

THE STANDARD

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

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

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

HENRY GEORGE IN SCOTLAND. BIRMINGHAM, May 18.

I had to break off my letter to THE STANDARD last Saturday without saying what I had intended to about my Scottish trip, and though it is too late now for any detailed account, a few notes may be worth while jotting down.

I did not have the pleasure of finding in the chair at any of my Scottish meetings our good friend William Forsyth of Glasgow, first president of the Scottish land restoration league, who ran for parliament on our lines in the Brighton district in 1885, and would have been elected but for the action of Parnell in instructing the Irish voters to cast their votes for the tory candidate, thus taking from Mr. Forsyth not only the support he should have had from that quarter, but causing many who would otherwise have voted for him to vote for the official liberal candidate, Mitchel Henry, and elect him. Mr. Forsyth is as earnest in the good cause as ever, and it was a bitter disappointment to him that he could not take part in the meetings, but he is confined to his room by the imperative orders of his physician, and has had to forego the visit to the United States which he had intended to make this year. Findlay Bell, one of the most earnest of the Glasgow men who rallied around the standard of the land for the people on my first visit to Scotland, and who was the first treasurer of the Scottish league, has gone over to the majority, as has also Robert Hendry of Greenock.

And to offset somewhat the promotion of the Rev. Donald McCallum, of which I spoke last week, I found that one of our most outspoken men among the clergy of the established kirk had been taken from open service to the cause, having, as our friends said, been put in jail by a government appointment to a prison chaplaincy that has made a comfortable addition to his income, but imposed on him, as he thinks, an obligation to keep quiet on the land question. If, however, as our friends in the locality seem to imagine, this was given him for the purpose of keeping him from talking on the land question, it may have an effect in the same line as the promotion of Rev. Donald McCallum, in setting others to talking.

But with these exceptions, I found those who had been active before still active, and many new men coming forward. The same advance within the lines of the liberal party that was noticeable in England is noticeable in Scotland, and in very marked degree. Wherever I went active members of the liberal party

took prominent part in the proceedings and places on the platform, and everywhere it was evident that our doctrines had got past the point where they were regarded as too visionary for practical men.

"You are looking down on a more influential body of men for their number than ever assembled to greet you in Scotland before," whispered George Paton, the efficient organizer of the single tax forces in the Bridgton district, as I took my seat by the chairman at the banquet, which our Bridgton friends gave me on my first Saturday in Glasgow. "Those men are nearly all men of influence in the liberal party here, many of them capitalists and some of them land owners. I tell you this to show you how we have been gaining in influence as well as in numbers since you were here last."

The dinner was a good one, and the speeches all had the true ring, with the exception perhaps of one of Mr. Paton's land owners, a man who has an income of some thousands from feu duties. He said substantially that he clearly perceived that the single tax was a matter worth studying, but frankly confessed that as far as he had got he did not like the looks of it.

After the dinner, which began at four and ended about eight, I went with some of our friends to the Bridgton Workingmen's club, where I was introduced by the president to a large concourse, and presented to the library of the club a set of my books. Then we adjourned to the rooms of the liberal club, where another impromptu meeting was organized and short speeches made.

This Bridgton Workingmen's club is a very successful institution. Its members pay a quarterly or yearly or even weekly subscription, and what I suppose I may call irregular members are admitted on the payment of a penny each visit. This admits to all the privileges of the club, except games. Two or three pence are charged for billiards and a penny for taking out a set of backgammon, checkers, etc., which may be used as long as required. Eatables and temperance drinks may be had for low prices, but nothing intoxicating is sold or allowed on the premises.

On the Wednesday night following I spoke in Bridgton to a great and most enthusiastic audience, and John Ferguson, the publisher, who was, with Michael Davitt, one of the original founders of the Irish land league, and who has never since faltered in keeping the land for the people to the front, told me, in moving the vote of thanks, how in that hall the Bridgton men had converted Sir George Otto Trevelyan, the present Bridgton representative in parliament, to the single tax. As Mr. Ferguson expressed it, Sir George knew no more than a baby of the land question when he came there as a candidate, and the Bridgton land restoration men began to question him. They set Sir George to thinking and urged him on. He has since verbally and in writing approved of the tax on land values, and has sent them several subscriptions. I suspect that Sir George is no more than a single tax man limited, but that is enough for all present purposes, and I think he can be counted on for that sure enough. He will probably run for another more doubtful district in the next election in accordance with the political custom here of running

the strong men in the weaker districts, but Mr. Paton assures me that Bridgton may be counted on confidently to return a thoroughgoing single tax man to the next parliament.

One thing I may as well mention here, namely, the evidence I have found everywhere, and especially in northern England and Scotland, of the powerful influence exerted in our favor by the Liverpool Financial reform association. On my return last December from my brief visit to this country I think I said, in speaking of it in THE STANDARD, that I regarded the reception given me by this association in Liverpool as of the utmost importance and in itself worth the trip. My present trip has shown this to be the case. The Financial Reformer, the monthly organ of the association, goes to all the liberal club rooms and is extensively circulated by the liberal associations, many of which take a copy for each member on their rolls, while the Financial Reform Almanac is the text book of the radicals of the liberal party all over the kingdom. The effect of the circulation by the association of a full report of the reception which it gave me and of the speeches made on that occasion, and of its advocacy of the abolition of all taxes except on land values, has been to give us a hearing and a support with the most active and aggressive section of the liberal party that it would otherwise have taken a long time to secure. And it is largely to this that I attribute the fact that so many of my meetings on this trip have been under the auspices of liberal associations and that so many of the influential men of the party organization have presided or taken prominent part in them.

And to go back a little further, this also proves the wisdom of our course last year in following principle and throwing ourselves into the fight for free trade. We single tax men are recognized here as the American free traders.

The Sunday evening meeting on April 28 in the city hall in Glasgow, which had been arranged by the Henry George institute, an association which in spite of my protests still continues to call itself by my name, was an immense success. Long before the hour every inch of room was packed, and in spite of every ventilating aperture being thrown open the heat was very oppressive. The audience, our friends told me, was mainly composed of regular church goers, largely people who had never heard our doctrines advocated before. A verbatim report was taken by two single tax stenographers as a labor of love, and a full report of the proceedings, including Mr. Cruikshank's prayer and remarks, with a little poem from the pen of Mr. Forsyth, has been printed by our Glasgow friends.

On the following Sunday evening I preached in Dundee for my friend, and the friend of the good cause, the Rev. David McCrae. Since I was in Dundee last Mr. McCrae's congregation has built a spacious and beautiful church in the heart of the city, which in respect to a good man gone, a former minister of Dundee, has been named the Gillfillan Memorial church. It was crowded with as many human beings as it could hold on this night. In Mr. McCrae's study in the rear of the pulpit, before we entered I noticed a file of THE STANDARD up to date.

It would make THE STANDARD blush if I were to repeat what Mr. McCrae said of it.

On the following night I spoke in the Kinnard hall to a great and most appreciative and enthusiastic audience. The meeting pleased me, for it gave striking evidence of the advance that had taken place since I had been in Dundee four years since, and of which Mr. McCrae, Mr. Fleming and other friends had told me. But what pleased me more than anything has done for a long while, was the address from the trades council of Dundee, a copy of which I sent to THE STANDARD. (1) I met the council in their hall an hour before the Kinnard hall meeting, and after the secretary, Mr. Ritchie, had read the minutes of previous meetings showing the appointment of the committee, their instructions to draft the address and its subsequent unanimous adoption, the address itself was read by Mr. Forsyth of the committee, a fellow printer, and was formally presented to me by the president, Mr. E. De Courcey, who told me that it expressed the sentiments and views of the accredited representatives of ten thousand organized workmen of Dundee and the surrounding district. Whoever will read the address will understand why I so value it. It is the first thoroughly intelligent indorsement and acceptance of the truths most vital to the cause of labor by a representative body of British workmen. The trades congress meets in Dundee this year. It has already, in spite of the efforts made to prevent it, declared in favor of the nationalization of land. Perhaps it may this year declare for the single tax as the means for the attainment of that end. If not this year I am certain it will not be long before it will.

I had a fine meeting at Aberdeen, and was afterwards entertained at supper till the wee sma' hours, by the Junior liberal association. I shall have something more to say of Aberdeen, or at least of a book written a century ago by Professor Ogilvy of the Aberdeen university, and advocating single tax doctrines, which our friend D. C. Macdonald has dug up, and is now reprinting, and of which I made a good deal of use in my speech. But it is impossible for me to touch a title of the things that I would like to speak of.

The meeting at Greenock was as large as that at Glasgow, and sympathetic to the last degree. At Paisley we had another grand meeting, with the veteran ex-Provost Cochrane, who, though his head bears the snows of over eighty winters, is yet as warm in the advocacy of the right as when he took part in the Chartist movement, and who holds a place in the respect and esteem of his townsmen that any man might envy. At Campbelltown I again lectured in the Duke of Argyll's dominions. In the mining district of Ayrshire I addressed effective meetings at Irvine and Cumnock, organized by the secretary of the miners' association, Mr. Kier Hardie, whom I think we can count upon as one of our most effective workers. And I also spoke in the ancient town of Brechin under the auspices of the liberal club, where the Rev. W. Gordon Lawrence of the United Presbyterian church of Edzell presided, and made a ringing speech.

I finished my speaking in Scotland at

(1)Published on the first page of last week's STANDARD.—Ed. STANDARD.]

another great meeting in the Glasgow city hall on Thursday, May 9, and no one could have had a heartier leave taking. John Ferguson presided and Dr. Clark, the member for Caithness, and Shaw Maxwell, John Murdoch and others made speeches.

None can have so many warm friends as I have found in Scotland without feeling regret in leaving it, even if in so doing he turns his face towards home. I wish I could have had more time in Scotland, not only to visit some more of the places where they were anxious for me to come, but to see more and listen more, and write more for THE STANDARD. "Yon country" will be a good country when its people resume their heritage. At present there is an appalling amount of poverty and drunkenness. Over 125,000 of the people of Glasgow are lodged, whole families and more in a single room, and in proportion to their population I hardly think the smaller towns are better. Kier Hardie, for instance, told me that nine-tenths of the miners of Scotland lived in houses of a single room. Some of these mining villages I visited, but it did not seem to me that either the villages or the condition of the men was worse than in similar districts of Pennsylvania.

In Glasgow I visited one of the six great model lodging houses maintained by the city, where you can get all the conveniences for cooking your food, including free salt, together with a bed, for four pence half-penny if you take a bed with two sheets, and three pence half-penny if you have only one sheet. You also get conveniences for washing your clothes thrown in, and can have a bath for a penny; and if the superintendent thinks you need a bath and do not have the penny, he has authority to throw that in also. In respect to cleanliness and management these houses seem indeed to be models of their kind, but it is a kind that makes one think that if there is a section of the people who must live this way if they are to live at all, it would be a mercy to drown them as useless puppies are drowned. The superintendent told me that he frequently had to turn away over a hundred applicants for lodgings, and was always crowded except, perhaps, when after a good many had been turned away for several nights, there might be a few beds vacant, men thinking it would be useless to apply. There are also similar houses for women. And yet there are many people who cannot afford to sleep in these lodging houses, and who sleep wherever they can stow themselves away.

One thing my visit to this lodging house impressed upon me—that we ought to keep all such places supplied with our literature. Many of the men who frequent them would read it with avidity, and even the tramp contributes to the formation of public opinion.

Another thing I have noticed particularly in Scotland is the number of our active friends who are also active teetotalers, or what I suppose would be in the United States prohibitionists. And if my observations during my several visits to this country will enable me to judge, the habit of drinking even moderately is steadily falling into disfavor with earnest men. Whatever the relations of effect and cause between poverty and intemperance, the two reforms ought to go hand and hand, for it is utterly impossible to get a drunkard even as discontented with social conditions as he ought to be.

Our friend Richard McGhee has gone with me to the greater part of the places I have visited in Scotland. About one-fourth of his waking time seems to suffice him to make a living; the other three-fourths he puts in spreading the light, and

when he can't do anything for the single tax he fills in with temperance. When I first knew them, McGhee and McHugh and other Scottish temperance men used to consider claret a temperance drink, a notion that would have astonished Dr. Funk, but since that time they have drawn the line at soda water and lemonade.

McGhee has done a good deal to push the organization of the Knights of Labor, both here and in the Black country, and he and another of our friends, Edward McHugh, who traveled with me through Scotland on my last visit, and who is now reading proof in Glasgow, have got up an organization in one of the very poorest paid of occupations, the dock laborers. In Glasgow this organization has already secured to the dock laborers an increase of wages equivalent to five shillings a week, and in Belfast, where Mr. McGhee took a trip between the time when he left me in England and my arrival in Edinburgh, and organized the dock laborers, they have already obtained an advance equivalent to six shillings a week. In addition to this they have secured the changing of some customs that compelled them to do certain work without pay and to get any little advance of wages through public housekeepers who expected them to take a drink by way of interest. It goes without saying that wherever McGhee or McHugh have any hand in organizing workingmen the single tax seed is sown.

I send with this a report from the Dumfries Standard of an open air meeting which McGhee addressed on his way down here, and which he tells me was larger than his voice could fully reach. Mr. S. McGowan, who is alluded to in the report, is another man of the same kind, who in season and out of season is devoting every energy he can spare from getting a living to the advocacy of the single tax.

There are many such men here; so many have I met that I cannot begin to particularize them—just such men as we all know in New York and in every place in the United States where our ideas have made a good lodgment. The big meetings may demonstrate the public interest and serve to excite thought and provoke opposition, but the real work is done in a quieter way.

Robert Barton, secretary of the Scottish land restoration league, works all day, but every evening he gives to the cause and may be found in the little office of the league on Hope street. And around him gather some young fellows of ages ranging from 19 to 24—the two Norman brothers, the two McLennan brothers, John Gray and the two Cassells—to write letters, to fold mail and distribute documents, to do whatever their hands can find to do for the spreading of the light, or to discuss with Matthew Gass, a man of singularly clear and acute mind, objections they may have heard or questions that have been asked.

We are also gathering men of a different kind of ability. Since I started on this page a gentleman sent up his card. He did not want to talk long since I was busy. He only wanted to ask a question. How £2,000 which he wished to give could be best devoted to the advancement of the cause? So with the time comes the man.

I meet people every now and again who tell me I am too sanguine in thinking that our movement is near the point of practical results. I don't think I am over sanguine. I have never set my heart on results in this matter and have never been disappointed. But I, more than anyone out of the movement, and perhaps even more than anyone in the movement, am able to see forces that are at work.

I don't often urge the giving of money, but talking of subscriptions I would like to say to our friends at home that the way the contributions are coming in to the petition fund—I mean the small subscriptions—seems to me disappointing. I do not think the value of the work the committee is doing can well be over estimated. The immediate effects of enlisting men, of provoking thought and showing strength are important, but perhaps of even greater importance are the possibilities of powerful organization in the near future which this enrollment opens. I know that the impulse of men who cannot give much is usually not to give at all to such a subscription, as it does not seem that their little is worth while. But while we have a few friends who have given largely and will give largely in the future, no great work of this kind can rely on the large subscriptions. How many churches would there be if the churches did so? The small subscriptions are not merely likely to bring other small subscriptions, but they encourage the large ones. It seems to me that there must be enough of us in the United States who would like to see the work of the committee go on vigorously, to provide, in sums we would not feel, all the means required.

I had to chop off my letter to THE STANDARD last Saturday a good deal before I had intended, because the train in which I traveled south shook so that I could not write, and I found I had to go some distance out of my way to get to a place where I could catch the mail train for Holyhead. But I finally got to Bowess, by the shore of the beautiful Lake Windermere, though about as well tired as a man could be. After getting something to eat in the Crown hotel I stretched myself out in the smoke room and listened quietly while a young tory told me all about these pestilential agitators who were disturbing the minds of the people in order to fill their own pockets, and how, thank God, they had not got into the lake region, where the farmers were paying two pound ten for land without a murmur, and the laborers were quite contented. I rested all Sunday at Bowess. It is a most restful place, the more so because it rains a great deal, which is, I suppose, the reason why there are so many lakes. On Monday I got to Birmingham, to the house and welcome of my friend, T. F. Walker.

I met here Michael Flurscheim of Baden Baden, who had come here to see me, and of whom I shall have more to say hereafter. I spoke on Monday at Wolverhampton, Tuesday at Coventry, Wednesday at Dudley and Thursday at Wednesborough (Mr. Walker had broken the engagement for Walsall, as he declared I was doing too much), and to-night I am to speak at Birmingham, which is the reason I must now hurry through this letter.

The first two meetings were small ones, owing I think mainly to defective arrangements, though the days are really too long now for meetings. But I enjoyed them, especially that in the old guild hall at Coventry, with its ancient tapestry and armor, its pictures of dead kings, and its emblazoned roll of officials running back for six centuries. Coventry—where Lady Godiva abolished the tax, where four hundred gifts of four pounds each are annually distributed from the income of a little piece of land left some centuries ago, by a worthy citizen of the time who could not take it with him, and where the freemen, from the proceeds of land which they rent out, pay pensions to the oldest eighty of their number whether they happen to be rich or poor—is a good place in which to make a single tax

speech. And though my audience was not as large as might be wished, it seemed to drink in every word.

But the next two meetings, Dudley and Wednesborough, were glorious meetings. I will speak of them next week, for I hope to have more time then, and will be able to catch up.

Mr. Flurscheim made short speeches at all these meetings. He is a telling speaker even in English and must be very effective in German.

I suppose our friends who are coming to Europe this year are already informed that the conference is to be held in Paris on the 11th of June. I hope to meet some of them there.

HENRY GEORGE.

WHAT ONE MAN CAN DO.

I frequently receive letters from earnest single tax men lamenting that they practically stand alone in the community in which they live, and therefore lack opportunity for advocating our principles. For the encouragement and, I hope, to some extent, the guidance of these lonely ones, I want to tell in the columns of THE STANDARD the story of what one man has done toward awakening interest and discussion in one place where the single tax appeared to have but few advocates. I gather the story from files of the Quincy, Ill., papers.

In the Quincy Daily Journal of March 28 was printed a communication from "A Farmer," complaining of the injustice of the existing system of taxation and denouncing the practice of assessing the whole tax levied on a mortgaged farm against the so-called owner, the holder of the mortgage escaping. This is the most common form of complaint made by farmers against existing methods of taxation, and thousands of such communications have appeared from time to time in newspapers in all parts of the country. Usually they fall flat, because experience has proven that all attempts to tax mortgages fail and eventually add to the burdens of the working farmer or the householder who has utilized his land.

In the city of Quincy, however, there is happily one single tax man who is on the watch for opportunities to advocate our principles and to utilize every evidence of dissatisfaction with the existing system. This man is Mr. C. F. Perry, and in the next issue of the Journal (March 29) there appeared a communication from him answering "A Farmer," acknowledging the injustice of the existing taxing system and briefly setting forth the single tax theory.

The article evidently aroused the interest of the editor of the paper, and in an editorial article some days later he criticised a statement that the bare land of a farm in Illinois would have no more value than an equal amount of land in the heart of Africa, were it not for the presence of the people. He thought that Mr. Perry had left out of account the value given to land by the work of the cultivator and said: "The claim made by Mr. Perry is true in this country, after labor put upon land has brought it to a maximum of productiveness. Any increase in value after that is caused by the presence of the people. This is particularly noticeable in a city. A piece of land will produce under the highest cultivation say twenty bushels of potatoes, worth to the planter \$5 in labor expended; put this bare land in the heart of a great city and it is worth half a million!"

Mr. Perry of course answered this, pointing out the fact that the single tax will not touch improvements, whether in the form of buildings, ditching, or the cultivation of the soil. He further utilized the opening thus made for a much fuller explanation of the rise of land values and an argument for their appropriation by the community.

The subject had now evidently become one of public interest and on April 7 Rev. R. M. Harrison preached a sermon on the right of a man to own land, which was chiefly an attack on a theory advocated by nobody: that dividing land up into little bits and giving each inhabitant a bit. The Journal in reporting the sermon added a criticism on its inadequacy and declared that "the sermon answering the question 'Has a man a right to own land?' has yet to be preached in Quincy."

The issue of the Journal for April 10 contained an attempted reply to Mr. Perry by "A Farmer" and a criticism by Mr. Perry of Rev. Mr. Harrison's sermon. Such a discussion could not fail to arouse

public interest and the single tax was formally made the topic for the next meeting of the Quincy Conversation club, which met on April 18. Mr. Perry opened the discussion by a written paper. Mr. Collins opposed the single tax on the ground that it savored of "paternalism." Messrs. Richardson, Clark, Dana and Warfield, though differing in view as to the extent of the benefits it would confer, agreed that the single tax was a sound fiscal measure and would prove a step in the right direction. Mr. Perry answered the objections raised by Mr. Collins and the debate was reported in the Journal and the Quincy Herald next day.

On the same day there appeared in the Journal another article from "a Farmer," who this time signed his name, Mitchell Daisey, to which Mr. Perry replied, closing the discussion and most effectively disposing of Mr. Daisey. At about the same time the Journal editorially called attention to the Oklahoma boom and the mortgaging of Ohio farms as instances favoring the single tax theory, and on April 22 it had an editorial on trades unions, which concluded as follows:

Labor unions will not remedy the evil. There are too many conflicting interests. The power is too widely and unevenly distributed. There is a remedy suggested. It is at the disposal of every thoughtful workingman for examination. It is the single tax. The single tax is not a hobby of the writer's. It is a proposed plan of equalizing the social condition of American citizens and giving every man an equal chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Will you not, at the first opportunity, give the single tax theory a fair and thoughtful consideration? Our words are addressed to the workmen of every place and every calling. The single tax promises to remedy many of the unjust and threatening conditions now existing. It promises so much. The conditions are so strained. The conditions are daily becoming more confusing and hard to bear. Workingmen, is it not right, is it not to your own interest, is it not your duty to examine into the single tax theory and learn if it be good or bad? Workingmen, this is your chance.

On the same day the Herald published a report of an interview with Mr. Perry, in which he showed how, under a special assessment law enacted to enable Quincy to pave its streets, injustice is done that would be averted if the cost of such paving was assessed against all the lots in the city of Quincy in proportion to their selling value.

No words of mine are needed to enforce the lesson taught by this simple narration of facts. The declaration quoted from the Journal is worth far more than the effort required to bring about this discussion. That is all that single tax advocates ask of the press! Advocacy of our views is most welcome and gratifying but all that we ask in the name of fair play is that they shall be correctly stated in the press. This has been done not only by the two Quincy papers named, but also by the Germania, a German paper published in the same city.

It is manifest that this is largely the work of one man, but of a man who has first mastered our principles and then had the courage to talk of them to others and thus remove ignorance and prejudice. All men may not have the ability of Mr. Perry, but it is to his zeal as much as to his ability that he owes his success in arousing the interest of a considerable portion of a large community.

Every man possessed of equal zeal may do much toward accomplishing like results among his own friends and acquaintances, and the argument once started, all the circumstances of the time conspire to force its continuance. Even misrepresentation is beginning to be of use in calling forth expositions of the single tax in strange quarters. Here is an instance related to me by a person who witnessed it:

At a hotel in the south of France last spring (1888) there was a young doctor who imagined it was his duty to settle all questions of public interest for the benefit of an entire tableful of guests. One evening as he took his place, he remarked, in a loud voice: "I hear that that fellow Henry George has come over to England with his crazy schemes."

A handsome young lady sitting at the table quietly asked: "What are Mr. George's schemes? Do you know?"

"Why," replied the young doctor, evidently flattered by this call for instruction, "the fellow wants to divide the land up into little bits and give every one a piece of it."

"Have you read him yourself?" asked the young lady.

"Oh, yes," replied young sawbones, "I've looked his stuff over."

"Well," replied the young lady with that peculiar sweetness of manner employed by some women in administering a

snub, "if you will take my advice you will read him again and read him more carefully because people who know what are Mr. George's real views might think that you *intentionally* misrepresent them when you only do it ignorantly."

The young lady who administered this just rebuke is a southern girl of high social standing, then traveling in Europe and supposing a conservative of conservatives. A defense of Henry George coming from such a source simply paralyzed the bumptious young doctor, and a general smile at his expense went round the table. This fair young defender of the faith told my informant that it required her to brace up a little to make so public an avowal of her principles, but that she simply could not hold her tongue while that fellow was misrepresenting Mr. George and the single tax. She was much gratified, therefore, when several others of the guests in the little hotel thanked her for her words and declared their respect for Mr. George and his works. She soon had "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" in the hands of her friends. Thus even in the midst of a group of rich summer loungers in Europe a single tax girl found that she was not alone.

The truth is that the great doctrine is in the air. It is the ozone of the social atmosphere; the ever-growing hope of oppressed peoples, and wherever are found men and women who have hearts to feel and brains to think, no friend of the single tax need long stand alone in the faith if he has the courage to avow the truth and has prepared himself to defend it.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

SINGLE TAX IN THE MOUNTAINS.

