

THE STANDARD

NO. 149—VOL. VI, NO. 19.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

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

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.

A CLUB of three or more yearly subscriptions, sent in at one time, will be received at \$2.00 each.

ADVERTISING rate thirty cents per agate line each insertion.

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

CONTRIBUTIONS and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD, and not at any time to individuals.

REMITTANCES should be made payable to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

SIGNATURES should be in full, with full address on every communication, to prevent errors.

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

ERRORS.—Notice should be promptly given of undue delay or incorrect filling of orders.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.—When changing address send old as well as new address.

Sample copies sent free on application.

CONTENTS:

Editorial. How the New Ballot Law Worked in Massachusetts—It was a Perfect Success—Mr. Shearman's Article "Who Own the United States?"—The Part Played by Land Monopoly in Building Up These Enormous Fortunes—Tuesday's Elections—The Ballot Reform Meeting—Progress in Australia—Mr. Shinn's Ideal City—A Taxation Tragedy.

Notes and Queries. Editor Stead on the Land Question—The Cherokee Indians Opposed to Private Ownership—A Correspondent Troubled About Free Trade—Taking Unused Land at a Valuation—What Constitutes Monopoly—Effect of Anti-Corn Law Repeal—Buying Land on the Installment Plan.

The Anti-Corn Law Movement. E. Yancey Cohen.

Words of Consolation. Henry Vallance.

George Washington Smith and His Big Ax. W. L. Cheney.

Who Own the United States.

Progress in London.

Letters to the Editor. The Truth in a Nutshell—The Movement of the Ages—Wages in Tennessee—Land Monopoly and Art—A Suggestion—Women's Work and Sympathies.

Ballot Reform. Big Meeting in New York—The Brooklyn Symposium—A Protest by the Jersey City Club—The Tin Stencil in Tennessee.

The Tariff Fight. The Wool Growers' Want Relief—A Detroit Grain Firm—Canadian Opinion—What Governor Palmer Thinks.

Will Our Coal Supply Ever be Exhausted?

Single Tax News. Speech of Judge Perry Before the Quincy Conversation Club—A City of the Future—Single Tax Conference in Denmark—Another Clergyman Sees the Cat—A Single Tax Candidate in Cincinnati—The Petition—Remarkable Progress in New Zealand.

Society Notes.

New Ideas, Methods and Inventions.

Foreign Notes.

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.

EDITORIAL.

In company with Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, and Secretary Dunham and William M. Ivins of the ballot reform committee of the Reform club of this city, I spent Tuesday in Boston for the purpose of seeing the first election in Massachusetts under the Australian system. Mr. Johnson went that he might be able to bear the testimony of an eye witness to the working of the system back with him to Ohio; Messrs. Dunham and Ivins that they might report to the committee any improvement in the New York bill which is for the third time to be introduced at the coming session of the legislature, and I more out of the desire to be present on a great occasion than for any other reason. And a great occasion it was. When in old Faneuil hall, "the cradle of American liberty," I saw the polls close on Tuesday afternoon, I knew that the most pressing of political reforms had been initiated, not merely in Massachusetts, but for the whole country; and that what we have called the Australian system must in the immediate future become the American system. No opposition in other states can long stand before the demand for its adoption which its successful operation in Massachusetts will create. Governor Hill, if he is wise, will take himself out of the way of the locomotive as gracefully as he can, and as speedily as the re-passage of the Saxton bill will give him opportunity.

In Massachusetts on Tuesday the new system of voting fulfilled and more than fulfilled every anticipation of its friends and falsified every prediction of its enemies. The bosses of party machines, the managers of corporations who had been accustomed to have a clerk or foreman hand the ticket they wished voted to their "hands," the "heelers," and "workers," and "floaters" whose occupation has been destroyed, doubtless held different sentiments, but in Boston on Tuesday night the accustomed speculation on the results of the election seemed lost or forgotten in the general congratulation on the success of the new system. Republicans, democrats, prohibitionists, all alike rejoiced over an election from which the disgusting concomitants of the old system had as by magic disappeared.

In the worst districts of Boston, where previously the polls were surrounded by a jostling crowd of "heelers," "workers," "ticket peddlers" and "floaters" waiting to see what votes might be worth, and where, a square off, the approaching voter was importuned to take this or that ticket, were as quiet as any other parts of similar streets. In some precincts the election was held in large rooms in public or private buildings, in others in one roomed frame houses, built so as to be easily taken apart and stored away, which were erected in the streets. In all the internal arrangement was the same. A wooden rail ran across the room, dividing it into two parts, one for the public and one for the officers of election and the voters. On the outside wall were posted the official lists of candidates to be voted for, and the legal directions and regulations, prominent among which was the notice that the taking or possession of an official ballot paper outside of the rail was punishable by a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for one year. One

police officer was stationed in the outer division of the room, and the swinging section of the rail which served for entrance to the inner division was in charge of another officer. On one side of this inner and larger division of the room stood one of the standard ballot boxes adopted some years ago in Massachusetts, in charge of two inspectors and a ballot clerk, provided with copies of the poll list. On the other side, and fronting it, was a table occupied by two other inspectors and a ballot clerk. Along the inside wall ran a wooden writing shelf divided into seven partitioned spaces. The warden of the election precinct, and generally two supervisors, nominated by the parties, also stood or sat inside the rail, but besides these officers and the citizens engaged in voting no one else was permitted to pass the rail. The voter announced his name and residence at the rail. If found properly registered he was admitted and received one copy of the official ballot. This ballot was in the shape of a long folder, bearing the printed autograph of the secretary of state on the outside and the official list of candidates on the inside. Taking this to one of the compartments, and with his back to every one in the room, he marked it with a lead pencil which he found there, and then closing it together brought it to the ballot box, where, as the name was marked off on the poll list, it was received by an inspector and laid in place on the top of the ballot box. The inspector turned a crank, a bell rang, and the ballot was carried into the box, being printed on both sides in lines of red ink on its passage, while a register on the front of the box added one to the number of votes recorded as cast. As the clock struck four the warden announced the closing of the polls. The number on the register and the number of names marked off on the two poll lists were then recorded, and the unused and spoiled ballot papers counted and done up in a package. The ballot box was unlocked, the ballots taken out, the box examined to make sure that none remained, the ballots counted and their number recorded, and the unused ballot papers deposited in the box. Then the counting of the votes proceeded, the election officers dividing into two parties and checking each others' work.

In the voting that I witnessed I saw but one man spoil a ballot, which he returned, getting another. I saw only one man call for the services of an inspector because he could not read. The warden asked him whether he wished a republican or democratic inspector. He replied a democratic inspector. One was assigned him, and they went to the compartment together. In this case one of the state inspectors, evidently by inadvertence, was standing where he might possibly have overheard what names the voter directed to be marked. The attention of the warden was called to this, and he at once directed the supervisor to move further away. The average time required for marking the ballot papers seemed hardly to exceed a minute, and in the longest case, that of a man who scratched his head as if in doubt, being four minutes and a half. The Massachusetts law gives five minutes in any case, and ten minutes if no other voter is waiting.

The rapidity with which the voting was done surprised even the friends of the bill, proving that there was really no

necessity for the precaution that had been taken in dividing up the city into such small precincts. During the noon hour, when in some precincts there was a rush of voters and men stood in line, the votes came into the box as fast as the inspectors could receive them, and at least as fast as was possible under the old system, for the seven compartments allowed seven voters to be preparing their ballots while one was being deposited.

In a word, secret voting in Massachusetts is a complete success. And one of its evident incidental advantages is that it does away with the current objections to the voting of women. Not even smoking was permitted in the Boston polling rooms. There were no crowds, no importunities, no discussions, hardly even any conversation. As I heard it remarked, "Voting now is as quiet a business as going to a prayer meeting." One of the inspectors, I did not ask him which party he represented, told me, however, that he was disgusted, since all the excitement and all the fun had gone.

The effect of the new system in securing the independence of the voter is, as shown in the results in Massachusetts, most gratifying. The secret ballot has not told in the Massachusetts election uniformly against one party and in favor of the other. It seems to have hurt each party where it was before strongest, and helped each party where it was before weakest. In the city of Boston it has lowered the previous democratic majority, and in the outside towns it has so pulled down the previous republican majorities that the republican candidate for governor, though going out of Boston with only 5,000 against him, is only elected by a few thousand plurality. Of course this is not altogether due to the new method of voting, but there can be no doubt that the new system has acted in both directions in this double edged way, lessening the influence of the democratic "workers" in Boston, and in the smaller towns relieving men both from the intimidation of employers and from the fear of being known to vote against their former party. And this strengthening of the independent vote must increase with every election under the new system. It means, when it gets fully under way, a destruction of the power of machines and of the prestige of the "regular ticket."

To Messrs. Dana, Wyman, Quincy and their fellows of the Massachusetts ballot reform league who did so much both to give the grand old commonwealth the honor of first adopting the Australian system, and to prepare for its successful initiation, the thanks, not merely of their state, but of the country, are due. So obvious are its advantages that the other states must soon follow, and the system which will end bribery, make intimidation forgotten and reduce the power of party machines to their proper limits, become general. Governor Hill cannot much longer fight public opinion, and the day is not far distant when in the city of New York we shall have as rational and orderly an election as that which took place in Boston on Tuesday last.

In this issue of THE STANDARD will be found a full account of Thomas G. Shearman's striking article in the current number of the Forum, "The Owners of the United States."

It is no wonder that Mr. Shearman's article is attracting wide attention, for anything more startling it would be difficult to imagine. Even those who have most fully realized the general fact, obvious to all who do not strive deliberately to shut their eyes to it, that wealth is concentrating in the United States with a rapidity never known in the world before, would be hardly prepared for the deduction which Mr. Shearman makes from his marshaling of facts and figures, that the United States of America are practically owned to-day by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than one in sixty of its adult male population, and that within thirty years, if present methods of taxation are continued, the whole great country, with a population prospectively of a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty million souls, will be substantially owned by fifty thousand persons. While if anything can startle into the paying of some attention to what is going on around them those who have suffered their eyes to be closed by the pleasant optimism of Mr. Edward Atkinson and his fellow "statisticians," it is such a conclusion as this, so backed and so presented.

For Mr. Shearman is no fervid orator, accustomed to clothe vague ideas in a wild exuberance of language, no penniless agitator, who knows no practical difference between thousands and millions. He is a cool, cautious lawyer and manager of large affairs, accustomed to habits of close thought and exact statement, a millionaire himself, as the Evening Post says by way of charging him with betraying his order; and a man who has shown the analytic turn of his mind and his peculiar ability for analyzing figures not only by the success he has achieved in his own profession, but by the manner in which he has previously treated subjects of public moment.

Mr. Shearman's article speaks for itself. There is in it no spirit of railing against the rich, no attempt at exaggeration, no disposition to overstate facts or to overstrain arguments. On the contrary, the manifest disposition is to understate rather than to overstate, to make the assumption that will lead to the least startling conclusion and to accept the most moderate and secure estimate. His temper throughout is not that of the man who has a pre-accepted theory to prove, but that of the cool inquirer into facts, anxious only to discover the truth, whatever may be its bearings.

Perhaps the most striking thing in Mr. Shearman's article is the list of large fortunes which he gives. This is the first attempt by any competent person to make any inventory of American millionaires. Mr. Shearman has evidently been extremely cautious. He has accepted no wild reports, but, as he says, has kept his list down very nearly to the limits of his personal information, and has excluded from it those of whose affairs he has confidential information, even though they should have been on it. He gives it only as a partial list, saying that he is satisfied that there are in the United States at least as many more persons who ought to be on it as those he has named. And yet this list, the first of the kind that has yet been publicly attempted, and comprising only half the number the compiler believes should be there, shows seventy fortunes of \$20,000,000 or over. Of these seventy fortunes of \$20,000,000 or over there are two of \$150,000,000 each; five averaging \$100,000,000 each; one of \$70,000,000; two averaging \$60,000,000; six averaging \$50,000,000; six averaging \$40,000,000; five averaging \$35,000,000; thirteen averaging \$30,000,000; ten averaging \$25,000,000; four averaging \$22,500,000; and fifteen of over

\$20,000,000. Could anything more strikingly show how the great republic of modern times is going the way of Rome! Yet the half is not told. Mr. Shearman states his belief that a list of ten Americans could be made up averaging \$100,000,000 each, and a list of one hundred more averaging \$25,000,000 each.

Among all the organs of things as they are, the effort will of course be to sneer at this list as exaggerated, yet the only attempt to invalidate it that I have seen is that of the Evening Post, which states that the estate of I. V. Williamson, which is put by Mr. Shearman at \$22,500,000, was recently inventoried for probate in Philadelphia at \$10,600,000, as though this fact were evidence of the untrustworthiness of Mr. Shearman's estimates. So far from this being proof of Mr. Shearman's exaggeration, it is proof of his care and trustworthiness. For every well informed lawyer knows, though the writer on the Post may be innocent of it, that it is always safe to estimate the real value of a large fortune at at least two and a half times the figure given in probate. And the proportion is presumably greater in Pennsylvania, where a heavy legacy and succession tax is levied. Mr. Shearman has certainly not exceeded the truth; he has probably kept considerably within it when he has estimated at \$22,500,000 an estate probated in Pennsylvania at \$10,600,000. And Mr. Williamson himself, who probably knew best what he could afford, announced his intention to make a gift of \$12,000,000 to one institution during his own lifetime.

With cool audacity the Evening Post makes an assertion with regard to the list given by Mr. Shearman which is going the rounds in reflections like this from the Rochester Post-Express:

The Evening Post notes one curious fact in connection with Mr. Shearman's figures. Only two of the families on the above list are distinctly holders of real estate; and therefore the statistics tend to show that the concentration of wealth in this country is not due in any remarkable degree to land speculation or land ownership. This has long been our notion. The drift in modern society is toward a decrease in the comparative dignity and value of landed wealth, and toward a shifting of the burdens to the shoulders of land owners. Facility in communication, in the concentration, combination and reproduction of capital has made the wealth that is embarked in commerce, in manufactures and in inland transportation supreme.

It is not the land-owning class in this country that threatens the stability of our institutions. As yet they constitute the best safeguard for the security of labor and the preservation of the independence of the masses of the people as against the concentration of wealth. It looks to us as if the single tax movement, though the men engaged in it do not so regard it, were a millionaire movement.

Only two families distinctly owners of real estate! The \$150,000,000 of Trinity church, the \$150,000,000 of J. J. Astor, the \$50,000,000 of William Astor, the \$50,000,000 of W. W. Astor, the \$70,000,000 of A. Packer, the Pennsylvania coal land owner, the \$50,000,000 of E. A. Stevens, the \$40,000,000 of P. Golet, the \$30,000,000 of Eckley B. Cox, the \$30,000,000 of R. J. Livingston, the \$30,000,000 of Fred Weyerhaeuser, the \$30,000,000 of S. V. Harkness, the \$30,000,000 of R. W. Coleman (probably greatly underrated), the \$25,000,000 of E. T. Gerry, the \$25,000,000 of A. Schermerhorn, the \$20,000,000 of Mrs. Schenley (the English lady who owns such a large part of the ground over which Pittsburg has been built), are purely land fortunes. And most of the other fortunes which Mr. Shearman has mentioned largely consist of, and are in great part directly due, to the ownership of land.

For instance, the \$100,000,000 fortune of Jay Gould had its start in a land speculation, and includes a good deal of land; the fortunes of Stanford, Huntington,

Mills, Winans, Hopkins, the Drexels and Morgans, comprise a great deal of land. The fortunes of Rockefeller, Flagler and the rest of the Standard oil men embrace the ownership and control of what the Evening Post will probably classify as holes in the ground, but which are really land. The Havemeyers have made their \$40,000,000 even more out of successful real estate speculation than out of the tariff; William Thaw was a great owner of coal and iron lands; Dr. Hostetter got his start in stomach bitters, but made his great fortune out of lucky land purchases; William Sharon made his fortune in part out of Nevada silver mines (which are certainly not air), but in greater part out of San Francisco and Washington real estate, and Peter Donahue besides his gas stock and railroad, was a large owner of valuable land.

There is not a single fortune on Mr. Shearman's list that is not due to monopoly of some kind. The three great causes which have built up these monstrous concentrations of wealth are the handing over to individuals of the unearned increment of land values, the possession of public franchises and the protective tariff. But for these methods of public robbery for private benefit the only considerable fortunes on the list would have been those of A. T. Stewart, a very able and successful trader, and I. M. Singer, the owner of a very valuable sewing machine patent. But these would have been much shrunken. The tariff gave Stewart enormous advantages as an importer, and investments in lands helped to swell both the Stewart and the Singer estates. And in addition the financial policy of the government by enhancing the value of government bonds and giving to the creditor class an advantage over the debtor class, probably added to all of these fortunes.

The single tax, with what will certainly come with it, the utilization of public franchises for public benefit, would cut to the very root of all these monstrous fortunes. We would still have rich men, but none so monstrously rich, none who got rich without earning their wealth, and by the sheer plundering of their fellow citizens. We would have none able to pay down two million dollars at a clip to get titled German blackguards to marry their daughters, and to maintain so-called democratic daily papers for their private amusement. But on the other hand we would have no tramps, no paupers, no strikes and lockouts, no necessity for pinching economy to make both ends meet on the part of men willing to do a fair day's work. There would be fewer magnificent private yachts, but every industrious American citizen might easily treat himself and his wife to a trip to Europe. For the worst of these monstrous aggregations of wealth is the waste entailed by the causes which create them. These twenty fold and hundred fold millionaires are like elephants in a grain field. It is not so much what they eat; it is what they trample down and destroy.

The measure of the public service which Mr. Shearman has rendered to the masses of his countrymen by printing even this partial and underestimated list is indicated by the bitterness which is shown against him in the camp of the monopolists. It is only natural and right that men should be proud of the possession of wealth they have honestly earned, just as the farmer is proud of his big pumpkins or line stock, or the housewife is proud of her well scrubbed floor or tasteful preserves. But these great millionaires do not like their fellow citizens to know how

rich they are, and regard it as a personal injury that anyone should try to estimate their wealth. For no one knows better than they do that they have not honestly got it.

One of the most important of the bills, both to the party and the nation, which the democrats of the next congress ought to unite on and press, is that introduced by Senator Beck of Kentucky in the last congress providing for the publication in newspapers of each pension district of complete lists of the pensions granted to applicants from that district, with the cause for which granted and the amount paid. The republicans would probably oppose such a bill, as they have before, but their refusal to allow the people to know what has been done with their money would of itself do much to call public attention to the shameless plundering of the treasury that is going on. There is no question that President Cleveland's attitude on these pension steals cost him many votes in the last election. But had the democrats of the house shown anything like the honesty and courage of Mr. Cleveland these plundering bills would never have been presented to him. Even had they made any adequate effort to let the people know the true character of the greater part of this pension business what was the cause of a party loss would have been the cause of a very much greater party gain.

Much of this timidity was due to the morbid fear of southern democrats that any opposition to pension plundering would injure the chances of the democratic party by giving effect to the cry of "rebel brigadiers." They knew the swindling character of many of these claims, and fully realized the peculiar injustice to the south in squandering in undeserved pensions money wrung from the masses of the whole country. Their real feeling has been that this was a part of a monstrous tribute levied by the victors in the civil war upon the vanquished. But they seemed to think it better to acquiesce lest worse befall them by the rousing of the war spirit in the north again.

In this they did injustice to the people of the north. There is no question of the strength of the proper feeling that the nation should take care, and take good care, of all who are suffering from disabilities incurred in her service. But there is no part of the north in which a bringing to light of the manner in which the pretense of meeting the public obligations of honor and gratitude has been made the excuse for depleting the public treasury would not produce general indignation. The spectacle which a publication of the pension list would show, of men who never suffered any disability from their service during the war, men who had not merely been perfectly able to pursue ever since their usual occupations, but who have, in many cases, accumulated wealth, receiving thousands of dollars in a lump on some trumped up plea would be sufficient to overwhelm any party that was responsible for it, and would perhaps more than anything else bring the masses to realize that this worse than wanton profligacy with public money must be at their expense.

HENRY GEORGE.

TUESDAY'S ELECTIONS.

The reaction against the fraud and misrepresentation that procured the election of a protectionist president and congress a year ago has set in vigorously. This is the lesson of last Tuesday's elections. At this writing it looks as if Ohio had chosen a democratic governor, and it appears certain that Iowa has done so. Whether the final count shows that the democratic or the republican candidates are chosen,

the closeness of the vote in states once surely republican unmistakably indicates the drift of opinion.

In Massachusetts the secret ballot appears to have injured the democratic machine in Boston and the republican machines throughout the state, and, on the whole, to have helped the democrats. Queerly enough, it appears that the defeat, by a narrow plurality, of Russell, the democratic candidate for governor, is partly due, not to fanatical devotion to the protective idea on the part of the republicans, but to the intimate friendship between the Boston saloon keepers and the republican machine. A victory achieved in such fashion can only result in the long run in the permanent overthrow of the republican party in Massachusetts.

In Ohio, though none but state officers were to be elected, a United States senatorship was involved, and the tariff issue was the all-absorbing one. The democrats made the mistake of putting a man formerly known as a Randallite on a free trade platform, and so had to meet the full strength of the protectionists' assault, while alienating many free traders who would not swallow Campbell, even though sugar-coated with the best conceivable platform. It is, however, due to Campbell to say that his utterances have grown more radical as the campaign advanced.

The tariff issue was not the only one in Iowa, but it played a most important part. The relations of the republican candidate with the railroads cost him many votes, but there were many evidences of a determined revolt by the farmers against the protectionist party. This revolt once started it is sure to speedily reach proportions that may make Iowa a democratic state in 1892 if the democrats continue to move forward toward free trade.

In New Jersey, the democrats won a decisive victory, but New Jersey is a democratic state, and the only significance of the result is the proof it offers that the tariff agitation has not hurt the party in one of its strongholds.

In the state of New York the democratic ticket is elected, but the difference between the vote for Rice and that for the remainder of the ticket shows that had the single tax men been organized, so as to work in concert, they could have cut down the vote for Hill's candidates sufficiently to have defeated them. As it was, the whole democratic ticket had the advantage of the general reaction against the protectionist policy, and the discrimination in favor of the head of the ticket would have had to be very extensive to accomplish the defeat of the remaining candidates.

The Tammany triumph in this city helped Hill's candidates and may delay ballot reform for a time, but aside from these incidental results it is not to be regretted. The so-called citizens' movement was a combination of two machines, neither of which has any claim whatever to superiority over Tammany hall. This fact is known to everybody, and the appeal of the outs to the "moral sense of the people" and their high flown pretensions to superior virtue and patriotism were received with deserved scorn and derision. The failure of such a preposterous attempt to deceive really paves the way for the success of an honest movement of citizens in behalf of good government when the time comes. When a determined and sincere attempt is made to smash machine rule there will be an uprising of the people of New York that will amount to something, but sensible men have quit taking sides in battles between machines equally selfish and corrupt.

Looking at the general result there is much to encourage the advocates of free trade, or of tariff reduction in any degree. There is less cause for satisfaction among the advocates of ballot reform in this state, but they have themselves to thank for that. They have at least forced the universal admission that some reform is necessary, and if they will go to work earnest at once and organize the scat-

tered friends of the reform into one compact body they can take advantage of the more favorable conditions likely to exist next year, and force both parties to nominate candidates favoring a real ballot reform bill, such as has just been triumphantly tested in Massachusetts, instead of the Connecticut bill, to which the sham ballot reformers look as their model. The friends of the reform in this state must go to work at once, and if those most competent to render effective service do not take the lead, others will have to do so, and do the best they can. The work must be done, and it will be done this fall and winter.

THE BALLOT REFORM MEETING.

The ballot reform meeting at Cooper union on last Saturday evening was a remarkable demonstration of the public interest in the proposed reform in our method of balloting. No one who listened to the enthusiastic, but discriminating, applause of the audience could doubt for a moment that there is in this community a large body of intelligent and determined men who see clearly that under existing conditions the masses are practically disfranchised, and who are determined on a radical and thorough reform.

Incidentally it was demonstrated that the majority of the audience was composed of single tax men. This is due to the fortunate fact that single tax men are ballot reformers of the kind that is not deterred from attending public meetings by a little rain. All ballot reformers were invited, and the members of the Reform club, under whose auspices the meeting was held, were particularly invited, but it was left to the enthusiasm of the single tax men to save the meeting from failure and make it the magnificent success it really was, despite inclement weather. The failure of the Reform club members to back up the efforts of their own efficient committee is one of the things that might be passed over in courteous silence if it were not important that such apathy should be rebuked, in view of the further plans of the committee.

On Friday evening of last week delegates representing the Manhattan single tax club and the Excelsior ballot reform league met the ballot reform committee of the Reform club to consider a plan of campaign to be set in motion immediately after the election. The meeting was one that promises much for the advancement of ballot reform, provided all the elements represented at it pull together, and it cannot be so successful as it ought to be unless there is such co-operation. It is therefore to be hoped that the members of the Reform club will give to future efforts in this direction a more general and enthusiastic support than they gave to the meeting under the auspices of their own club last Saturday night.

The Excelsior ballot reform league especially represents those Knights of Labor and trades unionists who are aroused to the vital importance of this reform, while the Manhattan single tax club represents a body of men whose zeal in the cause was amply demonstrated last Saturday evening. These are the two elements whose fusion brought about the tremendous vote cast for the united labor candidate in 1886, and, though they have since drifted apart on questions of policy, any cause in which they unite, as they unquestionably will unite in behalf of ballot reform, is certain to have a voting strength that will compel the serious attention of politicians who value their own future.

If to a force like this can be added that represented by the Reform club membership, a combination will exist that will be irresistible. The workingmen and the single tax men are in earnest. Whatever difference of opinion may exist among them as to the ends to be attained by political action, they all see that nothing effective can be done so long as they are confined to a choice between the candidates of two political machines, nor while their votes can be overwhelmed by those of bribed or intimidated men. The

members of the Reform club feel this just as strongly, but no more strongly, and there is every reason why they should throw aside all indifference and dilettantism and go to work to utilize the splendid opportunity now open to them.

If they will do this there will be organized this fall in every assembly district a ballot reform association that may have the power to compel favorable action at the coming session of the legislature. If the movement were confined to single tax men, it would arouse the prejudices of those who imagine that they are opposed to a doctrine that they do not understand. If it were confined to workingmen it would be less formidable than it would have been a few years ago, but if it is made apparent that it represents the whole body of the citizens, irrespective of class, occupation or ordinary political differences, it will succeed, and succeed this year. The time is ripe for a movement that will compel the obedience of every member of the legislature who cherishes any hope whatever of a continuance in public life.

PROGRESS IN AUSTRALIA.

The article on Australian politics, printed elsewhere, gives gratifying evidence of a rapid and remarkable advance of the single tax movement in New South Wales. The ignorance and misapprehension which alone can hold sincere free traders and intelligent single tax men apart have, in New South Wales, been swept away. The Free trade and liberal association, with the full concurrence of the premier, Sir Henry Parkes, has declared for absolute free trade and the transfer of all taxation to land values exclusive of improvements, and pledged itself to the full support and assistance of Henry George's coming campaign in New South Wales and the other Australian colonies.

This is the most important step forward yet taken in any part of the world. It is, of course, clear that the liberal party in England is rapidly drifting toward the acceptance of single tax doctrines, but that party is still largely dominated by men who, to say the most, only tolerate our ideas though refusing to allow belief in them to stand in the way of a liberal candidate's election. The attitude of Mr. Gladstone toward the efforts of some so-called liberals to defeat the election of Mr. Seymour Keay is doubtless that of most of the leaders of the liberal party. Nothing like a full and free acceptance of the single tax programme can be expected of these leaders until the radical element in the party has a more potential voice in its counsels.

