that these men are even now going to do only half the work they might do, we take the whole thing in as calmly and unadmirably as though it were strictly in accordance with all the laws of the universe. It's like a flea under a microscope. When you once take a good look at it, it's a most extraordinary thing.

The general assembly of the Presbyterian church, now in session in this city, has been devoting a part of its attention to the question of immigration. Not its own personal immigration, but the immigration of non-Presbyterian foreigners. It announces, in the report of a special committee, that "during four years (from 1881 to 1885) we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army more than twice as vast as the estimated number of Goths and Vandals that swept through southern Europe and overwhelmed Rome." And then the committee pertinently inquire if we propose to allow the fate of Rome to befall our nation? They don't say, in so many words, that the only way to avert the fate of Rome is to make Presbyterians out of all the foreigners who come here. But that is the plain inference from what they do say. The idea in their minds is, clearly, that if the Goths and Vandals had been Presbyterians, Rome would have been all right. It is a great pity that John Calvin wasn't born a good deal sooner.

And so the committee, in view of the warning conveyed by the fate of Rome (vide Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire), and of the increasing steerage accommodations of the transatlantic lines, advise, strongly, that something be done at once. They announce that "the future is bright with promise when the Presbyterian church shall more perfectly organize its work for the immigrant population." Also that "leaving this work to churches and presbyteries will not secure it the attention which it deserves, or past experiences reveal." And so the committee advises the appointment of another secretary to the board of Home Missions, to be stationed at some strategic point in the west, where he can oversee the work and conduct operations against the foreign non-Presbyterian invaders.

Is there not something almost laughable in all this. Here is a constant throng of people pouring in upon us from the very countries from which we derive our civilization—the best blood, the best bone and sinew, the best intelligence of Europe is coming to us, faster and faster every year. We are actually getting the cream of Europe's population. We struggle hard to secure it. We send agents abroad to describe the abounding opportunities of our country, and urge immigrants to come here instead of going somewhere else. We brag about our immigration—

point to it with pride, and boast of the untold millions our teeming soil is ready to support. That's the way we talk—sometimes. How foolish, then, for these Presbyterian ministers to get together, and solemnly announce that the fate of Rome, overwhelmed by the Goths and Vandals, awaits this country, unless the Presbyterian church bestirs itself, and an additional secretary be appointed to the board of Home Missions.

If the general assembly is really in earnest about wanting to "Christianize" these immigrants, let them preach Christianity to them—not the Christianity of modern churches and cathedrals, but the Christianity of Christ. Let them recognize the fact that men want religion, just as they want food. There is a hunger of the soul as truly as a hunger of the body. But as well might they try to tempt the bodily appetites of convalescents in a hospital with chips and sawdust, as to tempt the spiritual appetites of soul-hungry men with lifeless dogmas and platitudes devoid of meaning.

The agricultural department at Washington has been paternally investigating foreign countries, with the view of discovering their needs in the way of agricultural produce. And in the May report of its statistician it gives a voluminous set of figures for the benefit of the farmers of the United States.

Wheat comes first in the statistician's list. Europe will need 144,000,000 bushels this year, and of this the United States can sell her 95,000,000—on condition, of course, that they take the same price for it as she pays for the pauper grown wheat of India. The agricultural department, by some oversight, does not state this condition; but it exists all the same. Of Indian corn, Great Britain will take between 60,000,000 and 70,000,000 bushels, again on condition that we sell it cheap enough. Eastern Europe, where the paupers live whom we are so much afraid of, produces Indian corn as well as we do, and if we charge too much for ours, Great Britain will patronize the paupers instead of patronizing us. It's a pity that those paupers should meet us in this manner at every turn. But the poor things must live, you know.

Rice. Well, we have plenty of rice fields, and we raise about the best rice in the world, but the paupers beat us hollow. Europe buys more than a thousand million pounds every year, but she doesn't buy any from us. Pass rice. Potatoes. The paupers are away ahead on potatoes. They meet us in our own markets. We buy any quantity of potatoes from Canada and Germany, and pay a fine on every bushel that we buy, which, somehow, is supposed to get into the American farmer's pocket, but doesn't do it. Butter we can sell 24,000,000 pounds of, and 118,000,000 pounds of cheese. We don't get anything like as good prices for our butter as the Scandinavian paupers, nor anything like as good prices for our cheese as the Englishmen. Europeans have such perverted tastes that they actually like pauper-made butter and cheese better than ours.

Cotton, of course, is our strong hold. Europe wants 2,600 million pounds of cotton every year, and as we have any quantity of cotton land, and plenty of hands to work it, naturally we sell Europe all the cotton she wants, and would be ready to sell her as much more if she would take it. Naturally we ought to, of course. But we don't. Here come those wretched paupers again—from India and Egypt this time—and they sell Europe 800 million pounds of cotton, rather more than a third of all she wants. And some of it is pretty good cotton, too.

Ah! but wool! We've all heard of the American wool grower, and some of us have actually seen him. Europe buys 780 million pounds of wool every year. But oh dear! oh dear! The statistician says she buys it all from paupers—not a pound from us. We buy sixty-nine million pounds of pauper wool ourselves every year. Isn't there something wrong about this? The statistician says no, and offers an ingenious explanation. "The aim of the wool grower of this country," he says, "is to supply the home manufacturer if possible; never to export raw wool. If there ever shall be a surplus it will bring more money to the wool grower if sent abroad in the manufactured form." This is definite, and shows not only how accurately the wool growers of New Mexico and Virginia take aim with their sheep shears, but also how clearly the statistician sees what they are aiming at. Only why isn't what

is true of wool true of cotton also. Why wouldn't that bring more money to the grower "if sent abroad in the manufactured form?" Why do our cotton mills shut down, and work half time, and play all manner of games of that kind, while all the time a steady stream of raw cotton is rushing across the Atlantic to be sold to foreign manufacturers in competition with pauper grown cotton, and a counter stream of pauper manufactured cotton goods coming back here to compete with our cotton mills? It's all right, of course, because the statistician says so, but still, it would be satisfactory to have these things explained.

Then the statistician, having finished with his figuring, makes some recommendations. We might sell more cheese and butter, he says, if we would only make them of a little better quality. Preserved fruits, evaporated fruits, oranges, wine from California—the foreign paupers would perhaps like to buy some of these, he thinks, if they only knew we had them to sell, and we would sell them cheap enough. But chiefly he believes in fibre and sugar.

It takes two-thirds of the value of our cotton export, so the statistician says, to pay for the various kinds of fibre we import for making bagging and for other purposes. It takes all the wheat and flour that we send abroad to pay for the sugar that we buy. This distresses the soul of the statistician. We ought, he thinks, to produce for ourselves all the fibre and all the sugar we want to use. Which of course means that we should either sell no more cotton, wheat and flour to those wretched foreign paupers, or else take in exchange for them something else than fibre and sugar. He isn't as clear headed as he might be, this statistician, but he means all right, poor fellow.

It is strange that with all the statistician's eagerness to secure a market for the products of the American farmer, it should never have crossed his mind that there is a market better worth developing than any other in the world—to wit, the home market, the market of the United States. Why shouldn't the American people buy what the American farmers raise, and pay for it with wages earned by producing things that American farmers want to buy and use? Why, indeed? If the statistician will consider this question closely he will see that the only reason is because they're not allowed to.

Here is a day laborer—an Italian laborer if you like, an immigrant just landed. His wants are limitless—he wants the universe, if he can get it. Immediately, now, at once, he wants bread and meat. Why not make a market out of this Italian laborer and sell him some of your surplus farm products. Ah, says the statistician with a condescending sneer, but he's got no money to buy with. All right, Mr. Statistician, then clearly the thing to be done is to put that Italian laborer in the way of earning money, and the problem of the home market is solved.

Look across the river and see those miles of quarry reaching along the Jersey shore, most of them as vacant as when Hendrik Hudson first sailed up the river. The stone isn't worth much, it's true, but still it's worth something. With a common sledgehammer for a tool, one Italian can earn fair daily wages breaking stone. Or if that won't suit him, let him walk half a dozen miles in any direction till he comes to some vacant arable land, and set himself to planting corn or cabbages. He needn't starve while they are growing. The nearest storekeeper will be happy to supply his modest wants until his crop is ripe to sell. There you have your Italian earning money, and the home market in a fair way of development. Why not do something of that kind?

Oh, well, the statistician answers, you know that sort of talk is nonsense. Men own the idle quarry and the vacant land, and of course they're not going to let that Italian laborer go to work on either one of them, unless he's ready to pay for the privilege; and that he can't afford to do. All right, statistician, what you say is true enough. Only, if you want to develop a home market, as I suppose you do, just tell the truth about it to the farmers, and let them understand that the real reason why the millions of American laborers, who want American bread and meat, can't buy American bread and meat, is because the fellows who own idle land and quarries won't let them go to work.

T. L. McCREADY.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Railways in China.

In the May issue of the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Charles S. Addis discusses at some length, and in a singularly optimistic vein, the results which are to follow the breaking down of the prejudice of the Chinese governmental mind against the railway. He tells the short story of the little line from Shanghai to Woosung, which was opened in December, 1876, and was abruptly wiped out of existence in October, 1877. He informs us that the first serious commendation of the railway to the consideration of the imperial authorities was made by a dying Chinese general who was impressed with its strategic value—a commendation happily reinforced by the experience of a prince of the blood on a visit to the treaty port of Chefoo. He describes the short line now operating from Tientsin toward Peking. And then, giving the rein to his imagination, he draws a sight draft upon the future. "Once the exclusion of the capital is broken down," he exclaims, "who can predict what will follow? . . . As the years roll on we may conclude that first one province and then another will fall under the sway of the Iron King, until an arterial system of railways shall bear new life and vigor to every extremity of corporate China, and she wakes once more to feel her old strength, but with it a new potentiality for the safety and peace of her people."

With regard to the results which will spring from the introduction of railways in China, we may find a fair parallel in the benefits which have accrued to India since they were established there. Agriculture will receive a much needed impetus, rebellions will be made impossible, the food of the common people will be cheapened, their luxuries increased, their standard of comfort raised, and the famine demon will depart, never to return. Wider and more general information will be diffused throughout the empire, and, with enlarged knowledge and sympathy, the old-time ignorance and exclusiveness will disappear. But with the peculiar conditions of Chinese civilization, reforms more interesting and unique than these will certainly follow.

What these reforms are to be, Mr. Addis discusses at some length. The language is to become unified. The present provincial dialects, many of which differ so widely among themselves that a native of one province cannot understand the speech of a native of another, are to disappear. The currency is to be regulated, or, one might more properly say, created; the imperial government undertaking the task of coinage, and the present system of making payments by weight of bar silver disappearing. The foreign standard of time is to be introduced, and clocks made after European models are to tick in every house. More important than all, the interchange of commodities between different parts of the country will be facilitated, and trade, both foreign and domestic, is to make a tremendous forward rush. Briefly a new and better condition of things is to prevail—not the millennium by any means, but a decided approach to it. All this Mr. Addis sees contained, as the oak within the acorn, in the eighty-one miles of single track now feebly operating between Tientsin and Tongshan.

