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THE STANDARD.

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EDITORIAL.

Henry George, accompanied by Mrs. George, left New York on Wednesday, January 22, for his journey to Australia, and thence home by way of Europe. By a singular mistake the people in THE STANDARD office were misinformed as to the route he would take, and consequently a number of friends were directed to the wrong station, and only a few were present at the Erie station to say good-bye. In a hasty note from St. Louis, written last Saturday, Mr. George says: "We have had a good trip so far. There is a splendid crowd of earnest men in and about Bradford. I saw Walker, De Beck and a number of others in Cincinnati, and a great many friends have called to see me here this morning." Mr. and Mrs. George are in good health and spirits, and at every place they stop they are greeted with an enthusiasm that gives them gratifying evidence of the growth of the single tax idea.

The farewell dinner to Mr. George,

given last week by the Manhattan single tax club, was an event deserving of more than passing comment. The mere fact that men of the highest prominence in public affairs, men distinguished in the professions and in business, were glad to pay this tribute of respect to Mr. George, however natural and reasonable it may appear to those of us who have always been glad to honor him as a leader and teacher, is one of tremendous significance to those who felt the full force of the storm of misrepresentation and abuse that broke upon him and the supporters of his principles and policy less than four years ago. This great change is naturally most gratifying to the many personal friends of Mr. George, for personal reasons, but it must be remembered that, even in the campaign of 1886, he was not assailed because of any charges brought against him as an individual, but as the representative of a principle at that time regarded with sincere horror and detestation by many of those present at the dinner last week.

This horror and detestation was, of course, largely due to an utter misapprehension of Mr. George's doctrines and designs, but the virulent opposition of that period was also partly due to a feeling that the things he did actually propose were subversive of order and the rights of property. Many of the "saviors of society" played the role in all seriousness. Men who fully understood what was meant by the appropriation of ground rent to public use, nevertheless regarded it as a proposal for spoliation and an invasion of the just rights of property.

Since that time many of those who united last week in paying honor to Mr. George have come to see the great truth underlying the single tax movement, and to acknowledge that the proposal to take for public use the values created by the growth of population and the advance of civilization is in full accord with the simplest and most fundamental ideas of justice. They see that, so far from being an act of spoliation, it would be an act of restoration, asserting a higher and truer conception of the rights of property than has ever entered the minds of those who defend the appropriation by individuals to their private use of publicly created values and a heritage common to all.

It would, however, be idle to pretend that all those participating in the dinner either as guests, speech makers or writers of letters of regret have come to a comprehension and acceptance of the principles and policy presented in "Progress and Poverty." There was nothing in the letters of ex-Speaker Carlisle, R. Q. Mills, the two Breckenridges, or in the speeches of Wheeler H. Peckham or A. Augustus Healy, that indicates any acceptance of the single tax programme. These men are prepared to honor Mr. George, simply because they are at one with him in demanding free trade, which is, to him, not an end, but merely an important means toward the attainment of ultimate justice. Mr. Peckham is further drawn into sympathy with him because of his battle for ballot reform, which is likewise a mere step toward the greater reforms that it is hoped to accomplish through the intelligent votes of unintimidated and unbribed citizens. But the fact that these men do not accept the single tax adds to the importance

and significance of their participation in a demonstration avowedly designed to honor the acknowledged leader of the single tax movement. It demonstrates that the policy of "damnation by clamor" has been abandoned, and that the policy we advocate is accepted as one about which reasonable men may differ without forfeiting respect or courting abuse and denunciation.

The people who add to a clear conception of our principles a comprehension of the necessary steps for securing their final incorporation in the law of the land, will appreciate the importance of this advance. Those who now acknowledge that the single tax is a factor in public affairs are the men who originate policies and frame laws, and it is no little thing to have overcome the prejudice or indifference which, but a few years ago, would have put our proposal beyond the range of their consideration, favorable or otherwise.

The tendency among such men to look favorably upon our principles, when they have once been brought to consider them at all, is clearly shown in the letter from Francis Lynde Stetson. Mr. Stetson is not a single tax man, in the common acceptance of the phrase. He does not see the great ethical principle that will be enforced by the single tax when fully applied. If he did, he would dismiss his fears that Mr. George's doctrines may at times obscure the rights of property and remove existing incentives to industry, and see that by awarding to the community with approximate exactness and unfailing certainty that which of right belongs to the community, and by securing to the individual the full results of the application of his labor or capital to his exact share of the natural opportunities, the single tax, carried to its logical conclusion, will draw the line between *meum* and *tuum* as it has never yet been in history. He would see that by basing the right of property on manifest laws of natural justice, that right would be endowed with a sacredness that it never could acquire from confused and capricious legislation through which runs no clear and unvarying principle. Our programme carries with it no menace to the rights of property. On the contrary the single tax men stand as the sole defenders of those rights, at once against the corporate rapacity that uses governmental powers, belonging to all, for the enrichment of the few, and against the confused thought—or rather the mere impulse unguided by judgment—of state socialism, which practically denies to the individual all actual right to the products of his own toil, and bases its hopes of a new industrial system on ignorance or forgetfulness of the demonstrated law that man seeks to gratify his desires by the least exertion, and needs the incentives of competition and increasing desires to prompt him to the best use of his powers.

But though Mr. Stetson has not yet come to see the great underlying truth set forth in "Progress and Poverty," he acknowledges that Mr. George is entitled to a hearing and confesses that he admires and accepts the following points in his doctrines:

The individual is to each individual of far more consequence than the government.

The government should interfere as little as possible with the individual.

The taxes necessary for the support of government economically administered, might well in a normal condition of affairs be levied

upon lands exclusive of the value of the improvements thereon.

Neither the necessities of man nor his will ingness to work or save should be made the basis or measure of taxation. This proposition challenges tariff and income taxes.

All franchises derived from the public should contribute to the public treasury a share of their earnings, without unduly increasing the cost of service to that portion of the public making use of the franchise. In the latter event the result is simply that a part instead of all of the public pay a tax in disguise.

These are the utterances of a free trader who has had the courage to face the question, "Where will the government obtain its revenues if customs duties are abolished?" There is but one sufficient answer to that question, and that is, "By the taxation of land values." That answer Mr. Stetson is prepared to have made, and hence, from a different standpoint, he reaches the same conclusion that the single tax men have arrived at. This is doubtless the result of cold reasoning, unbiased by any hope of abolishing involuntary poverty, or the expectation of anything beyond "a mere fiscal reform." This, however, but adds to the force of Mr. Stetson's indorsement and commands for our immediate purpose the respectful consideration of the ever increasing number of tariff reformers who are becoming free traders, among whom it is reasonable to hope may now, or in the early future, be found Mr. Stetson's friend and partner, the next president of the United States.

But it is not alone to the men engaged in the practical work of legislation or otherwise directly concerned in public affairs that we must look for the evidences of the breaking down of the prejudices that once stood as an effectual barrier to our progress. In the long run statesmen can only give effect to public sentiment as shaped and fashioned, if not created, by the school, the pulpit, the press and the other agencies that stimulate and direct thought. Five years ago all these agencies were against Mr. George and the cause he represents. They are not yet committed to that cause, but they are coming to regard it as one worthy of consideration, and not a thing to be despised and ignored. Gratifying evidence of this was given in the letters from Seth Low, president of Columbia college; E. Benjamin Andrews, lately professor of political economy at Cornell, but now president of Brown university; Professor Hadley of Yale, George William Curtis, editor of *Harpers' Weekly*; Bishop Huntington, Rev. Heber Newton and others. In addition to this, many clergymen, journalists and teachers whose names did not appear sat at the tables.

Notable among the evidences of the vanishing of prejudice was the speech of Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, pastor of Plymouth church. So far as Dr. Abbott himself is concerned, no necessity for such evidence existed. In his paper, the *Christian Union*, he has freely acknowledged that there is a grave social problem to be solved, and he has always treated Mr. George and his theories with courtesy, though refusing to accept the single tax as a solution of the problem. As was shown in his eloquent address at the dinner, Dr. Abbott sympathizes with the socialistic philosophy of one school of English philanthropists rather than with the individualism of the single tax idea. He believes, however, in democracy; in a commonwealth that shall be such in fact

as well as in name, and he is one of the ablest and noblest of the Christian teachers of the gospel who believe that it was not the Creator's intent to make this earth a place of misery in order to give its inhabitants a proper appetite for heavenly joys. That such a man should gladly join in a tribute to Mr. George, despite their differences of opinion as to the best means for accomplishing the great end that they both seek, is not to be wondered at, but the significant thing is that this radical preacher of a higher righteousness than the churches have aimed at for a century speaks now as Henry Ward Beecher's successor in the pulpit of Plymouth church.

Last, but not of less importance than any other feature of the demonstration, was the letter from T. V. Powderly, general master workmen of the Knights of Labor, wishing that Mr. George's visit to Australia "may be productive of the greatest good to the cause of land reform," and expressing the writer's hope that he may be able to welcome Mr. George on his return to America "with the assurance that the converts to the true doctrine of land taxation have been doubled during his absence." Mr. Powderly is not merely the head of a great organization, composed almost exclusively of wage workers, but he has been the leader of that organization in the important work of examining into the causes of the evils that it was formed to alleviate and remedy. This is the most important task that the workingmen of America can undertake, and it is to the credit of the Knights of Labor that they have not only undertaken it, but that they have gradually reached a right conclusion and arrayed themselves against the source and parent of all other monopolies—the monopoly of land.

It was this letter from Mr. Powderly that completed the circle and made the dinner at the Metropolitan hotel a gathering really representative of all the forces that can be depended on for clear thought and practical action in behalf of the great economic reforms that must henceforth divide our people into parties, and be the only subjects of future political contention. Hitherto political economy has been considered the special province of a small body of students, who addressed one another rather than the public. Henceforth professional men, the men of business and affairs, and the great army of workmen, must stand together in seeking a solution of the great problems that must be solved if this republic is to live and accomplish the purpose of its existence. All these classes were represented, and well represented, on this occasion. It was eminently fitting that this should be so, since Mr. George has done more than any other man living to make possible the hearty and intelligent co-operation of all these forces in the serious consideration of social and economic problems. We have no desire to exaggerate the evils we face. We have faith in the aroused intelligence and conscience of the American people. The great thing was to compel attention and awaken conscience. This once accomplished, we believe the triumph of the principles we advocate is certain in the end; and this farewell dinner proves that attention has been compelled and conscience has been awakened.

Nor are we confined to New York, or the east, for evidence of this coming together of all classes and conditions of men to fight the battle of the people against monopoly; against an evil system that clogs the activity of all who contribute in any way to the satisfaction of human wants, and imposes unjust burdens, not only on the laborer, but on the

merchant, the professional man, and all concerned in carrying forward the great work of distributing the products of labor. The remarkable dinner and reception given to Mr. George on Saturday in St. Louis show that the forward tendency, so strongly indicated by the dinner at the Metropolitan hotel, is not confined to the Atlantic coast, but displays equal force in the great central city of the Mississippi valley. The important thing is not that merchants, bankers, lawyers, preachers and public officials are now ready to do honor to Henry George, but that such people have come to see and feel that there is no necessary antagonism between their interests and the interests of the vast body of workmen who were the first to see the necessity of a radical change in existing economic and social conditions. Parties are not made. To be effective and useful they must be natural growths. The introduction of a great economic question into American politics has paved the way for the growth of a real democratic party, free from class prejudices, and embracing all who contribute to the public wealth and comfort. This party is gathering, and it will include all who are weary of seeing governmental powers and false economic teaching combined to deprive the laborer of his hire and the producer of the products of his industry.

Henceforward the duty of the friends of the single tax is plain. We have found the line of least resistance, and greater hope and greater opportunity should stimulate us to renewed zeal and redoubled activity. We need not concern ourselves with mere speculation as to problematical results. We need cross no bridges till we come to them. We hold fast to our faith, and it matters not to us if allies, as well as enemies, account it a dream. Ours it is and remains; lending firmness to our purpose, vigor to our work, consolation in defeat, and an added joy to our rejoicing in each forward step. It is veritably the faith that removes mountains, and that it has removed mountains is already evident to those who sat at that dinner remembering '86. But even such faith, without work, is dead. Our business is to work, and to work first for the first step. We want a fair ballot; we were the first to publicly demand it and point out the way. We have been steadfast in striving for its accomplishment. We have rejoiced to see the task largely taken from our hands by others and carried forward with a rapidity we had not dared to hope for.

Our greater work in the field of economics promises similarly to be taken up by stronger hands and carried forward, through its earlier stages, more rapidly than we dared to dream when the new born hope of '86 was crushed by seeming disaster of '87. On that wretched night—that November night in 1887—the darkest of our lives to many of us, Louis Post said to our defeated leader: "Well, George, do you see the hand of God in this?" "No," was the answer, "but it is there." And so it proved, for that defeat winnowed the chaff from the grain and paved the way for the real work of establishing the single tax.

Tariff reform is a little thing, as inadequate for accomplishing all we aim at as would be a Hudson river ferry boat for a journey around the world. Yet on Wednesday night last, when Henry George left this island, to which he will return next summer on a great ocean steamer, he embarked at Twenty-third street on a Hudson river ferry boat.

Tariff reform is a little thing. A man must be that which Touchstone assumed to be if he can look upon it with pride and affection, saying it is "a poor thing, but mine own." But tariff reform, as the

first step toward free trade, is the open gateway to the nobler politics of principles and ideas; the gateway of escape from the miserable politics of passion, prejudice and spoils. Free trade is to the single tax what the ocean steamer that bears him across the Atlantic will be to Mr. George on his journey home.

That the turning into the true path has cost something is not to be denied. The impracticables have rebelled against practicality as a crime. The mere dreamers have started for their ideal in balloons. Various vanities have had the experience of the frog in the fable; while selfishness has deserted a cause that promised no profit. Rooted prejudice against a mere agency of political action, and many other causes, have deprived us of the company of many we would fain still have with us, and of some that we well can spare, but the work has gone on. The faithful have neither wearied nor faltered. The current now sweeps with gathering force toward free trade, and beyond that lies the greater justice of a true commonwealth of free people to whom their heritage from their Maker shall have been restored.

The bill requiring the commissioner of the census to take measures to ascertain what percentage of people own their own farms, the number of farms under mortgage, and the amount of such mortgage indebtedness was, of course, reported adversely by the senate census committee. The protectionist majority in the senate has no desire to offer to the public such evidence of the disastrous effect of the existing system of taxation as would be afforded by such an inquiry honestly conducted. Mr. Berry of Arkansas has had the bill taken up in order that he may state his reasons why it should pass, despite the adverse recommendation of the committee. Of course, all argument addressed to the majority of the senate will be wasted, unless it has the effect of causing the farmers to join the single tax men and the Knights of Labor in demanding that the proposed inquiries shall be made. In that event, there are probably some senators from the agricultural states who, profiting by Senator Allison's scare, will hesitate to treat with contempt a reasonable demand from the farmers.

In his message urging the legislature to make provision for preventing the further despoiling of the Adirondacks, Governor Hill suggests that persons desiring to spend the summer or winter in the park shall be permitted to secure locations for camps on the payment of a small fee to the state for the privilege. Under such a system the governor thinks that enough money would be secured to pay for the care of the park, and that perhaps a sufficient surplus could be collected to make a substantial increase in the state revenues. This is the proper plan for a public park open to private use, but the governor in recommending it comes dangerously near to acknowledging the basic principle of the single tax. In fact, any man, however limited his intelligence, naturally arrives at the same conclusion when he looks at the land problem with his mind free from preconceived prejudices and traditional errors.

Dispatches from Pierre, S. D., say that hundreds of boomers are now in that place anxiously awaiting the telegraphic announcement of the president's proclamation opening the Sioux reservation to settlement. The dispatches say that these people "have organized a movement to occupy the lands the minute the wires bring word from Washington." There are the usual intimations of a conflict between contending claimants, and troops are asked for. We suppose the people who insist that there is plenty

of good unoccupied land in the United States, to be had for the asking, will see nothing in this new rush to change their opinions.

So Tammany is opposed to every law calculated "to restrict the control of the people over the administration of public affairs?" Yet strangely enough there is current in this town a conviction that "the control of the people over the administration of public affairs" is, except even justice in a future state of existence, the one thing that the leaders of Tammany most dread.

The democratic party of South Carolina has been treated recently to an unpleasant surprise. The Farmers' association of the state has for some years been taking an active part in politics. It has, of course, confined itself to activity within the democratic party with a view to influencing legislation and controlling nominations. The farmers propose to continue this course, but they have issued an open proclamation, calling a farmers' convention to meet on the 27th day of March, to nominate a ticket for state officers from governor down, to be put in the field for ratification or rejection by the next democratic state convention. In this proclamation the farmers declare "that South Carolina has never had a real republican government. Since the days of the 'lords proprietors' it has been an aristocracy under the forms of democracy, and whenever a champion of the people has attempted to show them their rights and advocated those rights, an aristocratic oligarchy has bought him with an office, or, failing in that, turned loose the floodgates of misrepresentation and slander in order to destroy his influence." The farmers go on to say that fear of a division among the white people and the consequent return of negro rule has kept them quiet, while the state has been arrogantly and extravagantly run, and railroad monopoly has gone unchecked. They demand, therefore, that the state's interests shall no longer be left in the hands of those who are wedded to ante-bellum ideas, but possess little ante-bellum patriotism and honor. This is a remarkable outcropping of democracy. It will surprise the country at large, even more than it has surprised the democratic machine in South Carolina. The general impression has been that there existed in the Palmetto state but two classes—negroes and an aristocratic white ruling class. It is certainly hopeful and refreshing to find that there are enough white democrats in the true sense of the word, to entertain a hope of compelling the democratic party in the state to be what its name implies, and what its professed principles demand.

Mr. James E. Mills of San Francisco contributes to this issue of THE STANDARD an article entitled "The True Test of Economic Conditions." He admits the possible truth of some of the claims made as to the growth of wages and the increase in their purchasing power, measured by the cost of mere physical necessities; but he goes on to show that the ratio of the wages of the laborer to the value of the product of his labor is falling rapidly and continuously, and that this demands, that in measuring the economic condition of society, we shall take into consideration something else than physical wants, and accept as our standard "the ratio of wages to reasonable wants." Mr. Mill's article is a strong presentation of the injustice done to labor, under existing conditions, and the rule of measurement that he proposes is one in entire accord with justice.

Under the head of "The Social Prob-

lem," we also print in this issue an abstract of an article by Mr. George Cary Eggleston, that appeared in a recent issue of the New York World, in which the same thought that dominates Mr. Mills's essay is admirably stated. The stock arguments of the industrial statisticians are dismissed by Mr. Eggleston with the contempt that they deserve. He shows that, despite all their figuring, the monstrous fact remains that labor does not obtain its just share of the increased production that the march of civilization has made possible, and that workman are right in demanding better pay for fewer hours.

The similarity of the idea that finds expression in both articles is significant. Queerly enough, the present writer had the pleasure of introducing Mr. Mills to Mr. Eggleston on the day before the article of the latter appeared in the World. Mr. Mills's article had then been in THE STANDARD office for more than a week. Mr. Eggleston's article was at that moment in type at the World office. The two men had never met each other before, and they look at the social problem from widely different standpoints. Yet in their conversation at their first meeting they discovered the remarkable agreement of opinion that is illustrated by the two articles printed in this issue.

In Rev. Harold Rylett's letter, the exact words of Mr. Gladstone's recent speech concerning "land nationalization" are given, and they convey a very different meaning from the garbled extracts printed in American papers. If land nationalization were necessary for the common benefit, Mr. Gladstone declared distinctly that it ought to be accomplished, and the landlords would have no right to object. He said, however, that he could not see how it could be beneficial, and he based his objection chiefly on the ground that the state could not be expected to make a good landlord. Nothing that Mr. Gladstone said applies in the least to the single tax programme, and his declarations are, of course, not in conflict with the platform of the liberal party, which demands the taxation of ground rents. There is certainly no reason for supposing that the state would make a good landlord; but why Mr. Gladstone and other leading English writers and thinkers should constantly fight the impracticable proposal of land nationalization and ignore the entirely practical single tax plan, to which the liberal party is already in part committed, it is difficult to say. Perhaps they think it easier and more convenient to fight an impracticable proposal than to ignore one that they must meet in the course of a very few years.

We print an advertisement in another column giving the constitution, by-laws, programme and announcements of the Single tax brotherhood of religious teachers. Rev. Dr. Thackeray, the secretary, has entered into the work with great enthusiasm, and will devote for the present a large amount of his time to extending the organization and making it effective.

This is only one of many indications of the splendid forward rush of our movement. The "single tax views" in this issue of THE STANDARD embraces correspondence from twenty-one states and the District of Columbia, and gives cheering assurance that every where the work is making rapid progress, thanks to the zeal and practical good sense of its enthusiastic advocates.

The single tax league of Washington is to be congratulated on the change of policy indicated by Mr. Hemmingway's letter. The discussion of abstract questions is necessary and important when the basic

principles of our propaganda are attacked by opponents; but it is something less than useless as the permanent occupation of the members of a single tax organization. The proper object of a single tax organization is practical work for each successive advance toward the establishment of the single tax; and when an organization sets about this seriously it finds plenty to do. But it also finds, we are sorry to say, little help from those most disposed to confine its activity to the discussion of abstract questions. Somehow, as the workers come to the front the mere talkers fall to the rear.

