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Straws That Show the Wind.

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.

In this issue we reprint from the last number of the Twentieth Century an article by J. W. Sullivan, entitled "A Collapse to Henry George's Pretensions." The opinions of me and of THE STANDARD, which Mr. Sullivan expresses, it is not worth while to discuss. But since the charge of plagiarism has been already extensively noticed, it is worth while to say something of that and of the interesting matters it brings up.

"The Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice" was published in London and Edinburgh in 1850, and an American edition was issued in Boston in 1851. I first heard of it three years after "Progress and Poverty" had been published, when, in Dublin, in September, 1882, Charles Eason, head of the Irish branch of Smith & Son's newsdealing company, presented me with a copy. But though out of print, there must be at least one or two thousand copies of it scattered through libraries, public and private, in Great Britain and this country. Mr. Sullivan has certainly seen at least the back of one before, for the copy presented to me by Mr. Eason occupies a prominent place in my small collection of books, to which he has had access. Dr. Darling of this city brought into THE STANDARD office, some couple of months ago, a copy of the American edition, which he had picked up at a book stand. And, besides Mr. Eason, I have met on the other side of the Atlantic a number of men who have known of Dove and his books, among them Mr. Dove's son, now living in London, who presented me in 1885 with another of his works. This, however, I have never had a chance to look into, as it was speedily borrowed. As I cannot say, as advertisements sometimes do, that the borrower is known, I should like to ask him, should this meet his eye, to oblige me by returning it.

It is certainly true, and especially of Great Britain, that if there were anything on which to base a charge that "Progress and Poverty" were a plagiarism of the "Theory of Human Progression," or even that Mr. Dove's book had covered the ground that mine traverses, it would not have remained for Mr. Sullivan to make it. How different the two books are in character and scope, anyone familiar with "Progress and Poverty" can see from the syllabus of the "Theory of Human Progression," which will be found in another column. They agree, to be sure, in the recognition of certain fundamental truths, but these are, as I have always contended, self-evident truths, which any one who will look may see, and which even when covered up by power and obscured by sophistry, have in every age and among every people had their witnesses. I saw them for myself, as Dove saw them for himself, as Herbert Spencer saw them, as Bishop Nulty saw them, as millions of men before the Nineteenth century had seen them, and as everyone who chooses to look may see them to the end of time, for they are a part of the natural order, as much so as the attraction of gravitation, or as that relation by which two and two make four.

Whatever may be thought of the manner of the charge made in the Twentieth Century, it is probable that the editors of that paper really think there is a basis for it. One who could suppose that New-

ton discovered gravitation, might have supposed that I had discovered the injustice of private ownership of land and was the inventor of the single tax. And when he first heard of another who before me saw the same truths, he might in the same way conclude that he was the real discoverer, and that I must have taken these ideas from him.

But no such pretension has ever been made by me, any more than it ever was or ever would have been made by Dove. So far from ever claiming that there was anything new in the idea that all men have equal and inalienable rights to land, I have always contended that this was a primary perception of the human mind, and that private property in land has nowhere grown up but as the result of force and fraud. So far from ever claiming that I had been the first to discover that all taxes ought to be levied on land values, I have always contended that that was the first, obvious and natural system, and that it is as clearly the creative intent that public expenses should be defrayed by taxes on land values, not taxes on the products of labor, as that men should walk on their feet and not on their hands. I not only devoted a great part of "Progress and Poverty" to proving that this is the primitive system, as well as the just system, but on page 37 of "Our Land and Land Policy," published in 1871, eight years before the publication of "Progress and Poverty," occur the first words in which I ever proposed the single tax, and they are these:

Why should we not go back to the old system and charge the expenses of government upon our lands.

Not my system, or anybody else's system; not a newly discovered system, but the old and natural system; the only one conforming to the natural laws, and therefore the one intended by the Intelligence which is behind natural laws.

This has been from the first my constant position. Whatever opponent or advocate may have said of Georgeism, or the George system, or the George theory, I have never used, but have always, as far as I could, discouraged the use of such terms. I have not claimed, and have many times expressly disclaimed, to have seen anything that others had not seen before me and that was not to be seen by whoever chose to look.

Mr. Sullivan charges that I have not publicly made any mention of Dove in the United States. As to this I cannot recollect, but it may well be so, since the historical part of the matter has cut no figure in the United States, and in all my writings and speaking in this country since I have known of Dove, my effort has been to directly address myself to the practical questions on which discussion turned. But on the other side of the Atlantic, where there was a disposition among a certain class to sneer at the single tax as a new fangled Yankee notion proposed by a man from San Francisco, I have frequently mentioned Dove and others, who before me or independently of me have proposed the same thing; and have always insisted that instead of anything new, what we proposed was but a going back to the old system, under which, in far ruder and poorer times, pauperism had been unknown. It was in accordance with my advice and to give expression to this idea, that the leagues that were formed in Scotland and in England on the

occasion of my visit in 1884 were styled land restoration leagues. And it has been my design, expressed to Mr. Dove's son, whenever I could get the leisure for literary work, to write a monograph on Dove, in a series of similar monographs, for which the material is growing more abundant as the progress of our ideas gives new interest to the work of men like him, who saw the truth and expressed it, though without producing noticeable effect.

The character of "The Theory of Human Progression" is not such as to justify its publication in a paper like THE STANDARD, or to warrant any expectation of considerable sale. But it may be that the attention which will be called to it by the assertion that it is the prototype and source of "Progress and Poverty" will cause sufficient demand to pay the expenses of reprinting an edition. In this case I would gladly undertake to republish it, and I know in advance that the present Mr. Dove would as gladly consent. In the original edition it is a large 12mo of 523 pages, containing about four-fifths as much reading matter as "Progress and Poverty," and being illustrated with a chart of the region of human knowledge—beginning with metaphysic and ending with revelation. A small edition could be printed on good paper and in substantial binding for \$3 per volume, and a larger one for less. If those who would be willing to subscribe for a copy will write to the publisher of THE STANDARD to this effect, we will begin the printing of an edition as soon as there are enough subscriptions to warrant it. I think those who can afford the outlay will be well repaid, for over and above the interest of the work in its bearing on the land question, it is the product of a vigorous thinker ranging over a wide field.

From the dedication and syllabus of the "Theory of Human Progression," which are printed in another column, an idea of the book may be had. It is in the main a metaphysical work in which very strong and very clear references are made to the fundamental principles which ought to govern the relations of men to land, but these references are hardly more than incidental, and do not go any more into detail than is shown in the extracts Mr. Sullivan has made.

The argument of the "Theory of Human Progression," as indicated in its full title, is that there is a natural probability of that reign of justice on earth, or millennium, which has been foretold by scriptural prophecy. One of Dove's primary postulates is the inspiration of the scriptures and the divinity of the founder of the Christian religion, which he treats as the true religion, all others being false. But though accepting the doctrine of the fall of man, he is nevertheless an evolutionist, in the sense of believing that the natural and necessary progress of man is by the gradual development of knowledge (or to use his phrase, correct credence), in the natural order and necessary sequence of the sciences, to a reign of justice, in and out of which is to grow a reign of benevolence.

The elements of correct credence as Dove enumerates them (page 94) are:

1. The Bible.
2. A correct view of the phenomena of material nature.
3. A correct philosophy of the mental operations.

The three things which he links together as respectively cause and effect,

involving the conditions of society, are (p. 120):

Knowledge and freedom.
Superstition and despotism.
Infidelity and anarchy.

And the four propositions which best give an idea of the scope of his work and the course of his thought are (p. 160):

1. On the sure word of divine prophesy, we anticipate a reign of justice on the earth.
2. That a reign of justice necessarily implies that every man in the world shall at some future time be put in possession of all his rights.
3. That the history of civilized communities shows us that the progression of mankind in a political aspect is from a diversity of privileges toward an equality of rights.
4. That one man can have a privilege only by depriving another man or many other men of a portion of their rights. Consequently that a reign of justice will consist in the destruction of every privilege, and in the restitution of every right.

These propositions are extended to twenty-one main propositions and twelve sub-propositions, but they are all involved in the first four. The tenth subdivision of the twentieth proposition and the twenty-first proposition as a whole are, however, well worth quoting as giving an idea of the character of the man and his thought:

Knowledge does necessarily produce change, as much as heat necessarily produces change, and where knowledge becomes more and more accurate, more and more extensive and more and more generally diffused, change must necessarily take place in the same ratio, and entail with it a new order of society and an amended condition of man upon the globe. Wherever, then, the unjust interests of the ruling classes are required to give way before the progress of knowledge, and those ruling classes peremptorily refuse to allow the condition of society to be amended, the sword is the instrument which knowledge and reason may be compelled to use; for it is not possible, it is not within the limits of man's choice, that the progress of society can be permanently arrested when the intellect of the masses has advanced in knowledge beyond those propositions, of which the present condition is only the realization.

21. We posit, finally, that the acquisition, scientific ordination and general diffusion of knowledge will necessarily obliterate error and superstition, and continually amend the condition of man upon the globe, until his ultimate condition shall be the best the circumstances of the earth permit of. On this ground we take up (what might in other and abler hands be an argument of no small interest, namely) the natural probability of a millennium, based on the classification of the sciences, on the past progress of mankind, and on the computed evolution of man's future progress. The outline alone of this argument we shall indicate; and we have no hesitation in believing that every one who sees it in its true light, will at once see how the combination of knowledge and reason must regenerate the earth, and evolve a period of universal prosperity, which the Divine Creator has graciously promised, and whose natural probability we maintain to be within the calculation of the human reason.

There is in this, and throughout the work, much that is suggestive of the best development of the Scottish intellect, much that suggests what was highest in Puritan and Covenanter, and that came to them through the trumpet notes of Hebrew prophets. It is the spirit that rings through Macaulay's *Naseby*:

Like a soldier of the Lord, with his bible and his sword,
The general rode along us, to form us for the fight.

The book which, so far as my knowledge goes, the "Theory of Human Development" most nearly resembles in motive, scope and conclusions is Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics." Both go largely over the same ground and both reach substantially the same practical conclusions; both assert the same grand doctrine of the natural rights of men which is the essence of Jeffersonian democracy and the touchstone of true reform; both declare the supremacy of a higher law than human enactments, and both believe in an evolutionary process which shall raise men to higher and nobler conditions. Both express clearly and well the fundamental postulates of the single tax, and both are of course absolute free traders. Spencer devotes more space to the land question, and more

elaborately proves the incompatibility of private ownership of land with the moral law, and declares the justice and necessity of appropriating rent for public revenues without saying anything of the mode, while Dove dwells more at length on the wickedness and stupidity of tariffs, and clearly indicates taxation as the method of appropriating rent for public purposes. But while the English agnostic might have regarded the Scottish Calvinist as yet in the bonds of an utterly unscientific superstition, there is one respect in which the vigor and courage of Dove's thought shines superior to Spencer's. Spencer, after demonstrating the absolute invalidity of any possible claim to the private ownership of land, goes on to say that great difficulties must attend the resumption by mankind at large of their rights to the soil; that had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of their heritage, we might make short work of the matter; but that unfortunately most of our present land owners are men who have either mediately or immediately given for their estates equivalents of honestly earned wealth, and that to "justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve."

But the orthodox Presbyterian utterly refuses to thus bend the knee to Baal and eat his own logic. While he is not more clear than Spencer in demonstrating that land owners as land owners have no rights whatever, there is not one word in his book that recognizes in any way their claims. On the contrary, he declares that the £20,000,000 compensation given by the British parliament to the West India planters on the emancipation of their slaves was an act of injustice and oppression to the British masses and adds:

No man in the world and no association in the world could ever have an equitable right to tax a laborer for the purpose of remunerating a man robber; and although the measure is now passed and done with, we very much question whether some analogous case will not be cleared up by the mass of the nation ere many years pass over the heads of Englishmen. When the question of landed property comes to a definite discussion there may be little thought of compensation. (p. 139.)

The years that have passed since Mr. Eason gave me Dove's book have been to me years without leisure, and in the constant press of immediate work I have never looked into "The Theory of Human Progression" more than enough to see what its views on the land question were, reserving a more careful reading till the time when I could carry out my intention. But the closer examination which I have been compelled to make to write this article I have much enjoyed. My own view of human progress, as the readers of "Progress and Poverty" know, does not involve the idea of the certain triumph of right on this earth and in human life as we know it here. And though the wonderful progress that our ideas have made since that time have inspired me with hope, I have never suffered myself to count on results. But in the heat and the turmoil and the dust, the firm confidence of Dove, that the time *must* come when special privileges shall cease to be, and the equal rights of all men will be acknowledged, is like a refreshing breeze. For the thought of this Scottish metaphysician is the thought of the Scottish poet:

Then let us pray, that come it may—
AND COME IT WILL for a' that—

That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be, for a' that!

I am glad that Mr. Sullivan has discovered a genius in Dove, although this discovery relegates me, in his opinion, to the position of a mere "word carpenter," and I hope now that the gentlemen of the Twentieth Century have found out

that I did not discover the single tax, they will drop their free vacant land nonsense and come back to the single tax. But a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and when Mr. Sullivan knows more the same collapse must befall the "pretensions" of Patrick Edward Dove, in his estimation, as has befallen mine. For Dove credits the discovery of the truths, which Mr. Sullivan thinks I must have copied from him, to no one; but treats them precisely as if they might be discovered by anyone who chooses to look. Herbert Spencer does precisely same thing. As between these two, Spencer must, by Mr. Sullivan's logic, have been the discoverer and Dove the plagiarist; for though their books were published in the same year, Spencer's was the development of a series of letters published nearly eight years before in the Nonconformist newspaper, a journal in which, as Mr. Dove was a Presbyterian, it will require no strain on Mr. Sullivan's imagination to infer that Mr. Dove *must* have seen. But what then becomes of Spencer? His "pretensions" again must be collapsed, for not to speak of Frenchmen, there has been a constant succession of English writers to state, with more or less clearness and definiteness that property in land was essentially different from property in things produced by labor; that there could be no rightful title to private ownership in land; to trace the origin of poor laws and public debts to its monopolization; to contend that all men had equal rights in land; and to assert that public revenues should be raised from land values, and not from the taxation of labor or the products of labor; and in short to set forth all the truths in which Mr. Sullivan has discovered that Dove anticipated me. I have not space to go over the list even so far as it is known to me, nor yet could I do so without more reading than I now have time for, but there is one instance to which I have been for some time intending to refer and shall now take occasion.

My friend D. C. Macdonald, a solicitor of Aberdeen, is a native of the Hebrides, and can sing off his pedigree in Gaelic till he come to the ancestor who centuries ago came over from Ireland in the train of an Irish princess wedded to an island chieftain. He and I went to Skye the last time I was there, and together addressed the people, I speaking in English, which only some of them understand, while he talked to them in the mother tongue which they all understand. And since that time he has helped them fight their battles with factor and landlord and the tyrannical Sheriff Ivory of Invernesshire. This spring Mr. Macdonald came south, to greet me the moment I put foot on Scottish ground, and he brought with him, with much exultation, a book which showed that the single tax was advocated by a Scottish professor a century before Henry George had ever been heard of in Scotland. With his permission I read extracts from the book at my Edinburgh meeting, the first that I addressed in Scotland on my last trip, and also at some other meetings, and when I visited Aberdeen Mr. Macdonald and I went together to the author's grave to pay what respect we might to the memory of a man who a century ago saw and held the same truths for which we are struggling now. Since then Mr. Macdonald has had the book neatly reprinted, and has sent me an advance copy. It is entitled, "An essay on the right of property in land, with respect to its foundation in the laws of nature, its present establishment by the municipal laws of Europe, and the regulations by which it might be rendered more beneficial to the lower orders of mankind. London: Printed for J. Walter, Charing

Cross. 1782." The author's name was not given in the title page, but from a note in the copy of the essay in the British Museum, and a similar note in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh, as well as from memoranda and the receipted bill for printing found among his papers, as a result of the inquiries Mr. Macdonald caused to be made, it is known that the author was Professor William Ogilvie, professor of humanities in King's college, Aberdeen, from 1765 to 1819.

Like Patrick Edward Dove, Professor Ogilvie belonged to a landed family, his father being the laird of Pittenseer, to which estate he succeeded, but which he sold, with the exception of the mansion and demesne farm to the Earl of Fife. Like Adam Smith, he owed his position to noble patronage, having been appointed to the university through the influence of the earl of Findlater and Seafield. And a strong desire not to offend the propertied classes and a feeling of the utter hopelessness of any radical reform show through the whole book. Professor Ogilvie saw the truth (as I have often thought in reading the "Wealth of Nations," that his great cotemporary, Adam Smith, must have seen it), and he was evidently desirous of leaving to the future some evidence of the fact, for the two copies bearing his name, which were deposited in the great English and Scottish libraries of record, had evidently this purpose. But only five hundred copies of the essay were printed, and these were, it seems, mostly sent to the continent.

He begins his introduction by saying that while municipal laws are by the bulk of the people regarded as the standard of right and wrong, and that while this prejudice may be natural and salutary to the crowd, yet men of enlarged and inquisitive minds are not bound to acquiesce without inquiry, and thus goes on:

Property is one of the principal objects of municipal law, and that to which its regulations are applied with the greatest efficacy and precision. With respect to property in movables, great uniformity takes place in the laws of almost all nations; but with respect to property in land, different principles have been adopted by different nations in different ages, and there is no reason why that system which now prevails in Europe, and which is derived from an age not deserving to be extolled for legislative wisdom or regard to the equal rights of men, should be supposed to excel any system that has taken place elsewhere, or to be in itself already advanced beyond the capacity of improvement or the need of reformation.

Neither in the introduction nor anywhere in the book itself does Ogilvie give the slightest credit to anybody for his ideas, though he refers once to the authority of Moses. On the contrary in the introduction he says they are only the opinions of one individual thinking freely; that this singularity might well authorize a suspicion that they are erroneous and visionary and that this suspicion should have kept them from the public eye but for the hope of exciting others—the learned, the ingenious and the friends of mankind—to the same inquiry, and "no longer in a matter of the first importance to the interests of society implicitly to acquiesce in traditional doctrines." He says that were these opinions for the first time abruptly submitted to him they would startle him and might be rejected, but they have been coeval in his mind with the free exercise of his thoughts in speculative inquiries, had recurred often, been gradually unfolded, and that for some years he has been accustomed to review them with increasing approbation.

Then apologizing further by declaring himself opposed to great and sudden changes, he goes on to declare that there is no country under the sun which stands less in need of reformation respecting property in land than England, to assert

that English landholders and farmers are superior in all respects to the same class of men in other countries, to compliment the land holders on their generosity and equitable conduct, and finally to dedicate his book—

To the worthy and humane English land holders, and more particularly to those who of late years have voluntarily granted to their tenants an abatement of rent, this short essay is inscribed by the author, as to men whom he regards with high esteem, and from whom he may hope that his speculations, should they ever come to their knowledge, would meet with no unfavorable reception. Why should he not flatter himself with this hope, however seemingly vain, since uninformed by theoretical reasonings, and prompted only by the innate candor and humanity of their own minds, these respectable landholders, truly worthy of their station and of their trust, have habitually acted in conformity to those principles of public good and natural right which he is desirous to elucidate and establish.

With this "sop to Cerberus" Professor Ogilvie proceeds in a fashion which though he evidently tries to be moderate, would have made any sop unavailing had his book ever got to circulating among the benevolent land owners.

The essay is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to principles, the second to practical remedies. In this way he begins:

All right of property is founded either in occupancy or labor. The earth having been given to mankind in common occupancy, each individual seems to have by nature a right to possess and cultivate an equal share. This right is little different from that which he has to the free use of the open air and running water; though not so indispensably requisite at short intervals for his actual existence, it is not less essential to the welfare and right state of his life through all its progressive stages.

No individual can derive from his general right of occupancy a title to any more than an equal share of the soil of his country. His actual possession of more cannot of right preclude the claim of any other person who is not possessed of such equal share.

This title to an equal share of property in land seems original, inherent and indefeasible by any act or determination of others, though capable of being alienated by our own. IT IS A BIRTHRIGHT WHICH EVERY CITIZEN STILL RETAINS. . . . Every state or community ought in justice to reserve for all its citizens opportunities of entering upon, or returning to and resuming, this their birthright, whenever they are inclined to do so. Whatever inconveniences may be thought to accompany this reservation, they ought not to stand in the way of essential justice.

That right which the landholder has to an estate consisting of a thousand times his own original share in the soil cannot be founded in the general right of occupancy, but in the labor which he, and those to whom he has succeeded, or from whom he has purchased, have bestowed on the improvement and fertilization of the soil. To this extent it is natural and just, but although it may bar the claim of individuals, it cannot preclude that of the legislature, as trustee and guardian of the whole.

In every country where agriculture has made considerable progress, these two rights are blended together, and that which has its origin in labor is suffered to eclipse the other, founded in occupancy. Did the laws of any country pay equal regard to both rights, so that they might be made to produce their respective good effects without intruding on one another, the highest degree of public prosperity would result from the combination.

What Professor Ogilvie had here clearly in mind is the right of ownership, and that right of exclusive possession which is necessary to the use of land. This further appears when, after pointing out that to effect a just combination of these two rights ought to be the object of all land laws, he thus proceeds to analyze the value of land:

When any piece of land is sold, the price paid by the purchaser may be considered as consisting of three parts, each being the value of a distinct subject, the separate amount of which, men skilful in agriculture and acquainted with the soil of the country, might accurately enough appreciate.

These parts are:

(1) The original value of the soil, or that which it might have borne in its natural state, prior to all cultivation.
(2) The accessory or improved value of the soil—that, to wit, which it has received from the improvements and cultivation bestowed on it by the last proprietor, and those who have preceded him.
(3) The contingent or improvable value of

the soil—that further value which it may still receive from future cultivation and improvements, over and above defraying the expense of making such improvements—or, as it may be otherwise expressed, the value of an exclusive right to make these improvements.

What we should call these three parts is:

1. The land value. 2. The value of the improvements. 3. The speculative or expectant value.

Ogilvie saw, just as clearly as we do, that while the improver of land is entitled to the full value of the improvements, the value of the land itself, actual and prospective, belongs of natural right to the whole community, and constitutes the proper fund for defraying the expenses of the community. His expression of this is, however, somewhat embarrassed by his inclusion in it of the idea, which is of course equally true, that if land could be so divided as to assign to each his equal share, then the whole value of that equal share, of land as well as improvements, would belong to the individual. He thus goes on:

Every landowner must be allowed to have a full and absolute right to the original, improved and contingent value of such portion of his estate as would fall to his share on an equal partition of the territory of the state among the citizens. Over all the surplus extent of his estate, he has a full right to the whole accessory value, whether he has been the original improver himself, or has succeeded to, or purchased from the heirs or assignees of such improver. But to the original and contingent values of this surplus extent he has no full right. That must still reside in the community at large, and though seemingly neglected or extinguished, may be claimed at pleasure by the legislature, or by the magistrate, who is the public trustee.

The difficulty of ascertaining these different sorts of value, and of separating them from one another if ascertained, may be supposed in general to have prevented such claims from being made. It is particularly difficult to distinguish original from accessory value; nor is the community much injured by suffering these to remain together in the hands of the greater landholders, especially in countries where land taxes make a principal branch of the public revenues, and no tax is imposed on property of other kinds. The original value of the soil is, in such states, treated, in fact, as a fund belonging to the public, and merely deposited in the hands of great proprietors to be, by the imposition of land taxes, gradually applied to the public use, and which may be justly drawn from them, as the public occasions require, until the whole be exhausted. Equity, however, requires that from such land taxes those small tenements which do not exceed the proprietor's natural share of the soil should be exempted. To separate the contingent value from the other two is less difficult, and of more importance; for the detriment which the public suffers by neglecting this separation, and permitting an exclusive right of improving the soil to accumulate in the hands of a small part of the community is far greater, in respect both of the progress of agriculture and the comfortable independence of the lower ranks.