PORT JERVIS, N. Y.—Port Jervis is best known to the readers of Ed. Mott's humorous yarns, as the metropolis of the rattlesnake region. In fact, however, a rattlesnake is as great a curiosity even to old residents of the region as to the city bred boy. The village, or city as it has become, is situated on the Delaware river at the junction of three state lines—Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. Though it lies in a nest of mountains, it is approached by excellent roads, some of which are laid out as level as a floor for miles along the edge of steep mountains. It is within the town, or as would be said in some states, within the township of Deer Park, which includes the thriving village of Sparrowbush, a place that is known for the superiority of its calf skin leather and the number and activity of its single tax men.

Port Jervis is not an old place. It was originally a port on the Delaware and Hudson canal, and took its name from one of the engineers of the canal. When the Erie railroad was run through it the necessity of dividing east bound trains into sections at this point to drag them over the mountains, compelled the establishment of extensive train yards with numerous tracks, and this, together with the fact that for the same reason all trains had to stop here, gave the place an impetus in growth which has resulted in bringing it to the dignity of a considerable city.

Like all places of the kind, Port Jervis is afflicted with the vacant lot disease; but for three years past it has undergone a course of treatment which, if persisted in, will cure the disease and give to the city and the town in which it is located an advantage that no community in the world now enjoys. It is blessed with an assessor who is a single tax man in the fullest sense theoretically, and practically to the full limits of his opportunities.

In the spring election of 1886 Wilmot M. Vail was elected by the democrats one of the three assessors of the town of Deer Park. He had been chairman of the board of education for twelve years, and was a public spirited and highly respected citizen of over thirty years standing. A short time before his election as assessor he became interested in political economy, and upon studying "Progress and Poverty" was convinced by its arguments and fully accepted its conclusions. While a man who lost no opportunity of declaring the injustice of private property in land, and who at all times demanded the restoration to the people of their equal natural rights to the land, he was also a man who recognized the necessity of accomplishing the ultimate of land reform by the means nearest at hand, however commonplace and insufficient in themselves those means might be. Accordingly, when he entered the board of assessors, instead of demanding the ex-emption of property and the taxation of

land to its full value, which would have been a legal impossibility, or even the taxation of land on the basis of its full value, which would have been a political impossibility, and either of which would have minimized his influence and interposed a barrier to the accomplishment of perfect land reform, he said to one of his associate assessors:

"All the favor I ask of this board is that it will increase the assessment valuation of vacant lots. The owners of these lots do not use the lots themselves and will not permit anyone else to use them except at a price almost prohibitory, and they ought no longer to be taxed on a minimum valuation."

One of the assessors, and Mr. Vail needed the co-operation of but one to make a majority, was disposed to listen to his views, and it was finally agreed that Mr. Vail should assess vacant property according to his ideas and submit the result to the board. Acting upon this he increased the valuation of lots by fifty per cent and of land which was in reality city land, but which the owner had not surveyed into city lots, by 200 or 300 per cent. The board accepted his assessment, and a valuation of \$40,000 was added to the taxable property of the town without increasing the valuation of improved property by a penny. The result was that farmers and business men found their taxes lower and only the owners of vacant land complained. One said to Mr. Vail:

"I believe you want to confiscate my land."

"Yes," replied Mr. Vail, "if you will neither use it yourself nor let anyone else use it, I want to confiscate it."

But so popular had Mr. Vail's policy become that he experienced no difficulty the following year in adding another considerable percentage to the value of vacant land, and in the third year still another. With the third year his term as assessor expired. If the single tax policy were so unpopular as some assessors regard it, this would have been a good opportunity for the democrats to get rid of Mr. Vail. But they did nothing of the kind. Though his renomination this spring was contested expressly on the ground that his mode of assessing was objectionable, he was overwhelmingly renominated. And not only did the democrats renominate Mr. Vail, but they picked out another well known single tax man—Mr. Dederick, of Sparrowbush—for one of their candidates for justice of the peace, and ex officio member of the town board. The republicans nominated a good ticket, personally considered, with one exception—their candidate for town clerk. This nomination was such that there was no real contest, the democratic candidate being elected by a large majority. But against all the rest of the democratic ticket—Vail and Dederick included—a most determined opposition was made, and it soon became evident that the result would be close, and probably involve the defeat of the whole ticket—the candidate for town clerk excepted. Against Vail and Dederick there was a special ground of opposition, namely, their well known relation to the single tax movement and Vail's policy as assessor, and this was used to the uttermost. But when the votes were counted, to the surprise of the politicians of both parties, though the democratic ticket was defeated by from 50 to 300 votes, Dederick and Vail were elected by majorities of 16 and 18 respectively. It was noticed that they were supported largely by the young men of both parties, and as they are elderly men, the general inference that they were elected because they were single tax men was certainly not unreasonable.

My errand in this region has been to examine several tracts of land with a view to buying for a single tax park. I am accompanied by William McCabe and Miller A. Smith, the latter a civil engineer, who were appointed on the committee by the proposed purchasers. We arrived here Friday evening, our objective point being the mountains of Sullivan county near Monticello. We asked the assistance of Assessor Vail and were accompanied by him. Leaving Port Jervis early Saturday morning with a team we arrived at Gilman's station on the Port Jervis and Monticello railroad an hour or two before noon. The railroad runs from Port Jervis, but we went by the highway for the purpose of enabling us the better to see the country. After spending Saturday driving among the mountains, between Gilman's and Monticello, and selecting what we thought an appropriate tract, we conferred with the owner and spent Sunday walking over the grounds. The

tract chosen is bounded for about 600 yards by the Monticello highway and is about five miles from Monticello in one direction and three miles from the village of Forrestburgh in the other. In shape the tract is somewhat like a balloon with the neck on the Monticello road and the bulge in the direction of Gilman's, on the Port Jervis and Monticello railroad. It contains about 1,600 acres. It may be approached from Gilman's by a tolerably fair road of the rough and rugged kind, which winds around the border of the tract and entering the Monticello road leads to the part of the tract that lies on that road. It may be approached also by the highway from either Monticello or Forrestburgh. But the most convenient point of access is by a road, now in very bad condition, which runs from Gilman's station into the very heart of the tract. A moderate outlay would put this road in good condition. It was over it that we went in our walk on Sunday.

Leaving Gilman's station a walk of fifteen minutes brought us to the boundary line of the tract. A few minutes more and we were on the brow of a hill from which we could get some idea of the property. The timber has been almost wholly taken away on this hill as well as on the one before us and in the valley between. The whole is covered with underbrush, scrub, and berry bushes and vines, with here and there a bunch of timber, and the tall trunks of dead trees. Following the road down into the valley and across, and skirting the next hill to the right, a sheet of water 100 acres in extent came in view, surrounded on three sides by rising slopes which gave to it the appearance of an amphitheater with the lake itself for the pit. The lake is not in fact in this form. To the left there is a bend, the outer sides of the bend being each nearly half a mile in length and the distance across about a quarter of a mile. But the ground rises from the lake in excellent form for building sites all around the outer sides and with a more gentle slope on the inner side.

Below this lake is another several hundred yards in length and two or three rods wide, and below that a trout stream a quarter of a mile long, all within the tract. The trout stream passes through a thickly wooded place at a point where the water plunges over the rocks, and makes a picture the romantic beauty of which art could not rival, while a few yards back from the stream is a ten acre grove of tall pine trees, also in the tract, and to the left of that a level field of four or five acres, wholly cleared, and well adapted for ball games. Still further to the left is a ten acre field in which tennis grounds might be laid out. The roadway out to the Monticello road passes through a twenty or thirty acre grove of all kinds of trees that grow in the region, while that from the public road to the lake is through a grove in which pine is the principal growth.

The healthfulness of the region is amply verified. Monticello is a health resort, well known already in the city, and at Forrestburgh we noticed that in the graveyard of the church, erected in 1859, there is not a single grave. From this fact, and the indisputable purity of the air, it is argued that residents never die. But on inquiry it was reluctantly admitted that members of the Forrestburgh church when they die, as they occasionally do—of old age, are buried elsewhere than in the churchyard. For boating, swimming, fishing, hunting, berrying, gardening, farming, and even for just living, the tract I have inadequately described is the best we saw, and I doubt if there is one anywhere with better natural advantages.

Therefore, in behalf of our friends who had intrusted their interests to us, we bought it.

This enterprise is the outgrowth of a conversation among some members of the Manhattan single tax club in regard to having a "camping out" party this summer. In the course of the conversation Mr. McCabe said that land suitable for such a purpose was within easy reach of the city, and was even held at so low a price that a few men could buy a considerable tract and form a single tax country club. This idea was not received favorably then, but acting independently Mr. McCabe and his wife wrote to an agent in Port Jervis, who offered the above described tract and two others in the same locality. The plan was then taken up by Mr. McCabe and W. B. Scott, who agreed to form a company for the purchase of one of the tracts offered or

a similar tract elsewhere. Since then some forty others have subscribed.

An assessment having been made for preliminary expenses, we as a committee of the subscribers prospected for the land, and now a club is to be organized to which the lakes, the groves, the trout streams and some other places are to be leased for a long term without rent for club purposes, and the stockholders are to have building plots assigned to them in proportion to their shares.

It is understood that several members intend to camp on the tract this summer and to build dwellings on the margin of the lake during the coming year. It will be quite possible for them to have their families there throughout the spring and summer months, going back and forth themselves every week at less expense in all than they would incur by living here. And for members who would like to live there the year round there are excellent opportunities for cultivating superior garden products and fruits, and for raising poultry and eggs. — LOUIS F. POST.

Cable News of Henry George's Trip.

New York Sun.

LONDON, May 23.—Mr. Henry George addressed the meeting of the Land Restoration league held here to-day, and was enthusiastically received. A number of German and colonial delegates were present.

New York Star.

LONDON, May 25.—A banquet was given at Colchester last evening in honor of Captain Murrell of the steamer Missouri. Captain Murrell is a native of Colchester, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the town over the entertainment. Mr. Henry George, in presenting to Captain Murrell a gold watch in behalf of the captain's American friends, delivered an eloquent and forcible speech, in the course of which he took occasion to denounce the policy of protection which had taxed American ships off the ocean.

New York Times.

LONDON, May 25.—Captain Murrell of the steamer Missouri, which rescued the passengers and crew of the Danmark, paid a visit to-day to Colchester, his native place, and was given a most enthusiastic reception by the citizens. This evening a banquet was given in honor of the captain, at which Mr. Henry George, on behalf of American friends, presented him with a gold medal. In the course of his speech Mr. George denounced the "mean policy of protection which had taxed American ships off the ocean."

How Two English Editors Look at It.

Editorial Writer in Sunderland Daily Echo.

My progressive friends, Mr. John Crown and Mr. G. O. Wight, are, I learn, contemplating an organized propagation of Mr. Henry George's single tax doctrine in Sunderland. Petitions in favor of this principle of taxation—the principle of making the land bear the burden—are being signed all over the country, and the gentlemen named expect to have some forms in the course of a few days, when the public will have an opportunity of signing. It is a significant fact that wherever Mr. George speaks he leaves behind him earnest and enthusiastic disciples who carry on the work he has begun, and I should not be surprised to find a Sunderland one-tax association with a long roll of members. Such a movement would, I believe, find hearty support among the masses of this town. There can be no doubt as to the great progress that Mr. George is making. The single tax movement is not to be despised.

London Christian Commonwealth.

The discussion of the land question which was raised at Enfield during the recent by-election, is still going on in the Enfield Express, the local liberal paper, which has devoted three long articles in recent issues to the advocacy—out and out—of the single tax. The appearance of such articles in local papers is one of the most encouraging signs of the times; and one of the most useful services which our friends everywhere can render to the cause is to make use of the columns of their local newspapers, as opportunity offers, for the purpose of "spreading the light" on the anti-poverty question.

A Single Tax Party in Dakota.

Evening Telegram, May 27.

YANKTON, Dak., May 27.—A new party has been formed in South Dakota, known as the single tax party. It was organized at Huron Saturday and a central committee was appointed. It is the purpose of this party to open the campaign in the new state of South Dakota, with the ultimate view of incorporating the single tax principles into the state constitution. The advocates of the new theory maintain that all public revenues should ultimately be raised by a single tax on the value of the bare land.

Jersey City Men to Debate With Prohibitionists.

On next Thursday evening, May 30, at Humboldt hall, Jersey City, Mr. Jakeway and Mr. Saul for the single tax, and General Hoxey for prohibition, will discuss the relative merits of the proposed reforms. The public are invited to attend.

HENRY GEORGE PREACHES IN DUNDEE.

Gillfillan Memorial Church Filled to Overflowing—Devotional Services Conducted by the Pastor, Rev. David Macrae.

Dundee Advertiser, May 6.

Mr. Henry George appeared in the Gillfillan memorial church last night and delivered an address on the land question. The church was crowded to excess, chairs and forms being placed in the passages, and all available space occupied. The Rev. David Macrae conducted the devotional services, and in commenting on Psalm cxix, said it was interesting to note what the bible said on the great question of the land. Isaiah said: "Woe unto them that join house to house and field to field till there be no room for others, that they themselves may be placed in the midst of the land." Amos spoke about judgment being pronounced against those who stored up robbery in their palaces, "who swallow up the needy and make the poor of the land to fail," who "grind the faces of the poor and have the spoil of the needy in their houses." One might, Mr. Macrae said, suppose the prophet looking at some of our own land holders clearing away the inhabitants to turn the land into deer forests, or appropriating to themselves without compensation their tenants' improvements. He wished to welcome Mr. George to Dundee, that night not only as a reformer, but as a Christian reformer. Mr. George's name was known all the world over, and identified with the great question of land reform. Land reform was a question which had a special claim upon the attention of Christian people. Land monopoly had been the source of vast and innumerable evils, and if Christianity had within its province seeking to remove evil effects it had within its province seeking to remove evil causes. He could predict that what Mr. George said that evening would be worthy of profound attention, and would be calculated to stimulate others to study the great question of land reform.

Mr. George at the outset quoted a verse of the psalm which the congregation had just sung:

Blessed are they that undefiled
And straight are in the way,
Who in the Lord's most holy law
Do walk, and do not stray.

Blessed are they! What did it mean? The blessing of a God who left men in heaven and allowed them to starve on earth? The blessing of One in whose house were many mansions, but whose children on earth—whole families of them—lived in one-roomed houses? No! All through that book ran the promise of peace and wealth and length of days to those who obeyed His laws. When Mr. George was in London four years ago a clergyman of the Established Church of England came to him and said: "I am in great mental trouble. I am a university graduate. I took orders and got into the navy as chaplain, and most of my life has been spent abroad. I have been up to this time an absolute believer in the bible. I have read the text which says: 'I have been young, and am now old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.' I believed that until I came to live in the East End of London. I do it no longer. I cannot believe it. I find that my faith is going as I thought it never would go." Mr. George replied: "What is the promise of the bible? All through the bible there are promises to the righteous. You never find anywhere that God promises to destroy the righteous—yet if there had been nine righteous men in Sodom they would have been burned up. The demands of the law applied not only to individuals, but to communities. Nations must obey the law as well as individuals. There were great masses of the people living in the midst of wealth condemned to poverty, and great masses of people who must work all their lives for a bare living, and then at last many of them will fill paupers' graves. The people who fill those twopenny and fourpenny lodging houses, or sleep in sheds or on walls, these little children who die by the thousands in the poorer quarters of our great towns, are they unrighteous? All through our communities to-day there were many thousands who had never enough and to spare of the necessities of life, and yet there were many who said that the poverty and the vice and crime that were born of want were in accordance with God's will. What was the cause of that great and constant stream of benefactions given by the rich to the poor but the uneasy feeling that though there might be some who deserved poverty there were great masses who did not.

THE ONE CURE FOR POVERTY.

That stream flowed on, and poverty continued; it might be doubled, and yet poverty would remain. Charity never could cure chronic poverty; there was but one thing that could cure it, and that was justice. Men should be just before they are generous. Take one of the shortest commandments in the sacred book—thou shalt not steal. Was not the accepted version of that: Thou shalt not get into the penitentiary? (Laughter.) They enforced the law in a certain way by their human enactments. They had prisons where the men were put who stole anything, no, that was rather too strong; he should have said where some of the men who stole were put. (Laughter.) If they stole a shilling there was a good chance of them going to prison, but if they stole £1,000,000 there was a chance of them becoming what they called in America

one of our first citizens (laughter)—that was if they got off with it. (Renewed laughter.) What did the words "Thou shalt not steal" really mean? Not merely that they were not to commit petty larceny nor burglary, but just what it said—they were not to take from any man that which was his. They had just to look around human society in their so-called Christian community, when they saw that there must a good deal of stealing going on that was not accounted for by the people who filled the prisons. (Laughter.) When they spoke about the country having increased in wealth they meant that it had increased in those things which were properly called wealth in economic language, and these had been produced by labor. Wealth in the proper use of the term was always the product of labor. It was not the things they found in the world—not the things that Adam when he first came found. Labor—human labor—was the only producer of wealth. If that were the case, then it was perfectly true, as a British writer had said, that all mankind might be economically divided into three classes—the working men, the beggar men, and the thieves. (Laughter.) Looking around, they saw that instead of those who labored, who produced the wealth, having most wealth they were the poorer class, while the class who enjoyed the largest amount of the produce of labor were a class that did not labor at all.

THE WORKING CLASS ROBBED.

If that were the case the working class must be robbed. There were other means of stealing than by forcibly taking from a man that which belonged to him. To illustrate, he would tell them a story which he thought was proper enough to tell in a church. There was once a good Christian who got among some wicked Arabs, and he started to Christianize them. He did pretty well, as he thought. They were traveling, and passed a rich caravan away out in the desert, where there was no water for miles. The Arabs looked on that caravan with wistful eyes, and the old Adam began to come up again in their hearts in spite of the Christianization. They proposed to go back at nightfall, set upon the caravan, and take all that there was. But the Christian set himself against that, saying it would be a violation of the commandment—Thou shalt not steal. But, said he, I'll show you an easier and a better way. That caravan is going evidently to get water at the spring we passed—let us go back there, take possession of the spring, and sell these people the water. (Laughter.) They went back, took possession of the spring, and then when the caravan came up they were in possession—the spring was theirs. (Laughter.) The caravan people could not go farther, and they finally offered to buy the water. (Laughter.) The consequence was that in a little while all the contents of the caravan, as well as the animals, had changed hands. Now, what was the difference? Was it not stealing? (Applause.) That was what was going on in this country, and going on in America, all the time, and by the most respectable citizens. The root of the present day evil lay in the fact that where the population had gone men in advance had seized the land and the water, and those who followed had to pay a price for God's bounties. The people had to go up and beg for the privilege of using God's earth, for the privilege of availing themselves of His bounties. When one of the Indian agents a while ago was found selling the blankets to the Indians on the reserves which the Great Father at Washington, as they called him, had given them, he was sent to prison. But the people permitted many men to sell to their fellows what the All Father in heaven had sent to his children. (Applause.) The Indian agent they sent to the penitentiary; men who did the other thing were sent in many cases to the senate of the United States, just as in Britain they were frequently sent to parliament. (Laughter.)

LAND CREATED FOR ALL.

God created the land, not for some men, but for all men. It was never "thy land," or "the land which thou bought," but the "land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The right to the land was just as clear as was the right to the light that streamed around. The evil was at the bottom of the civilization of to-day. It was the fundamental curse that was giving to the whole civilization of ours so unstable and one-sided a development, and converting what ought to be blessings into curses. All God's creatures were entitled to those natural elements that were indispensable to life. Daily they thanked God for his bounties. But how did God provide these? He did not place them upon the table. His provision was in the earth, and He had given man the power to labor and the power of producing these bounties. Some people said that all that might be quite true, but it was utterly impracticable to amend. Was it utterly impracticable to do God's will? Let them ask themselves the simple question, Did God intend this world for some people or for all people? Did he intend that one little naked child who came into the world should have the right to 100,000 acres of the surface of the planet, to the minerals that were embedded in its bowels, to the birds that flew over it, to the salmon that came to its shores from fathomless depths of the far-reaching ocean, while another little naked infant came who had not the right to one square inch of the world's surface—was it not monstrous? Some day men must answer

for what they have done in this world. Supposing God asked about these thousands of little children He has sent upon the earth, and who are perishing in the city slums, supposing He asked about these children who are growing up under conditions in which only a miracle can save them, supposing He asked about the women who ought to be happy wives and mothers who were by thousands prowling the streets of our great cities at night, supposing He asked about that bitter misery and want that may be seen even in the centers of wealth? Did they think they would get off by saying that these were none of their affairs, and that they did not make the world? No, God made the world, but he made it wide enough for all the human beings He has brought upon it. If there were to-day sin and distress, and uncleanness and drunkenness, and the vice and crime that were born of want, it was not God's law. God is all bountiful. He has given enough and to spare. Injustice of man was at the root of it all. It was impossible to imagine heaven treated as we now treat this earth without seeing that no matter how salubrious its air, how bright its light, how magnificent its vegetative growth, there would be poverty and suffering if heaven were parcelled out as we have parcelled out this earth. How could God himself relieve the vast poverty? If He were to rain down wealth from heaven, though He was to cause it to gush up from the bowels of the earth, to whom would our laws say it belonged? Through the present system, no matter how bountiful God would be, some one would grab these bounties. Some said that was not their affair. The text did not mean men should not steal themselves, but it meant also that they were not to be accessory to stealing, either by helping or by refusing to prevent it as much as in their power. An ignorant public sentiment of to-day refused to act, was content to stand and see injustice done. It was their duty to look into these questions, and to help to bring in that kingdom of justice and of love for which Christ taught us to pray. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. David Macrae, before concluding the service, conveyed to Mr. George the thanks of the congregation for his able address.

The English Land Tax Petition.

The following is the form of petition which the English land restoration league is circulating for signatures:

To the honorable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled: The humble petition of the undersigned sheweth,

That a principal cause of the poverty of the workers throughout the United Kingdom is the monopoly by the few, in town and country, of the land which is the common property of all.

That the value of the land, if taken in taxation for public purposes, would meet all the requirements of national and local governments.

Your petitioners therefore pray your honorable house to relieve industry, and the products of industry, of the burden of taxation which now rests upon them, and to raise all revenue for national and local purposes by a tax upon the value of all land, whether used, or let, or held idle by the holder.

Blank sheets for collecting signatures are furnished to all applicants.

Georgeism in England.

Detroit News.

Henry George's lecturing tour in England is in the nature of a triumphal procession. Everywhere great crowds gather to hear him expound his land views, to ask him questions, and to apply his theories to the conditions by which they are surrounded.

It is this last that makes Mr. George's ideas so popular. He takes for illustration the condition of the land owners who have never done a day's work yet live on the fat of the land, and the condition of those who work continuously and yet are poverty stricken and miserable.

He shows that all the burdens are borne by the landless, and that the landholding class, by their control of parliament, escape all the responsibilities of taxation, and that their most laborious exertions consist in collecting rent from those who have made the improvements on which rent is demanded.

Mr. George has long held that the single tax idea would gain its first foothold in Great Britain, where less than 300,000 persons own all of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and where more than 30,000,000 people are compelled to pay rent for something the 300,000 neither bought, created nor improved, and which they cannot destroy or alter—the land. Then the United States will, he believes, take up the question, and one or the other of the great parties will incorporate it in their platform. So that, finally, the land will be the only thing taxed, and this tax will never exceed the amount now paid as rent to the land holding class. In a word, instead of industry having to pay rent and taxes, the rent will be in lieu of all other taxes.

One Contemporary's Testimony.

HARTFORD, Conn., May 25.—The man who runs the little shop where I buy my STANDARDS every week (I say STANDARDS because I always get two, and sometimes three, and put them where they will do the most good), tells me he is selling five times as many as he was six months ago, and he is selling more and more every week. This isn't bad for a city that lives on banking and insurance.

One of my STANDARDS each week goes onto the table of the barber shop where I get shaved. This is a hint for those who want to do something to help the cause and don't know what to do.

W. L. C.

REPLY TO A SCOTCH EDITOR.

Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser.

Mr. Richard M'Ghee, a gentleman from Glasgow, addressed an open air meeting in Queensberry square, Dumfries, last night, on the land question. A considerable crowd had been attracted by the announcement made by hand bill and bell man that he would "reply to the misleading articles of the Dumfries and Galloway Standard." Mr. M'Ghee occupied a lorry, along with Mr. S. M'Gowan, tailor, secretary of the Dumfries branch of the Land restoration league, who introduced him to the meeting. The reply was confined to the article published last Wednesday, entitled "How to get the Land," Mr. M'Ghee remarking that the previous one, on Mr. Henry George's meeting, had been admirably replied to by some local gentleman. Beginning with the statement that to confiscate capital invested in land would be dishonest, he asserted there was no such thing as capital invested in land. When a man bought a piece of land he simply put the money into another man's pocket for the right to rob the people who lived upon that land of a certain portion of the produce of their labor. If God Almighty when He created this earth had intended it to be the private property of a few, he thought He would have put up a clear notice to that effect on the forehead of these favored persons.

