

THE STANDARD

NO. 143---VOL. VI, NO. 13.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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.

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In the current number of Harper's Weekly the editor of that influential publication, presumably George William Curtis, premising that there is in the public mind an undoubted reaction against the "extreme doctrine of the limited functions of government," thus undertakes to explain to his readers what state socialism is:

The theory holds that there are certain interests of primary importance in society which are in their nature monopolies. Such are the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and water and gas supply in cities. These are held to be essentially exclusive. They are of such a nature that either competition cannot exist, or, if it does exist, it is so destructive that it compels consolidation of action, and competing companies are merged into one organization. A dozen companies cannot use the streets for water or gas supply, and, like parallel and rival railroads, they must "join or die." The highways and streets are the property of all or of the whole, and what belongs to the whole should not be given to a part. The money making uses to which such common or public possessions may be devoted should benefit the whole, or the public, and not a few or a very small part of the whole. Thus the plea for public control of such common interests is not that the service would be better, but that the public would enjoy its own. Public officers might not manage a railroad better than private companies, but its profits would benefit the public, and not enrich a few men. In this view it is argued that in some of the German states there is better and cheaper railway service on government lines, and that the profits inuring to the public lighten taxation.

The modern uses of highways and streets for the greater comfort of living are mines richer than those of El Dorado. They are public property. Why should they be surrendered for private gain? If the community insists for the public convenience that letters and newspapers and parcels shall be carried by public agents, although at a great loss to the public treasury, why should it be unwilling to carry passengers and freight at a great profit to the treasury? Why could it not as well and easily supply the public with gas and water as with letter carriage, especially if the result should be a greatly increased public revenue? This is the question

of state socialism. But its premise covers more than it always admits. It may be sound; but it leads to Henry George's theory of land-ownership. The land is as much the property of the whole as the uses of any part of the land, such as streets, or railroad beds, or necessities drawn from it, such as gas and water. Why should not the community dispose of the land itself in such wise as to promote its own advantage, instead of suffering it to be appropriated for private gain? Practically these are all questions of high expediency rather than of abstract right. The argument for the post office is not theoretical. It is simply that the community holds it to be for its interest that it should take charge of the whole mail carriage, and prohibit private participation in the business. There are many other applications of the same view of expediency, and state socialism merely carries them to the extreme.

Mr. Curtis has an erroneous idea of what state socialism is. If he were right, I would be a state socialist, as would be most of the men who in the United States call themselves single tax men. This nobody would be quicker to deny than the state socialists themselves, who regard us as really their most dangerous opponents. What state socialism aims at is, not merely to take under public control businesses that are in their nature monopolies, and in which competition consequently is not possible; but to take under state control all industry and all exchange, to nationalize all the tools and means of production, and to put an end to all competition.

Our view is entirely different. Instead of regarding competition as evil in itself; we look upon the evils which state socialists attribute to competition and propose to cure by restriction, as due to restrictions which partially check competition and thus make it one-sided and unfair. Instead of imposing more restrictions and endeavoring by extensions of governmental control to do away with competition, we would sweep away all restrictions and special privileges, and assuring to all men equal opportunities, make competition perfectly free.

The argument—or at least our argument—for public management of railroads or roadbeds, of telegraphs, water and gas supplies, etc., is not that in this way the public could make money, and thus taxation be lightened. Such an argument might be urged in behalf of the state's going into the ready made clothing business or setting up peanut stands. We do not think public works ought to be managed with a view to profit, and that where not made absolutely free to the use of the public, the charges should only be sufficient to defray their expenses. Nor yet is the argument merely that of greater public convenience—a higher expediency. It is that public control of businesses that are in the nature of monopolies is necessary to secure equal privileges for the citizens who use them, to make competition between individuals possible.

I have been in favor of a postal telegraph since 1869, when General Orton, then president of the Western union telegraph company, forcibly presented to me the *argumentum ad hominem* in its favor. In violation of an agreement made with me, and on the faith of which a daily newspaper had been started in San Francisco, the Western union company imposed a designedly prohibitory tariff, intended at the instance of other newspapers, to prevent this paper from using the telegraph wires. General Orton cut short my protests by telling me that if I did not like the Western Union's

terms I might go back to California and build a line of telegraph across the continent for myself. In such unfair ways the Western Union Telegraph company has time and again used the power which its monopoly has placed in the hands of its managers, not even hesitating, as in one case I know of my own personal knowledge and the admission of a high official of the company, to steal the dispatches for the transmission of which they were paid, and hand them over to business rivals before proper delivery. This was, of course, under the old management, and Jay Gould may be more scrupulous, though he has not that reputation. But the power remains. And under our system of administering the law it is but mockery to tell an aggrieved citizen, unless he be one of "the owners of the United States," that he can appeal to the courts. As for our railroads, we have become so used to discriminations between persons and persons and places and places that we have almost come to take them as a matter of course. In short, when any necessary business becomes a necessary monopoly, and competition in it is impossible, then in order to secure fair play to individuals it becomes necessary for the government to step in.

State socialism does not lead to what Harper's Weekly styles Henry George's theory of land ownership. State socialism would treat land as it would the machinery of a shoe factory. It would take possession of the land on behalf of the state, and work it or build upon it under the management of the state. What we would do is to leave land when not needed for strictly public purposes in individual possession and to individual improvement and use, merely securing to all citizens their equal natural right to its ownership by collecting from those enjoying the use of valuable land, a sum equivalent to the value of the special privilege thus accorded them.

And in this our prime object is not so much to secure for the community that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, as it is by breaking up monopolization to secure to all men that right of applying their labor to natural opportunities, and peacefully possessing its fruits, which is the most fundamental and important of all natural rights.

And though we contend that to do this—to abolish all taxes on industry and the fruits of industry and to resort for public revenues to that fund which properly belongs to the public, would indeed be the highest expediency, we put our advocacy of it upon a higher ground, that of justice. We hold that all men have a natural, equal and God-given right to the use of the element necessary to all life and all labor, and we hold that there is an absolute right of property which attaches to the things produced by labor. And because it is right and therefore expedient—not merely because it is expedient—we ask that all taxes be removed from industry in all of its modes and wealth in all of its forms, and that by means of a tax on land values the community shall take for the defrayal of further expenses that fund which is properly its own.

We single tax men do not give up the idea that that is the best government which governs least. If we do not believe

in *laissez-faire* as it is generally understood, letting things as they are alone, it is because we would carry out the spirit of the full motto: "Clear the ways and then let things alone." Instead of being state socialists, we would carry the Jeffersonian ideas to their full development.

J. G. Malcolm writes from Hutchinson, Kansas:

HUTCHINSON, Kan.—If the adoption of a secret ballot would make bribery and corruption impossible in elections, why would not the same system remove the same curse in our legislative halls. For example, it is notorious that United States senators purchase their seats of state legislatures, and that nobody but millionaires need apply to those bodies for election. Would this curse not be removed by a system of secret voting in legislative halls? Nothing is more certain than that a man who is mean enough to sell his vote is also mean enough to sell it and then not deliver it if he can do so without it being known. It seems to me that the adoption of this principle in state legislatures and in congress would be beneficial. The objection to it is that we would never know how our legislators voted and that we could never know whom to blame for bad legislation. To this objection we may reply that any member would still be at liberty to express his views on all measures coming up, and that we might know that members would vote as they talked. But there is always a large class who never talk but do vote. It is among these that votes are purchased. These fellows would generally vote right if not bribed, but many of them can be bought up cheap. If we can destroy the power of the lobby they will have no incentive to vote otherwise than right, and the secret system of voting will do this. I am of the opinion, that members of legislative bodies would less frequently vote contrary to their honest convictions of what is right if they were compelled to vote secretly than they do now, and this is what we desire.

J. G. MALCOLM.

In the popular election the citizen votes in an original capacity, and for himself; in a legislative body the member votes in a representative capacity and for his constituents. Secret voting in the latter case, which could easily be had by the familiar device of different colored balls, or balls and cubes, would so far as it proved effective, destroy the responsibility of the representative to his constituents. This might in some cases be a benefit, but only in cases where the representative was better or wiser than his constituents—and that he is, is not the theory of democratic government, nor is it generally true. But it would hardly destroy the power of corrupt influences. On the contrary, it would be more likely to increase them. For it is rarely that in legislative bodies such influences take the form of direct payments for votes. They are much oftener exerted by interesting men in the success of a measure or candidate, or by rewards contingent on results. Secret voting could impose no check on influences thus exerted, but would remove the check that publicity now imposes.

The Australian system of voting in popular elections will prevent intimidation and practically prevent the buying of votes at those elections. It will, moreover—and this is perhaps even more important—destroy the power that political machines now have of presenting the only candidates who have any chance of being elected. In this way by purifying the source of all power it will tend to purify our legislative bodies. But we cannot get rid of corruption in them by any mere mechanical device. To do that we must go further, and as far as possible destroy the connection between moneyed interests and legislative votes. This connection has been unnaturally increased

by the subsidy system in its various forms. The awarding of franchises, the giving away of lands, the effect of the location of public improvements on privately owned land values, the use of the power of taxation for the avowed purpose of "encouraging" certain industries, are the great causes of legislative corruption.

So long as millionaires are made by act of congress, and this has been the effect of all our protective tariff legislation and subsidy acts—and so long as the senate by reason of the smaller number of its members and their longer terms, is the body in which any demand for the abolition or reduction of this robbery of the many for the benefit of the few can best be resisted, millionaires will crowd into the senate or send their attorneys there. Free trade and the single tax mean not merely an enormous increase in the production of wealth and an enormous equalization in its distribution, but a corresponding purification in government. Under the protective system democratic government worthy of the name must become simply impossible.

The effort to get up a world's fair in New York brings its incidental lesson of the stupidity of our present treatment of land as private property, and of the advantages of the single tax. The committee have chosen a site—the upper part of Central park, a couple of the smaller parks, and some intervening land. To buy this intervening land, on which there are but few improvements, will take, according to the Times, \$48,000,000. And this on the supposition that none of the land owners would try to blackmail the association or would even demand for their property what the holding of a world's fair in the vicinity would make it worth. Even to condemn this land, and the power of condemnation will certainly be necessary, will require an act of the legislature, long proceedings and perhaps a decision of the court of appeals. New York wants a world's fair, but New York don't own the ground on which New York stands, and must therefore be content to take the parks or go without.

Yet there is no doubt that the holding of a world's fair in or around New York would add much more than it all would cost to ground values. Under the present system this very expectation of increased land values stands in the way of holding a fair. Under the single tax the land needed could be taken at but slight expense above the value of the improvements, and the city would reap the benefits of the expenditure in increased revenues. The best thing the committee can do is to ask the next legislature for an act authorizing a sufficient appropriation from the city to pay all estimated expenses, to be met by a special tax on the value of land exclusive of improvements.