Nevertheless the English liberals are bound to accept the single tax as the leading feature in their programme, for just as the land question underlies the Irish home rule movement, so does the land question underlie the support the English masses are giving to Irish demands. In Australia, however, where the question of protection is still a live one, the necessary connection between free trade and the single tax is more obvious, and the progress toward the one final solution of the vexed problem is more apparent.

In our own country the close observer sees that the drift in the same direction is one that gathers momentum with the continuance of the tariff agitation. The old fashioned free trader never had any sufficient answer to the question, "Where will you get the necessary revenue for government?" Here and there one was bold enough to reply "By direct taxation," but all of them knew that direct taxation on the products of labor would be hateful to the people and they feared to proclaim it as their demand. It was not until the single tax idea began to be a force in politics that there could be found a body of men who openly welcome direct taxation and who are prepared to show that it will sweep away the burden laid on industry by tariff taxation. These are the true free traders, and until they arose it never entered the head of any man addressing an audience in America to go out of his way to use free trade as

a catchword to arouse enthusiasm and evoke applause.

There is no such spell in "tariff reform," and there never will be. The opponents of protection in this country are gradually coming to see this, and the free traders of New South Wales have seen it already and recognized the logic of events.

A TAXATION TRAGEDY.

The little town of Dothan, Ala., was recently the scene of a terrible tragedy which shows how furious the passions excited by an unjust system of taxation may become. The farmers around the town have recently organized a branch of the Farmers' alliance. Thinking that the merchants of the town were not offering them a fair price for their cotton, the alliance established a warehouse of its own. This was resented by the local merchants, who thereupon, according to the farmers, began to discriminate against members of the alliance.

The town council of Dothan recently passed an ordinance imposing a tax on drays. Dothan is a boom town that has suddenly sprung into existence in anticipation of the completion of the Alabama midland railroad. Of course town lots have a fancy value, but it does not appear to have occurred to the town council to tax these values, and so they began taxing industry, and the draymen were among the victims. Whether or not the quarrel of the town people with the farmers had anything to do with the passage of the ordinance taxing drays does not appear, but the farmers were violently opposed to it.

On Oct. 12 a drayman was engaged in hauling cotton from within the town to the alliance warehouse of G. M. Stringer, just outside the town limits. The drayman was notified by the town marshal that he was violating the law in driving an unlicensed truck and he quit work. Thereupon Mr. Stringer undertook to drive the truck himself and he was arrested by the town marshal. Stringer drew a knife and a fight ensued in which neither of the combatants sustained serious injury. A trial came next which was attended by three hundred alliance men armed with clubs. Excitement ran high on both sides, and a shooting affray followed, which resulted in the killing of Stringer and two town marshals, and the wounding more or less seriously of four other men.

Of course the farmers were right in resenting the town's interference with their right to trade freely, and equally, of course, they were wrong in violating the obnoxious law. The incident shows, however, how bitterly men resent interference with their natural rights. If sound ideas on the subject of taxation had prevailed in Dothan the increasing land values of the place would have borne all the expense of its government and it would not have been guilty of the folly of impairing its own prosperity by taxing the industries essential to the growth of its business. Then it would have had no quarrel with the farmers and this terrible affair could not have occurred.

MR. SHINN'S IDEAL CITY.

The single tax idea makes progress in ways not counted upon by its more eager advocates. We print elsewhere a brief extract from a fanciful sketch by Mr. C. H. Shinn that recently appeared in the San Francisco Argonaut, and which was copied in last Sunday's New York Tribune. The writer probably does not understand, and certainly does not accept fully, the single tax idea, but he nevertheless proposes to accomplish in his ideal city the very things that single tax men believe that our system will bring about in any city to which it is applied.

In Mr. Shinn's ideal city the "unit of real estate" is a city lot, on which a fixed tax is levied without regard to the improvements on it, and apparently without regard to its location. From this source and from the fares on street railroads, the sale of sewage, etc., the city derives a splendid income, and is saved from any necessity for taxing buildings or other improvements. Of course it is plain to

single tax men that Mr. Shinn fails to see how great a revenue could be derived from the tax on his "units of real estate" if location were considered, and also that he fails to see that if the public does not take these values by taxation, favored individuals in the center of his ideal city will enjoy a great advantage for which they render no equivalent to the community that creates the values which such individuals will monopolize. All this will become plain to Mr. Shinn if he will think the matter out.

Meanwhile his article is a really valuable contribution to the literature of the single tax. He is a man of ability, who left a promising position in journalism on the Pacific coast some years ago to come east and enter the Johns Hopkins university at Baltimore. He subsequently did considerable writing for the Evening Post and other papers in New York, and he has now returned to California. The fact that such a man sees the possibility of an enormous improvement in the conditions of life in cities, and that the way to such advance lies through improved methods of taxation, is of itself a good sign, while the added fact that he sees the importance of exempting improvements shows that he is unconsciously approaching the true solution of the problem.

Such a tendency on the part of writers of Mr. Shinn's ability and culture is in itself highly encouraging, and the fact that his article is not only published by the Argonaut of San Francisco, but that it is copied by the Tribune of this city—two papers opposed to the single tax—is even more encouraging.

The New York Sun has been the persistent enemy of all proposals for real ballot reform. In a Boston dispatch printed in its issue of last Sunday, in reference to the probable result of last Tuesday's election the correspondent said:

Added to a general dissatisfaction with the heads of the tickets is a new factor, the Australian ballot system, which is to be tried here for the first time in the coming election. This is the factor which has so completely upset the calculations of the politicians. The party whips are useless in this election. For the first time in history every voter will have the opportunity of voting for whom he pleases without being "spotted" by one of the wire-pullers.

As though desiring to emphasize this important point, the following head is put over the dispatch by one of the editors of the Sun:

The situation greatly complicated by the Australian ballot system, by which every man can vote as he pleases without being spotted by the bosses.

If, after presenting such testimony to its readers, the Sun continues to editorially denounce the essential principles of the Massachusetts law, it will confess that it does not believe in allowing every man to "vote as he pleases, without being spotted by the bosses."

The municipal election at Streator, Ill., on October 29, to fill the office of mayor, rendered vacant by the resignation of A. V. Cool, was the most exciting contest ever known there. F. W. Eades was the candidate of the corporate interests, backed by the republican papers, while the candidate of the miners was Colonel J. J. Geraghty. The workingmen triumphed, Geraghty receiving 991 votes to 643 cast for Eades. Though local issues predominated, a strong appeal was made to the voters to defeat Geraghty because he is an anti-protection democrat. The miners have, however, been discussing the tariff question at their meetings, and the appeal to their supposed prejudices fell flat, despite the fact that Harrison carried the city by a majority of 193.

From Australasia, England and Denmark, as well as from all parts of our own country, THE STANDARD prints this week glad tidings of the single tax movement. No narrow lines of nationality bound a movement that embraces mankind in its promise of deliverance and declares to the nations that the barriers that estrange and keep them apart shall be broken down. Free trade, words too long hated by the victims of trade restriction, are becoming once more words of cheer and hope, carrying with them to all the world the gospel

of "peace on earth; good will to men." This is the difference between free trade as preached by the single tax men and free trade as timidly and apologetically urged by those who see nothing in it but an improvement in the machinery of commerce with a view to enriching those engaged in such operations.

The ballot reform meeting in Brooklyn under the auspices of the Brooklyn single tax club was a notable one, and the effort redounds to the credit of the Brooklyn single tax men. It is work like this that breaks down the prejudice that has so long stood in the way of a fair consideration of our principles by men whose character and unselfish regard for the public welfare make them properly our natural allies.

The number of proclaimed single tax men in the London county council is not great, but the problems with which the council has to deal are such that the single tax members have an admirable opportunity not merely to illustrate their ideas, but to have them actually applied in many cases. The time has probably gone by when any municipality will ever again spend millions of dollars in widening streets and then allow a few favored individuals to reap all the pecuniary benefit of such widening.

There are numerous artists who are advocates of the single tax, and all of them will read with pleasure Mr. Phipson's letter to the editor of THE STANDARD, showing that land monopoly has been an obstruction to the growth of art in architecture.

Mr. W. Chaney's clever sketch entitled "George Washington Smith and his big Ax," conveys a very strong hint of the close relation that any kind of access to natural opportunities has to the wages question. The man who can cut firewood on land of his own is certain not to work for any other man for less wages than he can earn by chopping wood and carrying it to market.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DENVER, Col.—What is the definition of the word "monopoly"? Am I monopolizing the hat or the shoes I wear? JAS. CROSBY.

You are monopolizing the hat or the shoes you wear. But being your own, you have a right to the monopoly; and it is not to such instances that the term applies when it is used to express an evil. Monopoly as currently used means the appropriation by a few of property or rights that in justice belong to all.

Mr. W. T. Stead, editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, in an article on "The Liberalism of To-morrow" in the Universal Review, as a matter of course, touches on the land question, which bars the way of democratic progress in England. Mr. Stead thinks that for the present the landlord is an indispensable element in the social economy of the country, only he must learn that he exists for the people, not that the people exists for him. But Mr. Stead sees the cat in this way: "The old landed system of this country," he says, "has had its uses, and they are not yet extinct. The democracy, like the butterfly, needed and to some extent still needs, its protecting chrysalis. But the chrysalis of feudalism is fulfilling its *raison d'être* and will pass. It has preserved for the people the parks, which, if it had not existed, an uncultured and grasping peasantry would have destroyed, and it has kept together great parcels of territory in a condition which will render it feasible for us, in the fullness of time, to replace the individual landlord by a local representative board, in which would be invested the inalienable fee simple of the soil. Not until that change has been effected will our people have attained their majority and have fully entered into their inheritance. But in this, as in all forms of socialism, the secret of safety and of success is to be found in the resolute refusal to allow nationalization to be substituted for the communal or the municipal system of social organization."

C. A. Lindorme of Fort Reid, Florida, noting a recent report of the auction sale

of a share of the New river water works, at London, England, for \$614,000, says: The par value of this share was \$500. This fabulous advance from the original price has come about in the course of 275 years, but made its great advance in the few last decades. Even at the beginning of the present century there was little evidence that the shares would become enormously valuable, but the increase of population in the English metropolis has brought about the undreamed of advance. During this century very little work has been done for increasing the supply. The receipts of the company depend upon the annual value of property supplied with water, and not upon the amount of water consumed. The company has the exclusive right of supplying water to the northern suburbs, including Hampstead and High Gate, the whole of the city proper, a portion of Westminster, and several wealthy suburbs. The company has also, in course of time, come to own enormously valuable grounds from which it obtains a splendid revenue in ground rents. It thus has by law a power to levy taxes on other property throughout the district supplied with water and the land taxes on property covered with business houses and suburban villas.

PUEBLO, Col.—I sympathize with the single tax movement, but am in great doubt as to free trade. History and business men tell us that after free trade was established in 1828 in the United States, there was a great back set in the prosperity of all classes, until in 1841 protection was re-established. Why should we not expect the same result now? Why would not our specie be drained out of the country by the balance of trade? Why can we not have a system of moderate protection only on such materials as would benefit the many, and at the same time carry out the single tax? E. W. ROBBINS.

Free trade was not established in the United States in 1828. There was, however, a gradual decline of the tariff between 1832 and 1841, and then a rise, and two or three years after a reduction to a revenue basis. The hard times of which you speak occurred under high protection; the best times we have known were under the revenue tariff. As we are producers of gold and silver, a drain of the metal is not more likely to frighten our miners than a drain of wheat would be to frighten our farmers. The reason we cannot have protection and the single tax at the same time is that the single tax involves a principle of opposition to all interferences with industry, while protection is a scheme for interfering with the free play of industrial forces. If we have protection we do not have the single tax; if we have the single tax it is impossible to have protection.

The Cherokee council still hold out firmly against a partition of the tribal lands; they know that the communal ownership has worked well, and propose to continue it. But there is a scheme on foot to force them into the private ownership system. It has been proposed, under the authority granted by the act of 1866, to settle the Cherokee country with hordes of friendly Indians who have abandoned tribal relations. Thus the Cherokees would be confronted by the alternative of either giving up their waste lands or submitting to an invasion of a motley swarm of strange aborigines. If this programme should be carried out the fertile lands of the Cherokee Outlet would doubtless soon be opened to white settlement.

WILMINGTON, Del.—Who first brought forward in New York the idea of the Australian system of voting—Thorndike Rice or Henry George? DAVID MCWILLIAMS.

In the North American Review for March, 1883, then edited by Thorndike Rice, Henry George advocated the reform. It was never prominently put forward before that.

The strike of the Illinois coal miners has ended, after six months of idleness, the men gaining an advance of two and a half cents a ton.

BOSTON, Mass.—In its issue of October 15, 1889, the Boston Globe says a "single tax advocate declares that before Henry George's idea can be practically applied all existing mortgages must be first paid." Is that true? S. E. F.

The Globe must have manufactured its single tax advocate for the occasion. Of course it is not true. Some people in Boston who disclaim sympathy with the single tax propose to abolish all taxes except taxes on real estate. Must all mortgages be paid before they can accomplish their reform? Certainly not. Then why must all mortgages be paid before a reform can be accomplished

which goes one step further and proposes to abolish taxes on improvements as well as taxes on personal property?

The San Francisco Examiner claims that nine-tenths of all the opium used in San Francisco is smuggled. It says:

This is a notorious fact. It is known to every drug dealer in the city and to all who formerly handled the drug. It is known to the treasury department, because complaints have been made to Washington by honest importers who found themselves undersold.

It also claims that the smuggling is accomplished by collusion between officials and smugglers, and that although frequent arrests are made, yet they are only made in the case of the small men who are interfering with the big smugglers. Thus coal passers, petty stewards and seamen who try to get through a ten pound can of low grade opium are snapped up, while the big men go free. There is a tariff of forty per cent on opium extract and 110 per cent on opium prepared for smoking.

TORONTO, Can.—The law permits the taking of lands from private owners for public good at a valuation. Now, would it not be for the public good that men who are willing to use unoccupied land should be able to obtain it by valuation? If a settler were willing to give value for idle land, why should the speculator be exempted from a law similar to that which compels other good citizens to part with their property for the general welfare? On the demand of a given number of intending settlers a given extent of such land might be put up at auction in parcels to suit, the conditions of sale being on immediate occupancy, cultivation or use.

A CANADIAN SUBSCRIBER.

The taking of private property at a valuation for the public good is allowed only where it is taken for public service. To take property from one private citizen and give it to another, without charging him with a public duty, is not taking it for a public service. If your plan were applied to all land, it would make it possible to take private property for private use, which is repugnant to the idea of private property; and if it were applied only to vacant land, it would be ineffective, for there would be no way of distinguishing between vacant land and non-vacant land. The more you think about it the more clearly you will see that the imposition of taxes on land values alone, irrespective of improvements, will operate automatically to produce that equality of right and opportunity, for which so many ill-considered devices are proposed.

The Women's Christian temperance union has raised \$1,100,000 on interest bearing bonds for the purpose of erecting a temperance temple in Chicago. The temple will probably be erected on the corner of LaSalle and Monroe streets. The union is said to have a membership of 200,000.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—A poor man buys a lot which he is paying for in installments, intending to build a home after he gets the lot paid for. Under the single tax he pays the same taxes as his neighbor who can afford to build at once. Why is not this unjust to the poor man? F. P. JONES.

It is for you to point out its injustice. He and his neighbor are monopolizing the same value of common property and ought in justice to pay the same tax. The fact that he is paying for his land in installments has nothing to do with it. That suggests an injustice of the present system; but it does not raise any question about the justice of the single tax.

"The people of Texas have more land than anything else except office holders. Land is so plentiful and cheap that its ultimate value is not considered in the legislation of the state," says the Galveston News, and then it proceeds to show in a column editorial that one of the most fruitful sources of litigation in Texas is the struggle of people to acquire land.

HORNELLVILLE, N. Y.—If those workingmen who are now spending a part of their wages for spirituous liquors should become what is called teetotallers—if they should quit the haunts of vice and devote their time, money and influence to the cultivation of a higher moral state—would not the increased demand that this improved condition would create for the comforts and luxuries of life permanently raise wages, and thus afford a remedy for the misery and squalor which at present so afflict mankind? G. H. V.

No. Sobriety tends to increase wages only as it offers an advantage. When drunkenness prevails, the sober man has an advantage; but when all are sober, he has not. It is the same with skill. When all are skillful, skill does not increase wages; it is only as a man's skill is greater than what his fellows possess that it benefits him in the matter of wages. The effect of general sobriety, like that of labor saving machinery, would be to in-

crease the demand for land to be used in production. The natural effect of that demand would be to increase the proportion of production going to rent and to diminish that going to wages; and with this would come an expectation of even higher rent in the future, which would make a speculative demand for land and lower wages actually as well as proportionally.

The single tax men of Boston have promptly taken up the challenge of the Labor Leader, already noted in THE STANDARD. The Leader editorially says: "Whatever else may be alleged, it cannot be said that the single tax lacks zealous defenders."

I hope I may be excused for criticizing some expressions used by writers in THE STANDARD. One of these is, that when the single tax shall have come into operation land held by speculators will be free. Now, I understand that such holders would be compelled to put their land to use, and thereby give employment to labor, or else to sell to some one who would; and as the latter plan would be most generally adopted, vast quantities of land would be thrown upon the market, and sold at such prices as a healthful competition would justify, and thus a demand for all kinds of labor would be opened up. Then again, we speak of taxing rental value. May there not come a time when land generally will not have a rental value in consequence of there being little demand for renting land, as most persons would have bought what they needed. So, why not talk of taxing the actual values of land?

GEO. F. LEWIS.

The effect would be as you describe it. But, since with increase of the land value tax, speculation in land would almost cease, there would be no demand for land lying below the normal margin of production, and it would be an open common free to the first comer. In speaking of rental value you have put the cart before the horse. Land value is only rent capitalized. Under the single tax the time would come when land would have but little selling value; but its rental value would still be very large.

A correspondent of the Dundee People's Journal commences his letter as follows: "Sir—At public meetings the proposal to alter the land law always evokes a cheer."

ELIZABETH, N. J.—If the repeal of the corn laws was not followed by a tax on land, in what way did it benefit the people of England.

J. H. BROOKS.

By removing restrictions from trade. Trade is a form of production, and very much as land monopoly burdens original production do restrictions on trade burden trade. If all restrictions were removed from trade, the time would come when the benefits would be absorbed by rent; but that absorption is not immediate.

The Boston school supply company have added one to the considerable number of books on pedagogies now published. It is a small handbook by a man who has taught and presided over a large school for many years, and contains some very practical and well arranged lessons for young teachers. The author advises the teacher to make outline notes of every lesson before teaching, and shows by numerous actual examples how this should be done. The idea of the book is that the teacher should study and learn how to give children, even the younger children, a clear and comprehensive general view of a subject, instead of merely drumming into them a mass of ill assorted and for the most part useless facts. The title of the book is "Notes of Lessons for Young Teachers," and the author is Mr. John Taylor.

A liberal association at Lee, England, has invited ladies to become members.

A dispatch to the New York papers last Saturday said that all the unsold lands in Florida belonging to the Plant system of railroads and steamships; the Florida Southern, the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West systems and the Florida commercial company, have been consolidated under the name of the Associated railway land department of Florida. Over six million acres of land are brought under one management by the formation of this syndicate. The compact was sealed in New York city by representatives of all parties in interest Oct. 10.

The Chicago Tribune, in answer to a query as to what the single tax is, says:

Levying enough taxes on land alone to replace all the revenue now derived from every other source. Thus George's scheme contemplates repealing the tariff absolutely, repealing the whisky and tobacco excises—making them free of taxes; repealing all other federal taxes and imposing the sums all these

produce on farms and lots. Also to levy all state, county, and municipal taxes on lands and lots. To repeal all license taxes on saloons and levy on farms and lots enough more to make good that loss of revenue. Also to levy on farms and lots full up to their rental value so that they would have no longer any value to the holders, and the surplus money thus squeezed out of them to be used for the support of the impecunious and shiftless and for other public purposes. Nice scheme, is it not?

This is telling the truth with deliberate intent to deceive. Though single tax men oppose the misuse of the taxing power for any purpose other than that of raising revenue, they are not necessarily opposed to the use of police power for the regulation of the liquor traffic. Furthermore, they do not propose the premature abolition of alms houses, though they do believe that the number of paupers will be greatly decreased after natural opportunities are opened to all willing to work. So long as paupers exist the state will probably have to support them. It does so now, and at the same time maintains a system that forces honest and industrious men into pauperism. "Nice scheme, is it not?"

THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT.

[Concluding Article.]

The work of the league was done. The corn laws having been repealed, the council of the league resolved on suspending the organization they had set in motion, as long as no attempt was made to revive protection. At a great final meeting held in Manchester, July 4, 1846, Cobden said to his friends: "We are going to dissolve; and I am not quite sure that it is not wise and proper that it should be so. We have been kept together for seven years without one single dispute, without anything to cause the slightest alienation. We have had the bond of freemasonry and brotherhood so closely knit about us, that I don't think there has been a keen word in the happy family of the anti-corn law league. That is the spirit in which we should break off. Were we to continue our agitation, when the object for which we associated is gone, I am afraid that the demon of discord would be getting in among us. It is in nature so. It is in our moral nature necessary that when an organized body has performed its functions, it must pass into a new state of existence, and become differently organized. We are dispersing our elements to be ready for any other good works that will be attempted by good leaguers. Our body will, so to say, perish, but our spirit is abroad, and will pervade all the nations of the earth. It will pervade all the nations of the earth because it is the spirit of truth and justice, and because it is the spirit of peace and good will among men."

The Russell ministry continued the beneficent legislation of Peel. The repeal of the navigation act and a further reduction of the tariff, making free all articles that enter into manufactures, opened the way to that splendid expansion of British trade which, liberated still farther by succeeding ministers, has amazed and disconcerted all other nations. Reactionist leaders like Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby made desperate attempts to turn the tide backward toward protection. But the league sprang to arms at once, and the electors rebuked the mistaken Tories with crushing defeats. Cobden's pleas for retrenchment in national expenditures, for the application of the principle of non-intervention to foreign complications, for the reduction of armaments, were doomed to disregard. The jingo policy of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli was attractive to almost all except the workingmen—and it was only the other day, so to speak, that the great masses of workingmen secured the franchise. Besides this, it takes time for a wide and ever widening principle like that embraced under the name of free trade to make its way and enter into the very thought and soul of a busy nation. The years of reaction that followed the agitation of the league were disheartening years to Cobden. But we, looking back at them, discover that how, steadily assimilation and advance were being effected. There was little evidence on the surface that the mere fiscal side of the new system was developing men's minds into a wider moral range of ideas. Yet the evolution was going on. The so-called radicalism or democracy of England to-day is but a logical outcome and extension of the principles enunciated by Cobden and his associates during the anti-corn law agitation. "I believe," said Cobden in 1846, "that we are at an

era which in importance socially has not had its equal for the last 1800 years. . . . Why, it is a world's revolution, and nothing else; and every meeting we have held of this league may be looked back upon as the germ of a movement which will ultimately comprehend the whole world in its embrace." What could Cobden have conceived that world movement to be except one having for its motive the emancipation of labor and industry everywhere enslaved?

When the historian of the new era of British industry writes of the thirty years between 1850 and 1880, he must describe many ideas and systems which during that period presented themselves, or were presented to the people as possible remedies for their continued sufferings. Touching lightly on palpable political catchwords, such as "fair trade," "reciprocity" and the like, as alien to the spirit and genius of the accepted new commercial dispensation, he will unfold the mysteries of trades unions and show how strikes became vastly popular with workingmen. He will describe "co-operation" as advocated for the benefit of laborers, and give details concerning loan and building associations and co-operative stores. But the historian will submit that all these schemes were tentative experiments undertaken during a period of inaction and quiet growth, and will hasten to inform us that the main movement, carrying forward and advancing the points of vantage gained in the national recognition and maintenance of commercial free trade, was only resumed when the Irish land question came up for serious discussion about the year 1880. Then it was, he will tell us, that the agitation against protection entered upon a wider stage and took a broader scope. For about that time the attention of the world was suddenly called, by the appearance of Mr. Henry George's treatise, "Progress and Poverty," to the fact that a great protected interest had been overlooked by the free traders of the Manchester school, the most evasive, the most rapacious, the most dangerous protected interest of all. The interest continued to flourish, protected everywhere by law in a way the farmers and manufacturers of England had never been protected, even in the days of Sidmouth and Castlereagh. If the free traders of England or of any other country wished to have free trade in actual fact, and not a ridiculous *soupeon* of free trade, it devolved upon them to give their attention to the real protectionists. The charmed life of triumphant landlordism must be dared and destroyed, just as Macbeth, relying on a shallow charm, was sought out, faced and smitten by his most righteous foe. Such was the message conveyed to would-be free traders in the pages of "Progress and Poverty."

The half-hearted movement against the Irish landlords exhausted itself in dreary and illogical land acts, extensions of Ulster right, intricate valuations and flimsy and pompous legislation for the creation of a peasant proprietary. The nation followed statesmen in parliament with little interest. It was not until "the motive and the principle" underlying the question were laid bare to them by the teaching of a great thinker and educator that the people's attention and sympathy were roused. As the years rolled by, it became evident that nothing less than a "world's revolution," such as Cobden had predicted, was involved in the narrower movement against the Irish landlords. Once again, as in the days of the league, clear headed men sprang forward to rouse and teach. Again the agitation was taken out of doors. The common people, not so "opaquely ignorant" as in 1840, listened gladly to the message of the new economy, the message that bade them seek a simple yet efficient remedy for their wretchedness and woe. How the appeal to men's love of truth and justice, embodied in the doctrine of the single tax, has stirred the hearts and souls of English men and women, every day, as it comes, brings ample testimony.

What the ultimate outcome of this world wide movement against protection's first and last refuge, the insidious tyranny and mighty injustice of land monopoly, will be, no intelligent or well-informed man can doubt. Yet if there be any logic in the course of history, it is England, it seems to me, that should lead the nations in this most illustrious reform. England abolished slavery, England declared for freedom in trade very many years before the rest of the world came or has come to see the justice, honor and

highmindedness of those acts. And it is to be doubted if England at this day will be outdone by a lagging world in the thoughts and deeds that make for righteousness.

The overthrow of protection will be complete in England when the last vestige of private property in other men's labor is purged from the statute book—final and complete—when every man, woman and child in England is, by the law of the land, guaranteed the exercise of a human being's inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Freedom to live, freedom to produce and to exchange are the *people's charter*, a charter not dependent on act of parliament, but eternally theirs by the sanction of the Most High. England for Englishmen, in the sense of common birthright in its soil, its natural opportunities, its thronging beauties, its fame, its glorious future; England, for all upon her shores to love, to adorn, and fully to enjoy—these are the aspirations that sound the highest note of patriotism, that breathe the very breath of civic virtue!

The free man, the *liber homo*, of the early Anglo-Saxon laws has always engaged the sympathy and the admiration of students and historians. The free man was neither slave nor serf nor thegn nor noble nor ealdorman. He was the sturdy, self-reliant husbandman, who tilled the acres he held of the crown, and did service therefor only to his king and to his fatherland. "The free men," says Selden, "were the most considerable degree of the people, born free from all yoke of arbitrary power and all law of compulsion other than what was made by their voluntary consent, for all freemen had votes in the making and executing of the general laws." Their rights were recognized and guarded in the fifty-fifth statute of William the Conqueror. "We also strictly concede that all freemen (*liberi homines*) have and hold their land and possessions well and in peace, free from every unjust exaction, so that nothing be exacted or taken from them but their free service, which of right they ought to do to us and are bound to do, according as it was appointed to them by us, and conceded by hereditary right forever."