Elaborating this argument later in his speech, he said private property in land was a form of robbery worse in its effects than an ordinary act of theft, for the theft of the produce of labor was repeated day after day, and would continue to be so as long as we tolerated the system. He entirely denied the title of landlords to compensation, alleging that they had no moral right to the land, but only at best a municipal or legal right; and the right which the law had given it could take away. He recognized no distinction between those who inherited the land and those who bought it. A man could not buy a better title than the seller possessed; and if a man who made a fortune in commerce was foolish enough to buy land, he must look to the man who had got his money for his compensation. Adverting to the statement that to confiscate rent would bankrupt every bank, their funds being to a large extent advanced on the security of land, the speaker declared that he did not think this was a prospect at which working men needed to be alarmed, as the banks contained very little of their savings. They were generally ante-rooms to the landlord's rent-collecting office, and places for the protection of his ill-gotten wealth. He told in this connection the familiar anecdote related by the late Norman M'Leod, regarding a conversation with a parishioner of extreme political views, who, having stated them at length, was asked by the doctor if he did not see that his schemes, if realized, would result in national bankruptcy? To this the ardent politician replied, "Man, I would risk it."

Mr. M'Ghee, in telling the story, substituted an imaginary landlord, cornered in argument for the substantial and genial doctor. He denied that the George movement had changed its name, asserting that land nationalization was the aim and single tax the means proposed for its attainment. He twitted the workmen of this country that, many things as they could accomplish, they were unable to settle the labor question. They could build splendid ships; but the luxurious cabins were for the idlers; the workers must be content with the steerage, of which it would be difficult to tell from appearance whether it was intended for pigs or for human beings. They could construct the locomotive; but the soft cushions were for idlers; the workers had till lately to be content with a truck, similar to those used for horses and cows, and even now they had to put up with a very imperfect third-class carriage. They could build the palace and the villa; but they could not live in them. The homes of the workmen were in dens, where they could only vegetate; their children were naked, starved, and illiterate. There were only two sources of wealth—land (commonly called the natural agent) and labor. Every man was provided with a body, possessing potentialities; and he had also a head to guide those potentialities; at least he ought to have; but if the article to which he was replying was to be taken as a sample of the intellect of Dumfries, he would doubt whether here they had heads. The man who did not work had no right to eat; and no man had a right to appropriate the produce of another man's labor. If they only choked off those who robbed them of this produce, the laborers might live in the large houses, ride in the first-class carriages, and take trips over the sea in the cabins. Crime, vice, misery, involuntary poverty would cease.

In the further course of his remarks Mr. M'Ghee made merry over the solution of the labor question presented by Mrs. Elder, widow of the late ship builder on the Clyde, who, herself possessed of over a million of money wrung from the workers, had caused a cookery book to be issued for their instruction, in which they were advised to buy a penny bone and boil it in two gallons of water for six hours, in order to make a soup dinner for themselves and their families, or to make fish soup out of penny cod's head. He indignantly asked how long the mutton, the beef, and the fish were to go to the idlers, and the penny bone or the penny cod's head

to the workers? He also denounced as an infamous measure the bill to legalize the sale of horseflesh, and attacked the gentleman who "pretended to represent" this constituency for having been absent when it was stealthily passed through the house of commons. Quoting a speech of Lord Beauchamp, who stated that the measure would raise the price of horse carcasses, but secure that the meat was sound, he dwelt sarcastically on the noble lord's anxiety for the purity of the food of the working classes, and said what these men wanted was to ride the horse themselves, and when they had done with them throw the carcasses to the workmen to be eaten. Speaking of editors as a class, Mr. M'Ghee declared that every one of them was engaged every day in turning the whole moral law upside down, for it was their interest to do so; and he had never known one who could afford for an hour the luxury of speaking the truth.

CHEERING NEWS FROM CHICAGO.

The Evening News Points Out the Absurdities of the Present System—Protection Losing Its Hold—An Electoral Reform Bill Passes the House by a Big Vote.

CHICAGO, May 23.—The single tax sentiment is making great progress here of late. The Evening News, while not indorsing our ideas in so many words, has been assisting very materially during the past few months in enlightening the popular mind on the subject of taxation. It has pointed out the absurdities involved in taxing products of industry, and declares that the real remedy for social evils lies in freeing all natural opportunities.

In the late municipal election here (at which I cast my first vote) the democratic candidate was elected by a majority of over 12,000 on a platform demanding the operation of all public franchises by the municipal government. That any action will be taken toward securing this end is, however, more than doubtful; but the adoption of the plank gave a good opportunity to our radicals here to address the public from democratic platforms and thereby educate popular thought in this direction. It is needless to say that they were accorded a hearty reception.

Opposition to the protection swindle is becoming more and more defined every day and there is no doubt that the disgust of workmen with it influenced to some extent their action in the late election. The election for congress on Tuesday to fill the place held by the late Mr. Townsend resulted in an increase of over 1500 in the democratic majority. Pretty good omen that for 1890.

The relations between our club and other tariff reform organizations are harmonious. Single tax men are united on questions of policy, as on principle. The fight in '92 will undoubtedly be made along the line of natural rights and opposition to special privileges.

Meanwhile, our club is active in the work of reform. A movement is on foot to secure permanent headquarters. Three weeks ago a committee was appointed to call upon the newly elected assessors and impress on them the importance of assessing all property at its true valuation. At present the law in that respect is totally ignored.

The Australian election bill passed the house yesterday by a practically unanimous vote—119 for it and 13 against it. It is thought, however, that there will not be time to get it through the senate this session. PATRICK J. MAY.

Judge Maguire on Points of Law.

Judge James G. Maguire, in a speech on the single tax in San Francisco, delivered May 18, said among other things:

All objections to the single tax have now been dropped but one, viz., that it would be dishonest to let a man with \$10,000 in money or personal property go free of tax, while if he buys land which he does not desire to use to the same amount, the enactment of the single tax would wipe out its entire value. Answer: It is settled law, passed on by the United States supreme court, that whoever buys land takes its title subject to any tax that may be imposed on it, and is as much legally bound to know the law as a newly-arrived tramp arrested under a town ordinance.

Several years ago a woodman in British Columbia unwillingly took a title to a quarter section of land for \$40 due him as wages. About five years ago that land became a part of Port Moody, the then terminus of the Canadian Pacific, and the owner sold less than half of it for \$40,000, though not long previously he hesitated to incur the expense of recording title. A little later, the directors decided to extend the road seven miles west, to its present terminus at Vancouver, and Port Moody collapsed. Did the speculations there bind the company not to change the terminus, or did the buyers there have any claim against the company? Evidently not. And no more would the enactment of the single tax involve a claim of land holders against the people.

Now Where're Your Pennsylvania Protectionists?

The Henry George club of Philadelphia will furnish speakers or debaters free of charge to any parties who will arrange for meetings to discuss the single tax or tariff question from the standpoint of free trade. Address the Henry George club, 901 Walnut street; or J. C. Frost, chairman single tax lecture committee, 323 Pine street. The Henry George club has headquarters at 901 Walnut street. A. H. Stephenson is corresponding secretary.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, }
NEW YORK, May 28.

Reports from the west indicate that Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's speeches have stirred up public interest and given the cause a new impetus in Missouri, Kansas and Colorado. Independent local work in behalf of the petition is being done in St. Louis, Mo., and Quincy, Ill.

At Denver the local organization proposed to pay Mr. Shearman's expenses there, but as he positively declined (though the net proceeds of his second lecture, turned over to the public library, were \$76), the club raised \$12 which they contributed to the enrollment committee.

All the committee's correspondents declare that the lectures of Mr. Shearman have done much good and Mr. H. C. Niles of Denver writes: "I feel safe in asking you to let us know when another single tax lecturer can find it convenient to come this way. If it is among the possibilities we want Henry George next fall, sure."

The enrollment continues to drag, though most of the new signers have ere this received their tracts and new petitions. It now stands as follows:

Reported last week 54,100
Received during week ending May 28, 903

Total 55,003

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

J. R. Gibbons, East Saginaw, Mich. . . \$1 28
A. M. Place, Abbeville, Ga. 36
W. C. Gorgas, Fort Barrancas, Fla. . . 2 50
C. F. Perry, Quincy, Ill. 1 00
Wm. Riley, Milford, Ky. 30
Denver Single Tax Association . . . 12 09
A. Skliba, Boone, Iowa 50
Sundry persons, sums under 25 cents each 68

\$18 62

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,407 51

Total \$1,426 13

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

The following are extracts from letters received by the committee:

W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne, Ind.—It is with peculiar pleasure that I send you the inclosed signature. The gentleman is a prominent wholesale and retail hardware merchant, and was vice-president of the Business Men's Exchange. In an address at the close of his term of office he reviewed the city's growth and prosperity, showing how all that was beautiful and attractive in the place was due to the enterprise, labor and sacrifices of its business and industrial classes. And what was their reward? Every improvement only brought additional taxation, while the benefits inured to other classes who acquire wealth by booms and nothing else. He asserted that there was something wrong in our methods of government and made the remarkable statement, which I quote from memory: "I am not prepared to say that Henry George is not right in his proposition to concentrate taxation on land values." In conversation at the time he signed the petition he reiterated the same opinions in a stronger form, saying that if men spent all their earnings in drink they had no taxes to pay, while if they were sober, industrious and enterprising, the moment they acquired anything in the way of property they were taxed for it. The present system is wrong, as it lays the whole burden on the enterprising and industrial classes, and it will have to be changed. Such an utterance does much to awaken thought among people hitherto indifferent to our cause.

Rudolf Beck, Louisville, Ky.—The single tax is spreading here like a flame.

W. H. Wilson, Memphis, Tenn.—The Single tax society of Memphis is now organized and we hope to do a great deal of good. I know we are gaining ground steadily. The "cat" cards seem to start a great many to reading up on the subject.

A. Skliba, Boone, Iowa.—I send you the signature of a genuine single tax man who did not know that we were circulating a petition and was surprised to hear that I had sent you over sixty names. He had not thought that the movement was making such progress. If I had time still more would be got to listen to our doctrine.

S. B. Rigger, Portland, Ore.—We have a single tax club here that we have named the Portland ballot reform and single tax club. We hold meetings at the Grand Army hall on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month. R. H. Thompson is president and I am secretary. We are making very satisfactory progress, and now have a membership of about fifty good, intelligent men, and are receiving new recruits at each meeting, as well as between meetings. Before the end of the year we will have a club of at least 200 members. As soon as possible we propose to encourage and assist in the organization of clubs elsewhere in the state.

Henry Walker, Springfield, Ill.—I have distributed during the past two years 500 tracts in this vicinity and the work begins to bear fruit. I herewith send you 27 signed petitions and hope to have more next week.

John Lavis, president Neponset single tax

league, Boston.—We are doing active work here and intend to keep it up. We started with five members, but one or more new men join each evening. We hold a free public meeting every Thursday night, and on Thursday evening, May 23, had addresses from W. F. Morrill of Cambridge, and the presiding judge of District 31, K. of L. Next Friday evening we will have a joint debate participated in by Francis Marion Senett, representing the Dorchester Beacon, who will oppose the single tax, which will be defended by Q. A. Lothrop, secretary of the club, and myself. We anticipate a large meeting. We could use literature to good advantage if you could spare it.

John C. Burge, Dallas, Texas.—We have called a state convention which will be held at Dallas on the 3d and 4th of July. It will aim to concentrate all factions into one solid body to discuss the interests of labor, and particularly the question of the adoption of the eight-hour law. Other questions pertaining to the interests of labor will be considered, and the single tax will be discussed pro and con. We hope to wind up the convention with a declaration in favor of placing all taxes upon land values. We shall certainly have an able discussion of the subject, as H. F. Ring and David Russell have both promised to attend.

S. D. Guion, Brooklyn, N. Y.—If any man whose signature I send you ever votes again with either of the old parties it will be for the same reason that you and I voted the national democratic and the state republican ticket last fall. When I once get a man started on our road I do not leave him to travel alone, for he might get lonesome and turn back. I follow him up and encourage him with my own exhortation and supply him with literature that will direct him on the right road, enrich his mind with noble thoughts, and inspire him to work and vote the single tax unlimited.

Wm. A. Farrar, Milltown, Me.—I enclose a few signed petitions to show that the light of human justice is beginning to shine even here. We have had but two or three people interested in the single tax, but the movement is becoming better understood each day.

W. H. T. Wakefield, Topeka, Kas.—The single tax and free trade sentiment is making good progress throughout this state. Mr. George is doing a grand work in England which will react strongly on this country.

William Lloyd Garrison Speaks Before the Woburn Tariff Reform League.

The Woburn, Mass., tariff reform league held a rousing public meeting on Wednesday evening, May 23, when William Lloyd Garrison delivered the address. Speaking of protection he said: "It is singular that such a monarchical and mediaeval system should be so entrenched in a republican form of government. It is alien to a true democracy, inasmuch as it is partial and feudalistic. It is not a power conveyed by the constitution; there is not a word there justifying taxes to protect American industries, but there is an injunction that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; and it is this saving clause that has preserved inviolate the blessings of free trade in our great country and prevented the curse of custom houses along state lines."

I am here to arraign it as fraudulent from head to foot, and to affirm that the truth is not in it, sincere and truthful as the majority of its worshippers may be. . . . A tax lessens the output of industry and tends to lower wages. High wages—cheap production. Low wages—costly production. Herein lies the advantage of this nation. We have the cheapest labor in the world, because it is the most efficient, most intelligent, most thrifty and most ambitious. Unhampered communication between nations brings brings the same blessings that come from the interdependence and free exchange of neighboring communities, because economic laws are universal, and as fixed and immutable as the movement of the heavenly bodies." Mr. Garrison was frequently interrupted by applause.

Post's Plank.

St. Paul Pioneer Press.

Louis F. Post, the noted lawyer and disciple of Henry George in New York city, has written a plank for the North Dakota constitution. It is very meaty, and runs as follows: "All taxes shall be levied on land according to its selling value, and in appraising land for taxation the value of improvements shall be excluded." Economists and constitution makers can crack away at Post's plank for the next sixty days. It does not require any explanation. It is very simple, and very new.

Twenty "Mini" Railway Dinner.

"Aton" in San Francisco Argonaut.

MENU.

"Superfish."

"Hung!"

"Stakeholder."

"Hung!"

"Pieopod."

"Hung!"

"Teacough."

"Sting!"

"Cheesecrackers."

"Sting!"

"Nutsapples."

"Sting!"

All out!

Fifty cents!

Awlboard!

Ph-wis!

MR. SHEARMAN'S TOUR.

Speeches at Topeka, Kansas, and at Denver and Pueblo, Colorado.

TOPEKA, Kan., May 20.—Mr. Thomas G. Shearman arrived here on the 17th, and was met at the station by a committee, and escorted to the Union Pacific Hotel. One of the heaviest rains ever known (four inches) fell that afternoon and evening, and at sunset a very strong and cold north wind set in. Notwithstanding these obstacles to a successful meeting, the Lukens Opera House was well filled by an intelligent audience of mechanics, business men and professional men. Had the evening been fine no hall would have held the crowd.

An election to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Congressman Ryan as minister to Mexico takes place next Tuesday, and it was expected that Mr. Shearman would arrive in the midst of a hot campaign, but owing to a failure to unite all the elements of opposition, no one was nominated to contest the election of the republican candidate.

Mr. Shearman was announced to lecture on "The Tariff and Taxes," and he devoted the first part of his lecture to the tariff, winding up, by request of the audience, with a brief exposition of the single tax question. At the conclusion of the speech Mr. Shearman answered numerous questions put by the audience.

The lecture was well received and will start many to thinking. All the city papers gave full and very fair reports of the speech except the Journal, which having no reporter present, and supposing that it was a single tax lecture, printed as a report of the speech a synopsis from the Kansas city papers, of Mr. Shearman's single tax address delivered in that city the night before.

A SUNDAY EVENING ADDRESS AT DENVER.

On Sunday evening, May 19th, Unity church in Denver, Colorado, was densely packed by a large audience to hear Mr. Shearman lecture on "Religion and Economics." Mr. Shearman alluded to the liberal interpretation given to the teachings of Jesus by George Fox and recently by Tolstoi and declared that such an interpretation would result in indiscriminate almsgiving, permit no resistance to evil and compel men to withdraw from participation in government. He objected to such an interpretation and declared that only the spirit of his teaching as applied to our own times and conditions should be obeyed. The conclusion of his speech is thus reported by the Denver Tribune:

Jesus addressed people who had no political power or rights. They were all slaves at the feet of a despotic emperor. Would he have told Tiberius Caesar not to judge, not to resist evil, not to meddle with politics? We are all emperors; we are all Caesars. We are responsible for good government, and Jesus, if he now spoke to us, would tell us that it is our duty to study carefully all these social and political questions which our votes decide.

It is plain that Jesus sought to establish liberty, fraternity and equality upon earth. But he sought to do this, as we should, by evolution rather than by revolution.

Now, as society exists to-day, there is not merely no equality, there is no chance for equality. An absolute equality in wealth is not necessary or even desirable, any more than equality of intellect or size. But the enormous disparity between the rich and the poor, which now exists, is a great evil. Such excessive wealth as some enjoy is no real advantage to them. They are no happier for it and their children are generally corrupted by it. The poor, on the other hand, are prevented by their poverty from fulfilling their natural duties.

Christian law requires that this state of things should not continue. It requires that we, the emperors of modern times, should study constantly for a remedy. There may be many causes for this state of affairs, but it is perfectly certain that one great and sufficient cause lies in our system of crooked taxation. By taxing men in proportion to their necessary expenses we tax the vast mass of the poor at least ten times as heavily as the rich, and thirty times as much as the very rich. This makes it impossible for the poor to save much or to improve their conditions materially. The first thing to be done is to cure this evil.

All economists agree that this can be done by one or another method of direct taxation. While we believe that only one method is practicable, we do not ask you to accept our word for it. We do urge that you study for yourselves, decide upon the best plan and use your political power, in obedience to Christian law, so as to relieve the poor from burdens which now oppress them.

Christian law requires that we love all men, that we seek the good of all, that we accord to all nations and all men an equality of rights. And the very first step in obedience to this law is to take ourselves off the backs of the poor—to make taxation equal—to give them a chance to save and to improve their condition. Christianity, therefore, has much to say concerning economic questions and modes of government; not as dictating any forms or fixed rules, but as demanding an adjustment of all upon such a basis as will bring about the Kingdom of God upon earth, in the liberty, the equal opportunities and the brotherhood of all men.

MR. SHEARMAN INTERVIEWED.

Mr. Shearman was interviewed by the Rocky Mountain News, and asked to explain his views upon the single tax. He is thus reported:

I am not in favor of artificially increasing taxation, but I am in favor of collecting all taxes by means of a single tax upon the annual value of land, irrespective of all improvements. I would have no tax upon personal property, houses, barns, fences, crops, cattle or any improvements made upon land.

Thus, I would not tax in the city a lot upon which a house was built any more than the value of the lot itself. Farm land I should assess at only the same value of uncultivated land. That would reduce the farmer's assessments one-half, but it would increase the value of vacant lots—wild land held for speculation. This would compel everyone who held land to put it to some use. In cities it would force land owners to build, and in the country it would force land owners to cultivate. This would immediately secure employment for every idle man in the country who did not want to be idle. It would relieve workingmen everywhere from all the indirect taxes which they now pay, and would thus amount to an increase of wages by twenty per cent.

Is that not the system favored by socialists and communists?

Quite the contrary. They are its most bitter opponents. Everywhere in England socialists are making a noisy opposition to Henry George, who is lecturing there, and socialists tried hard to break up his lectures. The communists and socialists of New York, Chicago and Kansas City are violently opposed to the system of the single tax. They know very well that the success of the single tax movement would destroy all chance for their movement. One great reason why I take such an interest in the single tax is because I believe that the adoption of the single tax would kill off socialism entirely.

Are not the religious denominations opposed to your theory?

Not in the least. I find many clergymen favorable to it both in this country and England, because they have open minds, and very quickly see that this is the only system that promotes truthfulness, avoids fraud, and relieves the poor from unjust burdens.

Has free trade progressed or retrogressed by the defeat of Cleveland?

The cause of free trade as distinguished from slight tariff reform is very much stronger for Cleveland's defeat. If Cleveland had been elected, only a very little reform would have been made in the tariff, not half enough to have done any real good. Disaster would have come just as it will now; but if Cleveland had been elected, half the people would have been persuaded that his little tariff reform would have caused the disaster. Now they will see that the coming disasters are caused by the protective system. There will be trouble enough between now and 1892 to make a great convulsion in public feeling.

Do you think that the artisan class is ready to accept your doctrine?

I do not suppose that more than one-third of them would be prepared to go at once as far as I would, that is, to abolish the tariff altogether. If it had been left to the votes of the workingmen in the protective factories they would have made short work of it last election. In the large manufacturing towns they spurned the arguments of the trust advocates.

Another Ship Building Firm Draws Out.

BOONTON, N. J.—An employee of the Delaware Iron Works, foot of Thirteenth street, New York, tells me that that concern has recently discharged something over a hundred and sixty men, and that the services of still others will ere long be dispensed with. Most of these unfortunate men have been engaged on marine work—in the making of screw propellers, ship machinery, etc., and the reason given by the company for the step taken is that they have decided to abandon that branch of the business because there is no longer any money in it, and hereafter they propose to devote themselves entirely to the manufacture of steam pumps, upon which they have a patent, and which they have found to be very profitable.

But why does not manual work pay? Why cannot these manufacturers make steam boilers and engines and screw propellers at a cost low enough to compete in the market with profit? There would seem to be something wrong with American industry and enterprise when one of the oldest and best establishments in the country is obliged to give up a branch of its business because it has ceased to be profitable. What is the trouble? Does the fault lie in the lack of skill or efficiency of the workman, or in the incapacity or want of enterprise of the managers? Oh, no, in none of these things. The manufacturers themselves would doubtless say that the high wages paid in marine work render it unprofitable; but we don't believe that high wages ever tend to increase the cost of production. They have been driven out of the business by the same cause that has destroyed the American ship building industry and swept American ships from the sea—that blighting, cursed thing, the tariff. With free materials of manufacture, iron, steel, brass, copper, etc., they would find no difficulty in producing marine work at a profit.

What an admirable illustration this is of the pernicious effects of this protective tariff of ours—that blessed tariff which these workmen were told during the last campaign was necessary for the maintenance of American industry and American wages, and for which they must vote or lose their places. What are they likely to think of that tariff now? And how will they vote the next time? Perhaps, like many others who have lost their places or had their wages reduced since the last election, they will cast their votes again for protection. But, surely, it must be a question of only a short time before their eyes will be opened to see what a monstrous superstition the tariff is; and then they will vote for freedom. CHAS. P. WOOTTON.

Quite Right.

Chicago Herald.

As Brer Watterson says, democracy is nothing if not free trade.

UNDER THE SHADOW OF CORNELL.

Discussion of the New Political Economy that is Going on in Ithaca—the Unity and Fortnightly Clubs—Reading "Progress and Poverty" During Working Hours in a Cigar Factory.

ITHACA, N. Y., May 24.—Of late considerable attention has been bestowed in our city to the examination of social problems and tax reform. Connected with the Unitarian church is one of those organizations known as Unity clubs—I have noticed these societies in many places have been discussing land reform, socialism and various kindred topics which seldom get the attention they ought to receive inside church doors. Our club first had a lecture on "The Poor of London," by Mrs. Earl Barnes. This was the starter. Mrs. Barnes is a lady who is studying in the university; she has traveled much and has seen the London poor, and the poor in a good many other cities both in Europe and America. She didn't give us any philosophy, as to why some people have so much of the good things and some people so little; but she has very good descriptive powers, and putting a sketch of the brilliancy and grandeur of London wealth in the background, she drew a most frightful and distressing picture of the miseries of the masses. This left the Unity club with rather an uneasy feeling in the pit of its stomach, particularly, as, in the brief discussion which followed, some one intimated that if it was not that one class of men, not merely wanted the earth, but had it and meant to keep it, there would not exist such great extremes of wealth and want.

So next Professor Andrews, who teaches political economy in the university, was invited to speak before the club on "Henry George's Land Theories." Some supposed the professor was, like Balaam, sent for to curse. But instead of cursing, like Balaam, he blessed. Henry George was no crank, he assured us, but one of the noblest men of this century—able as an economic thinker; clear, forcible and brilliant as a writer; honest in his aims, and actuated by the most elevated philanthropic motives. His work, "Progress and Poverty," he told us, had been translated into many languages, read in every civilized country and had had the honor of being more widely discussed than any other work on political economy excepting, perhaps, Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." He gave us an outline of Mr. George's career. Told of his going to the sea, his life in California as gold miner, type setter, reporter and editor; and how at length when he got some leisure he studied the question concerning the best means consistent with justice and equity to secure for those who do the world's work a larger share of the wealth they produce.