It is rather a pity that before turning his mind inward upon his own consciousness for a vision of the future of China under the influence of a railway system, Mr. Addis did not devote some time to a study of social conditions in those countries that already have adopted railways. Had he visited the United States, for example, he might have found reason to reconsider his opinion about the influence of steel rails and locomotives toward preventing famines. It is quite true that the Chinese type of famine does not prevail here. It would be impossible for the bulk of Kentucky's population to be starving, while Virginia had more food than she could use. But there is a good deal of hunger in the United States nevertheless. There is probably no day in the year when New York has not within reach far more grain than would be required to amply feed her population. Yet there are hungry people in New York—thousands of them—all the time. There are even occasional instances of human beings dying of starvation within the city limits. The same is true of Philadelphia, of Chicago, of Cincinnati, of St. Louis, of St. Paul and Minneapolis. There is plenty of hunger in all of them. Yet all are railway centers.

Again, Had Mr. Addis made a tour of observation through Europe before writing his essay on Chinese railways, he might

have been less sanguine about the prospective unifications of languages and currency. France, Italy and Germany are scarcely more different from one another in language and currency than any three of the provinces of China. They have had the railway for considerably more than a generation. Why have not their differences in speech and in currency disappeared? Why should the railway be expected to exert in China an influence which it has notably failed to exert elsewhere?

The fact is, that like many another prophet, Mr. Addis has used his reasoning powers rather than his faculties of observation. He sees quite plainly that so gigantic a tool of production as the railway ought to bring the necessities of life within the reach of every member of the community. He sees that it ought to break down the barriers of speech and currency systems, to draw closer the bonds of brotherhood, to make one co-operative family of all the people within its reach. What he sees it *ought* to do, he thinks it *will* do. And veiling his eyes to the light of experience, he conjures up, in the dim twilight of his own consciousness, an entrancing vision of a regenerated China—the civilization of the west triumphing over the barbarism of the east, and a long sleeping people wakening to an unexampled career of wealth production and of comfort.

For my part I do not believe the Chinese authorities will ever agree to an extensive railway building within their territories. They have probably permitted the construction of the line Mr. Addis speaks of as a concession to foreign diplomatic importunity. But I cannot think they will ever consent to defy both the prejudices and the immediate interests of their subjects so far as to allow the construction of any really important line. It is a mistake of the western mind to look on the Chinese as a people deficient in civilization, stupidly blocking the path of their own progress by refusing to avail themselves of steam and electricity. The fact is, that they are very highly civilized, though after a peculiar fashion, and that they struggle against the introduction of modern inventions because of an intuitive conviction that such introduction could not fail to produce the most appalling social disasters.

In China the principle of that protectionism that finds crude expression in our customs tariff, has been carried to its legitimate conclusion. Everybody is "protected." Everybody has something "done" for him. Everybody's industry is "encouraged" by restrictions upon other people's industry. Everybody has work—that is, everybody would have work, if the malignant spirits of earth, air and water would only leave things alone, and not interfere with the wise arrangements of men. When the Yellow river, "China's sorrow," changes its bed, and sweeps away towns by the hundred and farms by the thousand, giving the wretched inhabitants barely time to flee for their lives; when the great Yangtze overflows its banks, inundating tens of thousands of square miles of land;—when a plague of grasshoppers descends on some devoted province, or a prolonged drought blights the crops of a million farmers;—when anything of this sort happens, then indeed society becomes disorganized, and people are thrown out of work; but so long as nature behaves herself, men do well enough, and everybody is sure of employment. Some folks have more profitable employment than others, but everybody has work of some kind and can make a living at it.

Organization is the secret of it all. Every Chinaman belongs to an organization of some kind, and obeys its laws implicitly, receiving in return efficient protection against the evils of competition and overproduction. The bankers are organized into guilds. So are the merchants. So are the day laborers, the coolies, as foreigners call them. Even the thieves and beggars have their guilds, and restrict the competition of scab laborers in their peculiar industries. The beggars run their own charity organization societies, and the thieves their own society for the prevention of crime, and both do it in a most efficient and systematic manner. In every city the chief of the beggars' guild makes the round of the merchants and storekeepers once a year, collecting subscriptions. To each subscriber he gives a placard, inscribed with the Chinese equivalent for "We subscribe to the charity organization society,"

at the sight of which every professional beggar turns away and leaves the subscriber in peace. In short, the whole community has reached that stage of development from which the next step, according to Mr. Bellamy, is state socialism—the national organization of industry. The only thing needed is that the government should take control of the various organizations, and combine them all into one vast national trust. This final step, however, the government has as yet showed no disposition to take.

Chinese organization is logical throughout. It rests at bottom upon the only thing on which successful organization can rest—brute force. The man who disobeys the orders of his guild is promptly punished according to the magnitude of his offence, with fine, or torture, or death. Willingly or unwillingly, he must obey. The only alternative to obedience is death. And so logically is the principle carried out, that even the dealers in force are said to be organized, and the man condemned to death by his organization is quietly put out of the way by a member in good standing of the murderers' guild.

It is easy to see how terribly disastrous are the cruel interferences of unthinking nature with this well balanced state of affairs. When the Yellow river changes its bed, and so to speak, locates itself suddenly upon a densely populated stretch of territory, it throws everything into confusion. Of course, if it drowned everybody in the overflowed district, everything would be all right, and there would be no further trouble. But, unfortunately, it doesn't drown them all. It lets a great many of them escape. And the survivors at once find themselves in the fearful situation of men for whom society has literally no place—their place is under water. What are they to do? Their own organizations have vanished. The surviving organizations can do nothing for them without disturbing the carefully adjusted balance of industry. They may not even steal or beg. In time, and by degrees, they might be absorbed. But while time passes they are starving. The result is, that as a rule, unless the central government takes up the task of feeding them, they form a rough and hasty organization of their own—a predatory organization, warring upon society by sack and plunder. It is in that way that rebellions are started in the Central Flowery Kingdom.

Now the opening of a great railway line in any part of China, would resemble such a convulsion of nature as I have described, in this, that it would at once, and suddenly, throw immense bodies of men out of work, and break up their organizations. Boatmen, porters, chair carriers, innkeepers—a countless host of men, would find their occupations swept away as if by an inundation. What could they do? The problem confronting them would be precisely that which would confront the survivors of an inundation. It would even be worse. Because a Chinese river when it gets upon the rampage, really does kill a good many. But except a few car couplers and brakemen, the railroad couldn't be depended on to put anybody out of the way. And a further complication would arise from the fact that the men thrown out of employment would have been relied upon, by the rest of the community, to furnish, by their consumption, a market for the general production. Shoemakers would have relied on them to buy shoes, farmers would have expected them to buy rice, thieves would have been looking to them for something to steal, and beggars relying on them for charity. It needs but a moment's consideration to see how irremediably the whole balance of society would be disturbed. The inevitable effect of the introduction of railways into China would be the forcing of immense masses of people into rebellion. The authorities at Peking probably see this with sufficient clearness, and for that reason, I think, they will never consent to any extensive railway building.

Yet were it not for the awful suffering that would follow so serious a derangement of industrial organization, it might well be wished that the experiment of introducing railways into China could be tried. The student of social science would find a fruitful field for investigation in the spectacle of two countries like the United States and China—the one representing eastern, the other western civilization—struggling toward a common ideal from diametrically opposite directions. We, in

this country, having already got the railways, are striving more or less successfully to adopt the Chinese protective system of organization and repression. If the Chinese, on their side, having already got the protection, the organization, and the repression, should make up their minds to get the railways too, some very interesting comparisons would be possible.

The Tenement House Again.

Mr. Jacob Riis has been discussing "the tenement house question" in the two last numbers of the *Christian Union*. It has often been discussed before. Daily papers have discussed it sensationally, magazines have discussed it philosophically, weekly papers have discussed it picturesquely, missionary societies have said their say about it, clergymen have preached about it, doctors have lectured about it, philanthropic societies have published pamphlets about it, legislative committees have made reports about it. Now Mr. Jacob Riis takes it up. Let us see what he has to say.

"The Question Stated." So Mr. Riis calls his first paper, and illustrates it with a picture of "the barracks" in Mott street, a tenement house interior, and a barefooted female, all tattered and torn, drawing a bucket of water from a back yard hydrant. Eleven hundred thousand people living in tenement houses. That is "the question," stated comprehensively. Children dying for want of air. A hundred thousand people living in rear tenements. Six grown people and five children living in an "apartment" of one room and two dark closets. Two hundred and ninety thousand people herded in a single square mile of bricks and mortar. Sewing machines whirring far into the night, at starvation wages. "Gotham court, not down in the directory, yet with a population greater than that of Garden City jammed into the rift between two huge brick walls that is dignified with the name of court." Bowery dives, Bowery lodging houses, Battle Row, Murderer's Row, Hell's Kitchen and Little Italy. These are the details of the question. Mr. Riis feels that he can answer it. He calls his second paper "The Remedy." O wise Mr. Riis.

But when you come to read Mr. Riis's second paper, so hopefully headed, you find that it scarcely carries out the promise of its title. "How can you ever cure it?" Mr. Riis asks of himself. And comes forward promptly with the answer: "I do not know!" Oh, Mr. Riis, Mr. Riis; really now, hadn't you better try to find out? It's no use to try, thinks Mr. Riis. "As with any organic disease," says philosophic Mr. Riis, "you may treat the symptoms, relieve the suffering, check its progress by watchful care; but cure there is none." And then he quotes, as applicable to "the question," these words of a Christian woman who sent some daisies from her country home to a lot of tenement-house children last summer: "In some way, be sure of it, we are working out His wise purpose with this great trouble by doing in unquestioning faith the duty that lies before us." Wasn't that a sweet and lovely message to send to the children who are "working out His wise purpose" by dying of diphtheria? See how it sanctifies even the tenement-house growler—the children work out "His wise purposes" by carrying it to and from the beer saloon. The woman of the daisies, and Mr. Riis himself, must be people of a lively faith. They contemplate unutterable wretchedness—sin, shame, misery and death—and, by their creed, damnation, too—and really believe that God ordains it all. And yet they are not ashamed to worship him! More curiously still, they are not ashamed to entreat the board of health and all charitable and philanthropic societies and persons, to fly in the very face of Providence and do their best to overcome the evils of the tenement houses that owe their very existence to "His wise purpose." Inconsistent Mr. Riis.

