

THE STANDARD

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With this issue THE STANDARD enters its fifth volume, and assumes a somewhat enlarged and more convenient form, which will, we trust, make it all the more acceptable to its readers.

On another page is printed a letter from John H. Blakeney of Binghamton, chairman of the state executive committee of the united labor party, to William T. Croasdale, chairman of the single tax enrollment committee, in which Mr. Blakeney sending his signature to the single tax petition, avows his hearty concurrence in the plan of the committee.

We are glad to have Mr. Blakeney working with us again. But with every desire to avoid unnecessary references to past disagreements, we cannot afford to acquiesce by silence in his assumption that the split of last year, which left the united labor party and the anti-poverty society in the hands of Dr. McGlynn and his immediate supporters, was the result of personal differences or preferences.

This impression is widely diffused among our friends outside of New York city. It was expressed by Judge Maguire in his letter published in THE STANDARD of December 15, proposing a concentration of effort on New Jersey, and is the basis of several personal letters that have come to THE STANDARD office expressing the hope that now that the election is over there will be a reconciliation of personal differences.

Such an impression is not unnatural to our friends at a distance, whose main source of information has been THE STANDARD, since, in the desire to avoid what might seem like quarreling with those with whom we had been intimately associated, THE STANDARD has refrained from following the subject in the way which was, perhaps, necessary to show its readers out of New York the true character of the divergence.

The truth is that it was no personal difference that led to the separation of Dr. McGlynn and his immediate followers on the one side, and the main body of the single tax men of New York on the other. It was a deliberate and determined attempt, under pretence of running a straight ticket, to turn a movement that had begun with the noblest aims to the political service of the protection monopolists. As was intimated to us at the time, republican money was to be the means; and as we believed at the time, this republican money was the end—at least with those who were using Dr. McGlynn's influence. It was because we would not consent to this that the break occurred, and that not wishing an unseemly public controversy with one for whom we had obtained such high esteem and friendship, we abandoned to Dr. McGlynn and his counselors the unchanged control of the organizations in which we had up to that time taken part. What has since occurred has proved that we were right—as Mr. Blakeney now less realizes. The pretence of running a straight ticket and "standing counted" was soon abandoned; it was left of the united labor party and the Anti-poverty society was used openly for the election of the protectionist candidate. In local politics the united labor party became what in California, where gold pieces are in use, is expressively called a "piece club." The Joogan business, and the revelations that

followed the election, showed its true character. No association of strikers banded together for the purpose of "bleeding candidates" seems ever to have sold out in more directions than this "party" whose avowed determination was to "stand up and be counted" for principle. That Dr. McGlynn participated in any of the pecuniary benefits of this prostitution of what was in the beginning a noble movement, I do not believe; but it was his countenance which gave the traders of the united labor party the only pretence of influence over votes they had to dicker with.

The subject is an unpleasant one, and I do not wish to dwell upon it. But our friends outside of New York should understand that what some of them refer to as "the dissensions between the leaders in New York" involved much more than personal differences. We, who refused to be led into the Butlerization of the united labor party have saved the single tax principle from the stigma that would otherwise have attached to it in the ridiculous and shameful end to which the party has come. That principle is all the stronger now that the united labor party is buried.

As letters from all parts of the country have shown, the proposition to concentrate the efforts of single tax men upon a single state brings a quick response and has excited a good deal of enthusiasm. Judge Maguire's suggestion to concentrate upon New Jersey seems to meet the approval of the largest number of our correspondents, though Dakota, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and other states are also suggested.

The advantages of such concentration as would not weaken local effort are obvious. It does not seem to me that Judge Maguire is right in saying that it is as easy to convince 125,000 men in New Jersey as to convince 125,000 men in New York. Some weight must be allowed to proportion. All men are not equally open to our arguments, and as the population of New York is nearly five to one as compared with New Jersey, it would be, local differences aside, more difficult to dispose the same number to our views in New Jersey than in New York.

Yet with the same effort a much more thorough canvass could be made in a small state than in a large state, and the question be more readily brought to that point of attention which would excite strenuous opposition and arouse general discussion. Our real strength is not easily concentrated, since it is not a monied strength that can readily be massed here or there, nor has it anywhere more than a very slight organization. It consists in the main of the individual efforts of single tax men in the places where they happen to be, and with friends and acquaintances. Still a fund could doubtless be raised which would permit a thorough distribution of literature in any small state selected, the payment of the expenses of a few speakers, and the stimulation of local work in such a way as to produce considerable effect.

It would hardly be wise to "invade" New Jersey or any other state. The best way would be to answer the Macedonian cry: "Come over and help us." The management of whatever is done ought to be in the hands of a local committee, who, knowing the state and the people, could

best manage the work, and therefore the practical initiative would best come from our friends in the state on which it was proposed to concentrate, and on a showing as to what they themselves were prepared to do.

The greatest difficulty in the way of concentration is a most encouraging one. It is that the work is going on so bravely in so many places that it is hard to tell where is the most hopeful point. In Ohio and Minnesota especially, splendid organized work is being done, and all over the country single tax men seem to be more numerous, more hopeful and more vigorous than ever before.

The matter has not yet been sufficiently discussed and thought over to come to any decision or to more than suggest plans. As the discussion goes on and widens, the best thing to do will become clear. It would not be wise to attempt anything like organized action and before being certain that what was attempted would meet with a large and steady support.

But while we are considering what we can best do together, let no one neglect what he can do by himself. Our work is not the carrying of elections, the changing of constitutions, the making of laws. It is the arousing of thought. In this everyone, irrespective of sex, age, abilities or condition can do something—no one can say how much. A conversation, a suggestion, a question—the giving of a tract, the loan of a book, the sending of a paper, may, even in the mind of one who seems almost devoid of influence on others, strike a spark that passing from mind to mind, may at last burst forth in a wide illumination. Look out for the people with whom you come in contact, or whom you can reach by letter, by tract, or in any other way. Every expression in favor of our doctrines has its weight. If it accomplishes nothing else, it helps to give to them the respectability of numbers, and that is all that is needed to compel the attention of many minds which are closed to the most obvious truth so long as they think its adherents are but few.

How powerful is the appeal to intelligence and conscience, and how it often succeeds when seemingly defeated, is illustrated by the manner in which the unprecedented corruption of the last election is everywhere stimulating the demand for ballot reform. So general and so strong is this demand that it seems now within the range of possibilities that a majority of the northern states may adopt the Australian system before another congressional election comes off.

In Indiana, which has long had a bad pre-eminence for the shameless use of money in presidential elections, and where the bribery at the last election was greater than ever before, the democratic majority of both houses have met in caucus and adopted a bill which is to be passed as soon as possible after the legislature meets next week. The republican governor has promised to sign it. The bill is substantially the same as that which passed the legislature of New York last year, providing, however, for the printing of the names of the candidates of the different parties in different colored inks, and that the voter may by a single mark vote for the straight ticket of any party.

The result of the election seems to have had in New York the same effect in favor of ballot reform as in Indiana. A ballot reform league has been formed, having its headquarters at 33 Liberty street. The Saxton bill has been carefully revised to meet so far as possible the objections of the governor without sacrifice of efficiency, and will come up in the legislature with a far stronger support behind it than it had last year.

But the strongest indication of the pressure of public opinion is that Governor Hill devotes to the subject of bribery and intimidation in elections the most important part of his message, and speaks of the necessity of preventing it in the most gratifying way. He proposes as a measure of prevention "that a reasonable distance from the polls be set aside or reserved by ropes, or barriers of some kind, behind which no one except peace officers and one elector at a time should be permitted to enter, and that all electioneering should be done outside of such distance, and that each elector should be required to pass behind screens or within compartments or booths situate within such reserved boundaries, and there, alone, prepare or assort his tickets, and then proceed directly from such place to the polls without any one accompanying him or any opportunity being afforded for discovering what ticket he votes."

While insisting that parties or candidates should be allowed to furnish their own tickets, the governor declares that he has no objection to the printing of tickets at public expense, and altogether discusses the matter in as favorable a manner as could be looked for so soon after his veto of the Saxton bill, and in a way that gives strong ground for the hope that if a bill of that kind, with some slight amendments, is presented to him at this session he will no longer refuse his signature. He also proposes to make election districts smaller, to prohibit "pay envelopes," and to compel successful candidates to make verified statements of their disbursements, and suggests the making of voting compulsory, and the securing to employees of two hours on election day in which to vote. All this is most gratifying, and gives reason for the hope that we who did what we could to beat Governor Hill because of his veto of the bill of last year, may, after all, have no cause to regret his election.

E. E. Sawyer, Cadillac, Michigan, writes:

I notice in THE STANDARD, twice repeated, and I am sorry to say copied far and near by the liberal press of the country, a cut representing a polling place under the Australian system and a sample of the tickets to be used. I notice the ticket has the words "republican," "democratic," "prohibition" and "independent" on it before the names of candidates. Is not this a great mistake? Would not voters quite soon learn to look for the name of their party on the left of the ticket and work by that and not by the merit of the man's name who stood opposite it?

Mr. Sawyer goes on to say that under this system the same influences as at present would control conventions. He admits that so long as we elect the president as now, it may be advisable to designate the party of the electoral candidates, but contends that this designation should be carried no further, concluding as follows:

I am anxious that the shadow of "ballot reform" is not taken for the substance. So while I am willing to admit that much of

gold lies in the secret casting of the ballot, still I feel sure that evil can only be eradicated by causing the voter to do his own thinking, and to so arrange the whole scheme that men must be discussed and not parties.

Even if it were better to print the names of candidates without anything to designate their political opinions, it is practically impossible under existing conditions to pass a bill which would require this. And so urgent is the necessity of doing something to check the tide of corruption which is sweeping over the country, and which cannot go much further without hopelessly demoralizing the American people themselves, that it would be folly to delay a reform which would make the ballot really secret until we can get a theoretically perfect measure. If we can stop intimidation and check corruption, the accomplishment of that much will make easier other reforms.

But it is far from clear that the designation on the ballot of the political affiliations of candidates is an evil. As to the majority of candidates voted for, the same reason exists for designating their politics which Mr. Sawyer admits in the case of electoral candidates. There are so many other officers to be elected that without some designation of candidates the voter cannot tell anything about them. It is a mistake to ask the voter to choose more officials than he can tell anything about. But this is a mistake inherent in our constitutions and laws. It cannot be remedied by any change in the manner of voting. The true principle is that the voter should only be called on to choose a representative in each legislative body to which he is subject, and a single executive officer in each government, who should have the power of appointing and removing all subordinates. One of the incidental advantages of the adoption of the Australian ballot system will perhaps be to bring into stronger light the absurdity of filling by election so many offices as we do now. So long, however, as our present practice exists the great majority of voters will not care much about the minor officials they vote for, and the only way to distinguish the greater number of candidates is by a political designation. This is usually the only information as to the majority of them that the ordinary voter cares for or can get.

As to any attempt to compel the voter to choose between men and not between parties, that, to my mind, is not only not possible; it is not desirable. The main and highest purpose of popular elections is not to choose between men, but to choose between policies. "I would vote for a little yaller dog if he ran on the straight ticket" is but the exaggerated and distorted expression of what is at bottom a reasonable principle. What the man stands for as a candidate is often a far more important question than what the man is. For instance, in the last election I voted for Cleveland and against Harrison, not because I thought Cleveland a better man than Harrison, but because a vote for Cleveland would count as a vote against the policy of "protection," and a vote for Harrison would count as a vote for it. Under these circumstances I would have voted for Cleveland if I had known him to be a much wiser man than Harrison—for the question of character was not in issue in the presidential election; the question of protection was. And compared with a far reaching question of public policy like this, of what consequence is it whether a good man or a bad man holds the presidency for four years. So, too, I did not inquire whether Warner Miller, the republican candidate for governor of New York, was a better or a worse man personally than David B. Hill,

the democratic candidate. I voted for Miller and gave the preference to republican legislative candidates, because to me the most important question in state politics was the ballot reform, and I wanted my vote to count on that.

The true purpose of ballot reform is not to prevent the voter from choosing between candidates because of their political affiliations in order to compel him to investigate the question of personal character. If the only thing to be considered were the selection of the best men for office, then it would be wiser to revert to the monarchical principle, for an individual, if he have means at his command, can generally determine questions of personal character much more readily and surely than can a large body of electors. What is to be sought in ballot reform is the prevention of intimidation, the checking of bribery, and the lessening of the undue importance of party machinery. Parties are not in themselves evil. On the contrary, they are inevitable in any form of popular government. And they serve to guarantee to the voter the action of the candidate. It is very rarely that the party nominee fails to act with his party on the political questions involved in his nomination and election, though he may go back on all sorts of individual promises, intimations and professions. Nor are caucuses and conventions bad in themselves. They are necessary to concerted action of any kind, as witness conventions of all sorts, from church conventions to base ball conventions. The abuses of political conventions come from the expensive machinery and elaborate organization necessary under our present system to get ballots into the hands of the voters. This prevents the formation of new parties and the bolting from old parties, so that any gang who can manage to get possession of a convention can control the bulk of the party votes. And when the same gang get possession of the convention of both parties, which is always the aim of monied interests, the people are practically helpless.

To use an illustration:

Our growth and development have introduced into our politics expensive and elaborate methods of reaching voters, which are to the simpler methods of our early political history what railroads are to the stage coach. Since the railroads have been introduced stage coaches have ceased to run. Each of the two great parties has built a railroad of its own. Therefore whatever gang gets possession of the party railroad, those who do not like it have no alternative but to take the railroad of the other party. And when the same gang gets possession of both railroads, then those who don't like it have no alternative but to try to build a railroad of their own (which some gang is sure to get possession of before it is half built) or walk—and get left. Now what the Australian system proposes is that the government shall build a railroad on which all political trains must run, and allow any body of men to run a train on it who can muster enough to fill a single car.

This would not destroy the legitimate influence of party organizations and the legitimate weight of party nominations. But it would permit a bolt to be made effectively when the moral or political sense of a party was outraged by unfit nominations. When the same gang had secured both party conventions it would make the organization of a third party easy and effective. And it would strongly tend to break down unreasoning party fealty, by getting people used to changing trains.

There are many well intentioned people who seem to think that the way to cure

political corruption is to elect good men to office, who won't be corrupt. This is absolutely hopeless. It is like catching birds by sprinkling salt on their tails. If we confine our efforts to the election of good men to office, this republic will go the way of the Roman republic as surely as sunset succeeds sunrise. Bad men in office are not the cause of political corruption. They are the effects of bad systems and bad policies. These must be changed if we would prevent popular government from becoming permanently, as it has already with us to a great extent become, a government of rings and mercenaries—a government in which the scrupulous are weighted and the unscrupulous rise to the top.

If by saying that men should be discussed, not parties, Mr. Sawyer means that it is idle to discuss the character of parties he is right. Whether this party or that party is better or worse than the other is immaterial. The important thing is not what a party has done, but what it proposes—on which side of the question at issue at the particular time a vote with it will count. The citizen who wishes to exert an intelligent influence on public affairs will use parties as he uses railroads. He will take the one that goes nearest to the direction in which at the time he wants to go, and when that ceases to serve his purpose he will change to another as readily as he would change from one street car to another. But if Mr. Sawyer means that men should be discussed, not policies, then he is utterly wrong. The most important things that citizens can discuss are policies.

In last week's STANDARD we reprinted an article from the London *Democrat*, giving a concise epitome of English land tenures, showing that under English law the landholders are but trustees of the people, and that no compensation whatever is due them when the people choose to resume their estate. It was signed John Wheelwright. But this is only a nom-de-plume. His real name, the author—who is a frequent contributor to the *Democrat*—guards carefully, and for good and sufficient reasons. Though not a noble name it belongs to one of the oldest of English families and was made famous centuries ago by one of England's heroes. "John Wheelwright," as he chooses to style himself, is an authority on old English law, and has spent the best part of a long life in antiquarian researches. I passed an afternoon with him some weeks ago. He lives in a house filled from cellar to garret with books, and tenanted besides himself by an old housekeeper, two dogs and a big cat. The old gentleman showed me such of his treasures as I could understand something of, and first pointed out to me in the abbreviated Latin of the fac simile, and then translated for me, the clause in Magna Charta, inserted, as tradition goes, by John, in which the monarch stipulates that all the rights and privileges which he, by that instrument, granted to his tenants shall be allowed by them to their tenants. The antiquarian's voice grew strong and his eyes flashed as he spoke with enthusiasm of the growth of the land movement, and hailed in the proposal to put all taxes on land values a going back to the old ways of the past, in which he so much lives.

I speak of this because it illustrates what we who are in the single tax movement know to be true—that in England as in the United States it has the sympathy and support of many men whose conditions and associations are such as might be supposed to place them in opposition to our aims.

We reprint in this issue another article

from the New York *Times* on the industrial effect of the single tax. Like the preceding article, which we reprinted last week, it is a most gratifying indication that the day of ignorant denunciation and gross misrepresentation is passing away, and that the single tax, at least on its fiscal side, is beginning to receive fair discussion. The *Times*, though opposed to protection, has until recently been almost as unfair to the single tax movement as the *Evening Post* itself. Now it has come to see that the abolition of the tariff and the concentration of all taxes upon land values line with all true reforms; to see that the single tax would simplify government, decrease corruption, do away with flagrant injustice and promote industrial and commercial development; to see, in short, that the single tax is the least wasteful, the least corruptive, the least repressive and most equitable of all taxes.

To be sure the *Times* does not yet see clearly the full effect of the single tax in freeing the productive forces of all burden; still less does it see in it all that we see—the removal of the fundamental injustice that lies at the root of the great social problems of our time, and the consequent abolition of involuntary poverty and the clearing of the way for advances of which as yet men hardly dare dream. But this is a matter that at present need not much concern us. The *Times* will, perhaps, be all the more useful because it moves slowly. Were it to move too rapidly its constituency might have difficulty in following it.

On the 9th of January Tom L. Johnson, Thomas G. Shearman and myself will appear in Columbus before a committee of the Ohio legislature to explain the single tax. On the next day there is to be a conference of Ohio single tax men, and a meeting in the evening. On the 11th I am to speak at a meeting called by the Young Men's democratic club at Canton, Ohio. On the 12th I will speak at Cleveland, and on Monday, the 14th, lecture at Des Moines, Iowa. HENRY GEORGE.

Wake Up There, Ohio!

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—While you are thinking about what can be done in Ohio for the single tax or the Australian ballot system, you should immediately put your hands into your pockets and send what money you can afford to Treasurer W. W. Kile, 33 E. Fifth street, Dayton, O., or to Edward L. Hyneuman, 348½ S. High street, Columbus, O. If you have come to any decision about work here, send with your money a letter stating what you would like to have done in Ohio, and what help you can give the cause. Or better still, come and meet with us in Columbus Jan. 9th and 10th. Now is the time for us all to act together. Let us hear from every single tax man in the state. We can all do something. I have given up cigars, drink and amusements and the money that I used to spend in those ways now goes into the single tax movement. Can you say as much? If you can't, you certainly can say something. Show us your strength and let us know that you mean business. Shall favors thankfully received. "Money makes the mare go." Let us have a "barrel" of mail and a large conference. B. R.

The Single Tax in Pittsburg.

Pittsburg Commoner and Glass Worker.

We believe that the taxation of land to its rental value is just and proper, and we shall always advocate it. We believe that it is a question that the people of every state in the Union should put themselves on, for it is the only equitable system obtainable. By it we would wipe out immense landed estates like those held in Pittsburg by the Schenleys and Dennys; we would take the taxes off manufacturing industries and, by making practically free to those who will use it, make this country a nation of property owners. There is a deep seated conviction in some of the greatest thinkers in the country that this system is correct. Some of our leading daily papers do not fear to say so, and the present discussion of taxation in Pittsburg is pretty sure to lead to much light on the question. Let us discuss this land system; it is a vital issue to all the people, for if it is ever put into operation it will give the millionaire the dogs and send speculation to shelter while the poor man will then have an equal opportunity with his neighbor.

A SIGNIFICANT STRAW.

The "New York Times" On the Industrial Effect of the Single Tax.

New York Times, Dec. 28.

The discussion of the single tax idea has heretofore been confined mainly to the followers of Henry George, but there is no reason why it should not receive an examination at the hands of all those who are interested in tax reform. It is safe to say that it is not a panacea for all the ills which some of its advocates appear to think that it will cure, but if it has merits they may as well be acknowledged, and if it involves fallacies they can only be exposed by discussion. If it would work any substantial benefit it ought to be known, and if it would cause any serious injury that fact should be pointed out. It has already attracted sufficient attention to be worthy of more consideration than it has yet received. We treated it a few days ago with reference to its merit simply as a means of raising revenue, and found it to be simple, direct and economical, and likely to be equitable in its operation. It is claimed by some of its advocates that the tax would not be "diffused," but would be paid only by the holders of land. If this were true, the tax would not be equitable, but it is a delusion. There is no getting around the fact that all taxes, however levied, must be paid out of production. There is no other source of payment for anything, and if taxes were levied on land alone, except in the case of that which was held unimproved and unused, they would be paid by those who occupied and used it.

The objections alleged against the single land tax rest upon the effects which it would produce, or which it is assumed that it would produce, upon industrial operations and upon land ownerships. We propose to inquire somewhat into its industrial effects. The proposition is to raise all revenue for public purposes, whether local, state or national, by a single tax on the "site value" of land. It would consequently sweep away all other forms of taxation, and necessarily includes a national policy of absolute free trade, which is enough in itself to excite a "holy horror" in about half the American people. It raises the whole question whether there is any other legitimate object of taxation except the raising of revenue for public purposes. It is time the free people of a free country ceased to regard freedom of trade with such a feeling of dread as to be unable even to discuss it rationally. The advantages of this country are not summed up in a protective tariff. They consist mainly in the abundance of its land in proportion to population and of its other natural resources, in the intelligence and energy of its people, stimulated by their opportunities, in the character of its institutions and its freedom from the crushing burdens of great armies and navies, and in freedom of trade over a vast area of varied productions and industries. The development of its industries has been interfered with by the policy to such an extent that it has been adjusted to the condition of trade all at once without any of the usual gradualness. But if such an adjustment successfully established the least doubt that enormous benefit to the country, bringing to them industrial and commercial development they have never yet

a far off consummated of now and to long struggles and by If the single tax about bringing it about speedily stroke they are doomed. It is the free trade in-home more than any makes people afraid of maintenance of serious distress its immediate or sudden would be disastrous to and consequently to the situation generally, but there of its immediate application in discussing its possibilities. strict proposition or an ultimate result we do not believe that the entire sweeping away of the national tariff would prove an industrial and commercial calamity, but the contrary. Hence, as a mere matter of argument, this particular industrial effect of a single tax must be admitted to be a benefit. At present it is nothing but a matter for abstract argument.