The professor spoke of our present system of taxation as dreadfully unrighteous, and said it forced from the poor and honest an immense disproportionate sum. While he does not favor a single tax, a land tax he does consider one of the fairest and most equitable of all taxes. Experience, he told us, has proved the venerable rule of distributive universality in taxing to be thoroughly bad. The operation of this system tends to foster dishonesty, to fine and discourage public spirit, to rob the defenseless and the poor, and to aid millionaires in evading a fair allotment of fiscal dues. So many lie to the tax assessors that all who will not, or have property about which they cannot lie, are absolutely certain to be overtaxed. The number of cheats reveals why it is the vicious system still goes on. Its villainy has been adverted to again and again. Able commissioners in many states have published this and advocated carefully prepared measures of relief. Why have none of these been adopted? A chairman of such a commission, a gentleman of great honesty and fearlessness, has answered: "When the subject of reform came up, all who thought that by being made to pay taxes fairly they would have to pay more, were present, and opposed the enactment of new laws; while all who felt that their taxes would be decreased, trusted in the power of truth to do them justice and stayed away." Strange as it may sound, the cause which perpetuates these wrongs is the same in essence which kept up like—certainly no worse—wrong in the Roman provinces; the power which might forbid is interested in the plunder.

Professor Andrews' principal objection to a land tax only is that the people would lose one power which they now possess, to repress and control various monopolies other than that of land and to get something back from corporations who own valuable franchises by public grant from the people.

At the last meeting of the Unity club, Mr. J. G. Parsons continued the discussion of the subject in which so much interest had been aroused by Mrs. Barnes and Professor Andrews' lectures. Mr. Parsons is a young man just completing his first year of study in the university. Although political economy and elocution are forbidden studies in the college curriculum, until two years have been spent on mathematics and languages, it was known that this boy had some positive notions as to the cause and remedy for poverty, and he was invited to address the club. He spoke without a scrap of paper or memoranda to jog his memory, and indeed none was needed, for but a few minutes passed before he proved to his audience, that he was entirely familiar with the principles put forth in "Progress and Poverty" and with the objections and

criticisms that have been urged against the single tax. A most forcible and convincing exposition of the reason for the persistence of poverty along with advancing wealth was given, and the justice of the remedy as proposed by Mr. George was well set forth.

A few years ago a cigar maker who works for A. H. Platts & Co. of this city got hold of "Progress and Poverty," read it and became converted to the author's theory of the cause of low wages. He took the book to the shop, interested his fellow workmen in it, and it was read aloud and discussed while the men were at work, one chapter each day, until the volume was finished. One result of this reading has been the attendance of many cigar makers at each meeting of the Unity club when it was known that the single tax question was to be discussed.

Besides these discussions in the Unity club, at a recent meeting of the Fortnightly club, a student organization, a paper on "The Moral Basis of Socialism" was read which developed considerable discussion on the advantages of common ownership of land.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

The lecturer of the evening at the Manhattan single tax club on last Sunday was Gilbert D. Lamb, who spoke on the subject of "The effect of free trade and protection upon Ireland." The speaker treated principally the historical side of the subject and the long roll of acts of the British government from 1637 to 1850, especially intended to destroy the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, were recounted. The debate which followed was rather tamer than usual.

The lecture for next Sunday evening, June 2, will be upon "The effects of the single tax" by Mr. A. J. Steers.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The parade of the Coaching club and the ball given by Commodore Elbridge T. Gerry, on board of his steam yacht Electra, on Thursday evening, effectively brought to a close an uneventful week. There has been no improvement in the condition of the social atmosphere since last Sunday. There were a few weddings, several dinners and a great deal of the small and early entertaining, the quiet, private kind of jollity of which one's neighbors hear nothing, but which forms the real enjoyment of social life. Already the fashionable streets up-town have begun to show signs of desertion and many houses are even now "closed for the season."—[New York Tribune, May 26.]

Emanuel Webber, thirty-five years old, hanged himself at No. 455 West Fifty-sixth street to-day. He made the rope fast to a beam in the cellar. There was life in him yet when he was found, but the ambulance surgeon came too late to save him. The man was dependent on account of lack of work. For the same reason John Halligan, forty-eight years old, took carbolic acid at No. 410 West Forty-second street. He was carted off to Roosevelt Hospital under arrest, and, if he lives, will be brought to court.—[New York Mail and Express, May 17.]

Mrs. Phoebe Manice has asked the supreme court of New York for \$7,000 a year more in order to properly educate her two sons, Edward and Arthur, of whom she is guardian. She has already \$6,000 per annum for that purpose, but she states that Edward spends \$3,000 at Yale, not counting \$750 for clothes and \$500 for his summer outing. Arthur, who is fourteen, spends \$1,200 for school, \$450 for clothes and \$500 for summer outings. Mrs. Manice states that it takes \$18,000 to live respectably in her position in life. Judge Ingraham took the papers.

Dominick Lopez, a Cuban machinist, 26 years old, living at No. 109 E. 112th street, committed suicide last Thursday by shooting himself in the head with a .32-caliber revolver. He had been out of work for a long time, owing to rheumatic troubles, and gradually became despondent. In a fit of temporary insanity he ended his life.

The social clubs are all prospering. Brooklyn's Union league will soon have a new \$150,000 building; the University club has a surplus of \$250,000, which is increasing at the rate of \$40,000 a year; the Southern club will shortly erect or buy a club house.

A bill was recently introduced into the New York state legislature, providing for the removal of the pauper and indigent insane from the county asylums to the state asylums, where they would get better fare and treatment. The bill had the endorsement of the Medical society of the county of New York, the Medical society of the state of New York, the New York academy of medicine, and many other important medical and charitable bodies. It was defeated, however, on the ground that the poor patients could be cared for more economically in the county asylums. It was claimed that they are now supported for \$1.20 a week per person.

These Greyhounds of the Sea Belong to Americans, but Because of our Tariff they Fly the British Flag.

Brooklyn Citizen.

The City of Paris and City of New York, though owned by Americans, are liable at any time to be impressed into the British navy. This is one of the effects of the protective tariff.

If It Changes Front It Dies.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The worst possible "politics" for the democratic party would be a change of front on the tariff question.

NOTE BOOK JOTTINGS.

A shrewd old gentleman from Chicago has given me his confidence in this manner: "My pastor is a highly intellectual man. His intellect, in fact, is so big that he has acquired the art of carrying water on both shoulders and making his congregation believe that he has it only on one shoulder. But one-half of them think it is on his right shoulder, and the other half that it is on his left. The first half says: 'We are so pleased that that water is carried on dear Mr. Straight's right shoulder, and that he so deeply sympathizes with the sentiments of Henry George.' The other half says: 'How nicely that water is poised on our pastor's Christian left shoulder, and how well it speaks for his perfect balance that he does not believe a word of the doctrines of Henry George.'"

The single tax genius has not yet arisen who has been able to put the cat idea in a picture. There have been some ingenious attempts to do it, but none have been wholly successful. Everybody knows how the puzzle-pictures are made which suggested the comparison now so familiar to single tax men. But how to make the one that they all have in mind is a puzzle in itself. The enormous and constantly distending cat, economic rent, once discerned in the mazes of modern methods of production and distribution of wealth, ever after glares a man in the face. He talks about his cat, and says he sees it, and people who cannot see it believe him to be a flighty crank. Then it is he needs a picture of it, and feels that he would be willing to pay for one. Our clubs might offer a prize for a good design of the veritable cat.

Adjoining the Brooklyn bridge, in Park row, New York, is a bit of real estate which was sold last week for the first time since 1801. Since that year its possession has descended by will. The lot was purchased in 1801 for \$2,500; the price it has just fetched, with its improvements, a small hotel and business, is \$125,000. A clean \$100,000 may be put down as representing the increase in the value of the site. The family that pockets this amount, with many years of rent based on the gradually increasing value of the lot, earned it all by their industry and economy. So, at least, our present social system would teach us.

No other class of business men in the city was so much disappointed in the failure of Mayor Grant's rapid transit measure as the real estate dealers. Activity in the market for property above the Harlem river closed as soon as the bill was drafted. While it was before the legislature, sellers kept advancing prices, while buyers held off, awaiting events. The bill did not become a law, a "boom" was spoiled, and the speculators lost. In fact, that country up there missed having fifty millions of capitalized rent added to it. A terrible loss. But the land is there yet, unimpaired.

The Real Estate Record and Guide suggests that the proposed centennial arch shall be erected on Broadway near Twenty-third street, saying that there is not room enough for it on Fifth avenue, above Washington square, where the wooden arch now stands. Some of the larger subscriptions for the arch have been made by citizens interested in real estate on North Washington square. Should it be built up at Twenty-third street, a doubt might arise in the public mind as to whether the patriotic object of these liberal people had been fully attained.

A good story comes from Melbourne, Australia, where a "real estate boom" has of late been enormously increasing the price of land, and where very high buildings and elevators have followed, as a consequence. Not long since a well known city clergyman stopped where one of these immense buildings had just been erected. He noticed a well intended for the elevator cylinder, which must be sunk deep to give play to a very long piston. "What in the world is that hole for?" he asked a bystander. "Well, sir," was the reply, "they gave \$1,900 a foot for this land, and now they're obliged to go up to heaven and down to hell to make it pay."

In one of Henry George's recent letters he referred to the wages of printers in London and compared them with those of men in the same trade in New York. A compositor who read the letter tells me it

reminded him of an incident that occurred in the course of a discussion between a committee of newspaper proprietors and one of compositors, the subject being the scale of wages. One of the proprietors said he could not understand why wages ranged so high in American cities as compared with those of the United Kingdom. To make his position good he produced a newspaper printed in Scotland, in which reference was made to the rate of composition as "eight pence half-penny a thousand." "This," he said, "is seventeen cents a thousand. Now, in an American city corresponding in population to this one in Scotland, you men want forty cents a thousand. How can you expect to maintain such a rate?" There was silence for a moment, the proprietors satisfied that they had gained a point, and some of their opponents feeling that the lot of a Scotch compositor must be an unhappy one. But one of their number said: "In Scotland 'a thousand' means a thousand ems; in America it means a thousand ems, just double the amount of type. A Scotch compositor working for eight pence half-penny, his scale, is working for thirty-four cents, our scale. Level off expenses of rent and clothes in the two countries, and it is a question as to which is the better off—the man in Dundee or the man in Pittsburgh."

Twenty years ago many compositors came to America from Great Britain, but from early in the '70s until a year or two back very few arrived. The present New York newspaper scale is again bringing foreigners here, as well as men from the country, as it looks high until expenses in New York are also seen. It is certain that nowhere in the world, as it is known to the English speaking compositor, can printers' wages rise much above the average line and remain there. Distance as an obstacle is not to be thought of by the printer who wants to go where good bills are made. Even where the scale remains high it will be found that on the whole many of the craft are not benefited by it, a good proportion in such case usually being either idle or at work only a part of the time. The year's gains in New York are about what they are in San Francisco.

The glassworkers of this country are taking steps to prevent the employment of foreign glassworkers, who are coming here uncomfortably fast. How long can they stem the tide? In other words, can they, even in their exceptionally strong position, permanently hold themselves above the economic law by which wages in any occupation tend to find a level everywhere in the industrial world? This is an era of newspapers and cheap means of transportation.

The utilization of by-products, and what a few years ago was regarded as waste, has made astonishing progress of late. Minneapolis millers declare their profit to be now solely in the bran they formerly threw away. Sawdust in lumber mills is gathered up, mixed with glue, and compressed into imitation architectural ornaments. Blast furnace slag into which sharp air currents are driven yields "mineral wool," an excellent non-conductor of heat and sound, of value in house building, the covering of boilers, steam pipes and the like. In Germany, the dye-stuffs derived from the by-products of coal tar distillation pay all the cost of making illuminating gas in some of the manufacturing towns. The knowledge of such things makes us feel that we are all getting rich.

Last week I visited a large manufacturing town where cloth and lumber are the chief products. In a vast cloth mill I was shown the merest refuse undergoing weaving into "cheap" goods. The stuff sells at half the price of sound cloth, and has hardly more than a tenth of its wearing value. In the biggest lumber mill in the place, bits of refuse board, knotty, splintery, and even cracked, were being cut up into "cheap" shingles. The poor man who must have a coat or whose house needs a roof, and who has only money enough to pay for the lowest priced article in the market, is a customer for trashy cloth and filter-like shingles. Thus, in his poverty, goes on the destruction of the poor man's earnings.

Peculiar are the ways in which manufacturing combines effect their purposes. "Respectable" makers of playing cards were for years much annoyed by the competition of "irresponsible" firms, who

placed the lowest priced cards on the market at an extremely small margin of profit. This "irresponsibility" has been circumscribed by the rich firms enacting a rule that buyers must purchase definite proportions of both high and low priced cards together. As it takes large capital to produce expensive cards, this regulation freezes out the small fry who made cheap packs so much cheaper than was proper.

While Mr. Blaine is sending consuls to foreign manufacturing cities who may be relied on to send back good protection reports, it is announced that Scripp's newspaper league, which publishes one-cent daily papers in a dozen western cities, will send forty artisans, representing as many trades, to the Paris exposition and thence to various European cities to investigate the condition of the workers in their respective occupations. Forty men capable of just describing what they themselves should see, in branches of business with which they are familiar, could advance the cause of free trade in this country with the masses so far that the government's partisan reports would avail nothing. Success to Scripp, if he wants the truth.

I dropped into the office of a recent convert to the platform of "free land and free men" the other day and found him glancing over one of the big daily newspapers with a pitying air. "Bah," he said, "there is no news in the papers—no real news. They have humdrum records of commonplace things, and they try hard to be funny about little nothings. But their contents are dreary. Why don't they give us something about political economy? That has spice in it. That has real fun in it, as it is taught by the old mossbacks. That will give a sensation to the monopolists when they reflect that the end of their reign is foreseen. Oh, that's lively reading. It has more thrilling passages than the paragraphs about accidents and more figures than the reports of base ball games."

New and profound interpretations of the term "single tax" are constantly being made. Only the other day a western boy saw in his mind's eye, that it must be a "shingle tax" and rejoiced in the prospect of less parental lickings. But it remained for a three or four-year-old to explore regions hitherto unknown. He was traveling barefooted about the floor one night, when, with a sudden roar, he ran over to his mother crying, "I've stuck my toe with a single tack."

A gentleman, who is old enough to have passed in review two generations, tells me he sees wide differences between the older and the younger. When he was a boy, grown people used to laugh among themselves at the story of little George Washington and his hatchet, but would turn around and tell it to children with solemnly hypocritical faces and try to squeeze a moral out of it. But nowadays the children cannot be taken in by the story. They laugh at it, too, and their elders laugh with them.

Who shall say that newspaper men have not an honorable reticence? A fortnight ago the Fellowship club, made up chiefly of New York journalists, entertained two of the most popular men in the city—or the country for that matter—Grover Cleveland and Bishop Potter. Although the speeches made by these and other guests of the evening would have made what Horace Greeley would have called "mighty interestin' readin'," not a word of them has been reported in the press. All was "under the rose," and no matter how much fingers may have itched, they sought no relief by grasp of pencil.

The Knights of Labor assembly, at Laurel, Md., Prince George's county, has passed a resolution binding itself to "support no man for the legislative ticket, of whatever party he may be, unless he shall first pledge himself to vote for a law exempting from taxation the machinery and tools of manufacturers and laborers throughout the state, including herein the live stock, agricultural implements, orchards, barns and improvements of the farmers and the stock in trade of the merchants." They declare for free land, practically.

A hospital story is thus told me: Last week the body of a young woman who had committed suicide by drowning was taken to the hospital and an autopsy held. Several physicians proceeded to dissect the brain, with intent to discover evidences of

insanity. One physician, however, who had himself passed through some of the experiences of poverty, believed it might be well to examine the stomach. He did so, and his conclusion was that the young woman had eaten nothing for five days before her death.

Here is a story popular with the *anti-statists* of Paris. The ships of the French navy are built by the government, the sailors are clothed by government tailors, and the bread eaten by navy employees is baked by government bakers. Nearly everything used in the navy is made by the government. About thirty thousand articles are thus got up, in whole or in part, in the navy, for the navy, by the navy. All is done by well-fixed regulations, through fully considered orders. A few years ago a certain French admiral and an English shipbuilder, in talking about ships, decided that a new form of transport or freighting steamship would be an improvement over the kind then in use. The French admiral wrote out a description of the sort of ship he wanted and submitted it to the board of naval officers whose recommendation was the first necessary step in the proceedings leading toward the construction of a new vessel. They investigated the question and pronounced the necessity for the transport to be obvious and the admiral's plans for it to be good. The records of their sessions were passed on to a superior board, examined, and approved. The records of both boards then went to the ministry of the marine at Paris, where several boards successively decided upon the need for the vessel, computed its probable cost, examined minutely the details of the plans for it, and revised the records in the case up to the point where the minister was free to order its construction. The preparations then made for building it reached along down through a line of boards and committees and officials until at last the workmen were reached who were to set up the framework of the ship. Material for this part could be got only from England. It was telegraphed for and was promptly brought over to France in the steamer that the English shipbuilder had set out to have made after his talk with the French admiral. GRIFF.

FOR A BLACKBOARD.

Concise Definitions That a Western Friend Uses When He Teaches His Single Tax Class.

Bristol, South Dakota, May 1.—In explaining the single tax to those who know little or nothing of it, I have found it necessary to define some of the terms used. In a public explanation I place the definitions on a blackboard and use them as an outline for my remarks. The following is my present arrangement of them:

1. Wealth is the product of labor.
2. Land is the storehouse of nature.
3. Value is the relation one thing bears to another in trade.
4. Money is a medium of exchange and a measure of value.
5. Capital is a production of wealth.
6. Wealth equals Land multiplied by Capital multiplied by Labor. (Production.)
7. Wealth equals Rent plus Interest plus Wages. (Distribution.)
8. Rent is the price of privilege. (Paid for the use of land.)
9. Interest is the earnings of capital.
10. Wages is that portion of his product which the laborer receives.
11. Competition (the law of supply and demand) regulates values.
12. Both land values and necessary public expenses are caused by population.
13. Both rise or fall as population increases or decreases.
14. Wealth divided by Rent equals Interest plus Wages. As Rent rises Interest and Wages fall.
15. "A tax is the taking by the nation, for its own necessary use, of that which it alone holds in full in its original right."—Elisha Mulford.
16. But as commonly used a tax is a forced contribution of Wealth, paid by individuals to other individuals or corporations, or to the government, for various purposes.
17. The "law of Rent."—"The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use."—Ricardo.
18. "The prosperity of a nation does not depend upon its aggregate wealth, but upon the manner of the distribution of that wealth."—The Leader (Chicago). W. E. BROKAW.

Some Points for Irish Landlords.

Boston Globe.

The favorite Rhode Island method is about to be put in practice by the Berkeley mill owners. Owning every house and foot of land in the village, they wait till the strikers have spent their last cent and then evict them from their tenements after a fashion that offers some new points to the landlords of Ireland.

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HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Connecticut is the last state thus far to adopt the Australian system of voting. The Henney bill passed the house with only nine dissenting votes—five republicans and four democrats. It was taken for granted that it would pass the senate and receive the governor's signature. There is reason to hope that a bill will be passed in Illinois and also one in Michigan. If the Australian system, so soon to be tried, should prove a failure, Governor Hill would have something to crow about. But, then, if it should not prove a failure, he might have something to cry about.

The Swiss government has called an international conference at Berne to consider arrangements for uniformity of conditions in the factories of different countries so as to fix the same hours of labor and the same restrictions as to employment of women and children. Such a conference is not likely to produce any good results, but some of the objections to it are as foolish as the conference idea itself. Among these it is urged that uniformity of manners would be fatal to our civilization. Uniformity of manners might be, but would uniformity of working hours make uniformity of manners? And if it would, is there any such danger to civilization from uniformity of manners as from that lack of uniformity which makes of the many water carriers and wood hewers for the few.

One Xavier Arnold and Mary, his wife, about to voyage from France to this country, brought with them numerous watches, chains and bracelets. But when they landed here they learned, if they did not already know it, that the people of this country do not want cheap watches, chains and bracelets, and that they look upon foreigners who bring them as no better than criminals. This is the reason that M. Arnold and his wife Mary were forthwith sent to prison. When they regain their liberty, if they should ever think of carrying a present to an American friend, they will be apt to inquire first whether their friend's abhorrence of getting things cheap may not influence him to horse-whip them.

The leading coal firms in Pittsburg, it is said, are forming a syndicate to buy out all the little operators and establish a coal monopoly controlling several principal centers of distribution. The tariff of 75 cents on soft coal makes this enterprise comparatively easy; to tax unused coal lands the same as if they were used would make it impossible.

In addressing the Presbyterian general assembly Elliott F. Shepard attributed the bankruptcy of the West Shore railroad to the fact that its principal business was Sunday excursions. It is this blasphemy, which implies that Sabbath-breaking leads to financial ruin and suggests that financial success is due to Sabbath keeping, that brings religion as it is professed, into contempt.

The expectation that parliament would allow women to sit in the county council,

according to the official proposition of the London council adopted by a vote of two to one, has been disappointed. The house of lords promptly rejected the bill by a large majority and without debate. The expectation that the house of lords will soon have nothing further to say about legislation is not so apt to be disappointed.

The Age of Steel infers that the sugar and iron manufacturing industries are "two American industries mutually beneficial to each other." The Age of Steel is a protection organ and is probably the first to discover that industries are at all beneficial to each other. It is a fundamental doctrine of protection that industries are carried on solely for the purpose of getting money. That the money is given out for the products of other industries and that this is the only purpose for which the money is sought, is a proposition that meets with no favor among protectionists. But now that the Age of Steel has discovered two industries that are mutually beneficial there is a possibility that it may learn that all industries are mutually beneficial; and when it learns that, it will wonder why it ever advocated the cutting off by a tariff of this mutual relation.

Passaic, New Jersey, has had a little contest in the line of the single tax. There is in that town one Judge Simmons. Judge Simmons owns a "farm" of forty acres in Passaic which was bought some years ago for \$1,100. He has done nothing to it, and yet it is worth now \$700 a lot. Judge Simmons has not only done nothing to his "farm," but he has prevented anything being done, and the inhabitants have been compelled to walk around the farm. Whenever they wanted sidewalks the judge and his friends protested against burdening him with extra taxation. On the 20th instant, at a meeting of the city council, an ordinance to curb, gutter and flag an avenue that runs through the judge's "farm" was discussed at length and finally passed. The judge's friends in the council asserted with great emphasis that it was a form of extortion to compel him to provide sidewalks, and drew a heart-rending picture of him as a tax-ridden martyr. The president of the council said the street should be improved for the accommodation of people who, because Judge Simmons refused to sell a foot of his land, were compelled to seek homes further out; and after warning the council that there was no use of paying any attention to the judge, drew a picture of the tax-ridden martyr somewhat like this:

"Never in the history of the town has an improvement of any kind been made that in any way affected the judge without the usual remonstrance from him. He stood in the way of curbing and guttering Lexington avenue last fall, and finally begged for a respite, which he got. He tried to stop the opening of Elm street. When the city wished to have Monroe street flagged he bobbed up with a protest, claiming that the street was not opened. The city had to stop, and the people living on the side of Monroe street opposite the judge's farm were forced to wade through mud in order to reach Lexington avenue. Columbia avenue, Hope avenue, and every other street that in any way affects the judge, were blocked and hampered by him. The forty acres which the judge still holds as a farm were purchased by him for \$1,100. Now he would not take an average of from \$500 to \$700 a lot. Whence came this advance from \$1,100 for forty acres to \$700 for a single lot? Not from any improvements the judge has made, but from the improvements made by the men who now want Hamilton avenue flagged."

The president of the Passaic city council is not a single tax man, but as they say in the game of hide-and-go-seek, he is getting very, very warm. And the same may be said of Councilman Swain, who made his maiden speech on this occasion, in which he declared the council had no right to consider Judge Simmons; that it was not the province of the council

to consider individuals at all; and that the question was, "shall we improve this street in order to accommodate the men whose money and enterprise has increased the value of Judge Simmons's farm land from \$1,100 for forty acres to \$700 for a single lot?" Councilman Swain remarked by way of conclusion that it may be a hardship for a man to hold farm land bought at \$30 an acre, paying for no improvements and paying tax only on farm land after the price advances to \$700 a lot, but that it was a hardship which he would be willing to endure.

In the same issue of the Passaic Daily News in which the council meeting is reported appears a letter from J. J. Barnard, a thorough single tax man, whom the News had accused, as if it were a conclusive argument against the purity of Mr. Barnard's motives, of having owned land himself. In the course of this letter Mr. Barnard says:

I have never, at any time since the creation of the universe, been the owner of any land in Passaic, and any reply to me, based on the assumption of such ownership, falls to pieces. But if I did own land and put it to use, the terms "speculator" and "grabber" would be misapplied; neither would such ownership be any answer at all to my contention, which was and is, that none but land owners will ultimately benefit by the proposed new factories.