Somehow there is always this trouble about the tenement house problem from the point of view of such men as Mr. Riis. God forces people into the tenements, they tell us. It's part of the mystery of the Divine plan. Yet they speak of curing or alleviating the tenement house evil as being God's work, too, and invite all men to aid in it. Is God stronger for evil than he is for good? Is it possible that he puts people into tenement houses, and then wants to get them out, but can't? That appears to be Mr. Riis's position. And, queerest of all, he

appears to think that men *can* do what God can't do, and so urges everybody to lend a hand at it. Incomprehensible Mr. Riis.

Children's aid society. Fresh air fund. Flower mission. These and others like them are the sort of things Mr. Riis relies on to counteract the cruelty of our Father in heaven. Do away with the beer saloons—which, by another blunder of Providence, have been established cheek by jowl with the tenement houses. Above all things, give the people better homes. "The law needs," says Mr. Riis, "a stronger backing of all earnest, thinking people, in its battle with the most stubborn of all foes, the self-interest of landlords." Oho! It isn't only the will of God, it seems, that is responsible. The "self interest of landlords" has something to do with the matter, too. Perhaps if Mr. Riis would leave off alternately flattering and abusing the Almighty, and study out how best he could attack that "self interest of landlords," he might get some unexpected light upon the problem that perplexes him.

And now comes Mr. Frederick Greenwood, in the Nineteenth Century for May, and he has something to say about the question that has been puzzling Mr. Jacob Riis. He doesn't speak of it as "the tenement house question." He calls it "Misery in Great Cities." But the expressions are synonymous. Tenement houses and misery in great cities mean just exactly the same thing.

Mr. Greenwood doesn't drag the Almighty into the discussion as Mr. Riis does. Apparently, he does not believe that the misery in great cities exists because of some mysterious dispensation of Providence. He seems to think it is altogether a human affair. He isn't at all clear how it is to be relieved—indeed, there runs through his whole essay a conviction that it *cannot* be relieved. But he does admit that it is a bad thing in the first place, and makes no attempt to relieve humanity of responsibility by attacking either the goodness or omnipotence of God.

As for the lowest grade of misery—the misery of the poor wretches who compose in the aggregate what British philanthropists call "outcast London"—Mr. Greenwood is very decidedly of the opinion that there is no use bothering about that. He doesn't mean by this that there should be no relief administered—only that it is futile to hope that relief administration, or anything else, can effect any permanent good. "An almost inconceivable change must take place," he tells us, "in the whole constitution of society, human nature itself must make a long, long stride toward perfection, before the horrors of the 'slums' can be diminished in any comforting degree. For they correspond far more than most kind souls are willing to perceive to the measure of depravity and weakness in the human mind; and at the same time to the proportion of incapables in a state of society which does not allow incapacity to perish, as it perishes where nothing like organized society exists at all." Just examine this statement closely, so as to get at its root idea, and you see at once that Mr. Greenwood believes the slums exist only because society persists in not allowing incapacity to perish; also that incapacity corresponds to depravity and weakness in the human mind. There is not much comfort in this theory, it is true. But it does, undeniably, account for things. On the whole, I think it is rather more logical than Mr. Riis's "wise purposes" idea.

It is for the class who have not yet sunk into the slums that Mr. Greenwood thinks something might be done. That you may understand just what class he means, I give his description of a typical case:

Some good husband and father, whose labor or whose skill has filled his home with comfort year after year, falls ill. But not in a slum. Knowing them a little more, though only a little more, than the gentler folk who read about them in the newspapers, it has been the greatest effort and the greatest pride of his life to keep his children far away from all such places. He is not permitted to say, as another variety of poor man is, that, come what may, he is determined to bring up his boys like gentlemen; but he meant much the same thing whenever occasion arose for repenting to himself the quiet resolve that his children should be "brought up respectable." When his illness overtakes him he is living in no foul east end quarter, in none of the gutter byways into which not only the more hopeless poverty but the most inveterate idleness and most defiant vice naturally drain, but in some quiet little street where no sign of distress is visible, though a desperate

struggle for the common decencies of life may be going on in every other house. To be obliged to "break up the home," to be compelled to turn out and shift nearer to the region of slums and slummers, that is his most poignant anxiety when he falls sick; and his wife must be a rarity among women of her class if her suffering at the thought of such a fate is not greater than her husband's. The very lowest grade being excepted, the women in every rank of life among the working classes are superior to the men in self-respect and wholesome pride, just as they are invariably a step above their husbands and brothers in matters of taste and refinement. And it is the woman who has first to confront the miseries which, in a steady procession of ever increasing squalor, file into the home of which we are thinking.

Of course, we have no class in the United States precisely like that which Mr. Greenwood describes in these words. It is still the proud privilege of every American citizen to say, if he chooses, that "he is determined to bring up his boys like gentlemen." He can even go farther, and say that he is determined to bring them up like princes of the imperial house of Germany, if he likes. We allow men to say anything of that kind they feel like saying—first, because this is a free country, where all men have equal rights, and second, because it doesn't necessarily mean anything. But in other respects Mr. Greenwood's description might be applied, fairly enough, to a very large number of American families. It is interesting, therefore, to see what he proposes to do for such people as he describes.

Real charity—unobtrusive charity—the charity that springs from real sympathy, and seeks to do good by stealth, is first on Mr. Greenwood's list of palliatives and remedies. "No Lady Bountiful enters on the scene, to stare, and pry, and lecture as well as to give, but a kindly woman who knows by instinct what Lady B. will never learn, with all her 'vast experience of the lower classes,' namely, that in dealing with the poverty of the uncomplaining poor, as much delicacy is needed, as much delicacy is due, as when the distresses of some broken gentleman have to be relieved." Hospitals, dispensaries and other charitable institutions can also, Mr. Greenwood thinks, do much. But after all, he finds that the whole subject resolves itself into one great question—the question of the landlord. "The housing of the poor in London," he says—"not in its slums, but where the better sort of working people dwell—is a very great matter to-day; and if the causes that contribute so largely to swell its population continue, difficulties already painful, while they seem all but insurmountable will become a danger too." Thus from different directions, Mr. Riis and Mr. Greenwood have reached the same point in the consideration of the problem—something must be done about the landlord. Mr. Riis airily proposes to bring public opinion to bear upon him. Let us see what Mr. Greenwood proposes.

One of the chief advantages of general education, Mr. Greenwood reminds us, is that it creates tastes, and adds to the number of absolute wants. People with even a moderate amount of education are not satisfied unless they have things somewhat nice around them. They want fresh linen. They want order, brightness, sweetness in the home. "And even when these tastes are not cultivated by attainment and enjoyment, they are soon felt as crying wants, the denial of which is degradation." That this is a good thing, Mr. Greenwood sees quite clearly. It is the way that leads to social progress.

Only, after the worker has got his refined taste, how is he going to satisfy it? "The answer," says Mr. Greenwood, "is that the means of satisfaction are cheap and simple in every particular but the most important one of all." And that "most important one of all" is the point at which the landlord comes in with a rush. With an innocence that would be charming, were the subject less terribly serious, Mr. Greenwood goes on to show how the development in the British working man of tastes for nice surroundings puts money into the landlord's pocket. As education progresses, the demand for decent rooms increases. As the demand increases, the rents go up. And as the rents go up, the tenants who insist on decent surroundings are forced to deprive themselves of food and clothing and everything else they can do without that the landlord may have his share. "I know," says Mr. Greenwood, speaking specially of women who insist on respectable surroundings, "what the social emulation which education strengthens is doing for the best of them. They

are paying higher rents at the cost of a cupboard which is thought well filled if there is enough of bread and tea inside."

And so it comes to this, that on the testimony of an expert in philanthropy—which Frederick Greenwood certainly is—the effect, so far, of education in Great Britain has only been to induce industrial slaves to toil with greater efficiency, for their landlord's benefit.

Mr. Greenwood is quite clear that something must be done about all this, and done quickly. Otherwise these educated industrial slaves may take it into their heads to regulate matters for themselves and do something rash. Here is the situation as he sums it up:

If we now review the ground we have been traversing, we shall see that our position is this: The lack of house room, the enormous rents that have to be paid for accommodation which is insufficient for decency, let alone for comfort, is one of the greatest grievances of the poor in London; that by none is it felt so heavily as by the more intelligent and provident of the working classes; that the education we are at such pains to provide them does, by its most certain and most desired consequences, promote rebellion against the costly squalors of the workman's home; that while education constantly enlarges the longing for some share of the refinements of life, the overcrowding which renders common decency impossible, even when a cruelly disproportionate part of the workman's income goes for rent, increases; that the causes of discontent are likely to grow while indisposition to bear with them grows also; and that while no legislative remedies that are not worse than the disease can be found, yet some that are plausible may be forced into experiment by mass votes at county council elections. . . . At one and the same time the legislature has conferred upon those who suffer a keener sense of their privations, and organized for them a powerful constitutional means of insisting on the trial of any scheme of relief that they may be persuaded to believe in. I am not so foolish as to complain of its having done the one thing, whatever I may think of the wisdom of the other; my intention simply is to point to the facts as they stand, and to what will grow out of them almost to a certainty. Nor can it be said that these growths are likely to begin in a time so distant that we need not trouble ourselves about them. They have begun already. The ground was cleared for them by the dissemination of that perplexing socialist doctrine which would be denied by none if it were not so disastrously impossible of application; a doctrine, however, which ignorance and distress may readily accept at the hands of men who are willing to make a ruin to mount upon rather than rise to no eminence at all. To such men the new system of local government is a delight, and they have shown already that they mean to work it as without doubt it can be worked.

The "perplexing socialist doctrine" Mr. Greenwood speaks about can be nothing else than the taxation of land values. Evidently Mr. Greenwood sees the handwriting on the wall. He cannot read it, and it scares him all the more on that account.

Well, what is Mr. Greenwood going to do, in this alarming condition of affairs? He doesn't quite know himself. Government might buy up some land and build a few houses on it; but that wouldn't help much. His favorite remedy appears to be a van—a van broad and deep—a smart van—a glaringly clean van, "fitted up with trays or other receptacles heated by mineral oil or portable gas."

The various receptacles contain three or four kinds of food appropriate to the dinner hour; which kinds are not the same every day, but are always wholesome, always savory, and such as are well liked of those for whom they are provided. Milk is distributed from door to door in cans, as beer used to be; why not close covered cans of hot newly made soup or Irish stew? Small puddings—meat puddings, plum puddings, puddings of half a dozen varieties—might be served in like manner from the hot coffers in the van. Fish, fresh drawn from the bubbling pan; potatoes roast, potatoes fried; portions of well cooked beef; portions of mutton stewed in rice; might not such viands as these be carried round, hot and good, with dishes of cold meat and salad in the summer time? If it could be done acceptably, and without loss, the advantage would be very great indeed.

What is he talking about, you wonder? What on earth has a glaringly clean van to do with the great landlord question? Why, don't you see? The van will furnish food more cheaply than it can be furnished now. And that, of course, will make it just so much easier to pay the rent. Isn't that plain enough? What will happen when the landlord raises the rent, Mr. Greenwood doesn't say. Perhaps he hasn't thought of that. Perhaps he thinks it will be sufficient to give the van a new coat of paint and make it still more glaringly clean. Who are we, that we should venture to foretell what he means to do?