A glance at our weekly comparison of prices and assessments, published elsewhere, will show that for the first time since THE STANDARD has been publishing these tables, the assessments on improved and unimproved property bear the same percentage to the auction prices of each class. There has been for some time, an evident tendency toward diminishing the great discrepancy between the two classes that once existed; and we have reason to believe that the persistent attention given to the matter by THE STANDARD, and the discussion aroused among property owners by the publication of these tables has had a marked effect in causing the assessors to try to equalize their valuations. We advise our friends in other cities to give close attention to this matter, for every step for increasing the assessment of vacant lands is a wise one and is likely to produce an outcry from the speculators that will turn public attention to the manifest injustice of fining improvements.

SELLING A BIRTHRIGHT.

The ways and means committee of the South Carolina legislature has reported favorably the bill authorizing the comptroller to advertise for sale the enormous phosphate beds in that state. These lands belong to the state, and are generally under rivers and creeks. It is thought that they can be sold for \$7,000,000, and it is proposed to use the money thus obtained to extinguish the state debt of \$6,000,000.

Such transactions as this have been common in the past, but the legislators and others engaging in them have had the excuse of precedent and ignorance. During the past few years, however, the question of state ownership of natural opportunities has been so widely agitated that it does not seem possible that even a member of the South Carolina legislature can remain in absolute ignorance of the fact that the propriety of the course proposed in this instance is at least seriously questioned. The pending proposition is one that is absolutely without justification, looked at from the standpoint of the present interests of the people of South Carolina, and it is furthermore a proposition to rob future generations.

If there be any reason to suppose that private parties will now pay \$7,000,000 for the privilege of monopolizing the phosphate beds of the state, there is no room whatever for doubt that the people who propose to actually work those beds would be willing to pay to the state a yearly rental for the privilege. This rental would doubtless pay the interest of the present state debt, and go on increasing until it provided a fund for the extinguishment of the principal. This, it must be remembered, is a fixed sum, whereas the value of the phosphate beds will rise as the demand for phosphatic rock increases. It is not necessary that the state should undertake the work in order to obtain an income from the phosphate beds. It can easily rent them on short leases to people who will work them; but it had better work them itself than sell them to private parties who

probably would limit the output with a view of enhancing the price of the rock and raising land values.

South Carolina suffered terribly from the ignorance and corrupt misgovernment of the carpet-baggers, and its state debt is doubtless the product of that device so graphically described by the late Jeremiah S. Black as one that increases the stealing power of political corruptionists "as much as the steam engine adds to the mechanical force of mere natural muscles." Speaking of the use of the debt-creating power by the carpet bagger to add to his facilities for robbery Judge Black said: "By this device his felonious fingers are made long enough to reach into the pockets of posterity; he lays his lien on property yet uncreated; he anticipates the labor of coming ages and appropriates the fruits of it in advance; he coins the industry of future generations into cash, and snatches the inheritance from children whose fathers are unborn." Surely this description applies even more fully to the pending scheme of the native legislators of the state, so far as its ultimate effects are concerned. It is true that they may not be inspired by the hope of private profit for themselves; but through ignorance and stupidity they are about to alienate their state's inheritance and attempt to mortgage for all time to private individuals "the labor of coming ages" and the inheritance of "children whose fathers are unborn."

Happily the future holds the remedy for the present wrong. The rental value of this land belongs to the people of South Carolina. This generation has only a usufruct in it, and it cannot barter away the birthright of the generations to come. The single tax is not unheard of in South Carolina. It always received fair treatment in the Charleston News and Courier before Captain Dawson was murdered. The people who are about to engage in this transaction cannot therefore claim to have entered on the operation without due notice that the title they are about to purchase is disputed. Let them make hay while the sun shines, for their monopoly will not pass on to many generations of their descendants.

THE AMENDED SAXTON BILL.

Mr. Saxton has amended the ballot reform bill that he has introduced in the senate so that names of all candidates for office are grouped under the titles of their respective parties in parallel columns. That is to say, the new ballot will consist of several "tickets" printed side by side on the same sheet of paper. When a voter has received the official ballot and retired to the secret compartment, he will only need to run a pencil mark down the columns containing the names of the candidates for other parties than his own. This is a very simple process so far as the voter of a "straight" party ticket is concerned. When, however, a voter wishes to vote for some names on one ticket, and some on another, he will have to cancel one by one the names of those for whom he does not desire to vote. This is a somewhat more complicated process and is liable to cause some men to lose their votes by leaving uncanceled the names of two candidates for the same office.

This, however, is a mere matter of detail, and so long as the essential feature of an exclusive official ballot delivered to the voter at the polls, and there only, is preserved, there is no use in cavilling at details. If the form presented is one that will make it easier for the man who desires to vote a straight party ticket to do so, it is all the better on that account. The object of ballot reform is not, as some of its unwise advocates have declared, to compel the voter to think, or to consider

the character of the men for whom he proposes to vote, but to give to every voter opportunity to vote just as he desires, and to deprive him of all power to prove that he voted for any particular party or candidate.

The provision for striking out names instead of marking those voted for is intended as a concession to Governor Hill's professed "constitutional" objections. So far as the governor is concerned we do not suppose this concession will do any good. Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham has shown that Mr. Hill garbled a statute from which he quoted, in order to make his "constitutional" point, and this proves that his objection is a consciously dishonest one. The change, however, may offer a convenient loophole of escape to some of those who have at previous sessions voted to sustain Governor Hill's vetoes, and if it can gain enough such votes to pass the measure over the next veto, the friends of the reform have done well in making it.

There are people clamoring for ballot reform who would rather have the issue than have the law. It looks, however, as if Mr. Saxton and those acting with him honestly desire the enactment of a ballot reform law and are going about the accomplishment of that desire with intelligence and discretion.

FARMERS EXCITED.

The Farmers' club of Norfolk, Mass., has appointed a committee to prepare a remonstrance against the single tax to be presented to the next legislature, and the Boston Herald thinks this must be discouraging to the "followers of Henry George." By no means is it discouraging. It is a sign that the single tax heaven is beginning to work; and better still, it gives assurance that farmers in their efforts to oppose the single tax will learn what it really is and change from adversaries to allies.

The opposition of farmers to the single tax is due solely to their ignorance of the single tax; and their ignorance is due in part to the willful misrepresentation of the newspapers they read. They are suffering keenly from the effects of unjust taxation, and seeing how the wealthy classes escape its burdens and grow richer under its fostering care, they jump to the conclusion that the remedy must be a tax on the wealth of the rich. Encouraged in this by some editors as blind as themselves and by others who, not so ignorant, are interested in keeping up the delusion, they waste their energies in promoting patch work schemes that cannot be carried out, and if they could be would have no other effect than to increase the wonder of the farmer at the mysterious hopelessness of his situation.

The first thing the farmer has to learn is that the rich man cannot be taxed by taxing his capital. Every dollar of tax imposed upon capital is a dollar added to the tax burdens of farmers and others who like farmers make their living by labor. Taxes on capital do not stay. They shift to the consumer in higher prices for the goods on which they fall. This form of taxation is rather grateful than otherwise to men with large capital. The higher the tax on capital the harder is it for men of small capital to do business and the easier for men of large capital to control the market. This is on the assumption that taxes on capital are honestly paid. But experience proves that men with large capital evade the tax while men of small capital are forced to pay it. Whether the subject be considered in the abstract or as a matter of actual experience, it is clear that a tax on capital operates most injuriously against the very classes in whose interests this kind of tax is advocated.

The kind of tax which will benefit the

farmer is one that will fall upon privileges and stay there. The only tax of great importance and the only just tax that will do this is the single tax on land according to its value and irrespective of improvements. The farmer has been told that this will make farmers pay all the taxes. Those who make the representation take the farmer for a fool, and the Farmers' club of Norfolk seems anxious that they shall not be disappointed. Of all land owners, farmers are among the smallest, when land is measured by value instead of area; and it is by value and value alone that the single tax would measure land. To learn what effect the single tax would have upon his interest, a farmer has only to imagine how much his farm would be worth if every vestige of improvement—buildings, fences, clearing, drainage and cultivation—were swept away and the land reduced to the condition of the uncultivated land of his neighborhood. Let him suppose that every acre of his land was fallow and every improvement gone. What then would be the value of his farm? How much would it sell for in that condition? Having determined this the farmer will know on what basis of value his land will be taxed. Suppose the tax rate rises as high as seven per cent—which is high enough, for it is not likely to be worth by the year more than seven per cent of its selling value—and the farmer can then tell how high at the utmost his single tax will be. Having done that, let him calculate how much he now pays for taxes on his farm, how much on personal property, how much in tariff taxes on the foreign goods he buys, how much in higher prices for protected American goods, and how much for other taxes that may occur to him, such as *wages* on the highway, and so on. Then let him compare these two sums, the amount of his single tax and the amount he now pays in direct and indirect taxes. By this exercise in simple arithmetic he can satisfy himself as to whether his taxes will be lower or higher under the single tax than now. But he must not stop here. Under the single tax it will not pay to keep land out of use. There will be no tax on what is produced from the land. Whether a man is industrious or lazy, provident or improvident, whether he uses his land or lets it lie idle, his taxes will be just as much provided he appropriates to himself the same value in land. Therefore, no one can afford to own land which he does not use, and all unused land will be free. This will reduce the selling value of all land, and the farmer's tax will fall just as the selling value of his land falls. Nor is this all. Since there will be no tariff on foreign goods, trade will be free and the products of our farms will have the world for a market. Nor yet is this all. Unused coal lands will be thrown open to the miner and fuel will be cheaper, factories no longer protected in their monopoly profits by a tariff will have to sell to the farmer as cheaply as he can buy elsewhere, and the mechanic and laborer no longer engaged in fierce competition for an opportunity to work, and no longer stinting himself and his family to make his wages meet his bills, will buy more farm produce and thus make a new market for the farmer. And beyond all this, for the farm hand and the farmer's sons there will be land in plenty, not on western prairies alone but in their native counties, to be had for the taking, without price, or rent, or tax.

Perhaps all this sounds to the farmer too good to be true. Little wonder if it does, for injustice has accustomed him to unnatural hardships till he has come to look upon them almost as a matter of course. But before he signs any petitions against the single tax let him think over

the matter a little and see whether he exactly understands what the single tax is. If he does not care to go into details, let him consider that the single tax is a kind of tax which makes landlords pay all the taxes in proportion to the valuable land they own, irrespective of its improvements, and exempts all labor and improvements and personal property from taxation. Then let him consider whether his greater interest is as a landlord or as a laborer and owner of improvements and personal property. If his interest as a landowner is the greater, let him sign the petition against the single tax. But let him be very careful in considering where his greater interest lies, to ask himself how he would fare if his improvements and personal property were destroyed, and he himself prevented from working. If, under those circumstances, he could live in luxury on the income from his denuded farm, it may be that his interest as a landlord is his greater interest; but if he could not, it is very certain that his greater interest is as a laborer and an owner of improvements and personal property.

INGERSOLL ON LAND MONOPOLY.

Mr. Robert Ingersoll, in his address before the State bar association, in talking of the proper attitude of society toward the criminal class, said: "If we are to change the conduct of men, we must change their conditions. Extreme poverty and crime go hand in hand. Destitution multiplies temptations and destroys the finer feelings." Mr. Ingersoll went on eloquently to describe the tendencies that first destroy men's self respect and then drag them down to the gutter or the prison, and declared it to be a great question "whether those who live in luxury can afford to allow others to exist in want." He then said:

We need not repeat the failures of the old world. To divide lands among successful generals or among favorites of the crown, to give vast estates for services rendered in war is no worse than to allow men of great wealth to purchase and hold vast tracts of land. The result is precisely the same—that is to say, a nation composed of a few landlords and of many tenants—the tenants resorting from time to time to mob violence and the landlords depending upon a standing army.

Mr. Ingersoll says, however, that property should not be taken either for public or private use without compensation, and suggests that the state use its power of eminent domain to prevent any man from holding more than a fixed quantity of land—say 160 acres—selling the remainder of large tracts to those who are now landless. He thinks it should be within the power of the landless man to invoke this right, and have his case brought before a jury of commissioners to hear evidence and determine the value of the land he desires to obtain. Mr. Ingersoll would extend the same system to land and houses in cities and villages, restricting, of course, the extent of individual holding permitted, in order, he says, that our country may be filled with owners of homes. He thus continues:

Tenements and flats and rented land are, in my opinion, the enemies of civilization. They make the rich richer and the poor poorer. They put a few in palaces, but they put many in prisons. I would go a step further than this. I would exempt homes of a certain value not only from levy and sale, but from every kind of taxation, state and national, so that these poor people would feel that they were in partnership with nature, that some of the land was absolutely theirs, and that no one could drive them from their home.

How cumbersome and ineffective is the essentially socialistic and paternal method proposed by Mr. Ingersoll when compared with the simple and effective system of the single tax. Mr. Ingersoll sees the wrong that lies at the root of all the evils that curse our modern civilization, but he is absolutely blind to the true remedy. He proposes, under the pretense of

preserving vested rights, a plan that is essentially revolutionary and leaves the largest possible scope for favoritism and injustice. It is not for the state to determine the extent of land that each man may hold. That should be left to the individual himself, and the state will have accomplished its full duty when, by taking for public use those values that are created by public activity, it shall have deprived individuals of all incentive or inducement toward the appropriation of land that they cannot put to immediate profitable use.

THE TRUE TEST OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It is customary to measure the economic conditions of society by the ratio of wages to the cost of physical necessities, and they who deny the need of change in the prevailing economic system confirm their position by asserting (and for some communities and some periods proving) that the purchasing power of wages is steadily though slowly increasing. No one can deny that the ratio of the wages of the laborer to the value of the product of his labor is falling rapidly, for the purchasing power of wages has increased but slightly at the best showing, while the power of production has increased many fold. But in answer to any appeal for a proportionate share of the increased product for the laborers, the advocate of the present economic system reiterates the statement that on the whole, with greater or less periodical variation, the purchasing power of wages increases, meaning the power to purchase physical necessities. The answer on the part of the spokesman for the laborers is frequently if not generally limited to an effort to prove that the purchasing power of wages has not increased, when all the physical necessities are taken into consideration. But the measure itself which the argument assumes or implies is inadequate for the purpose and misleading. The condition of the laborer cannot be measured by the ratio of wages to the cost of physical necessities, because physical necessities are but a part of the necessities of a laborer's life, and as civilization advances they form a continuously decreasing proportion of the whole.

Political economy seems to acquire the exactness of a physical science when it assumes to take into account only physical conditions, but when it does so, it ceases to apply to real human life and deals with a fanciful creation of its own. In fact, political economists never do limit themselves to consideration of physical conditions, but they maintain the appearance of doing so by including among physical conditions much that is moral and ethical. For example, no political economist worthy of the name would consider the necessities of a family satisfied by one room, and yet one room does answer all the purely physical purposes of a dwelling; what is required beyond one room is of moral and mental, not physical, necessity. So of clothing. For mere physical necessity no clothes are required over a large portion of the earth's surface, but few economists would consider physical necessities satisfied without at least a breech clout, while, in fact, the need of such a garment is purely moral, and so is the necessity for much of even the poorest clothing among civilized people.

In measuring the economic condition of society, therefore, we must take into consideration the moral and mental, as well as the physical necessities for which labor is performed, and the standard of measurement then becomes the ratio of the wages of the laborer to the cost of the purchasable necessities of his manhood, physical, mental and moral, or, to phrase it more conveniently, *the ratio of wages to reasonable wants*.

The purely physical necessities are stationary, or increase by a slow process of evolution, but the moral and intellectual necessities may increase, and for the past century have increased very rapidly; and as the purchasing power of wages at the best showing has increased but slowly,

the ratio of wages to reasonable wants has decreased for a century, and is now decreasing, and at an accelerating rate.

The mind has grown more alert with the masses, the thought more active, the attention more intense; and with these changes have come new wants of rest and recreation and enjoyment. The progress of education has added not only the cost of what is termed education, but also to the cost of supplying the wants to which it has given rise; the cost of books and periodicals; the cost of maintaining churches, lyceums, theaters, and art galleries; the cost of what of beauty and adornment of clothes and dwelling the improved taste demands; the cost of the flower garden, the musical instrument, and the bath room. The advance in family life has made it a necessity for the wife to remain at home with household duties and the care of children, while the husband does the required work for both in the field and workshop, and it also withdraws, or should withdraw, from field and workshop the children, and for much of the time the boys and girls. The home of the alert, intelligent workman has a thousand wants unknown in the homes of an ignorant peasantry. The growth of the aggregate wealth has added to the reasonable wants of the individual, for the wants of each are unavoidably affected by what others have. The free association and intercourse of society depend in part upon similarity of environment of the individuals composing it; while great dissimilarity of external conditions tends to limit association and sympathies, and to divide society into isolated classes; and it is a reasonable want to remove, as far as practicable, the barriers in the way of the widest attainable relationship of self and family to society which moral and mental qualities warrant.

The prevailing political economy meets the demand of the growing wants of the masses with abstinence; abstinence, nothing but abstinence. Abstinence from what taste craves and increased intelligence requires. Abstinence from marriage. Abstinence from rearing children. Abstinence that makes life hardly worth living and thwarts the purpose for which the earth was created. It teaches that the pressure of population upon subsistence is such that the limits of the numbers to be maintained can only be somewhat broadened by the most rigid economy of the masses, while only the few can enjoy the means of full development of manly character. It holds out for the laborer an asceticism as severe as that of medieval religion, without its hope of heaven as a recompense.

The prevailing economic system enforces this economic philosophy or fallacy. Throughout the greater part of Europe, wherever education of the masses has made considerable advance, marriage is decreasing. (See Sir Rawson W. Rawson's presidential address before the English statistical society, November 17, 1885). The situation in Massachusetts may be taken as typical, for there industries are highly developed, and there free schools have existed longer than anywhere else, and in Massachusetts marriage decreases in proportion to the population at the rate of one-tenth in a generation. (See report of board of registration of Massachusetts for 1885). The birth rate there and in New England generally decreases as rapidly, and in Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut is less than in France, where it is the lowest in Europe. It is practically certain that the births among the native population in those states are fewer than the deaths.

The affections and impulses that prompt to marriage may be regarded as constant forces; at least, taking a large community as a whole, the forces urging to marriage change very slowly, if at all, and so of the relative power of these and other motives. For example, the relative power of motives of vanity and motives of domestic affection can hardly change perceptibly in a generation throughout a community. Consequently any considerable decrease in the marriage rate must be due to obstacles in the environment, and among men otherwise free such

obstacles are only to be found in economic conditions, while any general wide-spread decrease of marriage is proof that the economic condition is hardening. The decrease in the marriage rate which so generally accompanies advance in education and intelligence among the masses shows that the severity of economic conditions increases with intelligence. Intelligence does not tend to depress the purchasing power of wages, and the purchasing power of wages has not fallen largely, if at all; but growth in intelligence does tend to increase the reasonable wants, and to depress the ratio of wages to reasonable wants, unless there be a corresponding increase in wages.

The prevailing political economy teaches that under the pressure of population upon subsistence wages tend to fall to the minimum at which laborers will consent to live and rear children, and such are called, consistently with the prevailing theories, natural wages. Wages in Massachusetts, for example, have evidently reached this limit, and are approaching very near to it throughout the more enlightened portions of Europe, as well as of this country, not because wages are actually falling, but because on account of the growing intelligence the ratio of wages to reasonable wants is falling.

The results of tests by marriage rate and birth rate agree with common observation and experience. The "economic problem is in the air" because there is a wide-spread perception, more or less vague, that economic conditions are growing more and more burdensome. Those who look back thirty or forty years upon the changing conditions of friends and neighbors and relatives, and who observe with sympathy and interest, see that the worry and wear of life is increasing, that the difficulties in the way of sustaining home and family are accumulating, and that hesitancy and doubt have taken the place of the old time practical certainty of marriage among the young, and the old time courage and confidence with which they did marry and start homes in this country. But when they begin to inquire definitely as to the truth in regard to the situation they are met with the statement that the country is prosperous, wealth is accumulating, and the purchasing power of wages is increasing, and with the assertion, or implication, that the trouble is in the growing extravagance of the masses. There is enough truth combined with the errors of this explanation to make it blinding and misleading. Wealth is accumulating, the purchasing power of wages may be increasing, and certainly is not decreasing rapidly enough to account for the evils of the situation; but what is designated growing extravagance is really growing reasonable wants of the people, and the growth is a necessary result of growth in intelligence and inseparable from it. Vanity bears no higher ratio to domestic affection than it did a generation ago. But moral and intellectual wants have increased, and consequently to measure the condition of the workingmen by the purchasing power of wages as generally understood, that is, the ratio of wages to physical necessities, is to mislead and confuse. Substitute for this the ratio of wages to reasonable wants, and the situation stands out in clear light, its evils exposed and the necessity of a remedy established.