Between the Anglo-Saxon free man and the free man of the twentieth century may not the difference be one rather of degree than of kind? The people will then be king. Every free man will render to the community the equivalent of the service the community shall render to him. How shall that service in every case be measured? Reread the statute of William the Conqueror, often called the first Magna Charta, and will it not say: "We, the people of England, in parliament assembled, strictly concede that all free men have and hold their land and possessions well and in peace, free from every unjust exaction, so that nothing be exacted or taken from them but the annual value of the land or natural opportunities they hold as against the rest of the community, which value of right they ought to return to us, the people of England, and are bound so to do, according as it was appointed by the suffrage of the people and conceded of right forever."

With the recovery by the people of the use of natural opportunities, protection and restriction will be overthrown. Free play will then be given to the development of those sterling qualities that so early became noted in the case of the English people and shine out, in spite of an often unhappy environment, in the lives of so very many great men. A thousand years of misdirection will weigh lightly as against the stupendous impulse of perfectly recovered freedom. On that proud day England will enter upon a new life. Denied access to land, nations wither and die. With natural opportunities thrown open to all, on terms of absolute justice, the human mind may broaden into undreamed-of power and majesty. To the seer, *immortal* may seem the horoscope of the new republic's nativity. For how spake the wise old Brehon code?—*Land is perpetual man.*

E. YANCEY COHEN.

WORDS OF CONSOLATION.

Christus Redemptor, Christus Consolator, Christus Consummator.

"One hundred and thirty thousand persons, most of them women, slept in the police stations during the year," says a morning paper, and we shiver with a vague fear that in some way, perhaps, we are partly responsible for this condition of things. With what relief, there-

fore, do we turn to the Chautauquan for October to read what Bishop John H. Vincent, of the Methodist denomination, has, under the caption of "Sunday Readings," selected from an article on "The Social Influence of Christianity," written by David J. Hill, D.D., president of the Rochester university. Pleasant anticipations begin to be realized with the first words, when we read, in the lesson of October 6: "The Christian conception of man and the world does not afford any specific criterion for the division of wealth," by which we take it he means the *distribution* of wealth, as he afterward says that "for the Christian the problem of wealth's distribution is largely one of judicious beneficence." Again we read:

"The poor," said Jesus, "always ye have with you." I cannot see that it will ever be otherwise. It is proof that Christ entertained no dream of social equality. If all were equalized to-day, there would be the poor, if not the rich, to-morrow. . . . The incapable, the unfortunate, the sick, to say nothing of the idle and the improvident, will ever sit by the wayside, waiting for the coming of the Good Samaritan.

Such words bring us renewed assurance just at a time when we were beginning to feel an uncertainty. For here, there and where you will are most disquieting facts staring us in the face—facts that haunt and charge us with some sort of responsibility. Take, for instance, the heaps of facts to be found in the annual report of the commissioner of labor just issued from the office at Washington, in which the condition of working women in large cities is treated. It appears that \$5.25 is the average weekly earnings of women in the twenty-two cities in which investigations were made. Out of these earnings most of the women not only support themselves but contribute to the support of the family. "The existence of separate homes is a rarity even among the well-to-do industrial classes," says the report, describing conditions in New York city.

The crowded condition of the poor and struggling is beyond belief, unless actually witnessed. This brings with it disease, death, immorality, etc. Tall rear tenements block up the small air spaces that are insufficient even for the front, and often a third house stands behind the second. Sewerage is lacking or defective, and stench of all kinds prevail in the poorer quarters. Ground being so dear, rents are enormous. The necessities of life are high, and many of the poor live on the refuse of the markets.

Or turn over a few pages of this very periodical in which Bishop Vincent speaks, and behold what Helen Campbell says:

That when the census of 1880 had been taken it was found that 111,800 children were at work in the factories, and that this represented only a portion of the numbers actually at work.

That Mr. James Connelly, factory inspector for New York state, reported in 1887 that "year after year we have seen the demand increase for smaller and smaller children until it became a veritable robbery of the cradle to supply them."

That the commissioner of labor for Ohio in 1886 wrote: "The annual reports of the state superintendent of public instruction prove one thing conclusively, that under a depressed condition of trade, the school attendance rapidly decreases, and with every improvement in business comes an increase in the number of scholars. If, under favorable conditions, such as we experienced in 1880, nearly 80,000 children were engaged in gainful occupations, to what extent has child labor grown under the depressed conditions of trade of the last six years?"

That in Massachusetts in 1880, "children between the ages of ten and fifteen, constituted forty-four per cent of the whole number of working people."

That children of four in the tenement regions of New York work ten and twelve hours sewing on buttons, stripping tobacco, pulling out bastings, ripping, and in various other ways.

That, in short, "without child labor ten per cent of the laboring class, with the present relation of wages to the cost of living, would be in a state of debt or pauperism."

For the rooted skeptic, Mrs. Campbell, presents a few facts gathered during a personal investigation in New York.

They are taken from the notes of a physician, a woman who has long given attention to the subject, and knows life in the tenement house and among the poor in general as thoroughly as it well can be known. During the eighteen months prior to February 1, 1885, she found among the people with whom she came in contact 537 children under twelve years old, most of them between ten and twelve, who either worked in shops or stores or helped their mothers in some kind of work at home. Of these 535 children, but 60 were healthy. In one family a child at three years old had infantile paralysis, easily curable.

The mother had no time to attend to it. At five years old the child was taught to sew buttons on trousers. She is now at thirteen years a hopeless cripple; but she finished a dozen pair of trousers a day, and the family are thus twenty cents the richer. In another family she found twin girls four and a half years old sewing on buttons from six in the morning till ten at night; and near them was a family of three—a woman who did the same work, and whose old father of eighty and little girl of six were her co-workers.

Or for still another instance of the harsh realities about us, take the story from the pages of Macmillan's Magazine for September—a true story, but one too common to excite the surprise of those who have a knowledge of the social sphere which it depicts:

"Just tell me, Mrs. Allen, exactly what you have to manage with, and how you make it last out," I said, instead of letting her run on in her usual promiscuous way; and then the long tale came out with a rush. "Well, miss, I'll tell you just as near 's ever I can. There's John—he don't get but nine shill'n's a week now, being as it's winter time, but in summer like he'll get ten shill'n's; and then there's harvest—he count upon takin' pretty near seven pounds then, and the money's just the same whether harvest last four weeks or whether that last eight. That's all his earnings; and he don't get the chance to make no overtime. Then there's Jimmy—he's gettin' a big boy now, fifteen come his birthday. He arn half a crown a week, and sixpence on Sunday, when he goes the whole day. They 'on't let Oliver go to work till come next Michaelmas, so he can't arn nothin'; but Laura, she do a bit o' straw plait, and we reckon she can make fivepence clear in the week, when the man'll take it. You know, miss, she ain't like other girls, bein' as her back's not straight, and her health fare that bad; so we can't look for her to go to service—I've said times and times I'd be glad if she could. My little Annie's a fierce un (strong and lively), and I warrant she'll go as soon's ever she can."

"Then that is all you have to look to? Nine shillings a week for four or five months in the year; ten shillings for the rest; your husband's harvest; your little boy's half a crown a week, and Laura's five pence for straw plaiting. Now tell me how you lay it out." "Well, miss, there's rent, and that's a shill'n. Master stow that out o' John's money every week, let him arn what he'll. And then there's bread. And we can't do with less than five pecks of flour a week, and that's eight shill'n's and three ha'pence. And then there's a pound of salt—a ha'penny; and the yeast, three pence. Then I mostly buy a quarter o' butter—that's three pence; and three pound o' sugar—that's four pence ha'penny; and two ounces o' tea, and that's three pence, and I make spare o' that for the week. And we must have soap and soda—two pence for soap, and ha'penny for soda. I forced to wash twice a week, 'cause I never could get enough doddly clothes to keep the little uns clean all through the week, and that run away with a lot o' firin'. I can't reckon the firin' less than a shill'n a week, take the winter round; for coal's eighteen pence a hundred, and there's wood to buy as well. And we must have a fire; don't, we should be perished o' cold. Then there's oil, two pence a quart, and the quart last a week. Then there's six pence for John's 'baccy. Beer he can't have—'cept a half pint a chance time; but he do suffer so with the misery in his head, and he can't get rid of it without his pipe—he say that fare to do him good more than anythin'. He'd go a'thout 'most anythin' afore he'd go a'thout his 'baccy. Well, then there's his club—that's eighteen pence a month; and Jimmy's club—that's six pence, but that'll be a shill'n afore long now; and schoolin', fo'pence a week; and my clothin' club, a penny."

I have been jotting down the items as she tells me all this, and the result of my calculation is decidedly appalling. "Why the expenses you have told me of already are actually more than the money you can earn," I exclaim. "And you have allowed but one penny a week for clothes, nothing for boots, nothing for cheese, meat or milk! There must surely be some mistake." "No, no, miss, there ain't no mistake," she answers sadly—"cept that you've taken the hardest time of all. And yet it ain't the hardest time of all, for we've reckoned as if he'd always got his full wages, and taken no heed o' wet days, or times when master sends him home 'cause there ain't no work. No, miss, there ain't no mistake; but you see, miss, we're forced to run into debt for flour and such like in the winter—can't help it now. Mrs. Smith, at the shop, she's wonderful good to trust me; she'll never let me want for bread. The winter afore last I owed her 'most three sacks o' flour at once; but she knew I'd always send her suth'n by one o' the children when John took his money on Saturdays. You see, miss, I look to the harvest money to get us straight again; and the boot bill has to run till then—it comes to 'twixt two pound ten and three pound, do what I'll. The children make a hand of a proper lot of boots; the madder paths—let alone the roads—are so wonderful sluddy. And you see there's so many o' 'em, miss—Laura, and Jimmy, and Oliver, and Freddy, and Annie, and Georgie, and Elijah—and now there's the baby—I shall ha' to shoe her to-year." "But what about cheese, and meat, and milk?" I ask again. "I don't never buy no cheese, miss; I can't spare the money for it. And I haven't bought a chice o' meat—fat pork nor nothin'—since last harvest time. And milk—we don't drink no milk, 'cept a chance time—same as the other day 'Oly arned a ha'penny, carryin' the young girl Bash's boots to be mended, and I said to him, 'Booy,' I say, 'have some milk o' that ha'penny,' and he say, 'Mother, I want a ball.' I said, 'Booy, you had a ball afore, and you lost it. Do you have some milk.' He was a good booy to give me what he got, so he goes to the farm and gets a pint o' fleet milk, and we has some in we tea, and the children was pleased."

"But John can't do his harvest on bread?" I ask. "Well, miss, I don't rightly know how

he do it. All last harvest he had nothin' but bread and a drop o' beer; he keep reducin' and reducin' on account o' his family. I often used to feel grieved for him when I sent him out in the mornin' with nothin' but dry puff; and he'd say sometimes: 'I don't know,' he say, 'I feel as if I should like somethin' better than bread sometimes. I see the other n in have meat pudden, or little bits o' meat dumplin', and I never have nathin.' And as I set here, I could hear 'em next door a fryin' bits o' meat (my nybour—she's only herself and the man to keep, you know, miss), and often cried 'cause I felt so grieved for John. And he say to me sometimes, he say: 'Gal,' he say, 'you never let me have a ha'penny. I'm bound just as if I was a wukus child.' I say: 'Never mind; we must be thankful as we've got bread for us and the children; and happen things'll be better.' He's a good father, John is; there never was a better. He'll go a'thout anyone thing to let his children have it. If there's ever such a little mite o' butter, he 'on't eat it—he say: 'Let the little uns have it.'"

Sometimes I have thought that the poverty and hardships of married life among the poor drive away the love that was once warm in the hearts of husband and wife, and that it only returns again when the children have gone out into the world, and the old couple are once more left to themselves. But perhaps it is not so much troubles as troubles taken badly which destroy love—selfish ways, repinings and mutual upbraidings. Anyhow, it is clear that this husband and wife have gained, not lost, in tenderness, as the long, hard years have rolled over their heads; perhaps their troubles have even drawn them closer together than they would ever have come without.

"The clothes are a proper onasiness to me, miss, and I couldn't get 'em nohow if it warn't for the broad work. There was last year I went stone picking to get the booy's suits; and then I did count on gettin' myself a new shimmie, for my was wholly rent to pieces, but then there's four o' the booy's, and Annie, she forced to have two shimmies, and so—well, I don't know when I shall. So I did my stone picking as well as I could; but it was terrible lugsome work; and I made the children pick a few in the evenings and on Saturdays; and I had a two-three days' earlicking. An' then there come the pea picking. But I couldn't lay that money out on clothes, for I forced to make spare on't for what I knew I should want when the baby come. But oh! I didn't know how to go. There warn't no peas to pick just round here; and the fields were such a wonderful way off that master he carried some o' the women in a tumbrel; but I couldn't stand the jounce, and so I forced to walk. And there was one day I got up 'twixt two and three, and I said to John, 'I don't know how ever I shall go.' And he says, 'Lie down,' he say, 'lie down. You ain't fit to go.' And I say, 'Whatever shall we do? Ther's two-and-six for the woman to tend me, and there's a shill'n for liquor, and I must have that, and there's some sheets I must have, and we ain't got a blanket—and what ever shall we do if I have them cold child? And you ain't got the money to pay.' 'Gal,' he say, 'I ha'n't.' So I got up, and I made myself a cup o' tea and I took Oly with me, and he carried a stool for me to sit on. I know he's been a wonderful owdacious booy at school, miss, and it's been a great onasiness to me and John. He's better than any o' the children to do things for me. Well, we had to go right through B—, and 'most two mile fudder. Oly was a good booy, and he pulled the rice (pea plants), and I sat and stripped the peas. But oh! the sun had such a power, and when we'd finished, we set off to go home, and I just as if I couldn't go a step fudder. I don't know how ever I did get home; and when I got into the house, I couldn't sit and I couldn't stand, and I couldn't get upstairs nohow, so I just lay down on the bricks to rest myself a bit. And presently Laura came in, and she was wholly scared to see me, and she said, 'Mother, whatever is the matter?' And I said, 'Gal, I'm reg'lar beat out.'"

Three days later the baby was born. To all such stories as the foregoing we make Bishop Vincent's answer: "The poor always ye have with you." I cannot see that it will be otherwise. It is proof that Christ entertained no dream of social equality.

Thus we are lifted at once from our depression of spirits to an exalted state of happy satisfaction. Since such things are so ordered it were vain, if not impious, to question.

"For the Christian," says Bishop Vincent, "the problem of wealth's distribution is largely one of judicious beneficence"—a thing simple as can be, and yet difficult, "for the world has learned that there is beneficence that is injudicious and even injurious. An indiscriminating charity has fostered mendicancy and pauperism, and there are countries of Europe where no church is without its waiting beggar."

"We are sometimes told," continues the bishop,

We are sometimes told that we ought never to give directly, but only through organizations. This counsel overlooks the blessing of personal ministrations. The Good Samaritan took a personal pleasure in relieving misfortune. We need the contact with suffering and the lessons of patience and faith which it often teaches.

"Christus Redemptor," say we with Bishop Vincent, "has, with atoning sacrifice brought forgiveness of sin to the great company of the redeemed. Christus Consolator has stanchd the tears of the world's sorrow and filled the hearts of the afflicted and wronged with immortal hope, Christus Consummator will establish the

kingdom of God in the hearts of men and transform human society at last into an order of final perfection."

Having said this, we of the classes to whom Bishop Vincent's words bring consolation, ring and order the victoria for our morning drive.

HENRY VALLANCE.

GEORGE WASHINGTON SMITH AND HIS BIG AX.

Mr. Smith was a farmer and a machinist as well, a combination by no means rare in the smaller manufacturing towns of New England, where the farmer has gradually evolved into the mechanic, with the increase of manufacturing and the decline of agriculture.

Mr. Smith lived on his farm about three miles from the village where the shop in which he worked was situated. He rose early in the morning, fed the "critters," milked the cows, and did such other "chores" as he could before eating his breakfast and driving into town to work all day in the shop, after which he would drive home again, do more "chores," eat supper and go to bed.

Now it would seem that such a life would not be running over with pleasure, but somehow Mr. Smith seemed to enjoy it after a fashion, and stuck to the farm. He realized in a far-off way, perhaps, that if he had the farm he could, in an emergency, manage to get along without a position in the shop; besides, having been brought up a farmer, he may have really thought he was enjoying life anyhow, and perhaps, after all, he *was* enjoying life. The little old red house wasn't stylish but it was comfortable. Years ago, Mr. Smith had brought his young wife there, and there they had grown old together; the babies had been born there—yes, and some of them had died there—their feet had worn hollow places in the door stone, and in the kitchen floor, their fingers had pulled most of the glass knobs off the old-fashioned bureau and made scratches on the wall, and it is possible that these scratches were more beautiful in Mr. Smith's eyes than the finest pictures that money could buy. Sometimes those we pity most have the least need of pity and those whom we envy, need pity most of all.

Now we come to the proprietor of the shop in which Mr. Smith worked. Not to give the shop a free advertisement, let us call the proprietor Mr. Jones.

Mr. Smith's way of living grieved Mr. Jones; he was so sorry that Mr. Smith was obliged to rise from his bed shortly after midnight, in order to get his chores done and get to the shop at 7 o'clock in the morning; and then the long drive home again, in the cold winter evenings, after a hard day's work in the shop! Why didn't Mr. Smith sell his farm and move into the village, and take some comfort?

It will be seen that Mr. Jones took a paternal interest in Mr. Smith, in spite of the fact that Mr. Smith was old enough to be Mr. Jones's father. Mr. Jones even offered to act as agent, without commission, for the sale of the farm, so anxious was he that Mr. Smith should be relieved of the burden; but Mr. Smith, for some unexplained reason, didn't seem at all anxious to be relieved.

Finally, one day, Mr. Jones, in his self-appointed office of agent, found a man who would exchange a neat house in the village for Smith's farm, and pay a neat cash balance beside; it was really a fine offer, and Mr. Smith could not refuse, for after all the old house was lonesome, in spite of its associations. The surviving children had married and gone, and perhaps it *would* be better to be "among folks," and not work quite so long and hard every day.

So the bargain was closed, and Mr. Smith and his wife, after the first shock of homesickness, were on the whole rather pleased with the change, except that Mrs. Smith was inclined to be angry when she found that Mr. Smith had taken a good slice of the cash balance, and with it bought a wood-lot a mile or so out of the village, and this caused Mrs. Smith to remark:

"Now, George Washington Smith, I would like to know what on earth you want of a wood lot."

"Never mind," said Mr. Smith, "I want it."

After Mr. Smith had been for a little time comfortably settled in the village, he noticed that Mr. Jones seemed to have lost his paternal interest in Mr. Smith's affairs. This was followed by something of a coldness on the part of Mr. Jones, and finally, one Saturday afternoon, Mr. Jones came over to Mr. Smith's lathe,

and "regretted that the state of business made it necessary to reduce Mr. Smith's wages twenty-five cents per day, beginning Monday morning."

Mr. Smith didn't say anything, nor did he display any emotion, or even surprise; but he stopped on his way home that night and bought a nice, new, big ax.

Mrs. Smith felt bad when Mr. Smith told her of the turn affairs had taken at the shop, but he smiled and said, "Wait until Monday and see!" Monday morning Mr. Smith appeared with his new ax on his shoulder, and Mrs. Smith said, "George Washington Smith, where on earth are you going with that ax?"

"Out to my wood lot," said Mr. Smith.

"Oh, ho!" said Mrs. Smith.

"Ah, ha!" said Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith worked several days chopping wood, and soon had all he wanted for his own use for the winter, and some to sell beside. Then Mr. Jones called one evening and said that business had improved so much that he could pay Mr. Smith his old wages if he would come back to work. Mr. Smith agreed to come the next morning. Incidentally Mr. Jones asked whom Mr. Smith had been chopping wood for, and Mr. Smith said: "Myself, who did you suppose?"

"Why," said Mr. Jones, "I didn't know you owned a wood lot!"

"I knew it all the time," said Mr. Smith.

"Oh!" said Mr. Jones.

"Ah!" said Mr. Smith.

Hartford, Conn. W. L. CHENEY.

WHO OWN THE UNITED STATES?

Thomas G. Shearman's article in November Forum.

Mr. Shearman begins by referring to the "statistics" constantly set forth as conclusive evidence that American wealth is substantially owned by the mass of the American people, and to the fact that interesting as this subject would be to the men in whose supposed interest labor commissions have been established, "the very able gentleman at the head of the national labor bureau, after taking statistics of industrial depressions, convict labor, and strikes, seems to have felt that he had exhausted all subjects of special interest to the laboring classes; and he therefore directed the energies of all his assistants to an investigation of the subject of divorce—the one subject, among all grave social questions, with which the masses of the laboring men have the least practical concern."

In Great Britain it is possible to get some figures. The returns of the income tax and probate and succession duties give means for estimating the proportions in which wealth is distributed among different classes. To throw some light upon the distribution of wealth in the United States, Mr. Shearman proposes to apply to this country the ratio of increase of numbers with decrease of wealth in the British tables of classes, if some starting point can be found.

By adding to the published returns of the personal estates of British decedents a capitalization of the rental value of their estates, at four per cent interest, we may form a tolerably accurate estimate of the aggregate wealth, real and personal, of the richest noblemen and bankers of England who have died within the last quarter of a century. We may then compare these figures with the known wealth of a few American citizens, and thus obtain a starting point for further comparisons.

In this way we find that the richest of the Rothschilds, and the world renowned banker Baron Overstone, each left about \$17,000,000. Earl Dudley, the owner of the richest iron mines, left \$20,000,000. The duke of Buccleuch (and the duke of Buccleuch carries half of Scotland in his pocket) left about \$30,000,000. The marquis of Bute was worth, in 1872, about \$28,000,000 in land, and he may now be worth \$40,000,000 in all. The duke of Norfolk may be worth \$40,000,000, and the duke of Westminster perhaps \$50,000,000.

To find this starting point for the United States, Mr. Shearman says:

It will be necessary to give a list of Americans whose wealth is approximately known. The writer abstains from mentioning in this list a single name concerning which he has any information which might possibly be confidential; and, to make quite sure of this, he omits the names of all gentlemen with whom he has any confidential relations. The names of persons who have died within a recent period (six of them within one year) will be included, more accurate information being obtainable concerning their affairs than in any other cases. Their estates are nearly all either undivided or in the hands of so small a number of persons as to make no practical difference, while the number of names which have been omitted will far outweigh all possible errors in the list. No name is given which is not believed, for good reasons, to

represent an individual wealth of at least \$20,000,000. The figures indicate the wealth believed to be possessed on the average by each of the persons whose names follow:

\$150,000,000: J. J. Astor, Trinity church.

\$100,000,000: C. Vanderbilt, W. K. Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Leland Stanford, J. D. Rockefeller.

\$70,000,000: Estate of A. Packer.

\$60,000,000: John I. Blair, estate of Charles Crocker.

\$50,000,000: William Astor, W. W. Astor, Russell Sage, E. A. Stevens, estates of Moses Taylor, Brown & Ives.

\$40,000,000: P. D. Armour, F. L. Ames, William Rockefeller, H. M. Flagler, Powers & Weightman, estate of P. Golet.

\$35,000,000: C. P. Huntington, D. O. Mills, estates of T. A. Scott, J. W. Garrett.

\$30,000,000: G. B. Roberts, Charles Pratt, Ross Winans, E. B. Coxe, Claus Spreckels, A. Belmont, R. J. Livingston, Fred. Weyerhaeuser, Mrs. Mark Hopkins, Mrs. Hetty Green, estates of S. V. Harkness, R. W. Coleman, I. M. Singer.

\$25,000,000: A. J. Drexel, J. S. Morgan, J. P. Morgan, Marshall Field, David, Dows, J. G. Fair, E. T. Gerry, estates of Governor Fairbanks, A. T. Stewart, A. Schermerhorn.

\$22,500,000: O. H. Payne, estates of F. A. Drexel, I. V. Williamson, W. F. Weld.

\$20,000,000: F. W. Vanderbilt, Theodore Havemeyer, H. O. Havemeyer, W. G. Warden, W. P. Thompson, Mrs. Schenley, J. B. Haggin, H. A. Hutchins, estates of W. Sloane, E. S. Higgins, C. Tower, William Thaw, Dr. Hostetter, William Sharon, Peter Donahue.

Trinity church is included in this list because it is practically an individual owner. For the purpose of estimating the distribution of wealth, it is obvious that this corporation, which has no stockholders, must be treated as a unit.

It will be said that these estates could not be readily sold for their estimated value. In a few cases this is true; but it is immaterial, because it is equally true of the property of farmers and other small owners, and so does not change the relative proportion of wealth, which is the only important question. Our estimate of the whole national wealth is based upon the census of 1880, in which the capital and debts of railway, telegraph and steamboat companies were included at par. But in the foregoing estimates of individual wealth the current market value is adopted, which is much less than par. For purposes of comparison between different classes the census valuations ought to be adopted all around. But if they were, the wealth of Mr. Gould would be fixed at over \$125,000,000, and that of Messrs. Crocker and Huntington at nearly as much; and the proportionate share of the very rich would be greatly increased.

Making the largest allowance for exaggerated reports, there can be no doubt that these seventy names represent an aggregate wealth of \$2,700,000,000, or an average of over \$37,500,000 each. The writer has not especially sought for information concerning anyone worth less than \$20,000,000, but has incidentally learned of fifty other persons worth over \$10,000,000, of whom thirty are valued in all at \$450,000,000, making together one hundred persons worth over \$5,000,000,000; yet this list includes very few names from New England and none from the south. Evidently, it would be easy for any specially well informed person to make up a list of one hundred persons averaging \$25,000,000 each, in addition to ten averaging \$100,000,000 each. No such list of concentrated wealth could be given in any other country in the world. The richest dukes of England fall below the average wealth of a dozen American citizens, while the greatest bankers, merchants and railway magnates of England cannot compare in wealth with many Americans.

Lists were lately published of sixty-seven millionaires residing in Pittsburgh, of sixty-three residents of Cleveland possessing in the aggregate \$300,000,000, and of sixty persons residing in three villages near New York whose wealth was said to aggregate \$500,000,000. One of the gentlemen included in the last estimate said that if it included one of his neighbors, with whose affairs he is intimately acquainted, it was entirely too low; \$750,000,000 would be none too much. The Golet estate in New York city pays taxes on \$25,000,000 real estate. The mayor of Chicago says that four gentlemen of that city are worth over \$20,000,000 each, but only two are included in the above list. The Boston Advertiser lately asserted that there were not fifty millionaires in Boston; but the official tax list shows that more than fifty families pay taxes on over \$1,000,000 each, and two hundred persons pay taxes on amounts which clearly show that they are really millionaires.