Here is the single tax, just as we advocate it to-day, even to the declaration which I have often made that the greatest evil arising from our treatment of land is not so much in what we permit land owners to take that does not belong to them as in the impediments which it places in the way of production. Professor Ogilvie continues:

If the original value of the soil be the joint property of the community, no scheme of taxation can be so equitable as a land tax, by which alone the expenses of the state ought to be supported, until the whole amount of that original value be exhausted; for the persons who have retained no portion of that public stock, but have suffered their shares to be deposited in the hands of the land holders, may be allowed to complain, if, before that fund is entirely applied to the public use, they are subjected to taxes, imposed on any other kind of property, or any articles of consumption.

How preposterous, then, is the system of that country which maintains a civil and military establishment, by taxes of large amount, without the assistance of any land tax at all! In that example may be perceived the true spirit of legislation, as exercised by landholders alone.

But despairing, as he afterward declares that he does, of getting all taxes placed on land values alone, he declares that the next best thing would be to

place them on real estate, and meets an objection that we are familiar with:

Without regard to the original value of the soil, the gross amount of property in land is the fittest subject of taxation; and could it be made to support the whole expense of the public, great advantages would arise to all orders of men. What, then, it may be said, would not in that case the proprietors of stock in trade, in manufacture and arts, escape taxation, that is, the proprietors of one-half the national income? They would indeed, be so exempted; and very justly, and very profitably for the state; for it accords with the best interests of the community, through successive generations, that active progressive industry should be exempted, if possible, from every public burden, and that the whole weight should be laid on that quiescent stock, which has been formerly accumulated, as the reward of an industry which is now no longer exerted.

I have not the space to review this book at further length, and to show by quotations how conscious Ogilvie was of the evils of private property in land; how he charges upon this fundamental wrong the poverty, turbulence and misery of the civilized world, the fact that "out of ten thousand acres not ten are properly cultivated," and that "out of every thousand human beings not five are endowed with the strength and comeliness that nature has intended for them;" how it is more oppressive to the people than "all the tyranny of kings, the imposture of priests and the chicane of lawyers taken together," and how the tax that it levies on industry is more burdensome than all other taxes. He evidently does his very best to be moderate and conservative and polite to the landowning class, of which he himself was a member, though in a small way, but in spite of himself he occasionally breaks out. For instance:

Land holders stand foremost in opposing the imposition of exorbitant taxes by the state forgetting the exorbitancy of that taxation which they themselves impose on the cultivators of the soil, and which the sovereign may in justice, and in the way of retaliation ought, to regulate and restrain. If considered as the rewards of duties to be performed to the public, the incomes of the clergy, after admitting all that spleen has advanced against that order of men, must appear by far better earned than the incomes of land holders. How slight, indeed, in themselves, and how negligently performed, are those duties which the state seems to expect at the hands of land holders in return for their affluence. The public good requires that every individual should be excited to employ his industry in increasing the public stock, or to exert his talents in the public service, by the certainty of a due reward. Whoever enjoys any revenue not proportioned to such industry of his own or his ancestors is a freebooter, who has found means to cheat or to rob the public, and more especially the indigent of that district in which he lives. But the hereditary revenue of a great land holder is wholly independent of his industry, and secure from every danger that does not threaten the whole state. It increases, also, without any effort of his, and in proportion to the industry of those who cultivate the soil. In respect of their industry, therefore, it is a *taille* or progressive tax of the most pernicious nature, and in respect of the land holder himself it is a premium given to idleness, an inducement to refrain from any active useful employment.

Of the irresistible power of the land owning class at that time, Professor Ogilvie was well aware, and in the absence of any democratic government the only glimmer of hope he had for the freeing of industry from taxation, and the resort to land values for revenue, was in some absolute monarch. He applauded King of Prussia, Frederick the Great, for imposing a tax of thirty per cent on the rentals of land owners, and thinks that if it had been suggested to him in earlier life by the philosophers he called around his throne he might have inaugurated the greatest of reforms. But Frederick was then over seventy and what hope Ogilvie had centered in the king of France, Louis XIV, whom he speaks of in high terms, and to whom he doubtless sent a copy of his book, But Louis was destined ere long to lose both crown and head.

Evidently despairing of the carrying out in its fullness the reform, of

which he saw the necessity, Professor Ogilvie goes on to propose schemes for making some amelioration, such as making allotments to actual cultivators, taxing vacant land and short leases, etc.

What little hope he had in 1782 Professor Ogilvie must have seen entirely swept away in the years that ensued, and in 1819, when he died, the wrongful system must have seemed to him more firmly rooted than ever. But his book has accomplished what he evidently wished it to accomplish, and conveyed to us more than a century after the fact that he saw the great truths we single tax men now see. It seems almost like a greeting from beyond the grave.

I have not heard from Mr. Macdonald since he sent me this advance copy; but I shall write him for copies as soon as they are published, and will advertise them in THE STANDARD.

To return to the matter of plagiarism. Here is Ogilvie, sixty-eight years before Dove, setting forth the same principles that Mr. Sullivan says I must have taken from Dove. Will he say that Ogilvie was the first discoverer? On the contrary, poor Ogilvie in his turn must have his "pretensions" collapsed. For on November 8, 1775, Thomas Spence, then a bookseller at Newcastle on the Tyne, read a lecture before the Philosophical society of that town, for the printing of which that society, as Spence put it, did him the honor to expel him. In this lecture, which was republished in London, 1882, by H. H. Hyndman, Spence, who, by the bye, was a native of Aberdeen, declared in the strongest terms that all men "have as equal and just a property in land as they have in liberty, air or the light and heat of the sun," and proposed a plan by which the value of land should be made to bear all public expenses, and all other taxes of whatever kind and nature should be abolished. It was that the parishes, where there was to be universal suffrage, should collect the rent of land. Here are some extracts from his picture of what then would be:

Then you may behold the rent which the people have paid into the parish treasuries, employed by each parish in paying the government its share of the sum which the parliament or national congress at any time grants; in maintaining and relieving its own poor and people out of work; in paying the necessary officers their salaries; in building, repairing and adorning its houses, bridges, and other structures; in making and maintaining convenient and delightful streets, highways and passages both for foot and carriages; in making and maintaining canals, and other conveniences for trade and navigation; in planting and taking in waste grounds; in providing and keeping up a magazine of ammunition, and all sorts of arms sufficient for all its inhabitants in case of danger from enemies; in premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, or anything else thought worthy of encouragement; and, in a word, in doing whatever the people think proper; and not, as formerly, to support and spread luxury, pride and all manner of vice.

There are no tolls or taxes of any kind paid among them by native or foreigner but the aforesaid rent, which every person pays to the parish, according to the quantity, quality and conveniences of the land, housing, etc., which he occupies in it. The government, poor, roads, etc., etc., as said before, are all maintained by the parishes with the rent; on which account all wares, manufactures, allowable trade employments or actions are entirely duty free. Freedom to do anything whatever cannot there be bought; a thing is either entirely prohibited as theft or murder or entirely free to every one without tax or price! and the rents are still not so high, notwithstanding all that is done with them, as they were formerly for only the maintenance of a few haughty, unthankful landlords. For the government, which may be said to be the greatest mouth, having neither excisemen, custom house men, collectors, arm, pensioners, bribery, nor such like ruin on vermin to maintain, is soon satisfied, and moreover there are no more persons employed in offices, either about the government or parishes, than are absolutely necessary; and their salaries are but just sufficient to maintain them suitably to their offices,

And, as to the other charges, they are but trifles, and might be increased or diminished at pleasure.

And it is thus that Spence closes his lecture:

But what will make this prospect yet more glowing is that after this empire of right and reason is thus established it will stand forever. Force and corruption attempting its downfall shall be equally baffled, and all other nations struck with wonder and admiration at its happiness and stability shall follow the example, and thus the whole earth shall at last be happy, and live like brethren.

God help us to bring it! What we are struggling for in these closing years of the nineteenth century is no new and before undreamed-of thing. It is the hope of the ages.

When I lectured in Oxford in 1884, one of the professors of political economy in that university opposed me, saying that he had gone through "Progress and Poverty," and could find in it nothing that was both new and true. I replied by accepting his characterization of the book and thanking him for the compliment, telling him that in the domain of which "Progress and Poverty" treated anything that was true could not be new. And so it is. It is, as Madame de Staël said, not tyranny that is ancient, but liberty. And to free men, what we have to do, is not to make new inventions, but simply to destroy the artificial restrictions that have been imposed, and to come back to the natural order, "God made man upright."

When I first came to see what is the root of our social difficulties, and how this fundamental wrong might be cured in the easiest way by concentrating taxes on land values, I had worked out the whole thing for myself without conscious aid that I can remember, unless it might have been the light I got from Bissett's "Strength of Nations" as to the economic character of the feudal system. When I published "Our Land and Land Policy," I had not even heard of the physiocrats and the *impôt unique*. But I knew that if it was really a star I had seen, that others must have seen it, too. And so with "Progress and Poverty." I said in that book that it would come to many to whom it would seem like the echo of their own thoughts. And beyond what I then knew, I was certain that there must have been others before me who saw the same essential truths. And as I have heard of such men one after the other. I have felt that they gave but additional evidences that we were indeed on the true track, and still more clearly showed that though against us was ignorance and power, yet behind us were the hope and the faith and the wisdom of the ages—the deepest and clearest perceptions of man.

It is not necessary for me to defend "Progress and Poverty" from a charge of plagiarism. What that book has done is a sufficient answer.

If it had been such a book as those it has rescued from forgetfulness, it would have shared their fate. The strength of "Progress and Poverty" is not that it related fundamental truths which others had before stated. It is that it related those truths to all other truths. That it shattered the elaborate structure that under the name of political economy had been built up to hide them, and restoring what had indeed been a dismal science to its own proper symmetry, made it the science of hope and of faith. And the criticism of ten years upon a book which has attracted more attention than any similar book ever did before, shows that it was no idle boast that I made, when in concluding the economic part I said:

"I have covered every point and met every objection."

HENRY GEORGE.

A BALLOT REFORM COMBINATION.

The question of ballot reform is an issue in the present campaign in this state, and it cannot be ignored or put aside. Governor Hill is undeniably the enemy of this reform, and the conscious and willing defender of machine methods and boss rule. He controlled the democratic state convention and dictated its nominations. He has staked his own position as boss on the result, and it looks very much as if the timidity of some and the carelessness of many will confirm him in his position, so that he will be the absolute master of the democratic machine in this state at the time of the assembling of the next national convention.

The probability of such a result makes it doubly important that the true friends of ballot reform shall devote their energies to securing the election of members of the senate and assembly who can be depended on to pass the Saxton bill again, and who shall be numerous enough to pass it over the governor's veto, if necessary. It is foolish to say that there is no public interest in the subject. Let our readers note the great variety of news and comment to be found under the head of "Ballot Reform" in this issue of THE STANDARD. The new system has just been tried in Montana, Connecticut and Tennessee. Even defective laws have worked better than the old system, while the pretended fear that American citizens would prove too dull to learn a new method of voting becomes ridiculous in the face of such evidence as that afforded by the Chattanooga election. Ballot reform is in the air, and across the Hudson river our New Jersey friends are working for it with an intelligent zeal that ought to make our ballot reformers here in New York blush.

Representatives of THE STANDARD have interviewed a number of men of this city and Brooklyn, whose expressions of opinion will be found elsewhere. The general feeling seems to be that something ought to be done, but no one seems to know who is to do it. A special effort was made to reach the members of the Reform club's committee on ballot reform. Some of them were not in town and others declined to talk, but it is clear that several of them have not lost their zeal of a year ago, and that they are chafing under the inaction that seems to deprive that club of the leadership it might easily take in this most important reform.

The workingmen are not hesitating. The meeting last Sunday called by the Excelsior labor club, has made a start and has received the instant aid and approval of the single tax clubs in New York and Brooklyn. The single tax men have voluntarily refrained from pushing to the front in this matter. They have no interest in ballot reform that is not shared by every good citizen, and there is no reason why a man opposed to their economical ideas should not be as good a ballot reformer as any of them. They have no desire to mix the questions, but they stand as an organized and active body of determined workers, ready to join any serious and earnest effort in behalf of a definite measure of ballot reform. The time is ripe for action and the true friends of the Saxton bill should not permit their hands to be tied by the indifference or lack of courage of any of their associates.

Meanwhile, there is one suggestion that may pave the way for an effective fight. All expectation of any alliance between the county democracy and Tammany seems to be at an end, and there is the usual talk of a "citizen's movement." If this means anything, it means that the counties and the republicans propose forming a combination to defeat Tammany. If the people who are negotiating the alliance imagine that anybody outside their own ranks cares a copper about having their machines obtain any of the patronage on which Tammany is now fattening, they are deceived. If they want to "down Tammany," they must do something that will entitle them to the aid of men of character and conviction in that enterprise.

There is one way, and only one way, in which the "outs" can deserve or obtain such help. They must make it possi-

ble to really accomplish ballot reform through aiding their effort. There must be no mistake about this. The people whose votes they need cannot be obtained by any general and meaningless profession. Our demand is candidates for the legislature who will promise, if elected, to vote for the Saxton bill without material change, and who are themselves men of character whose promises can be depended on. The organization or combination that will put such legislative candidates in the field will win the ardent support of tens of thousands of voters, who, unless their favor and confidence is thus won, would not go across the street to determine which of the three machines shall have control of our municipal affairs.

None of the machines really like ballot reform. Their leaders do not want it. Two of them, however, can only hope to win, even when joined, by professing to want it. Professions will not do. The people want performance. Let them confine their hopes to the city offices, and name for senate and assembly men whom the people can trust, even though such men are not acceptable to the machine. Nothing short of this will arouse the latent sentiment that can readily become a political power capable of overthrowing the Tammany machine which, under such circumstances, would stand as the sole opponent of ballot reform in this city. This is a matter for the "citizens" to gravely consider. They have much to gain and nothing to lose; for if they do not do the right thing in this they will not elect either city officers or members of the legislature.

THE MURDEROUS ELECTRIC WIRES.

At last the people of New York city are aroused to a high pitch of excitement over the continued defiance of law by the telegraph and electric lighting companies. It took, however, the public spectacle of the literal roasting of a man in the air, with thousands of people helplessly looking on, to awaken their wrath. Man after man has been killed without arousing the kind of public indignation that is at last spurring on our public officials to do their duty and causing a full investigation of the situation by the press.

It is now clear that the bill creating the board of electrical control to enforce the law requiring the burying of electric wires paved the way for a job, and was used to make soft places for a few high priced politicians and to enlarge the patronage of others. Three commissioners are paid \$5,000 a year each for lounging around luxurious offices, and their subordinates, selected with no particular view to their special knowledge or fitness, meddle and muddle and bring about a worse conditions of affairs than exists in other cities, where the streets are given over boldly to the electric companies to use as their own. The board has never shown a particle of energy or determination except when actually lashed into activity by the whip of Mayor Grant.

The present excitement caused by the horrible death of Lineman Feeks will probably cause quite a number of wires to be removed, and compel the proper insulation of others; but the work will not be thorough, and after the public wrath dies out, things will become as bad as ever. The real trouble lies much deeper. The municipality of New York ought to light its own streets, and retain absolute control of them. Public officers should be responsible to the people for the enforcement of proper regulations, and no costly and blundering commission should exist to muddle matters and divide responsibility.

The municipality ought to light the streets of New York, and no private corporation or individual should be allowed to monopolize public thoroughfares owned by the whole people, for private profit, or for any other purpose. This question of public lighting is getting to be a live one in many places, and before public attention drifts away from this subject here in New York, THE STANDARD proposes to give some facts showing how our people are burdened and swindled by the system

they are now attacking because of its incidental murderous results.

DISTRESS IN THE COTTON STATES.

Mr. John C. Reid of Atlanta, Ga., contributes to this issue of THE STANDARD an article showing the effect of tariff taxation and land monopoly in the older cotton states that is not only interesting to single tax men, but of vital importance to our friends who limit their efforts to tariff reform. The picture is one that ought to be held up to the eyes of farmers in the states that persist in continuing the protectionist party in power.

Mr. Reid now practices law in Atlanta, having left the region referred to in his article some eight years ago, but he has frequently revisited it as a lawyer, having a circuit practice in the counties mentioned, and has each year spent a month's vacation at his old home. Hence he is fully informed on the subject concerning which he writes so feelingly.

If the opponents of protection are wise they will not fail to put facts like these before the people of the southern states, for it is not well to depend solely on the race question keeping the south solid for the democratic party, as an essential factor in the success of the fight against protection. Unless the people whose distress Mr. Reid so graphically describes are taught to understand the cause of their poverty, they might readily be the first to be captured by the protectionist emissaries already in the south, who tell the people there that the north has attained its superior prosperity through protection.

At Cooper union last week a crowded audience gathered to honor the memory of the late Congressman Cox. Ex-Governor Knott of Kentucky paid a deserved tribute of eloquent praise to the faithful public servant, and Grover Cleveland, with great dignity and in most felicitous language, eulogized his dead friend, and dwelt on the irreparable loss sustained by the people of the Ninth congressional district in the death of such a representative. The district belongs to Tammany. No one ever imagines that the voters in it have anything to say about the selection of their candidate. It is said on good authority that Tammany offered the vacant place to Mr. Cleveland, who declined it. This indicates that Tammany rather prefers a good man; but that it is not over particular about the matter is shown by the announcement that the place will now be given to Amos J. Cummings, a brilliant sensational journalist, who has done more than all other men combined to denude New York journalism of honorable purpose and high ideals, and who was for years the right hand man of Charles A. Dana, for whose paper he is still a writer. The offer of this place, first to Cleveland and next to Cummings, resembles the way in which the sultan, moved by mere impulse, showers favors alike on the good and the bad, rather than any process ever dreamed of by the founders of this republic as possible under the forms of democracy.

The rapidity with which the organizations of the democratic societies throughout the United States is being carried forward, gives promise of an effective power within the democratic party that can be depended on to resist all efforts to induce it to take any backward steps on the tariff question. The York Gazette, in an article quoted elsewhere, specifically declares that the extension of these societies is "an indication of the resistless tide within the democratic party toward the support of the democratic principles represented by President Cleveland in the last campaign." The Gazette also pays a compliment to the incessant and effective work that the single tax men throughout the country are doing in behalf of free trade. The fact that this paper is the home organ of Hon. Chauncey F. Black, president of the National league of democratic clubs, lends significance to its declaration as to the purpose and tendency of these organizations.

The solicitude of the opponents of ballot reform for the rights of illiterate vo-

ters seems to have been unnecessary. The Tennessee law, probably purposely, failed to make provision of any kind for this class of voters, but it appears from an item printed elsewhere that the republicans at Chattanooga were able to furnish the negroes with just such a sample ticket as is provided in the last Saxton bill, and that with this aid the colored voters were easily enabled to mark the names of the republican candidates on the ticket. The truth is that most of the solicitude was a mere pretense to justify opposition to the bill without acknowledging hostility to its principles.

The workingmen's movement in behalf of ballot reform, started by the Excelsior labor club, does not seem likely to lag or falter. Its executive committee has organized and invited Mr. Saxton, the author of the bill vetoed by Governor Hill, to address a mass meeting in this city on Wednesday evening, October 23. This means business.

The San Francisco Star discusses the "vacant land" notion recently put forward by some former professed single tax men, and easily demonstrates its absurdity. The Star points out that the "vacant land" idea, despite the disclaimers of its discoverers or inventors, necessitates some regulation to prevent the mere pretense of occupancy, whereas the single tax presents self-acting machinery that deprives men of all inducement to hold land out of use. The Star naturally loses patience with the people who give themselves up to such fads, and says:

It is to be regretted that in land reform, as in others, no sooner is a sound, practical proposition presented, that could by a united effort be carried, than a swarm of projectors of "castles in the air" set to work, under claim of seeking the same end, to advocate something entirely out of reach. Such is the "vacant land" idea. But the choice is really not between this proposition and the single tax, but between the single tax and the continuance of the evils of our present land system for indefinite generations. Now, which do you want? The "vacant land" advocates are really working energetically to rivet our chains.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

From Mrs. Lowell.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD.—Dear Sir:—Least silence should seem to "give consent." I must say in answer to your articles of this week, first, that I do not think you have made a good defense for the "Society Notes" as published in THE STANDARD; and second, that so far from assuming that "the well-to-do portion of society have discharged all their obligations to man and God" by supporting charitable societies and asylums for children, I regard just this expenditure as one of the prime causes of the suffering and poverty that exist in our midst, and think that the payment of over a million dollars a year of the tax payers' money for the support of 15,000 dependent children a most unnecessary and wicked waste.

The existence of 15,000 children left by their parents and friends to be supported as paupers by public funds I consider a disgrace to this city, and I am inclined, in general, to look upon what is called "charity" as the "insult" which is added to the "injury" done to the mass of our people by insufficient payment for work.

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL,
120 East Thirtieth street.

October 12, 1889.

A Generous Offer.

Editor of THE STANDARD:—Dear Sir:—Will you kindly say to single tax clubs in general that I am ready at any time to read Professor Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw," but all preliminaries must be made before I get to the city in question, as I have not the time to devote to securing places of speaking or reading, advertising same, etc. The proper plan is to secure the hall or theater, then have some leading single tax man open the meeting with a short, strong address, say of thirty or forty minutes' duration. Then I will read the sketch, prefaced and supplemented with such remarks as I may be able to command and that will be pertinent to the time and place. There will be no charge whatever for my services, and they can arrange the affair as will best serve the interests of the club and the cause. I can be addressed, Archstreet theater, Philadelphia, during the week ending October 19; Lee avenue academy, Brooklyn, E. D., the week ending October 26, and always through THE STANDARD.

JAMES A. HERNZ.
Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 8.

THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION.

Following is a copy of the title page and table of contents of the book quoted from in the article from the Twentieth Century, and referred to in the leading article of this issue of THE STANDARD. It contains a dedication "to Monsieur Victor Cousin, professor of philosophy at Paris."

THE THEORY of HUMAN PROGRESSION and NATURAL PROBABILITY of A REIGN OF JUSTICE.

"The charm that exercises the most powerful influence on the mind, is derived less from a knowledge of that which is, than from a perception of that which will be, even though the latter be nothing more than a new condition of a known existence."—Humboldt's Cosmos.

LONDON:

Johnstone & Hunter, 26 Paternoster Row;
and 15 Princes Street, Edinburgh.

M.DCCC.L.

INTRODUCTION.

Preliminary explanation of the nature of political science. (p. 13.)

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On the elements of human progression.

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SEC. II.—On the Mode in which Men have made Laws.—Liberty of thought, speech, publication and action. Restrictive laws. The game laws, etc. The excise laws. Taxation of labor. Indirect taxation. Customs and excise. Unlimited legislation. Its gradual limitation. Legislation for thought. Sectarian legislation. Immutability of justice. Legislation beyond its province. Change of laws—result. Freedom of expression. The censorship. Despotism—its means. Combinations. Religious liberty. Reaction under pressure. The people and the rulers. Despotism and superstition. Change of conditions. Free intercourse. Retrogression of Spain.

SEC. III.—The Combination of Knowledge and Reason.—The Bible. Causes. Demonology. Popish miracles—Popery. Persecution of witches. Patriotism. Mercenaries. The turning point of modern times. Inductive reasonings. Mental philosophy. Ethics—revelation. Correct credence. The Bible. Natural phenomena—social laws. Induction. Dogmatism and skepticism. Philosophy. The method of Bacon. Gradual circumscription of philosophy. Common credence—primary knowledge. Science and Philosophy—ontology. Criticism of knowledge. Form and matter of knowledge. Evolution of freedom. Conditions of freedom. Credence.

SEC. IV.—The Use and Operation of the Combination of Knowledge and Reason.—Man's moral imperfection. Evils of injustice. Political association. The progress of society. Use of combination. Change of credence. Negro slavery. Emancipation of the negroes. Anti-slavery combination. Predicted evils. True character of negro emancipation. The tax of the twenty millions. The corn laws. Repeal of the corn laws. The slave and corn laws. The argument of justice. The argument of benefit. Moral force. The end of progression. The origin of progress. Means of progress. Propositions on the operation of knowledge.

CHAPTER II.

On the theory of man's intellectual progression. (p. 169.)