Joseph H. Pendleton, writing from Mare Island, Cal., suggests that THE STANDARD instead of using the words protection and protective tariff, use instead the words restriction and restrictive tariff, etc. He seems to think that the word protection is strong in itself, and that by giving their system this title the advocates of the indirect subsidy system are enabled to successfully appeal to men who would see its real nature if it were called by a name clearly indicative of its pernicious character.

I do not think the suggestion a good one. In the first place the term protection as applied to the indirect subsidy system by tariffs has become well rooted in our language, and the friends of protection would persist in calling it that no matter what we might call it. In the second place, it is well to meet the pro-

tection idea fairly and squarely, and by showing its real character to make it obnoxious under its strongest and chosen name. What we single tax men want to do is not merely to destroy protective tariffs, but to destroy the idea of protection; to get men to see that labor is not a poor, weak thing to need protection or coddling of any kind, but that it is the producer of all wealth, and that all it needs is fair play. Let us meet the idea of protection with the idea of justice.

We reprint this week from Harper's Weekly Professor Hamlin Garland's story, "Under the Lion's Paw." During Professor Garland's recent visit to New York I had the pleasure of hearing him read the play on which he has been for some time engaged, "Under the Wheel." If properly put upon the boards, and Professor Garland hopes to have it brought out in New York before the close of the season now beginning, it seems to me that this play must prove a great success. It is a play with a moral, as every single tax man who sees it will recognize in every act, from first to last, but the moral is only incident to, and in no way weights down the dramatic interest of the play, which in pathos, fun and sensational incident seems to have every quality necessary for drawing and holding audiences. This is also the opinion of two most competent judges, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Herne, whose ability, both as actors and playwrights is shown in their play of "Drifting Apart," with which they opened in Brooklyn last week, and which without taint or anything that is not pure and wholesome, keeps audiences laughing and crying by turns, under the spell of acting so good that it seems perfectly natural. If Professor Garland's play gets a good start on the stage it cannot fail to make people think and talk about the single tax who can hardly be reached in any other way. Mr. Herne, who is an ardent single tax man, it should also be said is going to read "Under the Lion's Paw" for the single tax clubs of Buffalo and Philadelphia, when he reaches those places in the course of his engagements.

The active spirits of the Manhattan single tax club are pushing their Saturday night truck campaign with earnestness and vigor, and are addressing large audiences. As they get more money and more speakers (for street speaking in a city like New York is exhausting) they propose to extend their work, both on more nights and with more trucks.

It is a mighty task that we have set before ourselves, but it is a task that will be accomplished. All along the line the good work is now going on. In magazine and newspaper and trade journal, in lecture and speech and sermon, in story and play and poem, in college and school and club, in the conversation that goes on in public conveyances, in stores and workshops, in the family circle and wherever men meet, the single tax is coming to the front. Thomas G. Shearman with his statistics, Billy Radcliffe with his banjo, Bengough with his pencil, our New England men with their question clubs, our New York men with their trucks, our Baltimore men working through democratic associations and becoming single tax missionaries to landlords' protective associations—the tireless activity which these suggest and of which the columns of THE STANDARD week by week give indication, make sure that the future is ours. What is seen of the work that is being done and the progress that is being made is but little compared with what is really going on. But like the first tiny shoots that appear on seeded ground in early spring, it testifies to the growth

that is going on. But a little and what seem like dry clods will be covered with living green.

HENRY GEORGE.

FREE TRADE AND FOREIGN WARS.

The same disciple of Horace Greeley, who asked the question answered in a former article, also puts the following question:

Is not free trade a principal ingredient in that aggressive and brutal policy of Great Britain, France and Germany, which led to the opium war in China and Japan, the regulation of customs duties in those countries by "the great powers" of Europe, the Zulu war, the attempt to conquer Anam, the seizure of Tahiti, the bombardment of Alexandria and the German outrages on Samoa, and every other act of barbarity, tyranny and robbery committed by said European governments upon other and unprotected races?

No. My correspondent has jumbled a great many things together; some of which have nothing whatever to do with either free trade or protection and some of which are the result of protectionism.

The Zulu war, the bombardment of Alexandria and interference with Egypt had nothing to do with either free trade or protection. The "extra-territoriality" of Europeans and Americans in China and Japan, which my correspondent thinks so brutal, is maintained as sedulously by the United States as by any other nation, and for the simple reason that in none of these foreign countries would any European or American be willing to submit himself for a moment to the jurisdiction of native tribunals, our correspondent as little as any one else. If he knew anything about Turkish or Egyptian courts, he would know that there is very little justice in them for a native, and none at all for a foreigner. That the "aggressive and brutal policy" which is referred to, does not spring from free trade, is manifest enough from the simple fact that two of the three nations mentioned are strongly protectionist in their ideas and practices. If our correspondent means that *trade*, not *free trade*, leads to these evils, there would be a good deal more sense in the suggestion; but as every single instance of oppression he mentions took place under protectionist auspices, there is very little force in his attempt to set these sins upon *free trade*. We will now briefly consider them.

The English opium war with China took place while England was strongly protectionist and before free trade doctrines had made any considerable impression upon the people, or any impression whatever upon the government. The extra territoriality treaties were all negotiated by governments which were thoroughly protectionist. So were the treaties by which customs duties were regulated with most foreign countries. The first treaty regulating the customs duties of Japan was made by the United States of America, and no government is more tenacious of such treaties than our own.

The French conquest of Anam and seizure of Tahiti were the acts of strongly protectionist governments and the natural result of protectionist ideas. The motive, in both cases, was the desire to exclude other nations from trading with those countries, which is the essence of protectionism. The German outrages on Samoa and the whole recent bullying policy of Germany in its dealings with small governments all over the world, proceed from its adoption of the protectionist theory. The Germans are everywhere trying to force their own trade and to exclude the trade of other nations, just as the French and Russians do; and it is in the pursuit of that object that France, Germany and Russia make their wars.

In short, protection always, in its nature, leads to arrogant, arbitrary and tyrannical treatment of other nations; it produces hatred between nations; and it has been one of the most fertile causes of cruel and needless wars. Free trade, on the contrary, gives to every other nation the same advantage which we claim for our own, and would make it impossible for any nation which believed in it to conquer Anam, seize Tahiti, impose burdens on Samoa, make opium wars on

China or commit any other of the outrages which protectionism has caused during the centuries in which it maintained its sway over the civilized world. Free trade is the mother of good will and peace. Protection is the mother of hatred and war.

As to "barbarity, tyranny and robbery" toward "unprotected races," the record of the United States of America, in their dealing with the Indians, is so black that England, France and Germany are white in comparison with us.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

A Dinner to Judge Maguire.

Judge James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, will probably be in New York before THE STANDARD gets into the hands of its readers. It is the desire of a number of his friends here to tender him the compliment of a little dinner during his stay. Just when this will take place it is impossible just now to state, but all these persons desiring to attend should communicate with William T. Crossdale, 36 Clinton place, who will supply all necessary information as soon as arrangements are completed.

Would They Be Satisfied?

BROOKLYN, Sept. 21.—If Hugh O. and Thomas L. were the younger of twelve (or more, or less) sons of a father, who, having a large estate, should allow the older brothers to take up as much as they chose, of the more valuable portion of the property (as long as they used what they claimed) as fast as they came of age, so that only very inferior portions of the property were left for Hugh and Thomas, do you think that the two mentioned would be satisfied to starve on that vacant land, while their brothers lived comfortably on the better portions, without at least thinking that they had been defrauded of some portion of their rights?

Could this injustice be abolished, unless the elder brothers were willing (or were forced) to pay such sums as would equalize the difference in the value of their holdings with that of those inferior portions which Hugh and Thomas were obliged to accept, since those were the only ones vacant?

Does not this principle hold good whether we speak of a farm or a continent?

E. O. ROSCOE.

Of Course It Worked.

St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

People continue to talk about the Australian system of voting as if it were a dime museum freak. The election held this week in one of the wards of Minneapolis was the first in Minnesota under the new law; and the universal verdict that it worked to a charm is uttered in a tone of mild surprise, while the limited area covered and the lightness of the vote are announced as excuses for success. It seems hard to persuade people that the law would not have shown itself utterly unmanageable but for these extraordinary conditions in its favor.

To the well informed, the success of the Minneapolis experiment is a matter of course. Nor can they ever understand why there should be a general impression that the Australian system is cumbersome in theory or difficult in practice. That has been stoutly asserted by the class of politicians who will be injured by the absolute exclusion from the ballot of corrupt and pernicious influences. They have attempted to discredit the new system in advance, and are protesting against it as earnestly in Massachusetts as in Minnesota. But everybody who is honest about it ought to know surely that there is neither mystery nor complexity in the matter. Opposition on this ground rests upon the assumption that the voting population in this country is utterly ignorant and incompetent. Take the average man as he is found about the polling places, and what trouble is it to him to take a ballot from the official distributor and make one or more penciled crosses upon it before he deposits it in the box? That is absolutely all there is to it. The names of all candidates are on the ballot, and the party standing of each is plainly designated. Think of the impudence of the assertion that in this state, where educational advantages are so great and the percentage of illiterates is so small, men have not intelligence enough to perform this simple act without confusion or delay.

A test election can contribute really but one item of value to experience with the new system. It can measure for us with some exactitude the amount of time consumed by each voter in the booth assigned for preparing his ballot. In this particular, the Minneapolis election would not be as fair a test as one in which the list of candidates were longer. But, making every allowance, it is stated that the time required was much below what had been counted upon as necessary. It is common to underestimate the intelligence of the American voter, and there is no more conspicuous instance than in the objections urged against the Australian ballot system. We have not the slightest doubt that even the first experiment with this new and unfamiliar method will demonstrate its great superiority; and that, after two years' experience with it, nothing could induce the people to go back to the old system, which will then appear to them hopelessly crude and open to abuses.

One More Chance Left.

Chicago News.

That New Hampshire farmer who permitted two Eastern highwaymen to rob him of \$9,000 last week is respectfully reminded that a few of those desirable western mortgages are still to be had.

THE CART-TAIL CAMPAIGN.

Report of the Third Evening's Meetings—
Two Trucks to Go Out Next Saturday Evening.

It was black and chill at eight o'clock last Saturday evening, when the campaign truck of the Manhattan single tax club drove in on Tenth street near Avenue A. The cold winds swept across the open spaces of Tompkins square, and made the crowds gathered around the truck, and the speakers, long for some place where the weather was more in accord with the clothes they had on. But those in charge of the truck were out for business, and such a little thing as inclement weather could not interfere with it. Chairman Wolf opened the proceedings by explaining the object of the club in sending out the truck, and then introduced Joseph Dana Miller, of the Standard club of Jersey City. Mr. Miller made a very temperate address during which he pointed out the injustice of allowing a man or any set of men to so hold natural opportunities as to prevent other people from using them without paying for them. Morris Van Veen showed how the present system of taxation burdened labor, and he pointed out how it could be changed to the advantage of all labor. Joseph Silbernuk said he had lived in Russia and Germany; now he was a citizen of the United States. So far as he had seen, the condition of labor in all countries was the same. A change could be brought about under the single tax. At the conclusion of Mr. Silbernuk's remarks the truck moved away and members of the club distributed single tax literature among the crowd.