The facts already stated conclusively demonstrate that the wealthiest class in the United States is vastly richer than the wealthiest class in Great Britain. The average annual income of the richest hundred Englishmen is about \$450,000; but the average annual income of the richest hundred Americans cannot be less than \$1,200,000, and probably exceeds \$1,500,000. It follows inevitably that wealth must be far more concentrated in the United States than in Great Britain; because, where enormous amounts of wealth are placed in a few hands, this necessarily implies that the great mass of the people have very small possessions. On the other

hand, we know with tolerable certainty what are the average earnings and possible savings of the masses. The earnings of fully four-fifths of American families do not average as much as \$500 per annum. As the average age of busy men is less than forty years, their savings cannot spread over more than an average period of twenty years. Farmers being always more economical than mechanics or other laborers of the same income, the savings of farmers, represented by their farms, will afford a maximum standard for the classes to which they correspond. According to the census of 1880, the average value of 25 per cent of farms was \$635, of another 25 per cent \$1,750, and of about 35 per cent \$3,500; the remaining 15 per cent being held by wealthy owners. To allow, in marketable property, \$750 each to the mass of the community, \$2,000 each to the next class, and \$3,500 each to the small tradesmen, highly skilled mechanics, and others whose condition corresponds with that of the best class of ordinary farmers, will be quite as much as facts will justify; especially when we take out of this highest class, as we must, a considerable number (say one-sixth) who, by having one-third to one-half of their income, have accumulated four or five times as much as their fellows.

In 1877 the number of British capitalists possessed of over \$25,000 each was about 222,000, while the number of persons deriving profits of over \$1,000 per annum each from business was nearly 200,000. The two classes of persons were not at all the same; on the contrary, probably not one-third of either class, possibly not even one-fifth, was included in the other. Yet, in the absence of any detailed information as to the distribution of wealth, the classification of incomes must be taken, with much reserve, as the only attainable guide. But incomes, in their very nature, are much more equally distributed than wealth. Millions have incomes who have practically no wealth. Therefore, a computation on this basis will greatly underestimate the concentration of wealth in the higher figures, while it will lead to such an overestimate of wealth in the lower figures as to make it gradually quite misleading. Such a computation is indeed of no use whatever outside of the first 250,000 families, and must be greatly modified long before reaching that number.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we proceed to estimate the distribution of American wealth. Judging from the rate of increase in wealth indicated by the last census, it is probable that (estimated by the same method) it now amounts to nearly \$1,000 per head, or \$65,000,000,000 in all. In 1880, \$2,000,000,000 was invested in public buildings, churches, colleges, charitable institutions, etc.; and this item must be about \$2,500,000,000 now.

Starting with known facts concerning American wealth Mr. Shearman works up on the basis of the ratios afforded by the British returns, modified as before stated, an elaborate table of the distribution of American wealth, which, beginning with ten families owning \$1,000,000,000, and 100 families owning \$2,500,000,000, gives in the last class 9,565,000 families owning \$750 each, or a total of \$7,175,000,000.

Condensing this table so as to compare with Mulhall's British tables there would be a rich class of 235,310 families averaging \$186,567 each; a middle class of 1,200,000 families with \$7,500 each; and a working class of 11,565,000 with \$908 each.

On this basis, 50,000 families would appear to own one-half of the national wealth.

In this table small farmers, skilled mechanics, foremen, conductors, engineers, etc., are included in the "working class," and \$908 has been allowed as the average savings of each family in this class—more than double the highest claim made on behalf of the same class in England, and nearly treble the average deposit in American savings banks. This amount is certainly too large. The number of the very largest millionaires has been kept down to very nearly the limit of the writer's personal information; while in his judgment there must be at least as many more of whom he has never heard. If this surmise is correct, it would add at once \$2,500,000,000 to the share of wealth belonging to the millionaire class, and would confirm the writer's rough estimate in the Forum for September, that 25,000 persons own just about one-half of all the wealth of the United States.

Having seen what light British statistics throw upon the matter, Mr. Shearman now proceeds to make an independent estimate from an American basis. A list of the largest individual tax payers of Boston has been published this year, including all (exclusive of corporations and executors) who paid on more than \$15,000. This list shows:

2 tax payers with an average of \$1,600,000 each,
4 with \$3,205,450 each,
3 with \$2,132,570 each,
8 with \$1,810,000 each,
39 with \$930,000 each,
133 with \$500,000 each,
1,065 with \$100,000 each.

It may be safely assumed that every one who

is assessed at \$400,000 is really worth \$1,000,000; because large estates are never assessed at their full value, and because these assessments include no shares in corporate stock, nor government, municipal, or mortgage bonds, in which a vast proportion of the wealth of the very rich is invested. For the same reasons, an assessment of \$75,000 represents in actual wealth not less than \$150,000. The wealth of the very rich is always more underestimated by assessors than that of men in moderate circumstances. Assessments of \$100,000 and over are therefore multiplied, in the next table, by two and one-half, while those below that line are only doubled. In both cases the increase is too small. Boston has less than a forty-fifth part of the nation's wealth, and less than a hundred and thirtieth part of its population. Multiplying the Boston figures by only forty-five, it would follow that there are in the United States more than 56,000 persons worth over \$150,000 each, of whom at least 8,500 are worth over \$1,000,000. Classifying men of wealth in conformity to the proportion in which assessment returns show that their wealth is divided in Boston, but adding the seventy persons who have been specifically named as averaging \$37,500,000, we arrive at the following estimate, which errs only on the side of moderation.

The table which Mr. Shearman gives may be seen in full in the Forum. It gives 70 families with an average of \$37,500,000 each; 90 families with an average of \$11,500,000 each; 180 families with \$8,000,000 each; 350 families with \$6,800,000 each; 360 families with \$4,600,000 each; 1,755 families with \$2,300,000 each; 6,000 families with \$1,250,000 each, and so on, the last class consisting of 9,620,000, with an average of \$750 each.

Mr. Shearman continues:

On this basis, 40,000 persons own over one-half of the wealth of the United States, while one-seventieth part of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth.

It will be seen that in these tables, which are prepared upon the basis of purely American statistics, the concentration of wealth appears to be much greater than in tables prepared upon the basis of British statistics. By either table, 70 per cent of the national wealth appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people; but dividing this wealth in proportion to the English ratio, it is distributed among 235,000 families, while dividing it according to the Boston ratio, it is possessed by only 182,000 families. The truth probably lies between the two; and it may safely be assumed that 200,000 persons control 70 per cent of the national wealth, while 250,000 persons control from 75 to 80 per cent of the whole.

These conclusions are of course very unpalatable to comfortable optimists. But what other results could possibly be expected, in view of well-known facts? No one can entertain a reasonable doubt that there has been an accumulation of wealth in a few individual hands in the United States, during last the twenty-five years, vastly in excess of any which has taken place in other parts of the world. In no other country have railroad managers, manufacturers, oil refiners, mine owners, bankers and land speculators accumulated fortunes so rapidly as in this. In no other country, and least of all in England, during the last thirty years, has the burden of taxation been cast so exclusively upon the working class, or the machinery of public taxation been used so unscrupulously for private profit.

In Great Britain, although indirect taxation still constitutes the greatest part of the public revenue, a large share of direct taxation has been maintained, and, as far as possible, all tribute levied by the rich upon the poor, under the pretense of taxation, has been abolished. The natural consequence is that the disproportion between the rich and the poor in Great Britain is less to-day than it was forty years ago, that wealth is more widely distributed, that the middle class is much more numerous, and that the masses are rapidly gaining in power and influence.

In America the drift has been in precisely the opposite direction. Federal taxation has increased six fold since 1860, and the whole of this increase has been taken out of the relatively poorer classes. At the same time, the profit which is secured to the wealthier classes by the adjustment of indirect taxation in their interest has been increased not less than ten fold. The wealthy classes, collectively, have made a clear profit out of the indirect effects of taxation to an amount far exceeding all that they have paid in taxes, although this profit has been absorbed by a minority of even the rich. But, apart from this, the whole system of taxation is and has been such as to take from the rich only from 3 to 10 per cent of their annual savings, while taking from the poor 75 to 90 per cent. It is true that the same system existed, in form, before the war; but, taxation being light, the amount taken from each individual was far less, and the disproportion between the rich and the poor not so great, while the profit levied from the poor by the rich was far smaller. The amount of the burden has increased, and it has been more and more shifted over upon the poor.

It is childish to imagine that, under such circumstances, the concentration of wealth can go on less rapidly here than in Europe.

On the contrary, it has gone on far more rapidly here; and it will continue to do so at a tremendous pace.

It is intended to confine this paper to a simple investigation of facts, without suggesting remedies; but to avoid misapprehension, the writer wishes it to be distinctly understood that he is opposed on principle to all schemes for arbitrary limitations of individual wealth, whether by a graduated income tax, a heavy succession tax, or otherwise; that he is utterly opposed to communism, socialism and anarchism; and that he is of opinion that the enormous wealth of the few in this country has been forced upon them by the votes of the very masses who have been impoverished for their benefit. *Populus vult decipi.* The farmers insist upon throwing away their inheritance; and since they are determined to heap their earnings upon somebody, it is well that the list of their chief beneficiaries should be, upon the whole, so respectable. And, indeed, has it not been clearly explained to us that it makes no sort of difference who owns the wealth of the nation, so long as it is kept at home?

But the facts should be known, without regard to the inferences which may be drawn from them; and we are now prepared to answer the question: "Who own the United States?"

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE PRACTICALLY OWNED BY LESS THAN 250,000 PERSONS, CONSTITUTING LESS THAN ONE IN SIXTY OF ITS ADULT MALE POPULATION.

WITHIN THIRTY YEARS, THE PRESENT METHODS OF TAXATION BEING CONTINUED, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY OWNED BY LESS THAN 50,000 PERSONS, CONSTITUTING LESS THAN ONE IN FIVE HUNDRED OF THE ADULT MALE POPULATION.

PROGRESS IN LONDON.

What the County Council is Doing—A Measure Against the Sweating System—Work of the Street Improvement Committee—Booksellers' Row and Clare Market to be Cleared Away and Land Owners to Pay the Costs.

LONDON, October 25.—When the conservative government included London in their scheme for the establishment of county councils in England, they little foresaw that the child they were calling into existence would within a few months of birth develop an absolutely insatiable appetite for radical reforms. The London county council is by far the most advanced of all the public bodies in England. Provincial radicals have been in the habit of abusing us Londoners for our want of public spirit and our indifference to civic duties. This charge now no longer lies. The county council forms a focus toward which are directed all the rays of municipal activity which has hitherto been diffused and wasted. It is now clear that Londoners are by no means indifferent to the public affairs of their own great city. All they wanted before was a means of dealing administratively with local problems. Now they have got this means, they intend to use it.

The council had not been many weeks at work before it showed that it meant to deal firmly with the question of sweating. A standing order was passed requiring all contractors who tendered for work for the council to sign an undertaking that they would not sublet the work and that they would pay the standard rate of wages observed in the trade. This was a good beginning. Since then the council has been equally emphatic on the great question of taxation of ground values. This matter was brought to a head last week by the presentation to the council of a large proposal for street improvements in central London.

To those readers of THE STANDARD who know London well, it will be interesting to read a few words about the general features of these schemes. As everyone knows, the Strand and Oxford street, with its continuation into Holborn, are the principal east and west thoroughfares through the heart of London. Both of these main routes are too narrow for the work they have to do, and they are separated from one another for a considerable part of their parallel lengths by a mass of squalid buildings intersected by narrow, stinking streets. In fact there are few districts in any of our great towns more wretched and unsanitary, more hopelessly poverty-stricken than the warren of slums that goes by the name of Clare market, and occupies the very heart of the largest city in the world.

With regard to this district and with regard to the connected question of the block of the traffic in the Strand, the street improvements committee of the council brought forward two proposals. The first dealt only with the latter question. At the end of the Strand is a

double row of poor houses which project into the street, and back on to a narrow pathway called Holywell street, or Booksellers' row. This little street abandoned, as its second name implies, to second-hand booksellers, and is in a way one of the curiosities of London. It is too narrow for wheeled traffic, and the pedestrians who use it as a short cut linger at the bookstalls as they pass and finger the volumes laid out to tempt the public.

Unfortunately the existence of this quaint old alley involves the continued obstruction to the traffic of the busiest street in London, and everyone has long ago agreed that the houses to the south of Booksellers' row must come down. This decision of public opinion has at length been satisfied by the county council. The council last week accepted the report of the street improvements committee proposing to pull down the whole of this block. The north side will thus be thrown open to the main thoroughfare, and though its special trade in second-hand books will probably leave it, the property will acquire an enormously enhanced value. Recognizing this fact some members of the council proposed that the council should also buy all the houses to the north of the doomed alley, so as to recover part of the cost of the improvement. This suggestion was not immediately adopted, but it is certain to come up again before the scheme is finally taken in hand.

With regard to the other and the larger proposal of the street improvement committee, the anti-landlord party was more decisively successful. This committee proposed to connect the parallel thoroughfares, Holborn and the Strand, by a broad, new street running north and south through the slums of Clare market. Their estimate for the cost of this improvement exceeded \$6,000,000, after deducting the sum that would be recovered by the sale of frontages. No sufficient provision was made for the rehousing of the thousands of poor persons who would be displaced, and no suggestion was made that the owners of neighboring land should be made to contribute toward this immense improvement to their property. Lord Compton took up the first point. Mr. Marks, a conservative member of the council, the second. Mr. Marks moved that before any such schemes were considered the finance committee should report upon the method of raising the funds for carrying out such improvement, and the burdens which would be cast upon the rate payers.

This resolution sounds innocent enough, but coming from a corporation councilor it is significant. It meant, and the council in putting it meant, that street improvements are to stand over until some method has been devised for making the ground landlord pay for the improvement on his property. There are two possible methods—one to levy a general rate over the whole of London chargeable on ground values only; the other to levy a special rate on the property immediately benefited. Probably, however, both of these methods will be adopted concurrently, and this would be the most equitable course. Every street improvement, however local in character it may be, tends to raise the value of land all over the metropolitan area. A new street generally displaces people, who must find homes elsewhere, and in any case it improves the appearance and the sanitary condition of a particular district, and thus helps to make London generally a more desirable place to live in. At the same time it is the local landowners who reap the bulk of the advantages conferred by the improvements, and therefore they should bear the bulk of the cost. There may be a little difficulty in each particular case in adjusting the actual share to be borne by each party, but landowners, as a rule, are quite able to take care of themselves. The great fact is that the London county council has accepted the principle that the burden shall no longer fall on the occupier, who has hitherto poured out his money in order to pile up a fortune for the owners of the soil.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE STANDARD will be sent for six weeks to any

address in the United States or Canada for

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

Twelve such subscriptions will be received for \$2.50

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

In a Nutschell.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: The key that locks the monopoly-wrought shackles on the industrial slaves of to-day is the existing system of taxation. C. B. HEMINGWAY.
Washington, D. C.

The Truth of All Ages.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: Most heartily I renew my subscription to THE STANDARD. To me THE STANDARD is meat and drink, indeed. The law of the single tax is nothing less than the economic expression of divine truth, which in turn finds its source in divine love. This is not Henry George's movement. It is the movement of Moses, of David, of the prophets, of Lycurgus, of Socrates and of Plato, of the Gracchi, of Caesar, of Rousseau and Mirabeau, of Paine, of Carlyle, of Spence and Ogilvie, of Spencer, Dove and Mill. All, like Henry George, have dipped from the great ocean of common truth for the benefit of the race according to the capacity of their respective buckets.

RUPERT BROWN.

Murray, Salt Lake, Utah, Oct. 23.

Wages in Tennessee.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: I see reports in your paper from different parts of the country giving the amount of wages paid for labor in the various localities. I am astonished to see that wages for labor of all kinds are so much lower here than anywhere I have seen reports from. The following are the best wages paid in this country: Millers, \$15 to \$26 per month; carpenters, \$12 to \$36 per month; farm hands, \$8 to \$13 per month, the employer furnishing board, millers and carpenters boarding themselves. There are two woolen factories here, one running 12 looms, 3 sets cards, 1 spinner, 350 spindles, 1 double and twister, with other machines for finishing purpose. The other factory runs 8 looms, 3 sets cards, 1 spinner, 250 spindles and other machinery. Wages: spinner, \$1.25 per day; carder, \$1.25 per day; weavers, 50 cents for 1 loom; 60 cents for 2 looms. All the above hands board themselves and work eleven hours per day, and pay for factory goods as follows: Janes, 40 cents per yard; satin, 60 cents; white and gray flannels, 40 cents per yard; red, blue and striped, 50 cents per yard; yarns, black, gray and white, 65 cents per pound; yarns, red and blue, \$1 per pound. I would like to hear from others on labor and wages.

G. T. SONGER.

Elizabethtown, Tenn., Oct. 23.

Land Monopoly the Death of Art.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: Among the most deplorable effects of the fierce struggle for existence caused by land ownership is the total extinction of architecture, sculpture and decorative painting as living arts. This, though so incontestable a fact, does not appear to have been noticed in THE STANDARD, or in Henry George's works, so much as its importance deserves. And nothing renders it so self-evident as a comparison between modern buildings and those grand old structures of which so many still exist in the ancient city whence I am writing.

Coventry contains a larger number of medieval buildings than any city in England, Chester not excepted. They date from a time when land was still the recognized property of the state, when certain specified dues, representing the single tax in a crude and unscientific form, were rendered by the holders for its use, and when poverty as at present understood was unknown. There was no such desperate competition for a bare living as now exists and the workman having abundant leisure and no fear of being deprived of employment, was able to put his whole soul into his craft and plied it with the loving effort of a true artist. There was consequently none of the scamped work, flimsy material and tawdry decoration which distinguishes modern erections. All the houses were constructed of well seasoned heart of oak, which, where reasonable care has been exercised, remains hard and sound to this day. The main timbers were from nine inches to a foot or even eighteen inches square, and in stone buildings the mortar is so good as to have withstood the elements even better than the rock itself. The carving on doors, windows and gables, ceilings and mantels, though bold and often very elaborate, is of the utmost delicacy and grace, infinitely diversified, and never overdone. The main outlines of every house are highly picturesque, though there is none of that straining after effect or finicky ornament which seems inseparable from modern villas in the so-called antique style. From general design to the minutest detail everything exhibits at once a breadth of conception combined with a painstaking workmanship which put to shame the best efforts of present day architects.

And although the stone had to be quarried, the timber felled, and both transported, carved and molded entirely without steam or any but the rudest appliances, time was found not only for making each private house a marvel of art, but also for building and decorating magnificent palaces, massive and stately castles and fortifications, and glorious churches, all profusely carved and colored. How is it that in these days, when every man's power is multiplied fifty fold by

science and invention, ninety-nine per cent of our buildings are utterly hideous, while the remainder owe whatever charm they possess to imitation of bygone styles? Is the art instinct in human nature dead? It is incredible; the love of beauty, though crushed, is still latent, and if that slavery which in whatever form has always sounded the knell of art were extirpated, we should ere long be surrounded by greater loveliness and splendor than past ages ever dreamt of.

EVACUSTES A. PHIPSON.

Coventry, England.

A Correction and a Suggestion.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: In a former issue I am made to say that ex-congressman John E. Russell is now the democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts. This is a mistake. Wm. E. Russell, ex-mayor of Cambridge, is the gubernatorial candidate, and by the way, is a man whose nomination is a credit to the Bay state democracy. He is perhaps equally as good a tariff reformer as John E. Russell, and to an unprejudiced eye it looks as if he will give the republicans a close rub for the governorship.

I suggest that single tax clubs and individuals throughout the country take advantage of the recruit subscription plan and see that their local assessors are supplied with a six weeks' course of STANDARD reading. As a rule I think we shall find assessors to be unusually intelligent, conscientious and fair minded men, and in many cases, were they assured the support of an earnest and growing sentiment in favor of taxing unimproved land more and improvements on land less, their assessments would not as often seemingly favor the land speculator as against the real wealth creator and improver.

Single taxers in Worcester believe their agitation during the past three years has had some influence in causing recent increase in the assessed value of land, especially vacant land, and, judging from sales of an estate last week where one lot which sold for \$3.30 per square foot is assessed at \$3.00; and another lot sold for \$15,308, which is assessed at \$14,700, our assessors do not seem to intentionally discriminate in favor of owners of unimproved land. E. K. PAGE.
Lake View, Worcester, Mass.

Women's Work and Sympathy.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: The evidence is growing stronger every day that there is a wide field for the work of women in the single tax cause. THE STANDARD'S columns bear witness to the fact that women as well as men have been awakened by the new political economy.

But they work differently from men. The meetings at which the masculine mind finds pleasure and profit weary women's finer play of thought and emotion. Men's propagandism is not fitted to utilize women's aspirations and enthusiasm. She does not wish to engage in a movement where she is awed by a sense of parliamentary inferiority. I am sure there are any number of women who can sing, write, read or talk, who would be glad to show that they can lead as well as follow.

At present there is nothing to call such latent powers into action; in truth, it is all repression. Therefore I suggest the formation of a woman's single tax union. No matter by what name it may be called, let it be something to make woman's influence for us what it has been for the church and for temperance. The stupendous impulse it will give can be but faintly estimated, even by those who know the immense influence that the Woman's Christian Temperance union has upon the social and political life of the nations. Probably there is not a man in the single tax ranks who will not recognize the instant he reads this that he has a wife or mother or sister or acquaintance who would be brought out, developed by just such a society.

No sectarian limits need be given to the Woman's single tax union. It can be as wide as the poverty and as deep as the pain it will do so much to cure.

The heathen mother, rising from idol worship with a knowledge of her natural rights, could be as warmly welcomed as she who believed in the latest creed.

Religious lines would melt away and woman's sympathy in this world-wide, creedless battle for human justice would find its deepest and most constant expression.

W. E. HICKS.

The Functions of the Landlord.

Canadian Labor Reformer.

Mr. Gladstone thinks that "the state is not qualified to exercise the functions of a landlord." Now what in heaven's name are the functions of a landlord other than getting as much money out of the tenants as by stress of competition can be squeezed from them? No amount of stupidity or incapability, short of absolute insanity, ever disqualifies a private landlord for his "functions." At least, we don't remember hearing of any landlord going out of the business on the ground that he did not know enough to take money and give a receipt therefor. The collection of money in the shape of taxes of one sort or other is a function which the state appears to be fully qualified to exercise in other directions—why not, when those taxes are levied on the land? Mr. Gladstone is talking about "functions" gives the impression that he has never wholly shaken off the old idea that the landlord really performed some useful service, and in some mysterious and inexplicable way rendered value to society in return for his rents instead of being simply a parasite and a cumberer of the ground.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE REFORM CLUB'S MEETING.

A Big Audience in Cooper Union Cheers for Free Trade and the Single Tax, as Well as for Ballot Reform—A Pen Picture of What Took Place.

"It's all humbug to talk about a tariff protecting." The speaker was addressing a little circle of men who were waiting before Cooper union last Saturday night until the ballot reform meeting under the auspices of the Reform club should begin in the great hall inside. The little circle stood apart from a great crowd of men who were watching a man fire off some bombs and skyrockets from the street.

"I tell you this thing of protection is all stuff and nonsense," continued the sidewalk orator with shining eyes and flushed cheeks; "and what man here will deny it when he puts aside prejudice and looks facts squarely in the face! Wages falling, factories working on half time, mills failing under our very eyes. Why, look at it. Official statistics show that women's wages in twenty-one of the big cities of the country average but \$5.25 a week! Nice protection, isn't it? Good heavens, if I had a dog so stupid as to deliberately hook a weight around his neck, I'd shoot him. What we want is freedom—freedom to buy and sell, freedom to do as we please so long as we don't infringe the freedom of others."

A great, tall, broad shouldered darkey came up with several other persons at this juncture and joined the circle of listeners.

"Freedom, that's the magic word," cried the speaker with enthusiasm. "That's what made us a republican nation that all the world has not yet ceased wondering at. Freedom—it will make us greater yet. Freedom: free trade, free land, free men; a free ballot and a free will, and who will be so bold as to predict our greatness in the next hundred years?"

"Look a'here," burst in the darkey, whose eyes had been growing larger and larger as he listened to this speech. "Yo' is foreigner, po' is. Never see likes ob does foreigners. Come ober ter dis country an' want ter turn eberything upside down. Firs' free trade, den ballot refo'm, nex' somefin mo'. No reckonin' what's in does foreigners' brains. Mischief anyway, I reckon. Look a'here, ain't dis country good 'nough fo' yo'? It's good 'nough fo' 'mericans; its good 'nough fo' me. If it ain't good 'nough fo' yo' why done yo' go back ter yo' own country wid yo' free trade, and yo' ridid'ous votin'. Yo'—"

A tremendous explosion of bombs and rockets cut off the remainder of the gentleman's speech, and then somebody said the meeting in the hall had opened and everyone hurried in to get as good a place as he could find.

A sea of interested faces was turned toward the crowded platform as the distinguished looking chairman, Horace E. Deming, came forward.

"This meeting is held to emphasize the distinction between true and sham ballot reform and to call public attention to the importance of these principles," he said in low but distinct tones. "It has been called by the New York Reform club, an association which owes allegiance to no political party and to no political leader, save in so far as the party or the leader remain true to the great principles which the club advocates."

With this as the keynote he introduced Wheeler H. Peckham. "We have thought and have always been told," said that gentleman, "that the revolution had made us a nation of freemen. All these years we have boasted of our independence, but now unless we change, and radically change, the present method of voting, we are not, nor will we be, as free as we were before our forefathers made the revolution possible. The man who fails in any degree to record his political convictions fails in his duty as a citizen, and the man or the citizen, combine, party, corporation, or trust, who by intimidation, corruption, or by any other unfair art seeks to control another man's vote, is just as much the tyrant as any potentate who ever held power."

The audience broke into loud applause at this eloquent utterance, and then quickly lapsed into silent attention.

"What any nation must have in order to secure liberty is to enable men to vote according to their honest judgment. It is not half so essential that a man votes what is right as it is that his vote is honest and is his own. How is this to be secured at the polls? If any change is made it must be radical. It is not only necessary that a man votes honestly, but that he must do so. It is necessary that his vote be prepared independently."

When the applause had subsided, Secretary Lawrence Dunham came forward and reported as the result of the Reform club's personal canvass among the New York city candidates for the state legislature that, of the candidates seen, but one out of twenty of the Tammany candidates had declared for ballot reform, ten of the eighteen County democracy candidates had declared for it, and that all of the sixteen republicans had pledged themselves to it. Somebody called for three cheers for the republican candidates, and they were given with a will.

Richard A. Dana of Massachusetts was next asked to explain the provisions of the new ballot reform law, and he talked along

with a smoothness and business like air that must have utterly confounded and horrified a Tammany worker had he been there to listen.

"The new system," he said, "is nothing but the presenting to a voter of a 'marking list' of all the candidates, on which the voter marks a cross against the candidate he prefers, precisely after the fashion of 'marking lists' in secret societies, only he marks it where he cannot be seen by others. Then folding the list, he deposits it in a ballot box. That is the beginning and end of this 'complicated system.'"

"The talk of delay is nonsense. Here it is Saturday. By this afternoon every town in Massachusetts, except Boston, has been supplied with ballots, and they will be in Boston early Monday morning."

"Concerning the expense," Mr. Dana said, "the entire expense in Boston for paraphernalia has been \$35 for each district, and the material can be used year after year. As to the cost of printing the ballots for the whole state, the public printer told me that not all of the appropriation of \$20,000 would be needed. The average time consumed in casting the vote has been shown by experiments at meetings to be about fifty seconds. In this way," concluded Mr. Dana, "all the objections have been swept away. Every mountain has proved to be a molehill."

"A David mole-hill?" broke in a voice from the audience, and everybody laughed.

"Not that kind of a hill," answered Mr. Dana, "and after our election in Massachusetts all those hills and mountains will not be perceptible even through a microscope."

George Cary Eggleston, on being presented as a Jeffersonian democrat, was accorded a very hearty welcome. "Because I am a Jeffersonian democrat," he declared, "believing that all men are born equal, each with a right to do as he pleases so long as he does not interfere with the rights of any other men to do as he pleases—for that reason I am a ballot reformer. In this age great aggregations of money are absolutely essential, but they are endowed with the passion of self-preservation just as a man is filled with the same passion. We who earn our living are in the majority, but what is the use of a majority if it is to be sacrificed to the use of money?"