The ratio of wages to reasonable wants is now decreasing with the growth of intelligence, but there is no necessity in the nature of human life, or in the nature of the environment of life, for such a result of intellectual and moral progress. Creation is no such a failure as that. The same growth of intelligence which increases the wants increases as well the power of production of what is needed to satisfy the wants, and there is no reason to think that the growth of reasonable wants from advance in intelligence will outstrip the growth in power of production due to the same advance in intelligence. It certainly has not done so hitherto, and the evils of the economic situation must therefore be due to the

diversion of the products from the workman.

On the other hand, as reasonable wants tend to increase with intelligence, there is no ground for expecting from the growth of intelligence an increase of production sufficient to permit any considerable part of the product to be diverted from the workmen without harmful loss and suffering to them. By workmen here are meant all who work with head or hand, with or without capital to satisfy either physical, mental or moral wants of society. The growth in intelligence and mental power and efficiency will not stop. Even from a purely materialistic point of view it would be ruinous to have it stop; for whatever may have been the incidental and proximate causes of the enormous enlargement of the power of production of the last hundred years, the principal underlying cause has been the growth of intelligence, inventive faculty, and general efficiency of the workmen.

There is therefore no way left to establish the normal ratio of wages to reasonable wants except by securing to the world's workers the product of the world's work, undiminished by rent or other device for obtaining wealth without doing a proportionate share of the work.

Until this is accomplished the aggregate wealth cannot be taken as an indication of the real prosperity of the community. The ratio of wages to the cost of physical necessities is never a true measure of the condition of the workmen, and never approximately true except when their condition is so low that they have few other than physical wants. But a sure, searching, truth revealing test, and one that dissipates a cloud of common errors, is the ratio of wages to reasonable wants.

It will require, it is true, much research and discrimination and judgment at every stage to determine what are reasonable wants, but the object of the science of political economy is to show how these wants may be most efficiently satisfied, and it cannot render this, its proper service, without such study as will determine with sufficient definiteness what are reasonable wants. JAMES E. MILLS.

San Francisco.

ECONOMIC BRIC-A-BRAC.

It is to be hoped that Mark Twain's next book will be a comic political economy. He need not be at all bashful about it, for his work would be quite as scientific, if not so funny, as the serious writings on that subject of the irrepressible Edward Atkinson, LL.D., Ph. D. Dr. Atkinson's latest literary venture, though it bears the formidable title of "The Industrial Progress of the Nation," (1) is little more than a collection of old essays which have appeared under his signature in various magazines during the past three or four years. The collection contains a commencement day address delivered before the university of South Carolina last summer; an article on the food question, published in the Century Magazine for December, 1886; two "studies" relative to the strength and weakness of nations, published in the same magazine for January, 1887; an article on the cause of low prices, high wages, and small profits, published in the same magazine for August, 1887, and elaborately illustrated with ingenious diagrams and imaginary statistics; a series of articles on the distribution of products, reprinted from the Forum; an article on slow burning buildings, from the Century of February, 1889; and an article on cooking from Lend-a-hand. To these have been added a chapter on "Production, Distribution and Consumption," one on "A Single Tax on Land," and one on "Religion and Life."

Dr. Atkinson introduces his book with a preface in which he confesses that when he began the study of "national accounts" his concepts of the great problems in social science "were very vague and indefinite." The confession is superfluous. It is only necessary to read the collection of essays to see that his "concepts" are very vague and indefinite yet. Of most writers who fall into error,

it can be said that it is this or that fallacy which misleads them; but of Dr. Atkinson's writings that is impossible. His logic is not sidetracked by any particular fallacy; his studies are quite innocent of logic. No review, not even a book, could afford the space to completely answer him. It would require an elaborate concordance to even point out his errors. His argument, like the wind, "goeth where it listeth," and no man can tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth, or what with all it hath to do.

From the book before us we may cull a few choice extracts that will interest single tax men.

"Raw land," says Dr. Atkinson, "has no value. When a high price is paid for a corner lot in a city it is paid for the choice of position, not for any inherent value in the land itself." It requires the imagination of a doctor of philosophy to see that the value of a position on the earth's surface is not a land value. What is it that gives control of this choice of position and, therefore, command of labor products to the value of what the choice of position is worth, if it is not ownership of the corner lot? It is true that so long as the lot is unused no labor product is produced from it; but it is also true that no labor product can be produced from it until the laborer has agreed to give its value in products from other land, or, by way of installments, its value in the future products of the corner lot itself. By owning the lot the owner commands the value of its position, and either prevents production by keeping it out of use, or shares in its product, without himself contributing to it, by selling or renting to a producer.

Again, he says that though "land is the primary source of production, it is not the only source of income." Perhaps Dr. Atkinson can name an income which does not have its source in land or come to its receiver either mediately or immediately from land. If he can, he will confer a more lasting benefit upon the human race than his cooking box offers. When in the advance of improvement we discover how to produce incomes without resort to land, single tax clubs will disband and landlords will be left to enjoy their land in their own way.

Dr. Atkinson finds it "difficult to follow the somewhat vague conceptions and the tortuous reasoning of the supporters of the single tax theory," but supposes that they "intend to force land into wider distribution by the weight of taxation and at the same time to relieve the people from a part of the weight of taxation by putting all taxes upon land or upon what they call the site value of land." This sounds to him "a little like adding to the burden in order to lighten the weight." If our conceptions are indeed vague and our reasoning tortuous, let us fervently pray that Dr. Atkinson may never embrace our doctrine. He would make confusion worse confounded. What he probably means by "adding to the burden in order to lighten the weight," is that a tax must be paid out of labor products whether it falls upon the value of land or the value of the product—whether the landlord or the producer is taxed; and because it must be paid out of labor products, he infers that it must be paid by labor, wholly ignoring the familiar truth that land values represent differences in the productive power of different locations, under the application of the same labor.

From this point Dr. Atkinson plunges into a tangled jungle of incoherent ideas, through which it is impossible to follow him. His notion about capital is a fair specimen of the tangle into which he invites confiding readers. "Some kind of capital," he says, "must be placed at the service of man, or else the laborer himself could barely subsist even on the best land." When capital and land are confused and spoken of as convertible terms, as they often are by certain political economists, it is easy to detect the fallacy of the supposition that capital is a prerequisite to production; but in lucid intervals Dr. Atkinson quite clearly recognizes

(1) New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, "The Knickerbocker Press." 1890.

the difference between land and capital. He sees, apparently, that labor cannot produce land, but that it can and does produce capital. Seeing that, how it is possible for him to suppose that the laborer could but barely subsist unless capital was "placed at the service of man" is past finding out. It may be that his intellect has been disordered by the study of specialized statistics so as to deprive him of the power of logical generalization. It may be that he does not suppose, as his words would imply, that some superhuman power must provide capital or laborers would suffer; but, considering only one class of laborers at a time, supposes that they would suffer unless other classes of laborers produced capital. But that supposition, while it makes his proposition comprehensible, does so only by showing it to be childish. Given land, and one class of laborers would be able to produce as well as another, and by means of exchange each class would get from other classes the capital necessary to enable it to produce without other limitations than the state of the arts imposed. Give to farmers all the most fertile land they want, and they cannot produce to advantage without tools; but make mechanics as free to produce as farmers and let them freely exchange, and both farmer and mechanic will produce to the uttermost limits of human knowledge.

After long wandering through his jungle Dr. Atkinson emerges into a clearing, where he sums up results by saying:

If the advocates of the single tax system had been farmers, holding the average amount of land and working their holdings year by year in order to gain a subsistence for their families and to sell a sufficient amount of the product of their farms to enable them to buy clothing, groceries and to pay even their present local taxes, the promoters of this theory would more fully comprehend than they do now how difficult it is for the average farmer to set aside even money enough to pay the present taxes.

But the single tax advocate comprehends all this. Hence, as well as for other reasons, he is a single tax advocate. Farmers, such as Dr. Atkinson describes, are working on what in another place—somewhere in his jungle—he calls "no rent land," and, therefore, under the single tax system would not have to set aside any money to pay taxes. The relief which Dr. Atkinson proposes for this class of our population is an indirect tax upon consumable products, under which, as he says, the tax "may be avoided wholly or in part by him who refrains from consuming any such subjects of taxation." This conclusion is specially called to the attention of Mark Twain as a suggestion when he writes his comic political economy.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

An interview with Benton McMillin, of Tennessee—No Material Changes in the Tariff Probable in this Congress—The Uncomfortable Position of the Republican Party—Important Facts Brought Out in the Hearings of the Ways and Means Committee—Rebellious Republicans Down East—The American Farmer—Admonished to Feel Rich While Being Ruined, and to Take His Fleeing Like a Philosopher—Senator Butler's Coup d'Etat—Homes, Farms and the Census—Work of Single Tax Men in Washington.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 27.—Now that the public hearings of the ways and means committee are closed there is much speculation as to how the committee will be influenced by what it has heard in presenting its tariff bill to the house of representatives. As to the nature of this testimony and the course likely to be pursued by the republicans, I asked the opinion of Mr. Benton McMillin, of Tennessee, who is now serving his sixth term and is considered one of the most brilliant speakers and parliamentarians on the democratic side of the house. He was present as a member of the ways and means committee from the beginning to the close of the hearings, never missing an hour, and therefore speaks with full knowledge of the evidence there submitted. I asked Mr. McMillin what he thought of the prospect of reduction in the tariff as the result of these hearings.

"I see no prospect of material reformation of the tariff by the present congress," he answered. "The strong current of public sentiment in that direction is not likely to get an expression until there is a new set of representatives. Most of the changes that occur will be increases rather than reductions of the rate of duty. The duty was raised on

various things in the tariff act of 1883. The protectionists declared that it was done to counteract the effect of the repeal of the duty on the coverings and cases in which imported merchandise was packed. The bill passed last week reimposed this duty without making any reduction in the rate of duty on the merchandise. This amounts on many articles to from five to fifteen per cent increase in the rate of duty. Viewing the whole situation, it seems to me probable that a bill increasing duties will be reported by the committee, and may be passed by the house. How far this tendency may be checked by the very strong sentiment in the east for a reduction or repeal of the duties on raw materials it is impossible yet to tell. That such a sentiment exists and is rapidly growing cannot be denied. As an evidence of its existence I need only refer to the fact that the Home market club, hitherto favoring the most ultra features of the tariff, met and sent representatives before the ways and means committee in opposition to the proposition of that committee for reimposing the duty on coverings, cases and cartons containing imported merchandise. The east is rapidly finding out that it cannot carry cotton from the south and coal from Pennsylvania or Virginia and manufacture cotton goods in competition with mills run by water power beside the cotton fields. The two transportations and more costly manufacturing in the east amount to a dividend on the capital invested in the south. An effort has been made to tickle the east with the idea of a 'home market,' but those cities situated on the sea shore seem to be realizing at last that their 'home market' exists only on one side of their cities (being cut off from the water by statute and tariff) whereas the interior cities' 'home market' is on every side. They have seen the south come rapidly to the front and successfully take every line of manufacture they have attempted to take, and the eastern people are casting around to devise means to resist this tendency."

I asked Mr. McMillin what he thought of the proposition to reduce the tax on sugar.

"There is a considerable disposition on the republican side of the house to reduce the tax on sugar one-half," he answered, "and in lieu of the present duty to give a bounty directly out of the treasury to sugar producers. This is resisted even by the sugar grower, mostly because he knows that the people of this country will not long submit to this Peter-robbing-Paul-paying process, by which one man's money is taken to make another man's vocation pay; and while we need not be surprised at anything that is done, I think even the present majority will be slow to inaugurate a system of subsidizing one class of our farmers at the expense of another. In the hearings before the ways and means committee I took occasion when farmers came before it complaining of the burdens they now unjustly bear to inquire what had been the effect of the present law on the farming classes; and so far as I now remember tariff reformers and protectionists alike complained that even in the neighborhood of the manufacturing centers the price of farm products had gone down and land values diminished from thirty to fifty per cent. They realize that they have to sell in the open markets of the world or at prices fixed in the open markets of the world by the similar products from all regions of the earth; whereas, they have to buy what they need in the markets of their own country where prices are made high by the artificial influence of excessive duties. One of the chief officials of the agricultural societies of New Jersey testified that in that great manufacturing state farm products and land values had steadily fallen off until of necessity sons of farmers were driven from the country to seek other pursuits. Similar testimony came from Pennsylvania and other regions. Yet this congress threatens to increase the duty on tin plate in which the farmer cans his vegetables, and on the jute sacks in which he ships his grain. They even tell him that if he gets his sugar a little cheaper they will take the money out of his own pocket to pay for it. He's admonished to feel rich while being ruined, and to take his fleeing like a philosopher."

As to the ultimate result of the tariff agitation, Mr. McMillin said:

"I think that a reformation of the tariff in the near future is inevitable. The uniform testimony of the persons who came before the ways and means committee was that the effects of the tariff of 1883 have been generally injurious and in many cases ruinous. To increase the duties will only aggravate these evils. To increase duties on raw materials only makes it more and more impossible for the east to compete with the south in supplying even its own locality. Our iron from the south is being sold in Pittsburg now, our cotton goods will be sold in Lowell by and by.

When there is an increase in duties on raw materials or on the lower grades of goods which are to be subjected to another process of manufacturing it only makes it more and more impossible for New England and the east to survive. A majority of the people of the United States are for a reformation of the tariff, and that majority is day by day increasing. We may not get it from this congress, and in my opinion we will not, but the people who make and unmake congresses will send one here ready to reflect their will. Before the committee this time the representatives of 530 woolen manufacturers came demanding free raw material, and 202 more demanding a reduction and ad valorem duties. What a wonderful stride forward in sentiment!

In respect to a point, the importance of which is not generally recognized—the changing of ad valorem to specific duties—Mr. McMillin said:

"The efforts to increase the duties, as I gather from the hearings of the ways and means committee, are both direct and indirect. In addition to the long stride made directly, the raising of duties is sought to be accomplished indirectly by proposing specific instead of ad valorem duties, the result of which generally is to place a higher rate of duty on the commoner and coarser grade of goods used by the poor than on the finer goods used by the luxurious and wealthy. This is most flagrant in the cutlery and woolen goods schedules of the senate bill, where specific rates are adopted, and in the schedules proposed by the Wool growers and manufacturers' association."

In conversation, I find the opinion expressed by Mr. McMillin—that there is likely to be no material change in the tariff by this congress—entertained by others qualified to speak. Senator Butler of South Carolina, for instance, who is a member of the committee inquiring into our commercial relations with Canada, which recently visited New England, to take testimony, says that he was surprised at the way in which down-east republicans were calling for raw materials. Yet a little while and he expects to hear seditious talk.

Speaking of Senator Butler recalls the fact that his amendment inserting the principle of the Australian ballot system in Senator Sherman's federal election bill has been laid on the table ready to be called up when the Sherman bill is reported by the committee on elections. Or it can at any time be referred to the committee if that course is deemed wisest. Meanwhile, lying on the table, it hangs a constant menace to the dangerous features of the Sherman bill. But Senator Butler is inclined now to think that the latter will never be reported out of the committee. To carry it unchanged through the senate would require a pretty full republican vote, yet by opposing the amendment the senators from Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York would place themselves in a very compromising and embarrassing position. They would have to disregard the fact that Massachusetts, in the hands of republicans, has embodied the Australian ballot system in her laws and has found it work to a charm; that Connecticut has adopted a system which, though a sham and a humbug, is nevertheless boastfully presented by the republican majority as based on the Australian system; and that New York's republican legislature, backed by all the republican papers in the state, has twice, by a unanimous republican vote, passed a bill containing all the essential features of the genuine reform. To reject Senator Butler's ballot reform amendment would, therefore, place the senators from these states in the attitude of discrediting the work of their party in their own states.

Mr. Dockery, of Missouri, has given up hope for his bill providing that the eleventh census report shall show what proportion of the homes and farms are owned by their occupants, and how many and to what extent homes and farms are mortgaged. The republicans in the committee on census to which the bill has been referred, he says, are opposed to making this or any other change in the law, and he expects never again to hear of his bill. If reported, he is confident that it would pass easily, as the democrats would vote for it unanimously, and there are a number of republicans whose constituents are very desirous that the real condition of affairs in which they are slowly being pressed to the wall shall be presented in what they believe to be the irrefragable figures of the census report. But Census Superintendent Porter and those who hold with him as to the impolicy of an administration which stands on the pretentious claim that it can and does "protect" everybody and everything making any such exhibition are decidedly averse to it. And so it appears, that this bill, which would have given a glimpse of

the real condition of the great part of our people, upon whose prosperity depends the health, indeed, the life of the nation, is to be consigned to sleep, to oblivion, and we may confidently expect to learn on the issuance of the eleventh census report of the universal prosperity of our people, and that it is all on account of "protection!"

A joint committee composed of delegates from six important organizations, among them the local district assembly of the Knights of Labor, the Washington branch of the Federation of labor, and the Single tax league met last Monday night in the rooms of the Single tax league and organized in furtherance of the determination to prevent, if possible, any further granting of street railroad franchises in the District of Columbia. An executive committee was elected, of which Charles Frederick Adams was made chairman and H. J. Schulteis secretary, and the work was divided up among the individual members with instructions to report at the next meeting. The joint committee has taken hold of this matter with confidence of success and is pushing the work along with real zeal and vigor. It has obtained copies of all the bills granting railroad franchises in the district that have been presented in congress, and is making itself thoroughly familiar with them and will bring its forces to bear wherever necessary. Moreover, a memorial setting forth the principles of the bodies represented by the joint committee with regard to street railroad franchises is being drawn up, and will shortly be presented to the district commissioners. It may be worth noting that one of the two franchises pending has been reported against by the commissioners. The declared reason is that property owners along the line of the proposed road objected; but there can be little doubt that the agitation against it started by our people had a good deal to do with it, as the railroad men are growing more and more alarmed at the formidable sentiment which has suddenly sprung up in opposition to their plans. From the vigorous way in which it has taken hold of the whole matter much good is to be hoped for from the operations of this joint committee.

Nor is the Single tax league letting the grass grow under its feet. At the regular meeting last week it authorized C. B. Hemmingsway to draw up a petition to the district commissioners praying for the remission of personal property taxes. Copies of this petition will be distributed all over the District of Columbia for signatures. At the same time all the public attention possible will be directed to it by means of lectures and discussions and through communications to the newspapers. Some of the largest retail and wholesale merchants in Washington have signed the petition circulated by the single tax enrolment committee asking the house of representatives to appoint a committee to inquire into and report upon the single tax, and they and many others can readily be got to sign this new petition, so that the Single tax league's demand will have that influential backing which will insure for it at least a respectful hearing.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

A New and Effective Plan of Propaganda—What Gladstone Really Did Say About "Land Nationalization."

HYDE, MANCHESTER, Jan. 11.—The yet most effective way of bringing the advantage of the single tax home to the minds of the people has been adopted with remarkable success by Mr. Councillor Bentley of the town of Bury in Lancashire. Bury is in the main "owned" by Lord Derby, and Mr. Bentley has distinguished himself recently by opposition to a new scheme of sewerage on the ground that inasmuch as all these permanent improvements enormously enhance the value of the landlord's property, the landlord ought to contribute to the improvement. Mr. Bentley's method is simple and consequently effective. He shows that from the year 1846 up to March 31, 1889, the people of Bury—other than the landed proprietors—have expended as much as £207,293 in extinguishing debt incurred for permanent public improvements. In the year 1889 the amount devoted to this purpose was £18,617, or about one-third of the total amount of taxes collected, and inasmuch as it is admitted by landlords themselves that they are "only benefited by so much of the taxes as go to form a sinking fund to pay off any permanent improvements," Mr. Bentley contends that Lord Derby, who is virtually the owner of the soil, in addition to the ground rent he receives, is having his property improved at the expense of his tenants to the amount of £18,000 per annum. Then Mr. Bentley goes on to show that on this score alone the rates of the town, amounting to about 5d. in the pound, ought to be raised as follows:

The occupier should contribute	5	d.
Owner of property other than land	2	0
Landowners	2	11
Total	5	0

Mr. Bentley is extremely modest in confining himself to charging upon the landlords a rate having reference only to the increased value accruing to land by reason of permanent improvements, but it is a step in the right direction, and it shows how the taxation of land values is growing in public favor. Why all increment of value should not be equally liable to taxation is a question which will resolve itself in due time. I only entertain this single instance to show how the question is working its way. It would be impossible to even estimate the value of such work as that which Mr. Bentley has done in the town of Bury. By letters to the press both in Bury and in Manchester, by speeches from the platform and in his address to the rate payers of the east ward, Mr. Bentley has forced the subject upon the attention of the people of Bury, and there can be little doubt that his work will bear abundant fruit. I have no doubt that the resolution in favor of taxing ground rents which was passed recently by the Manchester city council was largely due to such efforts as this of Mr. Bentley's. Happily we have now in all the large centers of population a group of earnest, thoughtful men who "see the cat" so clearly as to be moved to speak and act as Mr. Bentley has done, and there is no doubt that this work is having its due effect. If only the general election be long enough delayed we may be sure that the English social question will have acquired such urgency and such momentum that it will brush all other questions aside. But if Mr. Bentley is modest in his argument, it must not be supposed that he does not see what the effect of the imposition of so slight a burden upon the landlord as a 2s. 1d. rate, in regard only to permanent improvements, would be, for he asks: "Who can form any idea of the impetus which could be given to the trade and industries of the borough if Lord Derby would return to the town that portion of the rates for which they are not justly chargeable?" These are the two points we must keep clearly in view: First, that justice demands that all land values, such as ground rents and so on, which grow by reason of the growth of population and industry and without any effort on the landlord's part, should accrue to the public, or at the very least pay a large share of the public burdens; and, second, that the inevitable effect of imposing a tax upon these values would relieve industry and extend opportunity to laborer and capital alike, and so increase trade and raise wages all round. I am happy to say that Mr. Davitt has undertaken to deliver several addresses in England, on these points toward the end of the present month.