Thirteenth street, east of Avenue A, was the second station. A large crowd soon gathered; but in it were a number of men who did their best to annoy the speakers. Mr. Wolf made a short opening speech, and then introduced E. W. Dutton of Binghamton, who is a delegate to the Cigarmakers' international convention now in session at Tammany hall. He made a good speech, but was interrupted so much that many of his points were lost. Wm. McCabe, followed, and after a time succeeded in inducing the disturbers to listen to him. William Breunig was the last speaker. After the truck had moved away the crowd went for the few men who had interrupted the proceeding; and it is likely that when the truck visits this section again there will be no interruptions. On the whole, the speaking at this point had a good effect.

The truck went to Avenue Band Thirteenth street, but the weather had become so cold and the evening so far advanced that the committee decided not to hold a meeting, and all went back to the club rooms well satisfied with the night's work.

The cart-tail committee met on Sunday afternoon and decided that it was necessary to keep a truck for at least a month in the district visited on the previous evenings. They saw that the single tax had many friends and also many opponents there. The district is known as Mackerelville, and is probably one of the most poverty stricken sections of New York. The committee will have two trucks to send out next Saturday evening, if enough friends will appear to speak from them.

The committee desire to carry on the cart-tail campaign without calling on the club for funds, and they ask all friends interested to assist the campaign with their voice and contributions.

On October 16 the Manhattan single tax club will be a year old. It is probable that at the next meeting steps will be taken looking to the proper celebration of the day.

During last week a considerable number of out-of-town friends visited the rooms of the club at 36 Clinton place, and were made welcome.

An Interesting Announcement.

JAMAICA PLAIN, Boston, Sept. 21.—At the request of Mr. Jas. A. Herne, the well-known author of the play "Drifting Apart," I write to announce that he is prepared to read my story, "Under the lion's paw," for any single tax league situated in any city where he spends Sunday. He will be in Buffalo, Cincinnati and Philadelphia during the next three weeks and would suggest that single tax friends get into communication with him at once. He will be in Cincinnati the 30th of September. I don't know of a man I would rather have read my story and it gives me great pleasure to make this announcement. Mr. Herne is more than ready to work, and being a thinker as well as reader will doubtless make my little story merely a preface to a rousing speech. As for myself, I am ready to read or speak whenever other engagements will allow.

FRANKLIN GARLAND.

Activity in Bath-on-the-Hudson.

BATH-ON-THE-HUDSON, N. Y., Sept. 18, 1889. My letter in the Troy Observer has brought forth a good reply from Mr. N. S. Spalding of Schoharie Landing Rensselaer Co. N. Y. He was the delegate of the Farmer's Union to the Rochester convention on July 3. He says in his reply he is seeking information, and if the single tax will do what he desires he will be for it. I wrote an answer to the Observer Monday evening and doubtless a series of letters between us will be the result. During the past few weeks we have given the

floor to the nationalists and socialists at our meetings and they have had ample opportunities to air their views. I prepared an answer and read it to the club, but have not yet heard a word in reply. I have also read a series of papers to the club on the Class Legislation of the Past which were well received.

MATTHEW KIRSCH.

From S. M. Burroughs.

S. M. Burroughs, writing from the Phoenix mills, Dartford, England, under date of September 12, says:

There were some slight errors in Mr. George's article on the opening of the Phoenix mills.

All employees have a share of the bonus in proportion to wages, who have been with us six months (instead of two years, as you have it).

The profits arising from sales of tickets at Henry George's lecture in Dartford instead of being put into the treasury of the liberal party, are to be used for the establishment of a single tax association, which will comprise persons of all parties.

We have tried the shares system and like it, as also do our employees. We now begin at eight and close at five, but it is proposed to start at seven and close at four.

The dock strike will, I think, do much good. The workmen will have greater confidence in their power and cultivate a more thoughtful independence. They have commenced in earnest to think on social questions, and will not stop until they discover what it is that tends to keep wages down and men out of employment.

They will probably soon see that strikes have but a temporary benefit; that they do not give employment to thousands of willing and able workers who can find neither an employer nor an opportunity of employing themselves, and that the true and permanent remedy for the poverty of the workers is to remove the taxation from their industry and make opportunities for labor equal to all by thoroughly taxing land values and thus depriving land owners of their power of levying tribute for the common property.

The good cause is booming along here and going to win. It's only a matter of time, a question of the growth of intelligence and independent thought. The arguments for the single tax are everywhere found unanswerable, and the present system of taxing and impoverishing industry for the benefit of idleness is so indefensible that it only needs to be attacked.

Among the Cherokee Indians.

VINITA, Ind. Ter.—I am glad to see by the last STANDARD that Mr. Joel B. Mayes, our chief, has been in correspondence with Mr. Wolf of the Manhattan single tax club. I have just received a letter from the chief asking me to come down to his place of residence, thirty-five miles from here, and I shall be apt to give him the details of the single tax doctrine when I get through with other business. The editor of the Cherokee Advocate, Mr. W. P. Boudinot, (brother of the celebrated Col. Boudinot) has become converted to the single tax. There is a great deal of feeling in the territory on the land question, because the interior department is now trying to force our people into measures that will virtually destroy them if they submit. The department is ignoring the decision of the supreme court in regard to citizenship and other points.

THOMAS HOWIE.

To I. J. B., of Yonkers.

YONKERS, N. Y., Sept. 23.—A communication appeared in the last issue of THE STANDARD from I. J. B., of Yonkers, entitled "Free Trade in Ribbons." He wishes to procure the book containing the controversy between Henry George and the duke of Argyll, and also the book containing the letters between Mr. Hewitt and Mr. George in the mayoralty campaign. If I. J. B. will call at 51 Herriot street, I will be only too happy to supply him with single tax literature not only for himself, but for distribution, as we have a large stock on hand, and would like to have them put to good use. We will also have within a few weeks a flourishing single tax club, and would be happy to have I. J. B. a member of the same.

JOSEPH SUTHERLAND,

51 Herriot street.

To New Brighton's Single Taxers.

NEW BRIGHTON, Staten Island, Sept. 23.—The members of the Richmond county single tax club are requested to attend a meeting of the organization to be held at the residence of the undersigned, No. 1 Carroll place, New Brighton, S. I. It is proposed to resume the regular meetings, and to endeavor to secure a room in a good location, and hold frequent discussions on economic questions and to carry on general propaganda work. And while this call should be responded to by every single tax man on the island, any one that wants to play the role of "Nicomachus" should assist the workers by donations to the club's funds.

JOHN S. COGAN, Pres.

Single Taxers in Yonkers.

YONKERS, N. Y., Sept. 23.—Any person in Yonkers in favor of joining a single tax club might communicate with J. A. FOSDYTH, 100 Ashburton avenue (shoe store).

THE IOWA DEMOCRACY.

It Has Evidently Lost Its Love for the Protective Tariff—Some Single Tax Men in the Convention Make Their Influence Felt.

BURLINGTON, Iowa, Sept. 20.—I submit herewith a copy of a portion of the platform adopted by the democratic party of Iowa at its convention held at Sioux City on the 18th inst.:

The democracy of Iowa in convention assembled indorse the declaration of principles made by the national democracy at St. Louis in 1888.

We renew our opposition to the unconstitutional and unjust policy of high tariff taxation, which robs the many to enrich the few, makes the producer the slave of the manufacturer; lays its heaviest burdens on the farmer, the mechanic, and the day laborer; gives no return through any channel to those whom it daily robs, and fosters trusts, which are the legitimate results of our present tariff system, and we denounce the fallacy of the republican state platform of Iowa, that a high tariff is or can be any protection to the farmer.

Resolved, That we favor the Australian system of voting, to the end that we may have an honest ballot, uncontrolled by bribery or employers.

Resolved, That we recognize the doctrine of state and national control of railroads and other corporations, and approve the same as an efficient means of protecting the people against unjust discrimination and oppressive rates.

The tariff plank has the true ring and I think will compare favorably with the platform of the Pennsylvania democrats, published in THE STANDARD of last week.

Three single tax men with little influence, but plenty of enthusiasm, by persistent effort gained two very important points in the convention, and their success will, I trust, spur others on to forcing the democratic party into an advanced position upon tariff and ballot reform.

We hoped to get one of our number on the committee on resolutions, that he might there advocate the Australian ballot, but failing in this we were compelled to resort to other means to gain a hearing. We asked permission to address the committee on resolutions but were refused. We then took advantage of temporary adjournment of the committee and "button holed" several members. We were finally promised that any resolution that we would submit in writing to a certain member of the committee would be read by him and explained to the full committee.

We then wrote out a request that when tariff reform was referred to in the platform it should be termed "tariff tax reform" as in the Pennsylvania platform. "High tariff taxation" as it appears in the resolution shows that our suggestion was not made in vain.

The resolution favoring the Australian system of voting is substantially as it left our hands.

Both of these resolutions were received with enthusiasm by the convention, the chairman being compelled to wait for the cheering to subside before proceeding.

F. W. Rockwell of Farmington and Dr. Pitcher of Mt. Pleasant are the two delegates who have seen the cat, and both worked faithfully for the adoption of the above resolutions.

If single tax men will keep persistently at work, it will not be long before the land tax doctrine will begin to creep into party platforms, for it must now follow free trade as surely as night follows day.

FRANK S. CHURCHILL.

Does Plenty of Good Work.

RED BUD, Ill.—I continue to do a big amount of educating by discussing the single tax at my store and throwing out a hint in almost every letter I write. Mayer Brothers' Druggist, a monthly journal from St. Louis, published two single tax articles not long ago and seems willing to publish more of the same kind of matter. There are many people in my neighborhood now who advocate the single tax. I am trying to get up a club of subscribers for THE STANDARD. You will probably hear from me in a few months when our farming community will have time to read. The question is now up in every debating club in this neighborhood. I have already obtained a great many signatures to the petition to congress. I find it gives a splendid opportunity to draw people's attention to the single tax idea. I seldom lose a chance of approaching all who enter my store, so that often on retiring at night I am hoarse from talking. My ability to talk has increased a good deal through steady practice.

LOUIS LESAULNIER.

A Good Suggestion.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, Mass.—I have become much interested in your efforts to abolish taxes on industry, and think the plan a thoroughly practical one. I think a large majority could be easily made to understand the injustice of the present plan of taxing everything if some method could be devised to bring the question to their attention. Now if a considerable number of the subscribers to your paper would, after reading it, put the paper in a wrapper and mail it to some person whom they think will read it, they could do considerable. It would be better if they would mark with pen or pencil some article that would be likely to interest the

receiver. The expense would be small, and they could mail the paper to anyone from the president down and not disclose their identity if they did not want to.