The other important industrial effect would come from the removing of taxation from capital employed in production and from all buildings and appliances used in industry and trade. In being applied only to land it would be removed from these nominally, though the tax itself would still be paid out of the production for which they were used. But in so far as the amount to be paid might be lessened industrial operations would be relieved from the pressure and of striction. More than all, the great inequalities of the burden, which come from a multiplicity of taxes, from imperfections of assessment, and from evasion, would

be done away. So far as the industrial effect of taking all taxes from property employed in production is concerned it could hardly fail to be favorable both to capital and labor, though putting them upon land alone would not relieve capital and labor of the necessity of paying them. Taxes like contributions for the conversion of the heathen, must necessarily come out of the substance of the people, and that substance is produced by their labor.

SINGLE TAX BY RAIL.

Mr. Baker and Brother Mahoney Preach the Gospel in the Smoking Car and Get Fourteen Signatures to the Petition to Congress.

ALBANY, N. Y., Dec. 29.—While journeying to New York in company with Bro. Jas. J. Mahoney to attend the reception to Mr. Henry George. I suggested that as we were well supplied with STANDARDS and tracts we make a bold charge for signatures to the petition to congress; that we attack the enemy, who were strongly entrenched in the smoking car. Girding up ourselves for the fray we proceeded in Indian file to the attack.

Perched in one corner was the brakeman, languidly counting the mile posts. We selected this representative of monopoly as the subject of our first assault. After explaining the purposes of the petition and showing him a part of the "cat," we bagged him.

No. 2, a resident of Greenbush, was also brought down after a few explanations.

No. 3, although he had been a reader of THE STANDARD for a considerable period, absolutely refused to sign—first, because in his opinion this business would never amount to anything; but afterward he changed his position, and said that he wouldn't sign because free trade would ruin his business. No argument seemed to have any effect; so, leaving him a STANDARD, we bore down upon Nos. 4 and 5, who signed eagerly.

No. 4, who was from Syracuse, quickly grasped the principle, and becoming warmed up on the subject, proceeded to show how one of his neighbors was raising an extensive crop of tomato cans upon some lots in the heart of the city, but of course was paying a purely nominal tax, because, forsooth, his land was "unimproved."

No. 5 was from Troy. He had evidently become an unconscious single tax man, as he denounced some of the privileged class of his city who were withholding land from use.

With No. 6 we could do nothing; he would not state his objections to signing; he simply would not be bothered.

No. 7 was a reformer from way back. He was in favor of all and any new schemes being thoroughly discussed and investigated, but objected to the nation being put to any expense. He signed with that proviso.

Nos. 8 and 9 signed while 10 and 11 refused, not having given the subject any consideration.

No. 12, although declining to sign without investigation, expressed a desire for literature which will be sent to him.

No. 13 well sustained the ill reputation which that number has with all superstitious people. He asserted that he believed this country was progressing quite satisfactorily—well enough for him, anyway. Contentment sparkled from his collar stud and ring and hauteur was plainly written upon his set countenance. Of course he refused to read our literature and we passed on to No. 14, who signed without demur, and took some tracts.

No. 15 was a resident of Newburgh and didn't want to hear any more of "that stuff."

(One of our Newburgh friends (Mr. Barton) had him, hammering away at him every day for a long time. He was of the opinion that congress was perfectly competent to legislate without our help.)

After passing that one our course was clear. We succeeded in obtaining the signatures with very little effort so long as our blanks held out and altogether obtained fourteen signatures from twenty persons approached. The smoke becoming very oppressive I was compelled to retreat to the other car, leaving Brother Mahoney to carry on the fight and stimulate discussion, which we had pretty effectually started. When the train reached New York and the whole car was engaged in animated conversation upon the merits of the single tax.

I would suggest to our friends all over the country that they do not confine their efforts to obtaining the signatures of known single tax men but gun for signatures everywhere during the week. I have obtained more than 100 signatures thus far. ROBT. BAKER.

They Squelch When They Get the Worst of Their Own Game.

Dayton, O., Workman.

A few days before the recent election the Buckeye iron and brass works of this city paid off its employees in envelopes on the face of which was printed "Protection Wages." Last week at the annual meeting of the Association of manufacturers of brass, iron, gas and water works furnishings, held in New York city, a committee was appointed to go to Washington to ask congress to remove the duty from ingot manufactured copper. Mr. Charles E. Pease, one of the proprietors of the Buckeye works, of this city, who before the election was a great stickler for "protection to American labor," is the chairman of the committee.

THE PETITION TO CONGRESS.

Signatures Coming In Thick and Fast—Over Thirteen Hundred Received in One Day—A Review of the Work of the Single Tax Committee During the Week—Cheerful Letters.

The work of the enrollment committee is making remarkable progress. Petitions are coming in much more rapidly than was expected and will average considerably over 500 a day. The holidays do not seem to check the flow. There came in on Sunday and Monday over 1,000. Tuesday was a holiday, but on Wednesday the number exceeded 1,300. It of course is not predicted that all the signers are single tax men, but letters from all quarters indicate that the petition presents opportunities for discussing the subject with men who have not before had their attention called to it, and many thus approached display much interest in the subject, while all gladly join in asking congress to make a full investigation.

Thus far the force at the command of the committee has had its whole time occupied in taking care of petitions and answering correspondence.

The work of enrollment will begin next week but no attempt will be made to put the names in type. The committee's funds will not allow so costly an operation and there is real danger that the work even in the cheaper form will be checked from lack of funds. The mere cost of postage for sending out new blanks to thousands of petitioners is becoming a burden. There is no doubt that if the committee had the necessary funds it could push this petition until it embraced several hundred thousand names and of course so enormous a petition could not fail to compel an investigation such as is asked for. The committee does not expect a favorable report from a republican congressional committee, but an investigation that brings out testimony will be enormously useful without regard to the report of a committee.

The following extracts will give some idea of the tone of the correspondence pouring in upon the committee:

A. L. Binley, Newburyport, Mass.—I received your ten blanks and succeeded in getting them all filled out among my fellow workmen. I was a protectionist until about six months ago when a friend gave me "Progress and Poverty" and I "saw the cat."

Anderson Maylor, Wilmington, Del.—I was until recently a republican and protectionist, but became a single tax man by reading THE STANDARD and some tracts given me by Mr. Frank Drain. Enclosed find my petition.

Geo. E. Dummer, Washington, D. C.—I send you fifteen blanks signed. There are a great many single tax men here and a good many more who think they are single tax men and who are willing to sign the petition. Send more blanks.

D. St. C. Wineland, Pittsburg.—Yours with twenty-five blanks to hand and I return ten of them signed. I always believed the masses in this city to be ignorant of Henry George and his doctrines, but since this petition came out I find I am ignorant of what the masses know. I have only found one man so far who knew nothing of the single tax and he was equally well posted on all other subjects.

S. C. Reese, Pana, Ills.—Enclosed find eleven blanks signed. I have a few more which I will have signed. I like the suggestion of Judge Maguire to concentrate on New Jersey. It looks as if this would be the short cut to the realization of our aims.

W. W. Gray, president Single tax league, Lynn, Mass.—Please send me 1,000 blanks for use by members of the Single tax league and the Central labor union. I believe that nothing has happened that has so stimulated the rank and file of George men as the letter of Judge Maguire.

M. W. Norwalk, Albany, N. Y.—I send you my second installment of signatures and will have to ask for twenty-five more. I find that getting signatures gives me excellent opportunities for discussing the single tax with men who know little or nothing about it.

C. W. Whitemarsh, Cleveland, Ohio.—Enclosed find thirteen signatures. Believe it is possible to secure a majority of the names of the voters of the Twenty-first district of Ohio. Shall do what I can to push the cause.

W. B. Estell, Freeland, Pa.—Enclosed find signed blanks. This is a good move.

John Downey, Johnstown, N. Y.—Enclosed find petition signed. I think Judge Maguire's plan would effect the most speedy result.

S. D. Guion, Brooklyn.—I send a number of signatures and I want more blanks. I would like an armful of single tax literature. I could use it to good advantage, but I am only a night watchman and do not earn enough to buy literature. I can only work.

George R. Webb, Orange Valley, N. J.—I wish very much to do something to spread the light and help along the cause. I heartily approve of Judge Maguire's plan. Enclosed

find stamps for some tracts and some more blank petitions.

F. S. Arnold, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Your letter has awakened us up here and the getting of signatures, with the attendant opportunities for discussion and distribution of tracts, will give us plenty to do and I hope soon to report to you or THE STANDARD an advance in every direction. I am ready to do so far as I can all that you may ask of me.

Daniel S. Cornell, Danbury, Conn.—I inclose you seven more names, making thirteen so far. We have a club here of two hundred members and hold meetings twice a month.

Frank D. Stuck, Allegan, Mich.—I return you the petitions all signed. I send you the names of our supervisor, an ex-candidate for congress, our village clerk and the editor of the Record of this place. In getting signatures I have found none who understand the single tax idea but they all know of the movement and nearly everyone says: "Yes, nothing can be worse than our present system." I have got our news dealer to send for "Progress and Poverty" and several have agreed to buy and read. I believe we can work up a strong sentiment here for the single tax. I notice the people are more ready to listen and less prone to calling names than they formerly were.

J. B. Detroit, Mich.—I send you eighteen signatures. It is very gratifying to know how the single tax idea is growing even among conservative men. My business calls me to the suburbs almost every day and seeing the vast areas of vacant land between the city proper and the suburban towns I am more and more impressed with the injustice of our land system. How the single tax would make the speculators loosen their grasp and enable working men to get a bit of mud on which to build a house without going four or five miles into the country for it.

Thomas S. Shelley, Corpus Christi, Texas.—I take pleasure in inclosing nine signatures and also the following outline of what has been done in this town, the population of which is about 5,000: The single tax petition to the state legislature has been signed by about 450 persons, including many county and some federal officials. Steps are being taken toward the formation of a single tax club. Henry George's system of taxation has ceased to be derided because the people are beginning to grasp the meaning of the term, "single tax on land values."

John Bennett, Philadelphia.—Inclosed find seven names. I am in hearty accord with your plan for bringing the single tax into public discussion.

M. Kennedy, Galena, Mo.—Inclosed please find petitions. Think I can secure quite a number of signatures, as we have a number of free traders and single tax men here. I approve the plan of your committee.

J. H. McIntire, Evansville, Ind.—I send you the names of two men who will make good workers. Our leading papers are now printing articles in favor of our cause.

J. J. Wilkes, farmer, Crainville, Kan.—Fully indorsing your movement I return petition signed, and will endeavor to get the others signed. I think it about time a radical change were made and justice done. I and some of my neighbors left New York city in 1869 and homesteaded here, and in spite of the various ingenious methods by which the farmer is compelled to sell cheap and buy dear, to feed his cow and let people who live in the east milk her, we are better off than most wage workers. For many years we worked hard and fared hard, but I doubt if we have fared worse than if we had remained wage workers, and now we have a home of our own. I hope some time to assist your movement financially.

J. W. Neeley, Reno, Pa.—Inclosed you will find ten signatures to petition and one dollar for the cause, and I wish you would send me fifty more blanks, as I can get signatures in the surrounding towns. There are plenty of men here who are coming our way. The people are willing to consider some better system of taxation, and your committee's plan of education will find many converts here. This plan of petition will wake up the whole country. All who can should subscribe for THE STANDARD and after reading it pass it around.

N. B. McCohn, Cherokee, Kan.—I inclose you a few signed petitions. The plan is taking well here. Have had scarcely any time to devote to getting signers, but know I can get a great number.

From Judge Reid.

Judge Frank T. Reid of Nashville writes: The movement here the last two weeks has been attracting quite considerable attention. We have regular weekly meeting of our club, and besides speaking at those meetings, for the past few weeks I have been speaking at different points; last night in a "mission church," which was crowded. A number of ministers were present, and many intelligent, earnest women. We all here now feel confident that the ground has been broken at last and the seed sown. It has been very hard work to secure a hearing. I am confident, though, now that from henceforth our places of meeting will be largely attended. Let that result be secured, and the doctrine will spread rapidly throughout this state. As soon as I can, I shall make a canvass of the state.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

An Old Fremont Comes to One of the Public Meetings and Sees a Great Light—The Single Tax Home Project—New Officers.

The fifth meeting of the Manhattan single tax club was held at their rooms, No. 105 Second avenue, last Sunday evening. The place was crowded, among those present being friends from Brooklyn, Williamsburg and Jersey City. Mr. Steers lectured on "Home," and during his remarks spoke in advocacy of his long-time plan for purchasing a home in New York city for the single tax men of this country. Other speakers in sympathy with Mr. Steers followed.

It is a custom in the Manhattan club at these Sunday night meetings, when there is a pause, for the chairman to call on some one to say a few words, and especially to induce strangers to speak. This practice led to an interesting episode last Sunday evening. An old man whom no one in the club room knew walked in just before the proceedings began and took a chair. He was an attentive listener from the beginning, and became more so as the evening advanced. Of a sudden, toward the end of the proceedings, he took the floor and said:

For the first time in five years, I concluded to come down Second avenue on my way to my work—I am a night watchman—and I was thinking back to the changes that have occurred since I polled my first vote in this city in 1841. I am a free trader from way back—have been a free soiler, a democrat and a republican; but since the days of Fremont I was never satisfied with my vote until last election, when I voted for Cleveland, because he was a free trader. I'm an old man, but I went to the polls and worked hard that day. Well, since then I have sorrowed for my country; and my thoughts to-night were melancholy. I accidentally looked up as I reached the front of your club house, and peering through your windows I saw that banner on the wall, "Free Trade, Free Land, Free Men." That hit me hard. In 1856 I marched under the banner, "Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont," and I said to myself, your banner's inscription brings old times back to me. I made up my mind that my work could wait a while this evening until I found out what the words on your banner meant in these days. I came into your hall. I have listened to your speakers, and I am satisfied that I would not be doing right by my family and myself if I did not join hands with you. I feel that I have again found a good place to start from; so, if you will let me become one of your number I will feel grateful. There's my admission fee and dues. I am a poor man, but not too poor to assist in this grand movement in the interests of humanity; and I will do whatever you tell me will be for the general good.

The old man's remarks were enthusiastically cheered, and he was cordially welcomed; and eleven o'clock came before he remembered that he had a long night's work ahead of him.

At the business meeting held on the previous Thursday the following gentlemen were elected officers of the club for the ensuing term: President, W. H. Faulhaber, vice-president, Joseph McDonough; recording and corresponding secretary, C. P. Kelly; financial secretary, Paul Boesig; treasurer, William Spahr; membership committee—William Wolff, W. P. Epstein, William Darling, A. Schmidt and M. J. Murray; house committee—A. Bachman, Sidney Ulrich, H. Bachman, S. Pickens, William Gerner; receipts and expenditures committee—Edward Zimmerman, E. Maybohm, A. T. Powells, Ed. Bachman and John Hamilton; agitation committee—Benjamin Doblin, C. Silbernik, Henry George, jr., Wm. McCabe and W. T. Croasdale.

The following applications for membership will be acted on at this Thursday's meeting of the club: George Kolb, 321 East 35th st.; H. O. Russell, 84 South 5th st., Brooklyn; Charles F. Woods, 337 East 13th st.; Charles M. Maxwell, 333 East 36th st.; James Mallon, 333 East 13th st.; Charles John, 283 Fourth st., Jersey City, N. J.; A. J. Steers, 39 Nassau st.; Carl Christman, 87 2d st.; Elmer O. Ellis, 158 West 13th st.; Emanuel M. Klein, 188 Rivington st.; Leo Fradkin, 120 23d st.; Isaac B. Goldman, 78 Ludlow st.; G. W. Everett, 11 East 10th st.; Henry George, 338 East 19th st.

The usual lecture will be held next Sunday evening.

For a Propaganda Club in Chicago.

Mr. T. W. Witter of Chicago writes: I would suggest that all those who are willing to put their shoulder to the wheel and to keep it there under any and all circumstances, form a single tax educational club, its whole object being educational work, by means of lectures, debates and the distribution of single tax literature; though not confining

themselves merely to the club, but preaching the doctrine everywhere, and at all times, in every way possible. Let a lot of true and determined men band together in a cause of this kind and money won't be wanting. If there are others in this city who are favorably inclined to the forming of such a club I shall be glad to hear from them.

FROM DENMARK.

The Single Tax Movement in the Scandinavian Countries.

DALUM LANDBRUGSSKOLE, Odense, Denmark.—Since I wrote to you in November, 1887 (letter published in THE STANDARD December 3, 1887) I myself and several others have tried to spread the light, and I am glad to say that our work has not been fruitless. The reform has been advocated through the columns of at least five weeklies and two of the largest dailies of the country, and we are still fighting away, using the anti-protection movement as a ram, by which to make a hole in the wall of ignorance and superstition. Of course we are not a great many, and we have formed no society as yet, and have no paper of our own, preferring to expound our ideas through the friendly papers as the best way to get a hearing all over the country. In Norway Mr. Umann is publishing a little weekly on clear single tax principles, which has a fair circulation in Denmark as well.

But the best and most gladdening evidence of the progress your ideas have made with us is that at a great convention recently held in Copenhagen by the political economists of the three Scandinavian countries a Swedish professor, Count Hamilton, declared in answer to some question about the agrarian difficulty, that the only real and radical remedy was the one indicated by your land nationalization. Before the end of the meeting Mr. Falbe-Hansen, professor in political economy at our university, indorsed this statement. So you see that even counts and old fashioned professors are beginning to "see the cat."

My chief reason for writing to you is that a question has arisen here about the best way to carry out your ideas with us.

As stated in my last letter, most of the land has been divided since the beginning of this century into comparatively small properties, farms of from two to eighty acres, only a comparatively small part of the land remaining the property of some great landed proprietors.

By special restrictions the establishing of new large landed properties is rendered exceedingly difficult. However the land nationalization is going on in another way, most of the small proprietor farmers being more and more reduced to mere nominal owners of their farms, which are mortgaged to the great capitalists, or in many cases to the former great landed proprietors, who were compelled to sell the farms, but kept mortgages on them.

Now my question is this: Ought not the single tax on land values, which will reduce the selling value of the farms, to be accompanied by a proportionate reduction of the mortgages? In other words, ought not the single tax, which is intended to strike the land owners, as such, bear equally on all real land owners, whether nominal or not?

JAKOB E. LANGE.

[I think so. When a tax that will lessen the value of land is imposed it seems to me that mortgagee and mortgagee should be treated as joint owners.—H. G.]

MORE AND MORE INTERESTING IN MINNEAPOLIS.

A Committee of the Board of Trade Takes a Turn at the Single Tax Proposition and Affords Plenty of Amusement to Mr. Buell and His Co-Workers.

The single tax movement in Minnesota is growing and spreading every day. It has now reached the Minneapolis board of trade. The board appointed a committee to make a special examination of the single tax question and at a recent meeting Judge Atwater, as chairman of the committee, read the following report:

Your committee respectfully report:

1. That they have considered the subject referred to them, and have consulted a large number of business men and property holders in the city of Minneapolis and find, with rare exceptions, they are opposed to the proposed change of abolishing the tax on personal property and placing the whole burden on real estate.
2. That it would vastly increase the burdens of the agricultural community and the large class of mechanics and laborers in our cities who own homesteads, and would correspondingly relieve merchants, bankers and money lenders generally who least need exemption from taxes.
3. That it is for the highest interest of states and municipalities therein to encourage the acquisition of homesteads to residents thereof, and that the passage of any laws or the adoption of any measure tending to restrict or prevent such result would be in the highest degree unwise and injudicious.
4. That we are not informed that any state in the Union has adopted the single tax system.
5. That your committee are not advised

that there has been any movement of any considerable or influential body of citizens in the state of Minnesota looking to any such change of the laws of the state as indicated in the resolution. Your committee are not prepared to state but that a considerable number of business men in this city whose only property, or largely so, is personal property exempt from taxation. But your committee are satisfied that they comprise but a small minority of the business men of this city, and that the time has not arrived when a movement of this kind demands the serious attention of this board. Your board would therefore recommend that the resolution be laid on the table and indefinitely postponed.

President C. J. Buell of the Single tax league, by permission, explained that the committee was evidently misinformed as to what the single tax men were asking for at the present time. All they wanted was that an amendment to the constitution be submitted to the people which would enable the legislature to determine the manner in which state and local revenues should be raised.

But the report of the committee was adopted as read.

The extent and success of the agitation in Minneapolis is explained by the list of active and influential men who are at the head of the movement there. The officers of the Single tax league are: President—C. J. Buell, architect and builder. Vice-president—O. T. Erickson, county commissioner. Secretary—E. L. Ryder, managing editor *Northwest Trade*. Treasurer—L. K. Campbell, president carpenter's union. Executive committee—Professor W. A. Carpenter; George K. Shaw, editor *Evening Star*; James McDaniels, head miller Washburn A mill; H. B. Martin, editor *Northwestern Labor Union*; Edwin B. Barber, manager St. Anthony & Dakota Elevator Co.; C. E. Haynes, publisher *Northwest Trade*; Herman Ashe, tailor; Howe Paige, attorney at law.

A Cheerful Outlook in Ohio.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Dec. 29.—We have a most cheerful prospect for our cause in Ohio. Recruits are being made as never before, and our men show a vim and vigor that will know nothing but ultimate victory. Can we but get one case fairly before the next assembly, this state, and not New Jersey, may be found to be the point of least resistance. But we want money. The lack of the paltry sum of \$100 blocks the way of organized effort, and I again call on the single tax men of Ohio to contribute, and to contribute at once, as we have but a week left to decide our course.

There is a joint meeting of committees from various organizations on January 7, to arrange plans for bringing the Australian system before the state assembly.

Paul Gariepy, vice president of our club, and one of our best workers, leaves for Louisville shortly, where he makes his future home. We commend him to friends there as a most valuable acquisition, and the best that Cincinnati can send them. C. S. WALKER, Chairman Ohio Single Tax League.

The Youngstown Men.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—We are hard at work here and are meeting with gratifying success. The president of our single tax club, Billy Radcliffe, is, to use a slang phrase, a hustler. We have adopted a plan which is stirring our citizens to some tall thinking. I inclose copies of the documents we are placing in every house. We have a little sticker which we put on telephone poles, on the backs of envelopes, or on anything, or in any place where it will meet attention. It reads like this:

SINGLE TAX
WILL DO IT.

We are discussing the single tax and ballot reform at every meeting, and I think ere long our hall will be too small to accommodate those who want to get in. A. C. HUGHES, Secretary single tax club.

E. D. Brooklynites Organizing.

BROOKLYN.—A small body of single tax men have been meeting at 215 Ross street and are now perfecting arrangements for an organization which they hope will include in its membership all single tax believers resident in the Eastern District. In addition to providing for debates, lectures, etc., it is proposed to make the organization an aggressive one. I would like to request all STANDARD readers who live within range of the present headquarters to communicate with me.

JOS. MCGUINNESS, 215 Ross St., E. D.