It may interest your readers to read the text of some remarks made the other day by Mr. Gladstone at the rent audit of the Hawarden estate. Mr. Gladstone is not the lord of the manor, but his son, Mr. W. H. Gladstone is; still Mr. Gladstone has occasionally himself attended the dinner. In this instance, in the course of a speech on agricultural questions, the right honorable gentleman remarked:

"The question of the relation of landlord and tenant has been met, and will continue to be met, I believe, by reasonable feeling and conduct on both sides without leading to any serious difficulty. They will each judge what they can and ought to do, and comparing together from their several points of view their ideas in a rational and candid spirit, they will arrive at arrangements upon the whole just. And I am confident of the social harmony which has now for more than two centuries united farmers in this district to the Hawarden family. I have the utmost confidence this harmony will continue. We hear sometimes of changes. You must not be too much frightened at a long word, but there is a recommendation made by some for what is called nationalization of land. That is a long word and a formidable word. It is not very obscure. It means that in some way or other the state is to become the universal proprietor. In my opinion, if it is for the benefit of the people, for the benefit of the agricultural class, but not for that class only, but of the whole community, that the state should become the proprietor of all the land of the country, then it would be perfectly right that it should be done. I do not think the landlord would have any right to object. He would have a right to receive a fair compensation for what belongs to him, but he would have no right to object. But I own to you, I do not see any way to that change. I am sometimes suspected, I hope unjustly, of being too ready to promote and recommend changes, but I do not see any way to that change, because I do not under-

stand, from any explanation I have heretofore seen, in what way the state is to be made a good and capable landlord. Undoubtedly it would be a very unfavorable change, I think, for the farmer, if the law of this country were to be that all the cultivators of the soil should also own the soil they cultivate, because that soil would not be made a present to them. They would have to pay for it. The farmer ought to make something like a trading profit out of his farm, but the owner of the soil in a country like this never can make a trading profit. A trading profit ought to be something like ten per cent, and if the farmer does not always get it, he does sometimes. But the owner cannot expect to get more than three per cent, and it would not be a satisfying thing for the farmer to have one-fifth of his capital invested in farm stock and returning him ten per cent, and the other four-fifths invested in the soil and returning him three per cent. Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that the best and the most wholesome system is that which now prevails, the well working of which depends upon the wisdom and good conduct of the people concerned, where the soil is owned by one set of men and occupied and cultivated by another set of men. I trust that very long, both here and elsewhere, that system may continue to gain strength from an increase and constant growth of intelligence and of good feeling, both on the one side and on the other."

HAROLD RYLETT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Edward Harrigan is one of the most popular actors and managers that ever performed in New York city, and as an actor and dramatic author has a reputation that extends over the entire country. Mr. Harrigan has not played in New York during the past season, despite his popularity; but he intends to do so next season, and for innumerable seasons to follow, and he will occupy a theater of his own. Mr. Harrigan said last week to the Philadelphia correspondent of the New York Herald:

"I will open the season there probably in September with a new play which I have just finished, but have not yet named. It is a local play, like most all the others which I have done in New York. My theater will be small and compact, handsomely finished, and will hold about a thousand dollars per night. I do not believe in large theaters where you have got one-half the time to play to empty chairs. I have been trying for years to get a theater of my own in New York, and because I did not succeed I gave up playing there this season.

"I have got tired of playing for landlords. I had a great five months' run of 'Pete' and another five months of 'Waddy Googan,' and the landlords got it all.

"I got tired of that, and determined not to play any more in New York until I got a theater of my own, and that I have now accomplished."

Flushing, L. I.—Along the avenues of trade property has a much greater value than property on side streets used for dwellings. Now, a merchant doing business on a leading avenue buys dwelling property on a side street adjacent to the business avenue, spends money in altering the house for business purposes and then by the use of his brains and capital succeeds in drawing the public to this place of business. In the course of time others follow and the street becomes valuable for business purposes. If then you take in taxation the increased value of the land, which would not exist but for his enterprise, do you not deal unjustly by him? In other words, would you allow the merchant anything for the increased land value, and if not, why not?

THOMAS G. GILLIGAN.

We would not. Not for the general increase. So long as the lot he had taken increased in value without any increase of the value of adjoining lots, his taxes would be no higher. But when the surrounding land increased also, that would show that the increase of land value was due to the concentration of business at that point. He would have been the pioneer, but the increased land value would be due to the efforts of others to get into the same locality. The owners of other land in the same locality would be taxed higher, and it would be just that he should be also. The mere fact that he went there first would give him no greater right to the land than every one else would have, and if the community allowed him to retain exclusive possession of it he would be secured in the enjoyment of a special privilege the value of which in justice he should pay to the community. Whatever he made by the use of his brains and capital would be his without taxation; but the value attaching to his land, not because of his brains and capital, but because other merchants came into the same neighborhood to use their brains and capital, would not be his. Suppose you put your question in another

form. Instead of assuming that the merchant bought the land, assume that he rented it. When land all around had risen in value, would you exempt this man's landlord from the increased tax. Of course not. But you might say the landlord had done nothing to merit it, while the merchant had. But in his character of landlord the merchant would have done nothing to merit any reward either. Whatever reward he might merit he would have earned in his character of merchant, and in that character, to the extent of all the reward he might have earned, the single tax would exempt him from public burdens.

* * *

The department of charities and correction is making its usual winter distribution of coal to the poor. The professional "poor" who understand "the ropes," will have little difficulty in getting their share of it, as they, by experience, have learned how to dodge all the red tape involved in getting a half ton of coal for nothing. But the really poor—the people who most fear the coming of cold weather—not having been insured to it by poverty in former years—will find themselves seriously embarrassed and harassed when they make their applications. This annoyance can be avoided to some extent, as follows: If you are a democrat or a republican, go to your party captain in your election district, and give him a clear statement of how poor you are; if necessary, tell him you were a voter of his party ticket; and if he asks you, which is likely, what your political sentiments are likely to be in the future, tell him that you are true blue and will stand by the "old flag." If you have not been a voter for either party in the past, why, smother your conscience for a time, and lie. Answer the questions just the same as if you were a partisan. If the election district captain owns a saloon—and he generally does—spend a few dimes with him; make it a point to be seen in his saloon frequently; and as soon as you think yourself well enough known to be considered a patron of the place, strike the owner for a coal order, at the same time narrating your circumstances.

* * *

Or, if you are a member or a communicant of any of the religious denominations, apply to the charitable bureau attached thereto; and if there is no bureau see the head officials of your church. There are other ways in which to get the free city coal, but the above two suggestions open broad avenues in which to work. There are objections to this method which may be powerful to many who are stricken with poverty but who may yet retain some remnants of the pride which was theirs in better days. You will be looked upon by the politician as a henchman and by the charitable bureau as a beggar; and if your neighbors find out how you got your coal they will call you a "sponger." These considerations, however, do not weigh with the seasoned "poor," and in the course of time the really poor will come to treat them with the same indifference.

* * *

Lincoln, Neb.—How can it be just for a poor man, able to build for himself but an humble cottage, to be taxed as much as his wealthy neighbor who erects a costly cottage on a lot of the same size? Or, is it just that a man able to build but a two story tenement should pay the same tax as a man who puts up a ten story building on an adjacent lot?

A. J. McCLATCHIE.

Each uses the same value of public property and therefore each should pay the same for the privilege. If the rich man builds a fine house on cheap land, why should he pay more than the land is worth? If a poor man builds a shabby house on dear land, why should he pay less than the land is worth?

* * *

A member of the Manhattan single tax club was talking a few days ago with one of the tax commissioners. In the course of the conversation the commissioner said the present system was inherently bad, and added:

"I don't yet know how to do it; but if I knew how and had the power, I would establish a system of taxation that would give notice to everybody the world over who had a dollar to invest that New York was the best place in which to invest it."

The Manhattan single tax club man asked him if he didn't think the abolition of taxes on all kinds of wealth would have that effect. The commissioner said it would, but wanted to know where public revenues would come from.

"If all revenues were drawn from the value of land," asked the other, "do you think it would drive out of New York, or keep out, a single acre of land?"

"Of course not," replied the commissioner.

"Well," remarked his friend as they parted, "now that you know how to lay taxes so as to invite the capital of the world here, let us hope that you may soon have the power."

* * *

Colonel A. M. Shook, general manager of

the Southern iron company, has just returned from Europe, says the Macon, Ga., Telegraph, where he went to investigate foreign methods of iron and steel making, that he might be able to compare the conditions of production abroad with those prevailing in this country. He did what he went to do, and gives the results to the newspapers. They are interesting. Among other things he says:

"I saw no place in England or Wales where iron was being made as cheaply as at Birmingham, Ala.

"At no place, either in England or Wales, were they putting coal on the cars as cheaply as is now being done in Tennessee and Alabama.

"The ores delivered at the pit's mouth are costing more per ton than similar grades of ores in Tennessee and Alabama.

"England can export nothing now profitably except tin plate.

"The price of pig iron in the Middleborough district at the furnace is \$2 a ton higher than at Birmingham or Chattanooga.

"We will be able to ship iron to England in the near future.

"The price of labor in England has advanced in some instances as high as 22½ per cent above one year ago, and it is further stated that another advance of 15 per cent will be made in January.

"The removal of the duty on iron would have no effect on the prices of all the heavier products. Our furnaces would not shut down, because English and Scotch irons are worth more in the yards than our irons are being sold for at home. Neither the increase nor the reduction of the tariff would have any effect now on the operation of southern furnaces."

* * *

Morris Dock, N. Y.—In replying to M. I. McCabe in your issue of the 15th of January you say: "As the value of A's land increased his tax would be higher, but his land would be more productive." Surely you do not contend that continued use of land increases its productive power?

JAMES HENDERSON.

No; but we do contend that the value of land does not increase unless its productive power increases. This does not mean productive power as to one thing, but productive power as to all things. Land might be so farmed that very little wheat would grow upon it, and yet, if a mine were discovered in it or a demand for building lots upon it should set in, it would produce not only more wheat, but more of everything than ever, because its annual value in these things would be greater. Mr. McCabe's question assumed that the single tax would rise on A's land while the land deteriorated in value. This could not be. The tax would rise only as the value of the land rose, and that would rise only as its general productive power increased.

* * *

Congress is asked to renew the Alaska seal monopoly. The twenty years' contract of the Alaska commercial company expires in May. It is asserted that the company has for some years been making \$2,000,000 a year out of its monopoly, while the royalty of the government has not at all kept pace with increasing profits. Senator Plumb contends that the company should pay \$5 or \$10 a skin for seals taken, while Senator McPherson, the defender of the company, is willing to see the royalty, now \$2 per skin, made \$3.50. Senator Stewart, who is said to have been for years one of the company's attorneys, naturally aided Mr. McPherson in the defense of his clients' interests.

* * *

Extremes meet in one body sometimes. The James Campbell, who appeared before the ways and means committee as the representative of the manufacturers of window glass and asked for a large increase of the duty upon that article—presumably in the interests of higher wages for the American workman—is the same James Campbell against whom the United States government has brought suit for violation of the alien contract law in bringing into this country a number of English workmen to serve as glass blowers in a factory near Pittsburgh.

* * *

It is said in labor circles that the bureau of labor statistics of New York state intends that its next year's report shall include the number of unemployed men in the various trades and occupations. If the task is faithfully performed by the bureau, a flood of light will be thrown upon what has heretofore been a disputed question among workmen.

* * *

In the last fifteen years Australia has spent an average of a million dollars a year in trying to exterminate the rabbit. If the pauper population of our great cities could get a chance at those rabbits how they would exterminate them!

* * *

Senator Berry's bill providing for a census of farm mortgages was recommitted to the

committee on census with instructions that it be amended so as to provide for getting at all the facts concerning agricultural indebtedness either through the census or by a separate investigation. The democratic senators, with Messrs. Plumb and Stewart, opposed the reference.

* * *

Mr. Gladstone said the other day that our new navy would cost forty or fifty per cent more than it need cost by reason of our protective tariff, but smilingly added that we were rich enough to stand it. He is too optimistic, however, for the people who must stand the exactions of the tariff are just those who are least able to stand it. Mr. Gladstone wisely said that our naval increase was likely to be made the excuse for further arming in other countries.

* * *

Again will the Danish parliament meet with a ministerial minority in the lower house, that body having but twenty-three ministers as compared with twenty-eight in the last house.

* * *

The Twin City Topics of Krebs, Indian territory, tells of a meeting that was held at Winchester, Kansas, on January 14. It was composed of representative men from every county in that state, who assembled for the purpose of organizing the "Kansas immigration bureau." The speakers, after dwelling upon the superior qualities of the soil and other things, came down to the actual purpose of the meeting. They want population to "develop the wonderful resources of Kansas." By a coincidence, enclosed in the copy of the Twin City Topics containing the above information, is a circular advising "all miners and mine laborers to stay away from a mine located at Alderson, Choctaw Nation, Indian territory . . . because the miners there are out on strike." The circular further says that agents of the Alderson mining company are hunting for miners to take the places of the strikers, and warns all such "not to be deceived" into coming to Alderson in search of work. Now, Indian territory is just south of Kansas, and Alderson is not far from the Kansas line. If the Kansas immigration bureau wants population to "develop the wonderful resources of Kansas," it would seem to an outsider that here is a magnificent opportunity to get such of the population of Alderson as are on strike. They are "miners and mine laborers." Therefore they are men of muscle, who could be relied upon, if they could get the opportunity, to "develop the wonderful resources" of any state. Besides, Alderson being only a short distance away, it would be cheaper, from a financial standpoint, to get those people than it would be to pay the expenses of people all the way from pauper Europe.

* * *

According to the journal of the Knights of Labor, people in search of work must stay away from Dallas, Texas; Aspen, Colorado; Rich Hill, Missouri; Greenville, Michigan; Letonia, Ohio; Eau Claire, Wisconsin; Caryville, Florida; Moss Point and Seranton, Mississippi; San Bernardino, California; Piqua, Iowa; Edgecombe, North Carolina; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Lockport, New York; Butte City, Montana; Krebs, Indian territory; Jackson, Michigan; because these places are filled with idle men. They must stay away from Utica, New York; Lafayette and Canfield, Colorado; New Derby, Pennsylvania; Brazil, Indiana; Silver City, Iowa; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Moberly, Missouri; Newburg, West Virginia, because strikes are in progress, principally against reductions in wages. They must stay away from Oswalt, Iowa, because trouble is expected. They must stay away from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, because work is at a standstill. They must stay away from Vicksburg, Mississippi, because "a determined and concentrated effort is being made to break down wages." There are no invitations to workers seeking work to go where it can be had.

* * *

Socialists in session at Chicago on Sunday last adopted resolutions declaring that advocates of anarchy in this country should be recognized and treated as agents of despotism and not as reformers, this because of the recent declaration by Bebel, the German socialist, that anarchism in Germany was promoted by the government in order that socialism might be confused with it and discredited. Now if the anarchists are as clever as they ought to be, they can respond that socialism is the promise of a new despotism more galling than the old.

* * *

Yes, a Moral as Long as Your Arm.
New York World.

When the cow gets on the railroad track in the path of a locomotive it is "very bad for the cow." When a politician persistently puts himself in the path of a great reform his remains will sooner or later "miss up the track." There may be a moral in this for Governor Hill.

GEORGE AT ST. LOUIS.

A RED LETTER DAY FOR WESTERN SINGLE TAX MEN.

A Remarkable Dinner and Reception at the Rooms of the Merchants' Club—Reception by the Single Tax League.

ST. LOUIS, Mo. Jan. 26.—The reception and dinner to Henry George in this city was an event that will long be remembered, not only by the single tax men, but by our citizens generally. Mr. and Mrs. George arrived on Saturday morning, shortly after 7 o'clock, and were driven to the Southern hotel. Before they could finish breakfast, callers began to arrive, and a steady stream of people anxious to greet Mr. George continued until he left the hotel to fill other engagements. Among the first to greet him after his arrival were H. H. Kaufman, president of the single tax league, W. F. Little, Hamlin Russell, N. O. Nelson, George F. Durant, E. C. Keeler and Frederick Cruden. Mr. George showed little, if any, fatigue as the result of his journey, and genially greeted all callers. During the day he was interviewed by representatives of nearly every paper in St. Louis and freely explained the single tax theory, which in this way obtained a fuller statement in the columns of our local papers than it has probably ever before had. Mr. George freely declared his opinion that if Grover Cleveland lives he will, without doubt, be the next presidential candidate of the democratic party, and be elected. Speaking of the connection of free trade and the single tax, he declared that the single tax is the culmination of the free trade idea. The principle of free trade is that all restriction and interference with trade lessens the general wealth. Under this theory, it is of course stupid to throw impediments in the way of bringing wealth into the country, and to thus impose restrictions upon the production of wealth here, that would otherwise go out in exchange for that brought in. The single tax men recognize this, and, going further, declare that we ought to free capital and labor from all taxes, and cease to fine industry and thrift. In response to a question concerning the farmers, Mr. George declared that as soon as they understood the question they would be the most enthusiastic supporters of the single tax. To take all public revenues from land values would relieve the farmers from the weight of taxation that now falls on them, since agricultural lands, without improvements, have relatively little value, as compared with land values in cities and towns.

The papers devote themselves to the most minute description of Mr. George's personal appearance, one of them dwelling on the fact that his shirt studs and sleeve buttons were made of mother of pearl. The general disposition among them, however, was to treat him with the utmost courtesy.

The single tax league gave him a reception yesterday between the hours of 3 and 5. The interior of the league rooms was handsomely decorated, and the rooms were crowded by an audience that included many ladies. Mr. George was received with prolonged applause, but did not attempt to make a formal speech. He simply talked to those present about the rapid advance of single tax organizations throughout the country. At the conclusion of his talk, an informal reception took place, the president of the league introducing those present to their guest. Mr. George, in company with Hon. N. O. Nelson, left the rooms of the league at 5 o'clock, and went directly to the rooms of the Mercantile club, where another informal reception was held. Mr. Nelson introducing him to numerous guests, who crowded forward to shake him by the hand and bid him welcome to St. Louis.

This reception and the dinner following it had been arranged very hastily. It was only a few days ago that it was learned that Mr. George would positively pass through St. Louis on his way to San Francisco. Thereupon Bronson C. Keeler, meeting at the Mercantile club N. O. Nelson, Geo. F. Durant, and J. B. Chase and other prominent business men who are in sympathy with the single tax theory, suggested that the opportunity be embraced to offer Mr. George a dinner. The idea was promptly accepted, and arrangements with Mr. George were made by telegraph. But he announced that he could only remain in St. Louis until the departure of the evening train for the west. Messrs. Keeler and Nelson decided that they would not give the matter up on that account, and arranged for a dinner to begin early, at which Mr. George should be the only speaker. As the club is composed of men of all shades of political opinion no attempt was made to have the dinner given by it in its official

capacity, but as soon as the rooms were obtained and the announcement made that a dinner would be given applications for seats came in rapidly from men of all shades of political opinion. During the hour before dinner Mr. George apparently formed the acquaintance of every man in the room. Many of those introduced to him at once opened fire on his theories; but whether he was attacked on free trade, single tax or ballot reform, they all found him a ready and capable antagonist. Promptly at 6 o'clock dinner was announced. Every seat in the large dining hall was taken, and Hon. N. O. Nelson presided, with Mr. George sitting at his right.