It seems to me that this would be one good way to bring this matter before a large number of people who have never heard of the single tax, or if they have, have never understood your position.

B. F. DE COSTA.

TARIFF NOTES.

The next fight must be for "Protection for the manufacturer" by one party, against "Free trade for the consumer" by the other. There will be no middle ground, no side issue, no man. It will be the broad principles of the constitution of this great free country, against the principle of enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. The democratic party cannot dodge the issue. They must meet it fairly and squarely, and, fighting manfully for the right, leave the issue in the hands of the people.—[Mobile Bulletin.

What is now sought from the tariff is no longer protection at all, but privilege.—[New York Times.

The people of England to day are able to buy sugar at four or five cents a pound, under their revenue system, while here in America, under our great protective tariff, the chief result of which is to foster trusts, we have to pay nine, ten and eleven cents. This is the way that poor people are benefited by protection.—[Norfolk, Va., Landmark.

It is painful to note the insane devotion of the glass blowers to the tariff humbug. Will they ever learn that their only hope is in freedom? That in the war with capital and labor, the glass blower must be the heavier loser is clear. Strikes are virtually battles between capital and labor. When labor "wins," the victory is nominal, the loss is always real and often great. Landless labor, skilled or unskilled, will ever fail to secure justice from government fostered monopoly. In spite of strikes, boycotts and similar restrictions on the part of organized labor, wages will—must fall—so long as the supply, and consequently the competition, of laborers increases.—[Philadelphia Justice.

When the question of the tariff is under discussion, the protection advocates declare that America has no need of foreign commerce and that the home market is all-sufficient for the manufacturers of so great a nation; but when the question of subsidies to steamship lines comes up, it suddenly occurs to these same protection advocates that an extension of our foreign commerce and an increased ocean traffic are desiderata in the development of American economies. It appears to make some difference to the protection advocate on what foot his corn troubles him.—[Binghamton Leader.

The manufacturers are gradually joining the tariff reform procession, and are awaking to the advantage of untaxed raw material. The heaven is working and the banner of commercial freedom is moving onward. It is only a question now of how long the farmers will contend for the right of selling cheap and buying dear.—[Kansas City Star.

Last fall we believed that protection "protected." This fall we know it does. But what does it protect? Well, it protects money, pork, groceries and fuel. It protects them so well that we can't get them. Free trade is a highway to get back to our farms and shops and stores. It is an escape from bondage.—[Dayton Workman.

The woolen manufacturers, who believe that the best way out of the troubles which have caused the failure of so many of their mills is bigger duties on woolen goods and not free wool, exhibit a degree of mental imbecility that qualifies them to sit on the Cronin jury.—[Chicago Herald.

The latest consolation which the high tariff organs have to offer for the decay of the manufacturing industries of New England is that it doesn't make much difference, inasmuch as a corresponding amount of New England capital has been invested in the west and south. This, however, will hardly give much comfort to the inhabitants of abandoned factory villages, and the workmen who have been compelled to give up their homes for lack of employment.—[Providence Journal (Ind.).

Every day make the demands of the New Englanders more alarming and unbearable. If they were only mugwumps, or free traders, or members of the Cobden club! But the villains are nearly all republicans, and all adhere to "the principle of protection" and voted for Harrison, and unblushingly admit that their object in smelting iron and manufacturing machinery is to make money, well knowing that the Pennsylvanians manufacture for the good of their fellowmen. The feelings of a Pennsylvanian altruist who supports the tariff for the general welfare only, and in order that he may pay high wages, when he hears these heartless, selfish Yankees asking to have the tariff revised to enable them to carry on business at a profit, can be more readily imagined than described.—[N. Y. Evening Post.

The protest of the Ohio wool growers against the "widespread and thoroughly organized movement in New England for free raw material" shows that the optimistic philosophy of the American Economist and the petty protection organs that follow it is not accepted by the Ohio sheep owners. . . . What the Ohio wool men fail to apprehend, however, is that the disease from which New England manufacturers suffer is not one that can be cured by increased duties. The only thing that will help them is freedom for raw materials, and true to their own interests, that is what they demand. As the wool growers are actuated—and openly avow that they are—by self interest in their demand, they cannot logically blame the New England manufacturers.—[Detroit Free Press.

THE CIGARMAKERS' CONVENTION.

Evidences of New Ideas Supplanting Trade Unionism—The Single Tax Idea Gaining a Foothold.

The cigarmakers' international convention, now being held in this city, is a rather important one, as showing the tendency of advanced thought to inject new ideas into trades unionism. Among almost the first resolutions presented was one from a socialist delegate to reverse the preamble to the constitution so as to contain one or two socialistic principles. It was defeated, but only after a long debate in which conservative trades unionists, single taxers and socialists took part. The conservatives carried the vote, but the radicals carried their point, which was to bring about discussion on other than merely trades union lines.

Though the officials of the convention use their best endeavors to keep that body on the narrow line, still in nearly every important question the larger labor problems wedge their way in. The other day a resolution was up which fixed the minimum rate for making cigars in this country at six dollars per thousand. The effect of the resolution, if adopted, would be to refuse to allow the use of the cigarmakers' label, even to members of the union, in sections where a lower price prevailed. A delegate from Pennsylvania asked that the portion of that state which he represented be exempted from the provisions of the resolution, because its effect would be to hamper the industry there. He said that the larger number of cigarmakers in his district made cigars for \$4.50 per thousand, and that their bosses would continue paying that price only on condition that they would be allowed to use the label. As against this effect, other delegates showed that if the Pennsylvania district were allowed to use the label on cigars made at less than six dollars per thousand, the industry would suffer elsewhere, for bosses who did pay six dollars would have to compete in the open market with those Pennsylvania bosses who paid the lower price. There the delegates were, between the horns of a dilemma—they didn't want to injure the industry in Pennsylvania and they didn't want to injure it anywhere else. But some portion of the trade had to suffer for the good of the rest, and finally the highly-protected Keystone state was chosen and the resolution was carried. It was suggested by several delegates that there was a plan by which the matter could one day be settled with advantage to all concerned, but immediately the cry of "single tax and Georgeism" was raised which settled that.

However, the single tax men in the convention, though they are few, are active. Among the resolutions offered and referred to the committee is one indorsing the single tax. Its opponents hope that it will not come before the convention, but their hope will not be realized, for one member of that committee is an out-and-out single taxer; and if the majority try to suppress the resolution he will bring in a minority report. That will bring the resolution squarely before the convention, and then its friends will see to it that before the debate is ended the convention will be under no misapprehension as to what is meant by the single tax. Of course, with the leaders of the convention in opposition, there is no hope of carrying the resolution through, but as a stenographic report is being taken of the entire proceedings, and as the proceedings are to be printed for circulation among the entire membership, its friends hope by that means, and the debate, to diffuse a wide knowledge of the single tax among the international cigarmakers.

Among those who will oppose the resolution is the president of the international union, Adolph Strasser. His opposition comes not so much because he is against the single tax idea, but because he is opposed to trades unions considering any questions beyond organization and wages. Mr. Strasser is, without doubt, the best executive officer the cigarmakers' union has ever had, and his integrity has never been questioned. He has no politics, evidently no ambition beyond seeing his trade and all trades organized into a mass sufficiently compact to resist all opposition. Seven or eight years ago, when the land reform sentiment began to crop out, in New York city, he was a violent opponent, attacking it on the platform and in the cigarmakers' official journal.

At the Buffalo session of his union he warned the delegates of the evils which would result to cigarmakers from the adoption of such an idea; but the only effect his address had was to turn the thoughts of the delegates toward the land question, which some of them are yet studying. The convention held its session two years ago (1887) at Binghamton; and Strasser soon learned that the idea against which he had inveighed years before had taken root in the minds of a number of cigarmakers; so he took an opportunity to again attack it. This time it resulted in a controversy on the floor of the convention. When he returned to Buffalo he found awaiting him a number of letters from cigarmakers protesting against his attacks on the new doctrine. These letters he published in the Journal, remarking editorially that "comment on them was unnecessary." But it seems that his opinion was not shared by all his readers, for during the coming month letters came in on him thick and fast, many of

which he printed, with remarks of his own, in which he regretted that cigarmakers had been carried away with enthusiasm over "Henry George's patent medicine remedies." Again he was deluged with letters, some of which he printed, saying that he would "show up the fallacies contained in Henry George's theories in succeeding numbers of the Journal." Journals have come and Journals have gone, but Strasser has not yet fulfilled his word. Meantime, to use the words of one of the delegates to the New York convention, "the number of believers in Henry George's 'fallacies' is growing."

"Protection Fills the Dinner Pail."

Last year a mighty hubbub was raised throughout the land, Blare of trumpets, glare of torches, with processions gay and grand. Colors flying, people shouting, made nights merry with their glee, While candidates went canvassing for the ballots of the free.

"Give your voices, your sweet voices" oh, ye brawny ones of toil, And we'll protect your interests and your industries meanwhile.

Columbia's sons shall never sink to the "pauper slave's" condition, For with protection we'll keep out all "foreign competition."

Work shall flourish with high wages, so ran the specious tale,

'Tis "Protection (for your labor, that) fills the dinner pail."

Election came, the votes were cast, the victory was won,

The protection party triumphed; but what since hath been done?

With factories closed, and mines shut down, ere yet the year is past,

To the "pauper slave's" condition the laborer is sinking fast.

'Tis true, protection flourisheth; but whom does it protect?

Has it given the poor those comforts they were promised, and expect?

No, 'tis for the royal incomes of such men as Carnegie—

Who, while feasting all the dukes and lords from London to Dundee,

Has reduced his workmen's wages, and their wives and children wail

As "Protection (rather empties, than) fills dinner pail."

Ay, children wail, and women weep, as starvation through the land

Sweeps them to death, or is but stayed by charity's kind hand,

And Labor, from his work shut out, stares on in grim dejection—

Unwilling stands, with idle hands, the victim of Protection.

Once to the world, the exultant boast, did proud Columbia fling:

"My daughters are all princesses, and every son's a king!"

And then, she stood with outstretched hands, inviting to her shore

All those who would, to share her wealth—but she does that no more.

Her hands are by Protection tied, no more her starry banner

Flings o'er the seas defiance proud, in its old flaunting manner;

No, over it, as over her, has the serpent drawn its trail,

And Protection has but emptied, not filled the dinner pail!

Jersey City. SUSANNA MACGREGOR.

Much Good that Might be Done.

BRISTOL, S. D., Sept. 14.—I obtained, while in Minneapolis, a list of all papers published in South Dakota in 1888, to which I have added some started this year. As soon as contributions enable me to I shall test all of them and find out which we can get articles into. I am sure many of them need only to be asked to open their columns to us. A few dollars a month would enable me to work all such "strings," but I have received from South Dakota men less than \$10 since we organized, and nothing for a month past. I have no income of my own to give, I give my time and talents—all I have. I wish the South Dakota men could realize the effect a little spent in this way would have. Eighteen men have contributed all I have received so far. Four men have given almost half of it. It all goes for stationery and postage—every cent. W. E. BROKAW.