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SEC. II.—Determination of the Character, Position and Boundaries of Political Science.—I. General observations. Political science. II. The province and position of political economy. Its position. Its object. The welfare of man. Growth of economy. A natural system of political economy. Laws of nature deranged by man. The ultimatum of political economy. III. The province and position of politics proper. Truth progressive. Politics proper—its position. Socialism and communism. Character of political relations. Justice the foundation of political society. Essential character of political society. Posterior limit of political science. Position of politics proper.

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On the theory of man's practical progression. (p. 267.)

SEC. I.—Outline of the Argument that there is a natural probability in favor of the Reign of Justice.—A reign of justice, or political millennium. Order of knowledge. Correct knowledge produces correct action. Correct action produces the beneficial condition. Anticipation of a political millennium. Influence of Christianity. The millennium of Scripture. The millennium of nature. The revelation through nature. Natural truth—divine.

SEC. II.—The Influence of Science on Man's Terrestrial Conditions.—Sensation and reason. Reason posits power. Astronomy, geography, navigation. Measurement of time. Application of mathematics. Mechanics and locomotion. Machinery, chemistry and electricity. The soil and its productions. Tenure of land. Drainage. Improvement of domestic animals. Empirical and scientific philosophy. Extension of human life.

SEC. III.—Application of the Theory of Progression to Man's Political Condition.—Pauperism. Condition of Britain. Origin of pauperism. The radical evil. The two parties. The two questions—liberty and property. Right of representation. Social science. Method of science. Arbitrary determination of crime. What is a crime. Crime and property. Property in land. Major and minor of political science. Law measured by justice. Supremacy of justice. Law versus legislation. Universality of justice. Definition of crime. Serfdom and aristocracy. Deterioration of man. Liberty and property. The lord and the serf. Equality in the eye of the law, and in the scheme of the state. Perpetual supremacy of justice. Disposition of the soil. Equality in the eye of the law and in the scheme of the state. Property in the soil. The feudal system. Conversion of arable into pasture. Inclosure of commons. The politics of landed property. The gradual evolution of truth. A theoretic ultimatum. The classes of society. The practical man and the theorist. Final propositions on the end of progression.

CHAPTER IV.

Brief outline of a historical sketch, bearing an attempt to apprehend the sentiments of the human mind which have ruled society, and to appreciate the psychological development of man through historic manifestations. (p. 422.)

Theories. The papacy and the feudal system. War feudalism. The feudal constitution of society. The equitable constitution of society. Causes of war. The trader. War feudalism and parchment feudalism. The trader and the feudal system. The feudal lords. War, pleasure and policy. Trade. The period of barbarous war. The period of knightly war. The period of court pleasures. The period of court policy. The occupations of the ruling classes. War, pleasure and policy. The policy system. Political economy. The equity system. Historic summary. Historic development of man in the state.

CONCLUSION. (p. 466.)

Ultimate knowledge—unity of credence. A valid natural theology. Growth of theology. Substance, infinity and power. Design. Intelligence, intelligent design. Possibility of moral theology. Gradual evolution of a genuine natural theology. Man's fallen nature. Revelation. Theology, strictly scientific. Present position of natural theology. Dependence of natural theory on natural science. Ultimate effects of scientific knowledge. Christianity the main cause of human civilization. Truth restored to man.

APPENDIX.

On the classification of the sciences. (p. 505.)

PERSONAL.

Mr. C. J. Buell, president of the Minneapolis single tax league, was largely instrumental in having incorporated in the constitution of North Dakota the provision requiring uncultivated land to be assessed at the same rate as land under cultivation. Mr. Buell addressed the convention and appeared before the committee on finance and taxation, the chairman of which was a single tax man. Mr. Buell's address before the convention was attentively listened to, and it provoked an earnest discussion which ended only with the adoption of the clause.

Edgar L. Ryder, editor of the North West Trade and secretary of the Minneapolis single tax league, has been visiting his relatives in this state. He reports active work in behalf of the cause in Minneapolis and some progress in other parts of the state. The club, as frequently as possible, sends tracts and clippings to country newspapers, and the result has been that our doctrines are discussed in such journals, and in many favorably. Mr. C. J. Buell, president of the club, recently sent out a challenge to the newspapers offering a reward of \$50 to any one who would prove that the majority of farmers and laboring men would not pay less under the single tax system than they now pay. It was widely published, and attracted much attention, but the proof has not thus far been forthcoming.

W. I. Boreman had a letter in last week's STANDARD about a school house campaign that had been started by the single tax men of Parkersburg, W. Va., and he told about one meeting that had been held at the Cothern school house. The presiding officer on that occasion was Mr. Cothern, of whom the Parkersburg Sentinel says that he is "a large land owner, but a man who is able and willing to look at both sides of a question."

In 1855 James G. Blaine and Melville W. Fuller, the present chief justice, were reporters on papers in Augusta, Me.

Cardinal Manning's habits of life are said to be conducted with a regularity that rivals the exactness of a railway time table. His chief meal is in the middle of the day, when he takes one chop.

President Elliot of Harvard not only declares that he will vote for Russell, the democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts, but he has publicly renounced the republican party and all its works, and said that henceforward he expects to support democratic measures and candidates.

James A. Hearne, the actor and author, addressed the Central labor union of Buffalo last Sunday by invitation.

C. F. Perry has contributed to the Quincy, Ill., Germania an admirable exposition of the single tax doctrine, entitled "Das Uebel und das Heilmittel" (the evil and the remedy). The article will be found in the Germania of October 10, and is a good tract to circulate among German speaking people.

OVERCROWDED PROFESSIONS.

The opening address of the American institute fair was made by L. E. Chittenden, at one time register of the treasury, and widely known later for his activity in conjunction with F. B. Thurber in the anti-monopoly league. Mr. Chittenden, in his address, deplored the tendency of ambitious young men to run into the overcrowded professions, and advised them to seek their fortunes in mechanical pursuits. "How almost infinitely better," he said, "are the prospects of life which open to the skilled mechanic than are those presented to the young professional man." In saying this, Mr. Chittenden gave expression to a very common idea. Is it true? In a sense it is, but essentially it is a mistake. It is possible for a profession to be overcrowded, but it is just as possible for a mechanical trade to be overcrowded. In the same sense, it is possible for the agricultural vocation to be overcrowded. But there can be no permanent overcrowding in any useful pursuit unless by some artificial obstruction industry is congested. Men are led into this employment or that by the promise of profit it gives. Their tastes may and often do decide them, when the promise of profit is nearly evenly balanced; but the employment that promises greatest profit, all things considered, is usually the attractive one. If there has been a tendency toward the professions it is because the professions have promised, both in common rewards and exceptional prizes, greater profits for the same exertion than other pursuits. And now that the difficulty of securing even the ordinary rewards of a profession are being recognized, the tendency is turning in other directions, and mechanical employments, in which recently such great rewards have been reaped, are favored as well by those who are seeking a life work as by men who, like Mr. Chittenden, are advising a choice of pursuits. But really is there any better promise in mechanical trades than in the professions? The great mass of lawyers and doctors have a fierce struggle for existence. But is not the same thing true of mechanics and farmers? Great mechanics like Edison do make fame and fortune. But is not the same thing true of great lawyers and great doctors?

Though the professions seem to be crowded, they in reality are not. There is the same apparent crowding all along the lines of industry, and it is due to the same cause. The professions are secondary vocations, and the prosperity of those who follow them is dependent on prosperity in the primary pursuits. When the farmer, the tradesman and the mechanic prosper, the professional man prospers. His services are needed by all; and when all prosper they are able and willing to compensate him fairly. But when only monopolists prosper, professional men must depend on them; and though their rewards are great their wants are limited.

That is the condition now. Labor and monopoly are in conflict. We speak not of labor in that restricted sense in which the term is used with reference to trade unions, but of all useful labor. Nor do we speak of monopoly in the restricted sense in which it would be spoken of probably by Mr. Chittenden—who never went deeper into the subject than to consider the exactions of irresponsible railroad companies—but of every legalized special privilege, whether bought or stolen. The conflict between labor and monopoly is the conflict between the power to produce and the power, on the one hand, to prevent production and, on the other, to confiscate part of the product. The power to produce is a natural power, that of human muscle and human brain directed to the increase of the things man requires for his sustenance and enjoyment; but it can do nothing without access to natural material, and but little without that freedom of exchange which allows of minute subdivisions of labor. The power of monopoly is an artificial power conferred and maintained by law, which enables its beneficiaries to restrict access to natural ma-

terial, and to obstruct freedom of exchange. The effect of the operation of monopoly is to make all employments seem overcrowded, even though no one has enough of what men in every vocation are anxious to supply.

This conflict of labor and monopoly is generally recognized, but it goes by a variety of names which hide its true character. One of the commonest modes of describing it is as a conflict of labor and capital. It is this description that puzzles Mr. Chittenden, for he insists that labor and capital are not inimical, and by going no further, leaves the impression that in his mind there is no conflict at all. It is true enough that labor and capital are not inimical; but that something is inimical to labor even the most thoughtless laborer knows, and any attempt to make him believe otherwise is worse than useless. The idea that this is capital comes, by way of the socialists, from the school of political economists who taught that laborers are paid by capital. Accepting this doctrine expressly or tacitly, the socialists raise a cry against capital, which, being founded partly in truth, is echoed by men who suffer, or see suffering, from the actual conflict, and, being founded partly in error, raises a counter cry from men like Mr. Chittenden, who, though their sympathies are with the oppressed, know well enough that in the nature of things capital and labor cannot be inimical. The truth is that there is a conflict to the death between labor and monopoly and none between labor and capital; but since capital in large amounts enables its owners to control monopolies, the offenses of monopoly are charged to capital by those who do not reason below the surface.

The monopolies with which labor has to contend flow from two principal sources: interference with original production, and interference with secondary production, commonly called trade. Absolute ownership of land is the fundamental cause of both, and protective tariffs, revenue tariffs, and taxes on capital are powerful contributory causes.

Rent is natural. It measures the difference in desirableness between the poorest land in use and more desirable lands. A community in which men settle down to different pursuits to get the benefits of division of labor, and in which rent does not exist—that is, in which the occupiers of some locations do not get a distinct advantage from location—is as inconceivable as is a reduction of a given sum of money by two hundred per cent. Some men may find amusement in speculating on the possibility of either, but they belong to a class that regard practical considerations, very justly no doubt, as beyond their mental range.

Though rent is natural, and therefore just, it produces the greatest injustice and is most detrimental to society when it is made private property. In itself it cannot justly be private property, because it is due to differing natural advantages and to the growth of population, two causes to which the individual as such can lay no claim. And when it is made private property, speculation in land is induced and the quantity of available land thereby diminished just as certainly as if a piece of the earth were chopped off and thrown into space. This speculation raises rent above the normal, and forces labor to go to still less desirable lands for an opportunity to produce. Such an effect necessarily disorders the operations of production and drives ambitious men from the soil into the shop and from the shop into the professions in search of a prosperity that no trade or profession can enjoy so long as the underlying employments that deal directly with the soil are thus hampered. But the interference does not stop with the appropriation of rent to private use, nor with the consequent cornering of land for a rise. The city, the town, the county and the state, all go to the producer or their revenues. Personal property, landed improvements, goods in stock, money in bank, are taxed without mercy, while the value of cornered land goes comparatively free. So, when a business

man has summoned courage to be enterprising in spite of the exactions of land owners and the burdens which the cornering of land imposes, the tax assessor warns him that if he succeeds he must divide with the community. Not only this, but the tariff for revenue men demand that he shall also be impeded in his business by being required to get together enough capital to advance a tax for federal purposes upon whatever of foreign production he deals in. And following the tariff for revenue man comes the protectionist, who gravely proposes to remedy the social ills that originate in the private appropriation of rent and the imposition of taxes on production, by turning the tariff for revenue into a tariff so high that it will not only impede trade with foreigners, but will, as nearly as possible, stop it altogether.

All the talk about professions being crowded, in which Mr. Chittenden indulged at the American institute fair, is of a piece with the talk so often heard in so many quarters about farmers' sons leaving the farm to find a livelihood in the city. It is of a piece with the talk about trades being crowded, and goods overproduced, and the dangers to American labor of the importation of cheap goods. It assumes that most men need work, and that some men have work to give; whereas the truth is that, except as some men are invested with the privilege of taxing others, all men need work and all men have work to give. In other words, in a civilization in which labor is so minutely subdivided as in ours, a civilization in which no man makes much of what he wants and all who work make much that others want, it is trade that demands work and trade that gives work; and in such a civilization, as in the most primitive condition in which man can be placed, it is land that furnishes the materials for work and the place on which to work, as it does the place on which to live. To prohibit trade is to revert to barbarism; to prohibit the use of land is to die; and in the degree that either of these prohibitions operates, in that degree the natural result is worked out. Until land is freed, as it may be by taxing its value so as to leave no profit in mere land owning, and until trade is freed, as it may be by getting all public revenues from the value of land alone, it cannot be said that any trade or profession is overcrowded.

LOUIS F. POST.

THE TARIFF AND THE COTTON STATES.

In the agricultural part of the older cotton states, which contains more than ninety per cent of their people, object lessons everywhere, plain as light itself, demonstrate these two portentous propositions:

1. Those who do not get back, in some way, the addition that the tariff makes to the price of the necessities which they buy are soon hopelessly impoverished—the farmers all going to the wall, while a few merchants, to whom the tariff-raised price is repaid with a profit, are rapidly acquiring nearly all the property of the country.

2. The institution of private ownership of land has not resulted in permanent occupation of the soil by a large and thrifty class, owning their homes and fields, but it is developing landlordism so vigorously that in a few years, if some such check as the single tax is not applied, the entire population will consist of a few opulent land owners and many ill fed and ragged tenants and agricultural laborers.

I shall now present the proofs from my familiar acquaintance with middle Georgia, especially with Oglethorpe, Greene, Wilkes and Taliaferro, the counties respectively, of W. H. Crawford, Judge Cone, Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens—counties which are really above the average condition.

The preparation for planting commencing in the late winter and the gathering often ending in the next early winter, it has become a proverb that to make cotton takes thirteen months in every year. During all of this time the farmer is necessarily, buying largely on credit, from a country merchant, who, be it re-

membered, received a deed of the farm and working animals as security. If the farmer's purchases had been raised in price under the tariff only by the addition of the particular duty, that increase would average forty-three and a half per cent, as is calculated by Mr. Samuel Barnett of Washington, Ga., a most competent man, who has spent years in investigating the subject. He illustrated this, in 1883, by a barrel of sugar of three hundred pounds, for which, at ten cents, thirty dollars was paid. The tariff being two and a half cents a pound, the sugar planter got seven dollars and a half protection when he sold. On this each middle man received a profit; and if the whole amounted to twenty per cent—which is a moderate estimate—it made a dollar and a half. Out of thirty dollars paid for the barrel, nine dollars—almost a third of the whole—was paid by the purchaser really on account of the tariff. The farmers buying on credit, there is to them an enormous difference between time and cash prices, which of course swells the profit on the tariff. But one need not consider amounts above normal rates that they are made to pay as compensation for risk and insecurity; for if the case can be made out upon an underestimate of the facts, as can be done, it will be all the stronger. I will therefore deal in the smallest figures.

In this region the country merchant sells at an average gross profit of thirty-three and one-third per cent. The tariff, according to the estimate we adopt, adds forty-three and one-half to the wholesale price, and a third of this is fourteen and one-half. It thus appears that the average increase of price to the retail purchaser made by the tariff is fifty-eight per cent. Every item in the farmer's account for business and living expenses, except a few articles on the free list, has been so greatly increased in price by the tariff that the crop hardly ever pays out. In a few years the farmer is giving the merchant rent for his land and hire for his mules and horses. It is just possible for a very saving and industrious man to make something, but the average farmer and tenant, at the end of the year, finds that his debts overbalance his credits. If there were no tariff, and the expenses and the quantity and the price of the crop made remained the same, the credit would be largely in excess, even in bad years, as any farmer may see for himself by striking from the price of each article he bought during the year the addition made upon it by the tariff and the middlemen's profit on that addition.

But restore to the many farmers who are now landless one-half of what has been taken from them by the tariff, and they will be able to pay their debts, regain their land at present prices, and have a snug sum in bank. If half that the negro laborers have been robbed of upon their scant necessities and luxuries by the tariff were given back, they could all, for a time, command comfortable homes.

Turn to the merchant. While his customers pay the tariff and are not reimbursed, he pays it, and is more than reimbursed. He gets his profit both on the non-tariff and the tariff cost of his goods. What has proved bankruptcy to the farmer, by a strange alchemy, is converted into a gold mine for the merchant. The soft hearted merchant who does not make his customers who have fallen behind surrender their land, and who, to use a current phrase, carries them over, fails. But those who keep sentiment out of their business; who will not advance without ample security, and who always require accounts to be settled at the end of the year—these, if they do not gamble too wildly in cotton futures, get rich. I will not invidiously name merchants who have acquired broad acres of late. They are everywhere in these counties. The people of these counties, who once thronged to the hustings to hear Stephens and appreciated him to the full; these once happy people, they and their children, are, with appalling rapidity, becoming the tenants of their merchants.

Let us summarize the effects of the tariff upon farmer and merchant. For

here is a state of things that, in my judgment, more palpably than any other yet noticed, demonstrates that under and by reason of indirect taxation the poor are fast becoming poorer and the rich richer.

The price of cotton is fixed by the Liverpool market, and the farmer can therefore get no protection. He sells his product at a non-tariff price, while he must allow the merchant something for handling it. The price of everything he buys is fixed by the American market, and is raised by the tariff. He must sell cheap all that he has to sell, for he can sell only in a market forever beared by free trade; and he must buy only in a market forever bulled by the highest of tariffs. That is to say, this high tariff is always off of his sales and always on his purchases. But the merchant profits alike when the farmer is selling low and when he is buying dear. Therefore the average merchant can, and the average farmer cannot, prosper.

Let it not be forgotten that the tariff depresses the price of the farmer's land. Whatever causes hard times, as the tariff does by raising the price of necessities, forces those who suffer under the hard times to part with their property at reduced prices.

The foregoing applies to the older cotton regions. In the Mississippi valley, on the virgin soil of Texas, and wherever the crop can be grown in considerable quantity without guano, the margin of profit to average farmers is not yet gone. But in the region in question, that day has come to the farmer which comes at last to the patient who has long concealed some fatal complaint—consumption or cancer—the day of collapse, when outgo exceeds income and waste is greater than repair. Somebody is perhaps heard of as a money-making farmer. On examination you discover he is selling many supplies to his laborers and tenants, that he really has a pluck-me store, and that he has also a large income from rents. Deprive this merchant landlord of his profits and rents, make him only a farmer with the freeman's prerogative of ownership and alienation of land, and the tariff will in a few years turn him into a tenant.

The destroyer of American shipping is fast pauperizing the entire agricultural class in the older cotton states.

But direful as are the evils of the tariff, the evils of private ownership of land are still greater. Land is abundant, and so cheap that the merchant, who is practically the only purchaser, is getting it for less than \$10 per acre, and yet the tenantry class, even among the whites, has been multiplying for years. Large allowances of real estate and personality in exemption laws—the shadows that Georgeism has cast before itself for a long while, were a few years ago widely resorted to without serious effect. Homes for the masses can only be won or saved by bringing in the single tax. It ought to come speedily. In a few years, if it is delayed, the desolation and squalid poverty of this community will equal that of the most oppressed districts of Ireland.

There is no place where the single tax lecturer could be more effective. If he knew the items commonly appearing in the entries of the merchants, and the tariff on each, and had collected the instances of farmers in the locality who had lately lost their lands; and if he then plainly and patiently told, with but ordinary gifts of speech, how the single tax would free production, lessen expenses and open up an ample supply of land to all who needed it, he would convert everybody who heard. I can lead him to certain places that I know well, in each of which a few wretched people are still clinging as nominal owners to land not yet reached by the serfdom approaching from every point of the compass; where, as it now seems, it will be only a short while until not one of these can tread the earth without permission from somebody else. What a precious people are here for the real missionary!

The state of things that I have sketched powerfully supports Mr. George's position, that to force the discussion of the tariff is the quickest way to bring on

the land question. In the north it is becoming more clear every day that the tariff on salt, coal, iron and lumber, to mention no other raw material, is but part and parcel of land monopoly in its worst form. For these things are easily seen to be parts of the land itself, and indispensable of nature, and the tariff greatly increases the sum which our foolish laws allow the usurpers of mine and forest to charge for dispensing the charities of God, intended by him to be as free to all mankind as his sunshine and air. In the older cotton states, because of the enormously tariff increased price of all commodities as compared with the tariff lowered price of the homesteads that must be pledged in order to obtain these necessities of life, the tariff is now plainly seen to be stripping the people at large of homes and fields, and turning them into serfs.

I am confident that a real tariff discussion in this community must in a short while bring a great majority of the inhabitants to support the single tax.

JOHN C. REID.

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 12, 1889.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Mrs. Frances Breed and her one-year-old child were found starving in a house in the rear of 201 Havre street, Boston, last week. Mrs. Breed formerly resided in Gloucester, Mass. Her husband, who was a fisherman, was drowned three months ago. About a week ago Mrs. Breed, who was without any means of support, came to East Boston, hoping to better her fortune. Her hopes, however, were not realized. Without food and unable to obtain work, she found herself obliged to dispose of her household goods, and all the police could find when they visited her premises yesterday were a few chairs and an oil stove.

Mrs. Leland Stanford is said to have the most valuable private collection of diamonds in the world. One of the necklaces is worth \$600,000.

An officer of the Children's aid society said to a reporter the other day: "We hear of over ten thousand needy and filthy children from the tenement houses in this city every year, but this number, large as it is, can give no sufficient impression of the histories of poverty and hunger and discouragement which these children represent. Few can realize the misery and ignorance of these bits of humanity. Through the efforts of our society an army of these outcasts, future criminals and enemies of social order are converted into honest, self-supporting and orderly citizens. But how many escape our efforts the Lord only knows."

Handkerchiefs will be prominent and very dainty accessories to the toilet this season. Bits of lace they are, with only a muslin center. Some of the most costly show intricately designed initials woven in the lace. Duchesse lace is the most popular. French lawn, hand-embroidered or ornamented in the exquisite Mexican drawn work, are all the way from \$5 to \$25 a piece. The colored handkerchiefs are most charmingly designed. On a clear, blue ground are sprays of yellow-heated daisies, michaelmas daisies, and violets either on the border or scattered over the whole.

Inspector Byrnes says that the general public has no idea of the number of burglaries committed by children in New York, because so many of the complainants refuse to prosecute the boys and girls on account of their supposed irresponsibility. The police court records show, however, that during 1888 there were 3,000 children under sixteen years of age held for trial, convicted or committed to some institutions. Of them many were accomplished burglars and belonged to organized gangs.

Leopold Fried, 46 years old, a German braid-maker, was found dead in his room, at 32 Avenue A, about midnight. He had died by his own hand. Fried had been out of work a long time. There was not much to do in his line, and of what little there was he was unable to get anything. The family got along, for Mrs. Fried was a midwife, and the two grown daughters were good hands at the sewing-machine. But Fried, who all his life had been industrious, worried daily at not being able to lend a hand toward the support of the family. He grew more gloomy and despondent than ever when recently one of the daughters was disabled by illness and fell out of the ranks of bread-winners.

The precious gems with which Mrs. Mackay decks herself are about as well known in Paris and London as she is. Among them is a flawless sapphire nearly half an inch in diameter, which is said to have cost \$185,000; the finest emerald known to exist, for which a fabulous price was paid; an almost priceless set of rose-pink coral jewelry, and a pair of diamond solitaires valued at \$400,000.

Isidore Cohen, 60 years of age, a Hebrew peddler of 1,485 Avenue A, was found a few days ago by his eight-year-old son Julius hanging from the transom of his bed-room window. The body was already cold. Cohen committed suicide during a fit of despondency. He had been unable to obtain work for some time past, and could earn little or nothing at his calling. In addition to this he was heavily in debt and was besieged by his creditors.

ENGLISH POLITICS.

Balfour's Little Game Spoiled by Michael Davitt—Some Significant Letters—The Liverpool Financial Reform Association—Gladstone on the London Strike and Land Nationalization.