Among the guests were: Hon. N. O. Nelson, a leading manufacturer of the west and a free trader; Hon. E. A. Noonan, mayor of St. Louis; John R. Lionberger, a prominent capitalist; John W. Kauffman, president of the Merchants' exchange and a wavering protectionist; Frank E. Kauffman, of the Kauffman milling company, a tariff reformer; James T. Drummond, president Drummond tobacco company; Thomas Richeson, president of the Collier white lead and oil works; Charles F. Orthwein, commission merchant and ex-president of the Merchants' exchange; Marcus Bernheimer, wholesale merchant; C. C. Rainwater, wholesale merchant and president of the new Merchants' bridge company; Justin E. Joy, lumber dealer; Charles W. Knapp, president of the Republic company; Charles E. Jones, editor of the Republic; E. D. Mier, president of the Heine safety boiler company; E. E. Souther, wholesale iron merchant; James A. Waterworth, president of the board of underwriters; S. L. Boogher, wholesale merchant; Isaac W. Morton, vice-president Simmons hardware company; James Bannerman, wholesale merchant; Everett S. Brooks, commission merchant; Joseph M. Hayes, wholesale merchant; Charles E. Barney, retail merchant; Richard Ennis, president of the Ennis stationary company; Reid Northrop, president of the American refrigerator transit company; Rev. J. C. Learned, Church of the Unity; Rabbi S. H. Sonnenschein, Temple Israel; Rev. R. M. Higgins, Hyde Park Congregational church, and Rev. J. W. Ford, Second Baptist church. The educational institutions were represented by Professor Wm. Schuyler of the High school; Professor James H. Dillard, president of Mary institute, and Professors C. M. Woodward, H. S. Pritchett, James K. Hosmer, J. B. Johnson, E. E. Rankin, E. A. Engler, H. B. Gale and H. A. Wheeler of Washington university. For the medical profession there were present, Drs. John Green, A. C. Bernays, George Homan, Charles Barck and Hugo Summa. The bar was represented by Judge J. C. Normile of the criminal court, Frederick N. Judson, Chas. Nagle, Jas. Taussig, Charles S. Taussig, Seneca N. Taylor, James P. Maginn, Charles L. Moss, Robert H. Kern, Eugene C. Tittman, Andrew M. Sullivan, Chester H. Krum, John E. McKeighan, Charles M. Napton, George M. Maverick, and George W. Taussig. Among other guests were Nathan D. Thompson, president Thompson publishing company; Wm. J. Gilbert, president, and Matthew J. Gilbert, treasurer, Gilbert book company; Walker Evans, secretary Mound City paint and color company; James E. Jones, secretary Crystal plate glass company; William E. Barnes, editor the Age of Steel; John M. Dutro, treasurer St. Louis car wheel company; George B. Thomson, manager Goodyear rubber company; Edward K. Holton, secretary and treasurer St. Louis shovel company; Melvin H. Stearns, manager Murphy & Co., varnishes; Harold J. Tittman, secretary St. Louis cooperage company; Gustav H. Moll, secretary Orr & Lindsley shoe company; Emile Glogau, secretary Commercial building company; George F. Durant, general manager Bell telephone company of Missouri; Frank P. Crunden, manufacturer; Frederick M. Crunden, public librarian; Thomas Dinmock, editor; David H. Armstrong, Judge N. F. Cleary, Minard L. Holman, city water commissioner; Charles A. Potwin, S. S. Sample, Frank C. Case, William F. Ryan, Frank R. O'Neil, Ansel B. Denton, M. A. Fanning, John H. Fry, James L. Carlisle, William H. Little, Frank Gaennie and Frederick A. Leonard, commission merchants; John H. Terry, Adam Boeck, William P. Nelson and Peter Taaffe, real estate; John N. Judson, George M. Bartlett, William B. Addington, Nathan Kaufman, Theodore L. Cole, Charles Deyo, Arthur Thacher, O. E. Hovey, George C. W. Belcher, Jules H. Neustadt, Clifford W. Darby, George W. Wilson, James E. Smith, J. Reed Elliott, J. B. Carroll, Stephen M. Ryan, Henry H. Hoffman, Hamlin Russell, Owen Miller, Benjamin E. Bloom, John B. Thompson, James W. Steele, John Greaves, George W. Ryan, Morris Evans, Percy Popoon and B. C. Keeler. As Mr. George was compelled to leave

early only an hour was occupied by the dinner. Mr. Nelson then read letters of regret from David R. Francis, governor of Missouri, and Rev. John Snyder, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, the leading Unitarian minister of St. Louis. Governor Francis expressed his regret at his inability to be present, and said:

I am pleased to learn that prominent citizens, representing all classes and all parties, are uniting to honor so distinguished a guest. An original thinker, a close reasoner, a man of honest and deep convictions, with the courage to express them and to accept the conclusions to which they lead, merits the courtesy and consideration of his fellow men. Mr. George as one of the ablest and foremost advocates of tariff reform in this country, has aided in making that most important question the all absorbing issue of to-day.

Rev. Mr. Snyder said:

I envy those friends who will have the opportunity of hearing him expound in his lucid and convincing fashion the sound principles of commercial freedom. This is a subject upon which I have read and thought a great deal, and I have never seen a single argument tending to show the right of a republic to prevent a citizen buying and selling where he pleases. In conclusion let me send you a sentiment: Free trade, the youngest child in that household of liberty in which free press, free platforms and free pulpit are the recognized heirs and representatives.

Mr. Nelson then introduced Mr. George, saying that he felt greatly pleased and honored in doing so. Mr. George thereupon made an eloquent and lucid address, which was attentively listened to by the large audience present, and frequently interrupted by laughter and applause.

[Our correspondent sends a full report of Mr. George's speech, but it arrives at an hour that renders it physically impossible to put it in type for this edition of THE STANDARD. It will appear in full in our next issue.—Ed.]

As soon as his speech was concluded Mr. George left hurriedly to catch his train. He spoke exactly 15 minutes, concluding at 7:55, and hurried with a few friends to his carriage to enable him to catch his train at 8:20.

Saturday was a great day for the friends of the single tax in St. Louis. The people participating in the banquet were among our most prominent citizens, and the event is one that will do much toward breaking down the prejudice against which the single tax men of St. Louis have struggled so long, with a large and ever increasing measure of success. Mr. George will be given a breakfast to-morrow by the single tax club of Kansas City.

PERSONAL.

On Thursday, January 23, at Denham, Mass., Oliver Theodore Erickson, one of the county commissioners of Minneapolis and a well known single tax man, was wedded to Miss Carrie Estelle Neal of Denham, but late of Minneapolis. The couple were in New York last week, en route to Minneapolis. THE STANDARD congratulates Mr. Erickson on the change in his condition, and Mrs. Erickson on the excellence of her choice of a life partner.

The well known single tax speaker, W. J. Gorsuch, now resident at Bridgeport, Conn., writes to THE STANDARD that he is willing to deliver lectures, etc., wherever his services may be desired. He only asks that his absolute expenses be paid. He has just prepared a lecture entitled "Ginx's Baby," which is well fitted for a promiscuous audience. Address, No. 30 Bishop block, Bridgeport, Conn.

H. Martin Williams of St. Louis spoke at Turner hall, Kansas City, on January 22, under the auspices of the Tariff reform club. The club expected to have a joint debate between Mr. Williams and a representative of the Republican club, but, as usual, the exponent of the beauties of the protective system failed to materialize.

Seth Low will be installed as president of Columbia college on Monday, February 3.

Michael Davitt, in a lecture at Cork, Ireland, January 21, declared his unabated confidence in Mr. Parnell and his steadfast loyalty to him.

Judge C. J. L. Cunningham of Jasper, Alabama, does not intend that the people of his town shall remain in ignorance concerning the single tax. He has two articles in late numbers of the Mountain Eagle, in which he makes exhaustive explanations. The judge honors THE STANDARD by quoting very largely from it in his articles. The editor of the Eagle is evidently much interested in what the judge says, and while entertaining a high regard for him, insists that it is opposed to the single tax, which the judge favors. The editor of the Eagle may change his opinion later on; if he doesn't, it will not be Judge Cunningham's fault.

Boston Globe.

It's loaded.

Notwithstanding General Butler's advice, we should counsel Governor Hill not to monkey with the Australian ballot.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Some Irish Statistics.

Had Walter Scott's sweet little friend, Margery Fleming, grown into the sort of womanhood that her marvelous infancy promised, doubtless she would have extended her profane opinion of the multiplication table to mathematics in general and statistics in particular. Certainly so clever and plain spoken a person as Margery could not have read Mr. J. W. Russell's statistics, and their professedly dependent conclusions, in the Nineteenth Century for January, without an occasional explosion of strong language. Mr. Russell's article is entitled "The Actual and the Political Ireland," and it is designed to show how rarely any good thing comes out of that Nazareth, the Celtic west, and how useless it would be to grant home rule to Ireland as a whole. But Mr. Russell, like most statisticians, has fashioned a weapon to the hand of his enemy. He abundantly proves the superior thrift of eastern Ireland, a thing that nobody denied, but admits the excess of crime in this favored region, especially in the cities, and in this admission lies the danger to his whole theory; i. e.: that western Ireland is poor because it is Celtic. Here is what Mr. Russell's statistics really prove: Eastern Ireland exceeds western Ireland in crime because eastern Ireland has great cities where flourish the vices of civilization, bred for the most part of land monopoly, as they flourish in almost no agricultural community, however unjust the land laws. If Mr. Russell could obtain statistics as to crime in the exclusively agrarian districts of eastern and of western Ireland, he would undoubtedly find that pauperism and her hand-maiden crime, are in excess in the latter region. In fact Mr. Russell's statistics carry the lesson that is taught by almost every investigation of social conditions—that land monopoly is the root of social ills.

London Charities.

Scratch a social problem and you find the land question. It is either in sight or just below the surface everywhere. It distinctly appears in the future of London charities as discussed by Robert Hunter in the Nineteenth Century for January. All the world knows that the "city" of London is but a small part of the metropolitan district. It is chiefly the great business part of the British capital embraced within the area inclosed by the old corporation's walls. In 1861 the permanent population of this district was but 113,000. Now it is not more than 50,000. At night it is like downtown New York, a region of great empty business houses, inhabited by a few care takers. By day it is busy and densely populated. Once it was a populous resident quarter, and the city charities, dating backing for generations, were founded with a view to then existing conditions. These charities derive their incomes chiefly from rents, and as rents have enormously advanced with the growth of trade, the incomes have steadily grown, until now the city charities have a revenue of nearly \$500,000 a year. The charities were for the most part confined to parish boundaries, and the parishes have steadily shrunk in population. A city rector, so the story goes, was accosted by a well dressed woman in the street, who claimed his acquaintance on the ground that she was the "resident poor" of the parish. Mr. Hunter thus describes the change in the city's condition:

Money was dear in those days, and rents were low. A house or garden would perhaps yield the parish an annual income of £20 or £30, enough to give a few poor men and women a suit of clothes at Christmas or a loaf every Sunday. Then came changes. Space became too valuable for residence. As leases fell in, courts and alleys were abolished, and stacks of warehouses and offices took their place. The modest property left to the parish became a small mine of wealth, while the poor of the parish disappeared. . . . Under such circumstances there was absolutely nothing to be done with the money but to make everyone connected with the church and the parish, from the rector to the beadle and the organ blower, exceedingly comfortable, and to maintain a few agreeable residents, such as the lady who interviewed her rector.

A royal commission appointed in 1878 discussed all this. Nearly half the parishes, it was learned, were without other population than a few clerks and care takers. The whole area of one parish was absorbed by the bank of England, and three-fourths of another by the general post office, yet the charities went on just as they did when this region was densely populated and had its thousands of resident poor. In 1883 an act was passed to empower the charity commissioners, temporarily strengthened, to study the charities and contrive some means to spend the income in question. The result showed that London was

in possession of an endowment of more than £118,000 a year. Of this £26,000 must for the present be placed in a category apart, that sum being the income of the five comparatively populous border parishes, applicable under the existing act only for their benefit. The remaining revenue of £92,000 is made up of £35,459, applicable to ecclesiastical purposes, and £56,541, applicable in providing education, open spaces, libraries or museums, or in satisfying any other want of the poor of greater London. Two problems, therefore, were before the commissioners; first, how to release as much as possible of the ecclesiastical revenue for the use of the church of England in the populous parts of London; and secondly, how to confer the greatest benefits upon the capital by aid of the £56,000 a year.

In the end part of this revenue was applied from time to time to the purchase of land for public parks. These and other expenses made an interest charge upon the capital fund that ate up all but about £3,500 of the £56,000 income. Mr. Hunter thinks that the history of these charges ought to have been sufficient warning against legislating for posterity; but these fixed charges upon the income are a new instance. He has hopes, however, from the creation of the county council, that in time the charities may be administered by a body representative of London. The permanent board of twenty-one persons proposed by the commissioners, however, will contain but two members, named by the county council. Mr. Hunter believes that the commissioners intend that the whole income of the charities shall be appropriated to special objects, and this he regards as unjust to the future London. He touches on the single tax idea when he declares that funds which "belong to London and have to a great extent been called into existence by the growth of London should be administered by London."

Mr. Hunter then examines the specific purposes to which the income is to be devoted, and is far from satisfied with the result of his examinations. Of the income of ecclesiastical charities £16,000 is devoted to maintaining services in fifty-five churches already well endowed, and now attended by less than 5,000 persons, nearly half of whom have some official connection with the church. Mr. Hunter would be glad to see much of this sum released for the needs of other parts of London, and believes that it should be applied by some representative body. Much might go to free libraries in the inhabited part of London, and Mr. Hunter even hints at a pension fund for old persons unable entirely to maintain themselves.

George Cary Eggleston on the Labor Problem.

The New York World of Sunday, January 11, published an article signed by George Cary Eggleston, one of the editorial writers of the paper, on the eight hour question. Mr. Eggleston begins by referring to his early recollections of the ten hour movement, and tells how then, living in a rural community where work began at sunrise and ended at sunset, it seemed to him preposterous to attempt to shorten a day's work. He says that the grown people around "discussed the subject with an unintelligence scarcely surpassed by that now commonly brought to bear upon questions of the kind by learned political economists and other such persons." Mr. Eggleston sees in the eight hour movement a continuance of the agitation and says that its remarkable persistence shows that beneath the demand for shorter hours "somewhere lies a genuine wrong to be redressed; an actual denial of right." It appears to him that, like the slavery question, this is one of those issues that can never be settled till they are settled right. And he is persuaded that it remains unsettled after so many years of agitation because it has never been fairly and candidly considered upon its merits with a sincere purpose to find justice and to do it. He thinks it perhaps never will be settled until the discussion is taken up by men who have no personal interest to warp their judgment.

Mr. Eggleston goes on to show how, during the last fifty years, the introduction of machinery, the increase of available capital and the employment of improved methods have added enormously to the productiveness of labor, "so that every workman now actually produces more of the good things of life, by his day's labor, than he did at any former period." If human desires were fixed and constant he says it would follow that much less labor would supply the aggregate wants of the world, and the working day could thus be considerably shortened, or the work done by fewer laborers. But human desires are not fixed and constant, they are practically limitless; and therefore an ever increasing army of workers is employed at substantially the old hours of labor. "But," he continues,

"as each laborer actually produces greatly more of the good things of life than ever before, it seems simple justice that he should also enjoy more of them; in other words, he should get higher wages for the time devoted to work." This would enable him to work fewer hours a day or fewer days in the year, and the short hour problem would solve itself through the voluntary action of individual workmen, who would each take as much leisure as they felt themselves able to afford, and pay for it by accepting proportionately reduced earnings. It has not been so settled, however, and the workman "has felt that as his work yielded more than ever before in the way of production, he ought to have a living for fewer hours of work; and in feeling so he has been entirely right. But in fact he has not been able to earn more than a living, even by working throughout the old hours, and with an instinctive sense of justice he has made his protest, sometimes in the shape of a demand for higher wages and sometimes in the shape of a demand that his hours of labor should be reduced without corresponding reduction in his daily wages."

Mr. Eggleston goes on to point out, that though this demand is substantially just, it has been mistakenly supported by unsound arguments, such as that made to show that men will produce more in eight hours than in ten. If this were true, he says, the manufacturers themselves would have introduced the eight hour system with a view to increasing their own profits. However unsound the arguments or unwise the methods adopted by the advocates of the eight hour system, Mr. Eggleston insists that justice demands either that the rate of wages should be very considerably advanced, or that the hours of the labor at the established rate should be very materially reduced. He says he knows that the industrial statistician will smile at this, and, spider-like, await his opportunity to ensnare the person making such a claim in a web of figures. "But," continues Mr. Eggleston, "I have no fear of these figures. I am a dab at figures myself, upon occasion, and can prove that two is equal to one when I have a mind to indulge in that sort of amusement as well as any monger of averages." He says that he has gone clear through the figures, showing that wages have, in fact, advanced very materially; but the fact is a falsehood, for though men are paid more for a given period of work than they would have been fifty years ago, and a dollar may buy more of the comforts and necessities of life now than a dollar once could, the figures fail to prove the claims of the industrial statisticians because men are not rigid receptacles to be filled with material substances, but sentient creatures subject to those laws of being that we call human nature. "The comfort of the human being," says Mr. Eggleston, "is not determined by the absolute amount of the desirable things of life that fall to his share, but the ratio between the supply and the man's desires." During the last half century the standards of living have advanced as life has grown more complex, and material production has increased. "That which constituted comfort a generation ago does not constitute comfort now. The demands upon every man, rich or poor, are vastly greater now than then, and unless the man can earn proportionately more than a man similarly situated could then earn he is impoverished, even though his earnings are absolutely double or quadruple those of his grandfather. In other words, with the increase of production human wants have increased. The sum total of production being much greater than it was, every man justly feels that his labor entitles him to a larger amount as his share, and if he does not get it he sinks in the scale of wealth, which is wholly a relative scale."

Mr. Eggleston goes on to declare that despite all that figures may show, as to the purchasing power of money, the labor of the workman to-day "does not enable him to live as nearly up to the best standard of the community—the standard of his employer, let us say—as it did a generation ago," and that his wages have practically suffered reduction and not increase.

He pays his respects to some of Mr. Edward Atkinson's remarkable figuring as to the labor cost of producing a hundred yards of cloth, and points out that the vast increase in the production of cloth, nevertheless, enables the great corporations to make enormous profits, while the relative wages of labor are practically reduced.

Mr. Eggleston thus concludes his article: "I am no socialist; I have no patience with the mushy headedness which thinks it possible to make human nature happy and good by denying it the healthful activities and competitions on which its welfare and happiness depend by the very nature of its being, and I love liberty too dearly to desire its sur-

render to a paternal state. But I hate human slavery, and the condition of things that now exists in the industrial world is as true a slavery as that of the old plantations, and greatly harsher, in that it works the aged and the feeble and the little children, all of whom were not only spared but tenderly cared for by the gentler humanity of chattel slavery. I hate injustice and robbery. I hold that no man has a right to enjoy the fruits of the unrequited labor of his fellow-man, and the labor that builds up great corporate properties is in a large degree unrequited."

Absolute Political Ethics.

Single taxers will be glad to learn that Herbert Spencer has replied with some asperity to recent sneers of Professor Huxley. The reply is in the January number of the Nineteenth Century, and Mr. Spencer's title is "Absolute Political Ethics." He opens with a clever paragraph reflecting upon the discomforts of life in Fiji in the days when King Tanao cut off his cousin's arm, cooked the member in the presence of its late owner, and afterward sliced the latter into mince-meat. Mr. Spencer is forced to the conclusion that in those days happiness could not have been general in the society of Fiji. Mr. Spencer then asks what must be the condition of a country where murder is meritorious and theft is in the course of nature? What would become of industrial co-operation in a community where merchant and customer engaged in hand-to-hand scuffles, the one to get the money without delivering the goods, the other to obtain the goods without paying the money. Of course the reply must be that the question is absurd, and this is what Mr. Spencer wishes, for all his pretty hypotheses are directed toward proving the existence of absolute political ethics upon which human laws are based.

"If," says the philosopher, "it be admitted that life can be maintained only by certain activities (the internal ones being universal, and the external ones being universal for all but parasites and the immature), it must be admitted that when like-natured beings are associated, the required activities must be mutually limited, and that the highest life can result only when the associated beings are so constituted as severally to keep within the implied limits." This he regards as an axiomatic truth. He explains, however, that to apprehend moral and political axioms requires a degree of moral culture just as to apprehend mathematical axioms require a degree of intellectual culture. With the continued existence of orderly society there has arisen an ability to see that mutual limitations are necessitated when lives are carried on in proximity; and to see that there necessarily emerge definite sets of restraints applying to definite classes of actions. And it has become manifest to some, though not it seems to many, that there results an *a priori* system of absolute political ethics—a system under which men of like natures, severally so constituted as spontaneously to refrain from trespassing, may work together without friction, and with the greatest advantage to each and all."

Mr. Spencer admits that we are not wholly like natured, and that absolute political ethics is an ideal beyond the reach of the real. But this ideal he conceives to have the same relation to "practical politics" that absolute mechanics has to applied mechanics: in each case an understanding of the laws of the one is necessary to the proper administration of the other. "Relative political ethics, or that which deals with right and wrong in public affairs, as partially determined by changing circumstances, cannot prosper without taking into account right and wrong considered apart from changing circumstances, cannot do without absolute political ethics, the propositions of which, deduced from the conditions under which life is carried on in an associated state, take no account of the special circumstances of any particular associated state." These deductions he regards as having been arrived at by an immeasurably great assemblage of vast inductions, namely, the judicial systems of all societies which have arisen above savagery. The tendency of all such systems is to conform to absolute political ethics. This part of the discussion is closed in the following words, significant in view of Mr. Spencer's recent partial recantation of his land doctrine:

It remains to add that beyond the deductions which, as we have seen, are verified by vast assemblages of inductions, there may be drawn other deductions not thus verified—deductions drawn from the same data, but which have no relevant experiences to say yes or no to them. Such deductions may be valid or invalid; and I believe that in my first work, written forty years ago and long since withdrawn from circulation, there are some invalid deductions. But to reject a principle and a method because of some invalid deductions is about as proper as it would be to pooh-pooh arithmetic because of blunders in certain arithmetical calculations.

Mr. Spencer then says that by absolute political ethics is meant more than an ethical warrant for systems of law. Beyond the relations among citizens taken individually, are the relations of the state to the man, and as to these relations absolute political ethics gives judgment. Here Mr. Spencer sets forth briefly his well-known views on this subject. He shows how a condition of defensive warfare gives ethical sanction to the invasion of some individual rights, because "the preservation of society is an end which must take precedence of the preservation of its individuals taken singly."