How an American Sees French Protection.

W. E. Hicks writes from Neuchâtel-en-Bray: I have been in France now about three months and have been greatly amused at the desperate efforts to shut out German goods. One of the most amusing things is to see a lot of these Normandy peasants, shivering, teeth chattering and half frozen, holding out against the damnable iniquities of the German merchants who threaten to send them goods. The system of protection becomes here thoroughly laughable, as all nations are neighbors, there being no ocean, only a politi-

cal line. I have several lawyers interested in the single tax and hope to pull them in, when I shall be able to speak French a little better.

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN BLAKENEY.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., Dec. 20.

W. T. Croasdale Esq., Chairman, Etc., 721 Broadway, New York.

Dear Sir:—Whatever differences have existed in the past among single tax men as to methods, it seems to me that now—the recent campaign which furnished cause for differences being over—we may again come together and work harmoniously for the advancement of the principles we all equally have at heart.

No mere personal differences or preferences should prevent true believers from heartily indorsing any well designed method for carrying on our movement—no matter by whom proposed—or from uniting in a line of action promising good and speedy results. Outside of New York city there are no personal disagreements or dissensions among us, I believe, and no difficulty need be encountered in harmonizing us as to, at least present, practical work. We of the rural districts deplore continued unpleasantness—if there is such—among our New York friends, but feel that we cannot be parties to it, preferring to look plainly at proposed measures and judge them solely upon their merits.

In this frame of mind, I for one indorse the plans proposed by your committee and by Mr. George in late numbers of THE STANDARD and desire to do what I can towards their carrying out. Therefore you may place my name upon your roll of single tax men and if you like, send me some blank petitions to which I will gladly solicit signatures.

I also favor Judge Maguire's idea of taking a single state (New Jersey he probably wisely suggests) and throwing the weight of our efforts into it till we gain it to our system, and thus at, it would be hoped, an early day secure a practical, living exemplification of the truth and beneficial effects of our doctrines.

A year ago, just after our state election, in a letter to headquarters in New York, I suggested substantially the plans now proposed by Mr. George and Judge Maguire. The idea of making our movement an educational rather than a political one, has all along seemed to me best, at least for a time. When necessary for it to take a political complexion it will do so through the operation of natural forces.

I have wished for some time to write to THE STANDARD in reference to the single state plan, but waited in the hope that some prominent leader of our movement should speak in favor of it. Now that Judge Maguire has spoken I doubt not many of like thought will be heard from.

JOHN H. BLAKENEY.

THE FARMERS.

A Suggestion as to How They May Be Reached.

BATH-ON-THE-HUDSON, N. Y., Dec. 25.—For the past week I have been reading "Progress and Poverty," which I have now read the third time. I have just this minute the last page of "Protection or Free Trade" which I have read but once. As a book I could not but think what a fanning of a Merry Christmas is upon millions who will not even to-day to satisfy the craving. And why? Because the few have themselves behind the blind ignorant many and have monopolized nature—land. While reading "Free Trade" I began to think good that could be accomplished could be devised to put a copy in the hands of every farmer in the workingmen can generally be a club system while the farmers' litical tracts of all kinds have them in such numbers that they usually lost their value, but to a very kernel of the subject we w in their minds in book form w garded as a compliment and a nine-tenths of them would feel in d to read it. I am confident it wou reciated by them, and it would giv more food for thought and discussion anything else. There is a certain v placed upon a book no matter how indiff ent a reader may be or what the cover of it is that cannot be replaced by anything else. I am confident if this plan could be carried out that seven-tenths of them would be so aroused and enlightened by reading "Protection or Free Trade" that they would not stop until "Progress and Poverty" was read, and few can read that without being convinced of its grand truths. During the past eighteen months I have induced some twenty of my acquaintances to read it by conversing with some and writing to others, and some have thanked me for calling their attention to it. I am, perhaps, the pioneer here who favored the "crusade" outside of distinct party lines, and I am glad to say we can all co-operate to spread the light. To-morrow I am going to call on a young lawyer in Albany who has ample means, and is quite a student and a member of the Reform club, and I will do my best to get him to read "Progress and Poverty," and induce his associates to read it. As I am on of work I will do what I can, the way of spreading the light.

MATTHEW KIRCH.

SHALL WE INVADE NEW JERSEY?

Indorsements and Objections to Judge Maguire's Plan.

The following letters discussing the proposition for single tax men to concentrate all their strength for a campaign in New Jersey will be read with interest:

Let Us Have the Plan.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—By all means let us have Judge Maguire's plan put into operation as soon as possible. Every single tax believer here that I have talked with is pleased with the idea, particularly Charles S. Hopkins and F. A. Paul. The single tax men will resume their meetings soon after Jan. 1.

T. C. P. MEYERS.

Will Support the Plan.

CANTON, Ill.—I read with interest Judge Maguire's suggestion that the efforts of single tax advocates be united on one state, and think the suggestion a good one. I for one will give my time and labor, however humble they may be, to that end.

JOS. FITZSIMMONS.

Massachusetts's Great Advantage.

NORTH ADAMS, Mass.—We can make but little progress without the aid of the secret ballot law. Massachusetts has such a law, and therefore presents this greatest advantage over any other state. It is comparatively small also, having only 280,000 voters. Its only disadvantage is that it is wedded to the humbug of protection.

ANDREW R. PAUL.

Makes a Contribution Towards the Plan.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Judge Maguire's idea is the most effective plan that has as yet been brought forward and will not interfere with any other mode of work, either in state or nation. I inclose one dollar toward that object.

JOHN W. JONES.

Will Contribute a Dollar a Month.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—I am in hearty accord with Judge Maguire's proposition. The want of enthusiasm on the part of a great many who perceive the justice of the single tax arises from the apparent hopelessness of realizing the reform in their time. The invasion of New Jersey would awaken hope and rouse these men to activity. I hope all single tax men will give this question their support, and that the single tax committee of New York will take immediate action on the matter. If this plan is adopted I will pledge myself to give \$1 each month toward the general expenses until our object is attained.

WM. MAHONEY.

Has Long Thought of the Idea.

HORNELLVILLE, N. Y.—I am glad to see the agitation in favor of concentrating our forces on one state. This is just what I have long had in mind as the most practical and economical way of overcoming the inertia of public opinion. If we can succeed in inducing the legislature of one state to give the single tax a trial, the result will appear almost magical. It would be impossible to stop the contagion of the movement; it would become world wide. William O. McDowell, of Newark, hits the nail on the head when he proposes to single tax men of New York and Brooklyn to move over to New Jersey. Single tax men should come from every part of the civilized globe and locate in the state decided upon in which to concentrate our forces.

GEORGE H. VANWINKLE.

Thinks Colorado or California Better Than New Jersey.

NEW YORK.—Cordially indorsing the general idea of Judge Maguire's plan, I think it would be better to start in one of those western states, where the curse of land monopolization is already greatly appreciated by the people, though in a dull, blind way. Colorado or California would be a good state to begin in.

M. R. LEVERSON.

Indorses the Plan Without Reserve.

ALBANY, N. Y.—I am enlisted heart and soul in the cause, and indorse Judge Maguire's New Jersey suggestion without reserve. You may put me down for all I can afford to give toward that object, whether of cash or counsel.

JOHN F. HART.

Thinks He Will Move Over to Jersey and Commence Work.

BROOKLYN.—I desire to express my approval of Judge Maguire's idea of "invading New Jersey." It would be the most practical move we could make to popularize our principles. I have spoken to a number of single tax men in regard to the matter, and have yet to find one that is opposed to it. I agree with Mr. F. W. Rockwell's ideas as expressed in last week's STANDARD, because I think they are practical. The idea of an exchange bureau is excellent. New Jersey is my native state and I had some experience there as an advocate of the single tax during the last campaign, and I certainly had more success and encouragement than in any other state. I shall remove there next spring if all goes well.

A. L. VOORHEES.

One Year's Work Would Revolutionize New Jersey.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—By all means, let us act immediately on the suggestion of Judge Maguire, and organize for the invasion of New Jersey. Let our single tax friends in New York appoint a committee to take charge of

and direct the campaign in that state, said committee to employ the speakers, disburse the funds and devise the best and most efficacious methods of placing suitable literature in the hands of the people of New Jersey. One year's systematic work in that state would, in my opinion, revolutionize public sentiment on this question of questions, and compel the legislature to provide for the raising of all revenues from a single tax on land values.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

Shall We Attack Territory or Classes?

PLAINFIELD, N. J., Jan. 1.—I have read with much interest Judge Maguire's proposal for a single tax invasion of New Jersey, as well as the various letters of approval from different parts of the country. As a citizen of New Jersey I need hardly say that I should rejoice to see my state taking position in the van of the movement for industrial emancipation; and yet, after soberly considering the matter, I cannot help feeling that were we seriously to undertake the proposed invasion we should do so with scarcely a prospect of success and at the risk of a failure which would be disastrous in the extreme.

The single tax is not to be carried with a rush and a hurrah; least of all in a state like New Jersey, whose population is composed of a multiplicity of classes, having widely diverse interests, and as a consequence, divergent methods of thought and conflicting prejudices. Here in this city—a typical New Jersey town—we have a class of resident landowners, doing business in New York, a class of resident tenants, also earning their living in New York, a class of local landlords, a class of local business residents, a manufacturing wage-working class, and a class of farmers all around us. To attempt to capture all these elements at once would be very much like trying to bring down a whole covey of partridges at a single discharge. The birds are flying in different directions; they must be brought down one by one.

And this brings me to a view of the case which I should like to advance as against Judge Maguire's. Why, instead of attacking territory, should we not attack classes of men? We cannot state the single tax doctrine in any shape that shall commend itself at once to all the inhabitants of Plainfield, or of New Jersey. But we can state it in a fashion that shall appeal equally to all the lawyers, or to all the farmers, or to all the school teachers, or to all the factory wage workers. Let us pick out one class of men, any class—lawyers, farmers, doctors, college students, whom you please—and bend all our energies, with one united effort to their conversion; write to them, write for them, talk to them; send them books and papers; force the subject upon their attention in such fashion that they cannot neglect it. This, it seems to me, would be economizing our ammunition and aiming at our birds individually. When we have bagged one partridge we can reload and fire at the next one. We need have no fear of scaring off our game. The birds will wait for us.

T. L. MCCREADY.

For Concentration on Dakota.

W. W. Bailey of Chicago writes: While I am impressed with Judge Maguire's enthusiastic and captivating New Jersey plan of campaign, I am yet somewhat attached to my own Dakota idea. Dakota is far away, it is true, and that is the chief obstacle. But it is fresh ground. No century of prejudice confronts us there as in New Jersey. Our task would not be the repeal of an old constitution, but the formation of a new one. The leaders are already won. The politicians of Dakota even now are with us, led by ex-Governor Pierce and others of equal prominence and power.

In Dakota a six months' campaign will suffice. The victory will be won or lost in the constitutional convention even now in contemplation. To win is to have two single tax states to begin with. These will send four single tax men to the United States senate, perhaps as many representatives to the house, with two governors and judges and legislators.

Dakota correspondents of the Chicago Daily News and of the Tribune and Herald agree in stating that the single tax is strong in that territory. They give the names of the leading political workers on both sides as attached to the new idea; and the Chicago Tribune editorially says that the new states will almost surely come in with this reform embalm in their organic law. All the Minneapolis and St. Paul papers widely influential throughout Dakota give more or less support to the single tax cause, and some of them agree with the Chicago Tribune that the Dakotas will abolish all taxes on the products of labor.

Concentrate on Massachusetts.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The state on which to move is Massachusetts because of the Australian system of voting which goes into operation in the next state election, November, 1889. No other state that holds an election during the coming year has this system of voting nor will they probably get it during that time. We concentrated on New York state in '87 without this system and we were badly defeated. We would again be defeated in any other state without it. We ought to profit by this experience. Let's be expedient and begin the campaign of '89 in the "Cradle of Liberty."

A. E. TODD.

FOR A SINGLE TAX CLUB HOUSE.

The Thousand Point Nearly Reached—Letters of Approval and Good Will.

The Single tax club house is almost an assured fact. We are now within fourteen of the thousand shares asked for by the committee, and in anticipation of the coming week's subscription, the committee has been called to meet next Sunday, when arrangements will be made for the first meeting of the subscribers, who will organize the tontine and proceed with the work. Of course the subscriptions will come in more rapidly after an organization has been made, for then there will be more than two hundred to continue the work now being carried on by our small committee. One pleasant feature connected with the subscriptions so far is that they are small, which means that a large number of single tax men will have an interest in the "home;" another is that they are widely diffused. From merry France, from Down East, from the Stinky South, from far west Colorado and far north Minnesota, have come the mites that will make the single tax home a reality. Let them come from whence they will—Europe, Asia, Africa, from northern or southern America, from Australasia—this home, when built, is for the use of all; and the time may come when it will be the Mecca toward which the eyes of the faithful will turn because of the tender recollections that will cluster around and about it.

The following subscriptions have been received since the last issue of THE STANDARD:

John De Witt Warner, 53 William st., city.....	5
E. P. Ingersoll, 427 West 21st st., city.....	10
R. F. Malone, 304 East Broadway, city.....	5
W. B. Scott, 112 West 123d st., city.....	10
George Hall, 1233 Lexington av., city.....	10
Mrs. M. O. Dalton, 108 East 11th st., city.....	5
August Petry, 334 East 9th st. (second subscrip.)	5
William A. Wasson, 1626 Madison av., city.....	1
J. H. A. Fitch, 236 East 71st st., city.....	5
A. W. Eastlake, 120 East 123d st., city.....	5
Wm. Schwanewedel, 791 9th av., city.....	1
Charles J. Kidd, 44 North Moore st., city.....	2
Ralph Berger, 322 9th av., city.....	1
E. N. Bachmann, 104 East 4th st., city.....	3
Morris Berger, 791 9th av., city.....	5
W. O. Eastlake, 120 East 123d st., city.....	5
E. Ralch, 989 East 169th st., city.....	1
Frank Smith, box 3235, city.....	5
B. Buntinx, 989 East 169th st., city.....	2
Louis Keck, 185 Christie st., city.....	1
Henry Diecks, 14 Varick st., city.....	2
William Wolff, 432 East 9th st., city.....	1
John Chandler Marston, Gouldsboro, Vt.....	1
George A. Kolb, 123 East 35th st., city.....	5
Henry Pfauz, 24 West 19th st., city.....	5
Thomas Downs, 86 and 88 Bowers, city.....	1
G. W. Everett, 11 East 10th st., city.....	5
John F. Wood, 214 Stagg st., Brooklyn, E. D.....	5
Joseph S. Green, 231 South Second st., Brooklyn, E. D.	2
Frank Norris, 29 South Fourth st., Brooklyn, E. D.	1
Martin Conway, 29 South Fourth st., Williamsburg,	1
W. G. Richardson, 385 Lorimer st., Greenpoint, L. I.	1
Hugh B. Brown, Bay Shore, L. I.....	2
Samuel Huglin, Box 49, New Brighton, S. I.....	10
Fielding Gower, 11 Archer st., Yonkers, N. Y.....	5
C. M. McGuire, 59 Greene st., Syracuse, N. Y.....	2
Henry C. Murden, 17 Elm st., Newark, N. J.....	5
Charles John, 284 Fourth st., Jersey City, N. J.....	2
Hudson County Single Tax League (per Joseph Dana	
Miller, 86 Ege avenue, Jersey City).....	10
John Sullivan, Box 632, Naugatuck, Conn.....	25
J. H. McKiernan, 135 Main st., Bridgeport, Conn.....	1
Frederic A. Dunlap, 82 Washington st., Cambridge-	
port, Mass. (\$2 inclosed).....	2
Thomas Hunt, Kenned, Ohio.....	1
Ulysses Tanner, Canton Falls, Minn.....	1
H. Martin Williams, 2223 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.....	5
C. D. Bowman, 812 S. 22d st., Omaha, Neb.....	2
J. A. Hamon, Wymore, Neb.....	1
John J. McClermont, Aspen, Col. (\$1 inclosed).....	1
J. W. Sullivan, Paris, France.....	20

Previously acknowledged..... 776

Total to date..... 986

The correction has been made in C. B. Cooper's name. The name was printed as sent in.

The receipt of Mr. F. A. Dunlap's subscription of \$2 is acknowledged in the list above. He expresses himself as heartily in favor of Mr. Steers's plan and promises that he will be heard from later on.

Ralph and Morris Berger and Wm. Schwanewedel approve the plan in these pungent words:

Sure it will come—the single tax and the single tax club house. Success to all who spread the light.

A. W. and W. O., Eastlake, city:

To end the old year well and begin the new right we each subscribe to the single tax club house fund.

B. Buntinx, city, speaking for himself and others:

Our heart and hopes are with the single tax friends, and we wish a grand success for the club house. We will do more after the first 5,000 shares are in.

W. G. Richardson, Greenpoint, writes to the secretary:

I would say, although a stranger to you, that I am deeply interested in your cause, and only hope you may be successful.

William A. Wasson, secretary of the telegraphers' single tax club, sends his subscription and offers some suggestions. It is not the intention of the committee to say of what the club house shall consist. It was appointed only to secure subscriptions for the purchase, or building, of a home. When an organization of the club house subscribers shall have been effected the committee will be discharged, and the subscribers will decide

what will be best to do, and act accordingly. Mr. Wasson's letter will be turned over to the organization when formed. Its text is as follows:

In regard to the proposed single tax club house, permit me to make a suggestion. I do not think there is any great hurry about building such a house. I do not think we should do anything half way. While we are about it why not wait a little longer until we get money enough to put up a good sized building with a large speaking hall, such as Cooper union? This would pay in the end, as we could then hold meetings as often as we wished without any extra expense. The money we would save in hall rent during one campaign would almost pay the additional cost of building a large hall. Not only that, but we could rent the hall out on different occasions for other purposes, thereby yielding an income. I think the building of a hall attached to the club house is as important, if not more so, than the club house itself. Will you kindly present my views to the other gentlemen who are managing this project?

Fielding Gower, Yonkers, N. Y., sends his subscription with a hope that the club house will be a success, and continues:

But what men like myself want is to see the single tax brought into practical politics; and I may say that the struggle for a living is so keen that when the single tax is talked about the answer generally is, "What good is it to me? It will never be in my time." I have more hope now in the cause than I ever had before. Let the leaders be true to the cause and we shall soon find the single tax in practical politics.

J. H. A. Fitch sends his subscription and asks for blanks. None have yet been printed—the only blank being the one printed each week in THE STANDARD. It can be cut out and pasted on a sheet of writing paper, when as many as desire can write their subscriptions. It is to be hoped that Mr. Fitch will do this.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo., hopes the club house project may be successful.

John Sullivan, Naugatuck:

I think the club house idea is a good idea to establish a single tax headquarters in New York city, and hope the minimum number of shares will soon be subscribed for.

J. W. Sullivan writes a personal letter from Paris to the secretary of the committee, in which he subscribes to the club house, and gives notice that he will be on hand by March 1 to pay the cash. The influences of Christmas tide are evidently upon him, for he sends to all his friends his "kindest regards and the compliments of the season."

The blank is printed this week on the tenth page of THE STANDARD.

Calling the Provisional Committee Together.

NEW YORK, Jan. 1.—A meeting of the committee of the Single tax club house will be held at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club on Sunday afternoon, January 6, at 5 o'clock. The shares now subscribed having amounted to the one thousand first agreed, it has become necessary to provide for permanent organization. Members of the committee, Messrs. O'Neil, Gorsuch and Paulhaber will please take notice.

A. J. STEERS, Chairman pro tem.

WM. McCABE, Secretary pro tem.

Veritas Vincit Favors Rhode Island.

HONEOYE, N. Y.—On the assumption that the plan of concentrating effort on a single state meets with general approval, our first step undoubtedly should be to select the state best suited.

If the constitution of Rhode Island will admit of putting our principles of taxation into immediate operation, then by all means let us select that state. She has only about one-sixteenth the area of New Jersey; her density of population is 222 to the square mile against New Jersey's 145; her total voting population is but 75,012 against New Jersey's 289,965; she elects her whole legislature annually; and she has but 34 townships and 15 city wards, or 49 minor civil divisions altogether. We must certainly have in our ranks 50 competent men who could be sent to teach our principles in Rhode Island; and there must be 50,000 single tax advocates in the United States who would be willing to contribute a single dollar for the experiment. But by all means let the most suitable state be selected at once and the work be begun.

As an earnest of good faith I inclose \$1. Let 49,999 other single tax advocates step up and do likewise, and we will make some small state shake to its very center.

VERITAS VINCIT.

Mr. Atkinson Didn't Turn Up.

The single tax league of Boston held a meeting last Sunday afternoon to discuss the propositions advanced by Edward Atkinson in his recent lecture on taxation before the league. Mr. Atkinson himself was to have taken part in the debate, but as he failed to put in an appearance there was no formal discussion. Short addresses were made by George N. Smith of Wellesley, E. M. White of Boston, David J. King, William Ford, L. H. Turner and others, all indorsing the theories advanced by Henry George. Henry Winn thought the present system of taxation was all wrong, but he was not in favor of the single tax. He promised to tell what he was in favor of at a future meeting of the club.

SINGLE TAX MEN DINE.

Pleasant Reminiscences of the Old Year.
Hopeful Anticipations for the New—Some
of the Good Things That the Speakers
Said.

On Saturday last a number of the single tax men of New York and vicinity dined together at the Hotel Hungaria, the ostensible occasion being a welcome to Henry George on his return from Europe. The arrangements were made by Mr. Benjamin Doblin, but the work of presiding fell on Mr. W. T. Croasdale, who called the toasts in his usual happy manner, prefacing each with a short and pointed speech.

The first toast "Our Guest," was responded to by Mr. George with brief thanks.

Henry T. Terry responded to "The Old Year." He spoke of the great gain that had been made in getting the question of free trade and the single tax before the people, and of the manner in which important reforms ran together, taking occasion to speak of the importance of civil service reform. "The idea of this," he said, "is to take the selection of public officers out of the hands of professional politicians and put it into the hands of the people. No matter what other reforms we are in favor of, the first step is to get the control of the administration of affairs into the hands of the people. That is civil service reform."

Major A. R. Cathoun responded to the toast of "The New Year—Let us hope that it may prepare the way for a great advance towards freedom." He kept the tables in a roar of laughter for a while by his strokes of wit and funny stories, and then in the hush of a deep silence gave a thrilling and vivid picture of the night fight on Lookout mountain. Continuing he said: So through the darkness, we struggle up the heights, our eyes fixed on no uncertain goal, our hearts set on no scheme of personal ambition. The coming year will see us stronger, will carry us up another step, and the effort will strengthen us for the final struggle and chasten us for the reception of the boon. During the coming year some will struggle from the ranks, some will fall in the fight, and a few weak ones may lose heart. But ours is the cause of the people, and the people will form our reserves. As they learn the importance of our work, they will rally to our standard. A standard too broad for any single band, for it represents the world; and those who fight under it are bound by no petty prejudice of nationality, creed or race. So here at the death bed of the year so nearly past, let us take heart of grace and thank heaven for the time that is ours—the years that are to come. (Prolonged cheers.)