The chairman said when Mr. Eggleston had concluded, that the solution for this was the free ballot. "We propose to get this," he added, "if we have to go up the Hill, and over the Hill, and down the Hill."

A voice—"Dave, of course"—and a burst of laughter and applause followed.

There had been frequent references to the single tax during the proceedings, all of which elicited decided recognition, but the radical temper of the meeting was shown when William M. Ivins stepped forward and announced that he believed in free trade and the abolition of the custom house. Cheer upon cheer went up. Some protectionists present tried to get up a counter demonstration, but their cheering was weak and short lived.

"You believe in tariff reform," he cried; "well, nominate your men. I believe in free trade and the abolition of the custom house. I want a representation. Do we get a representation now? (Voices, "No, not much.") A few years ago, when the Saxton bill was introduced, I showed it to a very great sachem of Tammany hall, and he said: 'Well, this is very good, but what's to become of me?' We'll show him what's to become of him. The present election laws are like the ax without the handle. We can do some rough work with it. We all want the ax, and the ax is the fair representation in the legislature."

Henry George was received with one of the old-time demonstrations. He said that those who had been present at the meeting in that hall three years ago, when he had accepted the nomination of the united labor associations of this city for mayor, and when the adoption of the Australian ballot system was agitated for the first time in American politics, must be gratified with the great progress the idea had made.

"We ask," he said in closing, "that ballot reform be adopted and enforced. Not that the Australian system will save the country, but it will start and make possible reforms which will save it."

C. W. Hinrichs was the last speaker and told a number of witty stories that convulsed the audience with merriment and sent everybody home feeling happy.

A PROTEST.

The Standard Single Tax Club of Jersey City Dissents from Mr. Attemus's Conclusion.

Leon Abbott is opposed to an exclusively official ballot. That that is settled beyond cavil is proven by Abbott's own words to Herbert Boggs. The pledge to which signatures have been obtained by the organization calling itself the Hudson county ballot reform association commits the signers to nothing further than some such system as has been adopted in Connecticut. The omission of the word "exclusive" is the little joker in this political game of bluff. By these men professing to be ballot reformers, but whose whole political career discredited the claim, the mention of the word Australian is studiously avoided. "Ballot reform" comes glibly enough from their mouths,

but ballot reform may mean anything or nothing; and in this case means nothing.

The tenor of the speech of Edward Macdonald, candidate for state senator, at the Jersey City tabernacle on Thursday evening, to which such true ballot reformers as Louis F. Post, Horace E. Deming and John DeWitt Warner must have listened with some surprise, is indicative of the real position of the democratic machine in this county toward ballot reform. The following is the exact sense, and nearly the precise language used by Edward Macdonald: "If, upon investigation, it should be discovered that employers do intimidate their employees; if, upon investigation, it should be discovered that political bosses do dictate how government employees shall cast their votes, then, I say, if we are to cast aside the simple methods (?) of voting which have been practiced in this republic, and substitute for it one that is more complex, then we must take into consideration all the methods and systems which are suggested, and out of them frame a law which in its workings shall meet the requirements of the altered conditions of to-day. But we must go slow—there must be no haste."

After such a speech as this, no matter what form of pledge had secured the signature of this remarkable politician who is not certain whether employees are intimidated or not, it is inconceivable that any true ballot reformer—least of all a man from our own ranks—could work to secure his election.

By the time this is published the election in New Jersey will have passed, and, as now seems probable, Abbott will be governor, and ballot reform, because of the result, postponed for a season. All single tax men in the Standard club, with two exceptions, all of whom voted for Grover Cleveland, will have voted for Grubb. Though the injury done by the letter in last week's STANDARD, in deluding single tax men outside of our club, cannot now be repaired, the following resolution, adopted at the last meeting with one dissenting voice, is a tardy protest against the evil that has been wrought upon the club directly and indirectly against the very cause which it was sought to promote:

Resolved, That as thorough ballot reformers, indorsing a bill embodying the essential features of the Australian system, we denounce the letter which appeared in the last number of THE STANDARD, signed J. T. Attemus, as prevaricating and misleading to single taxers who have not a knowledge of the true standing of some of the candidates extolled so highly as ballot reformers in that letter.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,
Jersey City, Nov. 2. Cor. Sec.

A BALLOT REFORM SYMPOSIUM.

The Brooklyn Single Tax Club Brings Together Leading Men of All Political Parties to Discuss the Australian System.

A "Lecture symposium on ballot reform" was held in Brooklyn last week under the auspices of the Central single tax club. The speakers were representative men who, differing on other political questions, were all agreed on the necessity for true ballot reform, and the announcement of the meeting brought together a good audience at the Athenaeum. Ex-Mayor Seth Low, the new president of Columbia college, presided. In his opening remarks he said that while the single tax men had arranged for the meeting, the speakers of the evening, for the most part, did not agree with the club's idea on taxation, but believed it to be their duty to co-operate with anybody who was working with them for a common object. He then made a short and telling speech on the need and efficiency of the Australian system, after which he introduced Mr. John B. Green, republican candidate for district attorney of Brooklyn.

Mr. Green carefully analyzed the Saxton Australian bill, both as it was originally presented and as amended, and Governor Hill's veto messages. He claimed that while the governor had gone over the bills with an evident desire to find all the flaws he could, yet he had not been able to say that the proposed law would not accomplish what it was desired to accomplish. This, Mr. Green said, was a high tribute to the merits of the bill.

Mr. W. J. Gaynor, a democrat, was the next speaker. He said he advocated the reform not because it would benefit any party, but as a measure which affected public and private morality, and the permanency of free government. He showed clearly the beneficial effects of such a law as the one proposed, and said that all that was keeping the reform back was that so-called conservatism which was afraid to disturb any existing institution.

Another republican, Mr. T. C. Campbell, followed. He suggested a change in the proposed Australian system, claiming that as it was presented the system would put too much power in the hands of the officials. He was, however, pronounced in favor of a radical change from the present system.

Dr. I. K. Funk, the well known prohibitionist, was the next speaker, and was followed by Mr. Horace E. Deming, chairman of the ballot reform committee of the Reform club. Mr. Deming called attention to the fact that while the agitation had started in New York, yet this state was without the reform, while many other states had already obtained it. He said that as for the different forms of the law proposed, the difference

were mainly matters of detail, and all those who were in favor of the essential features should work together.

Mr. Louis F. Post represented the single tax men. He showed that the people would be in a position to crush the monopolies and the saloon power that now controlled our elections if they could vote secretly with government printed ballots.

The meeting was closed by Mr. Fred. Hinrichs, who dwelt on the feature of the measure that takes nominations out of the hands of the machine.

A meeting of east side citizens, irrespective of party, was held at Pacific hall, 200 East Broadway, on Monday evening last. It was addressed by Wm. T. Croasdale, and those present resolved to hold another meeting shortly after election and form a permanent ballot reform association for the Fourth assembly district.

In Massachusetts, under the new Australian law, the list of independent nominations this year has been very large. Fifty independent voters can nominate a candidate for the state legislature. The ballot league is doing everything it can to make the provisions of the law plain to everyone, and the secretary of state has had prepared two large cards of instructions, which are to be posted in the polling places all over the state.

The Greenpoint (Brooklyn) Star, an independent daily paper which circulates all over the west end of Long Island, is doing good educational work on behalf of ballot reform. Last Saturday it reprinted Mr. Post's article on the Australian system which appeared in THE STANDARD last year, with the cut showing a polling place under that system, and in the same issue they gave half a column of letters from legislative candidates stating their position on ballot reform.

Two good ballot reform meetings were held in New Jersey last week, one in Newark, where the Academy of Music was packed and many people turned away, and the other in Elizabeth, where there was also a large attendance. Hubert Boggs presided at the Newark meeting, and Henry George was the principal speaker. Erastus Potter also spoke. In Elizabeth, Benjamin Urner presided, and told how well the new law worked in Montana where he had been staying. Reid Gordon was the principal speaker and made an admirable address.

The Chicago Inter Ocean has a letter from a Nashville correspondent on the working of the Australian system of voting in that city at the recent municipal election. The letter is accompanied by a tin plate about a foot long and four inches wide, with three notches in it, also by a paper the same length of the tin containing the ballot prepared on the Australian system for the election. The writer explains that the plate was for the use of illiterate voters, and the notches or holes in it were so placed that all the voters had to do to vote the straight ticket of the party which prepared the tin was to lay it down on the ballot and scratch out the names that the holes left exposed. Both parties used tin plates of this description.

Newspaper Comment.

As for the Australian ballot system, it may be stated that a number of our own states have adopted the system, and probably before another presidential election it will prevail in nearly all of them. No newspaper of any repute, or entertaining ideas of justice and fairness and honesty, has yet spoken disparagingly of the Australian ballot system.—[Savanna, Ill., Journal.]

Every day ballot reform is growing in favor, and efforts are being made in several states to secure such a law. The parties engaged are in earnest, and it is reasonable to suppose that the law will be adopted by several legislatures when they meet again.—[Albany Independent Citizen.]

The Australian polling system may yet leap into favor with all the rapidity of a kangaroo.—[Chicago Herald.]

The Taxation Question Before the Bicycle World.

The bicycle world is astir over a road improvement project put forward by Chief Consul Albert Mott, of Maryland, who proposes that part of the surplus in the national treasury be expended in the making of good highroads to extend through various states, thus adding to the possibilities of public health and pleasure, giving inexpressible satisfaction to the influential and rapidly growing body of American wheelmen, greatly facilitating commercial intercourse, and incidentally giving employment to a large number of workmen. Mr. E. J. Shriver, member of the League of American wheelmen national assembly, and president of the New York bicycle club, writing to The Wheel, declares himself heartily opposed to the plan, and goes on to say: "Even were it practicable, I would yet condemn it, because it involves a fresh evasion of the issue of most importance in our politics—whether or not we should continue to collect taxes which many of us believe to be unequal and hurtful in the extreme to our industries—and suggests the demoralizing principle that the government having denied to the laboring class, through unwise legislation, the power to employ themselves, should turn around and use money, which has no business in the national treasury, for the purpose of artificially 'making work.'"

THE TARIFF FIGHT.

FOR FREE RAW MATERIAL.

A Woolen Manufacturer's Searching Reply to the Protectionist Resolutions of the Recent Convention.

The American woolen manufacturers' association, which recently passed a series of resolutions demanding, not a reduction of the tariff on the raw material, wool, but an increase of the tariff on manufactured goods to correspond with the wool duties, whatever they might be, has issued a circular asking the various manufacturers for comments upon these resolutions. As the meeting of the association at which the above mentioned resolutions were passed was not well attended it is highly proper that the opinion of those who did not attend should be given. A reply has been received by the association from Mr. Jesse Metcalf, agent of the Wanskuck mills of Providence, R. I., who, after a brief introductory paragraph, took up the resolutions seriatim as follows:

Your resolutions are preceded by a "Whereas, It is the sense of the people that a revision of the tariff is necessary." We believe this to be a misstatement. The people want a reform of the tariff instead of a revision. They want less taxes, instead of more, as you propose. The second "whereas" is correct, that "the prosperity of the woolen manufacturers requires important modifications in the wool and woolen schedule."

The first resolution, beginning with a statement that the woolen association has not learned anything since its organization, twenty-five years ago, is correct, though humiliating. It continues with an inference that the association does not believe in duties on raw wool, but with a reverent fear of the political football, "they leave the subject," in the language of Ethan Allen, to the "wisdom of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress." The resolution concludes with the emphatic statement that you do not demand lower duties on anything. This is probably intended for the benefit of the aforesaid people, who, you say, demand revision.

The second resolution charges the Forty-seventh congress "with reducing the duties on manufactured goods so far beyond the reduction of the duties on wool as to destroy their compensatory character." As the duties on the kinds of goods now imported range from 65 to 100 per cent, it would seem that the manufacturers ought not to complain, if the people will keep quiet under such extortion, and that it is a reduction of duties on wool that is required, and not an increase on goods. The resolution concludes with the correct statement that the higher duties on goods would have enabled the American manufacturers to increase their prices and profits.

The third resolution demands, in the name of the woolen manufacturers, a higher duty—prohibitory, in fact—and all for the benefit of the people.

The fourth resolution is entirely argumentative and rhetorical, intended to convince the people how much better off they would be by paying higher prices for clothing, more taxes to the government and larger profits to the manufacturers.

The fifth resolution is a continuation of the argument, concluding with a demand on the "Great Jehovah and the continental congress" that they shall combine and increase the taxes on the people.

The sixth resolution arraigns the government for being remiss in its duty and corrupt in its custom houses, and to this we can assent. We, however, dissent from the remedy proposed, that the duties should be made high enough to offset these corrupt in its custom houses, and to this duties should be lowered until there is no temptation to smuggle.

The seventh resolution is important and demands serious consideration. It charges "that the wholesale introduction into this country of foreign wools in the form of finished fabrics displaces American wools which would otherwise be consumed in American mills," and that "this is due to the unjust and illogical tariff." As all the American wool is consumed every year, and the supply falls far short of the quantity needed to furnish clothing for our people, we fail to see how any of it is "displaced." The simple truth is that the United States do not and cannot grow wool enough to supply the wants of the people. No matter what duty is placed upon wool, it will not be grown here, and the sooner the woolen association and the people whom they profess to serve realize this fact the better it will be for all. We believe that the hardships and suffering among the woolen manufacturers depicted by the association will continue to increase in a greater ratio as the wool clip of the country diminishes in quantity, and that nothing can relieve them from partial annihilation except untaxed wool.

The eighth resolution merely disapproved of the senate tariff bill, and Mr. Metcalf dismisses it without comment, while the ninth resolution related to a ruling of Mr. Windom, secretary of the treasury. Mr. Metcalf proceeds as follows:

The tenth resolution merely states that we could manufacture woolen goods cheaper than any other nation if we had a fair chance, an assertion which we are not prepared to deny.

The eleventh resolution is a mild protest against the increase of duties on carpet wools proposed by the senate bill, and then goes on to state that these "wools are only grown in semi-barbarous countries." Are the South American States, where much of this wool is grown, and whose distinguished representatives are now being entertained by our government, to be classed as "semi-barbarous?" Would not that term be more fittingly applied to a country that imposes such enormous and unjust taxes as ours on the clothing of its people?

In the twelfth resolution the association solemnly protests against making the woolen industry the "football" of politics. If there were the least honesty in your protest, and

you had the courage of your convictions, you would kick this football out of existence and insist upon what you will all soon be obliged to have—free and untaxed wool.

In conclusion, let us beg of you before it is too late, and your industries are ruined, to use your great opportunities to remove the burdens from the people and take off the restrictions on trade and commerce that now oppress the business interests of the country.

JESSE METCALF,
Agent Wanskuck Co.

Providence, R. I.

"MY COUNTRY, 'TIS OF THEE."

How a Detroit Grain Firm Sings "America"—A Bad Outlook for Farmers.

Messrs. Gillet & Hall, grain commission merchants at Detroit, issue a monthly letter that must be looked for with interest by their customers and correspondents. That for November 1 is a breezy presentation of the business situation, as will be seen from the following extracts:

Blustering November is already nigh, admonishing eastern shippers to expedite their lake cargoes.

Prices of farmers' products continue falling with the autumn leaves. Note quotations: Wheat 79¢, against \$1.14 last year; corn 32¢, against 45¢; oats 21¢, against 30¢; clover seed \$1.50, against \$5.50; pork \$10, against \$15; barley \$1, against \$1.50, etc. Foreigners can scarcely complain of prices, but are slow buyers of wheat, figuring on getting our Pacific coast crops—lacking other outlet—at still further reductions.

Exports of coarse grains and meats are heavy. Receipts of northwestern spring wheat are large, indicating a good crop and inability of farmers to hold. Corn and oats, hardly paying to move, are being stored at home, and will walk out on the hoof later on.

Winter wheat is mostly of inferior quality. Choice samples are eagerly sought by millers or used to bring up lower grades.

Stocks at grain centers are small. At Detroit, elevator owners gaze sorrowfully on empty bins. Wheat stocks only 300,000 bushels, against 1,300,000 bushels last year.

Drought in the west and deluge in the east oppose each other with an energy rivaling the contest of the "wets" and "drys" on the temperance question. The growing wheat plant, with little or no root, is ill prepared for winter's vicissitudes. A crop scare might be rather premature at present, but it is likely to develop into a certainty next May.

For a weary month has Chicago, oblivious of other issues, labored in the pangs of the Cronin jury. The case is Clan-na-Gael vs. Illinois. These Milesian malcontents, badgered by Balfour and paralyzed by the pope, show more vitality than a scotched snake. Should the myth of suffering Ireland continue to be replaced by the reality of suffering America, the old watchword, "America for Americans," will again become popular.

Further west the granger legislator girds on his armor for a deadly fight against trusts and railway syndicates. He fairly foams at rumors of bond purchases and a rise in watered railway stocks. Fossil statesmen can no longer gull him as to the benefits of indirect taxation.

"The law will not permit any one to kick you down stairs," advises the attorney as he pockets his retainer. "But I have already been kicked down stairs," responds his aggrieved client. And so the farmers' products having been kicked way down stairs, it is difficult to convince him that a war tariff is even "a blessing in disguise."

The financial outlook is full of interest. Wall street brokers are wildly scrambling for funds. The trusts are succumbing to deadly broadsides. Savings banks are shaking in their shoes, finding that western mortgages fail to satisfy clamorous depositors. Frantic efforts of railways to show increased earnings are resulting in accidents that will necessitate the old expedient of chaining directors on the cow catchers. Mercantile collections are slow, and farmers poor buyers. A few branches of trade show a spasmodic activity. Reckless investment of English capital in industrial enterprises is likely to be short lived. Conservative bankers and the London press already sound notes of warning.

Capitalists chuckle over increased interest rates, and millionaires entrenched behind a hedge of high priced bonds, rejoice that they are safe whatever happens. When discoursing their Thanksgiving turkeys, how few of the plutocracy will give a thought to the hardy western pioneer on whose courage and sacrifices so many of their fortunes are founded!

Chill winter approaches. The Nebraska granger sits moodily in the shabby cabin that lumber lords have left within his means. The native blizzard whistles through the cracks, threatening to blow in shreds from his back a shoddy suit the wool tariff confines him to. He toasts his feet over a flaring fire of fifteen cent corn, and solaces his attenuated stomach with ten cent oatmeal gruel. He sighs as he sees his semi-annual interest soon coming due, realizing that his corn crop will hardly bring the cost of carting to market. Dolefully he hums the hymn, "I would not live away, I ask not to stay," but is shocked to reflect that with an undertaker's trust in the field he can scarcely afford to die. The beneficent statesman who represents his "deestric" advises him, as a remedy, to "restrict production."

A happy thought strikes him. By offering a liberal divvy to the agent of some "farmers' loan company," he can remortgage the farm for twice its value, and betake himself to the fascinations of city life. Dumping his goods and chattels on the "prairie schooner" he hitches up his steers and points for some happier haven.

Six months hence, about interest day, will be seen some female representative of the Silurian epoch from New England's granite hills, seeking more accurate information as to the investment her spinners' savings bank has recommended. An abandoned but and farm, instead of fertile fields, greets her astonished eyes, and inveighing against the depravity of the human race, she flounces

homeward to "give that cashier a piece of her mind, so there."

Our granger friend will probably find himself unadapted to city life. Every joy has its sorrow. His daughter Mary Ann, despising domestic service, will prefer the dubious surroundings of factory life. The flash novel from the public library will infect her with false ideas. A "Bridget" must be hired to ruin the family digestion and deplete the paternal pocketbook.

Do we picture a scene in some foreign land? No. "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing!"

The Interstate wheat growers, representing the farmers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys and the states of Oregon, Washington and California, held a convention in St. Louis a few days ago and devoted a good deal of their time to a discussion of economics as related to the farmer and wheat grower. One of the most interesting events of the convention was the address of President Colman on the tariff question. Mr. Colman came out square for free trade, and after he had spoken, resolutions were passed demanding of the government the conclusion of such reciprocity treaties with those foreign nations to whom we ship our surplus farm products as will cause such foreign nations to remove the customs duties from our farm products shipped abroad, thereby causing us to receive a higher price for our foreign farm surplus, and thereby fixing a higher price upon all that we sell at home. The following clauses were contained in the resolutions:

Resolved, To the end that we may get our farming implements at a less price, that the present laws be repealed that place a duty upon farming implements or the raw materials used in their manufacture.

Resolved, That we are more deeply interested in the carrying out of the above resolutions than we are in the success of any political party.

A conservative member of the Canadian parliament recently sent circulars to a number of farmers throughout the dominion, asking them the effect of the tariff on agriculture. He steered clear of free traders, as two-thirds of the replies were from protectionists, but 419 declared for reciprocity with the United States against 156 who were opposed.

Ex-Governor Palmer of Illinois says that tariff reform will be the issue in 1892; that Cleveland will be nominated by the democratic convention for the presidency by acclamation, and that McKinley of Ohio, or Cullom of Illinois, will be the republican nominee.

Commenting on the Tariff.

The Herald denounces the Tribune's proposition as absurd and ridiculous, and warns workingmen against it. Wages will increase and not decline whenever the protective tariff is swept away. Since the protective tariff is a tax on industry and consumption for the benefit of capital exclusively, why should not wages increase as soon as it is removed? It is in itself a tax on wages. Remove that tax and see which will come down—dividends or wages. It will be dividends.—[Chicago Herald.]

Since the election of President Harrison the cause of free trade has made tremendous strides. The epidemic has broken out in New England and rages furiously, attacking chiefly, as it appears, republican manufacturers whose systems were so thoroughly depleted last fall by campaign contributions that they are unable to resist the insidious approach of the disease.—[Louisville Courier-Journal.]

When so conservative a body as the taxation committee of the Boston executive business association indorses the views of the single tax theorists so far as to recommend that substantially all public revenues be raised by a single tax on real estate, it would seem to be time for this subject to receive fair and businesslike consideration.—[Boston Globe.]

Will Our Coal Supply Ever Be Exhausted?

Edward P. Jackson, treating the subject at some length in the October North American Review, says:

Time was when the carbon and hydrogen which form practically the whole of our supply of fuel and the principal part of our food were inorganic—no more capable of sustaining combustion or animal life (if we except certain microscopic forms which decompose carbonic acid) than granite or slate. For vegetable life, however, the supply of food was at its maximum. Vegetable life came, generated in some unknown way by the solar energy which poured through the atmosphere and the heat energy which penetrated the earth's crust from within. Through the unimaginable ages of the carboniferous period a gigantic flora fell on the rich atmosphere, assimilating its carbon and hydrogen, and thereby setting free its oxygen, until it could sustain its animal life, at first in the lowest, then successively in the higher, forms. This gigantic flora, with its enormous potential energy of chemical separation from oxygen—an energy derived chiefly from the solar energy of that period, easily admitted and tenaciously retained by the atmosphere—is now stored up in the earth as fuel for the future generations of our race. Future, I say, for tremendous as the annual consumption of coal, petroleum and natural gas for a generation has been, we have as yet only begun upon the great store. Hitherto Mother Earth has been able to supply her children's needs by expending only her current income. In this latter day, however, their demands have multiplied so rapidly that she has been obliged to draw upon the capital stored up during the long ages of her maidenhood.

How long will that capital last at the terrible rate at which we have begun to squander it? Is her children's prodigality actually making her poorer, or has she the power to nullify the effects of their extravagance, and are her diminishing resources due only to the decreasing energy of her natural supporter and protector, the sun? However prodigal man may be in his use of earth's treasures, he can never annihilate one atom of her substance or transport it beyond her domain. In his "wasteful" consumption of fuel, he is only restoring its elements to their primeval condition as constituents chiefly of the aerial and aqueous oceans which surround our globe. It follows, then, that the more rapid the combustion, the richer becomes the atmosphere in its power to sustain and force vegetable growth. If it were possible for that period, so often predicted, to arrive, when the 6,000,000,000,000 tons, more or less, of fossil fuels now stored up in the earth's coal bins, shall have been consumed, the atmosphere will simply have returned to its primeval condition, that which preceded the Carboniferous period. The only essential difference, therefore, which will mark the two remote geologic periods, the past and the future, will be due to whatever reduction will have taken place in the sun's energy. But whether that condition is destined ever to return to earth or not, one thing is certain: it will not be through human instrumentality. Ages before its arrival the percentage of carbonic acid in the atmosphere will have passed the point possible to the continuance of human life. If not through human agency, then how is it to come? Certainly not by any of the processes now in operation. The percentage of carbonic acid in the atmosphere does not materially vary. This fact means simply that somewhere on the earth's surface vegetation is taking up the enormous surplus of carbonic acid constantly pouring forth from our millions of furnaces, and thus restoring it to the form of available fuel. The weight that is constantly sinking is thus being constantly relifted by the daily conversion of solar to vital energy. Only some stupendous convulsion of nature, like those dreamed of by John of Patmos and Lord Byron, in which "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," can undo the work of the Carboniferous ages—some tremendous upheaval in which the subterranean stores of fuel shall at once be laid bare and given over to the devouring oxygen. Then would a new cycle begin, another Carboniferous era, in which the store houses would be again slowly filled for future generations of men. Again and again might the cycle return, until the diminishing energy of the sun should fail to uplift the fallen weight, to reorganize the inorganic.

Dear Labor and Cheap Labor.

Roger Q. Mills, in Philadelphia Meeting Oct. 16.

A New Haven door-knob manufacturer found, on investigation in Europe, that he was paying for his labor five times as much as was paid by a door-knob manufacturer in Germany. But on studying the question further he discovered that his own laborer did nearly thirty times as much work as the German laborer. The latter turned out fifteen knobs a day, while his man turned out 400 a day. As a consequence the German knob cost 2½ cents for labor and the American knob cost 15 of 1 cent. Therefore it was not the rate of wages in Europe that came in competition with American labor, but it was the thing that foreign labor made and which was brought here. That door-knob which would hold the market was the cheaper of the two, and that was really the one of American manufacture. Therefore, if we could produce manufactures at a lower cost than our foreign rivals, we could hold the markets of the world against them in free competition with them.

What a Republican Statesman Once Thought.

Speech by Allison of Iowa, March 24, 1870.

I believe that no one will claim that agriculture is directly protected. It is true that under our custom laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain producing regions of the country. The farmer has practically no protection at all, and whatever benefit he derives is from what the home market furnishes for home products. Unfortunately for the farmer, the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London and Liverpool. At that market where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes into competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary and in the region of the Baltic from fields cultivated by what is known in comparison with our own as pauper labor.

The Plaster Should Begin to Work.

Texas Settlements.

A gentleman with a pain in his back applied to a druggist for some reliable remedy.

"My dear sir," replied the druggist, "why did you not come to me sooner? Try one of my porous plasters. I make them myself, and they are absolutely infallible."

"You say these plasters are good, and effect an immediate cure?" queried the sufferer.

"I am positive about it. Haven't I been using them for the past twenty years? I wouldn't be without them for anything in the world," replied the druggist, rather inconsistently.

It does not seem to occur to the high protection organs that it is time their remedy should afford some relief to the aching back of labor.

Did 't Need Light.

Passing along a street in a Scotch town the other day, just as the whistles were sounding for three o'clock, a working woman hurrying along was accosted by a woman standing at the end of a close. "Whaur are bidin' noo?" asked the second woman. "Oh, in a garret," describing the place. "Sis an awfu' like place. Weel, ye see, it disna mair; I'm out a' day, an' it's dark when I get hame."

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE PETITION:

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Nov. 6, 1889.