In the last few hundred words of the article under consideration Mr. Spencer deals with Professor Huxley's criticisms of the Spencerian "way of thinking." He reminds his readers that Professor Huxley once accused him of believing in "administrative nihilism," and very recently again of seeking to preserve the health and heal the diseases of an organism vastly more complicated than the human body by the guidance of the "long chains of deduction from abstract ethical assumptions." Mr. Spencer believes the two accusations incompatible, and that Professor Huxley's description of the Spencerian "way of thinking" is "utterly at variance with the evidence as presented in my books."

Localization of Industries.

Mr. J. J. Menzies discusses in the Popular Science Monthly for February "The Localizations of Industries." His argument is an admirable plea for free trade, but he strikes a false economic note in his apparent satisfaction with the fact that the "mere operations of exchange give profitable employment to vast numbers." Of course nobody can truthfully deny that labor employed in effecting exchanges is usefully employed, but the idea that conditions that demand an increased expenditure of labor in accomplishing a given object are desirable conditions of course cannot be squared with any true political economy.

He declares that the freer exchange of commodities and ideas is not attended with increased competition between men and nations, but with a better and more wide spread division of labor, so that men by degrees cease to produce articles in which they are manifestly at a disadvantage, and the disposal of which entails loss and disappointment. Those who doubt the advantage of world wide intercourse are bound in consistency to advocate the reversion of society not merely to an earlier stage of development, but to that state of things which preceded its initiation—that is, to a pure and simple cannibalism.

Mr. Menzies then lays down the propositions that bulky and perishable articles should be produced near their market; that the growth of wheat and the ordinary small grains should be left to newest, poorest and most remote countries because such products can be produced and carried cheaply; that a decline in these products indicates a country's advance in wealth; that much the same facts are true of wool growing; that the lighter manufactured products are subject to complex conditions, but should as a rule be made near cheap supplies of raw material; that Great Britain's free commercial policy, united with the combination in a small, centrally located country of the most desirable facilities, marks her out as the greatest of international and trading countries; that low wages on the continent enable manufacturers there to compete with England in some articles in spite of crippling fiscal restrictions; that superiority of taste gives France an advantage in some lines of production.

One of the most instructive things in Mr. Menzies's article is his account of a curious phenomenon of production. He says:

Thus, the finest flax grown in the north of Ireland, in order to attain its highest quality, must be sent to Belgium to be steeped in the water of a certain river. Returning from there, it is spun into superline yarns by the best machinery and in the naturally adapted moist climate of Belfast. At that stage the product is again sent back to Belgium, where it is woven into gossamer-like cambrics, in low, damp cellars, and under conditions that would not be agreeable to the north of Ireland artisan, and the work of the Belgian hand loom weaver must then be carried back to be bleached under the dripping skies of the green isle.

Mr. Menzies closes with the declaration that there is room in the natural economy of production for the services of all nations, and a plea for the removal of all fiscal restrictions that hamper trade, especially in the United States.

Discussion Is the Thing.

Boston Post.

Mr. Cleveland appreciates the fact, which the advocates of the war tariff are coming to understand, that the wider and the freer the discussion of this subject the more rapid is the conversion of the people.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that once source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts when land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

1. Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

TWO OBJECT LESSONS.

The Morton House Property, Its Rent and Taxes—The New Building on the Van Buren Property, and What It Proves.

In full view from the windows of THE STANDARD office on the east side of Union square are two pieces of property that illustrate in a most instructive manner the present methods of taxation in this city. One is that portion of the Courtlandt Palmer estate, occupied by the Morton house and adjoining buildings at the southeast corner of Broadway and Fourteenth street; the other is a small piece of the Van Buren property on which has just been erected a handsome nine story building on the northwest corner of Fourteenth street and University place, or Union place, as it is sometimes called.

The Courtlandt Palmer property extends 155 feet 9 inches on Broadway, and 180 feet 5 inches on Fourteenth street. It also includes a private alley about 10 feet wide and 219 feet long running from Fourth avenue to Broadway, but having no outlet on the latter street. This alley constitutes the stage entrance to the Union square theater. On the Broadway side the alley ends in a small drinking saloon. The property includes on Broadway the Morton house and No. 848; on Fourteenth street the Morton house and the Union square theater. A small plot at the southwest corner of Fourth avenue and Fourteenth street is not included in the Palmer estate, being owned by George Elbert.

The buildings on the Palmer land are worth at a fair estimate perhaps \$100,000. The rental derived by the estate from this property is \$103,600 per year, of which \$54,000 comes from the hotel, \$36,000 from the theater and \$13,600 from the remainder. Allowing ten per cent as the net income from the buildings, certainly a fair estimate, the ground rent would be \$93,000. At the usual estimate of twenty years' purchase this would indicate a ground valuation of \$1,860,000, the sum that at five per cent would yield an annual interest equal to the ground rent indicated.

Now take a look at the assessment books. The property in question is assessed at \$602,000, or less than one-third the value of the bare land. The tax is a trifle over \$12,000 a year, which leaves a clear ground rent of \$81,000, besides the \$10,000 from buildings. Nobody who knows the Courtlandt Palmer property in question will pretend that it is put to its best possible economic uses, for the buildings are worth less than six per cent of the land value. Yet by the system of assessing property in part with reference to the value of buildings rather than with reference to the land value alone, the owners are enabled to obtain in rentals every year the full value of their buildings, to avoid their just share of public burdens and to hold out of its best uses an enormously valuable piece of land which gains in value from year to year by the activities of the whole community. Were this property assessed at its full land value its share of city taxes at the present rate would be about \$36,000 per year, and if the single tax unlimited were applied it would yield to the city an income equal to the present ground rent of \$93,000, or some thousands less when allowance is made to the landlord for collecting the tax and keeping the property in order. Such allowance of course is contemplated by the single tax, since this would give a basis for assessment and permit the nominal ownership to remain with the holder of the title deeds. Does any one doubt that if the latter system were resorted to the present buildings would give place to a handsome and commodious structure?

The Van Buren property at the northwest corner of Fourteenth street and Union place measures 116 feet 10 inches on Fourteenth street by 51 feet 7½ inches on Union place. Last year the vacant land was assessed at \$175,000. During the year plans were filed for the erection of a building to cost \$250,000. The building is now practically finished, and the assessment is \$260,000, "in progress," which means that the assessment will be higher next year, when the building will have been filled with tenants.

The ground rent of the Van Buren property is \$21,000 a year, and at the end of fifty years the building becomes the property of the landowner. This in effect brings the ground rent up to about \$23,500, due allowance having been made for wear and tear of building, and for the present worth \$250,000, payable fifty years hence.

The inevitable result of the application of the single tax unlimited is illustrated in the case of the Van Buren property. In this case the land owner stands for the state and demands of the ground renter \$23,500 a year for the exclusive use of the land. The renter as a result can not afford to erect a poor structure, but must build so as to get back all he pays in ground rent and a fair profit

on the capital invested in the building. The ground renter is forced to put the land to its best economic use, while the land owner on a neighboring corner is able to hold his land out of its best use, to shirk taxation and to get in annual rent the full value of poor buildings. Note, too, the difference in assessment; the comparatively poorly improved Palmer property is assessed at less than one-third the land value, while the highly improved Van Buren property is assessed at more than half the land value, \$85,000 of this having been placed upon it solely because of the improvement.

OUR CHICAGO SOLDIERS.

The People Who Are Fighting the Battles of the Single Tax in Illinois.

CHICAGO, Jan. 12.—It has rained steadily all day; I am tired of the newspapers; there is no book at hand which offers a relief from the Sunday dullness; to think of going to church is to yawn; and so I turn to a thing which has often occurred to me when too busy to carry it out, namely, to a sort of little personal sketch of those in Chicago who have enlisted for the war in the new crusade and whose names have become more or less familiar to the friends throughout the country by reason of their zeal and activity in behalf of the greatest of all reforms.

I think that Edward Osgood Brown probably deserves the first place, by reason of his high abilities, his professional prominence, his literary skill, his remarkable energy and his powerful influence among a class which the majority of us cannot easily reach. Mr. Brown comes of good old down east sailor stock. He is a talented lawyer, with a large practice and a professional connection that is first-class. He is about forty, fair and fat, with ruddy face, blue eyes, a bald head and a ready good nature, which is not the least attractive of his many excellent qualities. His recent address before the economic conference on "The Abolition of Privilege" was a masterly effort, both in conception and execution.

John Z. White is recognized as the Rupert of debate in our club. He has a keenness in argument and a readiness in disputation which are seldom surpassed, and the opponent who ventures to measure swords with him finds that his best skill is required in parrying the flashing thrusts that Mr. White knows so well how to make; in fact, it is not easy for any man to stand up against him, so thorough is his mastery of the arts of debate and so profound is his understanding of economics and kindred subjects. He is tall, dark, with keen black eyes and a well knit figure. He is about thirty-five and unmarried; he works at the case as a printer.

Miss Leonora Beck, the vice-president of our club, is large and comely, with a well sprung of enthusiasm in her nature which is inexhaustible in its affluence and as pure and bright and refreshing as it is copious. She is a teacher in the public schools, her intelligence is of a high order, her zeal knows no limits, and she is rapidly developing talents which will shine on the lecture platform, for which she seems to be fitted by nature. She has succeeded in converting many of her fellow teachers to the truth and few members of the club have done so much for its success.

Clarence Moeller is a workingman who could hold his own in debate with the best professor of the "dismal science" known to fame. He is a great reader, an original thinker and an entertaining talker, his powers of analysis and facility and aptness in illustration showing favorably on the platform and in discussion. His health has been somewhat disordered for a year past and we have therefore seen less of him recently than we would like. He is about thirty, tall, big-framed, with a strongly marked face, blue eyes, light hair and large hands. He speaks slowly and with great precision.

T. W. Wittler, our secretary, is a worker who doesn't seem to know how to get tired. His energy is equalled only by his enthusiasm. He is quick to act, and when he starts out to do something, ordinary obstacles had just as well get out of the way. The growth of the club and its flourishing condition are largely due to his intelligent and enthusiastic efforts. He is quite a young man, rather slender, with brown hair and a reddish mustache shadowing a keen-cut face which wears the bright hue of health. He is a carrier on the postal service.

J. T. Ripley is one of the solidest men in the club. He occupies a high position in the railway business, and his influence is scarcely second to that of any man in our ranks. He is quiet and unobtrusive in his manner, but always ready for work, to which he brings a judgment and discrimination not easily matched. His figure is generously proportioned, his face is strong and pleasing, there is a merry twinkle in his eyes, and he is al-

ways so good humored and so courteous and thoughtful that he commands everybody's friendship.

Frank Pearson is the biggest and brawniest member we have. He was our secretary for a long time, and a right good one he was, too. He not only kept the records faithfully and otherwise served us most efficiently, but he sang for us occasionally, he and his wife and sisters, in the most pleasing way. He has a powerful voice, which is well cultivated, and his bass solos are tremendously effective. A recent affliction has kept both Mr. Pearson and his charming little wife from our meetings for some time past, but we have the assurance that they are carrying on the good work just the same.

I find I am covering a good deal of paper and still not beginning fairly on the list of workers I had in mind. There are so many of them, and I feel like dwelling on each so long, that really my self-appointed task begins to appal me. Now, I wanted to say something about a score or so of active members who are always on hand when anything is to be done, men like J. M. Place, Percy Roberts, J. C. Walsh, G. V. Wells, Mr. Cordier, Leon Hornstein, Mr. Irwin, Edward Efting, Edward Messerth, Patrick Euright, Michael J. Rowan, J. L. Townsley (who was one of my converts at Vincennes), and a lot more besides, but space, I know, forbids, and I must content myself with this bare reference, which is indeed a very poor recognition of their services to the cause.

And then there is Judge Mark Bangs, the white haired abolitionist, who has had the fires of youth renewed in him by this new abolitionism; and there is Mr. Robert H. Cowdrey, known to all single tax men, an indefatigable worker, a clear thinker and a forcible speaker; and there is Eugene Wood, the journalist, full of quaint notions and original ideas; and there is Clinton Furbish, another abolitionist, a greenbacker from away back and one of the brightest stumpers in Chicago as well as one of the cleverest writers; and there are Messrs. McFarlane, Meadows and Cooley, the railroaders, about as well equipped with brains as any fellows you will meet; and there is W. H. Van Ornum, editor of the *Hearthstone*, an excellent writer, and I don't know how many more that deserve to be remembered for the services they have freely given to the cause of freedom; but the will must be taken for the deed in this instance, for I find the Sunday gloom deepening into night, the economic conference is on my card for the evening, and perhaps I have already pressed against the limits of THE STANDARD'S hospitality. I will therefore only add that all these and many others are pressing steadily toward the centre of the enemy's works; they keep the white banner flying proudly at the front, their courage is high and their hopes rise with the assurance of ultimate victory. The future will give them their due rewards.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

RECENT SALES AND ASSESSMENTS

For the Week Ending January 25, 1890.

IMPROVED.

No. 41 West Fifty-seventh street, four story brick and stone dwelling. Sold for \$150,000; assessed at \$75,000, or 50 per cent of its value.

No. 60 Fifth avenue, four story brick dwelling. Sold for \$165,000; assessed at \$70,000, or 42½ per cent of its value.

No. 318 West Thirty-second street, five story stone front double flats. Sold for \$40,000; assessed at \$16,000, or 40 per cent of its value.

No. 34 West Thirty-seventh street, four story brick English basement. Sold for \$45,000; assessed at \$20,000, or 44½ per cent of its value.

No. 215 West Twenty-second street, four story brown stone English basement. Sold for \$14,000; assessed at \$8,000, or 57 per cent of its value.

No. 125 East 112th street, two story frame. Sold for \$8,000; assessed at \$3,500, or 43½ per cent of its value.

No. 125 East Thirtieth street, four story French basement. Sold for \$22,000; assessed at \$11,000, or 50 per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above seven buildings is 46.57 per cent of their value.

UNIMPROVED.

South side of Eighty-ninth street, 300 feet west of First avenue, 50x100.8. Sold for \$14,000; assessed at \$6,000, or 21½ per cent of their value.

North side Eighty-ninth street, 400 feet east of Tenth avenue, 100x100.8. Sold for \$25,000; assessed at \$16,000, or 64 per cent of their value.

North side Ninety-fifth street, 100 feet east of Tenth avenue, 50x100.8. Sold for \$20,000; assessed at \$12,000, or 60 per cent of their value.

South side Ninety-sixth street, 100 feet east of Tenth avenue, 50x100.8. Sold for \$20,000; assessed at \$10,000, or 50 per cent of their value.

North side 100th street, 200 feet east of

Madison avenue, 100x100.11. Sold for \$34,500; assessed at \$13,000, or 37½ per cent of their value.

East side Park avenue, 50.4 feet south of Ninety-third street, 50.4x80. Sold for \$16,000; assessed at \$9,000, or 56¼ per cent of their value.

North side of 135th street, 150 feet east of Seventh avenue, 50x99.11. Sold for \$19,000; assessed at \$8,000, or 42 per cent of their value.

The average assessment on the above seven parcels of land is 47¼ per cent of their value.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Jan. 28, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

The second year's work of this committee may be said to have begun on November 15 last, since which time 77,157 tracts have been sent out, 3,157 copies of THE STANDARD distributed, and requisitions for 21,660 petition blanks filed. Signatures to the petition received since November 15 number 5,397, or about one-quarter of the number of blanks sent out. The committee has met every call for literature, and it earnestly appeals to its friends for a prompt return of petitions that signers may receive as soon as possible after signing the literature that is sent to each new man.

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work stand as reported last week, viz. \$2,734.70.

Cash contributions for the week ending January 28 are as follows:

Comby J. Christensen, Brooklyn, N. Y.	\$10 00
"F. M." New York city	25 00
San Antonio S. T. Club, San Antonio, Tex.	1 00
	\$36 00

Cash contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . 442 54

Total \$478 54

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 72,810

Received during the week ending Jan. 28 533

Total 73,343

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

James A. Herne and Professor Garland to Address the Actors—A Free Entertainment by the Manhattan Single Tax Club.

The Edwin Forrest lodge of the Actors' order of friendship has begun a series of lectures under the heading of "Talks to Actors." Included in the course is James A. Herne. Writing to THE STANDARD on the matter, Mr. Herne says:

I am invited to speak before the Edwin Forrest lodge of the Actors' order of friendship at their lodge room in this city, Sunday evening, February 2, on "The relation of the player to the wage earner, and the bearing of the single tax on both." I will have the distinguished privilege to there introduce Professor Hamlin Garland. The importance of this opportunity may be in part surmised when I tell you that I believe we will be the first speakers, who were not members of the order, ever permitted to address that lodge as a lodge. The result of the talk cannot be foretold; to me it means much. In it I see the stepping stone to a mass meeting of actors and the general public; from it I see the realization of what the actors have been pleased to term "Herne's Dream," and I now firmly believe that I shall have the pleasure to lay before our illustrious chief on his return home an invitation to address the Actors' single tax league.

R. G. Ingersoll, in his lecture before the Albany bar association, gave evidence that he saw a glimmer of the truth embodied in the single tax; and, in order to help him to the point of seeing it all, the managing board of the Manhattan single tax club, through W. E. Hicks, has sent him a handsomely bound copy of "Progress and Poverty."

The regular monthly meeting of the club will be held Thursday evening, February 6. The entire membership are asked to be present, for the matter of increasing the dues is to be finally acted on.

A committee is looking for larger and more central quarters.

The state senate is shortly to send a committee to this city to examine into our methods of taxation, and the Manhattan club will be represented before it.

Percival Chubb delivered the lecture last Sunday evening; subject, "Work and its Reward."

To-morrow evening, January 30, an entertainment will be given at the rooms consisting of music, singing, recitations and read-

ings. A very pleasant evening is promised to all who attend. All are invited.

BROOKLYN.

Increasing the Membership of the Brooklyn Club—Adopting the Social Feature.

The regular Wednesday evening meeting of the club of January 23 gave place to the first of a series of entertainments which the entertainment committee intends hereafter to make a feature of the club.

The club rooms were profusely and tastefully decorated with flags and lanterns, while outside illuminated banners proclaimed the club's principles, "No taxes on the products of labor," "We demand the Australian ballot" and "The secret ballot the republic's only hope." The principal features of the entertainment were an address and a couple of songs by Peter Aitken, character recitations by Charles Curley, Ethiopian ditties by W. L. Thompson, and an address by David Jacobson. After E. K. Morris had explained the object of this new departure the members adjourned to the library and partook of the repast provided.

The weekly additions to the club's membership, which had dropped to three or four during the holidays, again had an upward jump, thirteen members being elected Wednesday evening.

Our president has lately received from a clergyman in Winchester, Va., a request for information as to whether there is any general movement for the spreading of the doctrines taught in "Progress and Poverty," a copy of which he has recently received.

On Sunday evening the lecture was delivered by Dr. I. K. Funk, one of the proprietors of the Voice, the prohibition organ, who spoke against high license. He showed that instead of abating the liquor evil, the effect of high license was to drive the business into the hands of the rich and powerful. All attempts to draw from the speaker the main cause of the rapid using up of nerve and brain force, which he declared was going on at an accelerating ratio, failed. He would not admit that want, and the fear of want, was the chief cause, or even an important one.

The demonstration of Messrs. Delano, Ferguson, Aitken and others, that while absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic would probably lessen the more brutal aspects of intemperance, it would simply result in a lowering of the standard of living, with a consequent increase in want and misery, and that the whole benefit would ultimately go to the land owner, was quietly but firmly ignored.

J. C. Fletcher, Brooklyn.—To my own knowledge the single tax cause is gaining ground every day among the K. of L. and Brooklyn central labor union. I find it easy to obtain signatures to the petition. I have written to the committee for fifty, and will send them all back signed.

NEW YORK STATE.

New Brighton, S. I.—We had a well attended meeting at Bola hall last Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. A. J. Wolf and others of the Manhattan single tax club addressed us and answered questions.

George Winter, Middletown.—We are not making much noise, but we are pushing the single tax all the time, and the cause is steadily gaining.

NEW JERSEY.

The Paterson Men Make Converts With an Edition of "Progress and Poverty" in Hollandese.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—Mr. John Filmer of the New Earth occupied the pulpit of the Rev. B. D. Palmer of the Swedenborgian church of this city on Sunday evening two weeks ago. Mr. Filmer spoke on the subject of "Free Trade and the Single Tax" and their relation to the New church doctrines. He was listened to with great attention throughout his address, and when he concluded, Mr. Palmer invited questions from his congregation, a number of which were promptly fired at the speaker, which, to the single taxers, at least, were promptly and satisfactorily answered. In dismissing his congregation Mr. Palmer advised them to study the single tax, and stated that it had withstood the criticism of the ablest minds the world over, and that, in his opinion no intelligent man upon careful study of the question could condemn it. Arrangements are being made to have another single tax lecture at the same place.

At the last meeting of the club the following were elected officers for the ensuing year: E. W. Neelis, president, re-elected; Paul Breen, first vice-president, re-elected; Charles M. Mick, second vice-president, re-elected; J. A. Craig, secretary-treasurer, re-elected. Meetings will hereafter be held every Monday evening at 169 Market street.