Col. Donn Piatt responded to "The New Democracy—the newer the better," saying, I was born in the old democracy, reared in a hickory sugar trough, and hurried for Jackson as soon as I was set on end. (Laughter.) Now I am called upon to respond to a toast which says, "the new democracy, and the newer the better." I don't recognize it. (Laughter.) I am an old Jacksonian, Jeffersonian, Van Buren democrat. I was driven out of it once, but that was by the bayonet and it will take a bayonet to get me out again.

I recognize in the contest that has been going on in the last canvass the purest doctrines of that old democracy which taught that the only purpose of a government was the intervention of a constable; no trust, no tariff, no limitation it demanded of any sort, and I would be a single tax man, only I don't understand it. (Laughter.) A voice: "You will get there." Yes, it may be, because I confess I do not like taxes of any sort.

I am impressed from another point of view with this gathering. I had supposed that the one tax men and the free traders who mix their liquor in that direction were a stern, unyielding set of "hot gospellers" who never laughed. (Laughter.) Life was too earnest for that, I thought. Now, I am an earnest man myself. I devote eight hours to earnestness. After that I try to be as jolly as possible, because it is necessary to man's health that he should have some fun. You know that the only animal of God's creation that laughs is a man—except a dog, and a dog laughs with his tail, while a man laughs with his mouth. It is one of those occasions where extremes meet. (Laughter.) I am satisfied that those extremes should meet. The dog is a noble animal. If we democrats had had our national committee here in New York made up of good dogs (great applause and laughter)—if we had a sagacious St. Bernard at the head of it, a stout mastiff to second him, and a bull dog to finish up, New York would have gone for Cleveland. (Applause.) Our committee took a panic at the very beginning, and the panic continued until defeat justified their fears.

I am not a single tax man as I said, owing to my lack of intelligence I suppose, but I am a free trader. (Applause.) I want to tell you how I came to be one practically—theoretically I have always been one. Shortly after the war when I went back home, I ran across a fellow who said he could take the second growth of hickory on my place and convert it into beautiful ax handles. As he had learned his trade in the penitentiary I thought probably he was proficient in it.

Under his persuasion I took an old saw mill and converted it into a handle factory. He took that second growth and turned it into handles as smooth as ivory and as tough as the conscience of a New York alderman. (Laughter.) We made money hand over mitten until one day I discovered that Canadian ax handles were coming in and underselling us. I thought that wouldn't do; so I traveled to Washington on a dead head pass, and saw Senator Wade, who called in Hon. "Pig Iron" Kelley. He said, "Here is an infant industry that ought to be protected and encouraged and built up." There is nothing mean about "Pig Iron," so he said "certainly." They slapped a duty on ax handles enough to shut out the Canadian competitor; and I went back home thoroughly satisfied. We raised the price of ax handles. (Applause and laughter.) But, bless your souls, this premium upon infant industry, set every saw mill in Ohio to turning out ax handles until they were a glut in the market. Right in the midst of all my trouble my manufacturer and his two men—that was the American labor I employed (laughter)—struck for higher wages. (Laughter.) I told them I could not stand it, that there was a terrible shrinkage of values, the market was glutted, and the best thing I could do would be to shut down. My foreman took me to one side and said, "Boss, this thing is played." "I know it," said I. "I will tell you what to do," said he; "get a good big insurance on your old rattle-trap, and some night I will stick a chunk under it, and then we will divvy." (Laughter.) Says I, "My friend, you have been in the penitentiary and you don't mind it (laughter); I haven't been and I am prejudiced." (Laughter.) That night he stole my best horse and skipped. (Laughter.) And that was the end of my protection. I have been a practical free trader ever since. (Laughter.)

Well, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, you earnest "hot gospellers" you gentlemen who are going to reform the world. (A voice, "You bet.") God straighten your elbow. I don't think that we are in a condition to be embarrassed or baffled. This great question of free trade has been submitted by our noble president to the people (applause); and now that we count the forces we find that nearly one hundred thousand majority have declared for free trade. (Applause.)

That is not all. We have left the enemy in possession of the government, thank God (applause and laughter); and at this moment the president elect is being worried with the question, "What to do with Blaine." (Laughter.)

I met the other day Mr. Matson who was defeated for governor of Indiana, and I asked him what the Indiana democrats were going to do now. Said he, "We are going to purify the ballot." (Applause.) Why, said I, didn't you use money enough in Indiana? (Laughter.) Couldn't you buy back the votes as fast as they purchased them? "Yes," said he, "we had plenty of money; there was no trouble about that. The great difficulty was with our agents. The republicans had for their agencies preachers, deacons, bankers, leaders of Sunday schools, and they put the money where it would do the most good. Our soundrels put it in their pockets." (Laughter.) Now we are going to have the Australian ballot. (Applause.) After this when a deacon buys a vote he will not be able to see it delivered.

We must take courage and thank God, and go on with this fight until we have accomplished the great reforms upon which this great republic depends for its existence; that we may hand down the noble fabric as the fathers gave it to us. (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose the chair ought to apologize for giving that toast to Colonel Piatt; but the new democracy I had in view was the democracy that has risen since the time when he was driven out of the party by the bayonet—as he says. Colonel Piatt is a free trader but not a single tax man. That does not alarm many of us, because we know that when he proposes free trade and the inevitable question arises where are you going to put your tax, that the single tax men have the floor. (Applause.)

But we also have single tax men who believe with us that all taxes should be put on land values and all the burdens of taxation removed from industry, who at the same time dissent from that portion of the programme which would carry that tax up to the full rental value of land.

Our next toast is "The Single Tax Limited."

John DeWitt Warner. I speak for only myself and the editor of the New York Times. (Laughter and applause.) He is not here and I propose to represent him. He may be surprised, but he will not be half as much surprised as I was a few days ago in finding him representing me. (Laughter.)

To me there has always been a great deal of political economy boiled down in the single tax idea. After all a direct tax is about the only kind of a tax that a government should propose that dares look a free people in the face. (Applause.) After all the varied efforts that have been made to minimize and equalize taxation, it begins to look pretty clear on all sides that the tax on land values is the tax of all taxes that can be most equitably assessed, most easily collected, the burdens of which fall most on the shoulders

of those best able to bear it, and is not a hindrance to industry; that bothers no human being on earth except the man who wants to do nothing and wants a great deal of land to do it on. (Applause.)

That is what I understand is meant by the single tax limited. But there are gentlemen here to-night who go further. They insist upon it that every question of political economy is in its ultimate application a question of moral philosophy. They insist upon it that the perpetuity of no nation is either assured or justified except that it carries out as a sacred trust the duty of preserving its land as the inalienable heritage of the whole people. (Applause.) That is what I understand is the single tax unlimited. I do not think that is practicable here and now, but I do not think we have any right to say that a thing is not practicable because we cannot do it at once. If it is right, in the end it is in the highest sense practicable. (Applause.)

Every man has only to adopt David Crockett's motto—to be sure he is right and go ahead, as far and as fast as the length of his life and the strength of his limbs will carry him.

It seems to me that the single tax idea limited and the single tax idea unlimited differ about in this way. We all see the mountains before us. Our unlimited friends perhaps depend a little more confidently than do we upon the faith that removes mountains. (Laughter.) On the other hand, we the limited, are perhaps calculating a little more anxiously upon how to dig away those mountains and where to put the dirt. (Laughter and applause.) We are all agreed, however, that we have got to dig. Let the work go on. Our co-operation will not be the less zealous because it is limited. Yours will be all the more effective because your faith is infinite. (Great applause.)

Chairman Croasdale thought that for at least the next ten years he could manage to get along with Mr. Warner and the New York Times. To respond to the toast of the "Single Tax Unlimited," he then called on

Louis F. Post, who said: "I might respond, with equal satisfaction, to the single tax limited or unlimited, for I feel about those subjects like the music teacher who, applying for a situation, said, 'Dear Sir: I notice your advertisement for a teacher of vocal and instrumental music, male or female. Having been both for several years, I solicit the appointment.' (Great laughter.) But I cannot be expected to discuss either the limited or the unlimited single tax in ten minutes, when it took Mr. George over eighteen months to get over the ground."

We single tax unlimited men are glad to join with the single tax limited men, because it is the single tax limited that is the immediate practical question: We must have the single tax limited before we can have the other. As Mr. George says in "Progress and Poverty," the best way of reaching the single tax unlimited is by throwing off one after the other all other taxes; for as taxes are thrown off the products of industry, taxes on land values must increase. That is the reason we work with tariff reformers and free traders. But when revenues are all collected from land values we shall not have accomplished our real reform except in some degree. We will have many of the benefits of the ultimate reform, for when all taxes are collected from the value of land, man will in a great degree be free; production will spring up, business will be brisk, wages rise, profits increase. But that prosperity will bring something else. Just as other improvements in government and just as machinery have made land values rise, so will this greatest of all improvements in government make land values rise again. So while we should have a period of great prosperity under the single tax limited, that prosperity would react on the land, and the land owners would ultimately reap all the benefits of the single tax limited. (Applause.)

From the single tax limited, then, we must go on. Not that we shall arbitrarily levy taxes on the value of land simply for the purpose of getting those values; but as we single tax unlimited men believe, the people, once seeing the great benefit of this mode of taxation will hunger for more of it. They will find that the taxation of land values removes a burden from the people, and is in effect no taxation. (Applause.) Then government, simplified as it will be, may and will assume functions that might be dangerous now. Vast public improvements—railroads, telegraphs—all improvements that government ought to undertake—a telegraph, a postal service, free as it ought to be—the expense to be collected from the value of land. And so, step by step, we shall ultimately take substantially all the values of land. And I am inclined to think with some of our friends that the necessities of government for public improvement naturally would keep pace with the growth of land values, so that there would be practically an equilibrium between what government would require and what land values would be. Then we should have what we single tax men unlimited aspire to, viz., absolute freedom of natural opportunities (applause), so that every man who has a richer natural opportunity than other men would pay the difference into the public treasury, and thus equalize advantages. Land which no one needed for immediate use would be unowned—no one would want to own it—and whoever wanted to use land would find wherever he saw unused land his

opportunity open to him. No man could stand there demanding a bonus for the privilege of entering upon it. The only condition would be that when it increased in value the occupier should pay to the community its greater value. (Great applause.)

To respond to the toast of "Free Trade," the chairman called on

Thomas G. Shearman, who, with some remarks as to the relations between free trade and the single tax, said: If I could not respond to the noble toast of free trade when awakened from a sound sleep in the middle of the night, when drunk or sober, in America or Kamtschatka, I think my nature must be entirely changed. (Applause and laughter.)

Some of you became free traders because you were single tax men. I became a single tax man because I was a free trader. (Applause.) It did not take me long to see that theoretical logic and practical logic made it impossible for the advocate of real free trade to stop anywhere short of the single tax. (Applause.)

It is a very curious fact that there are so many many single tax men who have not had logic enough to see that free trade is implied in single tax. They will be educated; they are being educated. (Applause.)

Free trade means death to those hateful sentiments which divide nation from nation and set man against man. (Applause.) It means the consummation of the aim which the famous International society set before itself—to be accomplished, however, not by setting class against class and exciting the hatred of the workingmen against what they call the bourgeoisie or propertied class; but the union of all classes in all parts of the world in one common interest, seeking every man to do good to every other human being. Is there any higher aim than that? (Applause.)

When I find my sympathies going out to every man on the face of the globe, rich and poor, high and low; when I feel the certain conviction that the cause of free trade represents the cause of the manufacturers—even the pig iron manufacturers—of the workingmen, of the sewing women, and even of the child in the cradle, I feel the same enthusiasm for free trade as the unlimited men feel on behalf of their cause.

Look for a moment what might be accomplished by even American free trade. How common it is for protectionists to say if we had the millennium then it would be a good time for free trade. Why don't they start to bring about the millennium? (Applause.) How can you have the millennium unless you take a step toward it? Free trade is the first great step toward the millennium in which the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and the lamb not be inside. (Laughter.) They say if all nations should adopt free trade no doubt it would be a good thing for us. Gentlemen, have you ever considered what tremendous influence America has had upon every question upon which she has taken a stand? When she had only three millions of people her example precipitated the efforts in Europe for freedom and secured it in greater or less degree in every country except Russia. Our example in the destruction of slavery between 1861-64 destroyed slavery in Brazil and in Cuba and in nearly every quarter of the civilized globe. I appeal to Mr. George if our example has not made Great Britain a more real republic, with more freedom on the whole for the people, with a better representation of the popular will than we can boast of in the United States? Yet that is due to our imperfect example.

Look again: Simultaneously in 1845 Sir Robert Peel in England became convinced that the policy of free trade must be established there, and Robert J. Walker here made up his mind that a policy of something approximating to it should be established here. The two men had no acquaintance or correspondence, and yet almost on the same day, without any cable or ocean steamships—except at irregular intervals—to communicate their views, those men concentrated the public feeling of both countries in favor of free trade. What followed? Was Cobden disappointed in his prediction? No. The combined example of the United States and England did have its force, and Europe did gradually fall into line. What happened then? Unfortunately one of the necessities of our war was that the finances of this country should be committed to well meaning men who had no financial experience and whose idea was, wherever there was a taxable head to hit it. (Laughter.) And so a few men, like our ax handle friend here, gained the advantage.

Europe followed our example in preference to the example of England. There was a reaction when it was shown we were wedded to a protective tariff. It was followed all over, and has at last even affected poor Sweden. We are responsible for the edict which has shut out American manufactures and all the products of our farmers. Is it not for us who have set the example to turn the other way? (Applause.) We have led the world into the swamps by our will-o'-the-wisp, now we must lead it out. If we have the courage to adopt a bold policy of free trade, depend upon it, it will not be five years before our policy will be followed in every country in Europe. (Applause.) As to the single tax, everyone here knows that free trade is indispensable to the establishment of the single tax in the taxation of the federal

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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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.

The president elect tells of the crowds that called on him during the campaign, and says he could not help noticing how disturbed they were with the fear that the free trade movement would impoverish them. There is nothing remarkable about that. Little slave children forty years ago were often disturbed with fear of the abolitionists.

According to the *Textile Record*, the benefits of absolute free trade within our own boundaries have always been admitted by protectionists. Then, if we should annex Canada absolute free trade with Canada would be beneficial; and if Great Britain should join our confederacy protectionists would admit the benefits of absolute free trade with her. But how could a mere political union make importations from Canada or Great Britain something to be desired, when in the absence of political union domestic prosperity demands their exclusion? What is the magic in political union that elevates it above the natural union of common brotherhood of men? Men do not trade as nations; they trade as individuals.

An idle fellow of Red Bank, N. J., named Lawrence, was waited on by a disguised mob of his fellow citizens, who notified him that he must go to work within a week or be punished by the mob. The notification, written on paper containing a skull and cross bones, gave every indication that its authors meant what they said, and Lawrence was aroused to a degree of activity that he had never attempted before within his recollection. He hunted for work most anxiously and earnestly, but could find no work to do. And now it is supposed that the neighboring mob are consulting whether they shall punish him for not working or somebody or other for not letting him work.

The *Memphis Appeal* makes a strong defense of negro suffrage and demands that it go undisturbed. And in what it says it keeps close to the line of true democracy. "Individual liberty," it declares, "is the foundation of all government, and it cannot be disturbed without unsettling the foundations and endangering the whole fabric." Such sentiments from southern papers are an indication of the radical changes now going on in national politics. One cannot observe the tendency of public opinion without believing that the old sectional issue and the old race issue have lost their vitality on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line. Old men and old women, and perhaps a few young men who by some mistake of nature were born of the wrong sex, will continue to fight the battles of the rebellion and reconstruction periods; but the manhood of the nation is dividing on new issues and entering a new era of national development. In the readjustment of forces the *Memphis Appeal* promises to be among the leaders of the new democracy.

When Mr. Edward Atkinson discussed the single tax before the Boston league he referred to the anarchists as reminding him of Theodore Parker's "bull dog with confused ideas." Mr. Atkinson is too amiable for a bull dog. But in the debate he proved his own possession of the confused ideas. He laid it down as an axiom that everyone should be taxed according to his means of producing. No single tax man will dispute that proposition, for land is the only means by which labor can produce and by the single tax it is proposed to tax men according to the value of the means of producing which they use or forestall—no value, no tax; much value, much tax. But at this point Mr. Atkinson's confusion of ideas appears. He gets mixed as to what are the means of producing. He may have made his confused idea upon this point clear to his audience, but if he did the newspapers have confounded his clarified confusion. All that can be understood is that land, in his opinion, is not the means of production. This appears from his rebuke to single tax men for letting a man go free "if he works off the land, even if he produces more than the man working on the land." The spectacle of a man working off the land would be a greater curiosity than Barnum's what-is-it; but no doubt Mr. Atkinson has some confused idea of the possibilities of production without land. He is like the sailor who said "Land! land! what do I want of land? I live on the ocean!"

The *Springfield Republican's* political economy editor needs to brush up his learning on the subject. Replying to an article in THE STANDARD he says that monopoly could and would shift the burden of taxation which, under the single tax, falls upon it in the first instance, and it would in the end fall upon consumption. If there is one principle of taxation better proved and more universally accepted than another it is that a tax which falls upon the profits of monopoly cannot be shifted to the consumer, for the simple reason that the profits of monopoly are always the most the traffic will bear. Perhaps this is a false principle and the *Springfield Republican* may be able to expose its unsoundness; but the burden is on the *Republican*, not on THE STANDARD. We should be glad to see what our Springfield contemporary has to say upon the subject, and suggest that it begin the exposure by showing how a tax on economic rent can be shifted to consumers. When it has done that to its own satisfaction it might try to reconcile its conclusion with Ricardo's law of rent.

A Boston correspondent of the *Evening Post*, signing himself "B. M. J.," after reviewing some objections to the single tax which occur to him fails to find "any reasonable ground for rejecting a rapid or extended growth in a belief in a single land tax theory," in the neighborhood of Boston. If every one in Boston understood the subject as "B. M. J." understands it, its acceptance would be neither

probable nor desirable; but as Boston is by no means wholly destitute of intelligence, it is not to be supposed that every one there will understand it in that way. One difficulty which besets the *Post's* correspondent is what he calls the "fact" that natural advantages cannot be had in large cities. He does not say that building lots in Boston are artificial constructions suspended in mid air and unrelated to the earth; but that must be so if it is a fact that natural advantages cannot be had in Boston. This objection, however, is old, and does not mark "B. M. J." as a man of exceptionally obtuse perceptions; but he distinguishes himself by bringing forward one objection which is entirely original. Here it is: Under the single tax, whatever the market price of land might be, its value for purposes of taxation would be unvarying; the same gross amount must be raised from it at its reduced value as was required when the land carried a much higher rental value. Nor is this imperious inventor satisfied with a mere abstract statement of his discovery; he illustrates with figures, thus: "A lot with its unearned increment now valued for taxation at \$10,000 and paying six per cent—or \$600—in taxes, would still, when reduced to its original value of perhaps \$1,000, have a sum far beyond the ability of any ordinary laborer to pay the \$600 taxes, or sixty per cent."

To reason about such a proposition is like explaining a joke; but the man is so evidently sincere and so blissfully unconscious of the absurdity of what he says, that it would be unkind to leave him the prey of such folly.

What does he mean by the unearned increment of a lot which was originally worth \$1,000? Hasn't he common sense enough to know that there is not a foot of land on the globe which was originally worth so much as a penny?

What does he mean by supposing that a lot which now pays \$600 taxes would fall in value to \$1,000? Does he not know that a lot which now pays \$600 a year taxes must be worth more—much more than \$1,000? Does he not know that the advantage it gives to the owner is worth more than \$600 a year?

What does he mean by asserting that the value of land for taxation would be unvarying regardless of the market price? Does he not know that it is of the essence of the single tax that taxes shall be imposed on land according to its market price?

What does he mean by supposing that the same tax would be imposed on particular land under the single tax as now? Does he not know that most men now pay more taxes than the annual value of any land they own while the annual land values of some men are far in excess of their taxes? And can he not see that the single tax would increase the taxes of some people and reduce those of others? And does he not know that land is now taxed on such variable valuations that the single tax, on its full value, would raise the tax on some land and lower it on other land?

What does he mean by saying that an ordinary laborer could not pay \$600 a year for land which gave him an advantage over no land of more than \$600 a year? Could not a laborer pay \$600 a year taxes on a goose that annually laid 600 golden eggs as easily as \$300 on a goose that laid only 300 golden eggs, or nothing on a goose that laid no golden eggs at all, but only the common kind? And if a laborer could not pay \$600 a year in taxes for such a lot, how could he pay more than \$600 a year to a landlord?

Go to!

There is but one explanation of the republican tariff bill, which on so many articles keeps the tariff far above the difference between American and foreign prices, and far above the whole labor cost of the article, and that is that the measure is to be the foundation of a nest of trusts.

Senator Vance evidently understands one principle of political economy which is to the pressing questions of the hour

what the "open sesame" of Ali Baba was to the treasure rock. In replying to Senator Edmunds, whom he called his Chinese friend, Senator Vance asked if when an American sent two bushels of wheat abroad and purchased a pair of boots, those boots were not produced by American labor. To him who will think, nothing can be clearer than that this question admits of no other than an affirmative answer, an answer which is fatal to the whole theory of protection.

Mayor Hewitt says his election expenses last fall were \$40,000. If it costs \$40,000 to be elected to an office which honestly pays \$20,000, how is a poor man to make up the difference? That is the first question. The second is, What is the legitimate necessity for such a contribution? These are nothing but questions.

A southern college professor relates an interesting personal experience in a letter to the *Evening Post*. He was called to teach history and political economy. He was convinced that protection was morally wrong, yet he knew that many in his class were connected with protection, either through sugar in Louisiana, iron in Alabama or rice in South Carolina. How was he to tell these young men that their fathers were clamoring for something morally wrong? But honor required that he should tell them, and it was the only way to teach them anything definite. So he told them through history. He showed them from the history of dead and gone wrongs that a majority of the citizens of a nation can daily practice something highly immoral without suspecting that it is immoral; that first one man sees sin in the practice, then a few, then after a weary struggle, the many. Thus he took the sting out of his subsequent attack upon protection, and as a result a large number of his class are enthusiastic free traders "because free trade is right." That college professor, with the moral law as his right hand weapon, is certainly not a mere tariff reducer; and though he may not be a single tax man there is a ring about what he says which is seldom heard but among those who have "seen the cat."