DUDLEY, BIRMINGHAM, England, Oct. 1.—The attitude assumed by Mr. Davitt in relation to Mr. Balfour's proposal to establish and endow a Catholic university has had the effect I predicted it would have in my last letter. A more cynical and dastardly deed has never been contemplated. Its mere announcement, however, has had a most salutary effect. It was designed to divide the liberal party, and it would infallibly have done so and thereby have put back home rule at least a quarter of a century, but for Mr. Davitt's prompt and emphatic denunciation of the plot. The Tories would have swallowed the scheme, though they would have hated it most heartily, if only it had been certain in its effects; but when it was found that there was no likelihood that the liberal party would be divided; when it was seen, as it was most clearly seen, that Davitt's denunciation of it was quite sufficient to prevent its acceptance by the parliamentary party, then the Tories themselves, and the liberal unionists too, saw that it was time to dissemble. They at once began to protest that Mr. Balfour didn't mean to establish and endow a Catholic university; and at last Mr. Balfour himself came out with a letter to one of his innumerable correspondents in which he repudiated the whole thing.

The parliamentary party is divided on the point. Many of the best men among them warmly approve Davitt's action in thus circumventing Balfour and saving the ship. Others there are, however, who in public "lament" and "deplore" certain "criticisms," etc., etc., from "a certain quarter," and in private denounce in unmeasured terms—as I said they would—the action which Mr. Davitt took. My advice from Ireland assure me that among the best men of the national party there is unfeigned satisfaction at the turn events have taken.

At the same time the apparent readiness of the parliamentary party to fall into the trap laid for them so audaciously by Mr. Balfour has served as a salutary warning to the advanced liberals in England. For the carrying of the next general election reliance will not be placed on the home rule question. More and more the English social question is coming to the front, and I have no doubt whatever that by the time the next appeal to the country is made the liberal party will be completely committed to a programme of social problems. Home rule, instead of being the plank, will only be a plank in the platform.

Just by way of illustrating what I say, I am permitted to transcribe two important letters which have passed between two men in high position in the liberal party. I am not at liberty to mention names, but the writer of the second letter, if I might name him, would be known at once as one of the most influential of the inner circle of official liberals:

My Dear —: Right you are; perfectly right. All that I have been saying for the last two years is now confirmed and justified. I said to my liberal friends, "Don't waste your time on the Irish question. It is not worth it. You can't reckon on the Irish as your real friends, and you may depend upon it that Salisbury & Co. will make advances to them. Take up the general social question—go in for a democratic programme of which home rule is only one of many." That is what I urged, and urged in vain. The silly liberal fools were deluded by Gladstone and sold by Parnell. They now find their thunder stolen, and themselves left without any programme.

The truth is, as I have said to you, the liberal party is at an end—it has ceased to exist. I am given to understand that some more thunder is going to be stolen in the shape of housing of the working classes and an eight hours' bill for miners. That may mean the loss to the liberals of the constituencies where they are most strongest. Well, what is the inference? On the assumption that the radical party is going to remain as a large, undivided party, and can only get office by putting forth an advanced social and labor programme, mere Labouchereian radicalism, which is purely political, is of no use—it can't carry the country. We must have a card that the Tories can't trump—that is the philosophy of the situation. I think an effort should be made at the Manchester meeting of the National liberal federation to secure this. But now, supposing that the radical party cannot or will not take up any such programme, our duty becomes clear. We must proclaim to the people that the old parties are dead and done for, and that a party of labor must be formed quite regardless of the interests of the old parties. Then we should all get together, settle on a labor programme, put forward candidates, and secure contributions toward their expenses. Anyway, I think the radicals must quietly drop Gladstone. He has done them immense harm. He has battled incessantly on the one question of Ireland—a question the English democracy don't care a brass button about and are thoroughly sick of. He has entirely ignored English working class questions, and he and his confederates have on each occasion—"Trafalgar Square," "Royal Grants," etc.—played into the hands of their opponents. And now Gladstone will find his one pet grievance gone. It serves the radicals right for their contemptible subservience to the official liberals, and for allowing three or four bourgeois humbugs, ignorant and blear-eyed, to dictate and arrange the party's policy. The radicals have at length awakened to the danger, but I think too late. I don't agree with you in thinking Balfour's state-

ment more important than the strike. Those who know London as well as I do know what a mighty event this strike is. It is like Ezekiel's valley of dry bones standing up, an exceeding great army. It means that the socialists can make London stir, and the stirring of London is going to be a mighty thing. London is now the center, the brain of social democratic progress.

This was done, with the result that the following letter was received:

Thanks for your letter and inclosure. I have read both with pleasure and profit. I agree with very much you say, and I have always been urging on the condition of the people question as the one for us to put well to the front. If you look at last year's platform you will find the social questions were clearly adopted, and I myself would gladly see the payment of members added. I am sure a labor programme is the one for England. We must unceasingly devote our time and thoughts to the condition of the workers, and we must try by all means to improve it if we would wish to do good in our time. We have not made home rule our sole plank. It is only one plank. And I am not sure that it ought to be the plank first finished off when we do get in. It may be safer to carry improved registration, etc., and payment of returning officers' expenses first. I don't, however, think that Balfour's pronouncement is as serious as you do. I fully agree with Davitt and read his letter with delight. I am glad, too, to see some of the Irish press taking up Davitt's position more or less, and I quite hope Balfour will do more harm to himself than to us. I think whatever ill the Roman Catholic university bribe may do, the London strike will do us more good. It is indeed a great social revolution, and will, I think, have very far reaching effects. If the east of London will only refuse to be patient any longer under the vile conditions they have had to suffer so long, democracy will come into power firmly ere long. . . . I will not forget what—says ancient Manchester.

These two letters are from prominent men and reveal what is going on in the minds of men who are at the head of the liberal party.

There is some discussion in the liberal ranks, however, on what may be called personal matters. Mr. Morley cannot become a leader of the party principally because there are some social barriers, I believe, and therefore Sir William Harcourt has been definitely adopted as Mr. Morley's successor. Whereupon "they say" Morley is amazed. "Lord Spencer is to be a sort of titular chief in order to add the ingredient of respectability," a well informed correspondent tells me.

The president of the Financial reform association has addressed a very important letter to the secretary of the National liberal federation, urging that at the annual conference of the latter organization to be held in Manchester in November, increased attention shall be paid to the subject of taxation of land values. I have seen the letter in proof; it will appear later in the official organ of the association, the Financial Reformer. I only mention it here as a further proof that everything is tending in the direction of a determined effort to make the liberal party really grapple with the land question.

The last important matter to which I propose to call attention is a speech by Mr. Gladstone, made at Hawarden a few days ago. Mr. Gladstone's speeches nowadays are remarkable, not so much for what they actually contain as for what they imply, and as it appears to me that there are several passages in this speech which imply a good deal, I will give you one or two extracts. Mr. Gladstone evidently regards the late strike as a momentous event. He thinks that the lesson of a number of trades acting together as in the late strike was learned from Ireland, and he calls special attention to the circumstance that great aid came from Australia. This, he says, is a most important fact. He goes on to say:

If the laboring men have learned to adjust the machinery by means of which labor can act in the mass, it is quite plain that the meaning of that is a greatly increased strength of labor if it shall be developed upon the same footing as that which has already been assumed—a greatly increased strength and efficiency of the power of labor in its competition with capital. Now the competition of labor and capital is not to be considered as hostile. It is a balance of force, it is a fair adjustment between them, which must always determine in what degree the profits of industry ought to go and are to go to the man who works with his hands, and in what degree they are to go to the capitalist, who is supposed to bring, and generally does bring, as his contribution to the work the use of his brains and the use of his capital already saved. I think that it is a matter of the utmost importance to us all to consider whether the balance is fairly adjusted. (Hear, hear.) It is quite plain that this strike indicates some turn of the balance in favor of labor (hear, hear); but on the whole I think, when we consider the condition of the laboring men in most countries and in this country, and although I thank God Almighty that it is infinitely better than it was in my youth (cheers)—it is quite a different thing—and though no broad or palpable cause of complaint now remains—the laboring men do not consider that they have such a complaint against the legislature; they know their cause is fairly pleaded there, and that there is a great disposition to listen to their just complaints—well, although that is so, looking at the condition of the working men, an enlightened, impartial observer, without reference to the rural district, the manufacturing district, the trading district, or any trading district in particular, casting his eye over the whole field, will be disposed to think that in the common interests of humanity this remark-

able strike and the results of this strike, which have tended somewhat to strengthen the condition of labor in the face of capital, is the record of what we ought to regard as satisfactory, as a real social advance; that it tends to a greater, a more uniform, and a more firm establishment of just relations; that it tends to a fair principle of division of the fruits of industry. Depend upon it, gentlemen, if this is the case, it is a result that is of the highest importance, and one that we may well congratulate ourselves upon, and one that will tend to the ultimate strengthening of the bonds which unite the various portions of society within and to the increased happiness and power of our country without.

Now, all this means, not that Mr. Gladstone is not alive to the importance of labor problems, but that he is; and he takes this way of preparing the more whiggish or timid of his followers for the assertion of the claims of labor in the near future. In another portion of the same speech the right honorable gentleman deals with the circumstance that some weak-kneed liberals in Elgin and Nairn—where an election is now pending, and where the liberal candidate is, as all liberal candidates in Scotland for the future must be, in favor of the nationalization of the land, the single tax—were in doubt as to how they should vote. Touching the matter, Mr. Gladstone says:

I see it stated that a number of liberals have been dissatisfied with the liberal candidate, Mr. Keay, because it is said that he is for the nationalization of the land. I do not know whether there is anything else, but that is the point I have seen stated. They think that is a very foolish plan. They say: "We do not want to send a man to parliament to recommend the nationalization of the land." I say, sacrifice secondary for the sake of the primary. (Laughter.) What is the scheme for the nationalization of the land? Suppose Mr. Keay is returned to parliament, and suppose he could secure a night and should make a motion "that it is expedient that the land of this country should be nationalized," how many gentlemen out of the 650 in parliament would vote with him? I doubt whether you could not count them on your fingers. Consequently I am not at all afraid of a proposal of that kind. I will tell you what I think about it. I declare to you that I think the nationalization of the land, if it means the simple plunder of the proprietors and sending them to the workhouse—that, I consider, is robbery. I think nationalization of the land, with compensation, as far as I can understand it, would be folly, because the state is not qualified to exercise the functions of a landlord; and although there may be many bad landlords and many middling landlords, yet, thank God, there are also many good landlords—even in Ireland some, and on this side of the channel a good many; and the state could not become the landlord. It would overburden and break down the state. At the same time I fully admit this—I have stated it long ago in "Mid Lothian"—I hold it without the smallest doubt, if a time came when the British nation could think that the land ought to be nationalized, and that it was wise to do it, they have a perfect right to do it beyond all doubt or question. (Cheers.) Yet at the same time, I think, it would be a great waste of time for any man in parliament to spend a night in debating nationalization of the land at this moment. But I would vote for a man notwithstanding if he is a sound liberal in general, if he is sound on the great Irish question, notwithstanding that he may have here and there what Mr. Bright, our old friend Mr. Bright, used to call a tad. (Cheers.)

You must not take Mr. Gladstone too seriously! He means by this that when the country is prepared for the single tax he will be prepared to legislate on the subject. It must not be supposed that Mr. Gladstone is not well aware of the drift of events, for in concluding this very speech he observes that notwithstanding all that has been done within the last fifty years, "wants of society are not diminishing, but increasing. New views and new social demands are coming up. Those new views will require reasonable satisfaction." Yes, Mr. Gladstone sees that plainly enough, and he merely talks as he does about nationalization of the land because he thinks—and probably correctly—that it is not a question that will much embarrass him. But those who can discern the signs of the times will see in the several matters I have mentioned clear indications of the coming of the day when the great fundamental wrong—the fruitful mother of all that is to be deplored in our social system to-day—will be fairly grappled with. Some of us feel it coming—by the pricking of our thumbs.

HAROLD RYLETT.

A cable dispatch to the New York Sun says that their defeats at Dundee and Peterborough infuriated the Tories and caused them to concentrate upon "Elgin all the weapons of intimidation and corruption which had proved ineffectual at Peterborough. The landlord screw was mercilessly applied to poor crofter farmers and villagers of the remote Highlands. The law of registration was twisted and strained in a shameless fashion with the result that 200 sturdy fishermen known to the home rulers were removed from electoral lists." But notwithstanding this Mr. Keay was triumphantly returned.

Flexibility Won in This Case.

St. Paul Pioneer Press.

Landlord—Janitor, I hear a baby crying. I told you to rent no rooms in this flat to people with children.

Janitor—That 'un was born here.

Landlord—Strange! These people must have known my rules were inflexible.

BALLOT REFORM.

REFORM CLUB IDEAS.

Interviews With Members of Its Committee on Ballot Reform and Others.

The Reform club of this city took an active part in the ballot reform agitation last year, and it still has a "committee on ballot reform" consisting of Horace E. Deming, chairman; Abram C. Bernheim, R. R. Bowker, J. Hampden Dougherty, William M. Ivins, John Brooks Leavitt, Walter S. Logan, Lucien Oudin, Wheeler H. Peckham, Louis F. Post and Lawrence Dunham.

Representatives of this paper saw most of these gentlemen and other members of the Reform club who were more or less active in this matter a year ago. Mr. Horace E. Deming, owing to sickness and death in his family, could not be interviewed. He is of course a staunch friend of ballot reform, but naturally cannot give attention at present to public affairs. Mr. William M. Ivins was not yet prepared to talk for publication, as he had not thought over any plan of action. Few members of the committee or the club seen by THE STANDARD'S representatives had considered any plan of action, but they expressed their views as follows:

R. R. Bowker.

R. R. Bowker, 330 Pearl street, expressed the opinion that ballot reform is the most important and pressing of all reforms in this state. In view of the success of the first endeavor toward the reform in Connecticut, imperfect though the law is, and the promise of success that the Massachusetts law seems to give, our having it in New York is only a matter of time. The longer the accomplishment of the reform is put off the worse it will be for Governor Hill and the better for those who establish the reform and carry it into effect. Mr. Bowker thinks that every candidate for the legislature should be questioned as to his attitude on the subject of ballot reform, so that voters should know how to act. He furthermore thinks that a promise of ballot reform is the least that the democratic party can offer to free traders in the party as compensation for the lukewarm tariff reform platform presented them by the Syracuse convention, so that there need be no reason why free trade democrats should not vote for the democratic candidate. Another thing to be remembered is that candidates for the state senate should not only be sound on ballot reform, but on tariff reform as well, because, holding office two years, they will vote for United States senator in 1891. Tariff reform does not directly effect candidates for assembly, however, as a new assembly will be elected next year.

Walter H. Page.

Mr. Walter H. Page was seen at the office of The Forum, of which magazine he is one of the editors. He was strongly in favor of making a ballot reform fight this fall, and was glad THE STANDARD had taken up the matter. He said he did not believe there was much difference between the two parties as means of getting a reform in election laws, for neither of them wanted it, but he was in favor of helping the candidates of either party who would give ballot reformers what they want, and thought that this was as good a time to make the fight as any other.

Edward M. Shepard.

Edward M. Shepard, 31 Nassau street, speaking from a democratic standpoint, declared that the democracy of this state must come to see in ballot reform the only means of its permanent security. Everywhere disintegrating forces are sapping its strength and will reduce it to helplessness if the party's leaders do not recover from their shortsightedness and help to accomplish the reform. He cited the revolt in the O'Brien district as evidence of the disintegration—an instance of how men could be forced to array themselves with their natural enemies and against their natural friends. The use of money was becoming a more and more powerful factor in this process of disintegration. The democracy must bind together its followers and make its ranks invulnerable to the shafts of intimidation and purchase—it must adopt the secret ballot so that its friends can always give expression to their allegiance without danger of punishment. If the adoption of the official and secret ballot were affected at once Mr. Shepard believed the result would show an overwhelmingly democratic majority—in fact, a vote too large to be an unmixed good to the party. Why Governor Hill and his chief counselors could not see this he could understand, but that they would come to see it he believed to be only a matter of a very short time. Short, however, as this time might be, Mr. Shepard fears the republicans will see the opportunity and be first to act, thus carrying off laurels that should rightfully go the democrats. Mr. Shepard thinks that something could be done

toward defeating this end if two or three districts were selected and democrats, known to be thoroughgoing ballot reformers, were nominated—men who would make a determined fight for the reform at Albany.

Louis F. Post.

Mr. Post has just returned to town, and said he had had no opportunity to study the situation closely, but he said that something ought to be done. He then continued: "I believe an effort might be made this fall which would give us the reform next year. But something must be done or the measure will go by default. I like your idea of making the republicans and county democrats understand that if they want an effective fusion they must put up candidates for assembly who are pledged to support the Saxton bill. The republicans are already committed to the bill and the county democrats have nothing to lose and much to gain from endorsing it. It ought to be easy to organize a ballot reform campaign committee, irrespective of party. The Reform club has a committee on the subject; so has the Manhattan single tax club, and perhaps other clubs, and there are well organized labor associations among the members of which the Australian system of voting is in universal demand. Why cannot these committees set the ball in motion? Why cannot the chairmen call their committees together, and propose a joint conference of all organizations interested in the principles of the Saxton bill? If this were done, I believe an amount of effective zeal would be displayed that would soon leave no doubt as to exactly the best thing to do. But it is useless to lie idle till candidates are in the field, and more useless still to wait until they are elected. It may be cheaper for monopolists to 'buy a legislature than to buy its constituents,' but we who seek reformatory legislation by appeals to reason and patriotism must get at the people themselves."

George Foster Peabody.

Mr. George Foster Peabody was seen at his office in Broad street. He said that in his opinion the fact that Governor Hill was secure in office for the next two years, and would assuredly veto any good bill that might be passed, made it almost useless to make a campaign issue of ballot reform this year. Moreover, he said, the successful operation of the laws recently passed in Massachusetts, Montana, Indiana and elsewhere will be a sufficient argument for the reform, and will eventually force New York to follow the lead of those states.

Thomas G. Shearman.

Thomas G. Shearman said that a committee that took the matter in hand this fall could do effective work by addressing questions to the various candidates, forcing them to come out squarely on the issue of ballot reform. This could be followed by holding public meetings, forming clubs, etc.

John Brooks Leavitt.

John Brooks Leavitt, of 111 Broadway, is a member of the tariff reform committee of the Reform club. He said he had read the editorial on ballot reform in last week's STANDARD and strongly endorsed the position taken in it. The fact that Governor Hill was in for two years more, he said, was no reason for the ballot reformers of this state giving up the fight for that length of time, for public sentiment that will eventually demand the Australian system of voting can be aroused this year just as well as any other. "We have rolled the stone half way up the hill," said Mr. Leavitt, "and unless we keep on pushing it, it will roll back again and we will have to do the work over again." He hoped that the Reform club committee would do some active work this fall, and said he would be glad as one of its members to do whatever he could.

Wheeler H. Peckham.

Wheeler H. Peckham, 29 Wall street, said he thought the ballot reform idea was making steady, if slow, progress, and must come sooner or later, but the time was too short for concerted, organized action this fall, even if the proper machinery were ready at hand, which is not the case. Probably little more could be done than would result from individual efforts.

Edward J. Shriver.

Mr. Shriver said that purely as a matter of principle it would seem to be incumbent on all ballot reformers to vote this year for republican legislative candidates; and if it were possible to organize in time to affect the election to as thorough an extent as the Jersey men have done during their agitation of the past year, it would be a good thing to do. "I doubt very much, however," he continued, "whether the material at hand would be suf-

ficient to make an organization that would command public respect and consequently gain strength, the trouble lying mainly in the lack of democratic mugwumpism. This was illustrated in the failure of the Reform club to take definite ground against Governor Hill, a year ago, and in the half way attitude recently assumed by the Harlem democratic club; and it seems to be a rule that independent democrats falter nearly always when they reach the critical point of forswearing party regularity. For these reasons I do not think there is any effective force outside of the single tax ranks to initiate such a movement, and fear that the time is too short to election for them to rally enough support to make a good showing."

Daniel H. Chamberlain.

Ex-Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain, 40 Wall street, urged the great importance of electoral reform, and regretted that a pressure of legal business had prevented him from devoting that time and attention to forwarding the movement which he would have liked. His mind had been so completely engaged with other matters that he had thought of no plan of campaign for this fall, though he hoped whatever was tried would be successful.

Lawrence Dunham.

Mr. Dunham, writing to THE STANDARD from his home at Sharon, Conn., says: "As to the Reform club, I don't exactly see what its committee can do in the campaign this fall. It has no funds with which to send out speakers or literature, and it can't go to the primaries and insist on candidates pledging themselves to vote for a bill substantially the same as the Saxton bill of last year. That is what the members ought to do individually so far as possible."

THE WORKINGMEN START IT.

An Assembly of the Knights of Labor Takes the First Step.

The Excelsior labor club—the oldest Knight of Labor assembly in New York city—after six weeks' discussion came to the conclusion a week or so ago that before there could be a fair expression of opinion by the working people at the polls, and before a poor man could hope to run for office on equal terms with the nominees of the republican or democratic machines, there must be a change in methods of voting. After a careful consideration of the whole subject and examination of other proposed systems, the club gave its voice unanimously in favor of the Saxton (Australian) method; and then it issued a call to labor organizations and all persons in favor of ballot reform on the lines of the Saxton bill to meet at 98 Forsyth street last Sunday afternoon. The hall was small, but it was well filled and those present were representative men in the labor movement, and imbued with the right spirit. A temporary organization was formed by making James E. Quinn chairman and C. F. J. Doody secretary. After a full discussion it was decided:

- (1) To support for the assembly and senate only those candidates pledged to vote for the Saxton bill during its passage and over Governor Hill's veto.
- (2) To oppose any attempt on the part of labor organizations to put up labor candidates for senate or assembly, so as not to split the labor vote.
- (3) To call a mass meeting of the friends of ballot reform at Cooper union some time during the coming week.
- (4) In view of the short time for preparation, the conference did not think it possible to effect assembly district organizations, but wherever possible it advised that such organization be made.

An executive committee was appointed to conduct the campaign, consisting of C. P. Kelly, Maurice Nugent, C. F. J. Doody, William McCabe and Bryan Kearney.

A member of the conference offered on behalf of the Manhattan single tax club, the use of their club rooms for headquarters of the campaign committee; also inviting the speakers for ballot reform to speak from the trucks on Saturday evenings. Similar offers were made by a member of the Brooklyn single tax club. Both offers were accepted with thanks, after which the meeting adjourned until next Sunday afternoon, at the same place, 98 Forsyth street, at two o'clock. All friends of ballot reform are invited to attend.

The executive committee held a meeting at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club on last Monday evening to lay out plans for the campaign. They decided to engage Cooper union for a mass meeting on Wednesday evening, October 23, and sent a letter to Assemblyman Saxton inviting him to address the meeting on the subject of ballot reform. The committee also prepared an address, which will be published after being approved by Sunday's conference.

THE CONNECTICUT ELECTION.

The Law Worked Fairly Well Where Honestly Enforced, but Worked Badly Where Its Opponents Controlled the Polls.

SHARON, Conn., Oct. 14.—The town elections last Monday were the first under the

new law and the only ones that will be held this year. The result proves that the new system does not materially effect the length of time taken in voting. The enforced order, and the absence of a crowd in the immediate neighborhood of the ballot box, with the chance for the quiet examination and preparation of ballots in the booths, other tends to facilitate than to retard voting.

In our town all the election officers were in favor of the new system, and they appointed deputies and assistants who were also in favor of it; thus we had a chance to see how the law worked under the most favorable circumstances.

The voter entering the town hall found a screen about eight feet high stretched across the room, and at one corner a doorway closed by a curtain. Passing behind the curtain he faced a row of seven booths about three feet square; in the first two were the envelope and ballot distributors. The voter's name being checked by one envelope booth tender, he was handed an envelope indorsed by both tenders; he then passed to the ballot booth, where he was handed a ballot of each party; passing on he went into a booth and closed the door. Until the door was closed he could not get at the shelf on which he was to prepare his ballot. The door once shut it could not be opened while he stood in the booth. When his ballot was in the envelope and sealed, he pushed open the door opposite the one by which he had entered, thereby also opening the door through which he had first entered the booth, and passed on to the ballot box. There his name was checked again and his vote deposited; he then passed from behind the screen by an opening at the opposite end from the entrance. Thus the voter was hidden from the sight of all but the booth tenders and election officers, from the time he received his envelope until he had cast his vote, and while he was in the booth he was screened from observation completely. Our booth tenders saw that there was a supply of ballots of both parties constantly on the shelves in the booths, so that there was no excuse for a man not voting as he wanted to without fear or favor.