The enrollment no. stands as follows:

Reported last week	67,567
Received during week ending Nov. 6	233
Total	67,800
Contributions received during the past week have been as follows:	
C. A. Diringo, Devil's Gap, Idaho	\$1 00
V. E. Harvey, Middletown, N. Y.	50
Tom Taylor, Youngstown, Ohio	50
Richard Eyre, Johnstown, Pa.	1 00
Sundry stamps	74
Total	\$3 74
Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	1,715 24
Total	\$1,793 98

It is difficult to push work in printing offices during election week, and hence there has been considerable delay in getting out the circular to "workers," setting forth the work of the committee and appealing for funds to press it forward. Without waiting for the formal appeal several more subscriptions have come in, and I shall begin in next week's STANDARD the acknowledgment of the promises toward meeting the expenses of the work of the year now beginning. People are not asked to contribute a lump sum unless they prefer to do so for their own convenience. What the committee wants are promises to contribute monthly for a specified number of months, so that it shall be able to decide on the extent to which it can promise the circulation of literature and aid in the work of organization.

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

A CONVERSATION CLUB.

The Club at Quincy, Illinois, discusses an Address by Judge Perry.

The Conversation club of the city of Quincy, Ill., has summer monthly meetings, at which prominent citizens read papers that form subjects for animated discussion among the members. For the winter of 1889 and 1890 a programme is laid out, running to the middle of May, and the topics are: "The Influence of Richard Cobden," "Socialism, Communism, Individualism and Anarchy," "Trusts," "Ballot Reform," "Does Farming Pay," and so on. The first meeting for the season was held on October 15, and the topic was: "The labor problem; what is its correct solution?"

The discussion was opened by Hon. C. F. Perry, who spoke as follows:

The labor question is a cosmopolitan question. It is the question of the age and of the hour. It is too important to be disregarded; too pressing to be postponed; it must be met and solved. Well has it been called the Riddle of the Sphinx, for upon its early and correct solution depends our future civilization.

Very many questions under different names are really but phases of this great industrial problem. With it they have come; upon its solution depends their solution. For instance, the immigration question. Once we welcomed the whole world to share our free government. We said every immigrant was worth \$700 to the United States. But now when a minister comes from London to preach to our heathen, we ask our government to send the "contract laborer" to prison.

Why this change of feeling? Undesirable immigration? No. That is the reason given, but it is not the real reason. The proportion of bad to good immigration has not changed. The real reason, the one that moves the people, is the result of the intense competition for employment. What profession or calling is not discussing the question of "overcrowding?" Yet whence come those who make this overcrowding but from occupations which have ceased to be profitable to labor? What is the main cause of the increasing aversion to marriage, the increase in divorces and resulting evils but the lessened ability of those who live by their labor to maintain families?

Attention is thus directed, because of the disposition to consider the labor question as one applying merely to mechanics and unskilled laborers and involving labor unions, strikes, lockouts, etc. It is more. Labor is human exertion. Wages are the reward of labor. How few does this leave unaffected by the labor question? Writers have divided mankind into three great classes: Those who work, those who beg and those who steal. He who restores the body to health, or who cultivates or satisfies the mind, is as truly a laborer as he who prepares food, raiment or shelter for the body; and in either case, the returns for such labor are wages.

Meaning by land all of the materials, forces and opportunities of nature—everything excepting man himself and his improvements—I would state the labor problem thus:

The labor question is the result of the constant tendency of wages to fall to the lowest point at which the laborers can live and reproduce.

This tendency is due to two causes: 1. Land monopoly; by locking up in idleness natural

opportunities on which labor could be applied, has so intensified the competition among laborers for remaining opportunities for labor that for self preservation the laborers are constantly underbidding each other for employment, whether manual or mental. 2. Of these already low wages of the laborers our system of taxing the products of industry takes something more than one-fifth every year.

Before presenting what I believe to be the remedy, let us briefly consider two other proposed remedies, but which I think would not either of them prove to be a true remedy.

The state socialists have a pretty dream. On the principle that "like cures like," they would resolve everything into one huge monopoly called government, which would absorb all capital, all means of production, and be the only employer of labor.

The increasing popularity of this idea is due to two causes—one the alarming condition of society, demanding relief; the other the persistent teaching of the efficacy of that entering wedge of socialism, a protective tariff. The tariff restricts competition; complete state socialism would abolish all competition.

This grand scheme has for a base the time honored error taught in the current political economy, that wages are drawn from capital and are limited by capital. Had Henry George done no more than expose this error, as he has, he would have deserved well of the world. The truth is that labor creates its own wages, which are therefore limited only by the application of labor to natural opportunities—to land—yet it is upon the fallacy that wages are drawn from capital that the whole socialistic dream rests.

Another fatal objection is the tendency of government to corruption and oppression. Even with the simplest and most economical government known, what a task to prevent corruption and injustice! Look at our municipal governments, constantly under our eyes as they are. What would follow when all the farms, mines, workshops, stores, etc., were merged into and conducted by the "bureaus" and "departments" of this gigantic "administration?" When, instead of 100,000, there were 65,000,000 names on the governmental pay-roll! After paying all the cost of keeping up all this officialism, how much better off would labor be than now? Competition being dead, there would be no living principle to animate the stupendous machine, which would die of "dry rot," to be followed by a military despotism that would extinguish human liberty.

That there are certain things, like water works, light, street railways, the telegraph, telephone, etc., which can be conducted with greater advantage by the people collectively than by private enterprise is true. In these things there is no chance for such competition by private enterprise as would allow perfect equality of use and enjoyment of these things by all citizens. But in the making of things generally—and exchange is simply one method of making—the abolition of land monopoly and the abolition of tax restrictions, permitting absolutely free production, then private enterprise would make every commodity more easy of access, better in quality and less in cost to all citizens than any government that could be devised. Then we should see what a real good thing competition is. The reason that competition, like labor invention, appears to be injurious now, is because of land monopoly and tax monopoly, which prevent that full, free play of competition which would prove it to be a blessing.

As for the railroads, as clearly shown by Mr. William T. Croasdale in his late and admirable articles in the New York STANDARD, it will be sufficient for government to possess the roadbeds of the railways, regarding them merely as improved public roads, exercise such police powers over train dispatching as would prevent accidents, then leaving all who choose to run trains or cars over the roadbeds.

Having tried to show that socialism would not solve the labor question, let us turn to extreme individualism or anarchy. This is an error in the opposite direction to socialism. Because there has been much unnecessary, vicious and oppressive government, often openly conducted in the interest of classes, anarchy would abolish all government. As well to condemn fire because people get burned.

That our government can and will be greatly simplified, that there should be much less legislation, is quite true. But that society could even exist with nothing but natural law is absurd. Not to refer now to the effects on life and person, the abolition of all human laws would leave labor in a worse condition than it is now. There would remain nothing to secure to labor either equal access to natural opportunities on which to apply its powers, or to secure to labor the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of that application. No laborer would know at what moment some stronger or "sharper" individual, or band of individuals, would take from him either his land, or his earnings or savings. The expense of the laborer in protecting himself would absorb more of his wages than are absorbed now. It would be as if every laborer had to educate his children at home or keep his own store. Those who think the abolition of all government would make everybody good know but little of the fierce fires that yet smolder in the human heart. Those who believe the evil disposed would be

restrained by public opinion and the "boycott" should note the effect of such a feeling on those who, like Jay Gould and others, are objects of almost universal execration.

No. On the average, the wisdom of all is greater than the wisdom of the few. Human law, the expressed will of the people, that superior power to which all individuals should yield ready obedience, is as necessary for the preservation of society as is natural law for the preservation of the universe.

Thus we see that neither socialism nor anarchy would solve the great problem. Socialism would end in imperialism and the loss of human freedom; anarchy would result in a feudal barbarism which would destroy our civilization.

I believe the correct solution of the labor problem to be this: Let all taxes, direct or indirect, including all tariff and revenue taxes, be abolished from labor and all of the products of labor, and in the place of such taxes, let the people take in taxation the annual rental value of all land, but excluding improvements. Bear in mind the full meaning, previously given, of the term land, and hence, that it includes all building, mining, forest and other land, as well as farm land.

Also, that it is not a proposition to tax land according to area or quantity; it is not a tax on land at all; it is a tax on land values. Land, as farm land, of little value, would have a small tax in comparison with building, mining, railroad and other land of great value.

Note also that the rental value of the land alone being taken, the tax not touching buildings, fences, stock, machinery, stocks of goods, etc., the land would be taxed just the same whether unimproved, or covered with the most useful improvements.

The change would be just, because land values being created by population and general industry, these values should not remain with individuals, as now, but should go to the people collectively to support government, as was evidently designed by nature.

It would be an equal tax, because every one must, in some form, pay land rent. This land or ground rent goes now into the pockets of a few individuals; under the single tax, land rent, although in case of tenants paid first to the land owner, would go to support government; and thus all would contribute their just share in support of government.

It is practicable, because, as repeatedly shown by Thomas G. Shearman and others, the annual rental value of land would yield more than sufficient revenue to maintain all government.

Land has two values: a rental or use value and a selling value. Under the single tax, the selling value would rapidly decline; but the rental value would remain, because land would remain as profitable for actual use as before.

But it would be unprofitable then to hold land except for use. It would cease to be profitable to hold land for speculation; and in this one fact is the main solution of the labor question.

Having to pay in taxation the annual rental value of the land (whether idle or improved) those who "own" all the land would either put their land to productive use or dispose of it to those who would. In either case such would be the demand for all kinds of labor, such the extent of new natural opportunities for unemployed labor, that the unhealthy competition among laborers (manual and mental) would cease, causing wages to rise to their normal height—the full earnings of labor.

Nearly one-half the land in this country is locked up in idleness. With all these natural opportunities thrown open, equipped with the powerful results of modern invention, who can doubt that all labor would find steady and profitable employment?

Since the Declaration of Independence invention has increased the productive powers of human labor eleven fold; all that is needed is that these powers be given access to the land now idle.

In Illinois there are 7,000,000 acres of unemployed farm land, worth at least \$127,000,000, on which, at six per cent, the annual rental value would be \$7,600,000. There are also 536,000 unimproved town and city lots, worth not less than \$140,000,000, with annual rental value of \$8,400,000. The combined rental of these lands, amounting to \$16,000,000, would be taken by the people every year, or more than this amount as the land increased in value.

Would the owners of these lands continue to hold them in idleness, or would they hasten to improve their lands so as to get some return for this \$16,000,000 every year? The question answers itself. Apply, then, the same reasoning to all the idle coal and other land in Illinois, to the limitless area of building, coal, copper, oil, iron, lead, salt, farming and other land, in all our states—yes, throughout the whole world—and imagine the enormous, continuous, profitable demand for labor and capital; the rise in wages; the increased returns to capital.

Nor could wages ever tend downward as now, for, having perpetual access to land, the laborer, alone or with others, could always, did his wages get too low, go to nature and make better wages working for himself.

No capitalist could oppress labor then; for the humblest toiler would have mother nature at his back.

There would be no lack of market. The

people cannot buy now because of their poverty. But with steady work for all and at the highest wages, the market would be unlimited.

Half the world to-day needs the products of American labor. The abolition of our useless, corrupting and costly custom houses, a standing menace to trade, and supported out of wages, would open up new and unlimited foreign markets. As the production of wealth would be boundless, being limited only by the application of the ever-increasing powers of labor to free land, so consumption, too, would be boundless, being limited only by human wants—at what stage do these wants ever cease?

I said the abolition of land monopoly is the main solution of the labor question. The abolition of all taxation upon industry and all products of industry would complete the solution. Taxes upon the products of labor must be paid by the consumers of these products. But as nearly all consumers live by their labor, therefore these taxes are paid out of wages. Put a tax on a building and the house owner adds the tax to the rent. Thus the tenant, whether an unskilled laborer making \$7 a week, or a mental laborer making his thousands a year, must pay the tax in his rent. So it is with all taxes upon other products of human labor. Such taxes fall in proportion to consumption, and thus press heavily upon those least able to bear them. Mr. Shearman says, during twenty years, taxes in the United States have averaged about one-fifth of the average annual expenses of the family.

But land is not a product of human labor. Whether man wills it or not, there is so much land, which can neither be increased nor decreased. This is why, as John Stuart Mill and other leading economists have pointed out, a tax upon the value of land cannot be "shifted" by the land owner onto some one else. Taxes on the products of labor are shifted; but all taxes on land values must be paid by the owner of the land. And this is just, like all other laws of nature, for land rent belongs to the people as a whole, not to the land owners, but who would still retain the land rent, could they shift the tax laid on land values onto the tenant. Thus it is seen that in taking land rent the community would simply be taking its own earnings to support government, leaving to each individual every cent of his own earnings. Therefore the single tax is really no tax at all.

Recalling now the causes that make the labor problem, the effects of the adoption of the single tax, may be summed up thus:

1. It would abolish land monopoly, thereby opening up so many new opportunities for labor that the unhealthy competition among laborers would cease, causing wages to rise to the full earnings of labor.

2. It would abolish all taxes upon industry and all products of industry, which taxes must now be paid out of wages, thus leaving to all who work the entire amount of all they earn.

Not only would the production of wealth be tremendously increased, but what is of more importance, the distribution of wealth would be equitable. The time will never come when all men will have equal abilities. Nor would this be beneficial. But full and complete justice will be done when all men have equal opportunities of applying their labor, and are allowed to retain all they can earn and all they may save.

Whatever will effect this will solve the labor problem. I believe the adoption of the principle described—the principle discovered by the illustrious Frenchman, Quesnay; the principle so magnificently introduced to the nineteenth century by that illustrious American, Henry George—will effect this.

This change would so simplify government that it could easily and safely assume those things properly belonging to government.

With the abolition of monopoly, all that is injurious in capital combinations would be gone, leaving them healthy, competitive, co-operative associations.

The protective feature being no longer necessary in labor organizations, they would further develop in the direction of education and benevolence.

Each enjoying the utmost prosperity, labor and capital would move along in perfect harmony.

What immigration could be induced to come would once more be regarded as a blessing.

The overcrowding in the professions and other callings would disappear, and the standard in all useful occupations would rise.

The competition for cheapness would give way to a competition for excellence. Instead of the wretched tenements, with their low morality and high mortality, would appear comfortable, healthy, happy homes. The need for "fresh air funds," or extra private charity, would no longer exist. In the country would appear more of the comforts and advantages of town. The present dreary life of that poorly paid laborer, the farmer, would be sweetened with all the blessings that follow high prosperity.

Every labor saving invention would directly benefit those who work, lessening the hours of toil, and leaving more and more time for improvement and recreation.

Child and unsuitable female labor, being no longer necessary, would cease naturally. Every echo of the ceaseless prosperity would mingle with the echo of marriage bells. Involuntary poverty and the fear of poverty

would gradually disappear; vice and crime would steadily decrease.

That eternal principle, justice, the love of which is first in the human heart, would reign supreme in society. The great industrial social problem would be solved, and the world would enter upon a new era in civilization.

At the conclusion of Judge Perry's address there was an interesting discussion on the subject, which will doubtless be resumed with added force and interest at the meeting for April 15, 1890, when the judge is down for another address on "The moral and economic aspects of the single tax theory." The Conversation club appears to be interested in the subject, since Judge Perry is the only man on its long list of speakers, who is down for two evenings.

ANOTHER CLERGYMAN COMES FORWARD.

Rev. S. W. Sample of Minneapolis Preaches Free Trade and the Single Tax From His Pulpit.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 30.—THE STANDARD has from time to time mentioned ministers who have more or less openly espoused the cause of the single tax. To that list may be added another—that of Rev. S. W. Sample of All Souls' (Universalist) church of this city. He recently preached a genuine single tax sermon, which every minister in the city would have been the better for hearing.

The subject was "The Problem of Poverty." The oft-made assertion that the problem could not be solved, the speaker declared, was an insult to God and man. But it was not to be solved by either temperance or economy itself. Socialism such as was pictured in "Looking Backward," he avowed, destroyed individuality and converted society into a huge machine. The standard of living must be raised, not lowered, as the advocates of current political economy would do. Instead of forcing the toilers further down into brutality by decreasing their wants, he would increase their wants and thus raise them into a fuller and truer manhood. The hours of labor should also be shortened, and as a means to both of these ends, Mr. Sample said that there must be free trade and a general recognition of the equal rights of all men to natural resources—in other words, the single tax must be adopted. He did not, he said, accept everything that Mr. George had written. It was, for instance, immaterial to him whether the assertion of Mr. George, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, but of one thing he was sure—that no one could deny that the land belongs rightfully and equally to all the people of the earth.

At the close of the sermon there was an unmistakable round of applause, notwithstanding the place and the occasion, and many men pressed forward to shake the pastor's hand and declare it the best sermon they had ever listened to, while more than one woman added a fervent "God bless you."

A SINGLE TAX WOMAN.

TEACHING THE TEACHER.

A Boston Single Tax Audience Tries in Vain to Educate Edward Atkinson.

Boston Globe.

The first lecture of the series on "The Social Problem," under the auspices of Boston typographical union No. 13, was delivered yesterday afternoon at Wells memorial hall by Edward Atkinson, who spoke of "The Merits and Demerits of the Proposed Single Tax on Land Values."

There was a large attendance of the printers and their friends. In the absence of the president of the union, John R. Roche occupied the chair.

Mr. Atkinson said he had made an exhaustive study of the single tax proposition of Henry George since last lecturing on the subject, and agreed with that gentleman in wishing for the widest distribution of land, but instead of that much-desired end being attainable by concentrating all taxation on the value of land, he believed, on the contrary, that it could only be secured by abolishing all taxation on land values.

I do not believe, continued the speaker, in taxing the source of industry, but in taxing it at the place where it can best be borne. Now the product of a given number of men in raw cotton on 5,000 acres of land can be worked up into cotton cloth by the same number of men on a few thousand feet of land, and if you tax land values alone the source of the industry will have to bear the heaviest burden of tax. In the cities three-fifths of the values of real estate is land value and two-fifths the value of improvements, while in agricultural districts two-fifths of the value of real estate is land value and three-fifths the value of improvements.

A voice—Then how would the burden of a tax on land values fall on the prime sources of industry?

I own 5,000 acres of land down south, continued the speaker, for which I paid \$3 an acre, and I would be glad to give away half of it to actual settlers.

A voice—And the presence of the settlers would make it a profitable scheme, as it would add value to the other half.

Yes. Then I'd get my money back. (Laughter.) The problem is how to get the necessary part of production to support government in the least burdensome manner.

I hold that a tax upon land values would

be a tax upon all production at its source, and would be most likely to obstruct production. We might better tax intoxicants. This tax takes from the consumers what they can best spare. I can spare one glass of beer out of five, and will be the better for it; but we cannot profitably curtail the amount of land in use by a single tax on land values. Vacant or raw land has little or no value. Not until it is used has it a value. Land will yield nothing of itself to pay taxes, and so if you tax it you will destroy its salable value, and anyone could take land that is not occupied, under such conditions as the state would decree land shall be held. The result of the single tax would be that all products would be taxed, as you cannot get the land to pay the tax. The tax would be more evenly distributed, but not so equitably. Capital would pay just as well under the single tax as now. Land would be free, and all the capital that is now invested in land would be left to invest in improvements. I think capital would get vastly more benefit from the single tax than the workingman, and that is why I oppose it. (Laughter.)

Of course, under the single tax land would be free, and getting a lot for nothing would enable a man to put all his money into the building, but under those conditions money could not be borrowed to build, and land could only be used by capitalists.

A voice—Why couldn't he build with the money he would otherwise have to invest in land?

Land is not scarce in the United States, and it is not hard to get. There is more land unused, ten to one in this country, than used.

The speaker then gave his attention to the tariff question, and declared in favor of the abolition of the tariff except on a few luxuries, which declaration was received with cheers. After a unanimous vote of thanks to the speaker, and the announcement from the chair that Henry George would deliver the second lecture in the course at Tremont temple, Wednesday evening, November 20, the meeting adjourned.

NEW ZEALAND.

An Organization Advocating the Taxation of Land Values Started at Wellington—Sir George Grey Makes a Strong Speech in Its Behalf.

By the latest advices from New Zealand it appears that a movement for the taxation of land values has been started and with no less a figure at its head than that of Sir George Grey, the leader of the liberal party in the colony. A big meeting was held on September 1 in Exchange hall in Wellington, at which Sir George Grey spoke and an organization for the propagation of these views was formed. Mr. J. Joyce, member of the house of representatives, was in the chair and a number of representative men occupied conspicuous places on the platform. As a declaration of principles, it was resolved:

That the object of the society shall be to spread by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient a knowledge of the truth that God has made provision for the needs of all men during their residence on earth, and that involuntary poverty is the result of human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all, and by every constitutional means to wage an active warfare against the conditions that in spite of the advance in the powers of production condemn so many to degrading poverty, and foster vice, crime and greed.

In his speech Sir George Grey traced the history of land tenure in New Zealand, showing how speculation had commenced and had at an early date brought forth its fruits of opulence on the one side and poverty on the other:

Speculators were anxious to obtain land for the sake of the power which it would give them, and because they knew that those who came to the colony afterward would not have the same chance as they had. Those people in the land offices in the early days had an opportunity of obtaining land, and many of these secured possession of large tracts of country. But there were also people who refused to do anything of the kind. These thought it would be a good idea to cut the land up into small farms, and they stood by him (the speaker) in many an encounter which he had on the subject. As an instance of the way the land had been gobbled up he referred to Wairarapa valley, in Wellington province, where some men had established small farm settlements, calling them Master-ton, Featherston, Carterton and Greytown, each of which was established with every prospect of success. The remainder of the land in the valley was cut up into runs, and was secured by the other class of persons he had referred to, and the result was the small farm settlers were prevented from running their cattle on it. Out of the area purchased from the natives in the whole province, including Hawkes bay, 520,000 acres were taken up in the Wairarapa valley by fifty-one persons only, while the area occupied by the small farmers was but a small proportion.

Four more townships, the speaker said, might have been established in the Wairarapa valley if those speculators had not been allowed to grab large tracts of land, and "the province of Wellington would be in a more prosperous condition at the present time," and "great good would have resulted to the colony." After reciting more of the ills arising from the existing system of land tenure, Sir George went on to say that the only way to restore the original state of affairs was to put a tax on the land.

In fair justice to the whole population an

estimate should be made of the various areas, and the owners should be made to pay a tax. If this were done a good deal of general taxation would be avoided. The idea was bitterly opposed by a certain section, who said that the property tax was quite sufficient. He (Sir George Grey) maintained that the property tax was not a fair tax, because it pressed unequally on every one in the community. The property tax was already large enough, and he said that it would not be fair to increase it, and thus press still more heavily on many who were unable to bear it. He maintained that a land tax would not press heavily upon the great bulk of the people. If such a tax were imposed the revenue would be so large that public libraries could be established in every town, large public works could be carried out, and railway charges could be lessened. If a land tax were imposed other taxes could be reduced, and the people of the country would be made happy and contented. He said that the people should have justice done at once (applause), and he urged them to insist upon being given that which they had a just right to obtain, and he intended to struggle to the utmost to secure that end for them. (Applause.) The meaning of the land tax was the land for the people. (Applause.) Were the great bulk of the colonists to be driven out of the country because of the want of land? He asked the people to stand up and demand their rights.

But though urging in this energetic manner the taxation of land values, Sir George Grey did not go as far as single tax men and call for the abolition of all other taxes. On the contrary, he but took the cautious step of a politician who must not go too far in advance of the people to hold his influence, and he declared his faith in an income tax, or, to put it in his own words, "that the man who is deriving great wealth from the country should contribute in proportion to his wealth." But if the public mind in New Zealand once comes to realize the sufficiency of the single tax to meet all necessary expenses of government and conceive the injustice of taxing the individual for having in his possession anything which is rightfully his, it is more than probable that Sir George Grey will forget about all other measures and come forward as the uncompromising champion of a single tax.

IN DENMARK.

An Account of the First Scandinavian Single Tax Conference.

DATUM LANDBRUGSKOLE, ODENSE, Denmark, Oct. 17.—It may be of interest to the readers of THE STANDARD that even here in this remote corner of the old world the work for the good cause is being carried forward by earnest men and women. This week the movement entered its second stage by the inauguration of the first Scandinavian single tax conference.

Some time ago eleven single tax men from various parts of the country invited friends of the cause to meet in Odense to discuss the ways and means most fit for advancing our ideas. Accordingly on October 13 some thirty men and women met here. It was a rather mixed company; all sorts and conditions of men, in fact; farmers, teachers, clergymen, authors, merchants, millers, etc., "persons gray and green," but chiefly representatives of the liberal, free religious spheres, our ideas having almost exclusively made their way into these.

Mr. Ullmann, member of the Norwegian parliament and leader of the movement in our brother country, had been specially invited. The formation of a single tax society was discussed. The creation of a complicated organization was thought out of place; but it was resolved as the first important step to start a paper on a clear, single tax platform. The paper is to have three editors, one for each of the three Scandinavian countries, Mr. Ullmann and myself being chosen as editors for Norway and Denmark.

A rough and ready kind of an organization was made for the distribution of tracts and cheap editions of "Progress and Poverty" and others of Henry George's works, and Messrs. Linderberg, Skovrup, Egeus and Pommerencke were authorized to form a kind of committee to arrange for future meetings and for the next conference, which is to be held in Norway next autumn.

The following day a public meeting was held in the town, where, in spite of the most abominable weather, some two or three hundred people from far and near gathered. A brilliant speech was made by Mr. Ullmann—who by the way is considered the best speaker in the Norwegian parliament and holds a very prominent place in the radical wing. He broadly stated our purpose and the effects of the single tax. Mr. Linderberg spoke about the history of the movement and the work in other countries, and related his impressions of the land conference in Paris. The Rev. A. F. Pommerencke treated the movement from its religious side and showed how our demand of the land for the people was no new idea, but was embodied in the most ancient of all law codes—that one given to the Hebrews in the desert.

Finally I spoke of the ways and means of reaching our grand goal of the recognition of the common rights to land, through the plain and simple way of a mere tax reform. Illustrating by some local and national examples, I showed how at present labor is everywhere taxed to death, and how idleness and destructive land speculation is fostered. To get rid of unemployed labor—the only way to permanently raise wages—we should tax opportunities, not labor. The discussion chiefly

turned upon the question of "single tax or socialism"—the latter represented by some disciples of Carl Marx, who all agreed that even if the single tax could not do all things, it would pave the way for further reforms.

Thus ended our first single tax conference. We all left it with strengthened convictions that the future belongs to us and our ideas.

JACOB E. LANGE.

A CITY OF THE FUTURE.

An Approximation to the Single Tax Idea—What Cities Might Become.