They Find It Necessary to Do Something.

The democratic party of Codington county, South Dakota, feel the necessity of paying some attention to the land question and have inserted this plank in their platform: "We ask that every foot of public land be reserved for actual settlers, and the taxation of all lands held for speculative purposes, to their full value."

To tie Among the Frenks.

Mr. M. P. Cross of Chicago requests us to publish the following advertisement which speaks for itself:

WANTED—The names of persons who have turned protectionists from free traders since the election last fall. Such persons are desired for a museum.

No He It.

Cleveland Leader. We warn the New England woolen manufacturers that there are a thousand wool growers for every wool manufacturer, and if the latter get free wool the tariff on woollens will quickly follow.

LAND REFORM IN WALES.

The Single Tax and Kindred Questions Very Freely Discussed—A Change to Come Soon.

POOLE, Dorsetshire, Sept. 6.—I have learned that in many districts in North Wales the land question is agitating many minds. It is freely discussed in connection with the question of disestablishing the church of England.

I was greatly surprised to find that the Welsh population is wholly radical and more in sympathy with the single tax idea than the people in any portion of England or America. I recently spent many hours speaking on the question, and I know of no subject that so touches the heart and spirit of the people.

I received a letter from a friend in Wales yesterday. He gave an account of a live scene he had the pleasure and displeasure to witness a few days ago on a farm close to his home. An auctioneer was attempting to sell a portion of the farmer's stock to recover the amount due in tithe. A riot ensued, and the auctioneer fled from the furious, ill-used farmers. For a time he found a hiding place in the mountains, but he was again found and brought to the town of Holywell by a hissing crowd. Thus the excitement keeps up.

It is a blessing that the Tories failed to carry their last measure on the tithe in Wales, for the longer the correction of that evil is deferred the more complete and thorough the revolution. Before Welsh farmers would pay tithe like common debt, in a country court, the English would have to compel them with the sword; and with the aid of Ireland, that would be no small matter. We hate to speak of riots and revolutions, but what will suffering men do when patience fails.

G. R. GRIFFITH.

Recruit Subscriptions to "The Standard."

NEW ORLEANS, La., September, 1889.—Sir—Let us act upon the hint given by Mr. George in his article of Sept. 14, and try to get THE STANDARD into more hands. Of all the methods and plans suggested to get our ideas into the heads of others, none can do it so well as the distribution of THE STANDARD.

The fact is, most of us are asleep and the petition having only 65,000 signatures proves it. I think I have influenced four to sign. I am ashamed of myself but, what is it, I can't talk. But think of it, friends, how little really we have to do; everything is done for us. Think of the difficulties the abolitionists overcame! We can now purchase a copy of "Progress and Poverty," for a few cents and if we would only make up our minds to study it thoroughly, there is not an objection that can be raised by an intelligent man that cannot be answered effectively. Then we should always have a copy of "The Land Question," and "The Reduction to Iniquity" by us to loan to the man after he has read six issues of THE STANDARD. And this brings me to what I started to say.

We have now, say, 200 single tax organizations throughout the country, with perhaps an average membership of thirty, giving a total membership of six thousand. Now just think of the satisfaction it would give us if we knew that six thousand extra copies of THE STANDARD were to go out for a term of six weeks. This we could do if each member simply contributed twenty-five cents. And why not start the ball, you, or I, or any of us? We needn't wait for the secretary of the club. Do it at the next meeting. Just stick your own quarter in your hat, and go round the room requesting each man contributing to give the name and address of such person to whom he would like THE STANDARD sent. THE STANDARD might have printed and pasted on each copy that went out in this way a small slip saying that the paper had been subscribed for by a friend for six weeks.

Yours in the cause of the S. T.

E. MOORE, 128 Union St.,

Member of the Louisiana Pioneer S. T. club.

Single Tax in Illinois.

MURRAYVILLE, Ill., Sept. 16.—I have never seen any account in THE STANDARD of the hearing the senate committee on revenue gave the single tax men on the 20th of March last. Being one of those who appeared and spoke before the committee, I have left it to others to make report; but as no one has done so, I will act upon the old adage of "better late than never."

Burke's resolution for a constitutional amendment adopting the single tax was before the committee, which had given notice of its willingness to hear the advocates of the system of taxation embodied in the resolution on the afternoon of that day.

Your writer first took the floor to state fundamental principles, and was closely questioned by members of the committee. He was followed by John Z. White, secretary of Tariff reform league of Chicago, who was even more closely interrogated, but who met every inquiry so promptly and with such facts and figures, that the committee could not fail to have been favorably impressed with the main proposition. He was followed by Professor Richard Welton of Springfield, a ready, fluent and persuasive speaker, who thoroughly understood his subject.

At the request of other senators, Senator Bogardus recalled one of the speakers to ask further questions, saying that "they had heard something new to them and that they desired to learn more—all they could." The hour being late the committee

adjourned without disposing of the matter. Afterward the resolution was reported back to the senate, but with what recommendation I never learned. The senate tabled the resolution, and it was not called again during the session. It afforded an opportunity, which was improved, of sowing seed in ground where it could not all be lost. Much interest was manifested, and the leading papers favorably noticed the matter.

Here in central Illinois few editors refuse to print single tax articles, though they are chary about committing their papers to it. The heaven is working, converts increasing, and if either of the old parties could be induced to advocate this method of abolishing industrial slavery, victory, final and complete, would soon be ours. All through those sections where the single tax has been fairly brought to the public notice, ardent advocates are coming out, while many quietly approve of the system. The day of liberty is dawning.

WM. CAMM.

The Religion in the Movement.

PARIS, France, Sept. 1.

Editor STANDARD: Permit me to thank you for the splendid sermon by Henry George on "Thy Kingdom Come," which THE STANDARD published June 22. There was enough religious fervor in it to warm the pages of THE STANDARD for the whole year. Nothing that I have read in many a day has been so well fitted to awaken the aspirations of humanity for a higher or holier life. No minister of Christ's gospel has ever told a sweeter story than the one THE STANDARD poured into so many hearts. The recollection of my feelings when I finished reading it will linger about my work for many a day to nerve my arm and strengthen my purpose. Such a presentation of Christ's real attitude toward humanity, when placed side by side with reports of what all earnest souls are doing for the cause the world over—some in political fields, some in the world of literature, and others working anywhere for the right—such a presentation shows us how closely religious feeling can to day be associated with the work of facts and figures. This beautiful sermon I have used with great effect in showing some friends of the cause here the spiritual import of this new crusade. Maybe in practical America such a lofty view of the single tax mission may fall on unheeding ears, but for the good it did me and my friends over here, I am constrained to write these few words of thanks.

TRAVELER.

A Proposed School for the Scientific Teaching of Philosophy.

It is proposed to found in one of the large cities of the United States a school for the scientific teaching of philosophy, ethics, and the history of religion—a school which, while it shall be pledged to no particular philosophy and committed to no particular views of religion, will maintain as its cardinal principle that all the great systems, especially of modern thought, shall be represented, fully and fairly, not by their enemies, but, as far as possible, by their friends. The philosophy of Kant will be taught by a Kantian, that of Spencer by a Spencerian. The school will not teach dogmatically any set of convictions, but will educate the students so broadly and thoroughly that they may freely arrive at well matured convictions of their own. The school will be divided into three departments: 1. The department of philosophy, which will include lectures upon such subjects as history of philosophy, logic, psychology, and the theories of ethics. 2. The department of the science of religion, in which lectures will be given on the history of the great religions, understanding thereby the religions of the Chinese, Egyptians, Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Romans and Mohammedans, as well as Christianity and Judaism. Classes will be formed for the reading of the sacred books of the ancients, the Bible, Koran, Vedas, etc., in the original. 3. The department of applied ethics, which will embrace education, economics and practical reform. Prof. Thomas Davidson, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, Felix Adler, O. B. Frothingham and Henry M. Simmons are among the members of the committee.

The Census Petition.

The democratic committee of the city of Lynn, Mass., has adopted the petition addressed to the superintendent of the census and the Secretary of the Interior requesting that in taking the next census data shall be collected to show "what percentage of the people of this country occupy their own homes and farms, and what percentage are tenants, and of those who occupy their own homes and farms what percentage have their property free from debt, whether in the form of mortgages or ground rent; and of the homes and farms under mortgage and ground rent, what percentage of the value is under mortgage or held subject to ground rent."

A Meeting to be Held at Roxbury.

ROXBURY, Mass.—At the weekly meeting of the Roxbury single tax club on Thursday, September 19, arrangements were completed for a public meeting at Forester's hall, 2373 Washington street, on Monday evening, September 30, at eight o'clock. Prof. Hamlin Garland, Rev. John A. Hayes and E. M. White will address the meeting. Posters have been printed and will be posted throughout Roxbury.

H. C. BOWMAN, Sec.

TAXATION IN BALTIMORE.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE LANDLORDS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, BY WILLIAM J. OGDEN.

He Proposes to Raise a Sum Equal to the Present City Revenue from Land Alone, by Taxing It at the Rate of Fifty per Cent per Front Foot.

Mr. Wm. J. Ogden, who was a candidate for mayor of Baltimore city on a labor ticket a few years ago, and who is now an active member of the Crescent democratic society, delivered an address before the Landlords' protective association of Baltimore on Sept. 10. This was one of the series before this association, some of which have been of great interest. Following is a condensed report of Mr. Ogden's remarks:

Taxation is regarded by many as a necessary evil; as a burden grievous to be borne; and it has been the problem of the ages to devise a perfect system of taxation. I will not review the failures of the past; enough to know that the experience of centuries has no truer exemplification than the system under which we groan. What to tax, and how to tax it, is the riddle the sphinx of ages puts to society, and too often a bad guess means social death. What to tax and how to tax it is the question of the hour. If the existing system is unjust, you do not want more of it. You want a just system. If the present taxation is burdensome, you want to change it for a system that will lift up, not bear down. At the same time you want something strictly practical and clearly constitutional.

In other words, you want a change, but you don't want a revolution. The system that I propose is a single tax on the land of Baltimore, based on assessment of the separate lots without including the improvements thereon, the tax to be paid by the proper persons as under existing laws and collected by the present machinery, which may however, be greatly reduced.

HALF THE CITY UNIMPROVED.

In the last annual message of the mayor he states: "There are over 360 miles of paved streets in the city, exclusive of those in the newly acquired wards." To get an approximate estimate of the frontage of lots in the city (not including the new wards), I personally have measured the length of every street and alley, as shown on Ripley's map of Baltimore, 1888.

The total gross length of the streets and alleys amount to 3,178,100 feet. As the Mayor states the length of paved streets to be over 360 miles, or 1,900,800 feet, it would seem to show a gross length of 277,300 feet of streets that, while appearing on the map, are really not yet opened through certain fields, and this area amounts to more than one-tenth of the old city.