Such was the working of the law under favorable circumstances. I am told that in another town, where the election officers were opposed to the idea of a secret ballot, the arrangements, which are left largely discretionary, were very poor; the ballot box could be reached without going through the booths, and a man walked in, took the envelope and placed the ballot received from party workers in it, in full sight of the heelers, sealed the envelope and voted it. It is in such cases as this that we see the great weakness of the law. Unless every one is obliged to vote secretly, the very men we want to protect are the ones who will not dare to do so. So long as the party ballots are printed separately and distributed outside of the booths, so long can intimidation and bribery be practiced, especially where the election officers are in collusion with the outside workers.

The comparative success of the law, where its spirit was carried out, was a surprise to many advocates of a secret ballot, and these rejoice that a distinct gain has been made by proving that the ordinary voter easily grasps the idea.

It now remains for us to secure the printing of all names of candidates on one ballot, at public expense, to be distributed only from the ballot booth, and the abolition of the envelope, which can have no use except as a cover for fraud.

The bill vetoed by Governor Bulkley was simple, efficient and less expensive in its machinery than that provided by the present law, in that it employed less extra help around the booths and boxes. The expense of the new system is a general source of complaint here, but such complaints would not be heard were people satisfied that the end proposed was really accomplished.

The machinery of the Australian system has in effect been tried, and has worked much better than most people expected. Our hope now is in the still better working of the Massachusetts law, by which we can convince our Hartford law makers that what they failed to pass over the veto was really just what was wanted.

LAWRENCE DUNHAM.

According to the newspaper reports the law seems to have worked well throughout the state so far as securing secrecy was concerned. The voters were for the first time for years free to prepare their own ballots and vote them without molestation. The swarm of ticket and poster vendors, who under the old system pursued each man to the very ballot box and watched him vote, found their occupation gone, as the new law prohibits any but the voter, the election officers and official watchers from going within one hundred feet of the polls. A dispatch to the New York

Times says that "during the three minutes allowed him by law in the booth" the voter "was free from outside influence and intimidation of every kind. The voting was the freest that has taken place in the state for thirty years. In two conspicuous instances the political effectiveness of the law was demonstrated. The democrats at Windsor Locks nominated a ticket notoriously unfit for support. In spite of the fact that the town is a democratic stronghold, the secret ballot defeated the party managers and turned the control of public interests over to the opposition for the year. At Norwich the tables were turned on the republicans, who had established a political bossism that had prevailed since the days of Buckingham. In neither of these towns would the same results have been possible under the old system."

The New York Times on Friday of last week printed a full description of the workings of the law that indicate its merits and its defects. It is as follows:

The ballots used in the election were furnished by the state. On the back of each were printed the words "official ballot." No limit was fixed to the number of ballots to be printed, the different parties being allowed full discretion in this respect. The manner and style of printing the tickets showed complete uniformity, the whole being done under the direction of the secretary of state. That official issued directions with every package of unprinted tickets showing the sort of type that might be used and the "make up" mechanically of the ticket. The ticket could be headed republican, democratic, or prohibition, according to the party using it. That was the only distinctive mark that could be used.

The state furnishes the envelopes, the number for each town being limited to twice the number of voters on the registry list to be used at the election. The envelopes were uniform in color and size, self-sealing and stamped with the seal of the state. The town's quota was furnished to the envelope booth tenders thirty minutes prior to the opening of the polls. The town clerks were entrusted with the custodianship of the ballots, and were the officials who were to place them in the hands of the envelope booth tenders. The ticket and envelope booth tenders were selected from the two dominant parties, each party furnishing a principal and an assistant.

The electors' booths were also under the oversight of representatives from each of the leading parties in the town. It was designed that each electors' booth should accommodate 150 voters during the day. The election officers were unchanged by the new law, the moderator, deputy registrars, and box tenders being given the same prerogatives as have been vested in them heretofore. The selectmen throughout the state were allowed wide discretion in arranging the electors' booths.

In this city swinging doors were placed on two sides of the booth, the voter entering at one door with his ticket and envelope and passing out of the other door, after having arranged his ballot and sealed the envelope, into the room where the ballot box was situated. In many of the towns a booth having but one door was used. The one door booth was placed against the wall of the room in which the voting was in progress, and the voter entered and prepared his ballot, taking his three minutes, if necessary, for that purpose. The distribution of tickets was not a matter of much interest, and the ticket booth tenders simply carried out a perfunctory part. Any voter could obtain his ticket beyond the one hundred foot limit as well as at the booth. The pasters were also at his disposal, with the tickets of each party, on the shelf inside of the electors' booth.

The officials at the envelope booths were charged with very important duties. In the first place, the envelopes had to be marked with the initials of the booth tenders, so that any voter could easily decide from whom the envelope was received. In the second place, every envelope given out had to be accounted for. In case a voter was unfortunate in tearing or disfiguring his envelope, a second one was allowed him. No elector was allowed by the booth tenders to receive an envelope and withdraw from the inclosure assigned for the envelope booth. After its reception the voter was required to enter the elector's booth and pass on to the ballot box.

In the town of Windsor Locks a voter was arrested on the spot for attempting to escape into the street from the envelope booth inclosure after having been supplied with an envelope. This course would be necessary in every case when an elector should attempt to elude the envelope tenders. The security of the system depends largely on the vigilance of the envelope distributors.

The selectmen of East Hartford met the difficulty by assuming authority under the law to require envelope distribution by check list. In this way it was practically impossible for a man to obtain more than one envelope. The moderator was charged with the duty of preserving all rejected votes in envelopes at the polls, the rejection being on account of challenge or absence of the elector's name from the registry list. The total number of envelopes in the ballot box, with the rejected and mutilated, was required to tally with the number issued by the envelope booth tenders. In this city the tally was exact.

After the polls were declared closed the whole number of envelopes was counted and then opened, preparatory to the counting of the vote. The new law has not authorized any change in the machinery of counting, the system being the one that has prevailed for years. Should two ballots of the same kind be found in one envelope, one of them is discarded, the presumption being that the mistake is unintentional, and that the voter should not be deprived of his rights. If the votes are different both must be rejected in the count, the reason being that the voter's intention cannot be ascertained.

Envelopes or ballots bearing a distinctive mark, showing by whom they may have been

cast, were rejected under the law, which strictly prohibits the use of any mark or sign not authorized by the state. Votes in the envelopes not pertaining to the ticket were uniformly rejected, but the ticket itself was counted if correct in other respects. For instance, all constitutional amendment and license or no license ballots which were found in the envelopes with the town or city tickets were discarded. But the regular ticket was counted. The general information with regard to the envelopes was such that mistakes of the kind in question aggregated but a small number as compared with the total vote throughout the state. The confusion of the electors was not anything like what it was expected to be. The advantages of the law were clear and decisive after the first hour.

One of its principal defects relates to the distribution of the envelopes and the disposition that is to be made of the unused envelopes after the election. It ought to be clearly defined that the distribution shall be by check list; also that all unused envelopes shall be destroyed by the town clerks immediately after the election, in order that they may not fall into improper hands to be used at a subsequent election for dishonest purposes. Of course it is in the power of the secretary of state to order envelopes of a different color at each election. In that way the unused ones would be worthless. But the law should be explicit on the question. Now it is entirely neutral.

At the regular state election three sets of tickets are to be used—the state ticket, the one for representatives and the one for justices of the peace. The law requires a ballot box for each of these votes. The question will arise whether each elector is to be furnished with three envelopes. If his vote is to be secret it is plain that he must be so provided. The placing of any two of the tickets in the same envelope would result in the rejection of the one not belonging to the box when it is deposited. But it is a fact that the statute has not provided for three envelopes for each elector. It has only charged the town clerks with the duty of supplying the envelope tenders with twice as many envelopes as there are names on the registry list for the election.

As the legislature will not hold a session until 1891, there is no chance to remedy this defect in time for the state election next fall. How it will be met cannot now be determined. Objection to the booth system will be futile in view of the results at Monday's election. It has come to stay. The question of increased expense to the towns in furnishing the elective apparatus will hardly command attention hereafter. No one will have the hardihood to denounce the expense, when it is absolutely demonstrable that the system promotes purity at the polls.

Mention was made in last week's STANDARD of the peculiar device employed at the recent election in Montana. The new ballot law there prescribes that the voter who is unable to read "shall, upon request, receive the assistance of one or two of the election officers in making his ballot, and such officer or officers shall certify on the outside thereof that it was so marked with his or their assistance, and shall thereafter give no information regarding the same." The election officers in charge shall have discretion as to swearing such voters as to their illiteracy. The party workers undertook to assist the illiterate voter, and at the same time learn how he voted, by providing him with a card containing the names of their own candidates, and over the list was printed the words, "I want to vote for all the candidates on this card." The voter signed this and presented it to the election officers, who thereupon marked his ballot accordingly. This is a clear evasion of the intent of the law, and permits any corrupt voter, by professing illiteracy, to offer conclusive evidence that he has voted as he was paid to vote. Either the Montana law is defective or its provisions have been violated.

The New Jersey association of democratic clubs, which met at Newark last week and resolved itself into the democratic society of New Jersey, demanded "such a measure of reform of our election laws as will give to every citizen the same voice in the management of the affairs of the state."

The Union league club of this city at a recent meeting, in which, of course, the republican ticket was indorsed, declared for ballot reform, and insisted that Governor Hill's persistent vetoes of that and other measures renders it necessary that enough republicans shall be elected to the legislature to pass them over his veto. The club, however, like the republican state convention, failed to specifically promise that the Saxton bill will be re-enacted if a two-thirds majority in the legislature is given to the republican party.

The first election in Tennessee under the new ballot law of that state, took place on Tuesday, Oct. 8. The election was very quiet and apparently no difficulty was experienced in polling the vote, while dispatches generally say there was less illegal voting than usual, and no known use of money. The republicans elected their candidate for mayor and a majority of the city council. The Tennessee law makes no provision whatever for illiterate voters. The local court at Knoxville has declared the Tennessee law unconstitutional, and an appeal has been taken to the higher courts, the claim being that it practically establishes an educational qualification not provided for by the constitution. The republicans are the people who are fighting the law, their fear being that it will disfranchise the negro voters. In Chattanooga, however, they fur-

nished the negroes with a dummy ticket by which they were enabled, if possessed of sufficient intelligence, to mark the candidates they desired on the official ticket. The fact that the republicans have carried the election indicates that the negroes were able to follow these directions, but it is announced that the party managers will continue their efforts to have the law declared unconstitutional. A special dispatch to the Nashville Banner says that the election was one of the most orderly held in Chattanooga for years, and adds: "There was no crowding about the polls, no pulling and hauling of voters, no disputing between the challengers, and no loud yelling and whooping. Each voter goes in quietly, and any effort to produce confusion is promptly quelled by the police. Every taxpayer is pleased with the new method of voting."

In Pennsylvania the democrats have put a strong ballot reform plank in their platform, and Hon. Edmund A. Bigler, their candidate for state treasurer, stands squarely on it. The Harrisburg Patriot (dem.) says: "The issue on this question of ballot reform is fairly joined, with Mr. Bigler standing on a platform urging its adoption, and Mr. Boyer standing on his record of opposition to the measure as the leader of the house of representatives which killed it."

The nomination of Mr. Charles F. Saxton as the republican candidate for state senator in the Twenty-eighth senatorial district of this state was the result of a faction fight in which the complicity of his opponent, Fremont Cole, in the Albany ceiling job was an important factor. Mr. Saxton's record as the leader of the fight for the passage of the bill commonly called by his name does not appear to have played any conspicuous part in the contest, but his promotion to the position of candidate for a higher office, nevertheless helps the ballot reform movement, and more closely identifies the republican party with that measure.

The Australian system of voting has been adopted in Minnesota for elections in cities having ten thousand or more inhabitants. It has already been tried at a special election in the Eighth ward of Minneapolis and worked perfectly. A news item was recently copied into THE STANDARD in which this fact was mentioned, and it was further stated that the ward, which had previously gone democratic, had, under the new system, gone republican. This was an error. It has always been a republican ward and it remained so. The passage of the law by the Minnesota legislature was chiefly due the efforts of a few Minneapolis single tax men headed by Mr. C. J. Buell.

The Harlem democratic club of this city has nominated Cyrus O. Hubbell as candidate for assemblymen in the Twenty-third assembly district. The club agrees to pay its candidate's expenses as a protest against the custom of assessing candidates, which it denounces in its platform. It has declared strongly for ballot reform, and appointed a committee to draft a definite measure that its candidates will be pledged to support.

Some complaint has been made of the slowness of counting votes under the new ballot system in Montana. The San Francisco Examiner, commenting on this, suggests that it is necessary to graft "the Story plan of counting" on the system, and declares that this will be a perfect election system. It says that in most of the states that have adopted the Australian ballot system provision is made for the voters who desire to vote a straight party ticket. He is allowed to make a single cross opposite the name of the party of his choice, and this carries his indorsement of the entire list of its candidates. It says:

Clearly the Story plan of counting by vignettes is easily applied. All that is necessary is to count the straight party votes separately and then to count the split tickets just as the California law prescribes for scratched ones. Under such a method the vote in any precinct of reasonable size could easily be counted in one night.

Great interest is manifested in St. Louis in the coming school election, which takes place on November 5, because it will be the first ever held in that city under the Australian system of voting. The election will be for three directors at large and seven district directors. All the names will be on one ticket, printed and furnished to every voter by the city government, and all the essential features of the system are embodied in the St. Louis law.

The Tariff reform club of Philadelphia, which has recently started a series of debates on social and economic questions, will devote its next Sunday's meeting to a debate on the question, "Should the Australian system of ballot be adopted?" The meetings are held in Enterprise hall, Kensington avenue and Huntingdon street.

At the Hudson county, New Jersey, democratic convention a resolution from the Hudson county ballot reform association was presented and adopted, instructing the candidate for senator, to favor "a genuine ballot reform bill, embracing the essential features of an absolutely secret ballot, an official

ticket, printed and distributed at the expense of the state, and the right of nomination by petition."

The city council of Austin, Texas, is considering an ordinance which, if adopted, will introduce the Australian system of voting into Austin's city elections.

Harper's Weekly is much disgusted with the manner in which the Platt machine has secured control of the republican party in the state of New York. But still, on account of the Australian ballot reform it would give preference to the republican ticket. It says:

The situation upon this question in New York is similar to that upon the license question. Nobody supposes that if a democratic legislature should be elected, there would be any legislation to secure ballot reform. But it is certainly very probable that in a republican legislature a reform measure would be introduced. The reform is so desirable, as a check upon corruption, that the prospect of such a measure would be a strong consideration in determining many votes. Like reform in the civil service, it is an important part of the attack upon the worst enemy of popular institutions.

The reformed ballot law will be tested at the election of this autumn in Massachusetts, and its operation will be watched with great interest. The secrecy of the ballot is one of the strictest provisions against bribery, and it is one of the most conclusive arguments in favor of the Australian system of voting that it is so strongly opposed and ridiculed by all the political heelers of every degree. Anything which is denounced so lustily by the notorious traders in politics must be very honest and admirable. Repugnance to holy water was always an unerring test of a doubtful personage, and the intrinsic value of a reform in political methods is proved by the character of the hostility to it.

Ballot Reform Notes.

The secret ballot law, whatever modification of the Australian system is adopted, should make the state provide the voter uniformly printed ballots, give him a place of privacy to prepare them, and separate him from all other voters and persons, so that it cannot be known whom he votes for. The Connecticut ballot is a secret one to a less degree than the Australian, as the state does not furnish the ticket, but only the envelope to inclose it. The secret ballot may not, however, owing to the inherent weakness or wickedness of some voters, prevent all bribery or intimidation, but inevitably it will prevent a great deal of both.—[Philadelphia Ledger.]

Under the new election law the voters are obliged to make up their ballots in secret, in booths prepared for that purpose, and to put them in envelopes which they must seal before voting. The factory lords, therefore, cannot bulldoze them. Hurrah for ballot reform!—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

The Australasian ballot is a veritable 'two edged sword. Yesterday we learned that it had made a Waterloo for the republicans at Norwich, and now comes the news that at Chattanooga the democrats have been overwhelmed by its silent power. The election passed off very quietly, with greatly diminished bribery and very little illegal voting. If this kind of thing goes on, what are statesmen to do for a living?—[New York Commercial Advertiser.]

The Connecticut ballot reform bill is only a modification of the Australian system, as incorporated in the Saxton bill vetoed by Governor Hill; but its working yesterday demonstrated that the more comprehensive reform contemplated by the Saxton bill would put an end to corruption and intimidation at the polls.—[Brooklyn Standard Union.]

The new ballot system seems to have worked very well at the town elections in Connecticut. It is said that even the workers could not tell how a man voted, and to this cause the democrats ascribe their success in carrying several manufacturing towns that hitherto have been strongly republican. The overseers could no longer accompany the hands to the polls to see that they voted for the tariff, and so the men voted their own way.—[Philadelphia Times.]

This [the Connecticut law] has sometimes been referred to in the press as the Australian system, but only through gross ignorance of its features. It really has only a few of the cardinal features of that system, including the provision of booths where the voters prepare their ballots free from inspection and the prohibition against the presence of outsiders in the vicinity of the polls. These are great gains over the old system of allowing the briber or bulldozer to follow his victim to the box and see that he deposits the ballot which he has been paid or forced to cast, and the advantages of the change are promptly and generally recognized. The ultimate effect must inevitably be to arouse public sentiment in favor of carrying the reform still further and securing the further advantages which can be gained only through the provision of ballots by the state.—[Albany Press and Knickerbocker.]

Blaine Bastes Burchard.

Newark News.

Blaine has some influence with this administration; Burchard did not get the mint directorship.

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"A COLLAPSE TO HENRY GEORGE'S PRE-TENSIONS."

J. W. Sullivan in the Twentieth Century.

It is less than three years ago since Henry George the politician skyrocketed into wide fame as the man who had polled 68,000 labor votes for the mayoralty of New York. He has witnessed great changes meantime. Of the army of 68,000, perhaps nineteen-twenty-eths have turned out bad. Unable to understand the profound scheme by which George is working, they would hasten to testify to the resentment excited by its perplexing complications and vote solidly against him were he this year a labor candidate for office. Many thousands who formerly worked for him are perverse enough to view his political fortunes to-day as being on a level with a fallen rocket stick buried in the mud. Not a few are so uncharitable as to speak of him as nothing more than the manager of a beggarly little machine which is trying to hitch itself on to whatever there may be of free trade democracy. But these are the opinions of the mob. George has been steadily making advances in other directions. So, at any rate, he, at least, avers.

But since his peculiar success as a popular movement promoter, George's loyal disciples, what are left of them, somehow prefer to dwell on his undeniable merits as a literary and philosophic genius. A career as a politician, they urge, is damaging even to the best of men. "He wrote 'Progress and Poverty,'" they argue, not to say plead. This one great, indisputable fact, they believe, should restate him again and again in the confidence of all free land men, should he unfortunately commit what in the case of ordinary people might be deemed blunders. Had he not penned that great work he might perhaps be open to criticism, but having given it to the world he stands apart from ordinary men. He must still be regarded as a Moses by those who suspect he has missed it as a Joshua. He has surely been strong in council, if apparently flighty in the field.

Yet, there are quiet men even among the single taxers who sometimes feel all is not right. A query as to whether George's abilities are really up to advertisement will occasionally rise in their minds unbidden. Something is unusual in George or in themselves. With only common sense they cannot understand his uncommon methods. Is he now philosopher or politician? They ask after his quickly recurring inexplicable acts. They have stood by and seen him destroy a powerful following by blow after blow as if paid for it—all in the course of energetically pushing the cause. To wit: In the leading articles of the early issue of his paper, he devoted tens of thousands of words to attacks on the authorities of the Catholic church—a move that alienated perhaps a man for every word. At the great outdoor reception to William O'Brien, George converted the intended compliment into an insult, and in turn George's late tour in Ireland came to a close after but two or three meetings. At the Syracuse convention of 1887 he drove the socialists from his party, though the year before they had been among the most welcome of his supporters, and they have since harped incessantly among the workmen on his hypocrisy and ingratitude, and lately his comradeship with the socialists of London and Paris has given them reason to voice the charge of brazen inconsistency. In the campaign of 1887 Patrick Ford declined to enter the fight with the united labor party, and George heaped columns of bitter wordiness on his head. Next campaign, George himself bolted the same party on the same issue—its views on protection did not suit him. He quarreled with Dr. McGlynn, and has since, until his attack of a week ago, relentlessly boycotted the doctor's name from his paper, yet McGlynn is to day addressing more and larger audiences throughout the country than George. He has long tabooed mention of the Anti-poverty society, the largest body in the world upholding the principles taught in "Progress and Poverty." He put a public affront on Hugh O. Pentecost, a man who risked all to aid him in a crusade for free land, at who found no fascination in tariff reform. On his late return from Europe he set adrift T. L. McCready, his chief editor, who had been his self-sacrificing friend, without even an interview, the offense being a refusal to keep quiet or veer about on orders. Every one of these moves cost George friends and supporters. But loyal Georgeites could not but believe that beyond all question he had only the cause at heart in making them. Each act was assuredly an indication of the great thinker's profound foresight, or his broad views, or his political astuteness, or his high abilities in some way or other. He must have been right every time and every one else wrong.

But of all of George the politician's projects, the one most dubious to independent single taxers is his programme of co-operating with the democratic party through tariff reform toward tax abolition! And they have hesitated and marvelled much on reading in his paper that policy as well as principle must be accepted, else they separate themselves from the body of single taxers.

So it is in doubt, in perplexity, that the situation is being viewed by single tax men. Why, some of the bolder are asking, does George cling to his programme? What bond holds him to it? Why will he not permit the

discussion of any other? Has he not said that free trade would only increase rent? Is it not a very roundabout undertaking, that of arguing men into removing point by point in layer after layer of taxation down to land values and then taking them? This process, according to George, is to go smoothly on, despite the accompanying gradual rise in land values and the strengthening of landlordism. There is to be no risk of new forms of taxation—on incomes and inheritances, for example—supported by powerful interests. And has anyone ever dared to guess at the period of agitation promised by this scheme? Do not the cumbersome arguments it involves obscure the plain and simple reasoning for free land? Has not a rigid adherence to it divided land reformers? By it is not the least force massed against the strongest point of resistance? And must it not always necessitate a machine to deal with politicians? Were this not the great and honest Henry George's policy, how long could it stand? Irreverent single taxers are really entertaining such thoughts nowadays.

Having begun questioning, the earnest single taxer is on dangerous ground. How is it, he may go on, that George has come out of every crisis in his brief political career a loser? Nearly every leader in the labor organizations that set him up three years ago is now among his opponents. Of the men who once sat with him on the platform at land reform meetings not one in half a dozen would consent to appear with him now. His immediate personal following has dwindled to a handful of the blindly faithful. The crowd of men prominent in the professions, in business, and in the labor unions who used to meet with him in council has fallen off to a confidential cabinet made up of three good millionaires, one tried and true friend and one political manager under pay.

And George's paper? In its early days it upheld the banner of a new social crusade, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, of the emancipation of labor, of the natural rights of men. From first page to last it was animated with the inspiration of zeal and the fervor of enthusiasm. It was consistent. THE STANDARD has been lifted up out of all this. It is now almost respectable and altogether dull.