Mr. Riis with his backing of earnest thinking people, urging the landlords not to insist on too much. And Mr. Greenwood with his smart van. How the world

will laugh at it all some day and wonder what kind of fools they could have been who lived in the nineteenth century.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Man's First Chart of Freedom.

"In the beginning of the world, we are informed by Holy Writ, the all bountiful Creator gave to man dominion over all the earth, and over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy, metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon the subject. The earth, therefore, and all the things therein, are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of all other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator."—*Blackstone*.

Our righteous Father—He who changeth not—
In the beginning of our old-world life
Unveiled His majesty in Eden fair,
Ere yet the taint of sin had blanched its
Flood
Or human waywardness had marred its bliss.
In words of inextinguishable love
This primal mandate God enjoined on man:—

"Be fruitful, multiply, replenish earth;
Subdue it, have dominion over all.
Behold! I give thee each herb-bearing seed,
The fruit of every yielding tree for meat;
Fowls of every wing, cattle of the field,
The fish, and every living thing is Mine,
By Me created for the use of man,
And equally and freely given to all."

Such was the first, and still abiding, Chart
Of human rights! Imperative, and fixed
By Him who is the *only* Source of Law.
Chart! old as the world, lasting as our race.

Alas! distrust and disregard of God,
Man's first offense and still enthralling sin,
Is source and origin of all our wrongs.
Man's crave for private ownership in land
Involves rejection of God's first great Chart,
Asks Him to stand aside; man much prefers
A personal, clear title to the soil,
Conferring income, privilege and renown.

How long, O Lord, shall rank injustice reign?
How long shall man prey on his brother man?
Oh! in these latter days arise! Strike forth,
And rid the world of selfish, savage wrong!
Restore Thy people their lost ancient rights:
Oh! vindicate Thy equity and love,
Rescue Thy fair world from the grasp of
greed,
And stop the martyrdom of man by man.
WILLIAM FORSYTH.

Yes, Results: Wages Falling, Industries Closing Down, Stagnation.

New York Tribune, Monday, May 20.

Results is the protectionists' reply to free trade sophistries.

The most interesting point connected with the failure of the Almy manufacturing company of Philadelphia, is that Mr. Almy and his partners have been high tariff republicans and were very earnest in their declarations before election that if Harrison was elected everything would be lovely with the manufacturers of Pennsylvania. The failure of the company following similar failures, and very material reductions in the operations of woolen mills in this city since the inauguration of President Harrison, has had a very demoralizing effect upon the spirits of high tariff republicans. A leading merchant, speaking of the Almy failure to-day, said that many other failures would follow in a few years, unless the tariff was materially changed, and particularly as regards wool, and it is generally admitted in the trade to-day that if the tariff bill which was before the last congress admitting wool free had passed, the Almy company would not have failed and other mills which are now running on half time without profit would be running full time.—[New York Times.]

And now comes the announcement of the closing of the Bloomsburg (Pa.) iron works, which have been in operation for forty years. The reason for the shut down is not high wages of employees, but dull trade. There is no sale for the goods, the home market being overstocked and our protective laws deny foreign markets to manufacturers.—[Salt Lake Herald.]

The suffering of the miners in the vicinity of Wilkesbarre, Pa., has caused them to issue a circular describing their condition.—[Washington Craftsman.]

From various Exchange.

About thirty doublers and warpers in the employ of Ranford Brothers, silk manufacturers, Paterson, N. J., went out on account of a proposed reduction in their wages from \$7.50 to \$6 a week. The strikers are girls and women.

Notice of a new sliding scale of wages was posted at Carnegie's Homestead, Pittsburg, steel plant.

There is every prospect of a general strike at the Black Diamond, Pa., steel works for an advance in wages.

Has the Sun Sized Up Exactly.

Louisville Courier-Journal.

The principles of the democratic party are in eternal conflict with the war tariff; the democracy of the New York Sun is of the sham variety. It makes long prayers on the street corners, is loud in its professions, but is ready at any time by any device to divide our forces in order that the enemy may defeat us.

RILEY, M. P.

Tighe Hopkins in the Broken Shaft.

This is the story of a quiet man, called Riley, who went down to a borough which nobody else had heard of, and told the people that if they would send him to parliament he would get them three acres and a cow apiece, and see that the country was governed by the light of common sense. They were a slow, pious people, who had had no education to speak of, and, as they had never listened to anything like this before, they asked old Mr. Deemster, who was standing by applauding with both feet, what it meant. He said it was radicalism, and a good thing, too. He said, besides:

"Now, you all want three acres and a cow, don't you? If there's any man here who doesn't, let him go home."

The electors wagged their chaps like one man, but none of them went home.

"Very well," continued old Mr. Deemster, mounting the barrel so as to emphasize his words, "you all want three acres and a cow, which comes to this, that you've been radicals all your lives without knowing it. More shame for you then, I say, to keep on electing that there Sir Supine Lumpkin, who has never promised you anything, and wouldn't give it to you if he did. Now, then, what you've got to do is to act up to your principles and elect this Mr. Riley, whom I've fetched here from never-you-mind-where, and he'll get you three acres and a cow, and something more besides."

The electors felt drawn toward Riley from that moment, and twenty-six of them formed themselves into a committee, as Deemster told them to, and hired a room at the public, and sat round a table with some beer in the middle, and thought it out quietly.

The more they thought it out, the better they liked it, and the less quiet they became; and when the landlord, with a face like beet root, came in and asked if they meant to go home that night or didn't they, they helped one another to their legs, and hiccupped three Rileys and an acre, and their wives put them to bed with the first broomsticks they laid hold of.

I can tell you these were strange goings on for Pullborough, and you would like to know how it came about that the people were deciding to elect Riley, whom none of them had ever seen or heard of till that night, and turn out old Sir Supine Lumpkin, the squire, who had lived among them all his life, and drawn his money out of the land, and spent it for the good of himself and his family.

This Mr. Deemster was at the bottom of it all, as I dare say you expected he would be, and, as far as that goes, he was generally at the bottom of everything out of which he could make a trifle for himself. He was a large, bald-headed man, but over and above that, he was a pill merchant, and had made a lot of money by mixing patent pills on a large scale. I mean, of course, that the business was on a large scale, not the pills; for you could buy them in boxes of all sizes and upward, according to the number you preferred to take at once. The pills were good for one thing or another, so Deemster said; and Deemster was good for a hundred thousand, so the people said. For all this he was a frugal man, and might have been seen in his drawing-room window on fine evenings mending his trousers with a needle and thread, because he had a saying that a stitch in time saved trousers which might otherwise have gone to the bad. He had no more than the average modesty of some others I could name who have made fortunes by hocusing the population, and he held a poor opinion of people who had not got their money out of pills, or some other trade which had obliged them at one time to stand behind a counter with their sleeves rolled up, and tell customers that the smallest orders were attended to as carefully as the largest.

Now, old Sir Supine had never made any money at all, but had had it made for him by his ancestors; so you can suppose Deemster had a very poor opinion of him. In fact, Deemster would not have cared if Sir Supine had been expropriated, and his lands made over to him, so that he could have built pill factories all over the estate. As for Sir Supine, he despised Deemster, because he had once taken a box of his pills before bedtime and refused to pay for them, on the ground that they did him no good. He lived in some style at the Hall with his housekeeper and his son Augustus; and people who owed him rent went round by the back-door, and

thought themselves lucky if they did not leave some part of their clothes with the dog.

In the good old days, when men tipped more and the Church was in no danger, Pullborough returned four members to parliament; and Sir Supine used to send down on the morning of the election the names of the persons to be elected. The votes of the electors were divided evenly between these gentlemen, or they would have been if most of them had not plumped for Sir Supine, to show that they knew on which side their bread was buttered.

The feud between Deemster and Sir Supine, on account of the pills, was of long standing, but it had lately been embittered by the Squire's refusal to sell Deemster three roods of bog land which he wanted to reclaim for the purposes of a vegetable garden. Deemster accordingly began to think the time had come when Pullborough needed a more generous representative in parliament, and casting about for a likely candidate, he heard of Riley, a quiet man, who wanted to get into parliament that he might mingle with patriots, and use the privileges of a legislator to escape payment of his debts. So he invited Riley to contest Pullborough in the radical interest, and Riley, who never declined an invitation, came and contested it.

He went twice to chapel on Sundays, and Deemster put something in the plate for him, and on week days he visited the electors in their cottages, and knocked his head against the wet clothes hanging from the ceiling, and said he didn't mind it. Conduct like this was certain to impress a simple borough like Pullborough, and the electors said Riley was just the man they wanted; they wondered they had never thought of him before. His cause was indirectly furthered by the indiscreet conduct of Sir Supine's son Augustus, who carried on as if he had only a nominal respect for his own and his family's name. In Pullborough they had a very well founded belief in a future place of torment for people who did not attend chapel, and you can understand with what a righteous hatred they would hate a pleasant fellow like Augustus, who always had terriers at his heels, and drove a tandem of donkeys during church hours on Sunday. They wanted Augustus to go to chapel, like the rest of them, for his soul's good; and they thought Sir Supine would send him there if the family seat in parliament were threatened. This is why they placarded the town with bills in favor of Riley and the three cows, and gave the editor of the radical paper some sherry to write leaders about the necessity of government by common sense.

Sir Supine heard about Riley and his three cows, but took no notice further than to instruct his tenants through the high minded tory agent that he thought of doubling the rents at Michaelmas. However, they all of them plumped for Riley, who was elected amid a storm of cheers and rotten eggs. The real truth respecting this election is that, if any earnest politician in Pullborough was sober that night, it was not Riley's fault, for he had said from the first that he would have no bribery, and any one who liked to call for something to drink in his name might do so at every public in the town. There was the necessary amount of slaughter after nightfall, and the principal hatter in the place said the next day to the customers who crowded his shop that he had never known an election so good for trade.

Deemster was very well pleased with himself when the result was made known, and so was Riley, and so were the electors, who carried him round the town on a plank, face downward, while the disappointed tories followed howling and hit at him with their umbrellas, for it was raining.

But he was just able to call for brandy when he got to his hotel, and he revived when Deemster brought his daughter Dorothy round to congratulate him on his triumph. Don't run away with the notion that Deemster cared anything about Riley or his triumph, for he didn't; but he was pleased in his large hearted way to have been one too many for the squire. Dorothy, however, a pretty and modest girl, not at all like her father, was really in sympathy with the people, and delighted to think they were going to have a farm apiece, and cows and sheep to stock them. And as for Riley, who was going to get them these by his own unaided efforts, she thought him a hero, and told him so in guarded language.