To arrive at the total frontage of building lots in the city before the extension, I first measured the length of the various streets, and at the same time counted the number of street crossings and alley crossings; multiplying the street crossings by sixty-six feet and the alleys by twenty, and found the following result:

	Feet.
Gross length of streets and alleys	3,178,100
Less 5,423 street crossings and 1,807 alley crossings	395,312
Net length of streets and alleys	1,682,788
	2
Gross frontage on two sides	3,565,576
Less frontage of public parks and public buildings	75,000
Net private frontage	3,490,576
Deduct 33½ per cent for extra corner lots	1,163,525
Net taxable frontage	2,327,051

From statement L, page 34, in the last report of the water department, and assisted by a printed tax bill, I estimate the total frontage of 70,466 houses and warehouses using city water to be about 1,049,255 feet. After making liberal allowances for houses not using city water, it would seem to show that more than half of the old city is not yet improved with buildings.

About one-tenth of the whole area of the city has been shown not to be improved with paved streets, but while this small portion may not have any buildings on it, there yet remains two-fifths of the lots facing streets well paved, that are not yet built upon. These vacant lots are distributed all over the city, and vary in value according to location. All of the land of the city not public property has been assessed, and is taxed to-day along with other classes of property.

A TAX ON THE FRONT FOOT.

I beg your attention while I present my reasons for proposing a method of taxation that shall be based upon the market value of this frontage alone. It has been considered constitutional to lay a charge on the frontage of land, whether improved or unimproved, to pay a fixed part of the expense of paving streets. I refer to this custom not because I consider it a just tax, but because it serves as a precedent to the system I do propose. I maintain that if a tax per linear foot fronting on the street paved, is in harmony with the spirit and letter of the

constitution, much more will be a tax to be levied on the frontage, but modified by a consideration of the value of the land to be benefited by the improvement.

It costs no more per front foot to pave the great thoroughfares than the streets less used, but the frontage on the thoroughfare should be taxed more than the frontage on the less traveled streets, because the minor streets are but tributaries to the great business centers. The user of the natural opportunity called land on the thoroughfares should pay a part of the tax on all the streets that lead to his door. Likewise the legislative interpreters of the constitution have deemed it within the letter and the spirit of that instrument that the burden of taxation for the supply of water to the city of Baltimore, should be laid according to the front feet of the houses using it.

While I see that this method is open to a stronger objection than that of the paving of streets, it being unequal in the distribution of the tax and by no means falling upon the person according to the worth in real and personal property, still I am glad to point to it as another precedent of the system I do propose, and which is not chargeable with the constitutional objection I have mentioned.

COST OF THE WATER SUPPLY.

The expense of the water department for 1888, included the use of \$400,000 of the water stock, making the disbursements for that year over a million dollars. I have found the total annual taxation of the people of Baltimore, for city and state, to amount to about \$7,000,000, but this does not include the repayment of the principal of the water loan. It is being used to build reservoirs, to lay distributing mains, etc. Is this expense for present purposes? It is a necessary expense. The future needs of population require the outlay.

But should it be borne exclusively by the present users of water? Should it not be shared by the present owners of property, for whom it is provided, and who realize even now the increase in the value of their lots owing to this great improvement of water supply? Billions of gallons of water stored up at great expense are allowed to waste over the dams, while the land speculator, for whose use it is required, is putting up the price of his lots.

You are taxing merchants for the privilege of doing business, why not tax the owners of lots, improved or unimproved, for the privilege of using city water? What does a vacant lot eat and drink, that makes it grow from nothing in value to hundreds and thousands of dollars? It does not work. Its thankless face gazes at the genial sky, the pleasant rain falls on it, as well as on the fruitful field, but it bears nothing but filth and pestilence, and yet it grows. The owner does nothing to it; he leaves it alone.

LICENSE TAXES.

Says the mayor in his message of 1889: "The revenue from licenses for the privilege of doing business in the city of Baltimore, belongs to the city, in return for which Baltimore gives police protection and those costly advantages of municipal government which it pays for." Here is a tax levied, not on the real and personal property direct, but rather a charge for a privilege; and it is not laid on according to the income of the business, but is a fixed charge for the privilege of doing business in Baltimore. The system of fining a man for doing business in Baltimore—according to the character of the business, without regard to extent—is unequal and clearly unconstitutional.

A tax on the frontage occupied by stores would be more nearly equal in its bearing on business men. The location most desirable for a certain business would command a higher tax because the land would be more valuable. Such localities would be used only by firms doing business enough to justify the rent, and so the wealthy merchant would pay more taxes than the poor tradesman.

HOUSES DECLINE IN VALUE; LAND RISES.

Houses have generally depreciated in selling value about thirty or forty per cent in the past fourteen years, yet the assessment remains about the same, because the ground rent has increased in capitalized value, owing to the reduction in the rate of interest, brought about by the difficulty of capital to find paying investments in productive employments, such as manufacturing, building and trade.

Mr. Henry N. Bankard, in his admirable address before this association, termed this phenomenon of depreciating house bearing all the tax—"cannibalism." The owner of the land was shown to be devouring the owner of the house. It would be useless to illustrate further the effect of the present conditions upon the owners of houses. When will this decline stop? What is the end of a system that discourages those who produce all wealth, and offers security only to those who own the earth? But, before a comprehensive view of the predicament of the owners of houses in Baltimore can be had, a few words in reference to the newly acquired territory, the condition of its annexation, and the relative effect upon property owners in the old city are necessary.

After insuring immunity from just taxation in common with other classes of property in the new wards until the year 1900, the act (under which these new districts became part of Baltimore) recites: "From and after the year 1900 the property, real and per-

sonal, in the territory so annexed shall be liable to taxation and assessment therefor, in the same manner and form as similar property within the present limits of said city may be liable; provided, however, that after the year 1900 the present Baltimore county rate of taxation shall not be increased for city purposes on any landed property within the said territory until avenues, streets or alleys shall have been opened and constructed through the same, nor until there shall be upon every block of ground so to be formed, at least six dwellings or storehouses ready for occupation."

So the unwary, busy workers who improve their valuable opportunities in a manner best according with duty and seeming necessity, will be left in the year of Our Lord, 1900; for they "shall be liable to taxation and assessment" the same as the owners of city property; but the wealthy idler who does not believe in the improvement business, except as it is performed by others to his advantage, will let his "blocks of ground so to be formed" stand vacant or only partially improved with not more than five houses, thus wasting the valuable opportunity that offers wealth to willing labor, growing more and more valuable as good streets, convenient markets, splendid water supply, efficient police and fire department, improved schools and all the desirable conveniences of a dense population, gather around his land and attach themselves to it.

Says the mayor: "By not embracing within our limits this territory and population. Baltimore was losing its rank among the chief cities of the country." This certainly is a strong sentiment, but I do not believe that a mere pleasing fancy was the actuating principle of so practical a man as our mayor. What will build a city? Can the legislature pass an act that will raise the rank of Baltimore? Cities rank according to the numbers, wealth and enterprise of their inhabitants. To extend the limits until they comprise a hundred little towns would largely increase the area, population and wealth of Baltimore, but it would not increase her enterprise and so would not raise her rank one button.

If we would raise the rank of our city we must add to its population by attraction, and not by removing imaginary lines of separation. How can we attract population? This is the question for the houseowners to answer.

THE ONLY WAY TO ATTRACT WEALTH.

How can we attract wealth producing labor and capital? By removing the restrictions that check the production of wealth. By offering labor and capital a city where rich natural opportunities are cheap and taxes low. The question is, shall the house owners and tenants of Baltimore encourage population, or vacant lot owners? Shall we develop the productive power of our land and people, or shall we, out of our poverty, rather pay a premium to idleness and maintain the "vacant lot industry" at the cost of depreciating capital and the enforced idleness of our labor? But what effect will the annexation, as it stands, have on the property within the old boundaries?

Consider the house owner, who, having invested his savings in a house, has seen it diminish in value under the condition before stated. Now, all those conditions are magnified and intensified. The advantages of city government are offered to districts that before were not desirable because of the uncertainty. Now all doubts are removed, and the offer of a low tax rate has stimulated building in the Belt. The price of land has advanced to meet this reduction in taxes, but this has also induced capital to create ground rents. So, blocks of new buildings are going up and population is—not increasing, but—moving out after cheaper houses, even though they are not as convenient to the center of the city.

Where will the owner of the leasehold be when his house will wait for a tenant at \$200, at \$184, at \$150, while the ground rent owner and the tax gatherer will not wait?

A gentleman well acquainted with the conditions remarked to me: "This thing can only end in the landowners acquiring possession of all the improvements, by the involuntary surrender of the unfortunate houseowner." One of the defenders of the present system suggests that the entire loss need not be borne by one, but that by frequent transfers of the house in the market, the total loss would be divided among several. So each one would give a small piece of his flesh to the owner of the ground rent, who would not be divided in his possession of the whole. No wonder it is called "cannibalism."

THE BEST TAX.

I have attempted to answer the question, What to tax and how to tax it, by proposing the single tax on the street frontage of property whether improved or unimproved, with the value of the ground alone as the basis.

I have pointed to the custom of raising part of the cost of paving streets by taxing frontage as a precedent.

I have shown the manner of raising the water revenue to be a tax on the frontage of improved property, and to that extent a precedent. I have shown the license of trades to rest upon a broader interpretation of the constitution than a mere following of the letter. I have shown the claim to constitutionality of a tax to be raised on the frontage of Baltimore, according to value, to be as clear as any of these methods now in operation, and by far nearer to conformity with the

spirit of the bill of rights, which breathes of liberty and justice first, and rather suggests than directs any special method.

I have shown that not only does the existing system violate the constitution, but it is against sound public policy, in that it enables one class to prey upon another class; and this natural condition is the more outrageous because the class injured are those persons whose labor and capital produce the wealth of all. The system I propose is not in any sense aimed at the property of any class. Though the workers have been robbed of their natural rights, though the value of privileges created by all have been appropriated by the few, still the system I propose would not lessen the natural opportunities of one of those who have profited by this wrong. It has been suggested that a special tax be laid on vacant land, to destroy speculation; I do not approve of such a tax. Tax vacant land according to its value, and tax improved land according to its value, but lay no special tax either on land or on improvements. We have a local law that exempts manufacturing plant from city taxation—a good law; but why not exempt labor and capital everywhere it may be employed, adding to the general wealth?

WHAT THIS SYSTEM WILL DO.

It remains for me to show the peculiar advantages of the tax I propose, and how it would be adjusted. A tax averaging three dollars per front foot on the net taxable frontage of Baltimore would raise about \$7,000,000 annually, which approximates the entire revenue of both city and state taxes, including all licenses, water rents and paving charges. This tax would fall on the market value of the frontage, in proportion. Supposing the average value of the ground of Baltimore to be about \$6 per front foot rental, or \$100 selling value, it would be easy to determine just how such a tax would fall on the owner of any house.