In thus reviewing George's course, the anxious single taxer wonders when the evidences of his towering abilities will cease. He reads George's verbose leaders and thinks he might deign to inject a new thought in them now and again. It would be a boon to the world, too, were he to set the machinery of his massive intellect to grappling with other social problems than the land question. It is a great pity that in ten years he has never vouchsafed a single repetition of the remarkable fertility in invention displayed in his plan for social revolution through taxing land values. And if the exigencies of politics but permitted George to apply in practical life the elevated sentiment of his book! The Georgeite who has got himself thus far along in discontented inquiry must have a care. He might believe the evidences of his own senses were something to turn up tending to discredit George's authorship of the ideas of his book and to indicate that his capabilities lie mostly in marshaling words.

Indeed, there is in existence an old book the contents of which are calculated to seriously disturb the peace of mind of even the most tenaciously tried and true Georgeite. Half a dozen men who have lately read it have reached the same conclusions regarding it and George's book. The conclusions are: The doctrines of Henry George are not Henry George's. The framework of "Progress and Poverty" was not of his construction. His argument for the absorption of rent by the public was audaciously appropriated by him. His demonstration of "the law of human progress" is, from caption to conclusion, a mere elaborate paraphrasing of the ideas of a genius who in the exposition of that law was admirably direct and simple.

How have these men come to regard George as a mere converter of old ideas into new forms of expression?

George admits, or rather contends (page 305, Lovell's edition), that the French physiocrats (Quesnay and Turgot) proposed just what he proposes, that all taxation should be abolished save a tax upon the value of land. Quesnay, he believes, "arrived at practical truth, though it may be through a course of defectively expressed reasoning." "Without knowing anything of Quesnay or his doctrines," he proceeds to say, "I have reached the same practical conclusion by a route which cannot be questioned by the accepted political economy." On page 399 he says: "I have in this inquiry followed the course of my own thought. When, in mind, I set out on it, I had no theory to support, no conclusions to prove. Only, when I first realized the squalid misery of a great city, it appalled and tormented me, and would not let me rest, for thinking of what caused it and how it could be cured. But out of this inquiry has come to me something I did not seek to find," etc. Here are what, to the lay mind at least, would seem to be positive assertions of originality both for his system of opinions and the course of investigation on which they are based.

"Progress and Poverty," abounding in figures of speech, in fanciful and pathetic allusion, the collection of a mind long dwelling on a few leading thoughts, owes much to the

poets; but interwoven with its mass of extra scientific writing are certain extraordinary postulates, certain unfamiliar forms of reasoning, and certain startling conclusions. Putting aside illustration, digression, the discussion of collateral issues, and a plenitude of sentimental expression, the gist of the argument may be summarized briefly: (1) The statement of the problem—why, in spite of increase in productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living? (2) The development of the reply that through the monopoly of land its rent tends to advance until laborers' wages are barely sufficient for their subsistence. (3) The remedy—to restore to labor the natural equilibrium in opportunity by taxing away the rent of land and abolishing all other taxation. (4) The theory that from such an adjustment human progress, proceeding in harmony with natural laws, will steadily be in the direction of the abolition of poverty, the civilization of the world, the highest moral and intellectual development of all men, and the universal recognition of divine truth. See George's own summary in the preface to Lovell's edition.

Without the matter directly pertaining to these major ideas, George's book would be a congeries of notes, formless and incoherent. They are the trunk and branches of the tree. All the rest is twig and leaf. George's fame as a philosopher rests solely on their originating with him—on the assertion that he was the first to trace the poverty of the masses to land monopoly, the first to discover a just and effective remedy in the appropriation of rent by the government, and the first to perceive the co-ordination of certain great natural laws.

Thirty years before George wrote "Progress and Poverty," Patrick Edward Dove published anonymously in London "The Theory of Human Progression." Compare the following extracts from the latter work with the principal divisions in George's train of thought in "Progress and Poverty" (Italics are as in the original; the four headlines are mine.)

I.—THE PROBLEM.

How comes it that, notwithstanding man's vast achievements, his wonderful efforts of mechanical ingenuity, and the amazing productions of his skill, his own condition in a social capacity should not have improved in the same ratio as the improvement of his condition with regard to the material world? In Britain, man has to a great extent beaten the material world. He has vanquished it, overpowered it; he can make it serve him; he can use not merely his muscles, but the very powers of nature, to effect his purposes; his reason has triumphed over matter; and matter's tendencies and powers are to a great extent subject to his will. And, notwithstanding this, a large portion of the population is reduced to pauperism, to that fearful state of dependence in which man finds himself a blot on the universe of God—a wretch thrown up by the waves of time, without a use and without an end, homeless in the presence of the firmament, and helpless in the face of the creation.

But what is the cause of British pauperism? Why are there periodic starvations in Ireland and the highlands? Why is there a crisis every few years in England, when able-bodied men, willing to work, can find no employment? Why are Britons obliged to be shipped off to other countries? Is it because the natural capabilities of the soil have been wrought up to the highest pitch, and yet there remains a surplus population that the soil will not employ any more? Is it because manufacturing has been carried to its utmost extent, and there really is no further room for the employment of a larger population? Is it, in fact, because man has done his best with Britain, made the most of it, got out of it all the food and all the wealth that it is capable of producing, and yet it will not keep its own inhabitants, either by the food it produces, or by the articles of exchange that it might give to other countries for food? Is it a matter of necessity that there shall be paupers (that vile word) in the richest country in the world? Is it true that England can no longer support Englishmen; nor Ireland, Irish men; nor Scotland, Scotchmen? Have we, in fact, arrived at the last term of population, and must all, over and above, expatriate or starve? Is this true, or is it false?

Either pauperism and degradation are the work of the Creator or our system, the All-Powerful, who has placed present man in circumstances where the natural capabilities of the earth are insufficient for his support; or, pauperism and degradation are the work of fallen man, who through ignorance has based his arrangements of the earth on superstitious propositions, and thereby necessarily has rendered it impossible that the amount of good intended by the Creator can be extracted from the earth. . . . [Dove, pages 306 and following, Boston edition.]

II.—LAND MONOPOLY RESULTING IN PAUPERISM.

The evil is expressed in a few words; and, sooner or later, the nation will appreciate it and rectify it. It is "the alienation of the soil from the state, and the consequent taxation of the industry of the country." Britain may go on producing with wonderful energy, and may accomplish far more than she has yet accomplished. She may struggle as Britain only can struggle. She may present to the world peace at home, when the nations of Europe are filled with insurrection. She may lead foremost in the march of civilization, and be first among the kingdoms of the earth. All this she may do, and more. But as certain as Britain continues her present social arrangement, so certainly will there come a time when—the other questions being cleared on this side and on that side, and the main question brought into the arena—the labor of Britain will emancipate itself from thralldom. Gradually and surely the separation been taking place between the privileged land owner and the unprivileged

laborer. And the time will come at last that there should be but two parties looking each other in the face, and knowing that the destruction of one is an event of necessary occurrence. That event must come. . . . Of the two parties, one must give way. One must sink to rise no more; one must disappear from the earth. Their continued existence is incompatible. Nature cannot support both.

And when once this last great question of liberty has been disposed of, the country cannot fail to commence another evolution, and to enter on a line of progress that shall ultimately place men on the same equality with regard to natural property that will then prevail with regard to political liberty. . . . [Dove, page 315.]

One generation was not content with making arrangements which were to be in force for that generation alone; but laws were enacted, and customs were acknowledged, whereby the arrangements of one generation were to descend to future generations, and to be imposed on men not yet born, who were to be born into a world already portioned out, and consequently to which they had no title. Those, therefore, who were born into the world in a country where the land had been accorded to individual proprietors could obtain their livelihood only by laboring for other men; and as those to whom the land had been accorded could not cultivate it themselves, and as the land was required for the support of the population, the laborers were under the necessity of paying a rent to those who thus procured a vast revenue without labor. This system of diversity of rights to the natural earth, which God intended for the race, being perpetuated from generation to generation, entails with it, as its necessary attendant, that baneful condition of society, in which we have a few aristocrats endowed with vast wealth without labor, and a multitude of laborers reduced to poverty, destitution, and sometimes to actual starvation. . . . [Dove, page 305.]

III.—THE REMEDY.

If, then, we admit that every generation of men has the same free right to make its own arrangements, and to carry into effect the principles it knows or believes to be true, quite independently of the arrangements that have been made by any anterior generations, we must also of necessity admit that the earth and all it contains belong, for the time being, to every existing generation, and that the disposition of the earth (as the great storehouse from which man must derive support and sustenance) is not to be determined by the laws, customs, arrangements, kings' gifts, or prescriptive rights of any past generation of men, but by the judgement and reason of the existing generation, ordering all arrangements according to the rules of equity, which are always valid and always binding, and which at every given moment of time are the rules which ought to determine human action. Consequently the question at every period is, "What is the equitable disposition of the earth?"

The great social problem, then, . . . is, "to discover such a system as shall secure to every man his exact share of the natural advantages which the Creator has provided for the race; while, at the same time, he has full opportunity, without let or hindrance, to exercise his skill, industry, and perseverance for his own advantage."

No truth can be more absolutely certain, as the intuitive proposition of the reason, than that "an object is the property of its creator," and we maintain that creation is the only means by which an individual right to property can be generated. Consequently, as no individual and no generation is the creator of the substantive, earth, it belongs equally to all the existing inhabitants; that is, no individual has a special claim to more than another.

But while on the one hand we take into consideration the object—that is, the earth—we must also take into consideration the subject—that is, man and man's labor.

The object is the common property of all, no individual being able to exhibit a title to any particular portion of it. And individual or private property is the increased value produced by individual labor.

But the permanent earth never can be private property—although the laws may call it so, and may treat it as such—it must be possessed by individuals for the purpose of cultivation and for the purpose of extracting from it all those natural objects which man requires. The question, then, is, upon what terms, or according to what system must the earth be possessed by the successive generations that succeed each other on the surface of the globe? . . . How can the division of the advantages of the natural earth be effected?

By the division of its annual value or rent; that is, by making the rent of the soil the common property of the nation. That is (as the taxation is the common property of the state) by taking the whole of the taxes out of the rents of the soil and thereby abolishing all other kinds of taxation whatever. And thus all industry would be absolutely emancipated from every burden, and every man would reap such natural reward as his skill, industry, or enterprise rendered legitimately his, according to the natural law of free competition.

We have no hesitation whatever in predicting that all civilized communities must ultimately abolish all revenue restrictions on industry, and draw the whole taxation from the rents of the soil. And this because (as we shall endeavor to show in a future portion of the subject) the rents of the soil are the common produce of the whole labor of a community.

The state has alienated the lands to private individuals called proprietors, and the vast majority of Englishmen are born to their labor minus their share of the taxation.

This taxation of labor has introduced vast systems of restriction on trades and industry. Instead of a perfectly free trade with all the world, England has adopted a revenue system that most materially diminishes both the amount of trade and its profit. And, instead of a perfectly free internal industry, England has adopted an excise that is as vexatious in its operation as can well be conceived. Both the customs and excise laws,

and every other tax on industry, have arisen from the alienation of the soil from the state; and had the soil not been alienated, no tax whatever would have been requisite; and were the soil resumed (as it undoubtedly ought to be), every tax of every kind and character, save the common rent of the soil, might at once be abolished, with the whole army of collectors, revenue officers, cruisers, coast guards, excisemen, etc., etc.

Taxation can only be on land or labor. (By land we mean the natural earth, not merely the agricultural soil.) These are the two radical elements that can be subjected to taxation, capital being originally derived from one or the other. Capital is only hoarded labor or hoarded rent.—[Dove, 371-380.]

IV.—THE LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

When political economy shall have done her work on earth, and taught men how to evolve the maximum of material good, and when equity shall have taught men to construct society in accordance with the principles of justice, the reason of mankind will still go onward, and the higher and nobler good, the aspirations after immortality, will still beckon on humanity; and earth, transformed by truth, harmoniously reverberating from reason to revelation, shall at last rejoice in the universal knowledge of Him whose kingdom is everlasting.

But on the continent, philosophy is the theology of the great mass of thinking men; and their theology, derived from the revelation of nature, does actually follow the development of science. And as skepticism was first posited with its negation, and the pantheism with its most general affirmation, and now, instead of a mere power, an intelligent power is beginning to be seen as absolutely necessary to explain the phenomena of nature, we may rest assured that, with the development of social and moral science (which cannot fail to undergo their evolution in their order), there will arise necessarily a moral theology, and the world will be indoctrinated with the theory of a moral deity.

Now, if it be true that all human science ends in morals, and that natural theology follows the development of science (and it can never legitimately be in advance of science), then natural theology will come ultimately to be a purely scientific moral theology, and will thus be brought to the point where man identifies the God of nature with the God of scripture. And thus the long lost unity will be once more restored, and the enlightened reason of mankind, reading aright the revelation of the true God in the cosmos of creation, will see—not in doubt nor in darkness, but in the full daylight splendor of its own inherent majesty—the divinity of that gospel which opens up the heaven of the moral universe, and spreads before the full grown intellect of man the eternal joys of a purchased immortality.—[Dove, page 483.]

Here, then, ready to hand could George have found all his cardinal doctrines. Here is the marrow of the philosophy of "the prophet of San Francisco."

But, many may be found who will ask: Is it not possible that George knew nothing of Dove's book? He might have conceived the main thoughts independently, and the rest, coming in logical order, would naturally run parallel with Dove's. Possible, but hardly the fact. There is much internal evidence that George ransacked Dove's book for points, generally, however, polishing them up in his own language. George never wants for words.

Between the two following passages is the strong family resemblance of a younger to an older brother:

Let us suppose an island divided into thirty estates. These estates belong to thirty proprietors and are cultivated by slaves, by genuine out-and-out salable negroes. These slaves are the property of the white proprietors, each of whom has a stock of one hundred. There are then thirty proprietors, and three thousand laboring slaves, supported by the island—the slaves having sustenance and the labor, the proprietors having indolence and the luxury. As the slaves belong to the proprietors, they are individual slaves, confined to the cultivation of their respective estates. Let us now suppose that the proprietors made a new arrangement of their affairs, that, instead of possessing each a hundred slaves, they thought it would be more convenient to establish a system by which those proprietors who wanted the labor of more at any particular time should be able to have it, and those who at any particular time had not work for a hundred should relieve themselves of the expense of their keep. To effect this, and to throw the trouble of the new system on the slaves, they abandon the system of individual slavery and generalize it. Each proprietor gives up his right to his negroes; but the negroes are still to do the work of the island, and the proprietors are still to have the profit. Nor is it difficult to effect this arrangement without compulsion—all that is necessary being to establish the rule that the negroes shall be fed by those for whom they work, and that their wages shall be their sustenance. All the land being in the hands of the proprietors, the negroes can obtain support only by laboring for the proprietors. Are they (the laborers) not still the serfs of the proprietors? It makes little difference whether we have an imaginary island with thirty proprietors and three thousand laboring serfs, or a real island with thirty thousand proprietors and five or six millions of laboring serfs.—[Dove, page 349.]

Place one hundred men on an island from which there is no escape, and whether you make one of these men the absolute owner of the other ninety-nine, or the absolute owner of the soil of the island, will make no difference either to him or to them.

In the one case, as in the other, the one will be the absolute master of the ninety-nine—his power extending even to life and death, for simply to refuse them permission to live upon the island would be to force them into the sea.

Upon a larger scale, and through more com-

plex relations, the same cause must operate in the same way and to the same end—the ultimate result, the enslavement of laborers, becoming apparent just as the pressure increases which compels them to live on and from land which is treated as the exclusive property of others. Take a country in which the soil is divided among a number of proprietors, instead of being in the hands of one, and in which, as in modern production, the capitalist has been specialized from the laborer, and manufactures and exchange, and all their many branches, have been separated from agriculture. Though less direct and obvious, the relations between the owners of the soil and the laborers will, with increase of population and the improvement of the arts, tend to the same absolute mastery on the one hand, and the same abject helplessness on the other, as in the case of the island we have supposed. Rent will advance while wages will fall. Of the aggregate produce, the land owner will get a constantly increasing share, the laborer a constantly diminishing share. Just as removal to cheaper land becomes difficult or impossible, laborers, no matter what they produce, will be reduced to a bare living, and the free competition among them, where land is monopolized, will force them to a condition which, though they may be mocked with the titles and insignia of freedom, will be virtually that of slavery.—[George, page 250.]

Here, again, the vein is much the same:

Serfdom and aristocracy are, in fact, the correlatives of each other. Wherever there are serfs, there there are aristocrats; and wherever there are aristocrats, there there are serfs; and though the laborers of England are not serfs in one sense, inasmuch as they may emigrate if they can find the means, they are to all intents and purposes serfs, so long as they remain in England. It is a mere fallacy to suppose that serfdom has been abolished in England. It has not been abolished, it has only been generalized. Serfdom, or even slavery, may be abolished in appearance, and yet retained in reality, the means of compulsion being changed with the advance of society, which would no longer tolerate the open employment of individual force.—[Dove, page 348.]

The ownership of land is the basis of aristocracy. The simple privilege of the ownership of the soil produced, on the one side the lord, on the other the vassal—the one having all the rights, the other none. The right of the lord of the soil acknowledged and maintained, those who lived upon it could only do so upon his terms. The English land owner of to-day has, in the law which recognizes his exclusive right to the land, essentially all the power which his predecessor the feudal baron had. Between the condition of the rack-rented Irish peasant and the Russian serf, the advantage was in many things on the side of the serf.—[George, pages 252-253.]

Forms of expression occurring in the following passages cannot but sound familiar to readers of "Progress and Poverty":

Let the political arrangements be what they may, let there be universal or any other suffrage, so long as the aristocracy have all the land, and derive the rent of it, the laborer is only a serf, and a serf he will remain until he has uprooted the rights of private landed property. The land is for the nation, and not for the aristocracy.

We affirm, then, that serfdom has not been abolished, but only generalized, in England, Ireland and Scotland. A serf is a man who, by the arrangement of mankind, is deprived of the object on which he might expend his labor, or of the natural profit that results from his labor, and, consequently, is under the necessity of supporting himself and his family by his labor alone. And a lord, or an aristocrat, is a man who, by the arrangements of mankind, is made to possess the object, and who, consequently, can support himself and his family without labor, on the profits created by the labor of others.—[Dove, page 353.]

And what is the cause of human pauperism and human degradation? for the two hand in hand. . . . Does any man suppose that the nation will much longer believe that Britain cannot support its inhabitants? Does any man believe that the men who can make steam engines, cotton mills, and railroads, and ships, and the largest commerce in the world, and spinning jennies, and steam printing machines, and Skerryvore light-houses and electric telegraphs, and a thousand other wonders, could not make such a distribution of Britain as should enable every man in it, and many more, to earn an abundant livelihood by their labor? Does any man believe this? And if he does not believe it, does he suppose that any superstitious notions about the king's right to grant the soil to individuals will long stand in the way of their doing it? If Englishmen discover that pauperism and wretchedness are unnecessary; that the divine being never intended such things; that the degradation of the laboring population, their moral degradation consequent on poverty, is the curse of the land and not of nature—does any man suppose that Englishmen would not be justified in abolishing such laws, or that they will not abolish them? Can we believe for a moment, that if any arrangements would enable the population to find plenty, that such an arrangement will not be made? If any man believe this, he is at all events willing to be credulous. For ourselves, we believe it not.—[Dove, page 312.]

Was it for this that the Almighty made man in his own image and gave him the earth for an inheritance? Was it for this that he sent His Son into the world to proclaim the divine benevolence, to preach the doctrine of human brotherhood, and to lay the foundation of a kingdom that should endure forever and forever? We do not believe it, neither do we believe that pauperism comes from God. It is man's doing, and man's doing alone. God has abundantly supplied man with all the requisite means of support; and where he cannot find support, we must look, not to the arrangement of the Almighty, but to the arrangements of men, and to the mode in which they have portioned out the

earth. To charge the poverty of man on God, is to blaspheme the Creator instead of bowing in reverent thankfulness for the profusion of his goodness. He has given enough, abundance, more than sufficient; and if man has not enough, we must look to the mode in which God's gifts have been distributed. There is enough, enough for all, abundantly enough; and all that is requisite is freedom to labor on the soil, and to extract from it the produce that God intended for man's support.—[Dove, page 308.]

It is not trade that Britain wants, nor more railroads, nor larger orders for cotton, nor new schemes for alighting the poor, nor loans to landlords, nor any other mercantile or economical change. It is social change. New social arrangements, made on the principles of natural equity. No economical measure whatever is capable of reaching the depths of the social evils. Ameliorations may, no doubt, be made for a time; but the radical evil remains, still generating the poison that corrupts society.—[Dove, page 315.]

But resemblances do not cease here. On reading "The Theory of Human Progression," one finds that Dove, a generation before George, showed the injustice and absurdity of any attempt at a division of the land itself; declared the invalidity of titles to land founded on the gifts of kings, or on war or despoliation of any kind; referred to the inclosure of the commons in Great Britain; traced the changes from the feudal form of land tenure to the present system; employed to strengthen his position the condition of the peasants of Ireland and the highlands; denied the possibility of over production or over-population; found the origin of poor laws and national debts to be the monopolization of the land; dwelt on the injury of indirect taxes to the poor; declared that equality before the law includes natural rights; maintained that the only just theory of property is that by which the laborer is given the full fruits of his toil; drew the line of distinction between property in land and property in the products of industry; showed that social improvements result in increase of rent; held that the attainment of full political rights must be followed by that of property rights; narrowed the social problem to a discussion of the laws of distribution, and pointed out the insufficiency of every remedy for poverty save the tax on land values.

Scores and scores of times has George been presented to audiences as the master political economist, the first to prove the one world-wide source of poverty, the inspired originator of the theory of the single tax. Did he ever deny it and say that Dove was the man?

At a dinner given to George at the Brighton beach hotel two months ago, he was greeted formally in these words: "You re-examined the tenets of political economy, you sounded the depths of philosophy, you measured your conclusions by the eternal laws of morality, and you gave to the world an explanation so simple and yet so conclusive that candid criticism is defied. But you did not rest when you had solved the problem. A remedy was demanded and you found one—one that harmonizes with your habits of thought, and while involving the essential principles of justice is in the drift of current political agitation."

Knowing the truth, what were Henry George's thoughts and feelings then? Was he honest in thus reaping where another had sown? And how many times in the past ten years had he been the center of similar scenes and accepted like praise? Did he think no tribute due Patrick Edward Dove?

George's paper has never mentioned Dove. If George ever referred to Dove on the platform in this country as his source of inspiration, the press has not reported the fact.

Is there any evidence that George ever knew anything about Dove's book? There is. Five years ago he spoke favorably of it publicly in Glasgow, where Dove has friends still living. A report of his speech on the occasion is contained in the British Daily Mail, December 19, 1884.

How many people have since asked George how he ever came to think of the single tax?

These cold facts must leave every Georgeite—every one holding to the man—a prey to depressing thought. Henry George, the conscientious single taxer would be apt to reflect, might well have been content with the large credit justly his due for giving Dove's propositions to the world in a brilliant and moving style. Much as it is to discover truth, equally honorable is it to succeed in bringing it before the people, if the indebtedness to the original be but acknowledged. But no. Was it not and is it not Henry George's weakness to think of himself before all else? Has he not a consuming desire to appear greater than he is—to wield a power not rightfully his? And has not his selfish ambition ended in ruining him? Who can now await his thought? Who will follow his leadership?

George has taught some queer morality.

An example: In the issue of his paper of June 23, 1888, in an editorial of many thousand words, he devotes some three thousand to the rights of authors in their works. He here takes the ground that, as the expenditure of labor in the invention or discovery of a machine gives no natural right or ownership in the idea, so the ownership of an author is, not in his ideas, but in the labor of the literary production of his book. Somebody in England has used the ideas of "Progress and Poverty," but George says he will not try to prevent it. He says:

Nor have I any moral right to ask it.

When another sees these truths they are his as much as they are mine. If I discovered them, it was only in the sense that one may discover the belt of the Orion. They are there to be seen, and have been seen, and will be seen by many before and independently of me. All I, or anyone else, can do, is to point another in their direction. To really see them, he must see them for himself, with his own power of perception.

When George wrote thus, was he anticipating the day when his deed should find him out? Perish the suspicion. He was simply consistent. And now if men should take a lively interest in the contents of Dove's book, and in certain passages of the works of Leslie, sr., and others, there is no reason at all why George's philosophic equivoque should be disturbed. He has really believed it was his word carpentering that made "Progress and Poverty." His conscience has approved his acts.