Mr. C. H. Shinn in the San Francisco Argonaut, writes a fanciful sketch of "The Building of Arachne," a city of the future. In the year 2029, the leading Vanderbilt of the time, is represented as coming into his fortune and determining to build an ideal city, and he selects as the site a fertile plain in California. Landscape gardeners and engineers were called into service, a perfect system of drainage was made, and trees were planted not only in numerous parks, but along broad avenues. Each lot, besides fronting on a street, ran back to a twenty-five foot alley. Through the streets ran cable cars and through the alleys cable freight cars. All the sewers of the city united at the edge of a tule marsh by the river, five miles beyond the city's possible expansion, where their contents were heated, dried, and ground to powder, and sold for fertilizers. The city furnished not only water but natural gas for cooking and lighting, piped into every house free to the consumer. There were also telegraph, telephone, and phonograph connections throughout the whole city, and not until these were completed, did the Vanderbilt of the time offer lots, and then he only offered them at a price that would restore his capital intact at the end of twenty years, without any profit. Mr. Shinn goes into an elaborate description of some patent system of voting, by which people vote through tubes from their own houses into a gigantic machine, which is mathematically perfect and counts their votes without human intervention, but it is not until it comes to taxation that he becomes most interesting. He says:

Taxes were arranged on the basis of the "unit of real estate." This unit was taxed at a fixed rate, whether improved or unimproved. A fixed amount of water and gas was furnished free to each house—this amount being rated as "sufficient for the use of one family;" everything above this amount was charged at cost of production. The sewage furnaces turned in a large annual revenue to the city. The transportation department, which included all the freight and passenger traffic, had rates of charges fixed from time to time by the city legislature. The income from this source, added to the revenues of the sewage department and the small fixed tax on the unit of real estate, was sufficient to pay all the expenses of the city government. The city had enabled its citizens to escape most of the indirect taxes of the cities of the nineteenth century, and the result was most astonishing in the tax department. It was not necessary to put a dollar of tax on the great buildings, for as the city grew the added transportation, at rates that lessened each year, paid all the expenses.

The legislature had the right to raise the tax rate on the unit of real estate, and even to levy a graduated tax on all buildings which cost more than \$5,000, but this was a right which it never exercised. The other sources of income were sufficient.

As Arachne grew from a population of fifty thousand to one of half a million, and, before the close of its first century, to more than two millions, the wisdom of its founders became more and more manifest. It was a city of homes, of health, of happiness. Individuality had its proper play, competition had healthful activity, but the sense of brotherhood was cultivated, and, as the powers and duties of the city grew, the service of the city increased in honor and responsibility, and the organization of public life became more perfect.

The evils of cities like London and New York never existed in Arachne; there were no slums, no tenement houses, no pestilence haunted rookeries, no dives and dance cellars and saloons, for the spirit of the community did not tolerate these things.

To Members of the Manhattan Single Tax Club.

An important meeting of the Manhattan single tax club will be held on Thursday, November 7, to take action on the proposed new constitution.

On Sunday evening Mr. Thomas G. Shearman will address the club.

The club's cart-tail campaign closed on Saturday night with a demonstration in behalf of ballot reform. The club sent out four trucks, accompanied by drums and fifes, and after a few speeches in the eastern part of the city the trucks formed in procession and marched to the ballot reform meeting in Cooper union. The inclemency of the weather interfered with the success of the outdoor work.

A Republican Meeting Captured.

A call was issued by the republicans of the Twenty-fifth ward, Brooklyn, for a mass meeting, to be held at Turn hall, Sumpter street, on last Friday evening, and when the hour for opening the meeting arrived, the chairman invited any one of the audience who wished to make a few remarks to step up to the platform and do so. Everett Glackin, secretary of Typographical union No. 6, who was present, stood up and said he would address the meeting, provided he was permitted to discuss the single tax. The chair-

man, who evidently knew but little about it, agreed, and Mr. Glackin spoke for about one hour, amid the greatest applause of the audience, and to the consternation of the officers of the club. The officers subsequently called another meeting to counteract the effect of Mr. Glackin's seditious talk.

The Chicago Club.

Father Huntington spoke at the meeting of the Chicago single tax club last week, which was held in the Madison street theatre, and was largely attended. Among the prominent people present were Bishop McLaren, Canon Knowles, Rev. C. F. Goss, Elder W. T. Black and Rev. Charles Ferguson. Henry D. Lloyd presided, and introduced the speaker of the evening. Father Huntington's address was an able and eloquent plea for the single tax, and was well received. Mr. Clinton Furbish closed the meeting with a short address.

Ohio.

The Dayton Journal is an influential republican organ, circulating largely through the Miami valley in Ohio. In its issue of October 16 it declared that "there is what is called a single tax society in Dayton, not numerous but respectable." The paper thereupon undertook to demolish what it called "one of the vagaries of Henry George." On the 17th it had another editorial continuing the attempt. Of course such an invitation was not neglected by the single tax men in Dayton. On October 19, John E. Turner expounded the single tax doctrine to the misguided editor, and on October 21, John K. Lewis came at him again, so that the people of the Miami valley have heard more straightforward single tax doctrine than ever before since it has been brought to their attention. Both correspondents do their work well.

The union labor party convention at Cincinnati a few days ago adopted the following plank: "That all systems of taxation be abolished and the source of revenue to defray governmental expenses shall be the rents of lands used for commercial, mercantile and manufacturing purposes and the profits of non-competitive franchises."

In Cincinnati a single tax man, William C. Wulff, who ran on the democratic ticket for assessor of the Twelfth ward, had posters printed, of which the following is a copy:

Questions for citizens of the Twelfth ward: Why is it that vacant land held out of use by the owners, waiting for the value to be increased by surrounding improvements and the increase of population, is assessed at the lowest possible value?

Don't you know, that under such a system of assessment, there is an inducement for the land speculators to keep land idle, depriving labor of employment, and shifting the burden of taxation on to the man who improves his land, and the industrious worker?

Don't you know, that if idle land was assessed according to law it would compel the owner to improve it, thus giving more employment to labor and making business better for the grocer, baker and all other men?

Don't you know, that if land was assessed at its real value, that the rate of taxation on your property would be reduced?

You have the opportunity of electing an assessor who has made a thorough study of the principles of taxation, and who, if elected, will see that the public spirited citizen who, by improving his property, employs labor, and the industrious workers, are not fined by heavy taxation while the man who obstructs improve rent and business escapes.

Without regard to party, investigate this most important matter fully, and vote for

WILLIAM C. WULFF

for
Decennial Assessor.

Pennsylvania.

A short time ago Mr. Horn of the Twenty-fifth ward, Philadelphia, offered a resolution in common council, urging the real estate assessors to assess every property up to the market value. Many of the members, who are either landlords or in sympathy with landlords, opposed the resolution with bitter speeches. After a long debate the resolution was practically killed by referring it to the finance committee.

Oregon.

Protests against land speculation are no longer confined to the open advocates of the single tax. The Pendleton East Oregonian of October 5 says:

Nearly the whole of the water front of Seattle, Tacoma, Port Townsend and other Puget sound cities has been filed upon by speculators with Valentine scrip, this action being founded upon a recent decision of the commissioner of the general land office accepting such a filing on tide lands in Seattle harbor. In effect, this decision asserts the title of the United States to these lands as against the claim of the state, and if this decision is sustained by the courts the effect upon the commercial interests of the sound will be disastrous. The seizing upon these tide lands by speculators, thus securing control of millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to the people, is one of the grand results of the republican success in the nation and in Washington.

Idaho.

D. R. Munro, Shoshone, Idaho.—At the recent session of D. A. 82, Knights of Labor, held in Denver October 14 and 20, the question of the single tax was brought up, and on being voted upon was endorsed by a majority vote of the representatives. The D. A. is composed of Union Pacific employees.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The Mail and Express of October 29 had the following editorial, written by the editor-in-chief, Colonel Elliot F. Shepard:

Saturday last produced mourning in three prominent homes in this city, homes with which New York is familiar and has always honored.

Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst departed for his rest and reward above. He was the learned lawyer, fearless judge, eloquent advocate, generous philanthropist, faithful Christian, blameless citizen, true friend. The boys of the Eleventh street home of the Children's aid society well know what a friend they have lost. The Fifth avenue Presbyterian church well knows what a matchless elder she has lost.

The bereaved widow and children know what a tender husband and loving father they have lost. The cause of foreign missions suffers a loss which cannot be estimated to-day. Various trust companies, cestui-que trusts, eleemosynary institutions, Sabbath schools, hospitals, Christian associations, clubs, societies, suffer a loss which time can never repair.

If every one indebted to Judge Van Vorst for a kindness should attend his funeral to-day, Dr. Hall's church would be black with people inside and outside, pews, aisles, roof, steeple, tower and sidewalks.

Where is Judge Van Vorst now?

In heaven.

His home at No. 811 Madison avenue will be illumined by its consecration to his memory.

Alas that medicine cannot prevent disease! Alas that even physicians and physicians' sons must die!

James Woods McLane, Jr., the bearer of the honored name of the president of the college of physicians and surgeons of Columbia university, has gone on before his father, and a million sympathies vainly seek to comfort parents who had every occasion to delight in their offspring, and to expect for him a long life crowned with usefulness and honor.

His home at No. 51 West Thirty-eighth street is desolate, as if riven by a thunderbolt out of a clear sky.

Yale university could not detain him; all the loves so freely lavished upon him by relatives, companions and friends could not hold him; all the praise which awaited his each unfolding year could not anchor him; but honor, love and praise are to-day his pall bearers.

Honor, love and praise act as if they had a higher sphere for him; and who could say them nay?

Youth is immortal, and he was young. His intellectuality may be inferred, though not measured, by the following prophetic and beautiful lines written by him, which we find in and which had been accepted by the Yale Courant, although generally only juniors and seniors are admitted to its pages; and he but a freshman of twenty years:

"FLUENS O FLUMEN."

Gentle river, murmuring river,
Gliding to the sea,
On thy waves the moonbeams quiver,
On thy banks the rushes shiver
Noiselessly;
While the evening breezes sighing,
Like a strain of music dying,
To thy sad, sweet song replying
Mournfully.

Gentle river, murmuring river,
Floating to the sea,
On thy tide our lives are drifting
Aimlessly.

Confident and never fearing
Those sharp rocks we fast are nearing,
Where destruction, ever leering,
Waits impatiently.

JAS. W. McLANE, JR.

This has the delicacy and dash of Keats, with a more profound philosophy.

Well, the dear boy's precious remains have been taken to New London, and will repose beside those of his grandfather of the same name, and it may be that Yale will, in consequence of his being taken off by typhoid fever, which has also affected other students, be disposed to cut down some of its elms, so as to have less shade and more sun in and around the college grounds.

Charles B. Alexander, having been spared parting with his beloved mother, though she took a look into the tomb this summer, is called upon to say "farewell" to Mrs. Charles Crocker, the mother of his other self, and his home at 4 West Fifty-eighth street is another resort for the weeds of mourning.

The Crocker family are like an Eiffel tower, with one foot in San Francisco and one in New York, and rear in prominence in every good word and work, known throughout the country.

If good deeds could again bring back to life devout and honorable women, as once they did with the apostle Peter's help, then we should have another Dorcas in America. But Mrs. Crocker has rounded out the measure of a fruitful and happy life, and there is no cause of regret for her, only for consolation to those who shall hereafter travel this life's journey without her.

On October 31 the news columns of the Mail and Express contained the following:

In a miserable apartment in the rear of No. 139 West Twenty-eighth street, just after daybreak this morning, a poor woman, sick and crazed by hunger, tried to kill her aged mother and a six-year-old son. The latter and his twin brother saved their grandmother's life, and neighbors rushed in in time to prevent serious injury to the child.

Behind the irresponsible crime is a story pathetic in the extreme. The afflicted woman is Mrs. Mary Barn. For three weeks she has been sick. She was too poor to have a physician, and could not spare the time to go to a dispensary. Every moment had to be given to the struggle for food for her three children—the third being a baby girl of nine months—and for her mother. To do this she herself went without food more often than she ate;

indeed, owing to her illness she was frequently unable to eat what little food she could get for herself. Steadily she grew weaker though still working and never complaining.

At the same time she worried greatly about her husband, who has been in Bellevue hospital for the past four months with an illness from which he will probably never recover. Before his illness the family lived comfortably on his earnings as an expert tailor.

Since then the pawnbroker has been appealed to until nothing was left worth pawning. To-day the furniture consisted of a rickety stove, two chairs, a crib and what was once a good bed. Shortly before 6 o'clock this morning Mrs. Barn arose. Her mother was awake at the time, and saw her go to the room door and lock it. Then she returned and put on all the clothing that was lying about, saying she felt cold. Next she took the baby from the crib, laid down on the bed and began nursing it.

Suddenly she was seized with a convulsion. The child was in her grasp and was pressed so tightly that it could not utter a sound. The grandmother, bent and feeble with age, tried to get the child from her daughter's grasp, and succeeded only when it was nearly strangled.

Suddenly she stopped, rose in bed, and, without so much as a word, seized her mother by the throat with a grip like iron. The old woman remained perfectly quiet until she began to choke, when she struggled violently to free herself.

The boy then understood that something was wrong and, crying bitterly, each seized an arm of their mother and finally succeeded in loosing her hold. The old woman's throat still bears the marks of her daughter's fingers.

After releasing the grandmother Mrs. Barn caught one of the boys, Johnny, by the throat. He and his brother screamed, and some of the neighbors ran in and snatched the child away. Another neighbor ran for a policeman, and he arrived in time to prevent the insane woman from injuring one of the neighbors, upon whom she had also fastened her grasp when the boy was taken from her.

An ambulance was immediately summoned from Bellevue hospital, and Mrs. Barn removed there. The surgeon said that, in his opinion, Mrs. Barn's head had been upset from worry and lack of proper nourishment. The children will be turned over to Mr. Gerry's society. The grandmother is still at the house.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A New Use for Electricity.

Contemporaneous with the successful application of electricity to yacht propulsion is the similar use of naphtha in a yacht of even larger proportions and with quite as satisfactory results. The latter yacht measures fifty feet in length over all, eight feet in beam and three feet draught. She was built for Rev. J. A. Aspinwall of the Atlantic yacht club of New York, and made fifteen knots an hour against wind and tide on her trial trip. She has a naphtha tank forward, with a capacity of six barrels. The consumption at full speed is eight gallons, the price of which is eight cents a gallon. There are two boilers and two smoke stacks, triple engines with three cylinders, each comprising within itself a compound engine of the trunk type, with its respective feed, water and vacuum pumps. The naphtha tank is placed in a compartment forward.

The Proposed Use of Carbonic Oxide at Executions.

Dr. Samuel W. Abbott, secretary of the Massachusetts state board of health, in a paper contributed to the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, proposes the use of gas for executions in place of the rope and electricity.

"In carbonic oxide," he says, "we possess such an agent, which has the property of destroying rapidly and painlessly when properly administered." He refers to the writings of Dr. B. W. Richardson, of London, who, several years ago, brought this method to public notice for the destruction of small domestic animals, such as dogs and cats, and especially to Dr. Richardson's statement that 7,000 such animals had been destroyed in London in a few months, previous to the doctor's article on "The painless extinction of life."

Dr. Abbott says carbonic oxide may be made from charcoal at small cost or it may be obtained more cheaply still from the street mains of any coal and water gas company. Water gas he considers preferable to coal gas, since it contains from four to five times as much carbonic oxide, and would, therefore, be more rapid and fatal in its action. He says: "An atmosphere of 25 to 30 per cent of carbonic oxide, as in the case of water gas, or still better, one of 50 per cent or more, as may be made from charcoal, would undoubtedly destroy human life in less than two minutes without pain." He suggests that the apparatus consist of a tight wooden box, 3 feet square and 7 feet high, a tightly fitting door, an aperture for admitting a gas pipe of liberal size for applying a rapid supply of gas under ordinary pressure from the street mains, and a smaller aperture to allow the expulsion of the air. If a higher percentage of carbonic oxide is desired, a small charcoal furnace would be required for generating it and storing it temporarily, as in the case of Dr. Richardson's lethal chamber.

Illuminating a Race Track With Natural Gas.

Twenty thousand persons saw the trotting by natural gas light at the Fairfield county fair, Lancaster, O., on the night of Oct. 10. Twenty foot standpipes at short intervals encircled the half mile track and dotted the entire grounds, with larger standpipes within the track. The two largest wells in the country, with capacities of 25,000,000 cubic feet and 15,000,000 cubic feet respectively, were turned on to complete the illumination. In the midst of this display W. J. Morgan's famous trotter Guy, without a running mate, made an unsuccessful attempt to beat his record of 2:10.

FOREIGN NOTES.

There is an opportunity at hand for London to follow the lead of other European cities in municipalizing its railways. The North Metropolitan tramway company is by far the largest of the London companies, owning over forty miles of road, that is, nearly one-third of the total tramway mileage of the city. Next year the charter of this company expires, and, according to the Christian Commonwealth, the county council is empowered to take over the whole business and manage it, paying only the actual value of the stock and plant. The council has of course the option of renewing the charter of the company, and no decision has been reached as yet as to which course it will pursue.

J. Morrison Davison has a letter in the Pall Mall Gazette on the election of Mr. Seymour Keay to parliament. He says:

Why did he win? He won precisely because he had recourse to none of the crooked ways of the "Scottish official." He propounded a thoroughly advanced programme, and stuck to it with characteristic tenacity, and that is the secret of his phenomenal success. In Moray and Nairn the people are very intelligent and self-respecting, and you have only to convince their judgment, and they will vote regardless of party considerations. No doubt Mr. Gladstone's name is still somewhat of a superstition in the north, but it was not the determining element in the contest. Federal home rule and land resumption carried the day. Even Ireland did not count for a great deal.

A most discreditable liberal official intrigue was set on foot to substitute some regulation milk-and-water Gladstonian in place of Mr. Keay, but the wire pullers little knew their man, and still less the constituency. Had the election by any chance been lost I should have deemed it my duty to make an exposure of the cause of the disaster, but as "all's well that ends well" I refrain.

The moral of the victory is plain. At the ensuing general election no candidate need apply in bonnie Scotland who is not a federalist and a land communaliser. *Eppur si muove.* Yours, etc.,

J. MORRISON DAVIDSON.

The "bourse du travail," a labor exchange of Paris, is an interesting experiment. It was established in 1887. An account of the bourse says:

The authority is vested in a committee of twenty-one members, elected from the trade organizations. The exchange is divided into twenty-two bureaux, each of which has control of all the branches of a single industry. The rent of the building is paid by the municipal council, which last year also appropriated 34,000 francs for running expenses. Some idea of the work done by the bourse may be gained when it is stated that about forty thousand persons found employment through it last year. Both those needing employment and employers needing help may apply at the bourse. Besides the employment agency, everything pertaining to the interests of labor is taken up and discussed. So greatly has the bourse developed in little more than two years that the municipal council has appropriated 2,000,000 francs for a new and fine building, and will give 100,000 francs a year for its maintenance.

One of the feudal rights that still attach to the land owners is the right to kill poachers. A short time ago a cooper named Brooks was snaring rabbits on a farmer's land. The farmer saw him, and after tearing up the nets, deliberately shot him dead. It is stated that Brooks had no weapon of any kind.

"The church, which was beautifully decorated, was thickly strewn with publications of the Land nationalization society and the Land restoration league, including 'Landlordism the Cause of Trade Depression,' by Arthur O'Connor, M. P., all of which the vicar urged those present to take away with them; and, after reading them themselves, to hand on to their friends. Scarcely one was left at the conclusion of the service." This quotation is from a report of a village harvest festival in Cornwall, published in the Western Daily Mercury of October 2. The vicar preached two very rousing sermons on the land question from a scriptural point of view, and uttered some plain truths about the way in which immorality is caused in the rural districts by the wretched housing of the laboring classes.

Then the Tariff is a Tax, Eh?

Denver Republican.
The Philadelphia Press makes a calculation based upon Abram Hewitt's declaration that 90 per cent of the cost of ore or pig-iron goes to pay for the labor employed in its production. The result of the calculation is that the amount paid for labor in the Lake Superior iron industry is \$67,500,000 per annum. If the tariff were taken off iron, the production in this country would have to stop or the price per ton would have to be reduced about 67.

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS.

The Sydney Liberal Association Adopts the Single Tax and Promises to Assist in the Approaching Henry George Campaign—Premier Sir Henry Parkes Promises to Bring in a Direct Tax Bill—Twenty-Eight Town Councils in New South Wales Declare for the Single Tax—Progress in Victoria.

The past few months have witnessed a wonderful advance of the free trade and single tax movement in Australia, especially in New South Wales. It has been steadily approaching the realm of practical politics, until now comes word of the formal adoption by the Sydney free trade and liberal political association, as a part of its platform, a tax on the unimproved value of land, and the passage of a resolution pledging itself to support and assist Henry George in every way when he reaches New South Wales.

The story of the conference at which this action was taken is told by John Farrell, editor of the Australian Standard, in the columns of that paper. He says:

It was a decisive victory, and one whose effects will reach very far. Indeed, to anyone living in Sydney and moving within earshot of political thought, it is plain to see how far they have reached already. The conservative and petrified revenue tariffist—the upholder of things as they are, who thinks England at present represents the perfection of freedom and happiness, and who wanted nothing more than that protection should not come here, is disturbed, but respectful. He has a rooted impression that the country is going to the devil, but as the Free trade and liberal association has adopted the new madness, his mouth is shut. This class had a few representatives on the conference, but they were very few, and only offered a faint resistance to the more advanced and radical section, who to a man were for the single tax. There was no real struggle—no one stood forth to condemn the principle advocated, although many looked uneasy about it, and would, if sufficient encouragement had been offered, have voted against it. Mr. G. H. Reid, who made the very singular confession, for a leading public man and prominent free trader, that he has not yet studied the single tax, put in his own as a practical politician and tried on an amendment, which practically meant the shelving of the question. He deprecated the bringing up of this matter as likely to cause division, and, as a practical politician, denounced fanaticism and the pursuit of fads. The fossilized portion of the conference almost showed signs of animation at this, and when adjournment for lunch was made on Wednesday, it looked as though there would be a tough fight for the amendment.

When proceedings were resumed an elderly and portly gentleman, whom we had learned was Mr. Fletcher, a large land owner of Picton, was first on his feet. His speech was the surprise of the conference. It was thought that he would show no mercy to the proposition to tax land values, and just at this stage the plot was thickening. There had been over two hours debate in the morning, during which one or two good single tax speeches had been made, and a great deal of aimless and wandering talk indulged in by those who really had nothing to say, and said it at some length. So when Mr. Fletcher began there was the keenest interest shown, and in three minutes the conservatives on the right had lost all confidence in him. He made a fervid glowing appeal on behalf of the doctrine Henry George teaches, and a passionate defence of the teacher himself—a man, he said, who had first devoted his great intellect to perfecting a scheme for the social redemption of mankind, in which the keenest eyes had not yet found a flaw, and had then consecrated his life to the service of his fellow men. Quite a tumult of applause from all quarters greeted the conclusion of his speech, and then Mr. Foxall took hold.

In an excellent reply he deprecated the freedom with which those who had not begun the consideration of certain subjects accused others of fanaticism, and pointed out that practical politicians were generally those who objected to move in any direction until they felt sure of public approval, and confident of success, and were not the class from whom to expect any large movement in the direction of reform. He quoted from a pamphlet of Mr. Pulsford's, in which that gentleman clearly recognized that free trade could not exist until every article of trade was freed from taxation, and pointed out that while for prohibitory purposes taxes were levied on certain products, however desirable it might be to do this, trade could not correctly be called free. He then read the address of the Liverpool financial reform association to Henry George, in which that great body, the principal free trade organization in the world, unreservedly adopted the single tax, and concluded by calling on New South Wales free traders to show that they were more than a mere political party, and had the courage to follow truth at any cost or to any end. The single tax party had done much for true free trade, while the old revenue tariff party were to blame for the advance protection was making by their indifference to principle. The single tax men, he said, would ultimately force the free traders to adopt their principle, and the sooner the latter did so the better for themselves.

Then Frank Cotton followed with an amendment on Mr. G. H. Reid's amendment, reaffirming the original motion which pledged the association to land value taxation, and for the third time during the conference made an excellent speech on the whole question, and was enthusiastically cheered. The result was that Mr. Reid withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was carried with only one dissident. Some of the speeches made on our side were excellent. Mr. Miller of Molong, a farmer, spoke lucidly and at considerable length, exposing the humbug of the contention advanced by monopolistic newspapers and lecturers that the single tax would increase the burden of small settlers and land holders, and removed the erroneous impression made upon the minds of some of the listeners present who had not studied the question, by several of the speakers who also had not. The Rev. Mr. Hall of Adelong, Mr. W. Alcock of Gundaroo and Mr. Thomas Halloran (the latter two gentlemen being pretty considerable land owners themselves) also spoke vigorously. It is only just to the opposition to say that they did not understand what the single tax really meant, and showed this in some of the most pointless and misguided speeches ever heard from the lips of mortal man, and it is only fair to Mr. J. C. Neild, ex-member of parliament, to mention that, so far as this department was concerned, he was prominently "in it" every time.

The carrying of the resolution was really a great triumph for the single tax party, and was entirely due to the way their representatives fought inch by inch for it. Had they not resolutely opposed Mr. Reid's amendment, they would have been defeated. It must not be supposed that the genial member for East Sydney is against the principle we advocate. He simply has not yet realized the supreme importance of it, and he feared that its affirmation would tend to disintegrate rather than to solidify the free trade party. But he admitted that after all the single tax men were the best free traders of all, and said he would like to see a land value tax in operation as soon as possible. The victory was warmly cheered by the majority of those present, not the least noisy being a contingent of excited spectators in the back chairs, among whom was our friend L. H. Berens of Adelaide. Hardly less of a victory was the withdrawal, by the advice of the chairman, of the resolution set down in the name of the Cowra league, asking that an income and property tax be imposed. It was seen after the unanimity shown on the subject of land value taxation that there was no hope of passing this, and that it was waste of time to discuss it.

The unanimous decision of our conference to welcome and assist Henry George in his forthcoming tour, and the fact that Sir Henry Parkes and a number of members of the ministry and prominent free traders outside it are prepared to co-operate heartily and support the single tax movement as fully as possible shows what progress our propaganda makes here. The premier says that after giving much thought to the question of late, he is quite prepared to identify himself with the single tax and help toward its consummation.

That the premier's utterance means more than mere words is evident from the fact that during the recent debate in the New South Wales parliament which followed the introduction of the treasurer's proposals for extinguishing the deficit by the creation of treasury bills, Mr. Seaver, the member for Gloucester, moved an amendment in favor of imposing taxation on the value of land irrespective of improvements. This aroused considerable discussion, and Mr. Seaver could be induced to withdraw his amendment only upon Sir Henry Parkes's giving assurance that the government would next session introduce a measure providing for direct taxation.

Regarding this the Campbelltown Herald says:

If the debate served no other purpose, it certainly proved valuable in thus being the means of eliciting from the government a definite promise upon this subject. Dealing with the deficit is purely a matter of finance, but the introduction of taxation upon land values, as indicated, makes a departure in the manner of raising our revenue, and as such demands careful consideration.

That the premier is not far in advance of popular opinion would be sufficiently proved even if no other evidence were at hand, by the fact that twenty-eight local town councils in New South Wales have passed resolutions expressing their belief that "the rating of land and exemption of improvements is the best system of taxation."

An instance of the way the yeast works was to be seen in the town of Campbelltown. At a meeting of the rate payers of the neighboring village of Goulburn it had been unanimously declared that "in the opinion of this meeting the revenue required for municipal purposes should be raised by a tax on land values, irrespective of improvements"—a sentiment which the Campbelltown Herald approved of in these strong words:

We cordially indorse the action of our Goulburn friends in this matter. Under our existing municipal system taxation is simply a tax upon industry, inasmuch as taxation is

based upon the annual rental value, or upon the capital value of the property rated. Thus the more valuable a man makes his property by the creation of improvements and expenditure of capital, so much the more is he assessed for municipal taxation. The aim and object of the supporters of "the single tax," as it is usually called, is to divert to the state that increment of value created by the state, or particularly in the case of municipalities, by the community. . . . Whether the present government remains in power sufficiently long to enable them to introduce the proposals promised or not, is of small moment, as this question has taken such firm root in the minds of the people that it must become one of, if not the, test question at the next general election.