A writer in the *Magazine of American History* argues that the Jeffersonian principles, of which so much is said, have been discredited by the fourteenth amendment of the constitution, which "upsets completely the Jeffersonian theory of local allegiance." That some of Jefferson's views of the relation of the states to the general government were finally overruled by the war is true; but these views are not the Jeffersonian principles now so generally appealed to. Jefferson is the typical democrat whose principles were embodied by himself in one phrase—"all men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These principles were not overruled by the war; they were affirmed by the war. And they are the soul of the struggle of ideas into which we are now entering, as they were of the struggle of arms from which we have emerged.

Judge Earl of the court of appeals proposes in the interest of honest elections that all bribery laws shall be repealed and an act passed providing for the disfranchisement of the man who sells his vote. The judge does not appear to consider that it would be just as hard to convict a man of selling his vote when disfranchisement was the penalty, as it is now, to convict of buying a vote when imprisonment is the penalty. Nor does he allow for the fact that men who buy votes or furnish the money with which to buy them are morally quite as criminal as the man who sells. The true remedy for bribery at elections is to make it impossible for the man who buys to know whether he gets the article for which he pays.

The eastern puzzlers' league, composed of men who invent curious and ingenious but ephemeral riddles, met in convention at Philadelphia on Christmas day. The

brilliant inventor of the protection riddle, "Why is a tariff not a tax?" did not put in an appearance, although his riddle was both curious and ephemeral, and would have been a sufficient credential. His absence is attributed to the unhappy effect upon him of the only intelligent answer this riddle ever received, which was, "because it is a swindle."

A Brooklyn correspondent says that on making application for membership in the New York militia the following question was officially put to him: "Do you belong to a labor organization? If so, which would you think it was your duty to support—the militia or your organization?" Whether this question is universal or is peculiar to some particular regiment we are not informed; but in either case it is an insult to a large body of law abiding citizens. Suppose the question were "Do you belong to the free masons?" "Do you hold stock in a railway corporation?" or "Do you belong to a church," with the additional inquiry, "If so, which would you think it was your duty to support first, the militia or your lodge, your corporation, or your church?" as the case might be. The question assumes a lawlessness in the character of labor and implies an expectation of conflict with their organizations, something which is wholly unwarranted except by the desire of certain dangerous classes to place labor organizations under the ban of outlawry.

Until a year ago a very valuable building site in the city of New York was occupied by a building which had no more business there than a spavined horse has in a race. To-day that same lot is covered with one of the most appropriate and beautiful buildings in the metropolis. It is a building in which every citizen should take pride, at once an ornament and a useful edifice. We refer to the new building of the New York Times. But the men who contributed this building to the city's wealth and beauty have been promptly fined more than \$10,000 a year. The structure was not yet completed when the value of that lot was assessed for taxation at nearly half a million dollars more than formerly. Now, the building site is not much if any more valuable than before, and to any man who will think a moment the question must occur, Why should the owner of the Times building pay such an increased tax when the only public privilege they enjoy, namely, the exclusive use of the lot on which the building stands, is worth no more than before?

One of the active men in soliciting petitions to congress for an inquiry into the single tax, reports the case of a landlord who was exceptionally emphatic in condemning that tax. This landlord's interest in land consists of an investment of \$7 in a building association, which he is afraid of losing if the single tax be adopted.

By sending fifty cents additional in renewing their subscriptions to THE STANDARD our readers can obtain the London Democrat for one year. The Democrat, which is edited by William Saunders, is to the English movement what THE STANDARD is to the American, but is published once a month instead of once a week. This arrangement involves a reduction on the English price of the Democrat. It has been made mainly with a view to the greater convenience in making remittances, and will, it is hoped, lead to a considerable increase in the American circulation of the Democrat. Those subscribing in this way should, however, bear in mind that between the receipt of their money at this office and the receipt by them of the Democrat, a sufficient interval must elapse to allow the order to be sent to London, whence the Democrat will be mailed.

At Judge Maguire's Home.

The single tax men of San Francisco are about to enter upon another educational campaign. At the re-election of officers of the single tax society H. L. Plence was made president and Thomas Watson secretary. They send word that whether the plan to concentrate on New Jersey is or is not adopted they will do all they can to shake things up at the Golden Gate during the coming six months.

MEN AND THINGS.

W. E. Brokaw writes a frank, outspoken letter from Alhambra, Montana, to protest against my remark in a recent issue of THE STANDARD, that modern Christianity is dying like a vine severed from its root. This, Mr. Brokaw insists, is not true. "There is," he says, "a real living modern Christianity, as well as a false, pharisaical Christianity."

That much of the machinery of the modern churches is in the hands of the class you condemn may be true, but that *real* Christianity is "dying like a vine severed from its root" is not true. I don't know what the condition is in New York, but I have seen Christianity growing everywhere I have been in the west, from Indiana to California. If in your condemnation of modern Christianity you would recognize that there is still a faithful "remnant" of the "Israel of God" we would have no complaint to make. We who believe in Jesus, not merely as a great reformer, but as the Son of God, and our Redeemer, have a right to as fair treatment in THE STANDARD as the agnostic or spiritualist. I can have little influence among my Christian friends in pushing the single tax idea when they see such sweeping statements in THE STANDARD. I am first a Christian, and second a single tax man. As a Christian I don't condemn my Christian brother because he differs with me on political economy. As a single tax man I don't condemn my single tax brother for his different religious views. But I use every honorable means to win both to my views.

I hope THE STANDARD will treat us fairer in the future, and not handicap us by prejudicing the minds of those we most desire to win to our cause.

Mr. Brokaw thinks I have been unjust to him and to his religion. But is he himself altogether just to me? I have never denied that the real principles of Christianity—the true teachings of Christ—are full of life and vigor; and certainly none can recognize and acknowledge more gladly than I, the fact that there is still "a faithful remnant" of believers in the great Judean teacher. But this faithful remnant, as Mr. Brokaw himself will acknowledge—as, in fact, he *does* acknowledge in his letter—is conspicuously *not* the organized Christianity of to-day, but is regarded by organized Christianity with barely tolerant contempt.

And is Mr. Brokaw sure that he really is, as he claims, a Christian first and a single tax man second? Does he believe in Christianity first and justice next? Would he accept a form of Christianity which should deny justice and defend the social crime that robs men of their heritage of nature's bounty? I do not believe it. If Mr. Brokaw will think it out he will see that he is *both* a Christian and a single tax man, and could not cease to be the latter without also ceasing to be the former.

It is the glory of that gospel of industrial emancipation which, for want of a better name, we call the doctrine of the single tax, that it makes it possible for thinking men, who love justice and hate iniquity, to be Christians. It points the way, and the only way, in which the precepts of Christ can be fulfilled to the letter, and the will of God be done on earth as it is in heaven. And it is because modern organized Christianity tosses Christ's precepts contemptuously aside as impracticable and unsuited to modern civilization, that it is like a vine severed from its root. T. L. MCCREADY.

Henry Labouchere tells in *Truth* the story of a single English farm, that of "One Ash Grange," on the duke of Devonshire's estates in Derbyshire. The farm contains 450 acres. The tenant paid in 1769 a yearly rental of £190. In 1788 this was raised to £242. In 1810 the rent rose to £440. In 1831 it was £510; in 1855, £610; in 1876, £700, and in the present year, 1888, it stands at £900.

Now just consider what these figures mean. It is not probable that the duke of Devonshire of a hundred years ago was any less grasping than his descendant of to-day. He took from his tenant all that the tenant could afford to pay. What these figures show is that the efficiency of English labor, as applied in agriculture, has increased something like 300 per cent within the past hundred years. And what they further show is that the whole of this increased efficiency has been appropriated by men who do no labor at all, but simply allow others to go to work. The present duke gets £900 a year for "One Ash Grange"—in good years. In bad years he graciously abates fifteen or twenty per cent. By this ingenious method he secures at all times every penny that the tenant can afford to pay,

and at the same times obtains a reputation for liberality.

It is not surprising that English farmers should complain that they cannot raise wheat in competition with Dakota, when they have to pay a tax of well nigh ten bushels an acre for the mere privilege of cultivating the land. And as the English farmer is to-day, the Dakota farmer will be to-morrow. The same causes are working to produce the same effect.

The ways of the clergy are truly past all understanding. A great political campaign has just been fought, of which the issue was whether one set of men should have the right to thrust their hands into the pockets of all other men and take, at their own sweet will, whatever wealth they might be able to grab. On this issue the clergy remained discreetly silent, announcing that to take sides in a mere political question of robbery or no robbery, would be beneath the dignity of their sacred calling, and would inevitably destroy their influence, according to the side they might espouse, with either the robbers or the robbed. During the same campaign the electoral franchise has been prostituted as it never was before. Men of influence and note in Christian circles have unblushingly collected and contributed huge sums of money for the purchase of voters, have issued instructions for the guidance of vote buyers, have actually bought and paid for votes, have compelled their employees under threat of discharge to assist in political demonstrations, have done all in their power to convert the ballot which should be the safeguard and guarantee of freedom, into a weapon of monopoly. All this the clergy have seen in silence. It was none of their business. Politics and religion must be kept separate if religion would preserve its dignity and influence. They simply stood on one side, and either said that what everybody knew perfectly well to be so was not so; or else admitting and mildly regretting the facts, murmured gently that no religious principle was involved, and that much must be allowed to men in the heat of a political struggle.

But now at last the clergy—or a remnant of them, at all events—have waked up. They have decided that there is a point beyond which even politicians may not go without incurring religious censure. They can stand robbery, they can stand vote buying, they can stand the degradation of free born Americans, they can stand lying and slander and forgery. All these things are mere incidents of politics, regrettable, perhaps, from a purely ethical point of view, but in no way irreconcilable. But when it comes to an inauguration ball, they feel bound to speak. Against round dances, low necked dresses, and the possibility of champagne and Roman punch, they uplift their voices in solemn warning that if such things are permitted, the future of the republic is indeed gloomy. They are a comical set, these preachers of the gospel, of things as they are.

The protectionist managers in the late campaign had at their disposal two funds, to be utilized for two distinctly opposite purposes. One, of unknown but gigantic proportions, was intended for the "bringing out" of votes, marshalling floaters in blocks of five, stimulating booms, rewarding individual electors, and similar esoteric purposes. The other, amounting to \$25,000, was openly deposited in the Garfield national bank, to be used for the publicly announced purpose of rewarding citizens who should give information resulting "in the arrest and conviction of persons guilty of falsely and illegally registering in the cities of New York and Brooklyn in violation of the election laws."

As for the first fund, all that the public is allowed to know about it is that, whatever its amount, it has all been spent. What it was paid out for, whom it was paid to, what kind of services it paid for—these are questions it would be impertinent to ask, and decidedly injudicious to answer. The money has been used, and the protectionist candidate is elected, and what more would anybody have? But about the second fund—the great anti-corruptionist \$25,000—the managers are as open as the day. There is a balance remaining out of that fund—a balance of \$19,750. In all New York and Brooklyn only ten men were convicted of illegal registration on testimony stimulated by the offered reward.

The protectionist managers have made a decided improvement on the scriptural

injunction. They don't let their left hand know what their right hand does; but they make an impressive parade of telling the right hand about the operations of the left.

The births in New York city during 1888 numbered 36,136, while the deaths were 40,142. It is fair to remember, however, that the board of health certifies that at least 9,000 lives are sacrificed every year in the tenement houses simply for want of room and air.

New York guards herself well against overcrowding. If an immigrant arrives here without visible means of support, we send him back to the place from whence he came. And if a native born New Yorker makes his appearance under similar conditions, we treat him in the same manner. It is to be presumed that the returned immigrant has a pretty hard time when he gets back to where he started from; how the native New Yorker fares when he presents himself in the place to which we send him, it is more difficult to say. Theologians are by no means agreed upon the subject. One thing, however, is certain. He can seldom be much worse off than he would be if we let him stay.

Where the carcass is the eagles are pretty sure to gather. The protectionist party has provided the carcass, and the eagles are duly making their appearance. Here comes Henry Fitzhugh of Garner, Neb., demanding, through the columns of the Press, that the cattle raisers of the United States should be protected against the pauper labor of South America by a duty upon hides. "Why," exclaims Mr. Fitzhugh, with patriotic fervor: "Why is there no duty upon imported hides, and no demand, therefore, by our western representatives? If the home market belongs to Americans, why are hides, to the value of \$21,000,000 annually, allowed to come into the country free of duty to compete with the American product?"

Sure enough, why? A prohibitive duty on hides might put a little money into the pockets of western cattle raisers, and it would only take the bread out of the mouths of a few thousand tanners, and shoemakers, and men who make the things that go to South America to pay for the hides now brought from that pauper community, besides compelling a few more children to go barefooted. Why shouldn't we protect ourselves against South American hides? In fact, while we are about it, why shouldn't we of New York protect ourselves against the prairies as well as the pampas, destroy our railroads to the west, even as we have destroyed our shipping, and produce our own hides, and our own beef, too? If a hide brought here by sea is poisonous to industry, surely a hide brought by land must be equally so. If not, will Mr. Henry Fitzhugh of Garner, Neb., please explain why not.

Fifty years or so ago, a certain William Euston, an Englishman by birth and a furniture dealer by profession, died in Charleston, S. C. He was a rich man, was William Euston, and like many another rich man, he was anxious that his wealth should be used to benefit his fellow men—after he was dead. So he left all his property in trust to the city of Charleston, to be used in founding and maintaining a set of almshouses such as he remembered to have seen in his native city of Canterbury, in England. For some reason the bequest was not immediately utilized—perhaps because there was not at that time any very serious pressure of poverty in Charleston. Then came the war and the reconstruction period, entailing a further delay. Altogether it was not until a few years ago that the mayor and commonality of Charleston bestirred themselves to execute the trust confided to them. But at last they went to work in earnest to build the almshouses and arrange for their endowment; and on Saturday of last week the new institution was formally opened.

The trustees have secured a tract of land in the suburbs of Charleston, and erected on it what they call the Euston Home village. So far the village contains twenty cottages, and twenty more are to be added as soon as possible. The cottages are built of brick and granite, with all the latest improvements in the way of heating, lighting, sanitary plumbing, etc. The deserving indigent persons who have been selected to inhabit them will be provided with fuel, light, water, plots of land for gardening, and fixed pensions out of which to defray their ex-

penses for food, clothing, tobacco and other necessities. So far about sixty inmates have been installed; and when all the houses shall have been built, it is estimated that at least two hundred deserving poor will be provided for.

Thus, it seems to me, is solving the problem of poverty in a logical and common sense manner. The poor people who are settled in the Euston Home village are disposed of once for all. Their cases have been inquired into, the fact of their inability to support themselves ascertained, and they are definitely removed from the fear of want for the balance of their lives. Why shouldn't we have something of the kind in New York, on a larger scale? We have plenty of rich men, furniture dealers and others; we have abundance of vacant land in the suburbs, and goodness knows we have enough deserving poor among us to populate a hundred Home villages. Why shouldn't we fringe New York with picturesque almshouses, inhabited by carefully selected indigent old men and women, warranted cleanly, decorous, truly pious and respectful to their betters? I commend the idea to the various charitable societies and to the rich folks who are subscribing toward the erection of the new cathedral.

Religion in New York city took a long step forward on Sunday morning last. The curtains which for three years past have concealed the chancel of a church on Fifth avenue were taken down, disclosing to view a magnificent mural painting of the Ascension, in a gilt frame, together with a reredos of white Sienna marble. The oil painting is the work of the celebrated decorative artist John Lafarge, and the angels on the reredos are chiselled by St. Gaudens. The cost of the entire lot, reredos, angels, painting and gilt frame was \$37,000, and was defrayed by the co-heiresses of a large New York landed estate as a votive offering to the memory of their parents.

When I say that the uncovering of this \$37,000 worth of statuary and painting was a great thing for religion, I am not uttering a sneer. I am not even expressing my own opinion, which is altogether different. I am simply epitomizing the opinion of the Rev. E. Winchester Donald, D. D., rector of the church of the Ascension, as officially expressed by him in his sermon of last Sunday morning. I was not there to listen to Dr. Donald, but here is the report of what he said as given in the New York Times:

Dr. Donald made the picture the topic of his sermon. Beauty, as much as solidity of materials, or excellence of workmanship, he said, had its place in God's house. Spaciousness without beauty was emptiness, and beauty was characteristic of the temple the Hebrews built to God. The elimination of beauty from the house of God did not necessarily mean religious decay, but, at least, it gave the lie to all traditions of the church. If any should distrust the wisdom of so great an outlay for church decoration, time alone could remove that distrust, and Dr. Donald would not be so unwise as to attempt it now. During his seven years' rectorship a great deal of money had been expended in memorial windows and other devices for beautifying the church, but time had shown that the artist was as much the servant of civilization and the church as the builder of houses or of ships. The children who came there would get their first, and therefore their most lasting, impression of the church of God from the great painting spread before them, and the importance and healthfulness of such an influence were inestimable. At the recent church conference the religious character of the city below Fourteenth street was represented to be in a deplorable condition, the especial field for missionary work. Dr. Donald believed that the best security for religion down town was the prosperity and strength of the churches that remained. It was beauty that gives endurance, and beauty alone would make the down town churches permanent, and contribute to the saving of lower New York from the hand of sin. The rare generosity and simplicity which characterized the gift was one of its most grateful features.

There is a simplicity of nonsense about this that is simply delicious. Evidently Dr. Donald believes that by putting \$37,000 worth of oil painting, gilt frame, and white marble across the back of his church, he has made a definite contribution "to the saving of lower New York from the hand of sin." If this is so, then another painting (say, of the Sermon on the Mount), and another gilt frame, and another reredos, in some other church would contribute still further to the saving from the hand of sin. A proper amount of painting and sculpture, skillfully distributed through the various churches, would make a finish of the job

and evangelize New York once and forever. Really, when you come to look at it from Dr. Donald's point of view, the rich men of this city have the matter in their own hands, and St. Gaudens the sculptor and Lafarge the artist are the true modern apostles of Christianity, waiting only for sufficient money to set to work.

This is the Rev. Dr. Donald's idea, not mine. For my part, I am quite ready to admit that the opportunity to inspect a work of art may attract some people to the church of the Ascension, as it attracts others to the bar room of the Hoffman house. But I don't believe that the Rhineland memorial will have any marked influence on the spiritual condition of "the city below Fourteenth street." And to spend \$37,000 on pretty-prettys for the "house of God," while God's children are housed in tenements not a mile away is, it seems to me, a sort of thing which, if the Ruler of the universe takes any note of the doings of the Ascension church, can hardly be otherwise than displeasing to him.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The season of state dinners was opened by Mrs. William Astor on Thursday night, when her usual number, twenty-two, assembled round the handsomest and most richly decorated table that is ever seen in New York. The gold and silver plate, the sparkling crystal, the profusion of pink blossoms most advantageously arranged, and the ten charming young ladies, who, with their attendant swains, surrounded the board, made it a bright and pretty scene.—(New York Sun, Dec. 30.)

John Felter, an old man who had been confined to his room for several years at 48 New Bowery, was taken to Chambers street hospital last week and died shortly afterward from exhaustion, due, it is said, to want of proper nourishment. He was over fifty years of age, and for many years lived alone in the room where he was found.

Carriages are now lined with rose colored satin, it being the latest fad among ladies to add beauty to their complexion in this manner.

A tramp named Hughes was discovered in a box car on the Pennsylvania railroad on Sunday dying from hunger. Last Wednesday he secreted himself in the car at Newark, N. J., intending to steal his way west. Before leaving Newark the car was locked up and was not opened until Sunday. The poor fellow had nothing to eat or drink for five days, and when found he was speechless. His recovery is doubtful.

The lovely and lustrous corded evening silks, brought to view this season, are so soft and beautiful in effect, falling in such shimmering folds when lightly draped that they need no additions. For dinner gowns or wedding toilets some of the pale half tints are exquisite, the sheen on their delicate surface being very beautiful by artificial light. Among the favored shades are golden willow, a rare tint in green; apricot dawn, a golden pink tea rose; Parma violet, golden tan, pail terra cotta, and dove gray—all alike charming to the eye. There is a rare choice for blonde or brunette.—(St. Louis Spectator.)

Little Mary Sternberger, 7 years old, was sent by her parents, who live at 22 Logan street, Jersey City, to gather coal along the tracks of the Pennsylvania railroad last Wednesday. She was at Hedden's coal yard, West Newark avenue, just beyond Marion, when engine No. 705 backed down upon her, killing her instantly. The body was taken home and the coroner was notified.

A diamond butterfly, poised and fluttering on the delicate spring, is a very effective ornament in dark hair, and may be purchased for \$1,500. A diamond crescent, six inches long on a twisted hairpin of gold, and a large topaz pin set round in flashing diamonds and holding a pale yellow aigrette in place are also considered to be in good taste. They are sold at about \$1,800 apiece.

James Barrett and John Heffner, prisoners in the work house on Blackwell's island, attempted to escape on a drifting log Christmas night. A tugboat struck the log and Heffner was drowned. Barrett was rescued by a boat. Heffner was one of the numerous inmates who have had themselves committed purposely to escape the hardships of the winter. Commissioner Brennan gave him three months, at his own request, in November.

What a West India Paper Thinks About It.

St. Kitts, W. I., Commercial News.

It is only the elect minority who advocate the "single tax on land values" that are able to read the signs of the times. They know that any reduction of the protective tariff—even the limited reduction recommended by President Cleveland—is the beginning of the end of all tariffs, protective and financial, in the United States.

Already from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico, the American people have been converted into one vast debating club. At a bound, all manner of writers and speakers have plunged into "first principles," oblivious of minor issues. The wound given by President Cleveland to the Mercutio of "protection" is "not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door," but "it is enough"—enough to bring the all important question of land communalization before the entire American people. "The Prophet of San Francisco," our friend Henry George, is the real master of the situation. It is his spirit that is riding the storm.

DID MOSES AND JOSHUA SEE THE CAT?

A Michigan Clergyman Finds Evidence of It in His "Pulpit Commentary."

TRAVERSE CITY, Mich.—In my study of the book of Joshua I turned to my "Pulpit Commentary," edited by Canon Spence of England, assisted by such men as Farrar, Plummer, Pressgrave and Cotterill Bishop of Edinburgh, and then to my amazement the cat loomed up in all its glory.

The extract I give below is a commentary on Joshua xiv concerning the distribution of land among the twelve tribes. It may be found on pp. 243-4 of the volume of "The Pulpit Commentary" devoted to Joshua.

(Rev.) FREDERIC C. LEE.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.—The land of Canaan is divided not amongst nobility and gentry, but amongst the people. Each family has its little farm—probably averaging ten acres. Divided equally amongst the people, the Mosaic law expressly forbade its alienation in perpetuity from any family. The jubilee year was ordained in order that twice in a century any too great inequalities of condition which had crept in might be redressed.

None hurt by this system; numerous and incalculable advantages arose from it. It prevented the rise of a feudal aristocracy with the inevitable degradation of the poor. It put Israel in the best of all conditions for developing self-respect in the individual. Its equality was a school for liberty. It averted many of the most prolific causes of poverty.