Riley was delighted at this, for he was in love with Dorothy for the sake of her father's extensive business; and when old Deemster had gone out to propose that the electors should chair him, too, he took the girl's hand, and said he had loved her ever since he had observed her frugal ways in the house, and her willingness to help her father more largely than herself; and this was the meaning he had intended to convey in every speech he had made.

"And was this the meaning you intended to convey when you proposed to have government by the light of common sense?" asked Dorothy.

"Yes," answered Riley, "for I think that is the way a man should strive to govern his wife. And I am glad you are such a sensible girl and willing to be the wife of a man who likes peace and quiet, and you will have a good fortune if your father makes a handsome settlement."

She said if he really meant marriage she would take time to think about it, and he must please not squeeze her hand at present.

He seemed to like her answer, and the same night he returned to his lodgings in K-n-n-g-t-n-r-d, L-n-d-n, S. W., very well satisfied with the turn matters had taken.

Sir Supine accused his son Augustus of having lost him the election, and if you had heard the elder man expostulating with the younger in the drawing room that evening you would have thought the atmosphere was warm enough without the parlor maid needing to light so many gas burners.

II.

Augustus consoled his parent by telling him that, if any justice were still sold, something could certainly be done to a man like Riley for deceiving the population. Sir Supine said that, in a matter like this, money was no object; that Riley must be mended or ended; and that Augustus had better go to town and find out what he could about him, and how much it would cost to have him interfered with. Augustus then went to London with this end in view, and his father took steps to let the tenants know that he disapproved of their independent conduct.

He laid hands on all stray beasts, and others, and put them in the pound.

He stopped all the paths on his estate. He inclosed all the commons.

He set up stocks at every turning, and put into them any one found wandering after daybreak.

He sent the rents up fifty per cent.

He gave everybody notice to quit.

He pulled down the sign-post at the cross-roads, and fined short-sighted persons half a crown if they could not say which way it ought to be set up again.

He imprisoned poachers in an outhouse, and tortured them every morning in the following diabolical manner:

He had all the magical arts at his fingers' ends, and with the help of the d-l he had constructed an infernal machine like an arm-chair, which, as often as an untruth was uttered in its presence, closed automatically on whomsoever was sitting in it. He fixed the poachers here and read them the speeches of popular politicians, and at every third sentence the machine closed on the victim and squeezed him till he howled again and again.

The people began to see that they had done wrong in sending Riley to parliament.

Riley meanwhile had joined the other patriots in the house of commons, and was feeling about for a chance to do something for himself. He made a good start by rising in his place one night and asking the tory prime minister if he had anything to do with some frauds on a savings bank. This succeeded in drawing to him the favorable attention of prominent reformers, one of whom sent him an invitation to dinner. Riley now saw that he was destined to rise, and noting down in his pocketbook all the distinguished tories who might be insulted with impunity, he reckoned that if he could secure an invitation for each of them he would save his dinner money for the rest of the session.

Gus was in town now, reading the police reports and going every night to the theatre to find out what he could about Riley. While he was searching in this way, he remembered a friend called Ainger, who lunched at the Athenæum, where they knew everything. He went to Ainger, who was sitting in the window with some cutlets and claret before him, and when Ainger saw Gus he put his head through the window and shouted, "Hillo! Come and have some cutlets. How's Riley?" For they had all heard about

Riley and his unusual proposals. Gus explained that he hated Riley, and asked Ainger if he knew anything that would put the man in prison. Ainger, who was one of the most superior men in the country, said he had heard Riley spoken of as a serious politician of an independent turn of mind, and just the sort of person to represent a borough like Pullborough, which had never been promised anything before. Of course this was not at all what Gus wanted to hear, so he finished Ainger's claret, and went off in a dudge-

"Go to Grainger of the guards," screamed Ainger, as Gus went down the steps; "he knows everybody."

The difference between the Athenæum and the guards is, that at the Athenæum they know everything, and in the guards they know everybody.

Grainger was just taking his horse into the park, for he was anxious to ride well in case of a war in foreign parts.

"Hullo!" said Grainger, "what have you done with Riley?" For they had all heard about Riley and his singular proposals. "Confound Riley!" exclaimed Gus. "I want to spoil him. Do you know anything about him?"

Grainger knew everybody, but he did not know Riley, which was just what Gus wanted, for it showed him that Riley could be nobody.

"Go to Rainger in the house," said Grainger. "He's your man. He'll spoil Riley for you."

Gus thereupon took a cab and drove the nearest way to Rainger, who was on his legs in the house, proposing to tax walnuts. As soon as they rejected his motion, he went round the lobby to see Gus.

"Ha!" said Rainger, "there you are. Riley's inside. Come and look at him. I was introduced to him yesterday, and he proposed I should give him a dinner. He's the funniest dog. He has secured a night next week for a motion asking to have government by light of common sense. Isn't it fun? He says that when he's carried his motion he's going to marry a girl called Dorothy, daughter to a bald headed man who has made a fortune by selling quack pills. How's your father?"

"Now, who is this Riley?" said Gus, when he had strongly stated his reasons for disliking him, the chief being that Riley proposed to marry Dorothy, whom Gus loved for her own sake.

"What!" exclaimed Rainger, "you don't know Riley; though he says you all plumped for him and chaired him on a plank! I'll tell you who he is. Can you speak any foreign language?"

Gus shook his head.

"Well, then, I must tell you in English, but turn your head the other way. Riley . . ."

Augustus turned pale.

"Impossible!" he said. "How can he be all that in himself?"

"But he is," answered Rainger. "Chairman, committee, members, honorary secretary, and all. And he lives by . . . nervous politicians who . . . but are afraid he will tell lies about them. . . . evening n-wsp-p-rs."

"This," said Gus, "is terrible; and you say you have not told me all. Neither have I told all. There is poor old father," and he went on to draw a painful picture of the brave, high-minded old squire, rejected by his constituents, and supporting himself on strong language, with scarcely a pleasure left him in life except the gout. "He has lost his rest," sobbed Gus, "for the only place he could ever sleep quietly in was the house of commons. And if you come to services to the party," he went on, "why, papa never opened his mouth the whole time he sat here, and voted against every measure brought in by the other side. If he isn't a fit person to represent a constituency like ours, please tell me who is."

"Don't cry," said the kind-hearted Rainger. "Your father shall sit here again within a month from to-day. I have told you that Riley (who is so unprincipled that he would borrow money of the speaker this very night if he could) has secured a night next week for his motion to overthrow the country. Now, listen to me," and Rainger went on to unfold a plot so dark and dreadful in its details that unless I felt sure you were sitting near some whisky I should not like to repeat it to you. Augustus was a man of unusually strong nerve, but he trembled from head to foot.

"We shall want Her help, you know," said Rainger, jerking his finger in the direction where Dorothy was sitting in her father's drawing room, sewing gray petticoats with red bands to them for old

women in the town who had put their work baskets in pawn.

"I am certain she will help," replied Gus, "for she has often told me she would like to do something for the good of the country."

"That will do," said Rainger; "you can leave the rest to me."

Gus went away full of gratitude. He turned home by the night train, and reached Pullborough the next morning as the milkmen were going out with their cans to the pump.

III.

He had some breakfast at the inn where his principal account was, and the waiter was obsequious. So was the landlord, and so was the girl in the bar, when he went to pay her his respects, and so were the four foolish farmers whom she was serving with new ale. Gus had never known anything like it, for most of these people had been bitten by his dogs at one time or another, and they generally frowned on him.

But persons whom he met as he walked through the town were quite as obsequious, and even stoutish shopmen climbed over their counters to be in time to pull their top-knots when Gus went by. The poor fellow felt quite nervous, and went along swearing in a minor key, thinking they wanted to make game of him.

The truth is, however, that there had been a reaction—the people were melancholy and embarrassed by reason of the horrible fright the squire had thrown them into. For he had been making things so hot for them all round that they knew he felt his rejection deeply, and they asked themselves if they had treated him as he deserved, seeing that times were bad, and they were backward with the rent.

The squire's man had been among them, talking in a plain conservative way about the truth of things, and their dependence on the family of Lumpkin; and when he went on to say that the squire meant to pull down Pullborough at Michaelmas and build shooting boxes for the tory party, who were coming to stay with him in the autumn, they began to see clearly how selfishly they had acted.

"As for three acres and a cow," pursued the agent, in his smooth, genial way, "the squire thinks you would all be better off in America than here. It's a free country that is, and if you supported the whisky shops liberally, as you'd be certain to do, you might all be presidents some day. All the land hereabouts belongs to the squire, as you know, and next year he means to plant cucumbers within a four-mile radius of the Hall."

"As for government by the light of common sense," said the agent on another day, "the squire thinks you might like China better than America, for if you get in trouble there you can have your heads cut off without the expense of a trial; and I should like to know who ever heard of government by the light of common sense. No cabinets have ever tried it here, and, if they did, do you suppose the country would stand it? You have been bamboozled by a wicked radical, and, if you want to know who the first radical was, you can get the clergy to read you what scripture has to say about the devil."

"If we had only known all this before," said the conscience-stricken electors, as they shook in their clothes, "how differently we should have acted."

They wished they could unlearn all their politics that Riley had taught them, and be back again in the dark and happy days when they knew nothing, and trusted in the squire's assurance that the vote was of no use to them and he would see that they were kept in their proper station.

During three days they had all hated Riley, and now they began to think meanly of him; and they thought the least they could do, when they saw Gus come home from London, was to pull their hair at him and send their dutiful respects to the squire, who was at that moment enjoying the agonies of a batch of liberal poachers to whom he was reading a patriotic speech by an undersecretary of state, at every line of which the machine in which they were fixed, crushed their bones.

When Gus had made his father happy by telling him what was in store for Riley, he went off on a surreptitious visit to Dorothy, to whom he meant to propose marriage, and get her consent to assist in the downfall of his miserable rival.

They kissed one another affectionately, and he went on to tell her of the scheme which was to confound Riley, and of the part they wanted her to play in it, which she gleefully accepted. What this scheme

was I cannot tell you just now, for here comes Riley himself, though why he has taken to dressing himself in this conspicuous manner I don't know, for all his bills are still unpaid, and this is what troubles him.

He thought that once he had got into parliament to please Deemster, Deemster would allow him to want for nothing; the fact being that Deemster, having discharged his grudge against Sir Supine, would willingly allow him to want for everything. Riley had never troubled himself about his creditors in his hour of need, and now his creditors did not trouble themselves about him in his hour of prosperity. If you think that the way of the world is different from this, I have no respect for your opinion. They said that he must pay them, or they would make a bankrupt of him. I dare say you have been in debt yourselves, and know what it is to face a thankless creditor.

IV.

We are now again arrived at the British house of commons.

It was the night which Riley had secured for his motion to revolutionize the country in the manner already indicated. His head and his pockets were so full of his speech that the policemen on duty declined to let him in till he had submitted himself to be searched. He had some spirits under his coat tails and some more under his waistcoat, for he wanted to impress the house, and they had told him this was the way to do it.