If his ground is worth \$100 per front foot, his tax would be \$3 per front foot; if it was worth \$150 per front foot the tax would be more, or \$4.50 per front foot. If it was worth \$250 his tax would be \$7.50, and if it was the most valuable land in Baltimore—as on Baltimore street, between Calvert and South, south side—and worth \$2,000 per front foot, the tax would be \$60 per front foot.

Again, if it was the least valuable land, on an unopened field, and worth on the market only \$10 per front foot, its tax would be thirty cents per foot of frontage on the street designed to be opened and placad through the field. Thus, it would easily adjust itself to all values of land. The assessors only need the official record of real estate transfers and the accurate plats that now describe minutely every foot of ground in Baltimore, in the tax collector's office.

No inquisition, no perjured statements, no chance to evade, no one could escape the tax; all would share in its payment.

From the millionaire on the most valuable corner, to the poor woman stitching a shirt in the garret of a tenement, the landowner would pay the collector the tax, and would collect it from his tenants as rental. The constitution would be obeyed, "Every person should pay taxes." This tax would fall upon every person with singular exactness, according to his worth in real and personal property. To-day, all do not pay taxes; but all use the ground.

EQUALIZE OPPORTUNITIES.

Tax opportunity, but do not tax the wealth produced; tax this frontage according to its respective value as land exclusive of improvements, and our streets will be lined with great business houses, such as Darby's and Abell's beautiful buildings, and others built, despite the fine imposed on every steel beam, every brick and every coat of paint. These buildings, which are without any value except that occasioned by human labor, let them alone; they don't belong to us; we as a community have not the vestage of a claim on a piece of one of them; they are the exclusive property of the owner who holds title that is inviolable: the sacred right of the producer of it—to own himself. It is robbery to touch it. It belongs to the producer against not only the city, but the state, and against the world. Let him keep it, it is his, and let the city tax that value which does not belong to any individual.

This value is produced by the community as a whole, and it is right to tax it; it is the highest larceny to give this value away and then mulct the noble workman who has built him a house. Tax the value of the land; it does not appear until men associate; it increases as the association enlarges; it depreciates as population diminishes; its varied proportions of value most nearly reflect the wealth of the users. To take a part or even the whole of this value in taxation, would not lessen the demand for the opportunity, but would prevent its waste either in idleness or the misuse of it. It is enough—I have shown that this single tax fills the requirements of a perfect tax; it is adequate; it is economical in the simplicity of its application; it is practical in that it cannot be evaded; it is an honest tax, taking for the use of all that which belongs to all, and reaching all without discrimination. It is in accordance with the letter of the constitution of the state, and above all, it is in agreement with sound public policy, and in harmony with the purposes of social compact. Its operations would cheapen the access of natural opportunities, and by relieving labor and capital from all restriction, would encourage production.

THE WAR DEBTS OF ENGLAND.

How their Accumulation Increased Taxes on Industry, and the Rising Tide of Democracy was Stemmed; and how the Landlord Parliaments Protected the Rights of "Property"—The Four Shilling in the Pound Tax.

Half-Penny Weekly, London.

In 1792, the year before the outbreak of hostilities, Dowell gives the revenue of England as £17,360,000, made up as follows:

I.—DIRECT TAXES.

Land tax	£2,000,000
House and establishment taxes	1,300,000
Fire insurance and auction sales	260,000
Post horses, coaches, etc.	277,000

£3,837,000

II.—TAXES ON ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION.

Salt	£377,232
Sugar	1,316,000
Beer, malt and hops	3,578,000
Wines and spirits	2,548,000
Tea	650,000
Tobacco	566,551
Coals (exported and coastwise), raw thrown silk, iron (bars), hemp (rough), muslins, calicoes, candles, leather, soap, printed goods, glass, newspapers, bricks and tiles	3,123,000

£12,158,783

III.—STAMP DUTIES.

Bills and notes	£156,000
Receipts	48,000
Consolidated duties	748,000

£952,000

Post office (net receipts) £378,000

The expenditure was as follows:

Interest on debt	£9,300,000
Army and navy	6,250,000
Civil list	1,230,000

£16,780,000

The national debt was about £237,000,000.

In order to meet the extra war expenditure, Pitt, the English prime minister and chancellor of the exchequer, made "perpetual" some additions to the taxes which had been intended to last for a year or two only. He was then enabled to raise the sum of £4,500,000 by mortgaging this increase in the revenue. A similar plan was pursued in 1794, and in the same year the duty on paper was increased, and a tax of £100 upon the indentures of clerkship for attorneys in the metropolis, and £50 for country practitioners was imposed. Next year the duties upon wines and spirits were increased, also those upon coffee and cocoa, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent added to the duty on tea. A tax was also imposed upon insurance of property against sea risk. In 1796 a group of taxes known as the "assessed taxes," which included the house and establishment tax and carriage taxes, were increased by ten per cent. The tax upon horses was increased, and 4d. per pound added to the tobacco duty. An increase was also made upon the wine duty, and the duty on hats was raised.

But this additional taxation was not the only price the people were called upon to pay for the war. As those who have been following these articles must have perceived, an improved political tone had been growing, and abuses which in previous times had been quietly submitted to were now being complained of, and an agitation commenced for their removal. But the war put a stop to all reforms. As Green says, alluding to the fear of the spread of "French principles" in this country, "The worst issue of this panic was the series of legislative measures in which it found expression. The habeas corpus act was suspended (this meant, as most of our readers know, that people could be arrested and kept in prison without being brought to trial), a bill against seditious assemblies restricted the liberty of public meetings, and a wider scope was given to the statute of treasons. Prosecution after prosecution was directed against the press; the sermons of some dissenting ministers were indicted as seditious; and the conventions of sympathizers with France were roughly broken up. The worst excesses of this panic were witnessed in Scotland, where young men, whose only offense was an advocacy of parliamentary reform, were sentenced to transportation, and where a brutal judge openly expressed his regret that the practice of torture in seditious cases had fallen into disuse. . . . For nearly a quarter of a century it was hard to get a hearing for any measure which threatened a change to an existing institution, beneficial though the change might be. Even the philanthropic movement which so nobly characterized the time found itself checked and hampered by the dread of revolution." Nor is such an account true of the wars of the French revolution only. War always strengthens the power of the classes and weakens that of the masses. The worker has to bear all the brunt of it, the idler reaps the benefit.

The taxation of 1796 was remarkable chiefly for Pitt's attempt to deal with the "Death Duties," as we term them. He began now to realize the magnitude of the struggle in which the country was engaged. Excepting upon the sea the French had been victorious, and the necessity was apparent of getting at some source of taxation which would yield a good return. Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" had directed attention to the expediency of taxing succession to property by

death. Pitt expected that this new source would be very profitable to the revenue, and introduced into the house of commons two bills, one relating to the succession to personal property, i. e., money, stocks, shares, etc.; the other, successions to landed property. As we have frequently pointed out, the house of commons, until recently was composed almost entirely of land owners, and these patriots passed the bill, taxing of the successor to the business man's property (personal property), and threw out that taxing the succession to land, which would touch their own pockets; and though, as we shall see, as the war progressed there was more and more difficulty each year to find the means of carrying on that war, notwithstanding the fact that frequently suggestions were made, both in the house of commons and elsewhere, to extend the tax on succession to landed estates, no serious attempt was made to remedy this gross injustice till—sixty years afterward—Gladstone managed to get a slight tax on successions to land imposed. Throughout that war the conduct of our landed legislators was contemptible, and the workmen of the present day have to pay heavy taxes and find themselves weighted with an enormous national debt because those land owners refused to pay their just share of the burden of a war which they, and they alone, profited by.

Next year another 10 per cent was added on to the "assessed taxes," the duty on auction sales was increased, 2.6d. per cwt. extra was put on sugar, 10 per cent extra duty on tea, another 1s. per thousand added to the tax on bricks, the duties on spirits were again increased, and all the other articles, excepting wine and coal, had 10 or 5 per cent added to them. A tax was also imposed upon persons wearing watches or possessing clocks, and additional duties were levied upon houses, servants and horses. But despite Pitt's strenuous efforts to provide a sufficient revenue the war expenditure kept increasing. Napoleon had now come to the front, the French were no longer defending their own territories, but attacking those of the surrounding kingdoms, and England, in addition to providing for her own army and navy, had to grant large sums to pay those of some of her allies. So in 1797 the chancellor of the exchequer, in an eloquent speech, introduced a proposal for what was known as the "triple assessment." This was to be "a general tax on persons possessed of property, commensurate, as far as practicable, with their means," on the basis of the taxes on houses and establishments, i. e., the carriages, horses, servants, etc., kept. This was, in principle, an increase of the property tax, and graduated so as to press most heavily upon the wealthy. While thus seeking to obtain a revenue from the rich, Pitt at the same time was not unmindful of the poor. He added another 5 per cent to the tea duty and doubled the duty on salt, raising it to 10s. a bushel.

As we mentioned in previous articles, the period we are now considering was a most important one as far as regarded trade and industry. Canals had been opened up, establishing communication and cheap rates of carriage between different parts of the country, thus permitting its mineral wealth to be utilized. James Watt had by his discoveries brought the steam engine to the use of man, and the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton had revolutionized the textile industries. The natural effect of all these was a rapid rise in the value of land. Now, our readers will remember that in the reign of William and Mary a land tax of 4s. in the pound on the annual value of the land had been introduced. They will also remember that such dishonesty was practised in regard to this that, although the value of land was perceived to be increasing each year, the proceeds of a tax of 4s. in the pound upon such value was year by year diminishing. And so it was found necessary to estimate the value of land in each county, and then say 4s. in the pound upon that value ought to amount to so much, and fix that as the amount that had to be contributed from that county. It was clearly the intention when that act was introduced to base the tax upon the annual value, but such was the power of the landed interests that they were able to prevent this intention from being carried out, and each year they only paid the amount which had been fixed as the value of the land in 1692. Now in 1692 the most valuable lands were those that produced the best crops, consequently the agricultural counties had been rated heaviest. By means of corn laws the land owners had increased the value of these lands, and so the rate charged was below the real amount. In the case of many of the other counties, the discovery of minerals or the growth of manufactures had vastly increased their value. So that we perceive in no case had the land fallen in value so as to make the amount calculated upon the basis of 1692 a burden, while in almost every case it had increased.

Of this we have actual proof. In 1692 the government estimated the value of the land at about ten millions. In 1798 Pitt, in a statement of the national increase from various sources, estimated the land value at nearly forty millions. A tax of 4s. in the pound on this should have realized about eight millions, while, as we have seen, it only produced two millions. This increased value was not owing to the labor or capital of the landlords, but simply owing to the growth and industry

of the people. Being created by the people, had the parliaments of that time been properly representative, there is no doubt this unearned increment would have been appropriated by taxation for the people. But parliament was not representative of any but the landed interests, and they prevented Pitt raising the tax or assessing it upon its true annual value. Pitt needed money, and therefore a bill was passed perpetuating this land tax at the two millions a year, and offering special terms to those who were willing to pay a lump sum down in place of paying the tax year after year. The result of that arrangement was that although land has enormously increased in value during the past hundred years, all that we receive in the way of a land tax, theoretically at 4s. in the pound on the annual value is the "unredeemed" fragment of a tax based upon the valuation of 1692, the amount received for the year ending March 31 last being £1,033,361, in place of about forty millions.