It made the wellbeing of the state a matter of vital interest to every citizen, giving each able bodied man "a stake in the country." It made Israel a model commonwealth, where the land was the home of all, and all classes without envy and without arrogance enjoyed the gifts of God in fairly even distribution. Observe first:

I. THE GROUNDS FOR SUCH A PLAN OF DISTRIBUTION.—The first "idea" lying at the root of this distribution of land is, that land is, unlike all other property, *not proper to be the possession in perpetuity of any holder.*

The land is like the air of heaven, like the rain and the sunshine, like the fisheries of the sea, meant to be a common blessing to all, rather than the private good of any. Its productiveness is due to nature's chemistry as much as man's art.

What man has no part in producing, he has no title to possess, and therefore no man can legitimately possess himself, to the exclusion of others, of that divine part of the earth's fruitfulness. Accordingly the theory of Moses is that God is the great and only landlord; none having more than life interests in the land. Every fifty years it had to fall into His hands again. Under God the land belonged to the nation and the jubilee year permitted it to be so divided that all the families of the nation would enjoy it with a rough equality.

A second idea lying at the base of this legislation was, that great wealth and great poverty were both of them great evils to be prevented at any cost. The evils of poverty were obvious. Insufficient food, physical degeneracy, the development of a servile and dependent spirit; or of a reckless, turbulent spirit, that in its haste to relieve its hunger is apt to overthrow the state. Strife of classes inevitably springs up. There is a poverty the result of indolence, which the law wisely would not attempt to prevent, and one the result of accidents, which it is impossible to see, and so provide against.

But every state should direct its first and most patient attention to *poverty produced by law*, for that is generally the worst kind of all, as well as being a very general kind.

And wealth corrupts equally with poverty. Wealth is full of fears, and fear begets tyranny and injustice. Too much is good for no one. The body is weakened by being pampered, the mind by want of constant occupation, the character by the softness that comes from the absence of struggle with difficulties.

Ignorance of many of the ills of life begets hard heartedness and destroys the finer sympathies. The presence of great wealth and great poverty, side by side, intensifies the mischiefs of each and becomes one of the greatest perils that any community has to contend with.

The law of Moses, and the carrying out of it by Joshua, was thus directed to prevent the development of the two great evils of modern civilization—excessive wealth and excessive poverty.

A third idea lying at the foundation of this legislation, was that the equality of the citizens is the condition most favorable to the well being of the state. All exaggerated differences of condition tend to divide and alienate classes, depriving the land in some degree of co-operation in enterprise, in defense of liberties, in practice of religion.

Joshua aimed not at a stagnant communism, which would rob life of its energy, but yet at a brotherly state in which all would have a fair chance of comfort, and none an unfair chance of inordinate wealth. In the present circumstances of our country the land legislation of Moses is especially worthy of our study.

II.—SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR LAND LEGISLATION AT HOME CONTAINED IN THE LAWS OF CANAAN.

1. These present us with the ideal at which to aim, viz., to get the land into as many hands as possible.

2. Such an ideal should, it is almost needless to say, be pursued only in a righteous and peaceful way. . . . Instead of 2,148 persons holding more than one-half of the land in the United Kingdom, it is desirable two millions should share it. . . . An enormous increase of productiveness would at once accrue. This would be the least of the benefits. There would be less poverty, more self respect, more energy, more patriotism, more union amongst our people; perhaps with the extinction of so much injustice, more religion too. And we should find in this, as in other things, that modern civilization is never so wise as when it sits at the feet of ancient inspiration. Moses and Joshua are the grandest of all political economists.

The Britishers Know Something.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* has been interviewing Albert Shaw of Minneapolis as to his opinions of the local governments of various municipalities in England and Scotland, where he has recently been traveling. Apparently Mr. Shaw has become convinced that our people "don't know quite everything" yet. Here is a little part of the interview relating to Glasgow:

But to return to Glasgow; have they made much progress in the way of municipal socialism?

That depends upon your definition of socialism. The arrangement by which the tramways of Glasgow are worked is very interesting and suggestive. The line was laid down by the corporation and leased to a company under an arrangement by which the company had to pay interest and sinking fund on the capital expended by the corporation in laying down the tramway, so that by the time the lease expires they will have repaid the whole cost of the construction as well as the interest upon the amount expended. They also have to pay a rental of £150 a mile per annum and to relay the line at the conclusion of their lease, so that they will hand it over to the corporation in a better condition than it was when they entered upon it, for the steel rails (which they are to put down) will replace iron ones. Not only is the tramway company thus put under onerous obligations to the community which leases out the use of its streets, but the interests of the working classes are protected by a series of maximum fares which the tramway company is not allowed to exceed. The fares are very cheap. The distances are not great, and the penny fare is the rule, but it is stipulated that for an hour in the morning and an hour in the evening, when work people are going to and from their work, they shall be carried at a halfpenny.

But how, in the name of wonder, does the tramway company survive under such conditions?

It not only survives, but pays an average dividend of 10 per cent besides providing for the sinking fund to defray £150,000 bonus which they paid to the original lessees to secure possession of the lease. Herein it seems to me that Glasgow teaches the cities in England and America a lesson, for they have literally chucked away, as it were, not worth having, the right to use the streets, on which they might have raised a very handsome revenue, although I could name a number of interesting and creditable exceptions in England.

I suppose Glasgow owns its gas and water. Certainly; and so ought every municipality. All the monopolies of service, such as gas, water, trams, and the like, should belong to the community, and experience has shown that they can be administered with quite as much freedom from assumption as when they were left in the hands of private adventurers. The great difficulty of municipal finance hitherto has been that it has relied far too much upon rates, and a rate is always an unpopular means of raising money. If, on the other hand, the community kept the monopolies of service in its own hands it would be able in many cases ultimately to raise a magnificent revenue without laying on a rate at all.

Is Governor Bob Taylor of Tennessee With Us?

Hoxie, Ark.—Governor Bob Taylor of Tennessee is, I am well satisfied, a good single tax man. In fact he is too good and honest a man to be anything else. He has, not as far as I am aware, publicly said that he was such, but then it is easy to infer from his speeches that he is. ADAM S. SINGLAR.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The Clergy and the Times.

There is a want of adjustment between the clergy and the times in which we live. A suspicion of this fact has been gaining ground in the community for years past. Men have been asking how it happens that this so-called Christian country is becoming every year more and more a field for purely missionary effort. They have noted that as population increases even the mere outward observance of Christianity continually languishes, until the localities where American citizens are crowded most densely are precisely those in which the fewest church goers are to be found. And the conclusion has forced itself upon their minds that between modern civilization and modern Christianity there must be some principle of antagonism, so that where the one bears its choicest flower of factory and fruit of tenement house, the other languishes and dies away.

And now comes the Reverend Archdeacon Mackay-Smith, in the pages of *Harper's Magazine*, intermitting the performance of his archidiaconal functions, to tell us that the popular instinct is correct for once, and that there really is a want of adjustment between the Protestant churches of America, and the spirit of the nineteenth century. The archdeacon has apparently studied the question closely. He speaks with the confidence of knowledge. And he tells us, categorically, just what it is that the church needs to bring her into full and perfect touch with the masses whom her mission is to instruct, to sanctify and to save.

First among the requirements of the church, the archdeacon tells us, is better "ministerial supply." Young men are not pressing into the ministry in sufficient numbers, and those who are coming forward are not the best fitted for their work. As the archdeacon puts it, "both quantity and quality are said to justify anxiety." From this fact "inferences unfavorable both to depth of spiritual life and fervor of religious faith among men in America have been drawn." But this is altogether unjust. Young men in this country don't avoid the ministry because of any shallowness of spiritual life or frigidity of religious faith, but simply because the ministry doesn't pay. Archdeacon Mackay-Smith's elucidation of this point is worth quoting in full:

The truth seems to be that, owing to the era of national development which has followed our late civil war—a development by which opportunities for adventure and enterprise, the gaining of wealth and the attainment of high social and political advancement, have been a thousandfold multiplied—the spiritual nature of our American youth inclining toward the ministry has been exposed to a tremendous strain. The varied occupations of what is called "business" offer to a young man here greater chances and more dazzling prizes than elsewhere in the world. Knowing what human nature is, we cannot severely blame the youth who, with the same faith and moral fiber which would carry his English brother into the pulpit, comes to the conclusion that he can remain a layman and serve God equally well. And to do him justice, he frequently can and does. When we consider the difficulties under which the moral life staggers among us, we catch a glimpse of the reasons which have (temporarily, as we believe) reduced the supply of candidates in proportion to population. But we also see reason to express gratitude in the same breath as regret, when we remember the countless multitude of honest, God-fearing, unswerving Christian lives on which, as on bed rock, our churches are based.

It is worth while, in this connection, to look at the question of our national temptation to materialism and irreligion a little more broadly than is commonly done, that we may avoid "despairing of the republic." Within the last twenty years the building of trans-continental railroads and the opening up of the great west have thrown open America to the world in a sense unknown to our fathers. Unfortunately the gambler's splendid chance has gone even paced with the industrious man's opportunity. Almost every civilized race is building ships and crowding them with frantic eagerness to accept our open handed invitation. The wild scramble in the west to get possession of everything worth having has reacted upon and disturbed the east. No such demoralizing test has ever been put in force against any people. In Europe, business life, commerce, the development of land, are governed by laws almost as exact as those of the army. Social and political Europe is illustrated in the German "state forests," where the trees are all aligned, and none is ever cut down without another being at once planted. A clever English or German boy when he enters a counting room can tell with almost mathematical exactness what his income and standing will be in twenty years. All other pursuits are equally exact. Life

runs in well settled grooves. Few alter their place of residence; public opinion is feared; there is leisure to apply the laws. Each life revolves along its expected orbit, and is exposed to indignant criticism if it interferes by erratic movements with the delicately balanced and complicated whole. All this tends to moral order, the restraint of temptation, the repression of furious ambition or excess. But with us at present it is all "moving day." We have been temporarily thrown into confusion by nature unbosoming her bounty on the west, and Europe unlarding her ignorance and vice, as well as her intelligence and virtue, on the east. Mecca is seen dismembering her victims and casting them into the caldron. What will emerge? We are expected to clarify a turbid stream of brute labor, very much as a "cellarer" shoots the sediment from each bottle into space, and injects the rock candy which turns it later into sparkling champagne. But in the process the whole economy of American home life is disturbed. A million lotteries of railroad building, wheat growing, silver mining, cattle raising, land settling, with all their attendant industries and vices, and the countless minor speculations which each encourages, are calling men from settled paths to take their chances. Almost every one thinks he could easily do better than he is doing, were he only in the right place. Even in our oldest cities half the population is on the move. Thus public opinion loses its restraining touch. Men who have offended it leave their native towns, and do not dread it elsewhere. The law has to assert itself among, and often against, the prejudices, hostility, and ignorance brought from a thousand different localities. There is danger lest there be no strong, homogeneous, patriotic, or religious condemnation of anything. Chance and movement reign supreme, because any good fortune is possible if one is only alert and on the way to meet it.

It seems, then, a matter for surprise and gratitude that in this era of tremendous material development and unexampled migration there should be such a vast amount of public and private virtue, and even of exalted religious faith and life, as one sees in this country. Nor is it strange that the railroads, the manufactures and the mines, offering such munificent rewards as they do to intelligent and gifted young men, should absorb talents which under other circumstances would adorn the church. Another generation will witness a great change in the influences and habits which mold America. The land will all have been taken up, the chances for sudden fortunes lessened, the emigration shrunken to a "thread like stream," the population become tolerably homogeneous, the channels of trade marked and bounded, the ways of men touched by the chastening and calming hand of a holy ancestral faith unfelt in the wild impatience of hot youth.

And so we must wait patiently for that good time coming, when "the land will have all been taken up" and men will have time to feel the influence of "the chastening and calming hand of a holy ancestral faith." Doubtless the archdeacon finds a sacred pleasure in bethinking himself that Providence has wisely limited the quantity of land. Had it been otherwise, the deficient ministerial supply might easily have continued for two generations instead of one. Only, somehow, one can't help remembering that when the founder of the good archdeacon's faith called the fishermen to follow him, they "straightway left their nets," without waiting to complete their haul. Perhaps, however, the fishing business in Judea was not as good as it might have been that year.

Next among the needs of the church, the archdeacon informs us, is a different sort of seminary system. Our seminary students should have less book teaching and more object teaching. They should be made to engage in practical mission work. "The greatest care should be exercised 1st students be trained away from sympathy with plain people and led into tastes which make common things unpleasant." The long vacations should be shortened. The students should be encouraged to hold experience meetings and debates. And so forth. The archdeacon, as we have seen, doesn't hope for a very full supply, or very superior quality of theological students until the land shall have all been monopolized, but he has very decided views as to what ought to be done with the few who do present themselves.

Finally, we learn that a general fault of the modern American pulpit is that the preaching is apt to be too "topical." The clergyman selects a subject rather than a text, and is in serious danger of relying for the impression produced simply upon the way in which his arguments appeal to the intelligence of his hearers. Whether the danger consists in the foolishness of the arguments, or in the lack of intelligence of the hearers, the archdeacon does not inform us. Perhaps

he may be dreading a combination of both. In any event, we cannot help thinking that he distresses himself without cause. It is mighty seldom that any topic of living interest to the individuals who make up the mass of humanity is discussed from the modern pulpit. Our preachers play with socialism, but it is the socialism of several thousand years hence.

And that is all! To wait a generation or so, until it shall become as profitable to serve God as Mammon—to put a little more life into the theological seminaries—and to avoid discussing timely topics from the pulpit—these, according to Archdeacon Mackay-Smith, are the things that our modern clergy must do to adjust themselves to the spirit of the times. It is interesting to turn from the pages of *Harper's Magazine* to the Acts of the Apostles and note what strangely different ideas the fanatics of eighteen centuries ago had on such subjects as these.

SOME AUTHORITIES.

Writers Whom Confuters May Fall Back On When Necessary.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 24.—The impression exists in some quarters that the doctrine of free land is the hobby of a man of one idea and that the followers of Henry George are a curious collection of "cranks" whose enthusiasm for that idea has blinded them to the true relations of things. Mr. George is looked upon as a dreamer of dreams—a spinner of abstract fancies, a nice man who might do good work if he were only more practical, the victim of a preposterous delusion, the author of an unheard of and foolish paradox. Fortunately this impression is wearing away and now that the single tax is in practical politics people will not long consent to be fooled. But it may be useful to indicate Mr. George's position in economic science. His ideas on free land have been held by many and great thinkers. He differs from all others however in the fearlessness with which he advocates the remedy for evils which before him were considered inexticably involved in civilization itself. The extracts given below will make clear the fact that Mr. George is in good company.

Edward Atkinson in "The Distribution of Products," says on page 115, "The writer is of the profound conviction that whenever the subject of taxation is reduced to a science, taxation on real estate will become the source of nearly all taxes."

Says J. E. Cairnes: "Little impression has been made on the rate of wages and profits by the universal industrial progress of recent times. . . . The large additions to the wealth of the country (England) has gone neither to profits nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing even while its proprietors sleep—the rent roll of the owners of the soil."—[Some Principles of Political Economy.]

There is reason to suspect that while private possession of things produced by labor will grow even more definite and sacred than at present; the inhabited area which cannot be produced by labor will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possessed. As the individual, primitively owner of himself, partially or wholly loses ownership of himself during the militant regime, but gradually resumes it as the industrial regime develops; so possibly the communal proprietorship of land partially or wholly merged in the ownership of dominant men during the evolution of the militant regime will be resumed as the industrial type becomes fully evolved. —[Political Institutions, Herbert Spencer, Chap. 15.]

The right to the land is in the people and the land is given to the people in the fulfillment of a moral order on the earth. It is the possession of the political people. Thus it can regard it only as robbery when it is defrauded of any part of the domain given to it and associated with it in history. The crime is the same when it is undertaken by the treachery of a faction from within or by marauders from without—as the land is the possession of the people it cannot be held as the patrimony of a prince or the monopoly of a class. —[The Nation, Ensha Mulford, chapter 5.]

Occupancy is only the incident of property not the ground of its right—if the increased value of land which is the result of labor be allowed to the individual possessor, the increased value in the greater degree may be the result of the growth of population, or of the good order and government of the whole, but the individual has no immediate or exclusive right to the latter increase of value. —[The Nation, Mulford, chapter 6.]

The increased value of the soil resulting from national activity should be reserved to the nation, and not granted to speculators, who reap the advantage in the form of increased rent. —[Primitive Property, Laveleye, p. 347.]

The transformation of materials by our own efforts is the true juridical basis of property, and the only natural one. Every man has over the material world a primary right of appropriation and a right of property over such things only as have been modified by him. —[Ibid., quoted by Laveleye in Primitive Property, p. 348.]

The essential principle of property being to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labor and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle can't apply to what is not the product of labor, the raw

material of the earth. —[J. S. Mill Political Economy, book 2, p. 85.]

No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust. The monopoly of land is only defensible as a necessary evil, it becomes an injustice when carried to any point, to which the compensating good does not follow it. When land is not intended to be cultivated no good reason can in general be given for its being private property at all. —[J. S. Mill, Political Economy, book 2, sec. 6.]

Equity does not permit private property in land. . . . If the land owners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not land owners have no right at all to its surface. Hence it can exist on the earth by suffering injustice. . . . It is manifest that an exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom. For men who cannot live and move and have their being without the leave of others cannot be equally free with others. . . . We find further reason to deny the rectitude of property in land. It can never be pretended that the titles to such property are legitimate. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment, and for seals blood was preferred to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates so obtained? . . . If one act of transfer can give no title, can many? No; though nothing be multiplied forever it will not produce one.

But time, say some, is a great legalizer. How long does it take for what was originally a wrong to grow into a right? At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? . . . We have simply to inquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter. And this verdict enjoin a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil and dictates the assertion that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding. —[Spencer's Social Statics, chap. 9.]

The same author, on page 136, gives an answer to the claim of ownership in land by "right of discovery" or pioneering operations. It is too long to quote here. It contains this sentence:

The world is God's bequest to mankind; all men are joint heirs to it, you among the number, and because you have taken up your residence on a certain part of it, and have subdued, cultivated and benefited that part, improved it, as you say, you are not, therefore, warranted in appropriating it as entirely private property. At least, if you do so, you may at any moment be justly expelled by the lawful owner—society.

The point is elaborately worked out and will repay closer examination.

The doctrine that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth is consistent with the highest state of civilization, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. The change required would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint stock ownerships of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals the country would be held by the great corporate body—society. —[Social Statics, Spencer, page 141.]

Property can only be that which has been produced by one's own powers—all true, i. e., moral right of property, is based simply and solely on work. . . . The mere enjoyment of a thing without any cultivation gives just as little right to it as the mere avowal of our desire for its sole possession. . . . The so-called right of preoccupation according to which for the mere past enjoyment of a thing there is demanded the further recompense of the exclusive right to its future enjoyment is morally entirely without foundation. —[The World as Will and Idea, Arthur Schopenhauer, book 4, chap. 62.]

PHILIP IRVING.

Showing the Folly of Independent Action.

MASCOUTAH, Ill.—The result of the election the Eighteenth congressional district of Illinois is demonstrated the wisdom of single tax men acting with that one of the two great parties which at any time may be going in our direction. W. S. Forman, the democratic candidate, received 16 majority over his republican opponent. A gain for the democracy of more than that number of votes occurred at one polling place in this county, which may be attributed solely to single tax converts from the republican party since the previous congressional election. What folly to stand up and be counted, casting votes in the air, when in close districts we hold the balance of power. We can at each campaign compel a closer and closer approximation to our principles by one party or the other.

BOYD CORNICK, M. D.

To Make the Illiterate Voters' Ballot Secret.

BARTON-ON-SECO, N. Y.—A single tax friend of mine has suggested this in reference to the Australian ballot system. "To print the names of the candidates of each party in different colored inks on the ballot. The democratic candidate in one color, the republican in another, and so on through the list." This, he thinks, would keep the illiterate voter, the elector in general, from being informed of the intention of a voter, should he be handed out a ballot, doesn't the color of each party, thus enabling the voter to pick out the candidates of the desired party. This would make it unnecessary for an elector to declare in any way to the agent of the party to whom he is voting, and thus prevent the voters from being exposed to the influence of the party agent. —[The Standard, Jan. 5, 1889.]

THE SIEGE OF BERLIN.

ALPHONSE DAUDET.

We were going up the Champs Elysees with Dr. V., gathering from the walls pierced by shell, the pavement plowed by grapeshot, the history of besieged Paris, when just before reaching the Place de l'Etoile, the doctor stopped and pointed out to me one of those large corner houses so pompously grouped around the Arc de Triomphe.

"Do you see," said he, "those four closed windows on the balcony up there? In the beginning of August, that terrible month of August of '70, so laden with storm and disaster, I was summoned there to attend a case of apoplexy. The sufferer was Colonel Jouve, an old Cuirassier of the first empire, full of enthusiasm for glory and patriotism, who, at the commencement of the war, had taken an apartment with a balcony in the Champs Elysees—for what do you think? To assist at the triumphal entry of our troops! Poor old man! The news of Wissembourg arrived as he was rising from table. On reading the name of Napoleon at the foot of that bulletin of defeat he fell senseless!

"I found the old Cuirassier stretched upon the floor, his face bleeding and inert as from the blow of a club. Standing, he would have been very tall; lying, he looked immense; with fine features, beautiful teeth and white, curling hair, carrying his eighty years as though they had been sixty. Beside him knelt his granddaughter in tears. She resembled him. Seeing them side by side, they reminded me of two Greek medallions stamped with the same impress, only the one was antique, earth stained, its outlines somewhat worn; the other beautiful and clear, in all the lustre of freshness.

"The child's sorrow touched me. Daughter and granddaughter of soldiers, for her father was on MacMahon's staff, the sight of this old man stretched before her evoked in her mind another vision no less terrible. I did my best to reassure her, though in reality I had but little hope. We had to contend with hemoptysis, from which at eighty there is small chance of recovery.

"For three days the patient remained in the same condition of immobility and stupor. Meanwhile came the news of Reichshofen—you remember how strangely? Till the evening we all believed in a great victory—20,000 Prussians killed, the crown prince prisoner.

"I cannot tell by what miracle, by what magnetic current, an echo of this national joy can have reached our poor invalid, hitherto deaf to all around him; but that evening, on approaching the bed, I found a new man. His eye was almost clear, his speech less difficult, and he had the strength to smile and to stammer:

"Victory, victory!"

"Yes, colonel, a great victory." And as I gave the details of MacMahon's splendid success I saw his features relax and his countenance brighten.

"When I went out his grand daughter was waiting for me, pale and sobbing.

"But he is saved," said I, taking her hands.