Mr. Frank Visser, a member of the club, has just finished the translation of the single tax platform into the Dutch language. We are having it printed in tract form for distribution among the Hollanders, of whom there are a great number hereabouts, most of whom are republican protectionists. Mr. Visser sent to the old country for a copy of "Progress and Poverty" in his native language, and with it he is doing good work among his countrymen here. Hollanders, as a rule, are hard to convince, but when once

convinced they make excellent fighters.

The club contemplates holding an entertainment some time in the near future. Single tax men who wish to see the secretary can do so at No. 169 Market street at any time during the day and at 8 p.m. in the evening.

J. D. Miller, Jersey City.—The following resolution was presented and adopted by the Standard single tax club of Jersey City, at its last regular meeting:

Resolved, That that part of the message of Governor Abbott to the legislature, referring to ballot reform, excepting the section favoring the distribution of official ballots outside the polling place, meets with our hearty approval, and that we congratulate him on the stand he has taken, and pledge him our hearty support in advancing the cause of pure elections.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Ladies of Boston Listen to the Single Tax—William Lloyd Garrison Lecturing—Encouraging Reports.

Boston.—A number of ladies of this city have organized the Boston political class. They held a meeting January 15, at the Church of the Disciples. Mrs. H. R. Shattuck presided, and Miss C. Lobdell acted as secretary. The members took up for study parliamentary law and Martin's "Civil Government." Afterwards there was a debate upon the "Single Tax," the affirmative being taken by Mrs. Adelaide Wilson and the negative by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson. A general discussion followed. The next meeting will be held on the afternoon of January 29, on which occasion the debate will again be on the single tax.

W. L. Crossman, Roxbury.—"The Roxbury single tax league held a very successful meeting at Grand Army hall, Washington street, last evening. The meeting was called to order by Mr. F. W. Mendum, president of the league." These were the words with which the Boston Herald commenced its report of our meeting on January 23. William Lloyd Garrison read an excellent paper on taxation, every argument of which received hearty applause. James R. Carret spoke of the effect the single tax would have on real estate, citing many instances where valuable lots are now adorned by invaluable buildings. William E. Bell, with facts and figures, showed how the war tariff had demoralized trade and strangled industries. He also answered questions from the audience.

An item announcing this meeting was sent to seven Boston daily papers asking the editors to publish it, and six of them complied. Small posters announcing the meeting and containing THE STANDARD's former platform were posted throughout the district, some of which were torn down, the words "Free trade, free land, free men," no doubt giving offense to the malicious individuals. This has been the experience of many with single tax stickers. But truth cannot be crushed.

E. K. Page, Worcester.—We can see considerable progress toward the single tax in this vicinity of late, especially since Henry George's lecture here November 23, when many were enabled to see the advantages of the new system. On the third instant Rev. John Gregson, an Episcopal clergyman of Wilkesonville, Mass., read an interesting paper on land tenure and the single tax. This gentleman is the only clergyman among the hundred or more residents in this locality who openly favor or manifest interest in this great moral cause. On January 6 we had Father Huntington with us, and although his coming was at short notice, there was present a fair-sized and intensely interested audience to hear the gospel of justice and humanity expounded in that enthusiastic worker's earnest and impressive manner. We know of several who were converted by the forcible illustrations and convincing arguments, and many were interested sufficiently to inquire when our next meeting occurs. Friday evening, 24, Thomas G. Shearman delivered an address at the first public meeting of the Worcester tariff reform club to an audience of about 400. From the start, when Mr. Shearman declared himself not a tariff reformer, but an absolute free trader—wishing to reform the tariff as the Dutchman's dog was curtailed, close behind the ears—to the close, he delivered sledge hammer blows at "the fetich of protection," almost taking the breath away from some of the timid ones, but delighting a large proportion of the audience, especially the single taxers, who were out in force. The papers gave fair reports, so a much larger number will read than heard the principal points propounded. Our single taxers have just accepted the offer of the Worcester tri-weekly Globe to furnish a column of matter every Saturday; and we have as a member of the league the editor of the Swedish paper, the Fosterlandet, and we have access to the Daily Times, now owned by the prohibitionists. Altogether, the single tax idea is gaining ground, and so is free trade; of either we can say, "It is in the air." We urge upon local single tax readers of THE STANDARD the duty of attending the meetings.

F. L. Childs, Hyde Park.—William Lloyd Garrison addressed a public meeting of the single tax league at the Young men's Christian association hall, Friday evening, January 17, on "The Incidence of Taxation." Professor

Hamlin Garland and Rev. James Huxtath, pastor of the Unitarian church, made speeches explaining the moral and fiscal reforms which would result from the adoption of the single tax. Mr. A. H. Grimke presided, and James A. Herne occupied a seat on the platform. Those present showed marked attention to the addresses, and we feel that several left the meeting with a bee in their hat that will finally buzz them into the single tax ranks.

J. Whidden Graham, North Attleboro.—William Lloyd Garrison will lecture at Attleboro on the evening of February 3, under the auspices of the Young men's Christian association. Subject, "The Science of Taxation."

James E. Connell, Cambridgeport.—I can see very plainly that working people in this vicinity are changing their views as to the question of taxation. The signer of one of the petitions I send you was last fall a very high tariff man. To-day he thinks the republican congress will make a big mistake if they do not reduce the taxes. The single tax men in this vicinity propose to join a K. of L. assembly here and try to push things.

G. W. Kezer, Newburyport.—I find it easy to get signatures to the petition, and, having used all the blanks I had, have sent to the committee for more.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The Special Tract of the Pittsburg Club—The Discussion in the Mauch Chunk Democrat.

Edmund Yardley, Pittsburg.—Our club has prepared a special tract for distribution at our meetings. We have bound together Shearman's "Objections to the Land Tax," and Post's "The New Ballot System," of the Single tax library, and prefaced them with two pages—the first page containing a declaration of self evident truths and the second a brief explanation of the single tax and what it will do. We thereby combine an explanation of the two issues now uppermost in the public mind, besides presenting each visitor with a tract that they will be sure to take home to read.

S. T. Mauch Chunk.—The editor of the Democrat has not been convinced by Mr. George's answer published in THE STANDARD a few weeks ago. The impression here is that the editor did not read it all, for many here who are not with us, and who are in sympathy with Mr. Rauch, say that the answer covered every objection. However, "Amos" has taken up the cudgel in behalf of the single tax, and, judging from "Amos's" first letter and the editor's answer, the discussion will be interesting not only to the parties concerned, but to the Democrat's readers generally.

Martin J. Kelly, Swatara.—I am getting signatures to the petition to congress. Our wish is that your cause, which is also ours, may triumph in the near future.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Making a Change in the Methods of Carrying on the Agitation.

C. B. Hemingway, Washington.—The meetings of our league heretofore have been devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of abstract questions in connection with the single tax. This method of procedure has failed to attract outsiders to any great extent, and the attendance of members has fallen off. At our last meeting it was realized that the lack of interest was due to the fact that human nature grows tired of much theory and little effects, and that in order to forge ahead some definite line of work must be adopted. Our petition to congress has lain dormant for some time, experience having shown that it went too far to be popular. But that same experience has led to the conviction that a petition to abolish the tax on personal property alone would be almost universally approved, and that is what we have decided to do. It seems to me that if such a petition were started by the single taxers in each state, it might do more to open discussion than anything else would. It is certainly on "the line of least resistance," and, once fairly started, would be taken up and strongly advocated by influences that would spurn or neglect any larger measure. Congress is the law making body of this district and the executive is lodged in three commissioners appointed by the president. Local self government is therefore a thing with which we are unacquainted. Single tax men here realize this, and they know that so long as the present system exists, all hope for local reforms of any kind are useless, as the unwieldy congress is not in touch with the people, and has no means of ascertaining popular opinion, and the influences it feels are only those which are most active—of course the special interests, and all legislation is therefore conservative. We have therefore undertaken to give a start to the organization of a citizens' assembly, on the following basis: Each resident to have one vote for one representative, and to have the option of changing said vote at any time, the power of each representative to be fixed by the number of his constituency. No election days, no sectional representation, and tenure of office dependent on popular support. This gives proportional, instead of majority, representation, and by this means

a positive and accurate reflection of public opinion may be had. We anticipate the possibility of this growing to be such a popular body in time that legislative authority will be ultimately given it. In the meantime it will act in an advisory capacity.

ILLINOIS.

E. O. Brown's Coming Lecture—The Influence of the Single Tax Club.

Warren W. Bailey, Chicago.—Edward Osgood Brown will be the speaker on Thursday evening, January 30. On that occasion we hope to have a large representation of the legal profession, as we shall extend a special invitation to the fraternity to come out and hear Mr. Brown on "The Legal Aspects of the Single Tax." Judge Mark Bangs will probably speak on the same evening and possibly one or two others will consent to add their testimony.

Latterly there has been a slight falling off in the attendance at the meetings of our club. This has been partly due to the economic conferences and partly to the all prevailing influenza.

There never was a time in the history of the movement in Chicago when the presence and active aid of all the friends were so much needed as they are now, when we are on the verge of a campaign wherein it is possible for us to achieve practical work of the most vital importance. The number of strangers who attend our meetings constantly increases, and I am quite confident that we have only to exert ourselves a little more to give the movement such an impetus as will carry it into practical politics within the next two years.

Mr. Marshall Beck, who has been absent at Dayton, Ohio, for a year past, will return next week and hereafter his fine abilities and zealous interest will be devoted to the work of our club.

The Leader for this week contains a brilliant editorial which, bearing on local politics, goes right to the heart of the real question which has been so industriously concealed by the party leaders and party organs. The Leader is an able champion of the doctrines of Jefferson.

Edward H. Bailey, Chicago.—So strong is public opinion against the granting of franchises free of cost that the Daily Morning News, the Daily Evening News and the Daily Times, besides a score of weekly papers, are arrayed against such practices. The single tax club and its members have been so powerful that the city council has been forced by public pressure to adopt its special assessment plan of building sewers and other public improvements.

W. B. Steers, Chicago.—In hunting for signers to the petition I find that quite a few decline because of the fear of their names coming back in some way to their employers. At the same time they say they agree with the single tax idea. I think, however, the fact of bringing to their notice that we single tax men are not dead, but are pushing the idea, serves to give them courage.

The Daily News of January 18 contains a sketch of the growth and work done by the Chicago single tax club. According to it the club is nearly three years old, and has between 300 and 400 members.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—I have had printed on my business card an explanation of the single tax, and I inclose one in every letter I send out. I find these cards answer their purpose in a small way by causing discussion and arousing thought. I advocate the single tax with the same pleasure and zeal as in the beginning, but with much more success. I meet men daily now who see the justice of our arguments, and many more are studying the question, and the result cannot be otherwise than beneficial.

TENNESSEE.

The Work of the Memphis Club Bearing Fruit—Another Paper Comes Over.

Memphis.—The single tax association is beginning to get results from the literature they sent out some weeks ago. Bolton Smith, who has charge of the column in the Weekly Appeal devoted to single tax affairs, prints letters from members of the legislatures of Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama who had THE STANDARD sent to them especially.

A. H. Williamson of Pine Valley, Miss., writes that he has read THE STANDARD diligently, and that he has "become convinced that it is a wrong idea to tax the industry of man," and he says, which is of more importance, that "you may set me down as one of your single taxers." All that is necessary to see the cat is light.

J. T. Eason of Coldwater, Miss., who says he "is a democrat of the old school," says that "your single tax theories are at variance with every idea and principle of my life, and that an attempt to enforce such principles would deluge our fair land with blood."

Mr. Smith, in commenting on Mr. Eason's letter, says that "if Mr. Eason would only take the time and trouble to study this question to the bottom he would himself be with us, and will be yet before a great while."

Hon. D. H. Hammons of Bentonville, Ark., says that he has always been "a progressive and aggressive reformer." He is studying

the single tax, calling attention to it and speaking of it as worthy of investigation. He has enlisted many inquirers, and is doing good work in clearing away obstacles to an impartial investigation. Continuing, he says: "I will do all I can to encourage its study and ultimate adoption. . . . Whether the single tax would be a sufficient substitute for all other taxation, I am not now able to determine. It is certainly the most equitable and just."

S. P. Herron, Newcomb.—My efforts in procuring signatures to the petition are successful.

Our county paper, the Jacksboro Sentinel, is now edited by a republican, who says he will admit articles on the single tax. I was instrumental in getting him to do this, and I propose to put my best foot forward in an early issue.

MICHIGAN.

"The Standard" to be Filled in a Library—The Lumbermen Listen.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian.—By the mail I send an order for a year's subscription to THE STANDARD, and a copy of "Progress and Poverty," a donation to the new library opened to the public in this city on January 1.

Charles Geron, Menominee.—I am traveling through the lumber districts, and find that the working lumbermen listen closely to what I have to say, and sign the petition willingly.

MISSOURI.

The Movement Gaining Great Strength in St. Louis—Resolutions Approving Chief Mayes' Course and His Letter in Answer.

Percy Pepoon, St. Louis.—At last Sunday's meeting the single tax league voted to discontinue its Sunday afternoon meetings and to rent its hall for Sunday afternoons to a mock congress. All societies and college students will be invited by special letters, and the public generally will be invited through the press to join in organizing the congress. Single taxers are enthusiastic over the possibilities in this move. As an indication of success, assurances were received from one college that forty students would be on hand.

The Tuesday night meetings of the league will continue to be addressed by prominent St. Louisans on all phases of the social question.

Mr. W. L. Sheldon has announced that in four weeks he will begin a series of lectures at the Ethical society, analyzing and comparing "Progress and Poverty" and "Looking Backward."

The single tax league has lately attracted many recruits from labor organizations and the wealthy and influential citizens of St. Louis. Two notable additions to our membership are Mr. Durant, manager of the Bell telephone company, and John M. Dutro, treasurer of the St. Louis car wheel company. Mr. Dutro has been a member of the republican city committee, is a member of the world's fair committee, and at the recent election was the candidate of the mercantile club, who received the highest vote on the ticket.

A request has been received from the Duquoin, Ill., single tax club for a speaker, his expenses to be guaranteed. The league will see that H. Martin Williams fills this Duquoin want. We can do the same for single taxers anywhere within a reasonable distance.

H. W. Allen, Kansas City.—The following resolutions were adopted at our last meeting:

Whereas, Articles have of late appeared in the public prints conveying an idea that the Cherokee nation is defying the government and citizens of the United States in refusing certain proposals made to it for its land or the use of it;

Whereas, The Cherokee nation is only exercising prerogatives guaranteed to it by treaties with the United States;

Whereas, Chief Mayes of the Cherokee nation has, by conserving to all his people the land as a common heritage, prevented land speculation;

Resolved, That this, the Kansas City single tax club, does hereby congratulate Chief Mayes upon his policy in the matter and the example he has given to more illustrious nations whose people are denied a fair use of the land.

A copy of the above resolutions was sent to J. B. Mayes, principal chief of the Cherokee nation, and brought from him the following reply:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
CHEROKEE NATION,
TALEQUAH, I. T., Jan. 11, 1890.

Mr. H. W. Allen, Vice-President Single Tax Club, Kansas City, Mo.—Dear Sir: The resolutions adopted by the single tax club of Kansas City on December 20, 1889, congratulating me upon the policy I have followed in the matter of the proposed cession of our landed estate west of the Arkansas river to the United States government, has been received, and let me assure you, and through you the single tax club of Kansas City, that I fully appreciate the kindness and action taken in the premises, and that the resolutions will be copied in our books of record, and shall henceforth be a valued expression of sympathy and friendship from you for a weak and dependent people. Again thanking you for your solicitude and friendship, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself, yours very truly,

J. B. MAYES,
Principal Chief.

Warren Wasson.—I have sent 140 signed petitions to the committee. I had about forty more, but a small cyclone came along and swept them from my table out into the muddy street.

J. W. Swaw, High Gate.—We are having great fun with the high tariff men in this section, and by means of tracts and STANDARDS we now and then pull a man out of their ranks and include him in ours. We met at the house of W. M. Kinkead the other night and formed a single tax league by the election of William Kinkead as president and myself as secretary. We intend meeting for business every other Thursday evening. We are pressing the single tax with the people, and will shortly organize other leagues in the surrounding towns.

LOUISIANA.

Moving Slowly but Surely—The Country Papers Useful in the Cause.

John S. Watters, New Orleans.—I cannot report much progress in our ideas in this section, though we are making some headway. A Baptist minister attended our last meeting, and assured us he was with us. We will try to reach the clergy generally, but so far have met with little encouragement. The lottery owns the state of Louisiana, including some real estate composed of clay, which the people are pleased to call legislators. The Australian ballot system is badly needed; but stands no show of adoption, probably for that reason. Of course the single tax is needed worse; but it seems impossible to convince the people, who complacently continue to pay certain citizens of France for the privilege of living in New Orleans, and really seem to think they like it. Paying rent seems to be an acquired taste, hard to overcome as the craving for alcohol.

E. Moone.—One of our members is going to make a canvass of all our local assemblies of the Knights of Labor to solicit their signatures to the petition of the enrolment committee. I wish Mr. Powderly would, in his paper, recommend the knights to sign it.

D. C. David, Ville Platte.—Money is scarce; but in a short time you can expect a number of subscriptions to THE STANDARD from here.

Our friends in Washington county have promised to form a loose organization there for propaganda work. The land for the people will soon be the slogan in this section. If I can get some of the monopolists to talk back I shall soon be able to report "an army in the field."

I have for two months past been engaged in a business that caused me to travel over a large portion of St. Landry parish. I find the people everywhere earnestly engaged in discussing the land and tariff questions. I should say at least three-fourths are absolute free traders, and five minutes' talk has been sufficient to fix them on the land question.

The declaration of the Knights of Labor has had a tremendous effect. It is so perfectly obvious that the intent in making allotments of land was to secure the best use of land that the dullest people do not fail to see that the failure to use ought not to exempt those who control land from paying their equitable share of the public expense. Four or five parties own one-half the land in this section absolutely and have mortgages on more than half the remainder. Three dollars rent for unfenced and ten dollars for fenced rice land is the price asked. Three dollars per annum for the pasturage of a cow, where till lately pasturage was free, is helping on the cause. Contrary to rule, farmers are at the head of the procession here.

I have promised to write some more articles for the St. Landry Democrat. My experience proves that the country newspaper is the best of all educators.

TEXAS.

A Club Organized—Wanting to Organize.

J. L. Caldwell, Mart.—We organized a tax reform club here the other evening. Frank Grady, a promising young lawyer, is president and S. L. Jones, a newspaper reporter, secretary.

James Fitzgerald, Dallas.—I would like to assist in the organization of a single tax club in this city. If there are others in Dallas of the same mind, please address me, care of F. Ganzer, corner Main street and Trunk railway.

KANSAS.

The Good Effect of Distributing Our Literature—Among the Farmers.

George W. Hatch, Coffeyville.—My STANDARDS are at once distributed to different and new persons each week, as soon as I have read them myself; and, to show the effect, the postmaster here said to me the other day, "Hatch, you have stirred up a regular hornet's nest here with your papers." I answered him that I was glad to hear it. And I am glad. The protection humbug is being lashed unmercifully.

E. Z. Butcher, Solomon City.—Andrew Reddick and myself are working in the farmers' alliance, and do all we dare do for the cause. We have to be very cautious not to excite opposition. I hope soon to be able

to speak right out in meeting. Privately I never hesitate, and I am known as a Henry George man.

COLORADO.

Interesting Letter from an Old New Yorker.

L. Reuther, Trinidad.—An old New York single tax man, I find myself transplanted into a section of the United States where land speculation shows in the highest degree the disadvantages of ownership of land. The country around us is stored full with excellent coal, not yet owned by big corporations. Our town, however, had its boom, prices of land advanced, and soon it was hard for newcomers to get a home. On the other hand, rents advanced, driving out those who could not get remunerative employment quickly. The boom collapsed, and it is interesting to see those very owners of our town and lands surrounding it (and very few they are) applying the principle of the single tax. They formed a syndicate, which bought a big tract of land in our town, which land they actually give away to parties who will use it to erect factories, smelters, etc. Of course, their object is to draw a population that "works" and will help to increase the rental value of their personal holdings. I have had arguments with some of those interested in this scheme, showing them a "claw of the cat," where they would not see the entire animal. Some could see "reason" in the argument, but self-interest outweighed every other consideration. Still I got at least one of the most prominent land holders to come up so far as to talk of "compensation" for probable confiscation, as he calls it. I thought myself the only single tax man in town, gave my views on the principle here and there, created argument, and finally got an invitation to address the branch of the Chautauquan society of this city on the "Merits of the Single Tax." I did the best I could, and certainly had with me the bulk of the audience, as questions and general argument soon showed. The root is planted and is bound to grow. I shall see that the soil is properly irrigated to help its growth.

A. B. Clark, Silver Plume.—A few years of the kind of agitation that is going on now will revolutionize the country. There are lots of single taxers, only they don't know it yet.

CALIFORNIA.

Preparing to Receive George—Baiting the Protectionists.

W. G. Sellers, San Francisco.—We are anticipating with much pleasure Mr. George's visit on his way to Australia, and have arranged for meetings on February 4 and 7 at Metropolitan temple.