I have no system of political economy, any more than I have a system concerning the multiplication table or the axioms of Euclid. It is a fact that twice two make four; it is incontestably true that the whole is greater than any of its parts. And these facts remain so, whether a man believes them or not and whether he knows them or not. Just as true it is that land, labor and capital are the three factors in production, the first two essential, the third auxiliary. And it is also incontestable that the product of those factors is divided between rent, wages and interest. Land gets rent, labor gets wages, capital gets interest.

If you find anything "top heavy" about this statement, the man who points it out will confer a lasting benefit on his kind. And these things are not so because I say them or because any one else says them; they are said because they are true, and cannot be successfully contradicted by any one, nor will they be disputed by any one who thinks about what he says and desires to say what he honestly thinks.

The cigar manufacturers, having largely voted for a protective tariff, are now asking congress to partially abolish it for the benefit of their business. At a well attended meeting of the trade, after numerous speeches and the reading of letters from leading manufacturers out of the city, it was resolved that congress be requested to enact such laws as will enable cigar manufacturers to make cigars in bond for export only, "free of all tax or duty." This means that the cigar manufacturers want to import foreign tobacco under a bond that it will be used only in the manufacture of cigars to be exported, and to manufacture cigars of both foreign and domestic tobacco under a bond that they are to be sold out of the country only. In consideration of the bond both internal revenue and tariff taxes are to be remitted. All this could be done without a bond by abolishing the internal revenue and tariff laws.

In favor of the tariff laws it is urged that they are necessary to keep up American wages in the cigar trade, but if that is true how could cigars be manufactured under bond for export at American wages? If we do not export cigars now it is not on account of our "high wages," but on account of tariff duties and internal taxes, as the request of these cigar manufacturers shows.

Why is it that cigar manufacturers want a protective tariff on tobacco, and an internal revenue tax on cigars, and yet want permission to manufacture under bond for export? This is the reason: Internal revenue taxation by requiring manufacturers' bonds limits the number of people who can manufacture, and forces journeymen to hunt a job instead of manufacturing on their own account. Tariff taxes on foreign tobacco increase its price, thereby making more capital necessary to engage in manufacturing from foreign tobacco and buttressing the monopoly in cigar manufacture, of which the internal revenue system

is the foundation. But these forms of taxation close the foreign cigar market to our manufacturers and they want such a modification of the taxing laws as will open the foreign market to them without breaking up their monopoly. Therefore, they propose an additional bond which will make it still more difficult for small manufacturers to compete and at the same time give to the large manufacturer the benefits of protection at home and of free trade abroad. This is the reason that the cumbersome bonding system is proposed instead of the simple non-taxing and non-bonding system under which tobacco may be freely bought and cigars freely made.

But after all the manufacturers are counting without a most essential element. Protection at home and free trade abroad is a practical impossibility. Exported cigars must be paid for, and the only way of paying for them in the long run is with products of another kind; but the foreign products with which the cigars might be paid for are to a greater or less extent kept out of the country by the tariff, and to the extent that they are kept out the "cigars for export only" will be kept in.

The friends of the single tax in Kansas are fortunate in having so excellent a single tax paper as the Jeffersonian, published by Mr. W. H. T. Wakefield at Topeka. It is an admirable paper, able, courageous and clever, and it cannot fail to do important work in a state where the republican majority is so great that it will surely topple the party over before long.

The Commercial Advertiser of this city is opposed to the single tax, but it is a sound free trade paper, and, singularly enough, really believes in the truths declared in the Declaration of Independence. These idiosyncrasies sometimes bring the paper perilously near to the single tax idea; as for instance, when in discussing the question of southern competition with the Pennsylvania mine owners it declares: "There is no such thing as over production so long as there is a single man, woman or child in the world who has less than he or she wants of the necessities and comforts of life." This fits in beautifully with the "new political economy," but it cannot be reconciled with the idea of the old school economists. Perhaps the Commercial Advertiser will some day seriously ask why it is that in this country, with resources capable of sustaining in comfort a thousand millions of people, and with a population of less than seventy millions, there are plenty of men, women and children who do hard work and yet have far less than they want of the necessities and comforts of life, thus causing an apparent over production because those who want things, and actually need them, are unable to buy.

The Chicago Evening News offers some excellent advice to the Ohio democrats, who seem to be in a quandary as to whom they shall nominate for governor. The News tells them that they "might win by taking up a man like Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, and making a straight-out free trade fight, such as he made last fall in the Twenty-first district for congress." Speaking of Mr. Johnson's splendid and almost successful fight, the News says:

He announced himself as an absolute free trader when he accepted the nomination and his canvass was conducted on a platform that made dead and forgotten bourgeois turn in their graves and sent shudders of horror all along the lines of the living mossbacks, who regarded him with unmixed alarm. They were so afraid of him that they hunted cover, but their places were more than filled by the progressive fellows who were attracted by Johnson's gallantry, and controlled by the fervor of his crusade against unjust taxation. The result at the polls was a high tribute to his personal fame and a complete vindication of his aggressive policy. His success was prevented solely by the use of money in lavish quantities for the importation and corruption of voters in a district where the protectionists had always had their own way.

The News while thus offering sound advice has no hope that the Ohio democrats will have the sagacity or courage to

accept it. Perhaps not, yet the nomination of Mr. Johnson for governor would be a little if any more surprising to him and his friends than was his nomination for congress last fall.

The News has recently, in a quiet way, been doing good service for the single tax in Chicago. Austin is a suburban town where many Chicago workmen have built homes because land was cheap there. The tax assessors have recently been fining these men heavily for making improvements and meanwhile carrying on the assessment books at a valuation of \$60 per acre large tracts of land in the village that could readily be sold at \$2,500 per acre. The News tells the indignant home builders that this discrimination between land in use and land out of use encourages speculators to hold land idle and thus makes it more difficult for workmen and others to obtain building sites. It says: "The cottager who has slaved and saved for ten or fifteen years for the money he has expended on a lot and the home he has built upon it, should not be expected to regard that system of taxation altogether just, which, besides fining him for daring to erect a roof above his head, with an annual renewal of the penalty, deliberately rates his lot eight or ten times higher than the adjoining 'acre property,' whose value has been increased by his improvements and which is too often a barrier to the further development of the community."

In another issue, commenting on the failure of the street car strike at St. Paul, the News says there are too many men looking for situations to permit the success of an attempt to corner the labor market, and it says:

In order that wages should be raised the elevating force must be applied to the lowest class of labor. If men could earn \$2 a day working for themselves comparatively few would take \$1 a day and have a boss. If there is any general desire that wages in all occupations should increase then it must be learned why unskilled laborers are paid so much less than they earn. They are not able to employ themselves. And why not? The access to natural opportunities is shut off to them. Until this is opened one might as well try to lift himself over the fence by his bootstraps as to raise his wages by a strike. How to get at this difficulty is a question worth studying and it is exciting the interest of thinking men all over the country.

In still another editorial article the News takes the assessors of Chicago to task for undervaluing vacant lots, and points out that this undervaluation necessarily imposes unfair burdens on improved property and puts a premium on the "holding of lots and lands idle against a rise in the market."

All of this is simple justice and common sense, and doubtless commends itself as such to the readers of the Chicago Evening News, and it cannot fail of effect on the public mind now that such questions are agitated in Chicago. This is the beauty of the single tax theory. If it is once pointed out to men who have begun to think on the subject of taxation they without further assistance find in their own experience and observation facts and arguments that sustain the theory. No service can be rendered to our cause equal to that rendered by a newspaper or speaker who brings the facts concerning the present monstrous system of taxation straight home to the people of some locality, points out the only method of relief, and thus leaves them to think it out for themselves. Such people will need no converting. They will convert themselves.

A New Club in Dakota.

MADISON, Dak.—The newly organized single tax club of this place has printed in tract form a set of single tax resolutions passed at a club meeting on May 13, 1889, which are handed, together with one of the eight-page tracts of the Single tax library, to those we wish to influence. The president of the club is E. H. Evenson; secretary, L. J. Anderson; treasurer, J. G. Smalley. E. H. E.

A Fact.

New York World, If the farmers were not taxed so much by the war tariff on pretty nearly everything that they have to buy there would not be so many mortgages to supervise.

MEN AND THINGS.

A friend sends me this advertisement, cut from the columns of the Health Monthly. It is pretty long, but I think, for all that, it is worth printing entire:

A LAUDABLE ENTERPRISE—THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL BUREAU—CAPITAL STOCK \$500,000, IN SHARES OF \$1 EACH, WITH POWER TO INCREASE TO \$5,000,000.

The chief objects are:

1. To help the industrious homeless poor to settle on farms or in other suitable homesteads, and thence become self-helpful, ultimately paying for and owning their own homesteads.
2. To prohibit the liquor traffic in any settlement of the bureau, thereby preventing drunkenness and consequent degrading poverty and other evils.
3. To establish such colonies, and build towns in the midst thereof, wherever suitable land can be had and co-operative aid is assured.
4. To carry on this humane work until all the industrious needy poor, who are overcrowding the cities and consequently suffering, shall have been properly colonized.

We have undertaken this work

1. Because there are over 10,000,000 homeless needy poor, now in the United States, and these, owing to the liquor traffic, are numerically increasing at a frightful rate.
2. Because, if these ten million homeless poor were properly colonized, they would become self-sustaining citizens worth fully \$1,000 per capita to the nation rather than the worthless sufferers they are. Thus aggregating ten billion dollars new national wealth in souls reclaimed.
3. Because it is impossible to find homesteads and employment for the surplus workers and reclaim the drunkards and relieve the suffering while they remain in the cities thus degraded in and by enforced idleness.
4. Because we would heed the warning of Jesus who said, that, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me, the Son of Man."
5. Because, if we continue to neglect to help the poor and needy to get free of the curse of drunkenness and become self-helpful, dire results must follow.
6. Because it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to see that the homeless poor have their inherent and proper chances in the pursuit of wealth and happiness.
7. Because if every well-to-do citizen will promptly subscribe one or more shares, we shall have money enough to carry out this work without embarrassing anyone.

The shares are only one dollar each.

Therefore, let every well-to-do citizen promptly subscribe for one or more shares, according to his or her ability, and thereby ensure the success of the enterprise and secure a good investment.

To the owners of undeveloped lands.

We specially invite the owners of undeveloped land in the several states and territories to come into this arrangement and subscribe some portion of their land at fair valuation and co-work with us for its proper development and the carrying out of our plans. We can guarantee to them a safe and profitable investment.

The following statement in regard to the enterprise has been indorsed by many prominent and influential people, only a limited number of whose names appear in this advertisement:

"We have carefully examined into the purposes and plans set forth by Colonel Rogers, in his Prospectus of the American Colonization and Industrial Bureaus for settling and profitably employing the homeless and needy poor (who are overcrowding our cities, and consequently suffering for lack of proper chance) in suitable agricultural districts, and thence aiding them to become self-sustaining, and we have no hesitation in saying that we believe the undertaking of Colonel Rogers to be not only feasible, but practical Christian philanthropy, which we all might well and safely aid in carrying out, no less for the uplifting of suffering humanity than for the common weal. Self-help is certainly the best possible aid for the suffering poor."

"The proposed enterprise eminently provides for all this, and if wisely carried out, as proposed, it will be a great boon to all classes, for it does away with all mere charitable gifts for the able-bodied poor, and puts them in a way not only for self-support, but for owning their own homesteads and reimbursing their benefactors."

Robert Colyer, D.D., Pastor Church of the Messiah, corner Park avenue and Fifty-third street.

I. K. Funk, D.D., of Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls, publishers, 18 and 20 Park place.

Charles R. Treat, Assistant Pastor St. Thomas' Church, corner Fifth avenue and Fifty-third street.

Herbert A. Lee, American Collecting Agency, 245 Broadway.

John P. St. John, Prohibition Candidate for President of the United States, 1884.

Clinton B. Fisk, Prohibition Candidate for President of the United States, 1888.

B. Franklin Clark, M.D., Principal Belvidere Seminary, Belvidere, N. J.

Charles H. Eaton, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Divine Paternity, Fifth avenue and Forty-fifth street.

George R. Scott, Editor and Manager, 21 Vandewater street.

John Lloyd Thomas, Secretary National Prohibition Bureau, 32 East Fourteenth street.

Edwin P. Ide, manager Brooklyn branch Equitable Life insurance company.

Frances E. Willard, president Women's National Christian temperance union, Evanston, Ill.

Samuel Dickie, chairman executive committee, National prohibition party, Albion, Mich.

W. Jennings Demorest, prohibition bureaus, 32 East Fourteenth street.

Officers: Andrew J. Rogers, president; Viola H. Gilbert, vice-president; George E. Smith, secretary; Stephen H. Gage, treasurer.

Thomas Bickerstaff, agent, 38 Exchange chambers, Exchange station, Liverpool, Eng. Agents wanted in every state and city. For further information and documents showing the purposes and plans, apply to Andrew J. Rogers, president A. C. and I. bureaus, 245 Broadway, New York.

Here, at last, is something practical. Here is philanthropy getting down to business, and proposing to form a joint stock corporation, with officers, directors, and, above all other things, dividends, for the abolition of poverty and the extirpation of the rum evil. I can't help laughing at it a little. But I hasten to say that I don't think it ought to be laughed at—at least there should be nothing of the sneer in the laugh that greets it. Dr. Collyer, Dr. Funk, General Fisk, Miss Willard and the other indorsers of Mr. Rogers's plan, are honest people, sincerely anxious for the good of mankind and working for it with a self-devotion worthy of all praise. They really are philanthropists. To sneer at any philanthropic scheme that has received their deliberate approval, would be worse than foolish.

But though it would be wrong to sneer, it certainly is right to criticize. While I cheerfully admit that the proposed colonization and industrial bureaus are capable of effecting much temporary good, I think that in the end they would only intensify the evils they are expected to cure. I venture, therefore, to point out what seems to me a radical defect in this method of poverty abolition.

Just rearrange the statements of this prospectus and its indorsement, and they present the following argument:

There are ten million homeless and needy poor in the United States.

They are homeless and needy because they are deprived of "their inherent and proper chances in the pursuit of wealth and happiness." They are kept in a condition of "enforced idleness."

It is impossible to abolish the rum evil while men are "thus degraded in and by enforced idleness."

If these ten million homeless and needy poor are given their "inherent and proper chances in the pursuit of wealth and happiness," they will become "self-sustaining citizens worth fully \$1,000 per capita to the nation, rather than the worthless sufferers they now are."

The only way to secure them their "inherent and proper chances in the pursuit of wealth and happiness" is to give them access to the land—to help them to settle on farms, "or other suitable homesteads."

It is "the patriotic duty of every citizen" to see that this is done.

Puss! puss! puss! Kitty! kitty! kitty! Take care Miss Willard! Take care Dr. Funk and Dr. Collyer, and all the rest of you philanthropic indorsers of Colonel Rogers's scheme. The single tax cat will be in all your laps at once if you don't watch out. You don't see her yet, but she has her eye on you and is getting ready for a jump.

Alas! the cat don't jump. Miss Willard, and Dr. Funk, and Dr. Collyer, and all the other philanthropists, are looking straight at her, and one would think they couldn't well help taking notice of her. But they never see her, and pussy turns away. Observe, now, how they propose to set about this "patriotic duty" of securing men that access to natural opportunities which will insure them "their inherent and proper chances in the pursuit of wealth and happiness."

They invite all the men and women who want to see poverty and intemperance abolished, and who recognize, what they evidently consider a self-evident fact, that this can only be done by giving men access to natural opportunities, to chip in at least one dollar each. And they make a special appeal to "the owners of undeveloped land" to "subscribe some portion of their land at a fair valuation," guaranteeing them "a safe and profitable investment." They are far too wise to suggest that these owners of undeveloped land should subscribe ALL their land "at a fair valuation." They know well enough, perhaps instinctively, perhaps as a result of careful thought, that though such an "investment" might be safe enough, it would not be by any means as profitable as the one they actually propose.

Suppose the corporation formed—the plan in actual operation. A million men and women have subscribed a dollar each, and Colonel Mulberry Sellers, who owns two hundred thousand acres of wild land in Tennessee, has put in a hundred thousand acres at a fair valuation, say \$1 per acre. The colonel being a business man

as well as a philanthropist, has not cut his block of land in two, and contributed a solid half of it to the corporation. He has had it laid off in quarter sections, and contributed every other one, reserving the alternate quarter sections for himself. And so the company is equipped for business. It has a million dollars in cash and a hundred thousand acres of practically valueless land, that it couldn't sell at a dollar an acre if it tried. Now what does it do?

It carefully selects from among the deserving poor of New York, who would be industrious if folks would let them go to work, 5,000 families, who consent to be transported to Tennessee on condition of receiving each a homestead of twenty acres, with a rude house and an outfit of simple tools, not for nothing—oh dear no; that would be to encourage pauperism—but for, say \$10 an acre, with the cost of transportation, house and outfit added. Money payable in ten, fifteen or twenty years, perhaps with interest or perhaps without. The 5,000 industrious poor are duly planted, and go to work at once. Some, with an aptitude for farming, begin to till the soil. Others make shoes and clothes, do carpenter and blacksmith work and sell their products to their farming brethren. One man starts a newspaper, another opens a little store, a third, perhaps, becomes a clergyman and earns wages as a preacher. Everybody is busy, and everybody gets as rich as the tax gatherer will allow. New settlers are attracted, to whom Colonel Sellers philanthropically sells land at five, ten, fifteen, twenty, fifty dollars an acre, the price naturally rising as the demand increases. Long before the time comes for the final payment to the colonization and industrial bureau, the five thousand industrious poor have been transformed into ten or fifteen thousand not quite so industrious rich, who erect a statue to Colonel Rogers, and are profoundly exercised over the question, What they shall do with the many deserving poor who have somehow crowded into that neighborhood. Colonel Mulberry Sellers is a many times millionaire, a splendid specimen of self-made American manhood. He is universally respected, has founded the great Sellers university—having first repurchased much of the land near its location—and sits in congress as a senator from Tennessee. As for Colonel Rogers's corporation, its \$1 shares are worth \$50 each. It has settled ten million people on "undeveloped land," and, with the blessing of Providence, it hopes to settle ten million more.

Anything overdrawn in this? I don't think so. It's a pretty sanguine forecast of the future, I admit, but can you lay your finger on any single part of it and say it isn't perfectly possible? I don't think you can. Indeed, in some respects, I don't think it's nearly as rosy as it might be. If Colonel Rogers will listen to my advice, I can tell him how to get his poor people on to "undeveloped land," and at the same time make a great deal more money for his colonization and industrial bureaus than he now contemplates. Instead of selling Colonel Sellers's land to the worthy industrious poor whom he settles on it, let him give it to them for nothing, on condition that they shall sell it to him at \$20 an acre, with the price of all improvements added, twenty years hence. That will give the industrious poor people twenty years' use of the "undeveloped land," and a cash capital of \$400 each with which to start on a search for more "undeveloped land." Only, if the colonel adopts this plan, he mustn't expect to get a statue—unless an effigy in the middle of a bonfire can be called a statue. For when the twenty years is up, the people of his settlement will awaken to the fact that all the value of their land has been created by their own presence upon and around it; and they will be very apt to hold a meeting and ask what Colonel Rogers and his associates have done that they should claim the right to buy for \$20 a land value of several hundred, that they have done nothing whatever to produce.

Can't Colonel Rogers, and Dr. Collyer, and Miss Willard, and the rest of these well meaning philanthropists, see that their proposed scheme of colonization is nothing more than an attempt to empty a horse trough by plying a dipper at one end, while somebody else is working a pump at the other. Relieve the worthy poor by colonizing them on "undeveloped land?" Why of course you can. There's

nothing simpler. Only as fast as you move the poor people out of New York or any other city on to your "undeveloped land," other poor people will crowd in to take their places. And the faster the moving goes on the denser will be the crowding. Publish it to the world that there is in New York an association that will secure men the privilege of access to natural opportunities on the one condition that they shall not be able to pay for them—publish that to the world, and compel men to believe it by actually doing it—and the crowd that thronged New York during the three days of the late centennial would be as nothing by comparison. Men want access to natural opportunities. They struggle and fight, and starve themselves, and oppress each other in the attempt to get it. Let them think that you will give it them for nothing, and see what will come of it. The saloons you are so anxious to abolish will be quadrupled in number. The overcrowding you lament will be intensified a hundred fold. The "uplifting of suffering humanity," for which you hope, can never be brought about by the means you propose to use.

Miss Willard, Dr. Collyer, Dr. Funk, can't you see wherein the trouble lies. You almost see it. Won't you look a little, and try and see it quite? You know that the people you want to aid are "suffering for lack of proper chances." Don't you see that the thing to be done is to secure them the proper chances, not out of charity, not by some scheme of speculation and profit, but as a matter of right? Can't you see that the only trouble is that men have been allowed to monopolize the chances and hold them idle till they can wring from the sufferings of those robbed of the chances, satisfaction for their greed? Aren't there plenty of chances lying idle right in and around New York, simply because the men allowed to call them "theirs" don't choose to permit them to be used? Does it never occur to you that for a man who wants to go to work to have to beg permission to go to work from his fellow man is a blasphemy against God? Think, Miss Willard! Think, philanthropic gentlemen! Think, you sworn preachers of the will of God, the equal Father of all his human children! The problem of the ages is before you. You are not far from its solution. Oh, think! and do it quickly, ere a worse thing befall!

T. L. M'CREADY.

A Few Points to Farmers.

FARMER'S CLUB, TOWN FALL RIVER,)
LaSalle County, Ill.)

Gentlemen: I was permitted recently to address you and bring to your notice the single tax, as a movement to free the farmers and all other workers from unjust and oppressive burdens imposed by monopoly.

I pointed out to you that the element of monopoly has its foundation in the private appropriation of God-given natural opportunities, and exposed the fallacy that the farmer's chief interests are those of a land owner and capitalist.

I pointed out that in those relations he is utterly insignificant when country values are compared with city, town and mine values, and especially when compared with his functions as a worker.

I pointed out that the farmer is intrinsically and essentially a laborer, and that the cause of labor is his cause.

The monopoly of land is the parent of all other monopolies which despoil you, and while it exists these are safe from attack.

The farmer is the chief bulwark of defense for this monster of theft, for he is flattered to consider himself a land owner and willingly submits to have the bulk of the enormous city rents saddled onto him in his capacity as a consumer.

The single tax is more than an economic question; it is a religion of humanity and has all the force of compelling the devotion of heart and soul of him who has seen the light.

The single tax appeals to every good and just man for support for it emphasizes the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Its fundamental principle is the essence of justice which Christianity preaches, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

I again earnestly urge you to make the study of this question, one of paramount importance and place myself and services at your command.

Very truly yours,
GEORGE G. GUENTHER,
Galloway, LaSalle County, Ill.

Looking Forward—a Long Way.

Boston Courier.

Landlord (to applicant for a tenement)—Have you any children?

Applicant—None.

L.—Then you can have the tenement.

Applicant (to landlord)—Have you any children?

L.—Yes, I've four.

A.—Then I don't want your tenement.

L.—Why not?

A.—Because I make it a rule never to hire of a landlord who has children.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The Fallacy of Socialism.

IN THE STANDARD of May 11, in commenting upon an article in the American Economist, I said: "It makes no difference how close a monopoly a man may have. He cannot raise his prices without lessening his production." When I used the expression I was endeavoring to show that any taxation upon industry must act as a check upon production; for the reason that if the man who pays the tax in the first place does not diminish his production, he cannot raise his prices so as to throw the burden of the tax upon the consumer; he must bear the whole weight of it himself. If a gas company, for example, charging \$1.25 a thousand feet for gas, is saddled with a tax of only one cent a thousand, it must either pay the tax out of its own pocket, or consent to produce less gas than it otherwise would have produced. Because it can only shift the tax on to the consumers of its gas by charging \$1.26 a thousand instead of \$1.25; and it cannot sell as much gas at \$1.26 as it can at \$1.25. The moment the gas company arbitrarily raises its price, though by but the merest fraction of a cent, the consumption of gas will diminish. You may burn as much as ever. So may I. But somebody will burn less. Somebody will use oil instead of gas; somebody will decide to buy one of the patent devices for minimizing the consumption of gas; somebody will be moved to the practice of economy by turning down the gas when its light is not absolutely needed. The last straw breaks the camel's back; and there are always plenty of camels whose backs are loaded within a straw's weight of the breaking point. And if people burn less gas, the gas company must either make less gas, or make some gas for the mere fun of the thing. Now gas companies do not make gas for fun—far otherwise. If they did, their existence would be brief.

And now a correspondent writes me that in a discussion with a friend he quoted the sentence I have reproduced above, and was met with a flat denial of its truth. His friend said it wasn't so. He said that the Standard oil company could raise the price of oil at will, without producing a barrel of oil less. He quite acknowledged that they possessed this power because they could restrict production if they chose; but he asserted that as a matter of fact they do raise the price without diminishing production. And my correspondent asks me for an explanation. He says he is perplexed.