Old Mr. Deemster sat among the distinguished strangers in the gallery, with his spectacles well up on his forehead so as not to miss a word. It was this rich man of the people whom Riley was most anxious to impress, for if he succeeded with his motion he meant to ask Deemster for the hand of his daughter, and a blank check to wave in the faces of his creditors. He went early to be in time for prayers, and the speaker was affected when he entered the house with both arms full of his speech. Young and tender peeresses sat in the ladies' gallery, and craned their beautiful heads for a sight of the man who wanted to govern the country by the light of common sense. The reporters, with clean paper collars and their hair oiled, sat in a row up-stairs; and if you had seen them turning their ink-pots over their note books, and sending off billets to the peeresses, you would have thought, as I often do, that the British press is an institution about which a good deal might be said.

Crowds of people were in the street, and Riley's creditors formed a ring twenty-two deep round the house, for they had heard that if he failed he meant to go to foreign parts by the last train.

Rainger, bursting with his plot, was watching Riley from the other side of the house.

Four hundred and four questions on subjects which no one was interested in were got rid of, the number being fewer than usual that Riley might have his chance.

How often do we observe that something happens which was not expected to happen, and plays the very mischief with something else which ought to have happened.

If anything unforeseen were to happen now, Riley might be prevented from making his speech, his political career would infallibly be blasted, and this story would not end as happily as it ought to do, if you consider the reason.

At the moment when he was looking for the speaker's eye, an attendant of the house entered with a visiting card in his hand. He gave it to the first member he came to, and as it was fingered by one gentleman after another it grew dusky and dusky in hue. At length it reached Riley, who would like to have repudiated it, only he dared not, for he knew the house had seen him change color. This was Dorothy's card, and she had written on it a note in pencil, telling him to come at once and find her a seat among the ladies, for the minister's secretaries were trying to flirt with her in the lobby.

"What shall I do with her?" thought Riley. "If I leave the house now my chance will be gone, and Deemster will never give me a blank check."

What will he do with her? What would any of you have done with her? If only some one would rise and take up the attention of the house for a minute or two.

Rainger, who had never removed his eyes from Riley for thirty minutes or less, rose at this moment and asked leave to make a personal statement respecting the Begum of Cawnpore, whose relations with the country were just then somewhat

strained. It was a subject to which many earnest men had devoted some of their best and purest thoughts, and the house became hushed in an instant.

Riley thanked God for the Begum of Cawnpore (this was not her real name and she did not actually live in Cawnpore) and rushed out; Rainger's attitude suggesting that he meant to speak for an hour and a half.

But this Rainger, though a thorough politician, was a very sly man, and when the door had slammed on Riley's coat-tails, he said he would not occupy the house above a minute, as he knew the honorable member for Pullborough had secured this night for an important speech on the reform of the parliament. He made his statement, and sat down on the member next to him, and the speaker called on Riley.

Riley did not respond, and when they looked for him there was no one in his place but a great glass of gin and water, and a speech written only on one side of the paper, and two feet high.

Riley, poor creature, was rushing up and down the lobby, asking all persons whom he met if they had seen a girl called Dorothy, with deep blue eyes and a pink dress, this being the costume she generally wore. They had not, no more did Riley, though he spun round both lobbies in a twinkling, and revolved on his own axis till his head swam.

The house began to empty, it kept on emptying, and when Riley came back panting after his fruitless search, he met the members pushing one another out by threes, fifteens, and thirty-sixes. He charged them, he said he wanted to make a speech, he struggled, he got mixed up, he was one man against six hundred, and they shook him up like medicine.

How seldom do we think of the adaptability of the human frame to all the pushing, squeezing, kicking, and tearing that go on in the world. If our skeletons were made of anything but bone, it is ten to one we should not live above six years at the utmost. If Riley had died at this age his life might have been spotless, and he would never have had the humiliation of standing on the floor of the house, with some of his hair off, while the speaker counted to see if there was a quorum.

For as soon as he got in, and before he reached his seat, he had begun to make his speech, when a secretary to the treasury rose and said there was no house.

Then the speaker got up and looked round.

Some members of the government were sleeping on the front treasury bench, and the leader of the opposition and three others were drawing lots for the estates of the nobility, for they thought if Riley's motion were carried the country would be divided up into portions.

Riley jumped up and down, and said he would have government by the light of common sense or die for it, and the speaker went on counting one, two, three, and so on up to twelve, this being the number of persons present.

Now, twelve is not a quorum, and the speaker declared the house adjourned, and sent the waiter for a cab.

It is no use struggling against constituted authority, least of all against the man whose business it is to turn out the lights, for you might be turned out yourself, as was the case with Riley.

The next morning the Pullborough Truth Teller printed his speech at full length, with "cheers" and "hear, hear" sprinkled up and down the columns, and said that no finer piece of oratory had been heard for some time. But the Pullborough Truth Seeker, the opposition journal, also came out that morning, described the proceedings in the house, and said that Riley had never made his speech at all.

Riley's committee held a meeting, at which some one said there was a crisis, and that things must be looked in the face; and while they were abusing one another across the table, the landlord came in with a face like a mulberry, and asked who was going to pay the drink bill.

Then it transpired that all Riley's election expenses were still to pay, and they were heavier than usual, because he had said he would have no bribery.

Late that evening a man with no baggage to speak of, and less hair on his head than he had been accustomed to, presented himself at old Mr. Deemster's, and asked for his daughter's hand in marriage and a blank check, on the ground that the country was in danger from a tory government which would have nothing to do with common sense. Such a govern-

ment, said the stranger—a quiet, serious man—must be turned out with as little delay as possible.

As there was nothing to prevent old Deemster from turning Riley out, he did so with the help of his dog. The next day Riley issued another address to the electors, in which he gave them an impartial account of his conduct, and asked for a renewal of their confidence on the ground that parliament seemed very well content with the present ministers, who ought to be turned out. He said he would at once apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, and he did so, and got them; and a writ was issued for a new election.

But when the day of election came, the only candidate was old Sir Supine Lumpkin, who got all the votes, and a few spurious ones besides. He said, in thanking them, that they might rely on it he would not forget their recent conduct, and he had hired some new gamekeepers to look after the pouchers.

Augustus and Dorothy were married at St. George's, much to the disgust of their parents; and the electors expressed themselves willing that Deemster or anybody else should pay Riley's expenses, provided they never saw him again.

V.

For they were and are persuaded that their place in creation is a humble one; and they pray that they may be kept in it. And they don't believe in government by the light of common sense, or cheap education, or free wash houses; no, nor in the march of events, nor the Irish; and if any one goes down there again and offers them three acres and a cow, they will take him by the sleeve and lead him through the town, past the pump, the churchyard, the quiet little ale house, and Miss Crump's academy, and so on till they come to the horse pond.

Who Will Pay This Subsidy?

Chicago News.

President Smith of the New York chamber of commerce unburdened himself to the senate interstate committee last week. Among other things, he told the senators that the only way to save the export trade of the country was to subsidize American steamship lines to enable them to compete with foreign lines. Of course. Nothing could be plainer. But it is positively funny that nobody gets a chance to tell the senate interstate committee that there is a forgotten man in this pretty business. Who is to pay the subsidy? And what is he to get in return? Out here in the wild west it is a growing conviction that the best and surest way to "enable" American lines to compete with foreign lines would be to give the American lines a chance to buy their vessels as cheaply as vessels are bought by foreign lines. American liners used to compete with foreign lines, and they didn't have to be subsidized to "enable" them to sail every sea and lead the carrying trade of the world. It was only when we began to "enable" the late John Roach to pay high wages to imported American labor by forbidding the purchase of ships in the cheapest markets that the American flag began to disappear from the seas. It was a sacrifice to the fetish of "protection." It was the offering of stupidity to monopolistic greed.

Nor was the destruction of our carrying trade all that we accomplished in the name of protection. We likewise destroyed our ship building industry, once the pride and glory of America. In order to "enable" certain of our citizens to pay high wages to American labor we shut out the materials that ship builders required. The tariff denied them the privilege of buying where they could obtain the most and the best for their money, and as a consequence they could not build ships in competition with foreign builders who were not so hampered. They were forced to quit the field and foreign built ships, sailing under foreign flags, now carry the trade that once was controlled by American built vessels that bore the American flag into every port of the world.

It is thus that protection protects.

An Object Lesson for Farmers.

W. I. Brennan in Parkersburg, W. Va., Sentinel.

An old farmer, a friend of mine, told me the other day that he paid over \$20 tax on his little farm of sixty-five acres, of which more than half the value was that of improvements, house, barn, fencing, etc., and stock on it. He lives about two miles from the court house, below the Kanawha. I know of a piece of land within ten minutes, or maybe fifteen minutes' walk from the court house, that the owner would not take \$25 a front foot for. The frontage is 170 feet. It is taxed at \$3.35. The farmer's place he valued \$25 per acre, making the sixty-five acres amount to \$1,625, and the tax was \$20 in 1888. The town lot spoken of at \$25 per foot would amount to \$4,250, and the tax in 1888 was \$3.35, and yet they tell the farmers that the single tax will ruin them.

Once in a While the Truth Will Creep In to a Protection Paper.

Howard in New York Press.

If a half cent is added to the price of every pound of sugar used in the homes of working-men in this country it means millions of dollars drawn from pockets that can ill afford to spare the sum. That means dissatisfaction, dissatisfaction means ultimately a rumpus and a rumpus means a riot.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Long Leases.

CHICAGO.—In Chicago, and I presume equally in New York, the ninety-nine year lease is becoming very popular among owners of valuable land. John D. Jennings, the lately deceased millionaire, is an example. The larger part of his estate was in valuable city lots which are covered by ninety-nine year leases, with eighty years or more still to run. The terms of such leases provide that all taxes and assessments shall be paid by the lessee.

Now if the covenants of such leases are binding, would it be possible, under the single tax, for the lessee to escape paying both the rental and the land value tax when in justice he should only pay the first, and let the tax fall on the land owner? The exemption of his improvements from taxation would be some relief, but still the lessee would be at a disadvantage, as compared with others not so situated, by just the amount that his rental exceeds that of land equally desirable but not covered by similar leases.

How can this be avoided under the proposed system? Will not any enactment on this point be of the nature of ex post facto legislation?

It seems as if these leases may prove an anchor to windward for some land owners, which may for a time prolong their hold upon special privileges.

If you think it worth their consideration, I would like to know the views of Mr. Post or Mr. Shearman on this point. A. C. FONDA.

The ninety-nine years' lease is not in use in New York. Our favorite lease of the same character is for twenty-one years with privilege of renewal. The latter leases would be pretty well run out before the single tax could reach the point of advance that would compel the tenant to pay much if any more than the rental value. Under ninety-nine years' leases there could be no relief for solvent tenants short of an amendment of the Constitution of the United States; insolvent tenants might be relieved by a bankruptcy law. But adjustments between landlords and tenants would in most cases be made, because it would be evident to the landlord that unless he settled with his tenant for something he would get nothing, since his tenant would soon be unable to pay. These long leases would not be a very good anchor to windward for landlords, although they would oppress tenants.