"The poor child had hardly courage to answer me. The true Reichshofen had just been announced, MacMahon a fugitive, the whole army crushed. We looked at each other in consternation, she, anxious at the thought of her father, I, trembling for the grandfather. Certainly he would not bear this new shock. And yet what could we do? Let him enjoy the illusion which had revived him? But then we should have to deceive him.

"Well then, I will deceive him!" said the brave girl, and hastily wiping away her tears she re-entered her grandfather's room with a beaming face.

"It was a hard task she had set herself. For the first few days it was comparatively easy, as the old man's head was weak, and he was as credulous as a child. But with returning health came clearer ideas. It was necessary to keep him *au courant* with the movements of the army and to invent military bulletins. It was pitiful to see that beautiful girl bending night and day over her map of Germany, marking it with little flags, forcing herself to combine the whole of a glorious campaign—Bazaine on the road to Berlin! Frossard in Bavaria! MacMahon on the Baltic! In all this she asked my counsel, and I helped her as far as I could, but it was the grandfather who did the most for us in this imaginary invasion. He had conquered Germany so often during the First Empire! He knew all the moves

beforehand: 'Now they should go there. This is what they will do,' and his anticipations were always realized, not a little to his pride. Unfortunately we might take towns and gain battles, but we never went fast enough for the colonel. He was insatiable. Every day I was greeted with a fresh feat of arms:

"Doctor, we have taken Mayence," said the young girl, coming to meet me with a heart rending smile, and through the door I heard a joyous voice crying:

"We are getting on, we are getting on! In a week we shall enter Berlin!"

"At that moment the Prussians were but a week from Paris. At first we thought it might be better to move to the provinces, but once out of doors, the state of the country would have told him all, and I thought him still too weak, too enervated, to know the truth. It was therefore decided that they should stay where they were.

"On the first day of the investment I went to see my patient—much agitated. I remember, and with that pang in my heart which we all felt at knowing that the gates of Paris were shut, that the war was under our walls, that our suburbs had become our frontiers.

"I found the old man jubilant and proud.

"Well," said he, 'the siege has begun!'

"I looked at him stupefied.

"How, colonel, you know?"

"His grand daughter turned to me, 'Oh yes, doctor, it is great news. The siege of Berlin has commenced.'

"She said this composedly, while drawing out her needle. How could he suspect anything? He could not hear the cannon nor see that unhappy Paris, so sullen and disorderly. All that he saw from his bed was calculated to keep up his delusion. Outside was the Arc de Triomphe, and in the room quite a collection of souvenirs of the first empire. Portraits of marshals, engravings of battles, the king of Rome in his baby robes; the stiff consoles, ornamented with trophies in brass, were covered with imperial relics, medals, bronzes; a stone from St. Helena under a glass shade; miniatures all representing the same becurled lady, in ball dress, in a yellow gown with leg of mutton sleeves and light eyes; and all—the consoles, the king of Rome, the medals, the yellow ladies with short waists and sashes under their arms in that style of awkward stiffness which was the grace of 1806. Good colonel! it was this atmosphere of victory and conquest, rather than all we could say, which made him believe so naively in the siege of Berlin.

"From that day our military operations became much simpler. Taking Berlin was merely a matter of patience. Every now and then, when the old man was tired of waiting, a letter from his son read to him—an imaginary letter of course, as nothing could enter Paris, and as, since Sedan, MacMahon's aid-de-camp had been sent to a German fortress. Can you not imagine the despair of the poor girl, without tidings of her father, knowing him to be a prisoner, deprived of all comforts, perhaps ill, and yet obliged to make him speak in cheerful letters, somewhat short, as from a soldier in the field, always advancing in a conquered country. Sometimes, when the invalid was weaker than usual, weeks passed without fresh news. But was he anxious and unable to sleep, suddenly a letter arrived from Germany which she read gayly at his bedside, struggling hard with her tears. The colonel listened religiously, smiling with an air of superiority, approving, criticising, explaining; but it was in the answers to his son that he was at his best. 'Never forget that you are a Frenchman,' he wrote; 'be generous to those poor people. Do not make the invasion too hard for them.' His advice was never ending, edifying sermons about respect of property, the politeness due to ladies; in short, quite a code of military honor for the use of conquerors. With all this he put in some general reflections on politics and the conditions of the peace to be imposed on the vanquished. With regard to the latter, I must say he was not exacting:

"The war indemnity and nothing else. It is no good to take provinces. Can one turn Germany into France?"

"He dictated this with so firm a voice, and one felt so much sincerity in his words, so much patriotic faith, that it was impossible to listen to him unmoved.

"Meanwhile the siege went on—not the siege of Berlin, alas! We were at the worst period of cold, of bombardment, of epidemic, of famine. But, thanks to our

care, and the indefatigable tenderness which surrounded him, the old man's serenity was never for a moment disturbed. Up to the end I was able to procure white bread and fresh meat for him, but for him only. You could not imagine anything more touching than those breakfasts of the grandfather, so innocently egotistic, sitting up in bed, fresh and smiling, the napkin tied under his chin, at his side his granddaughter, pale from her privations, guiding his hands, making him drink, helping him to eat all these good forbidden things. Then, revived by the repast, in the comfort of his warm room, with the wintry wind shut out and the snow eddying about the window, the old Cuirassier would recall his northern campaigns and would relate to us that disastrous retreat in Russia where there was nothing to eat but frozen biscuit and horse flesh.

"Can you understand that, little one? We ate horse flesh."

"I should think she did understand it. For two months she had tasted nothing else. As convalescence approached our task increased daily in difficulty. The numbness of the colonel's senses, as well as of his limbs, which had hitherto helped us so much, was beginning to pass away. Once or twice already those terrible volleys at the Porte Maillot had made him start and prick up his ears like a war horse; we were obliged to invent a recent victory of Bazaine's before Berlin and salutes fired from the Invalides in honor of it. Another day (the Thursday of Buzenval I think it was) his bed had been pushed to the window, whence he saw some of the National guard massed upon the Avenue de la Grande Armee.

"What soldiers are those?" he asked, and we heard him grumbling beneath his teeth:

"Badly drilled, badly drilled."

"Nothing came of this, but we understood that henceforth greater precautions were necessary. Unfortunately we were not careful enough.

"One evening I was met by the child, in much trouble.

"It is to-morrow they make their entry," she said.

"Could the grandfather's door have been open? In thinking of it since, I remember that all that evening his face wore an extraordinary expression. Probably he had overheard us; only we spoke of the Prussians and he thought of the French, of the triumphal entry he had so long expected—MacMahon descending the avenue amidst flowers and flourish of trumpets, his own son riding beside the marshal, and he himself on his balcony, in full uniform as at Lutzen, saluting the ragged colors and the eagles blackened by powder.

"Poor Colonel Jouve! He no doubt imagined that we wished to prevent his assistin', at the defile of our troops, lest the emotion should prove too much for him, and therefore took care to say nothing to us; but the next day, just at the time the Prussian battalions cautiously entered the long road leading from the Porte Maillot to the Tuileries, the window up there was softly opened and the colonel appeared on the balcony with his helmet, his sword, all his long unused but glorious apparel of Milhaud's cuirassiers.

"I often ask myself what supreme effort of will, what sudden impulse of fading vitality had placed him thus erect in harness.

"All we know is that he was there, standing at the railing, wondering to find the wide avenues so silent, the shutters all closed, Paris like a great lazaret, flags everywhere, but such strange ones, white with red crosses, and no one to meet our soldiers.

"For a moment he may have thought himself mistaken.

"But no! there, behind the Arc de Triomphe, there was a confused sound, a black line advancing in the growing daylight—then, then, little by little, the spikes of the helmets glisten, the little drums of Jena begin to beat, and under the Arc de l'Etoile, accompanied by the heavy tramp of the troops, by the clatter of sabres, burst forth Schubert's triumphal march.

"In the dead silence of the streets was heard a cry, a terrible cry:

"To arms!—to arms!—the Prussians! And the four Uhlands of the advance guard might have seen up there, on the balcony, a tall old man stagger, wave his arms and fall. This time Colonel Jouve was dead."

To Missouri Single Tax Men.

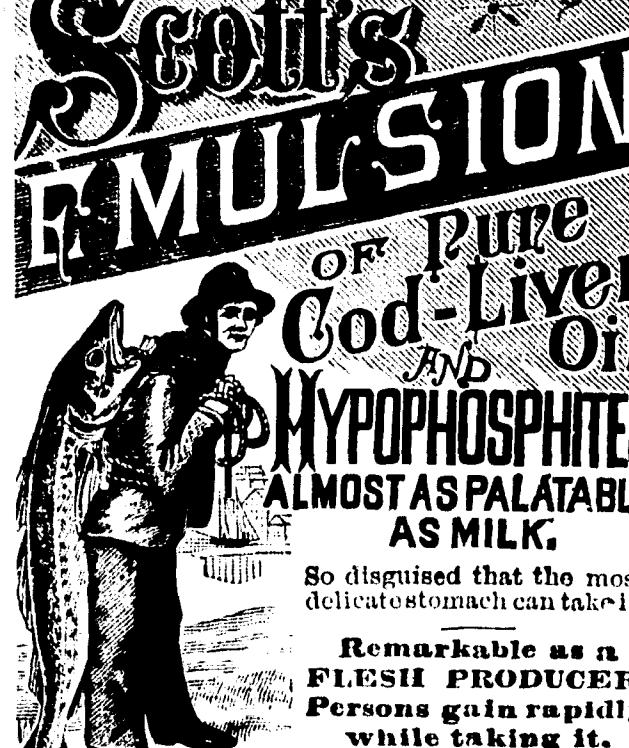
St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 26.—In view of the

fact that an effort will be made to bring the single tax idea before the legislature this winter, and the further fact that there is as yet no organization of our forces, all single tax men in Missouri, who may see this, are requested to send their own names and post office addresses, and the names and addresses of all others whom they know to be single tax men or ballot reformers, to H. Martin Williams, in care of the Madison House, Jefferson City, Mo.

At the same time, any information regarding the progress of the movement in your respective localities, or suggestions as to the best methods of advancing the good cause, will be most welcome.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

MISCELLANEOUS.



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UGLY,

PLAIN OR THIN

WOMEN,

Or those whose health is in any way imperfect, such as suffer from female complaints, a tired, weak feeling, or any disease whatever. Or those whose forms are undeveloped, either through sickness or other causes, and who would enjoy the strength that comes from a properly proportioned figure, and the beauty of the same. Or those who have a bad complexion, being afflicted with sallowness, eruptions, freckles, or any other defect of the skin, should write to me for my portraits, showing what I was before I used a certain treatment, and what I am now. At same time I will give you full information about how to become beautiful and strong. Understand distinctly that I have nothing to sell. My object is to benefit you without money and without price. I was restored after eight years of great suffering, having been reduced to an ugly, bony woman, making life a burden. For what I am now I refer you to my pictures, which tell the whole story: A superb form, clear, fine skin, bright eyes, and better than all else, health to enjoy life. The same can be accomplished for almost every woman who is now dragging out a miserable existence. If your health is already good, but deficient in form and complexion, or either of these, such deficiencies are easily remedied. One reason why I make this free proposition, is on account of the many fraudulent lotions, air pumps, nostrums "wafers," etc., advertised by a score of quacks, both male and female, throughout the states. I will write you fully in a plain sealed letter. Address, Mrs. ELIA M. DENT, Lock Box 234, Station C, San Francisco, Cal.

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A GRASSHOPPER STORY.

It is now a number of years ago; I was quite a boy, only fifteen years old, and I had never heard of Henry George or any other of the "anarchist cranks who want to take what does not belong to them." I had been taught that an American boy could attain any height of ambition if he would only work, but that nobody could become happy, wealthy and wise (especially wealthy) who did not work hard.

I had been a city bred boy until my father, meeting with business reverses in 1873, gathered up the remnants of his fortune and removed with his family to Blue Earth county, Minnesota, and engaged in the milling business.

I remember with what enthusiasm I turned my face west toward the "star of empire," and how determined I was to carve out a fortune for myself by dint of hard work and the superior abilities which I fondly imagined as a New York boy, I possessed.

Arriving at our new home in the early spring, I proceeded under instructions and with some assistance to cultivate the few acres of land attached to the mill. I will not stop to tell how a merciful Providence provided extra work for me in the form of potato bugs; of my spending about four times as much exertion in killing these bugs as was necessary to plow, plant, hoe, dig and put in cellar the entire crop; nor will I stop to relate my feelings of gratitude at this unlooked for good luck. But in passing it may be worthy of remark that I had expected that when the corn and potatoes had been hoed and "hilled up," I would be out of a job and would be able to find no more useful occupation than fishing and boating on the river that flowed through our place. I will leave you to imagine the gratitude of a fifteen year old boy to the potato bugs who had thus saved him from so wasting his time, while I proceed with my narrative.

It was on one day in the month of July in the year 1874 that what seemed a hazy cloud partially obscured the sun's rays, and an hour or two later Blue Earth county had been introduced to an army of Kansas grasshoppers. The crops being well along, and the hoppers having urgent business elsewhere, they only exacted about twenty-five per cent tariff. But being thorough protectionists and philanthropists they established custom houses all over the county in the shape of eggs.

I am sorry to say that there was a large number of our people who were ungodly, treasonable free traders, who protested against the establishment of the hopper custom houses, and even attempted to destroy them by burning their fields over after the remnants of the crops had been gathered; and then for fear the custom houses (grasshopper eggs) had not been destroyed, blasphemously petitioned the Almighty to give them such a terribly cold winter that the custom houses would be frozen out. But the free traders were not heard; and in the balmy spring time of the year 1875, after the crops had all been planted and were bursting up out of the earth, the custom houses began to open ready for business.

Well, the way that those G. H. custom officers collected the tariff taxes—I beg pardon, I should say the protective tariff (you know, of course, that the tariff is not a tax)—would furnish pointers to even the "uncrowned king and greatest living statesman." Why, forty-seven per cent tariff was nothing to those G. H. fellows. They struck terror to the hearts of those free trade rebels, and never stopped until they had collected an average duty of ninety-five per cent.

Ye Gods! how prosperous we were! Everybody was rolling in wealth. If you don't believe me ask some of the so-called grasshopper sufferers of '75." The only drawback to the situation was that people stopped working—they were all so wealthy. Some of the malicious, lying free traders tried to arouse a feeling of discontent by declaring that our people were not getting rich; that the G. H. fellows were simply robbing them, and that it was only a scheme to produce an artificial scarcity of farm products in order to advance the prices of the products of the rich monopolists who escaped the exactions of the G. H. fellows.

Yielding finally to the clamor of the free trader the county officials offered a bounty of ten cents per quart for the tariff collectors, i. e., grasshoppers, the intention being to petition the state legislature to reimburse the county for what it might expend in that way. The rich

farmers and their families turned out with the poor farmers and their families to catch grasshoppers, and I turned out with the others.

Our first efforts were made in the most primitive manner, our implements consisting merely of a hoop attached to a stick with mosquito netting sewed on the hoop after the usual manner of a fisherman's scoop net. With these nets we went scooping around, and when a quantity of hoppers had been gathered they were shaken out into a grain bag or barrel. At the end of the day the "catch" was taken to one of the town clerks, who measured it and gave in payment an order on the county treasurer. The town clerks had ditches dug into which the "hoppers," after being scalded to death, were buried. A good worker could in this way earn about \$3 per day.

In a day or two, however, industrial progress began. The first step was the invention of a drag net which had the appearance of a bag two feet deep with a mouth eighteen inches by six or eight feet. The net was drawn around a field and as the hoppers jumped up in front they were drawn into the net and the rapid motion kept them there. In another day or two some ingenious inventor had attached one of these nets to a sulky hay rake. His example was soon followed by a number of others and it was amusing to see men on their sulky rakes driving their horses around the fields scooping up grasshoppers.

I had been catching grasshoppers since the bounty was offered. On the morning of the third day, having provided myself with an improved net, I went to a meadow that offered peculiar facilities for the pursuit of my new avocation. The wind had been blowing the hoppers in that direction (the hoppers always jump and fly with the wind) and the meadow being along the river the hoppers had been piling up there thick. There were several other persons there catching, but our combined efforts did not seem in the least to diminish the supply. When the day was over I found that I had earned \$8.

The next morning, the fourth day of the bounty, I was out bright and early. I had been around the meadow once or twice, when the owner of the meadow, who had been catching with us, stopped me and said that no one could catch hoppers in that meadow unless he gave him, the meadow owner, one-third of what he caught. I was very indignant, and the others, as soon as they heard of the demand, shared my feelings. But while we were disputing about right and justice a friend of mine came into the meadow. After learning what the dispute was about, he asked me what I had made the day before. I told him \$8. "Why," said he, "I did not make more than \$3.50 up on the prairie. The hoppers are getting thinned out, and if, as you say, they are just as thick here or thicker than ever, you will earn more here than you can elsewhere, even after giving old C—one-third. There seemed to be something in this so that I concluded to stay.

Old C—continued to work for a little while and then quit, and brought from his house a big easy chair, a pipe and some tobacco, and established himself under a shady tree, where he could overlook the meadow and keep his eye on the twenty-five or thirty catchers. There he rested, stretched out in his easy chair in the shade, smoking his pipe—a typical landlord. Every now and then he would get up to take a peep into the different barrels and bags and calculate the amount of the catch and what his gains would be.

That evening old C—made diligent inquiries, and finding that our net earnings were considerably in excess of most of those who had been catching in other places, he notified us the next morning that we must give him one-half of what we caught. Well, it was no use kicking and we consented. But Bill Sherwood said to me when old C—had gone to his easy chair under the tree: "I'll be god darned if I don't wish the county would offer a reward of ten cents a pound for landlords, and I would lassoo old C—quicker than you can wink. He is worse than ten million hoppers and not near so good looking."

Bill was a free trader and wouldn't believe that the hoppers were good things and made the people rich and prosperous by taxing them 95 per cent.

Well, this arrangement continued until the bounty was reduced to one dollar per bushel. But then on the ninth day this bounty business was discontinued altogether. There seemed to be no diminution in the number of hoppers. And if I

remember correctly the county had to pay out about \$80,000 for the eight days work.

After the county had deprived us of work by withdrawing the bounty (of course we could have continued to drag our nets, but we would not have received any compensation for it, though still, as good protectionists who believed that work was something to be desired for its own sake, we ought to have continued) I began to think matters over. I realized that old C—as owner of a piece of land that was made desirable by no efforts of his own, could extort a share of the earnings of men who used it and that if the men improved the methods of production, i. e. if they increased their ability to catch more hoppers, it was an excuse for old C—to charge more for the privilege of going on the meadows. The free traders said that that was the way tariff laws affected coal and iron and other mineral lands and timber lands and what not, but we all knew that the free traders were trying to destroy the country. But the thing was a puzzle to me and long continued to be.

But I have since traveled extensively, and wherever I now see the mansions of the lords of the land and the hovels of the men who dig coal, iron, copper, lead or who cut and saw timber, I say to myself "there is an old C—who has got the bulge on the boys and is making them give him one half of all the grasshoppers they catch."

And now I am told that you have a remedy—something that will make the old C—s catch their own hoppers or go go without; and will enable the boys to retain for themselves all the hoppers they catch. Well, that is what we want, and I will support your single tax or any other tax that will wipe out landlords.

C. S. HOPKINS.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Dec. 23.

PERSONAL.

Michael Flurscheim has already started his propaganda work on behalf of "Bodenbesitz Reform," or the reform of land holding. An advertisement of a meeting of the society for the reform of land holding of Basel, Switzerland, at which Mr. Flurscheim was the speaker, has just reached THE STANDARD.

Henry Ancketill has stirred up quite a discussion of the single tax in Belfast, Ireland, by a newspaper controversy he has had with Dr. Hanna, a well known "philanthropist." Several other correspondents have taken a hand in the argument.

Joseph Wolff of the Orchard Grove Fruit Farm, Boulder, Colorado, is one of the most active single tax men of that state. Though sixty-four years old he devoted a solid month to stumping for Cleveland and free trade in the last campaign.

Laurence Gronlund, author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth," which is esteemed by socialists the best American exposition of their doctrines, is living at 222 East Twenty-third street, New York, and is prepared to lecture during the season.

At a crowded and enthusiastic meeting of the Young Ireland society, held in Belfast, Ireland, on December 12, Rev. J. Bruce Wallace, A. M., delivered an eloquent address, declaring that a new and higher civilization must start with the "common ownership of the great storehouse of nature."

The duke of Sutherland, who is now in this country, owns 1,358,545 acres of Great Britain. It is reported that Great Britain is overrun with people, but if the duke is crowded it is his own fault, for he can order everybody off his place if he wants to.

Congressman Henry D. Smith of Milwaukee was in New York on New Year's day. Despite his faithful service in the present congress he will go out on the 4th of March. The protectionists of Wisconsin raised \$100,000 to beat him for having voted for the Mills bill, and by scattering money with the utmost profusion succeeded. Tickets of the protectionist candidates were sent round to the poorer class of voters accompanied by a basket of groceries and a twenty-five pound bag of flour, and \$10 per vote was paid at the polls. Mr. Smith is far from being disheartened, but will vote all the more earnestly for ballot reform.

Charles Newburgh of Washington has been in New York to arrange for publication in book form of the amusing and instructive sketches embodying single tax ideas which he has been publishing in the Washington Capital.

Dr. M. R. Levenson is to lecture at the Cooper union on Saturday evening, January 12, in the regular Cooper union course, to which admission is free, on the "Science of Legislation." The lecture is certain to be a most interesting and instructive one, as Dr. Levenson has made the subject a study for many years.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE FORUM continues to hold its place as the foremost of our magazines.—The New York Times.

THE FORUM.

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY:

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

How it Would Work.

DENVER, Col.—(1) What difference does it make to a man whether he pays rent to an individual or to the state?

(2) Does not free trade in the highest sense of the term include free money?

(3) In Mr. George's "Protection or Free Trade?" on page 156, in speaking of trade between countries of greater and less advantage, he says: "By this exchange both people would gain. The people of the country of poorest advantages would gain by it some part of the advantage of the other country." Under a system of free land (that is, use and occupancy giving possession) would not the differences equalize themselves in the same way?

J. B. JOHNSTONE.

(1) It would make a great difference. If he, like every occupant of valuable land, paid the economic rent of his land to the government, he would have no other taxes, direct or indirect, to pay. He might build an addition to his house, fill it with merchandise or household goods, or, if he had farming land, he might plant trees, and build barns and make roads—all these improvements would go absolutely free of taxation. He would, moreover, get back in public improvements such as government roads, railroads, schools, etc., perhaps far more than he gave. Furthermore, he would participate in the indirect benefit—probably the greatest of all the benefits—of the stimulation to industry and trade which would result from the forcing into use of idle land.