I think my correspondent—suppose we call him Mr. Smith, which is about as far from his real name as anything could well be—I think, then, that Mr. Smith has allowed his friend to perplex him by using words without proper regard for their meanings. Men do that sort of thing very easily, and quite unconsciously. I confess, with sorrow, that I often do it myself.

I said that no monopolist could raise his prices without lessening his production. Now the price of a monopolist's product may rise without his raising it. Increased demand will raise prices. In cold weather there is an increased demand for coal, and the price rises in spite of the fact that more coal is being produced than in warm weather. It is the custom to say that the coal barons have put the price of coal up, and Mr. Smith's friend would probably point to the fact that they had at once raised their prices and increased production. But as a matter of fact they have not raised the price of coal at all. The increased demand for coal has done that. All the coal barons can do is to restrict the production of coal to the quantity that people will consent to use at the enhanced price. They know perfectly well—and systematically act upon the knowledge—that if they want to produce more than that quantity of coal they must reduce their price. They know, too, that if they want to raise the price of coal above the point at which the friction of demand and supply has fixed it, they must reduce the supply of coal—in other words, lessen their production. No earthly power can compel or persuade men to burn as much coal at \$6 a ton as they would have burned at \$5; nor as much at \$5 as they would have burned at \$4. To do that would require a change in man's nature—an amendment to the laws of the universe. And what is true of coal is true of everything else, including kerosene oil. The price of oil may rise or fall, quite independently of the Standard oil company's volition. As

a matter of fact, it does do so. But if the Standard oil company want to raise the price of oil by some act of their own, they must lessen their production—there is no other way. If men are forced to pay 25 cents a gallon for oil which has heretofore sold at 20 cents, they will burn less oil. The Standard oil people know this well enough, and act upon the knowledge. Mr. Smith's friend, I have no doubt, understands it well enough in his own business. What he fails to see is the universality of the law.

And I must ask Mr. Smith to observe that the word production has a definite meaning, which his friend has evidently failed to attach to it. Production is not merely the making of things; it implies also the bringing of the things made to, or toward, the consumer. A man may make shoes, and yet not produce any shoes; just as a man may shovel sand from one heap to another, without producing any sand. If he makes shoes, merely for the pleasure of burning them after they are made, he may be said to produce fuel, but he certainly cannot be said to produce shoes. And the same thing is true if, instead of burning his shoes when made, he allows them to decompose into their elements more slowly, but just as surely, on the shelves of his store, or in the lofts of his warehouse. To complete the process of shoe production, he must either wear the shoes himself, or start them on their way towards the people who will wear them.

To fill a tank with oil, is not necessarily to produce oil. It may be merely to waste oil. The oil is not really produced until it has been sold—until the producer has finished with it, got it off his hands, thrown it into the ever fluctuating reservoir of exchangeable things, to be again drawn out by some person who will either consume it, and so terminate its existence, or by applying labor to it carry the process of production to a still higher point. Mr. Smith will see the absurdity of his friend's remark, if he will consider it in the light of these definitions. The Standard oil company cannot raise the price of oil by a mill a gallon—that is, it cannot arbitrarily and purely of its own volition, increase the price, without at once lessening its production. If it wants a higher price for its oil, it must consent to sell less of it. And selling less oil really means producing less oil.

I think it is to its intelligent recognition of this unvarying law of supply and demand, that the Standard oil monopoly really owes its prodigious success. The men who organized it saw clearly that the mere possession of a monopoly could do them very little good. Had they made it their aim to compel people to pay abnormally high prices for oil, they would have come to grief as sharp and sudden as that which overtook the great copper trust. To raise their own prices they would have been compelled to restrict their own production; while by raising their own prices they would have stimulated the production of their competitors. That is the rock on which many a strong monopoly has struck and gone to pieces. It wrecked the copper trust; it wrecked the bagging trust; and I think the signs are not wanting that it will break up the sugar trust. The Standard oil people have avoided it with rare judgment. Their steady aim, it seems to me, has been at once to stimulate consumption and to restrict competition by availing themselves of every opportunity to reduce prices. They have effected wonderful economies in production. It costs far less to place a barrel of petroleum or a gallon of refined oil on the market to-day than it did before the Standard oil company was organized; and of this reduction in cost, the consumers of petroleum and refined oil have largely reaped the benefit. Oil is cheaper because the Standard oil company exists. If it were not, there would soon be an end of the Standard oil monopoly.

Consider, if it were otherwise. Here is kerosene selling at, say, twenty-five cents a gallon. The Standard oil concern does two things. By business maneuvers of one kind or another—some of them immoral enough, I am not concerned to defend them—it destroys the competition of other oil producers who have been making a living by selling oil at twenty-five cents; and it also introduces such economies into the process of production that it can afford to sell oil at twenty cents, and still make sufficient profit on its capital employed. For the moment it has the field practically to itself. It can say to consumers: "You must pay us thirty

cents a gallon for oil," and the consumers must pay the price or go without. Or it can, if it prefers, reduce the price to twenty cents a gallon. Now which shall it do?

Increase the price, of course, says some unthinking one, who would gladly have invested in the copper syndicate. Ah, but observe what will follow. People will use less oil, and the Standard company, thus forced to produce less, must see a portion of its own capital lying idle. And competition will be stimulated. New concerns will be organized for oil production, and they will introduce the economies of which the Standard company has neglected to give the public the benefit. In a few months, the work of monopoly establishment will have to be done all over again, and this time it will be more difficult than last. Suppose it successful, and the monopoly re-established. The same policy of raising prices will again produce the same results. Fresh competition will be developed, and a fresh battle for monopoly must be fought. A succession of such struggles would bankrupt any individual or corporation, however wealthy.

The Standard oil company attempts no such foolishness as that. Having the field to itself and finding itself able to produce oil at twenty cents instead of twenty-five, it promptly reduces the price. If it is wise, it reduces it just as far as possible; but at all events, it reduces it somewhat. The result is increased consumption, fuller employment for its capital and the discouragement of competition.

The same thing is true of the Western Union telegraph monopoly. It is true, too, of the great trunk line railway monopolies and pools. The secret of their success is not merely nor even largely that they have fought and overcome competition. It lies in the fact that they have stimulated consumption by reducing prices. Telegraphing is far cheaper in the United States to-day than it was years ago before the telegraph monopoly was established. Railway freights and fares are lower than ten years since. Better service at lower prices is the constant aim of both monopolies. I do not say that the service is anything like as good as it might be or ought to be. I do not say that the charges might not be made lower still. All I assert is that the policy of both monopolies has been to stimulate consumption by reducing prices; and had it been otherwise, the monopolies could not have survived. It seems to me to be a law of universal application, that no monopoly that involves the expenditure of capital and labor can be profitable unless it seeks to reduce prices toward the lowest possible level.

Are such monopolies as the Standard oil company, and the Western Union telegraph company, and the great railway lines, a benefit or a detriment to the community? Would we be better off if there were none of these giant corporations, in which men by tens and scores of thousands labor together for the production of things, under the direction of a single mind co-ordinating their industry? I do not see how we can escape the conclusion that they do economize production—they do enable us to obtain the things they produce in exchange for less of other things than we should have to give if they had no existence. Why is it, then, that the outcry against them is so loud and so prolonged? Men's complaints are never absolutely senseless. When they cry with pain, it is a sure sign that something is hurting them. What is there in these great corporate monopolies that hurts humanity?

It ought not to be hard for men on whose minds has dawned the full meaning of the emancipation of natural opportunities to answer these questions. In so much as these monopolies have their root in freedom—so far, that is, as they are natural—they are absolutely good. In so much as they are rooted in restriction, they are absolutely evil. Man, left free, does right, just as a bird, left free, flies right, or a stone, left free, falls right. He obeys God's laws, because he must obey them—the universe would cease to exist if he did not. But man, restricted of his freedom, presents himself to the operation of natural law after such fashion that, while he must obey it, the obedience works his own damage and destruction. The evils of our great corporations have their single root in this—that men are restrained from doing the things they naturally want to do.

Here is a great corporation, producing coal in New York. From the river shore op-

posite the city stretch miles upon miles of steel railway, carefully laid, with bridges, cuttings and embankments, and an enormous outfit of cars and engines—the whole concern a single giant tool of production, utilized for bringing coal from Pennsylvania to New York. Far off in the Lehigh valley men are busy, tearing coal from the bowels of the earth. As they get it out, other men load it on the cars, and other men again guide the cars along the rails to their destination near this city. Here are thousands upon thousands of men, a great industrial army, all working together for a single object—the production of coal in New York—and all working under the direction of a single guiding mind. Don't they produce more coal in New York that way than they possibly could if they were *not* working under the direction of a single mind? It seems to me they do. Every man's labor is co-ordinated to the labor of every other man. Every man does his work after such fashion as to make the work of every other man somewhat lighter. Surely this, as far as it goes, is a good thing. It is natural for men to co-operate together after this fashion. They used to do essentially the same thing, a generation ago, at every house raising bee, where one man took command, and the others cheerfully co-ordinated their labor under his direction to raise the bents into their places. And the thing that renders this amazing co-operation possible is nothing else than freedom. Men are *allowed* to follow their natural tendency to combine their capital and labor for producing and using a great tool of industry—for digging coal out of the ground in Pennsylvania, and producing it, with the economy born of co-operation, to the people who want to use it in New York.

As with the coal producing corporation, so with the Standard oil company, with the Western Union telegraph company, with the great railway lines, with the far stretching express companies, with the great bazar stores of our cities, with the creameries and cheese factories. Every one of them is a form of co-operation—a perfectly natural effort of men to combine their capital and labor for wealth production. If they really do effect an economy of capital and labor—if they really do make things cheaper—they survive and flourish. Otherwise they dissolve away. Their work is a good work, a natural work. The condition of their existence and prosperity is that they shall do their work. And they are born of freedom.

But there is, unquestionably, an evil side to these great co-operative corporations. If freedom makes them powerful for good, restriction makes them no less powerful for evil. From freedom they derive the beneficent power to increase the efficiency of both capital and labor—to produce more wealth with less work. From restriction comes their power to appropriate to themselves the earnings of the men in their employ. To restriction, too, is due the fact that it is not a condition of their existence that they should do their whole work, perfectly, in the completest manner possible—reducing the prices of their products not only toward, but actually to the lowest point attainable at any time. We owe it to freedom that coal is as widely distributed and as low in price as it is. We owe it to restriction that the distribution is not much wider, and the price much lower. For freedom promotes wealth production. But restriction can never do anything but hamper it.

Suppose industrial emancipation to have been achieved. Suppose natural opportunities torn from the clutch of private ownership by the operation of the single tax on land values. Would there, therefore, be an end of our great industrial corporations? Would the Standard oil company, and the Western Union telegraph company, and the coal producing corporations perish away? I cannot think it. If they are born of freedom, how can more freedom put an end to them? It seems to me that they indicate a perfectly wholesome tendency of men to move along a certain line toward a higher civilization. I think that with completer freedom their usefulness will be immeasurably increased, and only their power for evil will be swept away.

Try to imagine the great coal producing corporation I spoke of a moment since, as it would be with the single tax in operation. Men and tools existing as they now exist. Nothing changed but

conditions. Men are free to apply their labor to any natural opportunities not actually in use by other men, on condition simply of rendering to the community that portion of the product of their labor that is due to the unconscious, involuntary co-operation of the community—in other words, to the presence of population. What, under such changed conditions, would men be most likely to do—to separate themselves, each seeking an opportunity of little economic value and producing wealth by individual exertion, with the aid of such simple tools as a single man can use—or to crowd together for the purpose of working together, of *co-operating*, so that each man working with his fellows might produce three, four times, it might be ten or twenty times the wealth he could produce by working singly? I think there can be but one answer to that question. They would come together for co-operation. And in such co-operation would there not be a place for the corporation—for the co-ordinating power, managing all the details of production from the mines in Pennsylvania to the wharves on the Hudson, appointing to each man the work he could do for the greatest general advantage, supplying the mighty railway tool that so increases the efficiency of labor, making sales and watching markets? Would there be no place for the captain of industry in such a system? Truly, I think he would have such a place as to-day he would not dare to dream of. The real captain of industry, that is—not the dexterous manipulator of the stock market.

Don't jump to conclusions. Think. It is easy to say that even with the single tax in operation the owners of a railway between the Pennsylvania coal mines and the wharves of Jersey City would have an absolute monopoly, and could dictate terms to the coal miners at one end, and the coal consumers at the other. But as a matter of fact, they wouldn't have anything of the kind.

What they would have would be the possession of a vast, enormously costly, and rapidly decaying tool of production—a tool whose mere possession would be useless to them, if they could not induce men to use it to its full capacity. And they could not induce men so to use it unless they gave them the full measure of the earnings of their labor. Remember that they could not then, as now, go into the market place offering the boon of employment to hungry men snatching at it eagerly. They would have to *induce* the laborers to come to work for them, and the laborers would be free to come or stay away as might seem best to them. Employers would be seeking workmen, not men employers. With the bidding once started in that direction, how long would it be before the laborer's wages would rise to the full limit of his earnings? And then indeed the corporate monopoly would be compelled to perform its proper work or perish. It would have to cheapen production, not by underpaying labor, but by co-ordinating it more skillfully. It would have to *work* for its living, and it would die unless it did.

I think it is because they see clearly this tendency of humanity to advance along the line of industrial co-operation, that the advocates of state socialism look forward to a time when all the industry of a country, if not of the world, shall be marshalled for co-operation under one great central co-ordinating corporation, representing the entire people. They rejoice over the formation of every trust—over the development of every wide-reaching monopoly. They are pleased to see corporation consolidate with corporation, to see the big stores swallow up the little stores, and then amalgamate themselves into a bigger store than ever. The inevitable tendency of all this, they believe, is towards the evolution of a few giant monopolies, embracing all, or nearly all, the industries of the country. Once this stage of development is reached, the assumption of the control of these monopolies by the central authority will, they think, be only a question of time. Already the government management of railways and telegraphs is being seriously agitated. Already the government has asserted the right to regulate industry so far as to forbid those under its authority to buy in foreign markets, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both. At a hasty glance it would seem as though our socialist friends had reason for the faith that is in them, and the tendency of humanity really were toward the social crystalliza-

tion of which they dream. And that such a condition would be preferable to what we now endure, I, for one, am quite willing to admit. But I do not think we are in any way tending towards state socialism. And even were state socialism attainable, I think that its adoption, though it might relieve the present situation, would effectually bar any farther progress of civilization, and might at last thrust society back into barbarism.

The industrial combinations and corporations that we term monopolies have been born of freedom—the freedom of men to combine, to separate, to limit their personal liability by public announcement, to try experiments in co-operation. To a certain extent, indeed, they have been fostered by governmental interference, as in the case of the protective tariff. But it is to be noted that just in proportion as they have received this governmental fostering, they have failed of the true purpose of their being—to lessen the cost of production by co-ordinating the industry of the men in their employ. The Standard oil monopoly, deriving little benefit from the protective tariff, finds prosperity in increasing the consumption of its product by making oil cheaper. The sugar trust, whose very existence depends on governmental support through the tariff, can find no profit save in shutting down refineries, lessening production, and so raising the price of sugar. And what is true of these two monopolies, I think, will be found true of all the others. Just in proportion as they are free from the blight of governmental interference, protective or repressive, they fulfil their mission of co-ordinating industry—increasing production and reducing prices.

Does not this indicate the line along which humanity is moving? Does it not show that men are progressing—slowly indeed, and in a mightily one-sided fashion, but still progressing—along the road to freedom, and away from repression and interference? Is not the steadily growing agitation against the protective tariff a sign that men are demanding, not more restriction and regulation, but greater freedom? Is it not probable that the coming reform will take shape in the removal of existing restrictions, and not in the imposition of fresh ones? It seems so to me. I think the men who are looking for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth misread the signs of the times. I think, too, that they have failed to realize that the liberties that must be subverted before their dream of socialism can become an actuality, are precisely those that will be most ably, most energetically and most efficiently defended.

But suppose the dream were possible of realization. Suppose our industries could be nationalized—the Standard oil monopoly managed by one bureau, the telegraph lines by another, the railways by a third, the other industries by appropriate departments. Suppose, with all this, that the character of the government were changed—corruption put far from it, greed and self seeking banished, and the affairs of the great national industrial organization administered by honest, conscientious men, with a view to the general good of all the people. This is supposing a great deal—far more than most men would concede to be even possible—but suppose it all. Grant, too, that the enormous system of bookkeeping by which socialism proposes to replace the operations of our mercantile exchanges could be depended on. Grant it all—suppose it all—and then consider to what extent any advance of humanity would be possible under the socialistic system.

"Why shouldn't it be possible to any extent?" the socialist advocate urges. "If, as you say, and we admit, the co-ordination of labor by great industrial organizations is a good thing for humanity—if it is really a step forward along the natural line of progress—if it is really the only feasible mode of co-operation—why, in the name of common sense, will it not be a better thing for humanity that this co-ordination should be carried to the highest possible point by the formation of one grand, all-embracing monopoly, of which the whole people, and not a few capitalists merely, shall be the owners and the managers, and under whose guidance every man shall co-operate, not merely with all the other laborers in his peculiar industry, but with *all* the laborers in *all* the industries—the whole community forming one vast and perfectly appointed industrial army, guided by intelligent officers of its own selection, each man

doing the work he is best qualified for, and receiving an equal share of the joint product in such form as best pleases him?

A sweet dream, my socialist friend. A most enticing dream. It is as pleasing to me as it is to you. But it can never be anything *but* a dream. Because it rests upon a fallacy.

Your fallacy is this. You think that in organizing your monopoly of monopolies you will do nothing more than to substitute one management for another. You think that to put the oil producing monopoly under control of one bureau, and the railways under control of another bureau, and the telegraphs under a third, will be just the same thing as to replace their present officers and directors with a new set of men, the only difference being that the new officials will represent the interests of the whole people, instead of those of a small clique of capitalists. Isn't that your idea? Unless I utterly misunderstand your whole line of argument, it certainly is. And it is a mistake. Your idea is utterly and entirely wrong. You have overlooked something.

The thing you have overlooked is this. That in transferring your monopolies to government control, you will deprive them of the one attribute that is absolutely essential to their usefulness—the attribute of mortality. You will make them immortal. And in doing that you will erect an insuperable and impassable barrier to progress, and plant afresh the seeds of all the evils you are taking so much trouble to eradicate.

What makes the Standard oil monopoly profitable to its owners? Simply this, that it does co-ordinate industry more efficiently than any other concern in the same business has been able to do—it does enable a vast body of men to co-operate in oil production to better advantage than they could if it had no existence—it does reduce the price of oil. It doesn't do all this as perfectly as it ought to; but it does do it more perfectly than anybody else. You and I are quite agreed as to all this. In fact your argument for socialism rests upon it.

Now don't you see that the only reason why the Standard oil monopoly does its work even as efficiently as it does, is that it *must* do it, or perish. Nature herself is constantly sitting in judgment on it. Let it fail to co-ordinate industry with the greatest efficiency attainable under present conditions—let it, for example, neglect to lay pipe lines where pipe lines are needed—let it omit to erect refineries where they should be erected to do the most efficient work—let it refuse to avail itself of labor saving inventions, or neglect to study intelligently the markets of the world—and at once it develops a tendency towards dissolution. It makes less money. Other capitalists are encouraged to embark in opposition schemes of oil production. Let it continue to neglect its work, and it will grow weaker and weaker, and finally pass away altogether. I do not say that under present conditions it pays this penalty anything like as promptly as it ought to, or that it cannot find immoral means to avoid the doing of its whole duty. But I do say that it *must* at least do a great part of its duty or die, and that the problem to be solved is how to make it do its *whole* duty or die. And I ask you to observe that this penalty attaches, not to its intentions, but to its performances. Nature makes no allowance for good intentions—she judges actions only. Give the control of the Standard oil monopoly to the best intentioned men in the world—let them honestly *want* to produce oil with the greatest possible economy of capital and labor, and unless they actually *do* the thing they are trying to do, the Standard company will fade away and perish. When nature sits in judgment, she doesn't try any side issues, or listen to any pleadings for mercy. And it's a mighty lucky thing for humanity that she does not.

And now comes your co-operative commonwealth and puts the Standard oil monopoly under the control of a bureau officered by carefully selected, honest, intelligent men. It converts a *quasi* monopoly, which is obliged to do its work with a certain approach to complete efficiency under penalty of death, and which by simply removing restrictions can be forced to do its full work, perfectly or die, into a perpetual monopoly, doing, not its perfect work, but what the men in charge of it choose to *think* is its perfect work. Don't you see the difference? Don't you see that you have pulled

down infallible nature from her justice-seat, and set fallible men it to deliver judgment in her stead? Do you think men are as wise as nature—or if you prefer the expression, as wise as God? Do you think nature is going to change her laws, and make things right and wrong, profitable or unprofitable, according as a few men you appoint to manage a monopoly may happen to think them one thing or the other? I don't believe you do. But unless you do, I don't see how you can avoid admitting that your co-operative commonwealth would be a terrible obstacle to human progress.

You needn't project your mind into the future to see how socialism would work. The experiment is already being tried among us. The book is open at the lesson if you choose to learn it. Just study the protective tariff.

I am not going either to attack or to defend the protective system. I will not, in this place, express any opinion whether it is right or wrong, wise or foolish. What I want to point out to you is that twenty or thirty millions of people in these United States have been exercising their minds over the consideration of the tariff question for years past, and they haven't been able to come to any definite conclusion. One set of men insist that protection increases prosperity, that it gives everybody plenty of work at high wages, that it makes things cheap. Another set of men claim that it is bringing ruin on the country, that it prevents men from going to work, that it keeps wages down, that it makes things dear. Now, suppose yourself a complete stranger, just landed here—say from the moon, or Mars—and hearing of this matter for the first time. Wouldn't you say, "Why, the whole question is one of fact. Why don't these fools stop wrangling and just look round them and see whether the country is prosperous or not; whether men have got all the work they want or not; whether wages are high or low; whether things are cheap or dear?" Well, that's exactly what they are doing. They do look around them. And while some see things one way, others see them another, and assertion and denial go on just as briskly as ever. And you mustn't say that they don't see things alike because some of them are honest and some dishonest. The great mass of the people are honest enough. They really want to see things as they are, and to do what is right. The trouble is that they cannot see. They are trying to do what humanity is utterly unable to do—to sit in nature's seat and judge whether things are right or wrong.

Now, don't you see that this whole protective tariff dispute is precisely one of a class of questions that would come up for decision by the thousand under your proposed socialistic system? How are you going to decide them? By votes? By expert testimony? By lot? You never could decide them. Humanity isn't meant to decide them. God attends to such decisions. The only thing you can do, is to put the questions to nature, by experimenting under conditions of perfect freedom. Then you'll get your answers in clear, unmistakable terms. But the power to question nature after that fashion is precisely what your co-operative commonwealth would sweep away. It wouldn't allow men to put questions to nature—to lay a pipe line if they thought a pipe line would make labor more efficient—to build a railway if they thought that by doing so they could enable a million men to co-operate to more advantage—and to read nature's answer in unmistakable terms in the success or failure of their enterprises. The co-operative commonwealth would attend to all such matters. It would ask the questions, and give the answers too. If it thought the pipe line or the railway needed, it would furnish them. And whether they were needed or not, whether they were efficiently managed or not, whether they might or might not better have been put somewhere else, would forever remain matters of mere human opinion—questions for debating clubs—just as, and even to a greater extent than, the tariff question is a matter of mere human opinion to-day. It isn't hard to close nature's mouth, my friend. But you'll find it mighty hard work to imitate her voice.

And tell me, pray, how long you would be able to keep your best men, your ablest men, your most conscientious men, at the head of your great industrial monopoly, with half the citizens of the co-operative

commonwealth conscientiously believing that everything was going to the dogs in a thousand different directions? How long would it be before the worst men, instead of the best, would force their way to the front—the conscienceless men, not ashamed to lie, to promise what they knew they could not perform, to say things were so when they knew they were not so? Consider the spawn of our tariff system. Look at the class of leaders it has developed and brought into power. Think of a community with a thousand questions like the tariff system to wrangle over and pretend to settle. Study it out, and I think you will agree with me that the thing for men to do is to mind their own business of moving things about, and let nature attend to the execution of her own laws.

What men need is perfect freedom. Freedom, and faith in God—faith in the harmony of the universe. Left free, men attack the universe on every side, seeking to know, and to get. If it is right for them to know, they learn. If it is right for them to have, they get. They reach out to the stars, and study their motions and their parts. They dig into the earth, set free the sunbeams that shone a million years ago, and resuscitate the colors, the perfume and the honey of the flowers of a bygone age. The sun draws their chariots and urges their ships. They annihilate space and talk together across a continent. Things are their servants; the earth their fruitful storehouse, yielding wealth unlimited and inexhaustible to their labors. But with all their power, there is one thing they cannot do—they cannot make or change the laws of nature. Strange, that there should be those who would neglect the possible for the impossible—who would pass by the bounteous feast that freedom offers, and seek, by restrictions, to change the laws that divinity has made unchangeable.