But I do not see that much can be said in behalf of the tenant who binds himself by such a contract. He agrees to pay, in addition to rent, all taxes that may be imposed; if taxes are light he makes a large profit; if they are heavy he makes a small profit, and if they take the whole rental value of the land he loses. Surely no one would offer as an objection to increasing taxes that it would be detrimental to people who had gambled on an expectation that taxes would not be increased. LOUIS F. POST.

Over-production.

PHILADELPHIA.—In your answer to Max Muller (Vol. V, No. 19) you explain the apparent excess of food products over the market for them by a dearth of other products of nature. Will you please explain why it is that one kind of the products of nature are produced in over abundance (relatively) while another kind is not? Is there a different economic law for the different kinds of the gifts of nature? To my knowledge there is an apparent over production in lumber, iron, cotton, leather, in short all the essentials of manufacture, and your rejoinder does not appear to be complete. Will you kindly supply what seems to me a missing link in your explanation? HUGO BIGRAM.

There is an apparent over production of all the essentials of manufacture that might be exchanged for grain, as you say, and yet it is difficult to sell grain at good prices. The trouble is that the masses of the people who produce and consume the bulk of all these things and could produce and consume many times as much as they do now, are robbed of a great part of their own products, or worse still, are prevented from producing at all, and hence, owning little or nothing, are unable to create an "effective demand." What is necessary is that the great body of the people shall be engaged in producing these and other things, and that they shall own what they produce. To this end the first and great reform needed is the freeing of natural opportunities. W. B. S.

Small House Owner and Mortgage.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—A man owns a house and lot in this city; house value, \$1,500; lot, \$4,200; mortgaged for \$3,600. What effect would the single tax have on it? I have him on the fence, so to speak. He admits that private property in land is wrong, and natural opportunities should be free, and that land values are created by the whole people, but thinks the single tax would ruin little homes, etc. By answering the above you will oblige one who has enlisted for life (as a private, at least) in the cause of freedom. INQUIRER.

Looking at it from a figure standpoint first. The house and lot are worth to-

gether \$5,700, assessed to-day at, say 60 per cent of the value, or \$3,420, and taxed say at 2 per cent on this assessed valuation, \$68.40 per year. Then the owner pays on his mortgage say 6 per cent, or \$216 a year. Total, \$284.40 a year. He probably pays some personal property taxes, too, and unquestionably pays in the extra prices for what he buys, a very considerable tariff tax.

Now suppose the full rental value tax to be established. Let us say it amounts to a sum equal to six per cent on the present land value of \$4,200. This would be \$252 a year. In that case the selling value of the land would disappear, and only the \$1,500 value of the house would remain. There would then be a mortgage of \$3,600 on a house worth \$1,500. But that could not remain. If the mortgagee lent \$3,600, he must have lent it on the security of both the house and lot, and as the tax has destroyed the selling value of the lot, why of course it has also destroyed the security of an equal proportion of the mortgage. Therefore, as about three-quarters of the mortgage rested on the land, only one-quarter of it would remain. One-quarter of \$3,600 is \$900. Interest on \$900 at six per cent is \$54 a year. Adding interest and \$252 tax together, we have \$306 total, under full rental tax, as against \$284.40, at present. Allowing, now, that the personal property and protective tariff price tax amounts to only \$25 a year, we find that your house owner is paying more now than he would under the single tax.

Of course the details of the mortgage question would have to be settled by law if the full rental tax were suddenly adopted.

But this is merely one side of the reform. The indirect benefit would be greater by far than any advantage in amount of taxes paid. All vacant land near towns and cities would be thrown into use. All valuable mining land would be thrown into use. Business could expand, population spread, production increase, demand for all labor increase and wages increase. These would be the chief benefits. W. B. S.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A Substitute for Glass.

It will be strange if we should find ourselves returning to materials for windows such as did duty in the days when the secret of glass making was unknown. It is impossible to conceive of anything that could supersede glass in the matter of transparency, but in respect of brittleness and rigidity it is very far from being a perfect material. A substitute is now proposed, which if it lacks in transparency is free from the defects mentioned. To describe it briefly, it is fine wire netting covered with a prepared varnish which permits the light to pass through as freely as glass of the variety known as "cathedral." It is almost as flexible as a sheet of canvas, and is absolutely air-tight and water-tight. Dr. Ford, the inventor, has been working at the problem for years, and after experimenting with many products he found that he could, by passing the wire netting through a series of baths of linseed oil chemically prepared produce a material with the properties of amber. It is at once tough and elastic, and cannot be broken even by a very considerable weight falling upon it. The Patent Wire Wove Roofing Company of London, which is working the patent, displayed in the Royal Aquarium recently a number of productions in which the new material is utilized; but perhaps the most striking of all was the roofing of the aquarium itself. Unless one's attention was directed to the roof of the building it would never strike a visitor that the dome was not covered with glass, but with the new transparent material. In their last report the directors of the aquarium state that the change has effected a saving of over £200 a year in glass and labor, that there is now no danger of falling glass, and that the insurance rate has been reduced by 25 per cent. The material is made in sheets 10 feet by 4 feet, and by the use of varnish on the overlapping edges they are practically connected into one great covering. It is unaffected by heat up to 230 degrees and is a nonconductor, so that it has obvious advantages in temporary as well as permanent erections. It is also capable of artistic effects, and a number of fire screens, lamps, and church windows with artistic designs, hand painted, and mechanically produced, were on exhibition. The initial cost is, perhaps, greater than cheap glass, but the new material compares favorably with the dearer quantities, and its durability must, of course, be taken into consideration. A coarser material, termed "carboline," is being utilized for the roof and walls of soldiers' huts, and we are informed that the government has given orders for its use. Experiments are being made in garden forcing houses, and if the exclusion of the sun's rays is no drawback to the gardener's work, then the gain in the matter of durability will be very great. (Pat. Mail Gazette.)

Transportation at Four Miles a Minute.

A new scheme of transportation is to be introduced between New York and Boston whereby, it is said, large packages of mail, and even cars containing passengers, can be whisked from one place to another, a distance of 230 miles, in less than an hour. This would be equal to a speed of four miles per

minute. An experiment with the new machine was held yesterday in Boston in the presence of many scientists, including Professor A. E. Dolbear of Tufts college, who announced that he was thoroughly satisfied of the success of the system. The inventor, John G. Williams, is a resident of this city. His machine consists of a magnetic car, hanging from a single rail, where it follows a streak of electricity. With one horse power it is said that one ton can be thus transported a distance of 1,440 miles a day at a cost of thirty cents. This, in mail matter, would represent some 2,880,000 letters, and by this system packages of mail could be sent off every five minutes if necessary, thus preventing large accumulations. The single track is to be carried on tripods some distance above the ground, and the car will pass through coils of insulated wire at intervals. In the experiment yesterday the carriage exhibited was mounted on a wooden track, on posts about three feet high, with an ascent of six inches in fifty feet, and it ran on one wheel at each end. The scientific principle involved is said to be that by which a hollow coil of insulated wire will draw a magnet into itself, and in the aerial railway the car passing through such a coil cuts off the current, which goes on to the one ahead. (New York World.)

The English Radicals in No Hurry.

Chicago News.

The radical wing of the English liberal party is less anxious for the immediate overthrow of the tory unionist coalition to-day than it was a few weeks ago. Indeed, it is beginning to realize that the radical cause is gaining more in opposition than it could hope to gain at this time in authority. Every day of Balfourism is strengthening the Irish position and even its recently developed spirit of conciliation is making against the government by offering an apology for evils hitherto denied. The land purchase scheme, once a plank in the liberal platform, and even now more or less in favor with Mr. Gladstone, is not as popular in England as it might be. Tory tax payers themselves do not look with much favor upon the expenditure of English contributions to the public revenues for the benefit of Irish landlords; and as for the radicals, they simply will not tolerate the suggestion of land purchase. They will listen to nothing short of the extirpation of landlordism root and branch, and they denounce the land purchase scheme as one of bribery, an attempt to bolster up a decaying wrong by increasing the number of its beneficiaries.

The liberals are already committed beyond retreat to the taxation of ground rents. This means that landlords are no longer to escape their share of the public burdens. For many years they have enjoyed all the benefits of government without cost to themselves. They have been able to hold great bodies of land out of use, and to obstruct the progress of society. Supreme in the making and in the execution of the laws, they have steadily favored themselves at the cost of the great body of the people. The reaction is now beginning to be felt. The Irish agitation has broken up old party lines and given fresh impetus to thought. The masses are no longer indifferent. In England, as in Ireland, the spirit of freedom is abroad. In London, as in Dublin, the democratic idea is taking hold, and day by day a broader sympathy is developing between the oppressed of Ireland and the oppressed of England and of Scotland. The wiser radicals perceive all this and appreciate the situation. They are content to let the heaven work as it will. Much might be lost by a too early return of Mr. Gladstone to power. He might revive his own peasant-proprietor scheme, and upon this divide his following; and once again bring the tories to the front. Altogether it is better that the liberals should remain in opposition yet awhile.

Well, Mr. Wheat, What Remedy Do You Propose?

Worthy Foreman Wheat of K. of L.

Eighty per cent of our people are born tired because women are overworked and underfed, and have, as a result, poorly organized offspring, unfitted, if they survive the vicissitudes of childhood, to battle with life.

We should be the Greatest Exporting Nation on Earth.

Abram S. Hewitt in London Edition Herald.

I believe the American people will get tired of stewing in their own fat after a while. I believe every tub ought to stand on its own bottom, and that the United States is abundantly able to do it. It has the facilities for being the greatest exporting country on the earth, and it ought to be. The sooner duties

are abolished the sooner it will become so. Now that food, cotton and petroleum form the bulk of our exports, we ought to export very largely of manufactured articles.

"Twentieth Century."

The current number contains a discussion and criticism by Hugh O. L. of the present status of the single tax movement, an article by E. J. Shriver endorsing, and one by A. Van Dusen opposing the position assumed by Wm. T. Crossland in his Standard article on "Single Tax versus Socialism." Dyer D. Lum, the famous anarchist, also contributes an article entitled, "Looking Forward."

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While Babies Toil in the Streets.

"In a New England town the other day, a newsboy, hardly higher than the platf-rim, was run over by a horse car and fatally hurt. What did this self-supporting baby of six years, when writhing in the last agonies of a terrible death? He called piteously for his mother. To shriek upon her breast? That she might clasp him while the surgeon worked? To give her his day's earnings. 'I've saved 'em, mother,' he cried. 'I've saved 'em all. Here they are.' When his little clenched, dirty hand fell rigid, it was found to contain four cents."—Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in "The Christianity of Christ" appearing in The Forum for May.