(2) What you mean by "free" money is not clear. THE STANDARD advocates the issuance of all money by the government, and does not believe in using gold and silver for that purpose so long as paper is quoted at such a reasonable figure.

(3) Yes; the single tax would put men on an equal footing by making the man who monopolized valuable land pay proportionately more than the man who monopolized a piece of but little value; and as the government would distribute the tax in the form of public benefits, provided for the use of all citizens, the unjust differences in fortune would be thereby modified.

The Single Tax Not Robbery.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—If as is asserted on page 87, Chap. II, Book II, of "Progress and Poverty," the misery and degradation of India are due chiefly to excessive assessments, would not the application of a similar mode of taxation elsewhere be productive of equally dire results?

M. T. WAKE.

A similar mode of extortion elsewhere would produce equally dire results, most assuredly. If, however, you mean to ask whether the taking of the full economic rent of land by means of a single tax would lead to the conditions seen in India, the answer is, most assuredly not. The extortion, under the names of rent and interest collecting and taxation, that goes on in India is no more like the single tax than the present enormous rentals drawn from other people's earnings by our "Knickerbocker" landlords of New York are like the returns their Dutch ancestors got by tilling the same land themselves. It is in both cases the difference between legalized robbery and justice.

It is not the economic rent of natural opportunities alone which is taken from the poor Indian ryots; it is everything they produce above a bare living, and sometimes the bare living is taken away too. The harder a man works, the more he produces, the more he hands over to landlord, usurer or taxgatherer. To make improvements is simply to present them to the landlord. To borrow on no security is to pay perhaps 60 per cent a year usury. To buy salt for bread is to pay 13 prices for it, as the tax on it is 1,200 per cent or so.

The single tax system leaves the improvements to the improver. It abolishes taxes on products. It does nothing but equalize opportunities.

Rental Value—What is It?

NEW YORK.—(1) In speaking of a single tax on land values, what is meant by the term "rental value?"

(2) What is the difference between the tax lightly imposed and imposed to its full rental value?

Wm. THOMPSON.

(1) It is the sum which the user is willing to pay, annually, for a piece of bare land. It is determined by the excess of that land's produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use. The excess of produce arises from natural advantages, such as fertility, or richness in minerals, or water power, or from the presence of population. The least pro-

ductive land in use has no "rental value." A man can take a piece and use it without paying for it. But as population grows and inventions make it possible, less valuable land is brought into use, and the piece which formerly could be had for nothing is no longer the least productive land in use, and it has a rental value. Rental value results from the growth and improvement of the community as a whole; were there but a few thousand people scattered over the world, there would be no such thing as rental value.

(2) The rental value of land would be estimated by the assessors, just as its selling value is estimated now, and then the taking of the whole or only a part of this rental value in the shape of a tax is only a matter of what the tax law orders the assessors to do.

Is It Come?

Frances Brown.

Is it come? they said, on the banks of the Nile,
Who looked for the world's long-promised day,

And saw but the strife of Egypt's toil,
With the desert's sand and the granite gray.
From the pyramid, temple and treasured dead,

We vainly ask for her wisdom's plan;
They tell us of the tyrant's dread—
Yet there was hope when that day begun.

The Chaldee came, with his starry lore,
And built up Babylon's crown and creed;
And bricks were stamped on the Tigris shore

With signs which our sages scarce can read.
From Nimus' Temple and Nimrod's Tower,
The rule of the old East's empire spread
Unreasoning faith and unquestioned power—
But still, is it come? the watcher said.

The light of the Persian's worshipped flame,
The ancient bondage its splendor threw;
And once, on the west a sunrise came,

When Greece to her Freedom's trust was true;

With dreams to the utmost ages dear,
With human gods, and god-like men,
No marvel the far-off day seemed near
To eyes that looked through her laurels then.

The Romans conquered, and revelled too,
"Till honor, and faith, and power were gone;

And deeper old Europe's darkness grew,
As, wave after wave, the Goth came on.
The gown was learning, the sword was law;
The people served in the oxen's stead;
But ever some gleam the watcher saw,
And ever more, is it come? they said.

Poet and seer that question caught
Above the din of life's fears and frets;
It marched with letters, it toiled with thought,

Through schools and creeds which the earth forgets.

And statesmen trifle, and priests deceive,
And traders barter our world away—
Yet hearts to that golden promise cleave,
And still, at times, is it come? they say.

The days of the nations bear no trace
Of all the sunshine so far foretold;
The cannon speaks in the teacher's place—
The age is weary with work and gold,
And high hopes wither, and memories wane;
On hearths and altars the fires are dead;
But that brave faith hath not lived in vain—
And this is all that our watcher said.

The Next Best Thing.

The Toronto *Monetary Times*, which contains many advertisements of banks, insurance companies, mortgage, loan and investment companies, is doing the single tax cause a real service, and all that it can possibly do for it without incurring the displeasure of its patrons. The *Monetary Times* cannot, of course, pretend to represent the interests of insurance and mortgage companies, and at the same time advocate the single tax, but it can do the next best thing by attacking it as it did in its issue of December 14, when with much else of the same sort it said:

For some time past there has existed in Toronto, as well as in many American cities, a society whose avowed object is the confiscation of the annual value of all the land in the country. This means, in plain language, that every farmer who enjoys a freehold is to be stripped naked, and every owner of town and city property sent out into the street in like plight to bear the farmer company.

But if you pauperize every landowner in the country, the farmer would from necessity cease to produce, and the fund destined for the payment of wages would be in danger of depletion. A good illustration of what would happen may be found in the unchecked increase of the rabbits in the northwest. It is intended to take the annual value of land from the individual owners and to give it to the general public, under the misnomer of a tax. When the whole mass of the population was invited to consume the property of individuals, the means of reproduction would be so reduced that general poverty bordering on famine would be the certain result. Just the unchecked increase of rabbits in the northwest causes all the food of these animals to be consumed, so that nearly the whole race dies off. If the anti-poverty society wished to bring about a similar result among mankind, it could not devise a better plan than the scheme of confiscation which it never ceases to laud.

CHICAGO'S AUDITORIUM.

It is the Biggest Thing Of the Kind On Record, Either Here or in Europe, and Will Be Used Day and Night.

Chicago will soon be the owner of one of the "biggest things on earth"—that is not exactly all Chicago, but some Chicagoans will own it and the rest will have the privilege of calling it "ours" and paying fifty cents or so a head to go in and look at it. It doesn't matter who these citizens are, they are well known, rich men, but they call themselves the Chicago auditorium association, and they are now completing a mammoth structure known in a general way as "the Auditorium." It contains, first, a great hall which will seat from five to eight thousand persons according as the stage is occupied by seats or not—this hall in an incomplete state was used by the republican national convention last summer; second, a hotel with 400 rooms; third, an office and business section; fourth, a smaller auditorium, and fifth a huge tower, rising seven stories above the main building, or seventeen stories in all, this to include a public observatory.

Work on this combination of buildings was commenced in January, 1887, and it is expected to go on until the end of next year, but the president of the association in his report to the stockholders says that it is already certain that the income from all sources will give a considerable surplus over and above all fixed charges for maintenance, interest on bonds, etc. The ground, which was bought for \$600,000, will probably be worth \$1,000,000 when the work is finished.

Here are a few extracts from the president's report to the stockholders. He said:

With the grandeur of the rising building developed the necessity for absolutely first-class treatment in details and interior finish. The hotel rooms will be finished in hard wood throughout; mosaic floors will be laid in the vestibule and lobby of the auditorium and hotel. The grand stairways will be marble, with bronze sides. An extra elevator was recently decided upon, making twelve in all, nine passenger and three freight. A grand organ, costing about \$50,000, was contracted for, which is being built, probably at a loss to the contractor, the contract for which calls for the most complete and grandest instrument ever constructed.

It was also determined to adopt the most approved and modern stage, with appointments similar to one at Buda-Pesth, Hungary, for which purpose Architect Adler was sent to Europe, and Mr. Bairstow, chief stage carpenter for McVicker's theater for many years, was employed and accompanied him abroad. This will cost much more than the ordinary stage, but will be unequaled on either continent in its effects and operating economies, and it is regarded a judicious step by your board, as it constitutes, in theater parlance, a permanent attraction.

There was also added what might be termed the rehearsal hall, seating about 600 persons, the space behind the upper gallery of the grand auditorium having been utilized for this purpose. The cost of finishing this will be considerable, but it is a public need and will be in demand. Then there are the devices of heavy iron work for shutting off the galleries and part of the main balcony, lessening the cubic contents of our hall, thereby adapting it for many purposes for which otherwise it could not well be used. This has added considerably to the cost of iron work.

The hotel will occupy the entire Michigan avenue and Congress street fronts and forty feet of the Wabash avenue front, and will contain nearly four hundred rooms. The main dining room will be on the tenth floor of the east front, 175 feet long, overlooking the lake. The number of electric lights in the auditorium proper is 4,000; in the hotel and balance of the building 4,600, making 8,600 in all. The electric current is generated by eleven dynamos and nine engines; there will be eleven boilers, having a capacity of 1,800 horse power, and twenty-one pumping engines to supply water for the elevators and other purposes, with a total hourly capacity of 400,000 gallons. There are two distinct heating and lighting plants for the hotel and balance of the building. There are over twenty-five miles of gas and water pipes.

The tower has eight floors (including the top) above the roof of the main building. The top will be an observatory, which is considered a public need in our city, from which can be viewed the city and surroundings, with the lake harbor, and from which the west shore of Michigan can be seen. The seventeenth floor will be occupied by the United States signal service bureau. The tower above the main building is a building

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in itself, being 71 by 41 feet in area, each floor containing nine rooms; and it is therefore a thing of utility and value as well as being the monumental feature of your building, emphasizing the auditorium within by surmounting the grand entrance, the revenue from which will surprise many who have been skeptical on this feature. The space in the tower below the roof of the main building down to the second floor will be a part of the hotel.

He then adds that he cannot tell yet what will be the total cost, but tells them when he expects it to be finished, and says that the inauguration will probably take the form of a formal opening of the great auditorium, a banquet in the grand dining room of the hotel, to be succeeded by a season of opera on an unprecedented scale.

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NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A Reservoir That Would Increase Egypt's Productive Area One-Third.

According to *Indian Engineering*, a project is on foot to fill the great depression known as Lake Moeris, or the Rayaan reservoir, in Africa, just west of the Nile river, by re-opening "Joseph's canal." The plan is to fill the reservoir during the periodic inundation of the Nile, and use the water for irrigation during the so-called low Nile period. Surveys have been made by Col. Western, Sir C. Scott-Moncrieff and Nubar Pasha. In a summary of the proposals it is said that a reservoir capable of supplying Low Nile with 50,000,000 cubic meters of water per diem for 100 days can be made for £500,000. The canal of escape for the excess of the Nile flood, to be used as the canal of supply and discharge, can be opened in 300 days, by the excavation and hauling of 3,000,000 cubic meters of sand, clay and soft rock. The area and productive wealth of Egypt would be increased by more than one-third. No burden would be imposed upon the present taxpayers. The works would be mainly the utilization and restoration of dykes, canals and physical characteristics in actual use for this same purpose during 2,000 years, and, in part, in continuous operation from B. C. 1800 to the present time.

No Danger of the Oil Giving Out.

The theory is held by Professor Mendeleef of Russia that petroleum is produced by water, which penetrates the earth's crust and comes in contact with glowing carbides of metals, especially of iron. The water is decomposed into its constituent gases, the oxygen uniting with the iron while the hydrogen takes up the carbon and ascends to a higher region, where part of it is condensed into mineral oil, and part remains as natural gas, to escape wherever and whenever it can find an outlet. If this assumption is correct and a sufficient store of metallic carbides is contained in the earth's interior, petroleum may continue to be formed almost indefinitely and yield a supply of fuel long after coal has become exhausted. Professor Mendeleef supports his views by producing artificial petroleum in a manner similar to that by which he believes the natural product is made.

Ten Grown in Europe.

We have heard, says the *Pull Mall Gazette*, of Caucasian wines, which are appreciated in France and Austria, and we shall soon hear a good deal about Caucasian teas. A few years ago M. Amiragoff planted a number of tea trees imported from China. Now considerable quantities of this tea have been received in St. Petersburg, and it has been pronounced by connoisseurs to be equal to the best Chinese teas.

Trade in Rabbit Skins.

One of the most extraordinary of London trades is in rabbit skins. Rabbits are one of the plagues of New Zealand and Australia, and the partial compensation of the colonists is this export. From New Zealand there have been sent out in about ten years 70,000,000 skins, valued at £750,000, and in the same period 29,000,000 have been exported from Victoria. The cheap linings of winter coats and cloaks, and many of the dyed articles of fur, as well as many hats, are made of rabbit fur.

Paper Lead Pencils.

Now you can have paper lead pencils. To make the paper cuttable like wood, so the lead can be sharpened, it is plunged into melted paraffine wax in the course of manufacture, which makes the paper pencil as susceptible to the knife as if made of the best cedar wood.

The Opera Glass Idea.

The automatic opera glass holders and renters are now in use in three or four theaters in New York. They are small nickel plated boxes, one of which is attached to the back of each seat—of course, not in the *hot potloi* division of the theatre, but in the select parquet. On the top of the box is a narrow slit, and a little lower down is a small knob. A dime or a quarter is dropped in the opening, the knob is pressed, and the box lid falls back, showing a pair of opera glasses ready to be picked up and put to use. At the end of the performance the user puts the glasses back in the box, but does not close it. A special key is needed for this, and such keys are carried by the ushers, who are thus able to see that no glasses are missing, while by counting the number of open boxes it is an easy task to figure out the receipts for the night.

A Compromise Pavement.

For a long series of years the political rings of New York have made the people believe that the heavy traffic of the city and the severe climate prevented the use here of anything approaching the fine smooth pavements of European cities—concrete, macadamized or asphalt. But there is at last being introduced a sort of compromise between our noisy, jolting Belgian blocks and a smooth pavement. The block pavement is laid with asphalt filling between the joints. This is laid on part of Fifth avenue, and, as a daily paper says, "is cleanly and solid if not noiseless."

Training an Aristocrat.

Philadelphia Record.
Little Daughter—Mamma, may I play with that little girl next door?
Mrs. Tiptop (severely)—Certainly not. Her papa goes to his business in a street car. He hasn't a carriage to his name.
"Well, can I play with Sallie Liveryman around the corner? Her papa has twenty-five carriages."
"No; he has too many."

The Desert Waggoner.

Alone! Alone!
Night after night
Alone!
I lie and watch the stars,
Or count the fleecy clouds in their flight
Across the track of Mars.
Stillness, stillness
Pains the listening ear,—
Far off, above, around and near;
Save where the horses, weary with the day,
Tramp round the wagon, grudging,—grudging
hay.

No human landmark
And no social sign;
Naught but the sand mark
Of the wagon line.
And here I lie, or sit, and peer around
Among the sage-brush on the arid ground.
But yonder! yonder!
Far across the plain,
Loom grandly the tall mountains;
Stony, sterile, with no fountains;
Thirsty,—drinking all the summer rain.
Looming! Looming!
Darkly lifting high
Their ancient heads
Athwart the starry sky,
While nature treads—
In night-robes sombre clad,
With slipper-footed silence,
Chill and sad.

Among the rocky, torn, and rugged scars;
The canyon rifts of elemental wars.

Alone! Alone!
If I should die
Alone—
Without a helping hand,
Or one fond, faithful, tearful eye
To light me from the land!
Stillness, stillness,
Then will be profound;
Save where the horses stamp the ground.
Clanking their halters on the sounding wheel,
Feeling in hunger all they know to feel.
No funeral tramping
And no church's sign:
A dead man camping
Off the wagon line.

And here I lie, to think, or sleep, or die,
Among the sage-brush, roofed with all the sky.

But yonder! yonder!
Monuments arise:
God's handiwork, in masses,
In the night wind, as it passes,
Singing, singing glory to the skies.

Looming! Looming!
God's majesty is here!
No Jewish story—
Only truth so clear.
Majestic glory
Of a fact, with nature
Bowed in silence at his feet.
His creature,—

That is I—I'll lay me on my pillow hard
And sleep—the Universal Keeper is on guard.

Alone! Alone!
I wake at dawn,
Alone,
And watch the softer light
Where fair Aurora's robes are
thrown

Full in the arms of night.
Stillness, stillness,
Welcomes me again!
Refreshed, renewed, without a pain,
I raise my head to hear the beggars neigh—
My horses—"Ho! ho! How about more hay?"
No other life abroad
Save me and mine;
Deserted is the road;
No smoke along the line.

But now I'm busy, and I do not muse
C'ra gravest matter or important views,
Yet yonder! yonder!
Near across the plain—
Loom grandly the tall mountains;
Stony, sterile, with no fountains;
Thirsty, drinking all the summer rain.

Looming! Looming!
In the golden flood!
No printed leaf
Or story about blood,
With grief or grief;
But glorious masses
Flinging back the light to us,—
Poor asses!

Who, without reason, show or cause,
Think we can pray a crook in nature's laws.
J. W. GALLY.

How School Globes are Made.

St. Louis Globe Democrat.
The first process in making a globe is to cover the model with a thick layer of pasteboard in a moist state. When it has dried, a sharp knife is passed around it so as to separate the pasteboard coat into two hemispherical shells, which are then taken off the model and united at the cut edges with glue. The next thing is to cover the sphere with white enamel about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. When this is done the ball is turned to a perfect roundness with a machine. The iron rod running through the centre of the original model and projecting at both ends through the surface has left holes in the globe which serve for the north and south poles, and through these a metal axis is run to represent the axis of the earth. The next thing is to mark the surface off into mathematical segments corresponding in shape with the sections of map that are to be pasted on. These map sections are made from copper plates in just sizes and shapes required to fit the globes they are made for. They are printed, many of them together, like dress patterns, on sheets of the finest linen paper. To paste them on properly,

so that they will meet perfectly at the edges and not show the lines of joining, requires great pains and skill. When this is accomplished the different countries, and so forth, are tinted by hand with water colors. There is no especial rule for this, save that contrasts are sought to help the eye. Finally, the whole is overlaid with brilliant white varnish, which is of such almost metallic hardness that it will wear indefinitely without scratching, preserving always its brightness.

The Dutch Declaration of Independence.

Thorold Rogers in *The Story of Holland*.

The fact is, the action of the Dutch republic was the first appeal which the world has read on the duties of rulers to their people. Men have revolted a thousand times against tyranny and misgovernment, sometimes successfully, more frequently to be crushed into more hopeless servitude. The Dutch were the first to justify their action by an appeal to the first principles of justice. They were the first to assert that human institutions, and human allegiance to governments are to be interpreted and maintained by their manifest utility. They were the first to assert and prove that men and women are, not the private estate of princes, to be disposed of in their industry, their property, their consciences, by the discretion of those who were fortunate enough to be able to live by the labor of others. They were the first to affirm that there is and must be a contract between the ruler and the people, even though that contract has not been reduced to writing, or debated on, or fought for; and strangely enough, the idea which lay under this doctrine was derived from that which had now become the principal instrument of oppression and wrong doing. The feudal system from which the Dutch broke away was the origin of the tenet that the duties of the ruler and the subject are reciprocal.

But this doctrine had been buried and forgotten. In modern times constitutional antiquaries have exhumed it and wrangled over it. The other doctrine, sedulously taught by venal lawyers and ambitious priests, that every right which man has is held at the discretion of the prince, and that every opinion he entertains is to be guided, controlled or abandoned at the bidding of the priest, had smothered the more ancient theory of reciprocal obligation. The two rulers, king and priest, had entered into a compact. The latter was to teach the doctrine of passive obedience, the former was to support the creed which the latter thought proper to promulgate, with the secular arm. During the whole of the seventeenth century, the English clergy were teaching the doctrine of passive obedience from the ten thousand pulpits. A century after the declaration of Dutch independence, Hobbes, who believed nothing, laid down the doctrine that a subject ought to take that creed which the discretion of the king supplied him with.

It is impossible to overestimate the timeliness, the significance, the value of the Act of abjuration. The sturdy Hollanders, at a time when public liberty seemed entirely lost, and despotism had become a religious creed, began the political reformation. The teachers of Europe in everything, they are the first to argue that governments exist for nations, not nations for governments. And as precedents, especially successful ones, govern the world, the Dutch gave the cue for the English parliamentary war and the English revolution, to the American declaration of independence, to the better side of the French revolution and to the public spirit which has slowly and imperfectly recovered liberty from despotism.

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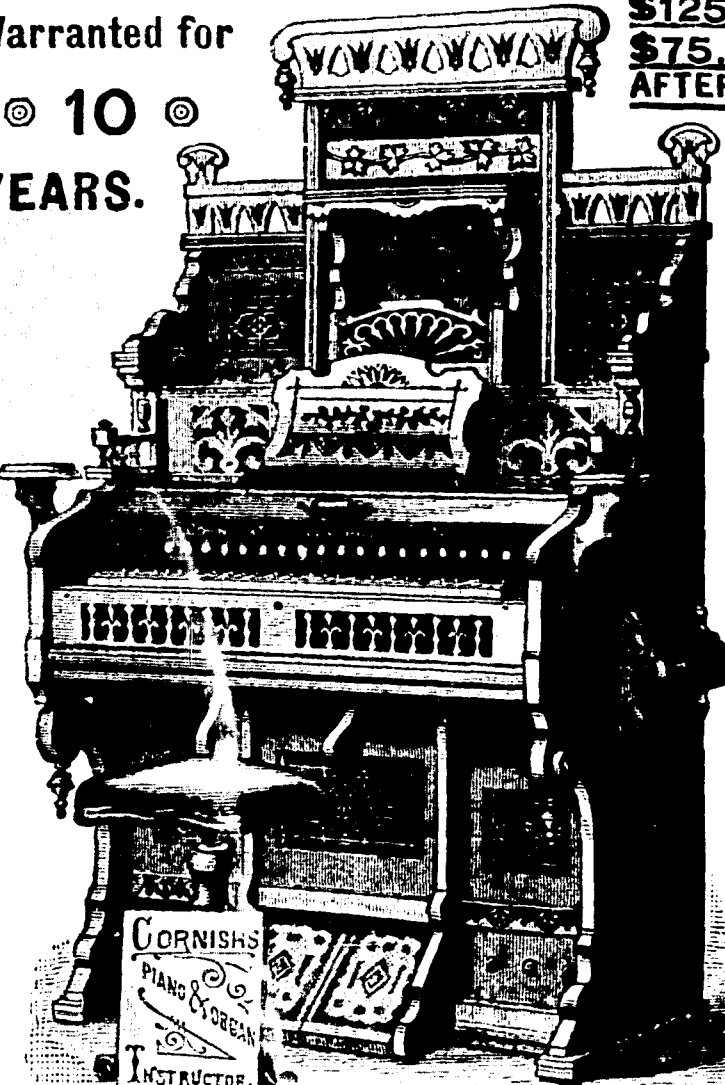
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