T. L. M'CREADY.

A BIT OF ANTE-BELLUM EXPERIENCE.

ALLERTON, Iowa.—I had an experience the other day which set me on thinking. In a discussion on taxation in the post office, which had grown out of the twine trust question, I declared myself for absolute free trade, except as to poisons, explosives, arms, etc., when a farmer—a protectionist of the most bigoted and insolent type, who was engaging me in the dispute, broke violently forth and denounced me as a communist, who would rob the thrifty to give to the idler and make the former the slave of the townsman, etc., and with a contemptuous wave of his ragged coat sleeve he disposed me. I surveyed him in silence for a few minutes and I thought: Where is the prototype of this individual?

I questioned myself. I had certainly seen it before. This character I was sure was a veritable reproduction of a picture deeply grown on my memory. I knew he represented the farmer of the north-west who won protection's victory last fall, when the factory laborer for whose ostensible benefit the "great battle" was made, repudiated it; but there was something more in the character before me. I knew him well. I knew he had come here to Iowa and had bought the 120 acres he now owns (?) and had paid \$5 per acre for it. I knew he had paid the cash down and had the land clear of debt to start with. I knew he had lived frugally, soberly and had been industrious. I knew he had stunted himself. I knew he had stunted his good wife, who had not at all times had proper care and nourishment for her condition. I knew his family—bright and interesting children—had been denied that usual education which this day and age should afford. I knew his home was mortgaged; a mortgage which two years' poor crop had necessitated, and that he would never live to see it lifted; I knew the coat ragged and faded which he was clad in he had worn for four, if not five years; I knew that the New England loan and trust company, a syndicate of protectionists, owned his mortgage; I knew he had persistently and with a flourish of defiance to democrats, marched forward every year and voted for high taxes and restricted trade.

Where, I asked myself, is his prototype?

Ah, I have it. It is the poor white trash of the south of ante-bellum days, standing before me in full dress. It was they who howled the loudest before the war for the slave holders' rights, and, who when the storm came, got out and did the fighting. This is the class of men who are fighting the protectionists' battles to-day.

D. D. SURLLEY.

LAND VALUES IN UNITED STATES.

It would be of very great service if we could reach some fairly accurate approximation of land values in the United States. Any estimate, generally admitted to be even roughly accurate, would serve as a valuable datum for further calculations and explanations.

The idea of reaching some such valuation has frequently occurred to me, and I have figured over the question on several occasions; but the results have been so crude and so far from convincing, based as they were upon mere hypothetical assumptions or personal opinions that they seemed to be practically worthless for publication.

PER CAPITA LAND VALUE.

In looking over my note books I have been struck with one fact to which attention does not seem to have been hitherto directed, and which seems to me to give the clue desired. This important fact is the fairly constant dividend which results in any locality when the known land values are divided by the known population. In other words, a very uniform per capita land value.

The ground value of England and Wales is given at £6 10s. per capita, equivalent to \$32.50 of our money; and capitalizing this at five per cent as fair for that country, gives a land value of \$650 per capita. The land values of London are given as £400,000,000 equivalent to \$2,000,000,000; divided by the 3,500,000 of population gives a per capita of about \$575.

The assessed value of the land of San Francisco is \$122,000,000. As this method of separate assessment of land has long been the custom there we will assume that it is a fairly just one, at the usual two-thirds. This gives about \$180,000,000 as a fair value; divided by the 250,000 of population gives \$720 per capita. The assessment of the land of California outside of San Francisco is \$237,000,000. Assuming that this is not more than one-half, gives a true value of about \$450,000,000; divided among 750,000 of population gives a per capita of about \$600.

In THE STANDARD of April 21, 1888, the assessed value of Detroit land is given as \$63,000,000. If this is one-half the true value of \$125,000,000, which, divided by the population, 180,000, gives a per capita of \$700. The assessed value of Michigan outside of Detroit was about \$500,000,000. The true value, \$1,000,000,000, divided by the 1,800,000 of population gives a per capita of \$550. As Michigan lumber and mineral lands are assessed at much less than one-half, this is too low.

I have made a careful estimate of Cincinnati land values, based on an average price per front foot; and the total: \$200,000,000, divided by 300,000 population, gives a per capita of \$665.

One of our friends gives in a former number of THE STANDARD a careful estimate for Washington. This value of \$160,000,000, divided by the population, gives a per capita of about \$640.

Two estimates are at hand for New York city. One is that the rental is \$100,000,000. This capitalized and divided by the population gives a per capita land value of over \$1,100. This estimate appears to be based upon a mere assumption or rough guess, and is possibly too high. The other estimate is that by Mr. M'Creedy in his tract, "A Sum in Proportion." This estimate has an arithmetical basis being reached by a ratio based upon some known values. His estimated rental of \$55,000,000, capitalized (he reckons at 4 per cent) and divided by population, gives a per capita land value of about \$850. If the assessed returns in the state outside of the city bear the same proportion to the true value that they do within the city, then a similar calculation gives a per capita of about \$700 in New York outside the city.

I have made a dozen other rough calculations, comprising smaller towns and rural districts, where I had proper data, and the per capita varied only between \$520 and \$640.

As land values are solely the result of concentration of population (natural advantages of fertility, etc., only very slightly varying the result) some such rule as results from the above calculations might a priori have been expected. If farther and more extensive calculations give approximately and without wide variations the same general per capita, we may add a proposition of very considerable practical value to political economy.

Proposition—In any civilized country,

with average natural advantages, the aggregate land values of the whole country, or any considerable portion thereof, will bear a fixed relation (varying only within narrow limits) to the total population, or that of the given section.

Provisionally, we may state this relation as follows: The aggregate land values will be the product of a per capita value lying somewhere between \$500 and \$1,000, multiplied by the entire population. (From what data we have, this per capita seems to be most probably about \$600 or \$650.)

I do not regard this relation as widely variable; but as rather fixed, as springing from a fixed law. For example, take a county of 100,000 acres and assume this per capita to be \$500; then the following table can be constructed:

	Pop.	Land Value.	Per Acre.
A.	100	\$50,000	\$0 50
B.	1,000	500,000	5 00
C.	10,000	5,000,000	50 00
D.	100,000	50,000,000	500 00

A. indicates that with a few settlers, making a population of only 100, scattered through such a county, land would be practically open, the only selling price would be a speculative one. The low value per acre even could only arise by a small premium being given to secure land adjoining a neighbor or stream.

B. indicates that with population grown to 1,000, and a few crossroads forming future centers of population, land would go to about \$5 an acre.

C. indicates that with 10,000 population, land would go up to an average of \$50 an acre. Now the \$20, \$25 and \$30 an acre land would be brought up to the average by the town lots in the small county seat and the few small villages.

Plenty of counties illustrate B. and C.

D. indicates that with the growth to 100,000, which necessarily means at some point a good sized city, the average would go up to the high figure of \$500. For now the outlying land at \$50, \$75, and \$100 would inclose the zones of \$150, \$200, and higher value land as the city is approached. The average would be passed in the suburb; and the urban land at 10, 25, 50, 100 or even 200 to 500 times more valuable than the average would lift the whole series up to that point.

Of course these examples are not to be taken as strictly mathematical, but only as illustrative. Probably they are below what would be the true figures.

TOTAL LAND VALUES.

If then we can assume safely a per capita land value not varying under varying conditions, many questions are perfectly simplified. To ascertain the approximate land value of any section we can simply multiply the population by the determined per capita and the result is the land value in fairly accurate amount.

Suppose we take \$500 as the average per capita land value. This amount seems to fall safely below the real average and is easy to handle. The population of the United States is about 60,000,000; multiplied by \$500 gives a total land value for the entire United States of \$30,000,000,000.

Let us see if this enormous, unexpected figure can be substantiated and defended. The United States census gives the aggregate land values of the entire country at \$10,000,000,000, only one-third of the sum we have calculated. Now as regards assessment of land. No land is assessed over two-thirds; very little land is assessed over one-half; we all know how much land is assessed at only one-third or one-fourth of its true value; vast areas are rated at from one-fifth down to one-tenth of their true value; and similar large areas are assessed at values that are simply ludicrous as compared to their true values. I think we would be safely within the mark if we were to assume that land, taking improved and unimproved together, was on the average assessed at about, or not more than, one-third of its normal value. This would bring the ten billions up to our figure of thirty billions.

To obtain the United States census aggregate of ten billions we must assume that all available land in the United States from Wall street across mountains and plains, through city and country, to the Golden Gate, has an average value of only \$6.66 an acre. This is manifestly ridiculous.

THE PRIVATE LAND TAX.

If then we may assume with a rough accuracy that thirty billions represent the land values of the United States, we may use this figure to obtain other desirable estimates. Taking the country through about six per cent is averaged as

a return for land. This per cent of the above amount gives us \$1,800,000,000. This enormous sum is what accrues annually to the land owners of our free country simply and solely because they are the land owners, and in no sense whatever from any assistance they contribute towards the production of our total aggregate wealth. In fact this is the share which they annually abstract from the aggregate production simply in return for the privilege given to Americans to use America. If they chance also to be workers or capitalists, they also receive (and deserve), in addition, their proportional share of what is left.

This ground rental divided proportionally among our population gives a per capita of \$30 per annum. If we consider our population to be divided into family units averaging five persons, this gives an annual ground tax averaging \$150 to each family. What the average income of American families is, I do not know, and have no means of accurately ascertaining. I would say that \$750 is much too high, yet even of this amount \$150 would be twenty per cent. I think even \$600 average income is too high, but of this the \$150 would be twenty-five per cent or one-fourth. I believe that while \$450 may possibly be too low, it is not very far from the average family income. Of this the \$150 would be one-third. Thus on an average the American family pays from one-fourth to one-third of the family income for the privilege of living and working in America.

That about one-third of the family income is directly or indirectly taken in ground rental is, I think, economically reflected in the fact that where rent is taken as a share, it is generally one-third the crop or product.

It would be of great value if we knew approximately how many individuals or family units were the free, unencumbered holders of land in the United States. We have 12,000,000 family units in round numbers. In "Social Problems" Mr. George has given the data on pages 242-243 which show that not more than one-fifth of the persons engaged in agriculture own their own farms unencumbered. In the large cities I doubt if one-tenth own land; certainly in Cincinnati not more than that proportion are real land owners. In the smaller towns a larger percentage own land; but in the manufacturing and mining regions the proportion is monstrously low. Would it be a fair assumption to say that one family in every six owns land? That seems a reasonable per cent from what data we have and from our ordinary daily observation.

That means, however, that two million family units own America, and that the few remaining, ten million family units, are here on payment.

Of these two million land owning family units, one million probably own only the land which they occupy and use; while the remaining million own the land they occupy, and in addition all the land which the other 10,000,000 family units must occupy and use. I am quite sure that this is a fair division of the land owners. Now to the owners who only occupied and used, there would accrue an average annual advantage of \$150 each (for it is only as a certain annual advantage accrues from the possession of land, that land value arises) and thus raising their average net incomes by \$150 per family, would account for \$150,000,000 of the land tax. To the other million there would accrue this same advantage from occupancy alone, and in addition there would accrue to them the ground rental paid over (either directly or indirectly) by the landless 10,000,000 family units. This would give an average advantage or income to each family unit in this million of \$1650 per annum. Here we reach a class who are not "forced to work." This is the "landed gentry" of our free country. This class may be more diffused than in Great Britain and Ireland; but Americans must learn patience. As the other million drops among the "10,000,000" and as some of this "upper" million even drop down into the ranks, the lines will tighten quickly and cruelly enough to suit most ordinary men. In fact if it has only taken half a century to differentiate a nation into 17 landholding families and 83 landless ones how long will it take to reach the most monstrous disproportion exhibited in any country on earth?

OTHER TAXES.

In addition to the \$1,800,000,000 private land tax taken out of the gross annual production of the United States, there is a modest trifle of public taxes that this annual production must bear. The com-

bined national, state, county and municipal taxes are estimated to amount to \$300,000,000 annually. If we add this to the annual land tax we obtain a total of \$2,600,000,000 to be subtracted from the annual production each year. This \$800,000,000 is over \$13 per capita, and over \$65 per family unit. This added to the land tax gives an average of \$215 per family unit for annual taxes. This is 47 per cent of a \$450 income; 43 per cent of \$500; 39 per cent of \$550; 35 per cent of \$600.

If this aggregate be correct, it exhibits the monstrous fact that out of every \$100 of the earnings of the population an average of somewhere between \$35 and \$47 is absorbed in taxes—either to private pockets as rent for land, or by public officials as the cost of maintaining government. Is it any wonder that poverty exists in a country where, on an average, from one-third to one-half of the earnings of all the industrial classes is abstracted without any return? Are not those who ridicule the idea that mere changes in taxation can abolish poverty only making themselves appear ridiculous in the light of these figures?

PUBLIC LAND TAX.

With the same basis we may now calculate with a rough accuracy the amount of the single tax; and the resulting changes in the distribution of wealth. First, put the tax to suit the views of those who desire only that minimum levy which will pay the expenses of an economical government, say, at 3 per cent. With the inception of the single tax, the average return for land would commence to diminish. It would fall from the average of 6 per cent to an average, let us say, of 5 per cent of the present value. This 1 per cent would diffuse to labor and capital from the start. This means a saving of \$300,000,000 at once. The remaining 5 per cent would be divided into two shares; 3 per cent as the tax, and 2 per cent would still remain as a bonus to the land owners. Now compare the two systems:

Present system—	
Private land tax	\$1,800,000,000
Public taxes	800,000,000
Total	\$2,600,000,000
Single tax (limited)—	
Private land tax remaining	\$600,000,000
Public land tax	900,000,000
Total	\$1,500,000,000

This shows a saving of \$1,100,000,000 per annum. The per capita of \$43 sinks to \$25 per annum.

With the advance of the single tax to four per cent and the general diffusion of land holding, the advantage accruing to mere land ownership would still further decline; but a narrow margin, say one-fifth of one per cent would probably always remain as a slight reward for stewardship.

Single tax (ultimate)—	
Rent margin remaining	\$150,000,000
Single land tax	1,200,000,000
Total	\$1,350,000,000

This gives a total per capita of \$22 per annum, a reduction of over \$20. Regarding the family unit as comprising five, this marks an average saving of \$100 per family annually. Even leaving out of consideration the great increase in the return to labor and capital, which would result from the opening up of natural resources from the increased production, and from the improvements which would naturally arise from the equitable distribution of wealth, the above gain alone is not insignificant when we bear in mind that the present average family income is but \$450 to \$500 per annum. Of course the aggregate gain, direct and indirect, would be vastly greater than this.

OUR STATE LAND VALUES.

We will take the best available figures for population of the states and territories at round figures. For this estimate I start with the last census returns, add a fair rate of increase for the various parts of the country, and check by the popular vote of last fall. Take \$500 as a fair per capita; we can then calculate the proximate land values. These figures can only have rough accuracy, but are probably not in any instance too high:

State.	Population.	Land Value.
Alabama	1,500,000	\$750,000,000
Arkansas	900,000	450,000,000
California	1,200,000	600,000,000
Colorado	500,000	250,000,000
Connecticut	750,000	375,000,000
Delaware	100,000	50,000,000
Florida	400,000	200,000,000
Georgia	1,700,000	850,000,000
Illinois	3,000,000	1,500,000,000
Indiana	2,500,000	1,250,000,000
Iowa	2,000,000	1,000,000,000
Kansas	1,400,000	700,000,000
Kentucky	1,800,000	900,000,000
Louisiana	1,000,000	500,000,000
Maine	700,000	350,000,000
Maryland	1,000,000	500,000,000

State.	Population.	Land Value.
Massachusetts	1,800,000	900,000,000
Michigan	2,200,000	1,100,000,000
Minnesota	1,000,000	500,000,000
Mississippi	1,200,000	600,000,000
Missouri	2,500,000	1,250,000,000
Nebraska	500,000	250,000,000
Nevada	100,000	50,000,000
New Hampshire	400,000	200,000,000
New Jersey	1,400,000	700,000,000
New York	6,000,000	3,000,000,000
North Carolina	1,500,000	750,000,000
Ohio	4,000,000	2,000,000,000
Oregon	300,000	150,000,000
Pennsylvania	4,800,000	2,400,000,000
Rhode Island	300,000	150,000,000
South Carolina	1,000,000	500,000,000
Tennessee	1,700,000	850,000,000
Texas	2,000,000	1,000,000,000
Vermont	350,000	175,000,000
Virginia	1,600,000	800,000,000
West Virginia	800,000	400,000,000
Wisconsin	1,700,000	850,000,000
Alaska	10,000	5,000,000
Arizona	50,000	25,000,000
Dakota	600,000	300,000,000
Idaho	100,000	50,000,000
Indian	20,000	10,000,000
Montana	140,000	70,000,000
New Mexico	130,000	65,000,000
Utah	200,000	100,000,000
Washington	100,000	50,000,000
Wyoming	90,000	45,000,000
Dist. of Columbia	300,000	150,000,000
	60,000,000	\$30,000,000,000

This rough preliminary estimate can now be submitted to the examination of our friends in the various states and territories for the verification of the estimates for their own sections. If substantially correct, it establishes the proposition given above.

The general estimates are also submitted to honest and thoughtful men, accustomed to such calculations for verification, revision or demolition.

Cincinnati. DAVID DEBECK, M.D.

To Take Advantage of the Electoral Reform Law in Massachusetts.

BOSTON, Mass.—The following circular has been issued by a committee of single tax men of Boston, calling for a conference of all those wishing to take advantage of the new secret ballot act to further the cause of reform by electing able and efficient men to public offices to be filled this fall, signed by Nicholas Furlong, of 467 Tremont street, secretary of the committee having the matter in charge:

The Australian ballot law adopted in Massachusetts has made the independent voter more potent than ever before. The names of all candidates are printed and the tickets distributed by the state. Reforms in the future will have better show than ever in the past. Objectionable candidates can be more easily defeated and good men more easily elected. Let us commence early that we may the more fully profit by the law.

A committee appointed at a public meeting for the purpose, invite all persons interested in the success of the secret ballot act to meet in conference at the Workingmen's institute, 987 Washington street, Boston, on Monday evening, June 17, to consider how best the reforms that they advocate can be advanced at the next election.

All who may read this are invited to send their addresses and the addresses of others interested to the secretary of the committee. Whether you desire that steps be taken to ensure the uniform observance of the law merely, or go further and would make of that law a means to get men to better represent you in the legislature, or through it to push a reform in taxation, suffrage, municipal construction, manufacture and management of public utilities, or in the hours of labor, send in your views and attend the conference if you can.

Send addresses also of voters whose names are to be appended to the nomination papers required by law. Send names also of suitable persons who are willing to stand as candidates for state or district offices if it shall be thought best hereafter to make nominations.

Just and Generous.

Chicago Farmer's Voice.

We have no patience with the narrow-minded, suspicious people who charge Henry George with being a reformer from selfish motives; that is to say, because it offered an easy avenue to make money.

Bah! Such gross material creatures make us sick. They are hogs in human form, and would be well satisfied to go to a heaven where an eternity could be passed in gorging themselves with rich food, enjoying plenty of sleep, and not be obliged to work. Such people have no conceptions of any joys outside of the physical, and therefore sneer at the notion that men can be moved by aspirations that reach beyond their own narrow and base range of desires.

Henry George's theory of the single tax as a cure-all we do not accept for America, it may work in England and her colonies—we hope it will—but we do not believe that the adoption of the single tax will remedy the crying evils which at present are crushing the prosperity of the masses of our citizens.

At the same time we honor Henry George as a great and good man who is entirely conscientious in his efforts to uphold a nobler humanity; and although his darling dream of single tax may never be realized, yet his work as a noble and conscientious reformer will not be lost; its reflex action will be felt among men for centuries, inspiring orators and sustaining martyrs.

Volcanoes Going Up.

Australian Boomerang.

More land monopoly and unearned increment: Vesuvius is showing increasing activity. The new cone which was formed has been rent.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

HARTFORD, Conn.—Have you a formula, to show in one lesson, that the man who buys a steam yacht for instance, for his own private pleasure is not necessarily a benefactor to his race, because he "furnished work" in building the yacht? If so please publish it for the benefit of several of us here, who have hard work trying to convince those brought up under the influence of insurance and banking business, that the above is true.

Life is too short to go back to the kindergarten and train them up to the true inwardness of the yacht case. W. L. CHENEY.

a. The man who by his labor produces the wealth with which he buys a steam yacht is a benefactor. He adds to the total of wealth by the value of the yacht. In the last analysis it is the same as if he had built the yacht himself (see Book I. Chapter I, "Progress and Poverty") and surely a man who builds a yacht is a benefactor.

b. When natural opportunities are monopolized and the monopolist opens them to labor on condition that they build him a yacht, closing them when the yacht is finished, he is a benefactor in much the same sense that the canal boatman who allowed the boy to work his passage by driving the mule, was a benefactor of the boy. L. F. P.

The Productiveness of American Labor.

SOUTH BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I have frequently heard the claim made that one reason why the difference in wages generally stands in favor of this country is because of the greater efficiency of the American workman. Now I fail to see how that statement can be borne out by the facts. If the claim is made on the ground of the longer hours of labor and the general adoption of labor saving machinery, it is ambiguous and misleading. I have made inquiries in several trades, notably the building trade, and find that almost invariably old country workmen are preferred.

When the term American workman is used what is meant by it? Does it mean native born American workmen, or does it apply in a general sense to all workmen employed in this country? Inasmuch as the proportion of foreign born mechanics employed here is very large, I am inclined to the latter belief. A claim is also voiced about the greater intelligence of the American workman. On what is that claim grounded?

What I want to get at is simply this: Will the American mechanic in a day's work of say nine hours show a greater result than a British mechanic would in the same time and under the same circumstances; and if so, why? DAVID B. HUTTON.

In the first place, the production per capita is larger here than in any European country. This fact is acknowledged and borne out by statistics. It is a just inference from this that our workmen produce more than do workmen abroad, and by our workmen is meant workmen in this country generally, whether American-born or foreign. The superior productiveness of our soil accounts in part for the relatively larger production, but only in part.

You say that if our larger production is due to labor saving machinery that does not bear on the question of whether our workers work quicker and more efficiently. But it does bear on the question materially.

That we use labor saving machinery more than any country in the world is due to the fact that our workmen are able to quickly learn the use of every labor saving device and are continually inventing new processes themselves. The very qualities which make our workers the shrewdest inventors, make them also the readiest users of the inventions. If this does not mean that they are the most efficient workers, what does it mean?

The greater rewards, too, that are held out to the worker here are an incentive to more concentrated effort. Wages are naturally higher, aside from labor efficiency, because the margin of cultivation is higher. Good land is even yet cheap and has in the past been free to whoever wished to use it. Thus labor has been not merely forced to work, but even, in a small degree, encouraged, by the hope of a future competency; and this is the secret of the harder work and greater productivity of the worker in America, whether he is native or foreign born. It is a moral stimulus to make a man feel that he has a chance to raise himself; it is an intellectual stimulus to put him beside other men who have raised and improved themselves. W. B. S.

Notes.

Warren C. Buell, Indianapolis, Ind.—See query and answer above, entitled "Wages not drawn from Capital."

Such Cyclones Would be Beneficial to the World.

New York World.

A Henry George party has been established in South Dakota. As cyclones are apt to blow away almost everything in Dakota at any moment, it is thought that the only thing it is safe to tax is land.

LUIGI BARBIERI.

"There's a new Italian merchant at the fruit emporium," jokingly remarked Mr. Bookkeeper to Mr. Cashier. The two were lounging at a window near their desks, which, in their opinion, were the most important desks of the large business house in which they were employed. They glanced indolently for a moment across the way, where on the corner an Italian was arranging various kinds of fruit on a street stand.

"Ye-es," replied Mr. Cashier to Mr. Bookkeeper; "a new one is there about every two weeks, isn't there?" And then they turned to their important desks and took up their responsible pens and buried themselves in their momentous duties. The Italian was of as little interest to them as any passing street car horse.

Luigi Barbieri moved briskly about his stand—briskly for an Italian fruit dealer. He piled his oranges up in pyramids, the prettiest to the front and top; ranged his "hands" of bananas so that the yellow ripe would strike the eye of the passer-by; wiped his apples, every one, with a bit of flannel until they shone as if they had been varnished, and hung up his more shapely bunches of grapes on a cross-piece where they might be seen by people passing the corner up or down either street.

It took him a good while to do this work. As he set each piece or bunch of fruit in its place, he looked at it long enough to become acquainted with it. He saw it at once with the eye of the merchant and of the artist. As merchant, he estimated its value and decided whether it should go in the one cent pile, or in the three cent pile, or among the choice things of the five cent pile. As artist, he took pains not only that each individual piece should be shown to the best advantage, but that all the piles of fruit should be so mingled and yet separated as to present a tempting array to the public. Perhaps he had not foreseen his effects very well, or it may be his taste was exacting, as, after he had once nearly finished putting his whole store on the stand, he took off every piece and rearranged all on a new plan.