"Please call my mother," the newsboy cried, "Please call my mother to me."
The mother was brought to her baby's side, As he lay in his agony.

"I've saved 'em, mother, I've saved 'em all; Here they are, I've only a few;
The street car knocked me and made me fall, But I've saved the pennies for you."

Then the hand fell rigid—the heart was stilled—

The newsboy's race was run,
But four little pennies the fingers held,
That the hero's life had won.

Our statesmen boast with swelling pride,
Of our riches and great renown,
And mammon, exalted and deified,
Rules over both country and town.

But babies go out in the pitiless street
To earn a few pennies for bread;
And everywhere riches and poverty meet
And the rich by the poor are fed.

And our statesmen bow to the powerful ones,
And babble and boast again,
While mammon and greed kill the toilers' sons,
And rob the children of men.

And the fruitful land, that belongs to us all,
Is held by a paltry few,
And they clutch the pennies that daily fall
From the hands that dare and do.

The toilers' hands that dare and do,
Are the hands that earn it all;
How long will it be ere our statesmen too,
Hear the voice of justice call?

The land for the people! the right to live!
No more need the babies toil,
When the law to the children of men shall give
A right to the fruitful soil!

W. G. SELLERS.

San Francisco, May 10, 1889.

TO THE LAND OWNING LEGISLATORS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

London Star.

Your studies of history may have informed you that your ancestors were landlords not land owners; that is, they were appointed to have certain authorities for certain shires. It being a fundamental law in the land of England that the land is the common property of all of its inhabitants, your ancestors in those days performed the duties of collecting the rents of the lands for the public use, a quarter of which they sent to the king for the national government, leaving three-quarters to be expended in keeping up the militia and paying other local expenses.

You may also have read how your ancestors, returning to power with Charles II, aspired to become land owners as well as landlords, and how they managed to get rid of the repayment to the nation, and to retain in their own hands that part of the revenues raised through them which had previously been devoted to national purposes, imposing as a substitute for what they had previously paid, taxes on houses, on the windows therein, and the skates thereon, on hats, newspapers, beer and tobacco, and every kind of personal property.

The army and navy being now kept up by those taxes, and local expenses paid by rates on occupiers, you, their successors, are now enabled to pocket the whole of the rent of the people's land, and have thus, in fact, become not landlords but landowners.

This great change, which compels the people of England not merely to pay the rent for land, which was the original fund from which public expenses were met, but in addition to paying this rent to also bear those expenses by means of taxes levied upon them, upon what they produce, and what they use, was not made at once. As you doubtless know, it was agreed that the land tax which would take from you 4s. in the pound of what you collected should also be levied, but as this is levied upon an assessment of the value of land made at that time it to-day yields to the public only £500,000, whereas it should on a present valuation pay over £40,000,000. It is probable that the majority of you were brought up in the belief that the revenues which you have enjoyed actually belonged to you, the Almighty for some inscrutable purpose having decreed that your class should enjoy the products of labor without doing any labor. But the discussion and investigation of the last decade must have shown you that such an idea is a vulgar superstition, and that the revenues you

enjoy are the appropriation of rent really belonging to the whole of the people of England, and should be used for their public and common expenses. Now that you know this, we confidently ask you no longer to consent to receive what does not properly belong to you. We do not ask from you any return of what has been taken in the past either by yourselves or by your ancestors, but simply that you will take your part in returning those revenues to their proper object, and relieving the vast masses of your fellow citizens from the unjust taxation which now presses them. In a world where the natural order is that everyone should work, you have long been able to live luxuriously without any exertion. Conscientiousness of the pleasant time you have thus had ought to add to the pleasure you will feel in restoring to the nation its proper revenues and enabling the great body of your fellow beings to enjoy more of the products of their own labor than they have for some hundreds of years been able to enjoy.

The measure which we ask you to support—the substitution for all other taxes now levied of a single tax on ground rents—is simply the going back to the good English customs and the old days when there were no tramps and no paupers in merry England. It may strip you of some of the unjust advantages which you now have over the rest of your fellow creatures, but in return for this it will give you the proud consciousness of being citizens of a country where every one can make an easy living, and no one need fear becoming a charge upon the charity of others.

The single tax will give the workman
What is earned by him.
The single tax will give the public
What belongs to them.
Your landlord's laws to landlord's the
Earth and sea have given,
But we demand the earth for all,
Which is the law of Heaven.

Now Lay in Your Summer Supply of Pig Iron.

Pittsburg Dispatch.

Those free trade "workingmen" (jaws) who went about howling about "pig iron and protection" last fall will be pained to learn that pig iron is selling at a very low price now.

"Twentieth Century."

The current number contains a discussion and criticism by Hugh O. Pentecost of the present status of the single tax movement, an article by E. J. Sriver on the subject of the single tax, and one by A. Van Dusen opposing the post on assumed by Wm. T. Crossdale in his *Landlordism* article on "Single Tax versus Socialism." Over D. Lum the famous amateur list, also contributes an article entitled, "Looking Forward."

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The Single Tax Before the Boston Typographical Union.

The following is the set of resolutions referred to in the editorial columns of THE STANDARD last week as being prepared by John R. Roche, of Boston, for presentation to the typographical union of that city at its May meeting for its adoption:

Whereas, at our March meeting a petition was received from the publishers of the Boston Herald, asking permission to use type-setting machines in their establishment, which permission was granted unanimously, we wish to explain to the publishers of the Herald and the public our ideas regarding the introduction of improved machinery; therefore

Resolved, that we adopt the following as embodying the position taken by Boston typographical union No. 13 in the matter:

We are aware that labor saving inventions have time and again thrown large numbers of men out of employment, and that there is consequently a strong prejudice among workmen generally against their introduction. It is not doubted that the type setting machine, when proved practicable, will surely destroy our craft. But it is not because we accept the present situation in despair of bettering it that we give our unanimous consent to the experiments of the publishers of the Herald, but that we recognize that any invention that saves labor and increases production is not of itself in its nature an evil, and that there are other causes that turn what would naturally work only benefit to the whole human race into an evil. These causes have to do with the distribution of the increased product. We believe that the reason of the unequal distribution of the increased product which is shown in the downward tendency of wages as invention and material progress advance is that natural opportunities for the application of labor and capital are monopolized under our present system, allowing private ownership of land.

We believe that the interests of labor and capital are identical, and that the differences between them arise only through ignorance of the real cause of the concomitant downward tendency of wages with the march of material progress. There are three prime factors in production—land, labor and capital; and three parties divide the product—interest goes to capitalists, wages to laborers and rent to landowners. If, then, with an increase of production through labor-saving inventions, "the laborer gets no more and the capitalist no more, it is a necessary inference that the landowner reaps the whole gain. And the facts agree with the inference. Though neither wages nor interest increase as material progress goes on, yet the inevitable accompaniment and mark of material progress is the increase of rent—the rise of land values. . . . It is not the total produce, but the net produce, after rent has been taken from it, that determines what can be divided as wages and interest.

If production had not passed the simple stage in which all labor is directly applied to the land, and all wages are paid in its produce, the fact that, when the landowner takes a larger portion, the laborer must put up with a smaller portion, could not be lost sight of. But the complexities of production in the civilized state, in which so great a part is borne by exchange, and so much labor is bestowed upon materials after they have been separated from the land, though they to the unthinking disguise, do not alter the fact that all production is still the union of the two factors, land and labor, and that rent (the share of the land holder) cannot be increased, except at the expense of wages (the share of labor) and interest (the share of capital). Just as the portion of the crop which, in the simpler forms of industrial organization, the owner of agricultural land receives at the end of the harvest as his rent lessens the amount left to the cultivator as wages and interest, so does the rental of land on which a manufacturing or commercial city is built lessen the amount which can be divided as wages and interest between the labor and capital there engaged in the production and exchange of wealth. In short, the value of land depending wholly upon the power which its ownership gives of appropriating wealth created by labor, the increase of land values is always at the expense of the value of labor. And, hence, that the increase of productive power does not increase wages is because it does increase the value of land. Rent swallows up the whole gain."

We believe that all men have equal rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that this declaration carries with it the equal right of all men to the use of land, the denial of which right is a denial of the right to life, for it is only on land and from land that men can live. Laws that compel some men to pay others for the privilege of using land are a denial of the right to life, and are therefore unjust, and should be abolished. Labor or exchange of the product of labor gives the only just property right. What a man has created by labor is his against the whole world, to do with as he pleases. But private ownership of land is a denial of the true right to property, in that the landowner is allowed to take as rent a part of the product without giving any service in return.

Therefore resolved, that the rental value which attaches to land by reason of increase in population, increased productiveness of labor and increased competition for the use of land belongs of right to them who create that value; and that the rental value of land, being not the creation or product of land owners as such, but of the whole people, should be taken for the use of the whole people through the ordinary channels of taxation, and that all other taxes, falling on and hindering production and exchange, as they do, should be abolished; in short, that we declare in favor of the single tax on land values.

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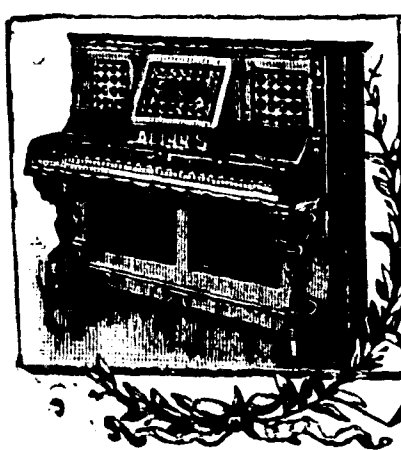
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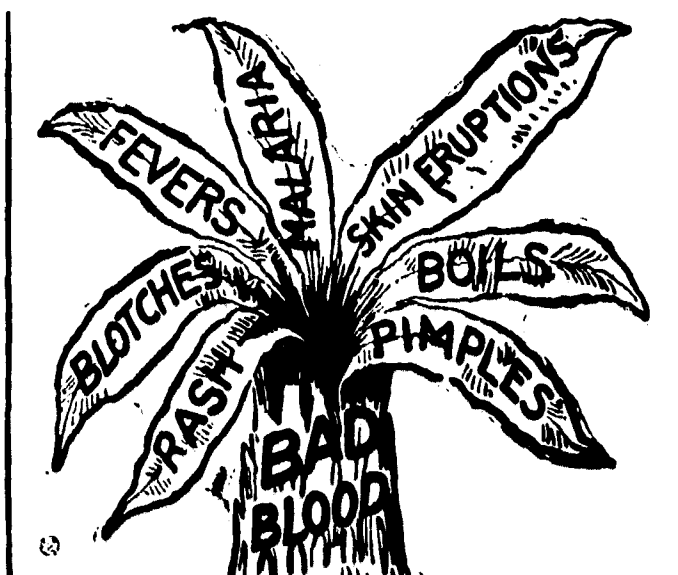
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