Patrick Edward Dove was born near Edinburgh in 1815. He died in 1873. He projected a series of three works on "The Science of Politics." The first volume was "The Theory of Human Progression." Besides the edition printed in London in 1850, an American edition was printed in Boston in 1851 at the expense of Charles Sumner. The second volume of Dove's series was issued in 1856. The third was never printed, and the manuscript was lost. Dove was regarded by Carlyle and others as a genius. He was for a time editor of the Glasgow Commonwealth, but mostly led the life of an English country gentleman. He traveled much and studied in Germany.

NOTE.—Information concerning Dove's book first reached me about six weeks ago. It came from an active single taxer, who had, however, heard nothing more than whispers as to the existence of an old anonymous work containing the genesis of "Progress and Poverty" between its covers. A few days later a man well known in the reform movement, wrote me giving the name of the book and saying a copy was in the Astor library, which was then closed. As soon as the library was reopened I read the volume and prepared the foregoing article. I have placed it with the Twentieth Century as the readiest means of communication with free land men. Dove's book, it turns out, has been passing about for several months in a small circle of literary men in New York. The facts relating to Dove's life, including a statement that he had anticipated George, are to be found in "The Dictionary of National Biography," 1888, an English work. They were mostly furnished by Dove's son. A copy of the Boston edition of "The Theory of Human Progression" is in the Astor library and one of the English edition in the Mercantile. Many book stores in New York, Philadelphia and Boston have been searched in vain for other copies.

New York.

They Voted the Free Trade Ticket.

Harrisburg Patriot.

The "American workingmen" in the Connecticut manufacturing towns have given in their opinion of the tariff tax by voting the straight "free trade democratic ticket," as it was called by the republican monopolists. That such "an unlooked for action" on the part of our protected (t) workingmen should sit heavy on the stomachs of the tariff champions is not strange, for with all their cunning they appear to have forgotten that this is an age in which "even a workingman" can read, study and reflect. To close observers it has for some time been patent that in the opinion of wage-workers the protective tariff, so-called, is but a high sounding name for the meanest kind of a swindle. They know it is for them but a wage absorber, a trust builder, a cunningly devised and well executed scheme for plundering the many for the benefit of a few. They know it has not "filled the dinner pail" as was predicted; they know that the defeat of Grover Cleveland has closed factories and lowered wages; they know that the smirking scoundrel who gave them the tariff-pay-envelope has not spoken to them since the November election; they know that all who favor a tariff for monopoly vote the same party ticket, whatever their professed politics, and are on the look out for the flesh pots of Egypt and not for the benefit of workingmen.

Having been intimidated at the polls; threatened with discharge by their tariff-fed employers if they dared to vote as they thought right, they have until now acted with their enemies; but, thanks to a secret ballot, all slavery to the political striker and the imperious factory lord has been abolished, with this result that the manufacturing centers of old Connecticut, always strongly republican, have gone democratic.

This is a very good beginning; but it is nothing to the political awakening which shall shake Pennsylvania when the Australian ballot system will have become a law in this state.

Keep the reform ball a rolling.

Straws That Show The Wind.

The clause in the constitution of North Dakota which provides that land improved by plowing shall not be taxed at a higher rate than unimproved land in the vicinity, is the first important victory for the advocates of the single tax.—[Edgeley, N. Dak., Mail.]

Is it just, does it accord with the teachings of Christ, that any practice should obtain which will allow one to live in idleness on the labor of others? Is it not directly contrary to His teachings that one should live in idleness on the labor of others, when the doing so compels the laborer to subsist on less than his needs demand, and forces him into physical and moral degeneracy?—[S. D. Guion, in Canadian Advance.]

THE TARIFF FIGHT.

THE REFORM CLUB.

The Most Active and Powerful of Tariff Reform Organizations Vigorously Fighting the Protective Delusion.

The Reform club of New York is without exception the most vigorous organization that has yet attempted a systematic attack on the protective idea in the United States. It is an outgrowth of the old New York free trade club, but its declaration of principles does not carry it any further than tariff reform. At the time the club was started, less than two years ago, it was considered very important that care should be taken not to scare away the timid tariff reformers, and there is no doubt that at that time it obtained many members who would have shrunk from openly identifying themselves with the cause of free trade. The progress of events, however, and the active work that the club has done in fighting the protectionist fraud has had a wonderful effect on the members themselves, and there is no doubt that now a very large proportion of them do not hesitate to declare themselves absolute free traders. The club has about 650 resident and over 500 non-resident members.

The work of the club during the campaign of a year ago was very effective and was mentioned from time to time in THE STANDARD. A report of its later operations has also recently appeared in our columns. The club is now preparing to push work with even greater activity in behalf of tariff reform. Its tariff reform committee is the largest in the club. Mr. John De Witt Warner is its chairman. It is divided into sub-committees on "New York city," "New York state," "Other states," "Press," "Industrial Statistics," "Congress," and "Publications." All of these committees have recently reported to the club and in many directions they are doing admirable work. We condense the following information from these reports:

The sub-committee on distribution of tariff reform literature, in its report which was submitted to the trustees on September 17, says that "the Reform club is fast becoming a center of distribution for all such matter; and its repute and usefulness are thus increasing to an extent out of all proportion to the net expenditure involved, which is mainly that of time and trouble." The significance of this statement will be apparent to anyone who reads the reports of what has been done by the club since the campaign of last year. These reports show that, necessary as the machinery of a political party is in a campaign, propaganda work can be carried on in the interim between campaigns by independent organizations just as well as through party machinery.

Some of the best work of the club has been accomplished in this state, where the conversion of a few thousand protectionists will make thirty-six electoral votes sure for any presidential candidate who runs on a free trade or tariff reform ticket.

The work of the sub-committee in New York state, of which Mr. Jason Hinman is chairman, covers the entire state outside of New York city, and up to the present has been mostly confined to the smaller towns and country districts, excluding the fourteen large cities. They have, at an expenditure of \$1,600, secured a list of 110,000 voters out of a total of 725,000 in those districts, each voter classified as to occupation, etc., and are thus prepared to place all the literature at their disposal in the hands of the very people it is intended for. As they say in the report, "No canvass comparable with this, either in completeness, accuracy or variety of information sought, has ever been attempted, . . . and its practical utility cannot be over-estimated." Already they have begun to send out literature to the farmers, and they propose in the coming winter to supplement this distribution of literature with a series of public meetings in the smaller towns of some of the agricultural counties, to secure the organization of tariff reform clubs, and get into communication with the granges. The members of the committee are Jason Hinman, Daniel H. Chamberlain, Henry B. B. Stupler, Calvin Tompkins and Seth S. Terry.

Mr. Walter H. Page is chairman of the sub-committee on the press. This committee have also been directing their work at the farmers. Their report says:

A thousand newspapers friendly to tariff reform were selected. Questions were sent to these newspapers with request that the editor himself answer them, and invite answers from his agricultural readers through his columns, and also that the farmers themselves answer the questions direct to us by mail. Many newspapers readily published these questions, and many of the editors wrote their own opinions. As we find other papers likely to aid us, questions are sent them also. Slips containing those questions are also sent to active tariff reform workers, with the request that they distribute them among farmers. Answers from farmers and persons who have made a study of the condition of the agricultural class have been received by hundreds. It is a gratifying surprise to find that so large a proportion of the replies are intelligent, full and suggestive. From the material already in hand an excellent pamphlet, by farmers themselves, on the effect of the tariff on agriculture could be compiled. Many give us other valuable information and suggest special plans of work and arguments which will be effective with farmers. The farmers themselves have their attention aroused, and

many newspapers are discussing the relations of the tariff to agriculture, which might not have done so now but for this inquiry.

Next it was arranged with the publishers of 'patent outside' newspapers, to print, in their democratic editions, a column a week of tariff reform matter prepared by us. A column of this matter a week is now being published in papers whose aggregate circulation is a million a week. An effort will be made also to get a certain class of matter into some papers that are now friendly. The sub-committee is negotiating with the press associations which are manufacturers of plates for newspaper use.

The committee have also had prepared special articles, some of them illustrated, which have been sent to various papers and published simultaneously, and they propose to have some descriptive letters written by experienced correspondents that will show the effects of the tariff in manufacturing districts. These letters will be "syndicated." Messrs. Lindley Vinton, Calvin Tompkins and Edward N. Vallandigham are members of the press committee.

A local index of the 90,000 manufacturing plants of the United States is being prepared by the sub-committee on industrial statistics, and is completed for New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Special reports will show the names of the individuals engaged in manufacture, full statistics as to wages actually paid, nationality, sex and age of hands employed, number of days idle, political opinions of owners and employees, strikes, lockouts, general condition of business, etc. All these facts are being collected for the use of speakers and writers, and are being used from time to time in Tariff Reform, a monthly publication of the club. The members of this committee are Calvin Tompkins (chairman), P. Chauncey Anderson, Charles M. Baldwin, Charles Biggs, Read Gordon, Harry W. Mack, Henry T. Terry and John DeWitt Warner.

The sub-committee on other states, of which Mr. H. De F. Baldwin is chairman, have already induced other organizations in Connecticut, Maryland and New Jersey to undertake the same registration of voters as the reform club has in New York state. They have also secured lists of some 22,000 prominent tariff reformers throughout the whole country, 1,500 of whom are in the 100 large cities, with a view to active co-operation between the various sections of the country. The members of the committee are H. De F. Baldwin, Hjalmar Bjorth Boyesen, William T. Crossdale, Lawrence Dunham, William G. McGuckin, Lindley Vinton and Rignal D. Woodward.

In general, it may be said that the tariff reform committee hopes to have so organized and systematized the work by the beginning of next year that the expenditure of \$1,000 to \$1,500 a month during that year (when a new congress is elected) will suffice to keep up a hot fight until, say, September, when \$5,000 or so will suffice for the final active campaign work.

THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania—The Movement Throughout the Country.

The general assembly of the democratic societies met at Philadelphia on Tuesday, 15th inst. This body consists of deputies from the democratic societies and those affiliated with them, and it is the supreme legislative council of the society. At the recent democratic convention a resolution was adopted hailing with delight the rapid organization of democratic societies throughout the Union and recommending their institution in every neighborhood to uphold "sound republican principles" as the word republican was understood when similar societies prepared the way for the election of Jefferson. The movement toward the organization of these societies is not confined to Pennsylvania, but extends to almost every state in the Union, and the York Gazette declares that this extension is "an indication of the resistless tide within the democratic party toward the support of the democratic principles represented by President Cleveland in the last campaign." It says:

In New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania state conventions of democratic clubs and democratic societies are to be held during the present month. In each of those states delegates are being rapidly elected, and the spirit which prevails is most extraordinary, considering that this year there are no elections which effect the tariff question one way or the other. The same impetus carried over to next year, when the new congress is to be chosen, would make it overwhelmingly democratic.

A perusal of the western newspapers reveals a most curious state of the public mind. The agricultural people everywhere, and the workmen, especially miners, in most places are feeling severely the effects of low wages, low prices and heavy taxes upon the necessities of life. As a consequence, there is in fact a deeper feeling upon the tariff question and a more earnest consideration of it now—that is to say, six months after the representatives of the trust party have taken possession of the government—than there was during the last campaign. Tariff reform picnics are being held in many of the western states, which are attended by multitudes of the people without distinction of party. In Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, immense gatherings of this character are so frequent as to cause little remark. There are none, or almost none, apparently, on the other side. The democratic societies are forming in many localities. Numerous of them are instituted in far-off country districts, and never reported to either state or national headquarters, but do their work as purely voluntary

neighborhood associations of earnest citizens. These are, of course, in every instance straight democratic; but the tariff reform clubs and tariff reform leagues of the west, composed of republicans or unpartisan men, are doing a great and lasting work. They are numerous and energetic, and their discussions are of the most radical sort. The single tax men are active all over the country, and the work of their clubs is incessant and effective. Their writers and speakers are usually highly informed, decisive and incisive. They receive inspiration, renewed weekly at least, from that unrivaled genius and master mind, Henry George.

In the eastern states the older and more powerful democratic clubs are, in many cases, changing their names and adopting the designation, democratic society, thus producing a uniform system, a great sisterhood of democratic societies, with one name and one faith. The last instance of this we have seen reported is that of the strong democratic club of Hudson, N. Y., which has just applied to a court and secured an order changing its name and title to that of the Democratic society of the city of Hudson. Similar action is in contemplation by some of the largest democratic clubs of the country. This is in accordance with the advice of Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Carlisle, Chairman Brice, and democratic leaders generally.

Cliff S. Walker, Cincinnati—On the night of Oct. 9 the single tax men of this city had the pleasure of listening to as strong an exposition of radical free trade views as could be desired. Mr. M. D. Harter of Mansfield delivered an address before the Young men's democratic club. As this is the most progressive democratic society in this vicinity many single tax men have joined it, and of course were on hand to hear an avowed free trader. After eloquent introductory remarks by the president of the club, Mr. F. B. James, a young man of promise, who would be a single taxer would he but permit himself to think, Mr. Harter took the floor and kept his audience deeply interested and enthusiastic for nearly three hours. He made no effort to defend even a revenue tariff, but talked free trade in all its beauty. Mr. Harter claims not to be an orator, but his earnestness and hearty devotion to his cause make him more than an orator. He is so nearly in accord with us that many of us look forward longingly to that promised time when he will give the single tax question thorough study, knowing that his logical mind and high sense of justice will carry him into our ranks. It is such men as Mr. Harter who prevent the place seekers from making the democratic party a mere machine without principles; and we who hold principle above all else, should heartily support them.

Mr. Henry Watterson followed Mr. Harter, speaking for a few moments only, but expressing his ideas of the protective tariff very forcibly.

We are organizing throughout the state, to again push the Australian ballot bill in the next assembly, and commence by interrogating the candidates for legislative honors.

TARIFF REFORM LECTURES.

A Fine Course Arranged For to Be Delivered This Winter.

The Young men's tariff reform club, organized last March, presents a programme of a course of lectures that will be worth hearing. The lectures will be given at the club's room, 12 West Thirty-first street. Thomas G. Shearman is announced to speak Friday, October 18, on "Tariff Theories; arguments for and against a protective tariff." The other announcements are as follows: November 15, "The Industrial Condition of the American Colonies prior to 1789." E. R. A. Seligman, Ph. D., professor in the school of political science, Columbia college. December 20, "1789 to 1828—the establishment of manufacture, and the rise of the protective idea." Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, president of the "Reform club." January 17, 1890—"1828 to 1860—the 'Tariff of Abominations'; the period of industrial depression; and the 'Walker Free Trade Tariff.'" Edward M. Shepard, esq., author of the life of Martin Van Buren, in the Statesmen Series. February 21, 1890—"1860 to 1889—the 'War Tariff.'" Mr. R. R. Bowker, editor of "The People's Cause."

The Illinois tariff reform league has branches in twenty counties and in almost every ward of the city of Chicago. Lake county has a strong tariff reform organization at Waukegan, and General George Rogers, formerly a prominent republican, is one of its most active members. In Iroquois county a tariff reform association has about 800 members. At Effingham the Farmers' national benevolent association has endorsed the Tariff reform league, and local organizations composed entirely of farmers have been formed. An officer of the league, speaking to a reporter, said that though the league supports the democratic party because of the stand it had taken in support of Cleveland's message, it does not receive the support or even the co-operation of democratic office holders in Chicago. A mass meeting under the auspices of the league was held in Chicago on October 18.

G. W. Garretson, Bishop Creek, Cal.—The enclosed signature is that of a farmer who has been converted to free trade by reading "Protection or Free Trade?" He had often refused to sign the petition because he thought the plan would work injustice to farmers. I have since sent him "Progress and Poverty," and now he almost sees the

ent, but still denies many of our propositions. I like this kind better than the convert who admits everything you say at first. I happened to be at this gentleman's house when he received the tracts sent him by the enrollment committee. He seemed very much interested and told me he should send for a whole set of Mr. George's works for winter reading. I have no doubt but that the man will become not simply a convert but a valuable advocate of our doctrines. It is said that farmers do not think, but I do not believe it. I can make more converts among them than any other class, especially on the tariff question. I believe that one or two single tax free traders in a county can do more among the farmers than a host of public speakers of the kind usually sent to farming districts by campaign managers. THE STANDARD has done much good work in opening discussion.

Griff Lloyd, Carbonado, Washington.—On August 10 the mines here stopped for repairs; on the 24th the men were notified that only those could return to work who would accept a reduction of wages ranging from five to twenty-five cent. The miners twice delegated men to try and compromise matters, but without success. The majority then voted to resist the reduction. On Saturday, September 15, orders were issued to keep the mines closed till January 1, 1890, unless the man would resume work at the reduced price. The men were firm and the order was carried out, and the miners, of course, scattered to obtain work in other fields. The state is now full of tramps. A few days ago I met two miners, one of whom I knew. They told me that they had tried for a job in all of the coal camps but one, and without success. The mines of Carbonado are owned and operated by the Central Pacific railroad company, an organization whose principal officers are strong in their advocacy of the protective tariff—of course entirely for the benefit of the poor workingmen. This is a poor outlook for a people who have just started into business as a sovereign state.

Much enthusiasm was displayed at the meeting of the New Jersey association of democratic clubs, held in Newark last week. It was resolved that the association should hereafter be known as the Democratic society of New Jersey, and the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

The democratic clubs of New Jersey, in convention, most earnestly ratify and indorse the platforms adopted by the democratic state convention in Trenton and by the national convention in St. Louis in 1888.

The clubs call for all good citizens and loyal Jerseymen to rally to the support of the party of equal taxation, personal liberty, and freedom and purity of the ballot. They denounce the interference in politics of moneyed corporations and the favoritism shown to such corporations by the republican party both in this state and in the halls of congress. They demand and will exact such a measure of reform of our election laws as will give to every citizen the same voice in the management of the affairs of state. They denounce the attempt of the last republican majority in the legislature to debar workingmen from their rights as voters.

Tariff Notes.

The modified Australian ballot reform system was used in the city election at Chattanooga on Tuesday, October 8. The dispatches said that "it was the quietest election ever known in the city, less money was used at the polls, and there was less illegal voting than in any previous election." This is the result wherever the reform system is applied, and it is bound to prevail in all the states eventually.—[New York World.]

It is little wonder that the United States is anxious to cultivate trade with the Central and South American countries when it is understood that the states supplies only eleven per cent of the imports of those states, the other eighty-nine per cent being supplied by Great Britain and other countries. Free trade or reciprocity is the only means which Blaine can adopt to change the situation.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.]

Every farmer in the south is paying from \$50 to \$200 per year, owing to the amount of his purchases, toward making the manufacturers of the north rich through the operation of the tariff. This is the reason why money there is worth five per cent and here twelve to eighteen per cent.—[Mexico, Tex., Ledger.]

It is not the so-called free traders that are now menacing the life of the wool growing industry, but the professed friends, the wool manufacturers. They want a good stiff protection, but free wool. It will be seen that the woolen industry sinks or swims together, from the lamb to the broadcloth on the millionaire's back.—[Texas Live Stock Journal.]

"It is not necessary," says a southern democratic journal, "to make the issue on the tariff." Certainly not. The issue is already made in a forty-seven per cent imposition, producing a surplus of \$100,000,000 a year.—[New York World.]

The tariff is the bounty paid by the people of a nation to an individual making the goods taxed. It has nothing to do with wages, and never has had, except as a bugaboo for election time.—[Brattleboro, Vt., Record.]

They See the Writing On the Wall. Louisville Courier-Journal.

The republicans sang "No, no, no free trade," in '82. It looks as if they are now about to sing "Some, some, some free trade."

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE MANHATTAN CLUB.

The Cart-Tail Campaign—The Sunday Night Meeting—A Cart-Tail Campaign on Staten Island.

On Saturday evening, October 12, a heavy shower of rain was falling, the skies were threatening more, and the wisdom of starting on an extended missionary tour was at the least doubtful. It was decided, however, to take the risk, and one truck, with its complement of speakers and tract distributors, was dispatched to the east side. Arriving at the corner of Houston and Norfolk streets, in the heart of the most forlorn section of the tenement house region, the meeting was opened. Despite the falling rain, an attentive crowd of three hundred people listened patiently to the exposition of single tax doctrines by the speakers. The police authorities had evidently anticipated a disturbance, for a considerable squad of blue coats was present. Nothing, however, could have been more orderly or apparently appreciative than this audience. Amid their applause the truck then went to the corner of Grand and Norfolk streets. Here the heavy rainfall compelled an adjournment, and the campaigners sought shelter. Half an hour later, the rain having ceased, the ball was re-opened. Within ten minutes after the chairman began his introductory remarks a crowd of men and women, aggregating many hundreds and completely filling Norfolk street, assembled. Curiosity soon gave way to close attention, with occasional exclamations of approval. The interest of the audiences was marked, and there were but few hostile interruptions. One hulking fellow, who resented the abolition of custom houses, wanted to know "What was the matter with Harrison?" and a policeman gave the desired information at the end of his night stick. Addresses were made here as at the previous stopping place by Messrs. Steers, Klein, Wolf, and others. At the close of the speech making, at nearly 11 o'clock, the crowd gave three hearty cheers for the single tax, and they seemed reluctant to disperse.

The campaign will be continued every Saturday night so long as the weather permits. A delegation of speakers will go to New Brighton, Staten Island, on Thursday evening, October 17, to help inaugurate the cart-tail campaign of the Richmond county single tax club.

The audience gathered at the rooms of the club last Sunday night was disappointed because Mr. A. M. Molina, who was announced to lecture, was unable to speak at any length on account of illness. Mr. A. J. Wolfe was called to the rostrum, and made an eloquent address on the single tax, which was followed by a general debate on "Wages and the Tariff." The third lecture of the course will be delivered next Sunday evening.

THE BROOKLYN CLUB.

Mr. T. J. Sanford, with the Two Per Cent Death Rate Scheme, is Given an Audience and Evokes Considerable Merriment.

Hon. Seth Low, soon to be president of Columbia college, recently praised the Central single tax club for the liberal manner in which it discussed social questions. On Sunday evening further evidence of this catholic spirit was given by a large audience assembled at the club's headquarters, 56 Livingston street. Mr. T. J. Sanford, formerly of Troy, N. Y., once a single tax advocate, but now a disciple of Mr. David Reeves Smith, was the lecturer of the evening, and he was closely listened to while he expounded the logical processes on which Mr. Smith has built a philosophy. Mr. Smith himself was on hand, too, and was called upon several times to assist his pupil. Mr. Smith has great hopes of Mr. Sanford soon being able to lecture and to answer questions with easy facility, and credited him with pretty thoroughly understanding the special invention known as the "death rate tax," a tax of two per cent annually upon everybody, according to his power of monopolizing wealth, said power to be gauged by the value of each person's possessions, and said value to be arrived at by a system of self-assessment under penalties. If a man assess the value of his house too low he may be compelled to sell it to any would-be buyer; if he neglect to assess himself the value of his jack-knife, the knife would be public property, or rather the property of any other citizen who could get hold of it. Included in the two per cent philosophy are some interesting ideas on the subject of voting and legislation. At the close of the meeting questions were put to Mr. Sanford and Mr. Smith.

Here are some of the points made in answer to questions: The two per cent tax is necessary to return to the community wealth appropriated from nature by individuals; it is true many forms of wealth return to nature faster than two per cent per annum, but gold and similarly indispensable articles do not decompose so soon. The two per cent tax would possess no special incidence virtue; when imposed on houses it would fall on the tenants, when on goods it would be paid by the last buyer; in other words, it would, like present indirect taxes, be largely a tax upon consumption. The two per cent tax, however, is not a tax upon wealth; it is a tax upon individuals; still it would be based on individuals in proportion to their possession

of wealth. Mr. George proposes to tax away the value of land; this is impossible; as long as two men want one piece of land it will have a value, and Mr. George, in denying this, simply shows that he does not know what he is talking about.

It is only fair to Mr. Sanford to say that Mr. Smith was the backer of the ideas expressed in the preceding sentences. One of the questions put to Mr. Sanford seemed to amuse the audience very thoroughly. It was: "How did you ever get into the single tax movement?"