But he moved briskly. When he polished an apple he swung his right fist back and forth over it with a motion that almost rivaled that of the two arms of the bootblack at work on an opposite corner. The bootblack, however, was under the eye of an overseer, while Luigi was master of his own time. The bootblack's temporary boss just now was a natty youth perched in a high arm chair, his legs outstretched so that his feet might settle squarely on two upright stocks. Thus his shoes were carried directly in front of his kneeling servitor's driving arms and expectorating mouth, and he looked like some sort of a fantastic god being worshiped by a ragged and dirty heathen. In fact, at the present moment he was god of his kneeling devotee's time. The bootblack hoped to build up a fine business by saving a minute or two to each customer, and so he had reason to hurry. But Luigi pushed along because he was pleased and excited with his work. He was engrossed in it. When he had tied and hung up several bunches of bananas and grapes he would retire backward a yard or two studying their effect, and then, as if seized with an inspiration, start suddenly forward toward the stand and turn them a little to right or left, until his conception of harmony of colony and symmetry of form was satisfied.

Yes, Luigi was somewhat agitated. He was going into business for himself for the first time in his life. Some months before he had been working on the new aqueduct, a first-class laborer, when a rock fell on one of his legs and broke it. He was now well enough to keep a fruit stand, but not strong enough to work at digging. His leg, he had been told by the doctors, might always trouble him a good deal, and it was best he should seek some light business. So here he was, at the earliest moment possible, at work again. And hope was now encouraging him, while his new surroundings made him feel somewhat strange.

The stand itself was not his property. He had rented it by the week—his lease was for two weeks, paid in advance—from a fellow countryman who could speak English to the Americans, and thus had great advantages in advancing his fortunes. The special advantage had by his countryman in this case was that he had been able to arrange, with

the gentleman who owned the liquor store in front of which the fruit stand stood, all the details as to the rate of rent, when it was payable and what size the stand should be. The liquor store gentleman had then gone down town to the municipal palace and had there exerted so potent an influence that he had obtained a permit for the erection of the stand. And Luigi, being, as it were, both the beginning and the end of all these transactions, paid for them still in his rental.

At length Luigi's stand was dressed. His picture was complete. The orange tints and the yellows, and reds, and blues, had all found their places, and Luigi was content with it. He sat down at the end of his stand to wait for customers, his seat being an old backless chair on which he had doubled up his old liningless coat. As he sat there, the picture he and his stand afforded to the passers-by was also complete to them—the common one of the poor Italian fruit stand keeper and his ridiculous little stock. Luigi's worn slouch hat, faded brown flannel shirt, patched overalls, and rough shoes responded fitly to his bent and stocky form and his low brow and his black shock head.

As Luigi sat there he grew even more hopeful. He had been fortunate in buying this his first stock. He was a good judge of fruits, and when he saw in the big down town market a lot marked lower than the usual price, he bought it. He knew it was being pushed off by the importer because there was danger of it becoming over-ripe on his hands, but Luigi calculated that at his stand he could dispose of it all in at most two days, and he took the risk of doing so, if, indeed, it was a risk.

His stand must be a very good one from its location, he thought, for while he was putting his stock in place several persons had stopped and bought of him.

While engaged in these pleasant reflections, a bright-eyed young man who looked like a clerk approached and, taking up two oranges, said, smilingly:

"Quanto? Cinque soldi?"

"Si, signor," Luigi looked much pleased. The young man took two more, and said:

"Dieci?"

Luigi smiled until he showed his teeth, the young man put a silver dime in his hand, and went off with his oranges, which Luigi had put in a paper bag. It was a real nice neighborhood, this, where people sometimes asked the price of things in Italian, just to please a poor fruit vender.

Luigi's hopes grew so high that he began to dream of a future for him. He might sit at his stand and study English, he thought. It had not taken him long to learn to count in English, and say little every-day things. If he could learn to speak fluently to the Americans, like his *padrone*, he might become a man of some influence himself, or he might even aspire to have some day a small Italian fruit and grocery store.

But, it came about that something happened which neither Luigi nor any one else could have prophesied. A wind storm suddenly arose which filled the streets with clouds of dust. People sought shelter in the shops and public houses, or ran off to the nearest station of the elevated road or got into street cars. In a few minutes hardly any one was to be seen on what was usually the crowded street. Having found shelter, many stood at windows looking at the dust flying about in whirlwinds, and as their attention was attracted to the figure of an awkward Italian frantically trying to save his stock of fruit from damage and closing up his stand there was a general laugh, though some spoke pityingly, too.

The storm turned to rain, and in the course of the evening the weather became warm, the rain meantime falling heavily. Luigi was unable to reopen his stand before the next morning. Then, alas, he saw the sad effects on his fruit of the wet and sultry weather. The grapes and bananas had suffered most, and he was obliged to throw much of them away, besides putting a good deal of the five-cent stock down among the low priced. Of course, he made a good meal off the least spoiled.

Luigi calculated that if he could sell everything clear in two days he could yet buy another stock with the proceeds. He had a very little money. The advance rent for his stand, his fruit, and a few dimes' worth of food, which he kept in a room in Mott street that he shared with four other men, had pretty well cleaned out his purse. He could make the food last him four or five days by eating only once a day. He could also keep his stand

open late in the evening. Thus he might get through the strait he was in.

That was a long day to Luigi. He hoped against hope deferred. People looked critically at his display and passed on. He tried to tell them that, though the bananas and grapes were, perhaps, over ripe, the apples and oranges were very good, but the cheap and poor look of a part of the fruit seemed to condemn it all in their eyes. Some rough boys taunted him with trying to sell "old rotten stuff." Even the bright-eyed young man who had spoken a little broken Italian to him the day before now disappointed him, for he came along, glanced at the stand quickly, and then passed on without stopping. Luigi's heart fell within him.

That night he sat by his stand until past midnight, burning two torches, which was more than he had thought of doing when he began business; but his situation was growing desperate, and he was obliged to avail himself of every means to get a little cash. People, however, did not buy. When it was very late he importuned some of the straggling passers-by to take a few cents' worth of his stock. He held out a handful of the fruit toward them, pointed to himself, and said:

"Poor Italian. Two cent."

But they would look at him without a change of countenance and pass on.

Luigi slept three hours, and before daylight was at his stand again. He swept off the pavement of the liquor store, that duty being a part of his rent, and opened his stand. An inspection of his stock showed him he could not sell any of it save the apples and oranges. So he ate heartily of the half-decayed grapes and bananas, and threw the rest away.

That was another long day. Luigi knew that he could not get credit for another stock, as he was a beginner in the fruit business. His room-mates were almost as poor as himself, and he could borrow nothing from them. He could only wait, trying to sell in the meantime. Something might happen.

The fruit had made him sick. He was faint, since the one meal he ate at his lodgings was light. The noise of trains passing overhead on the elevated road, though he had never noticed them before, now jarred his nerves. The crowds passing to and fro before him made him dizzy. A few feet from his stand was a telegraph pole. Luigi moved his chair to it and sat down and leaned against it, half closing his eyes.

While he was there a little girl, five or six years of age, ran behind the telegraph pole, and, standing on the curb, peeped out around the side to look at somebody coming down the street. Somehow she caught her foot in the sleeve of Luigi's coat, which was fastened to his chair. She tugged at it, but made it worse by getting her foot behind a rung of the chair. A man shouted. Luigi opened his eyes. A great truck load of barrels of liquor was being backed up toward the curb, and the driver was calling to the little girl to get out of the way. The heavy vehicle was swinging backward with such a momentum that it could not be stopped. Luigi turned quickly, grasped his chair, and lifting it, pushed it and the little girl together around back of the great, thick pole clear from where the wagon would strike. The little girl's foot was released with the movement, and she ran away in the crowd to the gentleman with whom she had meant to play peep, and he, glad to find her, went away with her without having learned of her danger. The two were Mr. Bookkeeper from the great store over the way and his little daughter.

After Luigi had, acting on impulse and more quickly than he could think, thrown himself in the little girl's place by pushing her away and tossing the chair after her, he was directly between the truck and the pole. He was not strong enough to recover his balance and jump quickly out of the way. He was caught and crushed.

A crowd gathered, and a little later an ambulance carried the injured man away. The gentleman who owned the liquor store had one of his men to close up Luigi's stand, though there was by that time very little left on it, as the street boys had taken possession of it.

Luigi raved a few hours in a hospital and then died. The bright-eyed young man whom he had taken to be a clerk, and who had addressed him in Italian, was one of the junior physicians. He gathered Luigi's story from his incoherent talk, no one else being able to understand him. In the course of his fevered speech, Luigi said repeatedly:

"If I can get her away like a flash she will not be killed!"

"This is getting to be a joke," said Mr. Cashier to Mr. Bookkeeper a few days later, as they looked out of their great window together. "I declare, there's another Italian at the fruit stand."

"Ye-es," said Mr. Bookkeeper, "I wonder what killed off the last one—laziness or bad whisky?" HAGAN DWEN.

TARIFF NOTES.

The high protective spellbinders ought, at least, to go over into Pennsylvania and speak words of comfort and consolation to those steel works strikers who have been bounced from employment and whose places have been filled by cheaper workmen.—[Buffalo Courier.

Andrew Carnegie announces a radical cut in the wages of his workmen. Carnegie is another of the men who proclaimed, last fall, that Harrison's election was necessary to the maintenance of the wages of workmen in this country.—[Minneapolis Star.

Germany has a high protective tariff, but 100,000 of her iron workers are now on a strike, and at last accounts the German army was at work shooting them into submission. High protective tariffs are everywhere frauds on the working people.—[Boston Globe.

The April dividends of the Fall River mills are higher than those of last year. The operatives' wages are lower. Thus do the blessings of last November's victory for American labor continue to blossom on the tree of high protection.—[Boston Globe.

Afraid of Freedom.

New York Commercial Advertiser.

Under the operation of this most absolute application of free trade principle that was ever made anywhere in the world, the country has prospered beyond all historical precedent; and yet, with the lesson staring them in the face, nearly one-half of the voters in the country have allowed themselves to be deluded into the belief that the system which has worked so well among the states must be be flagrantly violated in our commercial relations with other countries. Living under freedom and profiting by it in a degree which astonishes even themselves, they are still afraid of freedom.

A New Administration.

A new administration is wanted in many a household, but this desire will vanish if the head of the house will provide the laundry department with the Empire wringer, made at Auburn, N. Y. Its excellencies save more than half the labor with better results than the ordinary wringer, outwear two, hence economy and satisfaction are both obtained.

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SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

In 1888 the pope's income amounted to \$2,500,000 of which over \$1,700,000 came from Peter's pence, and \$800,000 from the interest of money invested outside of Italy. This does not include the money presents, amounting to \$2,300,000, which flocked in during the pope's jubilee.

Strange things often determine the placing of a vote, says a writer in the Pall Mall Gazette, but I have been just told a story of how an election was won on Tyneside. It was a school board election, and one of the canvassers knew how to utilize the hobbies of his fellows. Calling upon one elector known to have strong "fancy" leanings, he said, "Who's thoo gan to vote for?" "Wey, —, te be sure." "Nay, lad, thoo should vote for Joe —," naming another candidate, and the one for whom he was acting. "What for?" "Wey, man," was the reply, "hee's gat some o' the best tumbler pigeons and bull tarriers thoo iver saw." "By gox," was the immediate reply, "aal giv him a plumper;" and as the cumulative vote rules in school board elections, and Joe — got in by nine votes, the "tumbler pigeons" and "bull tarriers" did the trick.

The tide of emigration from Ireland this year is, according to the London board of trade returns just published, much greater than that of last year. Last year, in the first four months, 22,692 persons emigrated from Ireland. This year in the same period the number was 24,528, of whom 15,427 left in the month of April.

At a representative meeting of English bar-men, barmaids, and others employed in public houses and refreshment rooms, just held, to establish a protection association among the body, one young barman said he had made a calculation, and found that he worked 106 hours a week, that is fifteen hours a day, including Sundays, independent of meal times. National holidays, too, instead of being a boon to them, were really a curse, for they had to work the harder, the only day of rest they obtained being once a month.

Mr. Egmont Hake delivered an address in London recently before the Institute of bankers on "People's banks in Germany and Italy," first established by Dr. Schulze-Delitzsch to benefit the poor classes. The first of these banks started with an entrance fee of 2½d., and a monthly subscription of 5d. In 1887 there were already 2,200 of these banks in Germany, and less than half of these during that year granted loans and discounted drafts up to the amount and over 1,000,000,000 of marks, or over £50,000,000 sterling. From the plethora of pawnbrokers, money lenders, usurers, middlemen, and sweaters, it was obvious that never was the want of bank accommodations more keenly felt than in England to-day. The idea that poor people and poor districts did not require banking Mr. Hake regarded as entirely fallacious. On the contrary, he considered that small banks suitable to the circumstances of the people represented in such districts the only alternative of destitution. What should be done was to adopt the best features of the Schulze-Delitzsch system, of the small Scotch bank offices, and of the French banquiers, modifying them to suit English circumstances.

A meeting was held a couple of weeks ago in London of gentlemen desirous of founding a Christian community that should be free from dogma—a sort of Robert Elsmerean church, that should bend all its energies to bringing a Christian millennium on the earth, while leaving the next world to take care of itself. Some five hundred people were present. The new institution is to be called a "Christian Ethical church."

An English paper tells of one Ellen Sheals, a miserably clad old woman seventy years of age, who was brought up before a police magistrate charged with having obtained poor law relief by fraud. She went into St. George's work house, Fulham road, and stayed there for two months. But on her return, after leave of absence, her book, showing that she had over £20 standing to her credit in the post office savings bank, was discovered sewed in her dress. She said that she had been a ratepayer in Westminster for many years; that she was the widow of an old soldier, and that she was keeping the money for her funeral, so that she should not be buried as a pauper. The magistrate convicted her under the vagrant act, and sentenced her to a month's imprisonment with such hard labor as she could do, and told her that she had been guilty of "a most abominable fraud on the ratepayers."

Nearly ninety per cent of the immigrants to the Argentine Republic belong to the Latin races—65.25 per cent being Italians, 14.61 per cent Spaniards and 9.27 per cent Southern French. In the course of the last thirty-two years the Europeans who have settled in the republic numbered 1,374,787.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A New Transposing Piano.

London musicians have been much struck with the ingenious simplicity of a new transposing piano, the invention of Mr. W. Louis Hays. The object in view is accomplished by means of a movable back, i. e., the back on which the strings are strung, instead of being rigidly affixed to the case in the ordinary way, is fitted on rollers and moved laterally

by means of a lever underneath the keyboard, until the desired alteration of key has been effected. Thus the music can be played on the keyboard in the key in which it is written, but by the shifting described, an entirely different set of strings are struck, and the music is heard in any one of the other keys desired. This simple device does away with all those interferences with the action which has heretofore hindered the general adoption of previous patents having the same end in view. An octave of strings, in addition to the keyboard compass, is affixed to the back, so that the range of transposition available is ample for all possible requirements. It is understood that a company is in course of organization for the development of this useful and ingenious invention.

Eucalyptus as an Antiseptic.

The London Globe describes some experiments regarding the antiseptic properties of eucalyptus, made at Rome by Count Luigi Torrelli. The results are interesting and suggestive. A number of small tins were filled with pure spring water and various leaves, such as oak, orange, lemon and grass, immersed in them; also eucalyptus leaves and bark. Gradually, but at various intervals, the leaves and water showed signs of putrescence and had to be thrown away. The oak leaves preserved the water for some time, but the water in the tins with the eucalyptus leaves and bark remained perfectly palatable after the lapse of more than four months. The count also placed some meat in water with leaves of the eucalyptus globulus, and in another pan a piece of veal in plain water. After seventy four hours it was found that where the veal had been merely soaked in water the meat had become putrid and decomposed the water. The water in the pan treated with eucalyptus leaves was colored, but was quite good; and the meat was found in excellent preservation, and when cooked was eaten with much relish. The count then wrapped some veal with a slight taint in a profusion of leaves of the eucalyptus globulus. At the end of three or four hours he cooked the veal in the ordinary way, and it was pronounced excellent and tender.

An Incandescent Gas Light.

The gas makers have at last succeeded in giving us a light almost equal to that of electricity, without the danger and uncertainty of the latter, remarks the Manufacturers' Gazette, and adds: The process by which they do this is very interesting. In North Carolina, on Green River, in Henderson county, is a mine from which zircon is dug. It is an ore of the metal zirconium, and the mine on Green river is the only one thus far known in America. The black crystals of zircon are reduced by chemical and electrical processes to a fine white powder. This is zirconia, which is the oxide of zirconium. It is now ready for use in the incandescent gas light. A glass chimney is fitted over a Bunsen burner. In this chimney is suspended a hollow cotton wick. It is no different from any wick, except that it has been thoroughly filled in all its interstices with the white powder. The gas is turned on and a match applied. The flame runs along the wick and burns it up immediately. But there is something that does not burn. This is the zirconia. When the cotton wick is all consumed a thin, delicate, snow white, hollow column of zirconia is left, exactly the shape of the cotton wick. This heats white hot and glows like an electric light. It seems almost to last forever if it does not get broken. This is the newest rival to the electric light.

Graphite as a Rust Preventer.

A new use of graphite consists in its application to wire rope. Wire rope is rapidly coming into a much larger consumption. It is largely used in distant fields and mines, where breakages cost double and treble the usual expense of repair, so that a wire rope preservative is literally a boon. This is found in graphite. The graphite must be pure and only the flake is useful. The best is the Ticonderoga graphite flake, mined and prepared for the market by the Joseph Dixon Crucible Company of Jersey City, N. J. This graphite is then prepared by the same firm in a grease which makes the application of the graphite to the wire rope easy. Have a tinsmith make a tin tube, trumpet shaped, the small end just large enough to fit the circle of the rope, the other end large enough to carry two or three pounds of the graphite grease. The rope traveling through this tube will coat itself nicely—one coating in two weeks is enough, and this practice alone will double the length of life of the rope. The graphite prevents the wire from rusting—it saves the rope from abrasion when striking hard substances; it also prevents the wires forming the rope from abrasion one against the other as the graphite finds its way into and fills the minutest spaces and is held there by the fatty substances in the mixture. The facts above are furnished from his own experience by one of the leading mining engineers of the country.—[Age of Steel.]

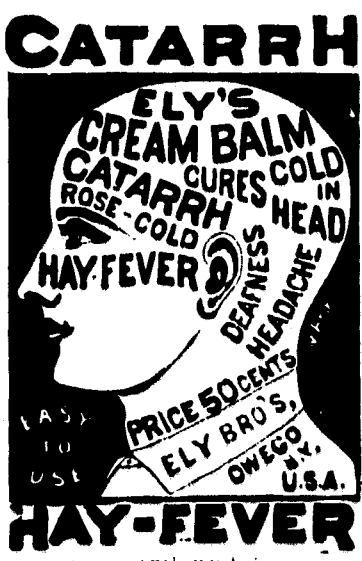
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Parliament Should Take Away Their Estates, and Apply Them to the Uses for Which They Were Intended.

W. M. T. contributes to Reynolds's Weekly an article on the Trades Guilds of London. These chartered organizations, enjoying princely revenues from their great landed estates in London and Ireland, the proceeds of which were originally intended as an aid to the deserving artisans, are now composed of men, not five per cent of whom belong to the particular trade whose revenues they enjoy. The writer quotes Dr. Stubbs, the present bishop of Oxford, who says:

The charities of the great London companies are a survival of a system which was once in full working order in every market town, but, alas! their charities now consist in supplying turtle soup and champagne to those who are fortunate enough to belong to one of these ancient and wealthy bodies, and yet, were they properly worked, they would form, perhaps, the best system for eradicating poverty.

W. M. T. then goes on to say:

A few sentences explanatory of the history of these city companies will be useful. There is no trace of any merchant guild ever existing in London, and in the provinces they were merely synonymous with the corporations of the towns. But there were numerous craft guilds which on the purchase of their charters from Edward the Third, became popularly known as companies. An act of 1354 compelled all artisans to choose and adhere to the company proper to their own craft or mystery. Thereupon the most important companies, dreading the influx of members, established a distinction. They availed themselves of a license reserved in the laws against the wearing of livery, to bestow a distinctive costume upon the privileged members, who shared all the proprietary and municipal rights of the company; whereas the members not allowed to wear livery had merely the freedom of the trade. The twelve great livery companies were the mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skinner, hued armourers (now called merchant tailors), haberdashers, salters, ironmongers, vintners and clothworkers. These trade guilds have now fallen into the hands of a parcel of unscrupulous adventurers who squander upon luxury the money which ought to be devoted to the encouragement of trade, and to providing benevolent and educational funds for those engaged in the respective crafts.

Moreover, the guild halls of the trade guilds were the common meeting places of the craftsmen. Those splendid chambers are now shut against their owners, and are only opened for the reception of the voracious swell feasts among the classes. The question of the establishment of labor exchanges in London has been mooted recently. There are about twenty-five halls connected with the trade guilds in the city. If the workmen of England desired it, these halls and the revenues of the companies could be in their possession before the lapse of many months. These halls would make ideal labor exchanges; the largest could be reserved for the trade unions.

A few figures as to the criminal manner in which these public funds are expended are necessary. The Mercer company have an income of £90,000 a year, and they spend no less than £20,000 on the "management" of their estate. In one year thirty "hereditary mercers" divided among themselves £10,431, or over £300 a year each, under the name of "court fees." They paid their staff £7,183, and they spent on entertaining the classes £7,371. Needless to say, the ex-dissident Lord Chancellor Selborne is a member of this company. The figures relating to the other companies are equally scandalous. If you should have the opportunity of the salters, in addition to a dinner and wines, the cost of which would not be less than £5 per head, you are presented with two bone salt spoons, and, at leaving, with a box of sugar fruits, which must have cost 25s., and a parcel of cigars. These are the men who have received £230,000 from the imperial exchequer on account of their Irish estates; but they have never spent a penny to frustrate the infamous salt ring, which has secured the monopoly of a prime necessary of life.

Take again the merchant tailors and the goldsmiths, both of which have been entertaining Coercion Balfour. The former have an income of £45,000. They spend £7,000 on management, but they have done absolutely nothing in connection with the atrocious tailoring swamping system. The goldsmiths have £55,000 a year, and they spend £5,000 on management. The merchant tailors may be said to have turned their banquet hall into a lobby for the tory party. In nine years the city companies have expended £20,000,000, upwards of £1,000,000 being spent in absolute waste among the 20,000 members and the west end dinner hunters. Some of the officers receive salaries of over £2,000 a year, and in the nine years just mentioned the members bribed themselves to the extent of over £1,000,000 under the name of "court fees."

Is it not time that these iniquities should come to an end, and that the craftsmen of England should re-enter upon this magnificent heritage? "Robbery and jobbery" might be inscribed over the portals of every guild hall in the city of London. This is a question which affects the workers generally, for in addition to the twelve companies named above, there are the bakers—who will do nothing for the journeymen bakers who are now complaining of long hours of labor and unsanitary workshops—the barbers, cordwainers, carpenters, leathersellers, with an income of £20,000, saddlers, with an income of £12,000, joiners, coachmakers, butchers, girdlers, carriers, founders, and other companies. It is for those engaged in these respective trades to say whether they will allow stockbrokers, barristers, bankers, and other invading cuckoos to deprive them of

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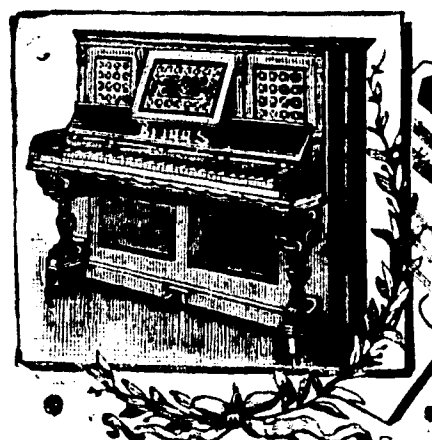
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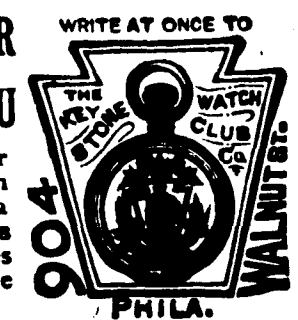
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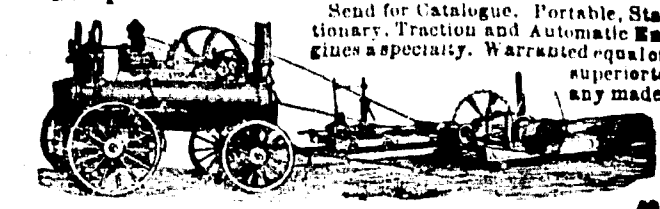
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