At a subsequent meeting of the Campbelltown burrough council, Alderman Caldwell stated that he and the mayor had received invitations to attend a conference with delegates of Goulburn to discuss and settle the question "that the basis of all municipal taxation for municipal purposes should be taken, or realized, or raised (whichever way you like to put it), from land values only." He said that he and the mayor thought it hardly right to attend without first learning the sentiment of the council. He then stated his own views in the matter in a plain, straightout single tax speech, which was frequently interrupted by applause and words of approval, and when he finished several aldermen took the floor and spoke in the same vein, while nobody apparently thought of saying anything in opposition. The mayor, who presided, said he was "very pleased to know the aldermen were all of the same opinion." As for himself, he agreed with the views expressed by Alderman Caldwell.

While influential deliberative bodies of this kind are giving expression to such radical and uncompromising opinions, while lecture and debating halls and electioneering meetings are ringing with applause at the enunciation of common rights to the soil, the press is not failing to do its share, and from such metropolitan journals as the Sydney Daily Telegraph, which, though not editorially indorsing the single tax, yet devotes large space in its news columns to the reports of meetings and publication of communications, down to the smallest suburban weekly, there seems to be a recognition of what the Lithgow Mercury calls "a new force and power in our politics."

In the colony of Victoria, too, though given over to protectionism, the single tax is gathering strength. We have received by the last mail a copy of the Bendigo Independent, containing an editorial which would delight the soul of any single tax advocate. Copies of two influential Adelaide papers, the South Australian Register and the Express and Telegraph, also come to hand. The former contains Henry George's speech before the Financial reform association at Liverpool, England, this spring, and the latter contains Mr. George's Glasgow sermon, "Thy kingdom come," both of which, printed in full, appear as advertisements and are paid for by the Taxation reform league, of which G. N. and W. H. Birks, Edward Ward and J. N. Birks constitute the working committee. Besides this, the league has had ten thousand copies of these speeches printed in pamphlet form, for general circulation, together with a large quantity of tract matter.

A City of Landlords.

In the little state of Manipur, India, there is a city which rivals ancient Sybaris in dreamlike luxuriousness. The inhabitants are the favorites of the rajah and their servants and number, all told, about 30,000.

They live on the rents extorted from the oppressed agriculturists of the surrounding country. An English officer, writing in Indian Forests, says:

Imphail may be described as a city of villages, or rather suburban residences, around the palace. Straight, wide roads, lined with trees, frequently intersecting each other at right angles, afford the means of communication, but neither shop, artisan nor wheeled conveyance exists in the city. Industry and skill occur only in the distant rural homes.

The whole place is dedicated to luxury and amusement. Court favor is secured, as in France, under the ancient regime, by the successful game player, flatterer or fawner. No one is allowed to trade in the city.

Dear and Dearest.

Merchant Traveler.

"Tell me, George, darling," said she, shortly after their marriage, "do you love me as much as ever?"

"Yes, indeed."

"And do you find anything in the world dearer than your wife?"

"Nothing," said George, "unless it is the house rent."

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

No. 36 Clinton place, Eighth street, New York.

All single tax men visiting New York are cordially invited to make our rooms their headquarters while in town.

The rooms are open every evening from six to midnight, and from twelve o'clock noon to midnight on Sundays.

Lectures on economic subjects of interest to every citizen, every Sunday evening, and once during each month throughout the season, on a week-day evening.

Any information as to the club, its lectures, work, and objects can be had on application to the secretary,

A. J. STEERS, 39 Nassau St., N. Y.

WHAT

SCOTT'S
EMULSION
CURES

CONSUMPTION
SCROFULA
BRONCHITIS
COUGHS
COLD
Wasting Diseases

Wonderful Flesh Producer.

Many have gained one pound per day by its use.

Scott's Emulsion is not a secret remedy. It contains the stimulating properties of the Hypophosphites and pure Norwegian Cod Liver Oil, the potency of both being largely increased. It is used by Physicians all over the world.

PALATABLE AS MILK.

Sold by all Druggists.

SCOTT & BOWNE, Chemists, N. Y.

THE BEST REMEDY FOR CHILDREN SUFFERING FROM COLD IN HEAD, SNUFFLES, or CATARRH OF THE NOSE.

CATARRH

ELY'S CREAM BALM CURES COLD IN HEAD, CATARRH OF THE NOSE, BRONCHITIS, COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, SORE THROAT, RHEUMATISM, PAIN IN THE JOINTS, AND ALL THE AFFECTIONS OF THE THROAT AND LUNGS.

PRICE 50 CENTS PER BOX. ELY BROS., CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

A particle is applied into each nostril and is agreeable. Price 50 cents at Druggists; by mail, registered, 60 cents. ELY BROTHERS, 56 Warren St., New York.

PAINLESS EFFECTUAL BEECHAM'S GREAT ENGLISH PILLS

FOR BILIOUS and NERVOUS Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Drowsiness, Cold Chills, Flushing of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Nervous, Stitches on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all NERVOUS and TREMBLING AFFECTIONS, &c. THE FIRST DOSE WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES. This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a Wonderful Medicine. "Worth a guinea a box."

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

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

they ACT LIKE MAGIC!—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; Strengthening the muscular system; restoring long lost Complexion; bringing back the keen edge of appetite, and arousing with the BLOOD-UPON-HEALTH the whole physical energy of the human frame. These are "facts" admitted by thousands in all classes of society, and one of the best guarantees to the Nervous and Debilitated is that BEECHAM'S PILLS HAVE THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Full directions with each box.

Prepared only by THOMAS BEECHAM, St. Helens, Lancashire, England.

Sold by Druggists generally. S. F. ALLEN & CO., 345 and 367 Canal St., New York Sole Agents for the United States, who, if your Druggist does not keep them,

WILL MAIL BEECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.

But inquire first of your Druggist. In ordering mention THE STANDARD.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1010 Main st.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 909½ Market st. Reading room open every evening, 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Peacock; sec., G. A. Hubbell, 1135 Mission st.

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

SAN DIEGO.—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, box 1088.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 1448 Lawrence st. Pres., Andrew W. Elder; sec., E. McAuley, 906 Holladay st.

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

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

HAWKSHURST.—Plateau Valley single tax club. Pres., John W. Hawkshurst; sec., E. H. Parkerson.

CONNECTICUT.

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

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

DAKOTA.

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

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., I. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 43 South Broad street.

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

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., T. W. Wittler, 426 Milwaukee ave.

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

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan Co. tax reform association. Pres., Chas. Alexander; sec., Dan E. Pierson, office of circuit court.

SPARTA.—Single tax committee. Robert Cumming, sec.

INDIANA.

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

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Sunday, 3 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., L. P. Custer; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st.

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

IOWA.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., L. J. Kasson; sec., J. W. King, 1908 Woodland ave.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and fourth Sundays of each month, 2:30 p. m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnehan, 326 W Broadway.

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

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

KANSAS.

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

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 355 Dryads st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Wm. G. Andrews; sec., H. G. Casey.

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, 415 N. Eutaw st. Pres., James T. Kelly; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 399½ Neponset ave., Boston.

Pres., John Davis; sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

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

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

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. 8 p. m. Thursday evenings, Cutter's hall, Market st. Pres., Willard W. Gray; sec., T. P. Perkins, 14 South Common st.

WORCESTER.—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Friday evenings, Swedish hall, 32 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

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

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

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

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

WHITMAN.—Whitman single tax club. Pres., Thos. Douglas; sec., R. Scott, box 29.

MICHIGAN.

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

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league, 502 First ave. s. Pres., C. J. Buell; sec., E. L. Ryder, editor Northwest Trade.

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

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2224 Walnut street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Sunday, 3:30 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., Benton. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. 3 p. m., 2d and 4th Sundays of each month, and also 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Beacon Lodge hall, 1201-6 Walnut st. (cor. 12th st.), third floor. Pres., Warren Wassen; sec., B. A. Birmingham, 16th and Woodland sts.

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

NEBRASKA.

OMAHA.—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus A. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 33d st.

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

NEW JERSEY.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Friday nights, Chester row. Rooms open every day and evening except Thursday and Sunday evenings. Pres., Herbert Boggs; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 43 Warren place.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Public meeting every Sunday night at Humboldt hall, 186 Newark av.; business meetings every other Friday evening at the Avenue house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 Grove st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Thursday, 8 p. m., business meeting; Saturday, 8 p. m., Cart-tail campaign; Sunday, 8 p. m., lecture. Club rooms, 36 Clinton pl.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m.

Pres., W. H. Faulhaber; sec., A. J. Steers.

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

The West Side single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 400 Eighth ave. Pres., Dr. David Wark; sec., C. Orlo Allen, 335 8th ave.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Geo. White; cor. sec., C. A. Darfee, 109 E. 9th st., New York.

The Eastern District single tax club. Wednesday evening, Oriental hall, 316 Bedford ave. Pres., John Britton; cor. sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Yox hall, cor. Watson and Howard sts. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Budenburgh, 824 Clinton st.

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

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., Robt. Baker, 175 Madison ave.

SYRACUSE.—Single tax club of Onondaga. 26 Butler block. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

POTOMAC.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 231 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albro; sec., F. S. Arnold.

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

ELLENVILLE.—Single tax club of Ellenville.

First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

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

NEW BRIGHTON, S. I.—Richmond county single tax club. Pres., J. S. Cogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard.

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

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

COHOES.—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurant; sec., J. S. Crane 128 Ontario st.

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

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

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

OHIO.

STATE.—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Chairman, C. S. Walker, foot of Evans st., Cincinnati; vice chairman, L. E. Simon, 7 Greenwood st., Cleveland; treas., W. W. Kile, 23 E. 5th st., Dayton; sec., Edw. L. Hynehan, room 3, 348½ S. High st., Columbus.

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

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon at Douglass Castle hall, cor. 6th and Walnut sts. Pres., David De Beck, M.D., 139 W. 9th st.; vice-pres., Jas. E. Jennings, 216 Main st.; sec., Wm. C. Wulff, 272 Vine st.; treas., Jos. L. Schrauer, Newport, Ky.

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

ZANESVILLE.—Central single tax club. Pres., C. A. Polwin; sec., W. H. Loughhead, 47 Van Buren st.

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

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

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

MANSFIELD.—Mansfield single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristol; sec., W. J. Huggins, 66 W. 1st st.

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

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

OREGON.

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

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Henry George club. Every Friday, 9 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Chairman, J. F. Halbrach; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

Kensington single tax club. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 2021 Frankford ave., Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p. m., Union veteran legion hall, 77 Sixth ave. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 147 24th st., S. S.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. Pres., T. J. Tangney; sec., J. C. De Forrest.

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

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

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

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—Henry George club of Johnstown. Every Monday evening. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., Richard Eyre, 10 Morris street.

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

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

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

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

POTTSWATER.—Single tax club. Meetings 1st and 3d Friday evenings each month in Weizenborn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; vice-pres., G. J. Lafferty; sec., H. H. Johnson, 530 Walnut st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE.—Single tax association of Rhode Island. Alternate Friday evenings, room 22, Slade building, cor. Washington and Eddy sts. Pres., Dr. Wm. Barker; sec., Geo. D. Laddell, 145 Transit st.

PAWTUCKET.—Single tax association. Every Wednesday evening, Main st. Pres., Edward Barker; sec., Edgar Farnell, 220 Mineral Spring ave.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Sundays, 4:30 p. m., Luehrman's hotel. Pres., Dr. T. J. Crofford; sec., M. H. McDowell, care of Townsend, Cowie & Co.

TEXAS.

STATE.—Texas tax reform association. Pres., H. F. Ring, Houston; sec., J. B. Cochran.

EL PASO.—El Paso tariff reform club. 1st and 3d Saturdays of each month, county court room, court house. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec., A. W. Thomas.

HOUSTON.—Single tax committee. Pres., H. F. Ring; sec., E. W. Brown, care of Germania house.

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURG.—Single tax league. Every

Saturday night, 500 Market st. Pres., W. I. Boreman; sec., C. G. Abramson.

Patrick Malone.

Patrick Malone, from the city of Cork, Was a stranger entire in the streets of New York;

But he took up his bundle, a true Irishman—"I'll work my way through," said Pat, "if I can."

But he took up his bundle, a true Irishman—"I'll work my way through," said Pat, "if I can."

The bundle was heavy, the way it was long, But he took from them both with an old Irish song,

"I'll ask for no favors, though hard is my lot."

He asked for no favors, and not a one got; "I'll ask for no favors, though hard is my lot."

He asked for no favors, and not a one got.

But his feet they grew weary, and sad rang the song;

The way it was dreary, and lonely, and long. Poor man, he grew thirsty, and thought he would drink,

"There's a plenty of water," said Paddy, "I think."

Poor man, he grew thirsty, and thought he would drink,

"There's a plenty of water," said Paddy, "I think."

But the doors were all barred, wherever he sought,

Not even cold water was given for nought; And Paddy sat down his troubles to con;

But an Irish policeman said, "Mickey, move on."

And Paddy sat down his troubles to con; But an Irish policeman said, "Mickey, move on."

Then Paddy walked on, enjoying the night, For the weather was clear, and the moon it was bright.

He breathed the fresh air, and gazed at the sky,

With "Begorra! it's lucky the moon's hung so high."

He breathed the fresh air, and gazed at the sky,

With "Begorra! it's lucky the moon's hung so high." DONALD R. MCGREGOR.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY.

1. A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. Louis F. Post. 8 pages.
2. Australian System. Louis F. Post. 4 pages.
3. First Principles. Henry George. 4 pages.
4. The Right to the Use of the Earth. Herbert Spencer. 4 pages.
5. Farmers and the Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
6. The Canons of Taxation. Henry George. 4 pages.
7. A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms. Samuel B. Clarke. 16 pages.
8. Back to the Land. Bishop Sully. 16 pages.
9. The Single Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 8 pages.
10. The American Farmer. Henry George. 4 pages.
11. Unemployed Labor. Henry George. 4 pages.
12. The Case of Henry Stated. H. F. Ring. 8 pages.
13. Social Problems. 342 pages, 12mo. Paper, 50c.
14. Objections to the Land Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 1 pages.
15. Land Taxation. A Conversation Between David Dudley Field and Henry George. 4 pages.
16. How to Increase Profits. A. J. Stevens. 2 pages.
17. The New Political Economy. E. O. Brown. 4 pages.
18. Thy Kingdom Come. Henry George. 4 pages.
19. The Functions of Government. Henry George. 8 pages.
20. The Menace of Plutocracy. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
21. Unemployment and Morality. J. O. S. Huntington. 4 pp.
- 22, 23, 24, 25, out of print.
26. Henry George's mistakes. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
27. The Democratic Principle. Henry George. 8 pages.
- Prices of Single Tax Library: Two page tracts—copy, 1 cent; 40 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 20 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
- Four-page tracts—1 copy, 2 cents; 20 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$2.
- Eight-page tracts—1 copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$2.
- Sixteen-page tracts—1 copy, 4 cents; 5 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, \$1.00; 1,000 copies, \$12.
- No extra charge by mail.

The following numbers of the "Land and Labor Library" are still in stock:

6. Bettler's Nightmare. Louis F. Post. 4 pages.
10. Mysterious disappearance. Lewis Froeland. 6 pp.
13. Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm. W. T. Crossdale. 12 pages.
14. The Collegiate Church and Shoemaker's Field.

"Let There Be Light!"

As I stood beside the ocean, listening to its solemn roar,
Questioning what unto the ages was the message that it bore,
In the thunder of its billows breaking grandly on the shore
Answer came: "Let there be light!"

When the soundless waters parted, casting forth their hidden sand,
Bound by devious limitations traced by an Almighty hand,
And from darkness drift and chaos rose the green and sunny land—
Then God said: "Let there be light!"

Soul of man and soul of nature, dual creatures of design,
In whose mystic emanations life and light and love combine,
Throb in measureless pulsations as they hear the voice divine
Still proclaim: "Let there be light!"

Light for strong, untrammelled action in the ages yet to be,
Welding soul and heart and purpose to a broad humanity;
Light to break all human shackles; light to read, "Ye shall be free,"
For God said: "Let there be light!"

Of the vast, mysterious secrets, trusted long to nature's keep,
Man is gaining revelations as the tireless cycles sweep;
And the primal words are sounding in the deep that calls to deep,
God hath said: "Let there be light!"

HARRIET N. RALSTON.
Hyattsville, Md., Oct. 21, 1889.

THE GREATEST ADVANCE

in

LIFE INSURANCE

in the

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PAID UP AND CASH VALUES GUARANTEED

by the

PERFECTED MASSACHUSETTS INSURANCE ACT OF 1887.

THE BERKSHIRE LIFE INSURANCE CO.,
of Pittsfield, Mass.

INCORPORATED 1851.

GEO. W. ENGLISH, MANAGER,
For New York and New Jersey.

NEW YORK OFFICE:

271 BROADWAY,

Corner of Chamber St.

READ "A SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM." Shows how money may be safely invested DIRECTLY TO PRODUCE "SOLID INVESTMENT." The most far-reaching, practical solution yet offered. "No one interested can afford to be without this book." Price 25 cents. THE BROTHERHOOD CO-PARTNERSHIP, 96 Duane St., N. Y.

SINGLE TAX CIGAR.

SIMON VAN VEEN,
Sole Manufacturer.

These cigars are the best and cheapest in the market for the money. They are put up 25 in a box, and the inside of cover contains a beautiful photo-engraving of the Cat, with the inscription below, "Have You Seen the Cat?"

Whenever placed on view it is sure to provoke discussion, and is an excellent method of bringing our principles before the public.

Price per box, \$2.75.

A liberal discount to the trade. All orders will receive prompt attention by addressing

S. VAN VEEN,
27 Wooster St.

TO PROMOTE DISCUSSION!
Cat Seal Pins in Gold, Silver,
Oxidized Silver and Gold Plated.

Send orders to W.M.C. WULF,
272 Vine St., Cincinnati, O.

AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE!
Capable Men and Women to sell
the Celebrated "SINGLE TAX" CIGAR.
No Steam, No Rubbing. Fits all Grocers. Sample
in two weeks on Liberal Terms. Particulars from
J. WORTH, Sole Manuf'r, St. Louis, Mo.

CURE FOR THE DEAF

Peck's Pat. Improved Coughless Ear
Drums PERFECTLY RESTORE
THE HEARING whether Deafness is caused
by colds, fever or injury to the natural drum.
Invaluable, comfortable, always in position. Music,
conversation, whispers heard distinctly. Success
ful where all other remedies fail. Sold only by
P. H. HENSON, 653 Broadway, cor. 14th St.,
New York. Write or call for illustrated book of proof FREE.

**PISO'S CURE FOR
CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS.**
Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use
in time. Sold by druggists.
N. SUMMIT, N. Y.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY,

An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial
Depression and of Increase of Want With
Increase of Wealth—Translated by
BY HENRY GEORGE.
512 pages.
Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 50 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 50 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

An Examination of the Tariff Question with
Special Regard to the Interests of Labor.
BY HENRY GEORGE.
Cloth, \$1.50. Paper covers, 50 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$3.00.

THE LAND QUESTION.

What It Involves, and How Alone It Can
be Settled.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

87 pages.
Paper covers, 25 cents.

PROPERTY IN LAND.

A Passage-at-Arms Between the Duke of
Argyll and Henry George.

77 pages.
Paper covers, 15 cents.

FORTSCHRITT UND ARMUTH.

(Progress and Poverty in German.)
TRANSLATION OF C. D. F. GUTSCHOW

430 pages.
Paper covers, 35 cents.

PROGRES ET PAUVRETE.

(Progress and Poverty in French.)
TRANSLATION OF P. L. LEMONNIER.

542 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROTECTION OU LIBRE-ECHANGE?

(Protection or Free Trade in French.)
TRANSLATION OF LOUIS VOSSION.

436 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROGRESSO E POVERTA.

(Progress and Poverty in Italian.)
TRANSLATION OF LUDOVICO EUSEBIO.

332 pages.
Paper covers, \$2.50.

For sale by all booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt
of price. Foreign editions of these books imported on
order.

HENRY GEORGE & CO.,
12 Union Square, New York

AS SOME of the back numbers of THE STAND-
ARD are growing scarce, we will send 15 cents' worth
of tracts in exchange for any of the following:
Vol. I—Nos. 5, 7, 8 and 11.
Vol. II—Nos. 1 and 2.

HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS

IN FINE BINDINGS.

In Half Calf and Half Morocco:

Progress and Poverty.....\$2.50
Social Problems.....2.50
Protection or Free Trade.....3.00
In sets of three, bound alike.....7.00

ASSORTMENTS OF TRACTS.

During the late campaign quantities of our best
tracts were assorted for special work, and many of
these not having been used, we now place them, with
some of a more recent date, in convenient packages,
at a low price.

Packages may be had at 50c. and \$1.00.

Address, THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square,
NEW YORK.

Ready November 1, 1889.

THE LAND AND THE COMMUNITY

In Three Books,

By

REV. S. W. THACKERAY, M.A., LL.D.

Trin. Coll. Cantab.

WITH PREFACE BY HENRY GEORGE.

PRICE \$1.00.

Sent by mail, postage paid.

Address PUBLISHER STANDARD.

VOLUME FIVE OF THE STANDARD.

NOW READY.

A limited number of bound volumes of THE STAND-
ARD in heavy boards, are offered for sale at the fol-
lowing prices:

Separate volumes.....\$2.50
Volumes 3 and 4, bound together.....6.50
Volumes 3, 4 and 5.....8.00
Volumes 3, 4 and 5.....12.00

(Expressage extra.)

Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square, New York.

HANDY BINDERS

FOR

THE STANDARD.

A lot of Handy Binders, made especially for filing
THE STANDARD, are now ready.

Price 75 cents to any address.

Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union Square, New York City.

THE TRUE CHRISTIAN RE- LIGION.

By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. 1,000 octavo pages,
cloth. Mailed prepaid for \$1.25 by the American Swed-
enborg Printing and Publishing Society, 50 Cooper
Union, New York City.

Good morning

Paris Exposition, 1889.

Pears obtained the only gold medal
awarded solely for toilet SOAP in competi-
tion with all the world. *Highest possible
distinction.*



BRIGGS' PIANOS
C.C. BRIGGS & CO.
4 APPLETON ST. BOSTON MASS.
MANUFACTURERS OF
GRAND SQUARE & UPRIGHT
PIANO FORTES
GRACEFUL DESIGNS • SOLID CONSTRUCTION •
MATCHLESS TONE • BEAUTIFUL FINISH.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1889.

BURROUGHS, WELLCOME & CO.,

Importers, Exporters and Manufacturing Chemists,

SNOW HILL BUILDINGS, LONDON, E. C.,

Specially invite the attention of the Medical Profession and Drug Trade to their Exhibits, as follows:

At Stand No. 575, British Food Section,

Kepler Extract of Malt,

an agreeable vitalizing reconstructive and digestive.

Kepler Solution of Cod Liver Oil,

An ideal form for the administration of fat.—British Medical Journal.

Also at Stand No. 311, British Industrial Section,

Chemical and Pharmaceutical Products, &c.

The Congo Medicine Chest, as taken by H. M. Stanley, for the relief of Emin Pasha, fitted with

Tabloids of Compressed Drugs, &c.

The Livingstone, Gordon and Indian Traveler's Medicine Pocket Cases and Portable

Medicine Chests.

Verker's Chloride of Ammonium Inhaler, for Catarrh, &c.

The Pinol-Eucalyptia Dry Inhaler, for the antiseptic treatment of Consumption and diseases of

the air passages.

Lanoline, Lanoline Toilet Soap, Cold Cream Pomade and Toilet Lanoline.

Also at Stand No. 594, American Section,

Hazeline. Distilled active principles obtained by distillation from the American Witch Hazel,

Hamamelis Virginica, for inflammation and irritated surfaces.

The Fairchild Peppine and Peppine Tabloids, Zymine Peptonizing Powders, &c., &c.

Formulae and price lists supplied to the Medical Profession and Drug Trade on request.

BURROUGHS, WELLCOME & CO.



IS A PICTURE MONTHLY. Each

number contains Eight Pictures, every one

a work of art. \$4.00 Per Year; 40

Cents per Single Number.

PHOTO-GRVURE CO.,

853 Broadway, N. Y.

Can You Get One Dollar Easier?

We want to know exactly the value
of this advertising medium, and will
pay you to tell us, as it may save us
thousands. Mail a postal or letter
giving name of this paper and we will
send you absolutely free, a receipt
for One Dollar on account of one of
our \$45 Keystone Dust-proof
Railroad Watches, and a hand-
some charm case-opener. You know our Keystone
Dust-proof Watches are the best, and we have selling
agents almost everywhere. We want one in your
city. We sell watches in our Co-operative clubs at
the lowest cash prices for One Dollar a Week.
THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO.
Main Office in Company's Own Building,
604 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

What did this wreck cost?



Above is an exact copy of a photograph of a
Railroad wreck. Had the engineer carried a
Keystone Dust-Proof Watch, which
is not subject to variations arising
from dust and dampness, the wreck
would probably never have occurred.
A KEYSTONE DUST-PROOF RAILROAD
WATCH costs \$43.00—the WRECK
COST MANY THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS.
These watches are for sale either for ALL CASH
or in our Co-operative Clubs for ONE DOLLAR
A WEEK. If we have no selling agent in your
town, better write us at once for terms, &c.
THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO.,
Main Office in Co.'s own building,
604 Walnut St. Philadelphia, Pa.

Pennsylvania Agricultural Works, York, Pa.
Farguhar's Standard Engines and Saw Mills.



Address A. M. FARGUHAR & SON, York, Pa.

THE WONDERFUL LUBURG CHAIR, BABY
COMBINING 5 ARTICLES OF FURNITURE IN ONE
INVALID SUPPLIES
WHEEL CHAIRS
Automatic Brake
on all
coaches FREE
TO HIRE.
SPECIAL FREE
DELIVERY.
LUBURG MFG. CO., 145 N. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE HOME SEEKER—An exponent of Build-
ing Society methods and purposes. Published
monthly, in the interest of those who seek homes of
their own. W. H. Van Ornum, Editor. The hope that one
day one "may sit under his own vine and fig tree," and
gather about him his loved ones, "with none to molest
or make him afraid," is the most natural and uni-
versal sentiment in man. We believe there is nothing
in nature which would prevent the fruition of this
hope, but that the causes which hinder it are solely
the bad laws by means of which men are cheated out
of their earnings, and prevented from enjoying equal
access to the natural opportunities to make homes
provided by the Author of Nature. Believing this we
shall strive to bring about the repeal of those laws by
making plain just how bad those laws are, and what
they are. Subscription price, 50 cents a year in ad-
vance. Sample copies sent on application. Published
by THE HOME SEEKER PUBLISHING CO., Chicago.

BUY THE WRINGER THAT THE MOST LABOR PURCHASE GEAR

It saves half the labor of other
wringers, and costs but little more.
Does not GREASE
THE CLOTHES.
Solid White Rubber Rollers. Guaranteed. Agents
wanted everywhere. Empire W.C. Co., Auburn, N. Y.

OLIVAN & BEGGAN, MILITARY BAND
and Orchestra. Office, 26 Third Ave., New York.
Residence, 708 Union St., Brooklyn. Music furnished
at all occasions.

HOLLAND'S COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,
143 Fourth Avenue,
bet. 13th and 14th sts.

HOLMAN'S MAGNETIC SPIRITISM is an
invaluable Liniment for rheumatic pains, etc.
PRICES 50 CENTS AND \$1.00.
381 Fourth Ave., Near 27th St.

MRS. AGATHA MUNIEM ATKINSON WILL
continue to receive pupils in solo singing and
voice right reading at her residence, 20 E. 2nd street
New York.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING
CO., 100 N. 4th St., New York City.
BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.