Having retained its vital interest in the single tax, in spite of the formidable attack made upon it, the club has invited Mr. Louis F. Post to speak next Sunday evening, upon "The single tax and business men." Brooklyn, Oct. 14. G. W.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, October 15, 1889.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 66,428
Received during week ending Oct. 15 282

Total 66,710
Contributions received during the past week have been as follows:

L. F. Weston, Cambridgeport, Mass. . . \$1 00
Robert Forrey, Marysville, Mont. . . 1 00
Wm. E. Anthes, Boston, Mass. . . 1 00
Sunday stamps 52

Total \$3 52
Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,706 33

Total \$1,709 85
WM. T. CROSBY, Chairman.

INQUIRY CIRCLES.

An Admirable Plan Adopted by the Brooklyn Club.

The Brooklyn single tax club recently appointed a committee to devise an efficient means of propaganda, and they have hit on a scheme of organizing what they call "inquiry circles." These circles are to be of not less than four members each. The secretary of each circle is to be a member of the Brooklyn single tax club. As soon as a circle gets too large for convenient meeting at the residences of its members, it is to organize a branch.

The Brooklyn club will supply minute books in which the constitution will be pasted, and there will be monthly reports to that club. The constitution speaks for itself:

Constitution of Brooklyn Inquiry Circle
In Affiliation with the Brooklyn Single Tax Club.

Art. I. This Inquiry circle is constituted for the investigation of economic problems, that its members may obtain more exact ideas of the political rights of the people.

Art. II, Sec. 1. The meetings shall be weekly, at the residences of the members, or at other convenient places, and the secretary shall preside.

Art. II, Sec. 2. There shall be no dues excepting only as they are voted by this circle.

Art. III. The secretary, being a member of the Brooklyn single tax club, shall report in writing to that club at least once in every month.

Art. IV. This Inquiry circle may constitute other Inquiry circles, affiliated to itself and governed by a like constitution.

JERSEY CITY.

Sunday Night Meeting of the Standard Club.

The Standard single tax club of Jersey City held its second Sunday night public meeting last Sunday at Humboldt hall. Mr. John Molloy presided and there was a large audience present, made up of trades unionists, Knights of Labor, and persons not attached to any kind of social or business organizations who listened attentively to the speaker of the evening, our true and tried McGregor. After the speaking a member sang, "The song that reached my heart," at the conclusion of which came questions and answers. Then our own poet laureate, Joseph Dana Miller, gave an original skit on "Protection and the worker." We closed the proceedings with a hallelujah chorus, well satisfied with this, our second effort, in the most tax-ridden city in the world.

We would be pleased to have volunteers who can sing, recite, speak, play the piano, or entertain an audience in other ways, to assist us. Address all communications to John W. Jakeway, chairman of committee on lectures, 45½ South street, Jersey City, N. J.

ROCHESTER.

Farewell Testimonial to a Popular Single Tax Man.

ROCHESTER, Oct. 11.—One of the most pleasant and enjoyable events in the history of the Rochester single tax union occurred at the union's room, 80 Reynold's arcade, Monday evening, October 7, being a "farewell testimonial" to our esteemed corresponding secretary, Charles Averill, who was about to leave our city for Denver, Col., where he expects to be permanently located. A majority of the members with their wives were present, also a number of visitors, among whom were Mr. W. Manning of Boston, Mass., Mr. White and sister, and Mr. McKenzie, late of Inverness, Scotland. The entertainment consisted of speeches, recitations and music, and was a complete success.

The union loses in Mr. Averill one of its staunchest supporters, a man of untiring zeal and push, and to whom more than any other, perhaps, we owe our present organization. An honest, fearless advocate of our principles, he won the esteem of all who knew him and the respect of his opponents. A clothing cutter by trade, he has been so well "protected" of late that he has found it necessary to look for less protection and more bread, in Mr. Greeley's paradise, the west. Mr. Averill was, by a unanimous vote, elected an honorary member of our organization, and the best wishes of every member of the union go with him to his new home.

At the following regular Wednesday evening meeting of the union J. M. Campbell was elected to the vacancy caused by the departure of Mr. Averill.

We have decided to arrange for some lectures and entertainments by local talent, to raise funds for spreading the light. We hope at no distant day to rank as one of the leading single tax organizations in the state. (GEORGE W. COWGAN.)

CHICAGO.

An Ovation to Judge Maguire in the Madison Street Theater—Judge Mark Bangs Presides—Judge Perry of Quincy Also Present—The Drainage Question—Father Huntington to Speak—The Andrew Jackson League Out for Ballot Reform.

CHICAGO, Oct. 11, 1889.—The meeting at the Madison street theatre on Monday evening, the 7th, in honor of Judge Maguire, was in the nature of an ovation. Every seat was occupied and the judge was welcomed in a way so emphatic that even the newspapers had to notice the fact. Judge Mark Bangs, United States district attorney under Grant and Hayes, presided and introduced the eloquent Californian with a most felicitous five minute speech, which was received with great favor.

Judge Maguire began with the tariff and wound up with the single tax, speaking for more than two hours with splendid effect, the big audience interrupting at frequent intervals with ringing applause. A bare allusion to Mr. George set the house wild, and the demonstration showed how strong a hold the "Prophet of San Francisco" has on all those interested in the reform movement.

The judge's visit has set the papers to writing about the single tax. The Times has "jumped on" us several times, and the Herald takes issue with us on the drainage question, upon which we are opening what promises to be a lively and a fruitful campaign. It holds that personal property will be enhanced in value by the improvement as well as land, and ridiculously asserts that the landless will be as greatly benefited by the contemplated improvement as the landlords.

Yesterday evening the club discussed the drainage question, Mr. Clarence Moeller, Mr. Furbish and Mr. Place speaking, each with happy effect. Mr. Moeller is particularly strong in argument and felicitous in illustration, and he exposed the Herald's absurd position so clearly that even the editor must have "seen the cat" had he been present.

On next Friday evening, October 18, Mr. Moeller will open a lecture course under the auspices of L. A. 7,328, Knights of Labor, in Union hall at Evanston. His subject will be the single tax. I have been invited to speak on the same occasion.

Word has been received from Father Huntington that he will be here October 30, and the club is preparing to tender him a reception such as it gave Judge Maguire.

Judge C. F. Perry, of Quincy, came up on Monday to meet Judge Maguire. He is a fine-looking young man, with a fair, open face, a frank manner, and a clear head. He was in clover while here, finding the sensation of contact with single tax men as enthusiastic as himself as new as it was delightful. He was thoroughly delighted with Judge Maguire, and the great speech of Monday night—the first of the kind he had ever heard—stirred him to a high pitch of enthusiasm that we all shared. Judge Perry is doing really wonderful work at Quincy, and I will miss my guess if we do not hear more of him by and by. He is the sort of man to lead when there is a call for leaders—as there will be soon.

The effect of our persevering advocacy of the Australian system of voting was given a rather surprising illustration on Wednesday evening. The Andrew Jackson league, the biggest democratic organization in Chicago, came out with a flat-footed demand for the reform, and expressed the conviction that the party should make it the prime issue of next year's campaign. This shows how the world moves. Six months ago it wouldn't have been possible to get such a question considered by the Andrew Jackson league. To-day it is on record in favor of the reform—and I believe it will be for the single tax within a year. Its membership now includes many energetic men of our way of thinking, and the number increases. W. W. BAILEY.

TENNESSEE.

The Single Tax to be Publicly Debated in Memphis.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—For about two months past Major George B. Fleece and myself have been carrying on a discussion of the single tax in the columns of the Sunday Times here. Last week I received from Major Fleece a challenge to debate the question before the public, as, in his opinion, the subject could be better handled in a debate

than in a newspaper controversy. It is needless to say the challenge was promptly accepted, and at no distant day the people here will have an opportunity to hear both sides of the question presented. My antagonist is a gentleman of intelligence and culture, a practiced speaker, and one who has great influence in the community. He frankly says that he has not examined thoroughly and minutely all the arguments we advance in favor of our theory, and has asked me to give him access to single tax literature. It is our intention to hire some centrally located hall, advertise the debate extensively and devote two nights to the discussion of how best to raise the revenue requisite for the carrying on of government. If we find the public interested enough to warrant it, we may devote three or more nights to the debate. At last our friends, "the enemy," have abandoned the Fabian policy, and have come down into the plains and joined battle. The result to the single tax cannot be other than good, no matter how its champion in the combat may fare. R. G. BROWN.

MINNESOTA.

Interview With the Editor of "Northwest Truth"—The Single Tax More Readily Understood Where Land and Buildings are Separately Assessed—Scandinavian Political Ideas.

Mr. E. L. Ryder, editor of Northwest Truth, published at Minneapolis, has been spending some weeks with friends and relatives in Westchester county. He found to his surprise that people in the immediate vicinity of New York appear less able to understand the single tax idea than his neighbors in Minnesota. Many people with whom Mr. Ryder has talked recently seemed unable to conceive of a tax that would fall on land values only. Some even went so far as to say that land had no value except what the improvements gave to it.

"Such confusion of thought as this," said Mr. Ryder to a representative of THE STANDARD, "is not common in Minnesota, and the reason, I think, is that in Minnesota we assess land values and improvements separately, and 'real estate' means simply 'land,' while here you lump both improvements and land together and call the whole 'real estate,' and of course your farmers and others think that real estate—that is improved real estate—is already bearing about all the taxes that it ought to bear." But in Minnesota, however, Mr. Ryder said, the discrimination against improved property is just as great as it is here. He instanced a friend who had bought some lots six or seven years ago for \$1,000, and is paying to-day the same tax that he paid then, although the lots are now worth \$4,000. Nevertheless, Mr. Ryder thinks that the single tax idea will advance more rapidly in the west than in the east, because the land and improvements being assessed separately, the people are better able to see what the effect of the change would be.

"They are beginning to apply our principles out west already," he said. "E. V. Smalley, editor of the Northwest Magazine of St. Paul, who introduced Mr. George when he spoke there, had some lots in Hope, Dakota, a short time ago. One day he met Mr. C. J. Buell in Minneapolis and said to him, 'Well, the single tax is going ahead pretty fast; I want to sell my lots.' 'Why, what's the matter?' asked Mr. Buell. 'Oh,' said Mr. Smalley, 'those people up in Hope have begun to levy such a heavy tax on land held by non-residents that it's getting too costly to hold lots there.'"

Speaking of Minnesota politics, Mr. Ryder said that the large Scandinavian population, although really strongly democratic in sympathies, as shown in local elections on local questions, vote almost solidly republican in national elections. The reason, he said, is their idea that democracy meant rebellion, and that the democrats tried to destroy the country. Nevertheless, since the last election, many influential Scandinavians have come over to us. The results of the election of Harrison have not been such as they were told to look for.

One reason for the adherence of the Scandinavian population to the republican party, Mr. Ryder says, is the influence of the ministers of the Lutheran church, who are nearly all republicans and who have no hesitation about interfering in politics. Nevertheless, progress is visible among the Swedes, and the Norwegians are apparently quite accessible to free trade arguments. Mr. Ryder by no means despairs of the northwest.

THE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

The German Union for Land Reform Meets at Cologne—Practical Application of our Principles.

From the Hamburg Fremden-blatt.
Der Deutsche Bund für Bodenbesitz-reform—the German union for land reform—met in Cologne on the 15th of last month. Its president, Dr. Wehberg, opened the meeting by a review of the cause, and the position of parties in regard to it. The secretary, M. Flurschein, reported on the work of the union. Vigorous branch unions have been started in Holland and Switzerland. These surpass in numbers the German parent union. M. Flurschein further reported on the international congress in Paris, of last June, where it was resolved unanimously that the return of the soil to the community was the only

road to a peaceable reform by which to avoid the impending social catastrophe. Manufacturer Freese of Hamburg reported that that city has acted lately according to the principles of the union. Wishing to increase her dock facilities she appropriated a whole quarter of the town, and, instead of selling the new lots by auction, leased them to a company in such a way that the rise of the rental value must accrue to the state. The neighboring town of Altona, capital of Holstein, a province of Russia, followed suit in a similar undertaking. Both places are situated on the river Elbe, not far from the German ocean, and their trade is expanding.

The cities of Berlin and Dortmund were selected for next year's meetings. Dortmund is the mining center of Westphalia and was the principal seat of the late great German strike.

The meeting terminated by a dinner, toasts and a telegram sent to Henry George, the leader of the great reform in America.

New York State.

The Albany single tax club asks that the regular subscribers of THE STANDARD, and all who purchase the paper regularly, will send their copies after reading them to the club, which has appointed a committee to distribute these copies among prominent citizens. The club's funds are limited, and a compliance with this request will enable it to make an effective distribution of single tax literature. Mr. Robert Baker writes: "Considerable has been done in this direction, the effects of which are even now seen. One of the most prominent of our bank presidents recently declared that the taxation of personal property is wrong, and that it drives capital away. He said that if he were an assessor he would attract capital by not seeing most of the improvements put upon land. There are scores of single tax men in this city who have not yet joined the club. Let us hear from them."

Pennsylvania.

John Moore, Philadelphia, Pa.—We have organized a single tax club in Kensington. We started with twenty members, but have every prospect of speedily doubling that number. Mr. James Wright, an earnest single tax man, is president, and I have been elected secretary. We hold public meetings every Tuesday evening at 2021 Frankford avenue. We are all STANDARD readers; those who do not subscribe directly get the paper from the newsdealers.

Massachusetts.

Edwin F. Clark, Malden.—I take pleasure in announcing the formation of a single tax club in this city. We adopted as our declaration of principles those declared by THE STANDARD.

H. C. Romaine, Roxbury, Mass.—The public meeting of the Roxbury single tax club, held on Monday evening, September 30, was a rousing success. The hall was completely full. Mr. Frank W. Mendum, president, outlined the history of the club, made a telling speech, and was followed by Mr. Fitch of Braintree, who explained the single tax in rhyme in a very amusing manner. Rev. John A. Hayes spoke of the moral side of the question and Mr. E. M. White answered questions. The hat was passed around and the club was pleasantly surprised to find in it enough to meet the expenses. The club is greatly encouraged and will soon hold another meeting.

George H. Brown, Lowell, Mass.—I have advocated the single tax, and found many who are willing to sign the petition, thinking it might be a good thing. Recently I have made an enthusiastic convert who sees the cat, and is ready to work. I now have hopes of forming a club in the near future. Anyhow, I feel happy and contented, for my three years' labor has begun to tell.

Rhode Island.

George D. Liddell, Providence, R. I.—Our association has begun holding meetings again, the summer vacation being over. At the meeting of the association, held on October 4, it was voted to hold a public meeting once a month, at which competent speakers will be provided, who will, we hope, be able to remove much of the misunderstanding which exists relative to the single tax. The first public meeting will be held in November, and we hope to have William Lloyd Garrison of Boston address us. There will be no admission fee charged, and we trust an interest will be elicited which will add strength to the cause. Next Sunday, Oct. 19, Mr. John Francis Smith will address the Land League on the single tax, at the league's hall, 27 North Main street.

Ohio.

The democrats of the Twelfth ward of Cincinnati have nominated Mr. William C. Wolf, secretary of the single tax club, as decennial assessor, to be voted for in November. Every chance to speak single tax is accorded him, the democrats having nothing to lose thereby, as the republican majority is 600 in the ward. A gain for democracy means a gain for single tax, as this is the only ward officer to be elected this fall. In the Twelfth ward, which lies just north of the center of the city, there are good examples of the injustice of the present system, one piece of land being valued at

acre rates while smaller pieces are assessed at so much per front foot.

Iowa.

Mr. C. L. Brewer, Tripoli, Iowa.—So far as I know I am the only single tax man in this neighborhood. I shall go to work to make more. I have been writing single tax articles for our democratic county paper, and the editor professes to be well pleased with the idea. He does not indorse it editorially, but he publishes what I write, and I put the doctrine plainly.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, has just organized a single tax club, and elected as president Mr. Charles Stevenson, an enthusiastic advocate of the doctrine. Among the members are several prominent citizens, and new accessions are recorded every week.

W. M. Martin, Goldfield, Iowa.—Many signers of the petitions are beginning to consider the subject, and some of them see at least the outlines of the cat. The democrats are now ready to fall into line so far as light has fallen upon them. All over this county are people from whose eyes the scales would fall if the matter were plainly presented.

Nebraska.

C. F. Beckett, Omaha, Neb.—Mr. Rufus A. Parker has been elected president of the Omaha single tax club, succeeding W. A. Phelps, who has returned to Parkersburg, W. Va.

Colorado.

M. Lorentz, Aspen, Col.—It is not possible to form a single tax club here. We have no leader, and the general sentiment seems to be in favor of joining the local K. of L. assembly and carrying the land question to the front in it. Our movement is strong here, and if earnestness is proof there are enough of us to make a large assembly. We will have meetings at which I hope invitations for the expression of opposite views may lead to discussion. If single tax men would become members of the K. of L. it would greatly accelerate the already strong tendency within the order in our direction. If our men would become members of the order and visit strange assemblies in their travels much good could be done at small cost. The work of friend Brokaw at the Methodist conference in Dakota is a case in point.

Oregon.

C. S. Jackson of Pendleton, Oregon, since his conversion to the single tax, has become an ardent worker. Last week THE STANDARD copied a letter sent by him to an editor at The Dalles, in which he pointed out the errors in the editor's mind concerning the single tax. Now comes a Portland Oregonian containing a letter from him in answer to a Mr. Warren, who asserted in a previous number of that paper that "there is no poverty in the world which does not have its source in personal depravity." Mr. Jackson says this is "an exceedingly cruel, ignorant, barbarous argument, as foolish as it is cruel, and as antagonistic to the laws of nature as might is to right." Which is true.

SEES THE CAT.

T. V. Powderly Says He Believes in the Single Tax.

From an address at Chicago, October 7.

I have a few words to say about the single tax idea. I believe in it. I can't express the view of the order on it. I believe that the men who make the land valuable ought to have the tax on it. I bought a piece of land in the center of a farm. As soon as it was cut off from the rest the tax collector told me I was assessed \$6 on it. I paid \$900 for the lot. After I had built a house on it I had to pay \$55 tax on it. I was fined \$55 for improving my lot. The old gentleman who owned the other property put the price of his other lots at \$1,000. He made others pay \$1,000 because I had dug a cellar on my lot. Across the road from me a great railroad corporation owns 146 acres. I found on examination last summer that it paid on lots the size of mine \$1.50. I believe we ought to take away from the men who will refuse to sell or improve the land they hold for speculation.

Do Justice and the Eight Hour Problem Will Settle Itself.

J. G. Galloway in Iron Molders' Journal.

The establishment of the eight-hour system will be but a temporary palliative. Where it is put into operation, labor from other places will flock in until the advantages are again minimized by the increased surplus, the man who holds natural opportunities being the only one practically benefited, for it is an established fact that as population increases, rent rises; and while it is right to do all we possibly can to reduce the time to work, if it is not backed by a more fundamental principle of natural right to natural opportunities, it will be of inconsiderable advantage, and that advantage of inconsiderable duration.

Put man in his rights, and the question of time to be devoted to toil will settle itself by man's wants.

What We Have Paid for Nothing in Twenty-nine Years.

Harrisburg Patriot.

Since the year 1860 the people of the United States have paid to the officials of the custom houses the enormous sum of \$1,600,000,000. This money represents the tax known as a "customs duty" upon commodities coming into this country from abroad which entered into the daily consumption of the people. The sum is appalling and well calculated to make the advocates of a "protective tariff," so-called, but which is nothing better than a

swindling tax upon consumers, feel like hiding it from sight. In order that the people may fully appreciate the blessings of the tariff tax, they should know what this sum of money amounts to, and that they may know this a few comparisons are here made. If all the gold, silver, copper and nickel coins of all denominations, that have been coined by the United States mint from 1793 up to the present, were laid side by side with the tariff tax paid at the custom house, the total amount would fall short of that tax by more than \$2,000,000,000. If all the money that is annually appropriated to support the public schools in all the states and territories, was put into a sinking fund until the amount would reach the amount of the tariff tax, it would require the appropriation of \$71,000,000, the present sum, for the next sixty-five years. It exceeds by \$2,100,000,000, the total value of all the horses, mules, milch cows, sheep, swine, oxen, and other cattle in the United States. It represents a sum of money nearly four times greater than all the pension money paid during the past twenty-four years. It is \$2,220,000,000 more than the bonded debt of the United States was on August 31, 1895, when the interest bearing debt had reached the highest point. It is equal to the total valuation of the entire wheat crop of the United States and territories for the past nine years; and exceeds the total value of our annual production of corn, wheat, rye, barley, oats and buckwheat by the sum of \$3,400,000,000. It is equal to what would be the receipt of the Western union telegraph company for the next 230 years at \$20,000,000, a year, the present annual receipts of that corporation. It is equal to the sum of the net annual earnings of the whole combined railway interests of the states and territories for the past twenty years, and exceeds by the sum of \$3,200,000,000, the total amount of deposits in all the savings banks in the country. Now, what has all this tax done for the people, and who is the gainer by it? It has made millionaires like Carnegie, Gould and certain other men, but how about the thousands of tramps, the mortgaged farmers, the insolvent traders of limited capital, the striking workmen, and the general materialistic spirit which is fast supplanting genuine Christianity? Is it not time these taxes were taken off or reduced?

Red Hot Protectionist Free Traders.

Brattleboro, Vt., Record.

The iron manufacturers of Massachusetts are red hot for free iron and free coal, and the letters of Governor Ames, of Hon. Mr. McParlin, of Mr. Warr and Mr. Tobey have afforded some of the most spicy and pungent reading any documents upon economic subjects ever gave. These users of iron and iron ore want free raw material for their business, of course, and who doesn't? Why in the name of all decency can't these things be called by their proper names, and the discussion of business subjects be reduced to a businesslike basis, such as these letters have shown? If in the handling of tariff subjects the cant and hypocrisy of the interested parties could be done away with and things be put in the light of a question of profit and loss to individuals, how easy it would be to understand and settle the tariff question on the ground of the greatest good to the greatest number.

Blaine's Eloquent Plea for Free Trade.

From Address Before All-American Congress.

It will be a great gain when we shall acquire that common confidence on which all international friendship must rest. It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into closer acquaintance with each other—an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid inter-communication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American states, south and north, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all.

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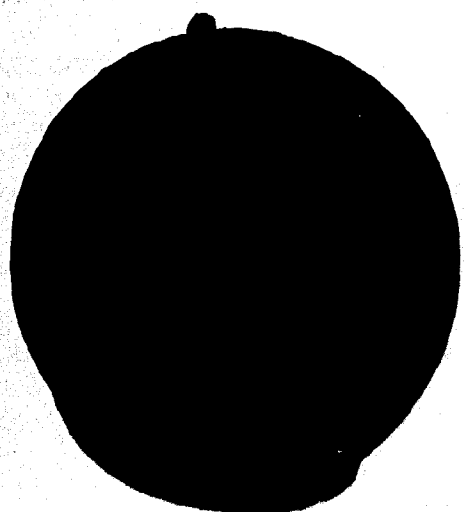
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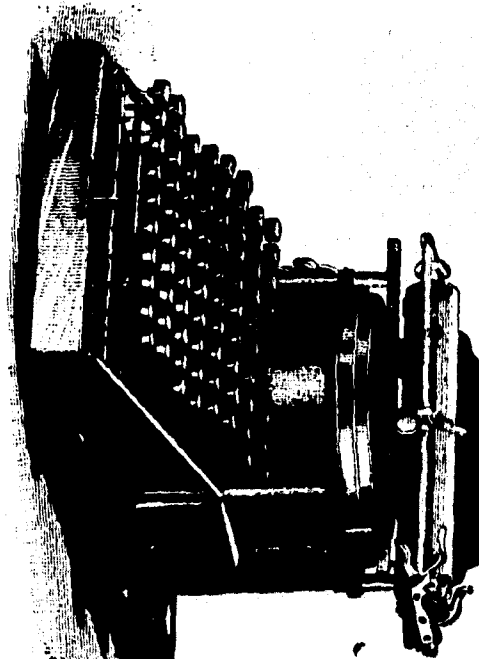
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