We had a crowded meeting on January 5, the first of the new year, to hear Judge Maguire on "Landlordism the Basis of Aristocracy." The subject was handled in the judge's usual thorough manner. On last Sunday evening, the 12th, an able address was delivered by Joseph Leggett, esq., on the relation of the single tax to the interests of farmers.

The newspapers are no longer able to keep still about the single tax. They devote considerable space to misrepresentation, but won't give us any space to speak of in answer.

On Friday, January 10, A. H. Sanborn and Walter Gallagher of our club, met Mr. Foley and another member of the Y. M. C. A. lyceum, at their hall, in a debate on "Does the protective tariff raise wages?" The decision of the judges, and also of the audience, was in our favor. The Chronicle, in commenting on the decision, said we had taken advantage of the lyceum by pitting experienced debaters against their inexperienced ones. We do not desire to take any unfair advantage, so our club has notified the managers of the Chronicle that we are prepared to meet any protectionists, even its proprietor, if they desire to debate the question of protection with us.

San Francisco.—Again the Pacific Rural Press opens its columns to the single tax. This time it is J. W. Mackie, a Tulare farmer, who shows that great benefits would come to agriculturalists from the adoption of the single tax.

FROM OTHER STATES.

Maine.

M. Peary, Greenville.—Secretary Gilbert, of the state board of agriculture, in his annual report, says that perhaps, owing to the fact that their properties are more accessible to the assessors than other property, the farmers of Maine have to bear a great deal more than their share of the burden of state and municipal taxations. The Maine farmers do not realize the reason for it yet, but when they do the republican majority here will "slump" in a manner that will surprise the oldest inhabitant.

Vermont.

J. R. Hoadley, Rutland.—On Wednesday evening, January 23, we organized a reform club. Among the members are several who have seen the "oat" and others are making an effort to do so, and we think we shall be able to do some good work in the rural district of Vermont before another election time comes, as many farmers are beginning

to think that the present system of taxation will soon push them out of existence.

Connecticut.

Patrick J. Kelly, New Haven.—When I explain the object of the petition I have no great difficulty in getting signers to it. The apathy and indifference of the majority of workingmen to the single tax idea, in my view, is owing to lack of knowledge concerning it, and also from the misstatement of the daily papers regarding it; and all that is required to convert the most of them is a plain, clear statement of the reform.

Ohio.

P. J. Snay, Galion.—I have succeeded in getting quite a number of persons started in the investigation of the single tax in this place, and shall continue to solicit signatures to the petition as I have opportunities.

Iowa.

C. C. Lichtenberger, Ida Grove.—Times are hard in these parts. Farmers get hardly anything for what they have to sell, and are compelled to pay enormous prices for what they have to buy. Yet they do not all see the cat. Those who do, however, are devoting their spare time to showing the animal to the others. The petition gives them the opportunity.

Minnesota.

O. T. Erickson of Minneapolis, who visited THE STANDARD office last week, reports the single tax movement as growing very rapidly. The club, he says, will shortly move into larger quarters.

Georgia.

Joshua Nicholls, Warrentown.—I believe I have awakened some interest among the planters on the single tax. They agree with me that there is no race problem, that it is all a figment of our politicians, simply an attempt to divert the minds of the people from the tariff and other abominations. The lands are fast falling into the hands of a few speculators, and we are becoming a society of landlords and tenants.

Oregon.

R. H. Thompson, Portland.—Although you may not have heard from us, personally, often, we are still on the war path, and are making converts all over this country, as is evidenced by the letters we are in receipt of from every section—even the most remote—in answer to literature mailed them. The Australian system of voting is now being favorably considered by the state grange, and we have some hopes of its adoption in this state at the next session of our legislature. We are glad to see the progress the cause is making throughout the world, and especially in the United States.

"Beyond the Tax Line."

San Francisco Star.

Every little while some one rails out that, under the single tax, land owners holding proper titles to vacant land "beyond the tax line," would be monopolizing that land, awaiting the time when its rental value would be brought from several degrees below zero to one or more figures above. Now, who cares two cents who owns land nobody wants, or how much they own of it, if, as soon as it is wanted, the owners have to put it to use or compensate the community to its full rental value for keeping it out of use? It is the land that is worth something now, which idle members of the community would be glad to cultivate or live upon, but by reason of the absurd land and taxation laws, can't touch, except for "all the traffic will bring," that the single tax men are after. Fix it so that the land men want can be used, and the land which men don't want can be owned, or, if possible "monopolized," by any who find amusement in the operation. Who cares whether Jay Gould or Leland Stanford "monopolize" the North pole or the moon now? It is the earth that we live on, and on its habitable zone.

The fact of the case is that this laying out of all sorts of economic theories, only practicable when every man on earth is both honest and wise, may be all very satisfactory to the well-fed dreamer; but from now to the desirable condition of things is a long time. Something must be done—something practical and effective, to stop the robbery of the many by the few. The single tax is the most practical, wide in its results, and just in its operation. The complaint that the single tax requires a government to administer it and does not interfere with the holding of absolute valueless land is not one to lodge with a sensible, practical man.

Such complaints and such extreme conscientiousness that plans out a campaign which, if acted upon, would last for centuries upon centuries, appear more calculated to delay than to hasten human progress. The people want bread. Scientific dissertations to a hungry crowd, advising them not to take yeast powder biscuits now, because of possible dyspepsia, but to wait until next week or next year for fermented yeast bread, so much healthier, would be interpreted as an effort to keep them hungry, not to feed them.

Answer a Fool According to His Folly.
New York Herald.

Brother Shepard reiterates his statement that "it is natural for patriotic citizens of a republic to be republicans."

We may be permitted to reiterate our answer:—It is natural for patriotic citizens of a national democracy to be democrats.
You are thus enabled to pay your money and take your choice.

BALLOT REFORM.

The Essential Features of Ballot Reform.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

HOPEFUL MARYLAND.

She Will Have Ballot Reform in '92 if Not This Year.

Mr. W. McM. McKaig, who sat as senator from Allegheny county in the Maryland legislature of 1888, and introduced the Australian ballot bill of that session, is fearful for the fate of ballot reform in Maryland this year, but confident that such a measure will be passed in 1892. "My bill," said he, "was modeled on that drawn by the Commonwealth club of New York before the first Saxton bill was introduced. The bill was referred to committee, held until within two days of the session's end and reported without recommendation. Of course it stood no chance then. It is astonishing, however, to see the growth of ballot reform sentiment in Maryland. I believe that any man who votes against it this time will be defeated when he comes up for re-election. Of course the bosses are against it.

"I have heard of no really strong argument against the system, and in one county the so-called ignorant voter would find it simple enough, for the democrats have had for ten years the Crawford county nominating system under which the names of all candidates for all offices are printed on a single ticket and the voter scratches out each name but that of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote. Certainly we need the reform system badly enough. Once when I was chairman of our county committee 10,000 tickets were stolen from my office, and I had to use the greatest haste to supply the loss on another occasion. A democratic worker who had been intrusted to distribute tickets at the polls wrote a republican's name in the place of that of one candidate, and many careless democrats voted the scratched ticket. Of course neither of these things could have happened with an exclusively official ballot, surrounded by proper safeguards. Yes, Maryland will have the Australian system, but instead of leading the procession, as she might have done, she may bring up its rear."

Tammany Blind to Signs of the Times.

Tammany hall has adopted resolutions commending Governor Hill's attitude toward the Saxton bill, and attacking the bill itself in language full of unfair implications. The organization declares its hostility "to every law aimed at the integrity of the suffrage or calculated to restrict the control of the people over the administration of public affairs." It also declares its readiness to co-operate in the enactment of any law to promote economy and purity in elections, but its unalterable opposition "to any legislation which, under the specious pretext of reform, seeks to impose any qualification on the suffrage, either of property or of education." Furthermore, Tammany "will never consent to any change of the law which will surround the exercise of the suffrage with complications, embarrassments or discouragements," but pledges hearty support to "any bill which will provide for the isolation of the voter while preparing his ballot, and for the furnishing by the state of envelopes in which all ballots shall be inclosed." At the same time Tammany protests against "any change in our electoral system which would disfranchise a single honest man, by discouraging the exercise of the suffrage by the illiterate or the infirm, or which would prevent any citizen from declaring himself a candidate for any office and seeking the vote of his fellow citizens at any time down to the close of the polls, on equal terms with all his competitors."

Amendments to the Saxton Bill.

Mr. Saxton announced several amendments to his ballot reform bill at the first meeting before the senate committee. One provides that candidates be grouped under title of their party in parallel columns, the last column being left blank. If all parties fail to nominate for an office the county clerk shall leave blanks where voters may write in names of candidates for whom they wish to vote. In case of a candidate's death an unofficial ballot will be permitted. To meet the governor's so-called constitutional objection, it is provided that all names save that of the candidate for whom the voter wishes to vote shall be erased. Lieutenant-Governor Jones suggested that each party ticket have a device as a guide to the illiterate voter. Senator Grady violently assailed the bill and denied Mr. Ivins's charge, incidentally made, that Governor Hill had helped to defeat Mr. Cleveland in 1888.

The canal and harbor protection union of

the state of New York, recently in session at Cooper union, unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of the Australian ballot as in the interest of the commerce of New York.

The New York state engineers' society has adopted a resolution in favor of the reformed ballot.

Annapolis, Md., Jan. 27.—Senator Gorman's friends in the democratic legislative caucus have passed a resolution declaring that all matters relating to a reassessment of property, registration and election laws should be made party measures and determined in caucus. The resolution passed by a vote of 43 to 25 against the protest of the ballot reformers. The resolution may endanger the power of the machine.

Reports of the Portland Advertiser from twenty towns having from 300 to 500 inhabitants, all over Massachusetts, indicate that the Australian system has been extremely economical. The expense to the towns was only from \$5 to \$15. Only two towns report more than \$20 expenses.

The Brooklyn democratic club has declared for the essential principles of ballot reform and for a general registration law.

Moving a Town.

London Democrat.

A most hopeful piece of news comes from Tipperary. The people of this flourishing little town, determined not to be beaten in the struggle with their rack-renting landlord, propose to adopt a novel, but very effective, method of depriving him of his rents. They will simply leave the town and build up a new town on another estate, thus transferring to a new site all the value which, owing to their presence, has hitherto attached to Mr. Smith Barry's land. Smith Barry has also derived a comfortable income from market tolls. The people have already erected a new market of their own elsewhere, in which evicted shopkeepers find accommodation and to which all the trade of the district is flowing; and Mr. Smith Barry's income from tolls has vanished. Such proceedings of course entail some inconvenience and trouble on the tenants, but their effectiveness as a means of punishing the landlord can hardly be questioned. We regard them as hopeful signs, because such an object lesson in political economy cannot fail to make every Irishman understand that urban land values are almost entirely the creation of the public. When the population of the old town disappears, the land values will disappear also; if the population goes on to another site, the land values will follow them. To see the townsfolk of Tipperary carrying off Mr. Smith Barry's rents and bodily depositing them on land "belonging" to Mr. Stafford O'Brien, cannot fail to make the Irish people realize what is the origin of all rent. They will not take long to discover that it is by no means necessary to give to another landlord—less obnoxious perhaps, but still a landlord—the economic rent of which they have so cleverly deprived Mr. Smith Barry. When it is once clearly understood that land values belong to the people, because the people create them, it will no longer appear necessary to give them to any landlord whatsoever. What the Tipperary tenants are doing for Mr. Smith Barry may be done, without trouble or inconvenience, for every landlord by the simple method of the single tax, which will transfer the rent, not from the pockets of landlord A to those of landlord B, but from the pockets of both to the national exchequer.

A Glass Telephone.

Jerome Prince of Milford has lately been granted a patent on a new telephone of his own invention. His invention consists in the transmission of sound by the vibration of glass, and his attention was directed to the subject in a peculiar way. While waiting in Boston one day he chanced to wander into one of the dime museums, and as he entered he observed a young girl playing a tune on tumblers, each tumbler being partially filled with water. Mr. Prince instantly thought if the vibration of glass can be made to give forth such varied and musical sounds by the manipulations before him, why can not this vibration of glass be brought to some practical utility, and with these thoughts and expectations he set to work. The new telephone consists of a diaphragm or transmitter of simple glass resting on a number of glass rods, and these communicating with an ordinary wire. The line in operation at Milford extends from a grocery on Main street to the residence of one of the proprietors, a distance perhaps of some thirty rods, passing some five or six sharp angles before reaching its destination. Over this wire the ticking of a watch can be distinctly heard, and whispered conversation carried on with no difficulty whatever. The distance that sound can be transmitted with the new telephone varies

according to the thickness of the glass transmitter. The one in consideration allows a whispered conversation three miles, and by using a thicker glass a much longer distance. It makes no difference how many angles the wire takes in reaching its destination, the sound is transmitted just as readily. Another peculiarity of the invention is the increased intensity of the sound that is transmitted. Each vibration seems to gather strength and force from the vibrations behind it, and when the sound reaches the ear of the auditor it is wonderfully clear and distinct. The transmission of these sounds without the aid of electricity would seem to be dependent upon principles not hitherto well understood.—(Boston Herald.)

The Greed of the Landlord.

Correspondence Sheffield, England, Independent.

Mr. Ritchie, and his co-trustees, in the disposition of Sir Edward Guinness's princely gift (a bequest for the building of houses for the poor), find themselves hampered on the threshold of their work by the demands made for suitable building sites. I hear of one particular site in the neighborhood of Victoria station. It has been valued at the instance of the trustees, and is estimated upon ordinary basis to be worth £5,000, but it is the only available site in the neighborhood, and the owner, taking advantage of the trustee's necessity, and his own unique position, modestly asks £120,000. This fact has a direct bearing upon the question of ground rents, which, included by Mr. Gladstone in the Manchester programme, may now be regarded as promoted to the rank of practical politics. That it is a burning question in all great towns is shown by the resolution passed the other day by the city council of Manchester, protesting against the immunities from rating enjoyed by the ground landlords.

All Floundering in the Mire.

Chicago Herald.

"Organization," cries number one.
"Co-operation," shouts another.
"More greenbacks," says the third.
"Moral suasion," follows the fourth.
"Prohibition," feebly cries the fifth.
"Too much population," wails the sixth.
"Eight hours," says the seventh.
"Ethical culture," says the eighth.
"Strike," hisses the ninth.
"Dynamite," whispers the tenth.
"Over-production," shouts the capitalist.
And "protection," yells the greatest robber on earth.

Nothing to Hope from Us.

Mexican Financier.

The American people resemble the lion ensnared in the net, and, in this case the net has been woven by a pitiful race of politicians who content themselves with distributing petty offices, and maintaining a war tariff in time of peace. No conception of such a policy as would link the nations of Spanish America to the great republic by a system of establishing American banks, building railways, and aiding generally in the development of the countries with which trade is desirable is likely to come from men who profess to believe in the absurd economical doctrine, that tariff taxes make wealth.

The Pocket is Very Sensitive.

Springfield, Mass., Republican.

The editor of the Cleveland Leader (rep.), being interested in an industry consuming copper, demands that the tariff on copper be removed; while the editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer (dem.), being interested in the lead mines in the west, demands that the tariff on Mexican silver-lead ores be increased. Otherwise the Leader wants a high tariff and the Plain Dealer a low tariff. It takes the pocket argument to beat down party lines.

That's Exactly How the Personal Property Tax Works.

Chicago Tribune.

"What do you value that handsome spaniel at, if I may ask?"
"Well, if you want to buy him he's worth \$500, and if you're the assessor I reckon he's worth about 19 cents."

The Air is Full of Progress.

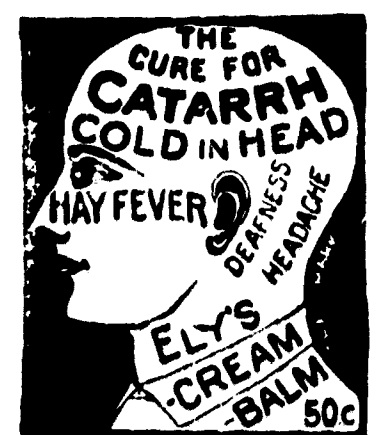
Hancksville, Mass., Reporter.

Men absorb ideas unconsciously. In one breath they denounce Henry George and in the next express themselves as favorable to some of the very things he proposes.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all the other lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all nervous complaints, after having tested its wonderful and powerful effects in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Acted on by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge to all who desire it a full description of the remedy in English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 521 Powers Block, Rochester, N. Y.

Ely's Cream Balm
THE
CURE FOR
CATARRH
HAY-FEVER
AND
COLD IN HEAD



Ely's Cream Balm is not a liquid, sniff or powder. Applied into the nostrils it is quickly absorbed. It cleanses the head, allays inflammation, heats the vessels. Sold by druggists or sent by mail on receipt of price.
50c ELY BROTHERS, 56 Warren Street, NEW YORK. 50c

**THE SINGLE TAX BROTHERHOOD OF
RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.**
ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Catarrhal Deafness—Hay Fever—A New Home Treatment.

its bearded conductors to shave on their
whiskers under penalty of dismissal.

Farmer—O, you can't catch me, you old anarchist; I am prepared for all such questions as that. It is because we have raised too much.

WILL MAIL BEECHAM'S PILLS ON
And Inquire First of your Druggist.

stitution is duly allowed except by a two-thirds vote of the brethren present at two consecutive monthly meetings.

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And Inquire First of your Druggist.

RECIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.
 *Not doing mention THE STANDARD,

WILL HAVE BEEHAN'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.
But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention THE STANDARD.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pearce; sec., G. A. Hubbell. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

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

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., W. H. Messenger.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., A. J. Gray; sec., Clarence A. Gray, rooms 24-25 Bryson-Bonebrake block.

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

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

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 1448 Lawrence st. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2351 Marion st.

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

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

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

HAWY HURST.—Plateau Valley single tax club. Pres., John W. Hawkhurst; sec., E. H. Parkenson.

CONNECTICUT.

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

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

DAKOTA.

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

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

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

ILLINOIS.

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

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

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

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

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

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

CLINTON.—Single tax club; Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., W. V. Wells; sec., L. O. Bishop.

FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermott; vice-pres., J. M. Schwerzen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

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

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 313 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 920 Hodge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

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

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

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

KANSAS.

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

GROVE HILL.—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

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

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, 415 N. Eutaw st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 359½ Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Lavis, 13 Leonard st.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

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

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Sibby st.; sec., John McCarty, 14 South Common st.

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

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

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

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

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

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

MICHIGAN.

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

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league, 503 First ave. s. Pres., C. J. Buell; sec., J. A. Sawyer.

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

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2213 Eugene street.

BENTON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. Saturday, 8 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

LA DUE.—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. Lectures Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sunday afternoons at 3. Headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every week day until 10 o'clock p. m.; the public cordially invited. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., J. C. Williams, N. Y. Life building.

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

GATE CITY.—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

NEBRASKA.

OMAHA.—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 23d st.

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

NEW JERSEY.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Public meeting every Sunday night at Humboldt hall, 186 Newark av.; business meetings every other Friday evening at the Avenue house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 207 Grove st.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 52 Broad st.; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 45 Warren place.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 109 Market street.

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

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 224.

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

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

BAYONNE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. B. DuBois.

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

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Every Sunday, 8 p. m., lecture. Club rooms, 36 Clinton pl.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

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

THE WEST SIDE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 490 Eighth ave. Pres., Dr. David Ward; sec., Daniel Cavanaugh, 387 8th ave.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Peter Aitken; cor. sec., Robert Baker, 884 Greene av.

THE EASTERN DISTRICT.—Single tax club. Wednesday evening, Oriental hall, 316 Bedford ave. Pres., John Britton; sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

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

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

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., James J. Mahoney, 2 Division st.

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

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albrow; sec., F. S. Arnold.

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

ELLENVILLE.—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hall.

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

NEW BRIGHTON.—S. L.—Richmond county single tax club. Every Monday evening, Parabol hall, New Brighton. Pres., J. S. Cogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard, W. New Brighton.

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

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

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

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

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

SCHUYLVILLE.—Schuylersville single tax club. Every Friday evening, residence of J. H. Bullard. Pres., J. H. Bullard; sec., R. S. Wells.

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

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

OHIO.

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

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

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon at Douglass Castle hall, cor. 6th and Walnut sts. Pres., James Sample, 478 Central av.; sec., Alfred H. Henderson, 23 Clark st.

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

TIFFIN.—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

HAMILTON.—Hamilton single tax club. Every Saturday evening at 314 High st. Pres., Howard Rich; sec., Ambrose Strang, 742 E. Dayton st.

GALION.—Galion single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OREGON.

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

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Henry George club. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 504 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

KENSINGTON.—Single tax club. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 201 Frankford ave.,

Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

PITTSBURGH.—Pittsburgh single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p. m., 102 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. E.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres. A. J. Moxham; sec., Richard Eyre.

POTTSVILLE.—Single tax club. Meetings 1st and 3d Friday evenings each month in Weitzel's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., H. H. Johnson, 530 Walnut st.

RHODE ISLAND.

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

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

TENNESSEE.

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

TEXAS.

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

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

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

SAN ANTONIO.—Single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday in each month. Pres., Geo. Marks; sec., Theo. Kunzmann, 11 Crockett st.

WEST VIRGINIA.

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