Pointing the Way to One Who Seeks the Light.

On August 29 a letter over the signature of "J. G. Conant" appeared in the Chicago Open Court. In it he protested against the system which taxed pluck and brains, and asked the editor if a method of taxation could be devised in which the burdens of government would be equitably distributed, instead of being, as now, placed on the shoulders of those engaged in productive occupations. Mr. Conant's letter called out the following interesting response in the current issue of the Open Court:

To the Editor of the Open Court: If Mr. J. G. Conant will send me his address I will be pleased to send him a copy of "Progress and Poverty," if he will read it, for he will see all through it the same indignation against taxing brains and pluck that burns in Mr. Conant's letter in the Open Court for August 29. Had the land speculators who are holding land for a rise near Mr. Conant's home been compelled to pay exactly the same taxes as he paid on land of the same value, whether improved or not, he would be still resting under his own vine and roof tree. Most of us hold that the man who corners wheat and thereby increases the cost of bread injures us. But even the man who corners wheat benefits the wheat producer and stimulates production by raising prices. But speculation for a rise in land leads to less food and less production of all kinds. The man who "corners" a piece of unimproved land, to the extent of his corner, prevents all production. He injures us without any compensating advantage.

What we single tax men seek is merely to see that this land speculator should no longer escape his fair share of taxation. In both city and country he has shouldered it off on citizens and farmers. Let him try paying his own score for a while. In the cities this vacant lot speculator prevents the production of houses and thereby crowds people like cattle; in the country he prevents the production of food. For these "bounties" we have been rewarding him by exempting his wild country land from all taxation and taxing the city lots lightly as "agricultural land," while he holds them idle. What we ask in brief, is that two men owning land of equal value pay the same taxes, whether the one is used and the other is idle or not.

We do not ask that the men who injure the community by land speculation shall be punished for it, but we do ask in the name of justice that our legislative solons shall stop rewarding them at our expense. In most counties of this state and adjoining states a man's taxes are raised if he paints his barn. Whom does he injure in painting it? If two farmers owning land of equal area, fertility and value, one is idle, neglects his fences, allows thistles and weeds to grow in the fence corners, his houses and barns to decay, and his stock run wild, and the other is industrious, thrifty, keeps things in apple pie order, and improves his stock and surroundings, we all know that the last named pays the most taxes.

But why? Are criminals so rare that industry must be made a crime? Is it wise to fine a man for thrift? When injurious dogs increase too much, we tax them to reduce their number. Unless we have too many houses, let us stop taxing men for making them, or stop calling them improvements. In every growing community the value of the land (as distinct from all improvements) increases with the growth of the population, with the arrival of every immigrant, with the birth of every child. Every improvement, public or private, adds to it. It is a value, due, not to the efforts of any one individual, but it draws equally from all. It is from this value, created by the community, that we hold the community should draw when funds are needed for public purposes before we take from any one any portion of his earnings as an individual.

Hence, we ask you to exempt entirely from taxation all improvements, all products of industry, and abolish poverty by adopting the single tax on land values. Yours respectfully,
W. J. ATKINSON.
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Shadow to the Glory.

Mary Black Clayton, who is a daughter of Judge Jeremiah Black, and the widow of Major Clayton, writing in the Saturday Globe on our treatment of the Indians, says:

In 1892 we are to celebrate the coming of the white race to this side of the world. It will then be four hundred years since Columbus touched San Salvador, and all the world will do well to pay homage to his bravery and brains. Even his glory has a stain upon it, however, for he immediately enslaved five hundred of the native owners of the soil, and sent them to Spain to be sold in the streets of Seville. The practice, thus begun, of sell-

ing the Indians into foreign bondage, continued for two centuries. The adventurers who crowded the ships sailing from Europe said loudly that they were going to carry the gospel to the heathen. Alas! it was the gospel of greed, and not the gospel of mercy which they practiced. The natives usually met them hospitably and without suspicion. The foreigners either kidnapped them and sent them to other countries as slaves or took their land from them without any return, or made a pretense of exchanging for it a few trifles, such as worthless beads or looking glasses, which pleased for the moment the eyes of the simple woods people. The white men, calling themselves Christians, taught the Indians the lesson of treachery, cruelty, theft and drunkenness.

There is one noble exception to this rule of brutality. The founder of Pennsylvania tried what he called a "holy experiment," and taught the poor dark souls around him their rights as men. "We meet," he said to them, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will. No advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children, too severely, nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between you and me I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body might be divided into two parts, we are all one flesh and blood." The Indians replied, "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the moon and the sun shall endure." The treaty was not violated. Not a drop of Quaker blood was shed in Penn's time by an Indian.

Amidst the shouts and glitter and music of the processions in honor of the discovery of America let us not forget that the march of civilization was made upon the wreck of a proud and happy people, now reduced to a mere handful of beggars, to whom scarcely standing room is allowed in the land which was their forefathers' from ocean to ocean.

PERSONAL.

One of the most promising results of the recent quiet work in France has been the addition to the ranks of the single tax men of Europe, of M. Charles M. Garnier, of the Lycee Henry IV, Paris, one of the brightest young men of the French capital. M. Garnier has carried off the leading prizes in this, the foremost educational institution of Paris, and is now aiming for a position which, if he secures it, will give the single tax a position whence it can honeycomb the entire educational system of France.

E. Q. Norton, who has for so long worked for the single tax cause in Mobile, Alabama, and has done such good work there, thinks seriously of coming north to live, if not permanently, at least temporarily. He expects to close up his business affairs in the course of a couple of months.

The Standard single tax club of Jersey City numbers many active members—among them Mr. P. A. Protin, who has succeeded in arousing the editor of the Journal of United Labor to an editorial discussion of the single tax. It would be a good idea if more of our friends among the knights would keep at it with editor.

James H. Blakenez, of Binghamton, was in the city last week. He says the single tax sentiment is growing very fast in that city.

The Journal of United Labor has frequently of late insisted that "there is an unearned increment of wealth as well as an unearned increment of land." Bolton Smith, of the University of Virginia, has a letter in a late Journal, in which he takes exception to the term "unearned increment" being applied to anything except the increase of wealth arising from the control of natural resources. He makes a strong argument. In concluding his letter he says the single tax would be a panacea for all existing social injustice.

Our friend, J. G. Malcolm, puts a poser to "Wheelbarrow" of the Open Court in a late issue of that paper. He does it thus: "I am much interested in the discussion in the Open Court of the single tax. It seems to me that 'Wheelbarrow' continually fails to recognize the difference between the two kinds of things—things that are, and things that are not, the product of human labor. I shall not enter into a discussion of the difference between those two kinds of things, but will simply ask 'Wheelbarrow' to explain, why it is that to tax anything else but land makes it higher priced, and the higher it is taxed the higher the price. But to tax land makes it cheaper, and the higher it is taxed the cheaper it becomes. I do not think 'Wheelbarrow' will deny this, and I believe if he will endeavor to explain this, that he will find out the reason why the single tax on land values is a just tax, and no other tax is just. By removing all taxes from everything but land we will make them cheaper, and by putting all taxes on land we will make it cheaper. Cheap things are what poor people need, and the single tax will give it to them."

Among the delegates to the cigarmakers' convention now sitting in this city, are Louis Benjamin, Cincinnati, Ohio; Frank Valash, St. Paul, Minn.; John B. Paterson, Denver, Col.; H. Healey, Springfield, Mass.; H. Dittman, Piqua, Ohio, and E. W. Dandon, Binghamton, N. Y. They are out-and-out single tax men, and have made their influence felt in the convention.

Indianapolis, Ind.—L P Custer, president, Single tax league, Postal Box Co. 11; Meridian st.; Chas H Kraus, ex-bookkeeper, Vogues's hardware store, E Wash st.
Ithaca, N Y—J B Wald, druggist, 75 East State street.
Jersey City, N J—Joseph Dana Milk, secretary Standard Single tax club, 267 Grove street.
Johnstown, Pa.—Richard Byrne.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas W Child, 213 Highland avenue.
Kentonia, Wis.—W Hughes.
Kittsburg, Ill.—M McDonald.
Kingston, N Y—Theodore M Romeyn.
Leansburgh, N Y—James McManis, 21 Eleventh st.
Lonsdale, Ill.—D L F. Harvey.
Lexington, Ky.—James Edwin
Little Rock, Ark.—Sol T Clark.
London, England—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Longwood, Ontario—Robert Cartwright, Edin Oxford st.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street;
W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vintette, P O Station E.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
Lytle, Miss.—C F Wenham.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common street; C H Libbey.
Madison, Dak.—The Lake S T club, E H Evenson.
Madison City, Tenn.—J N Becker, president, Free trade association, 180 Second street.
Malden Mass.—George W Cox, Glenwood street.
Manitowish, Mich.—Albert Wakley, or W R Hall.
Maquoket, O.—W J Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marburg, Mass.—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N Y—C H Baldwin.
Mari, Tex.—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organization.
Marysville, Mont.—S F Halston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 73 East Third street.
Mason Chuck, Pa.—E E Embury, 3 west Broadway.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean—Robert A Rolian, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Mayfield, N Y—G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 225 Alabama street.
Middleton, Conn.—John G Hopkins, P O box 580.
Middletown, N Y—Chas H Fuller, 107 Fox hill.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 14 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—J J Gault, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E Q Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mo Pleasant, Iowa—A O Pitcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N Y—H W Wells.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Caimm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—Mrs Wm Man, 212 N High street.
Newport, Mass.—A Lothrop, pres Single tax league, 24 Walnut street.
Newark, N J—Theodore J Werner, S T club, Chester row, Ha sey street.
Newbern, Va.—Tus Williams.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
New Britain, Conn.—John S Cogan, pres Single tax club, 1 Carroll place.
Newburg, N Y—J D McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Merrimack assembly, 402 Washington street.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 165 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S Waters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph I Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 69 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
New York—Manhattan single tax club, 36 Clinton street, open every evening.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P O drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M Browne, 13 Marshall street; B B Myers, 10 Park 357.
Northampton, Mo.—R P Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.
Norwalk, Conn.—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw B Haskell.
Olean, N Y—George Hall, pres Single tax association, 402 W Washington street, Railroad street.
Olney, Mo.—F Alexander Parouhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E Emblen, 822 Virginia avenue; Percy Prepon, pres single tax club, 1512 S 5th street; C K Beckett, sec, n w cor 27th and Blondo streets.
Onondaga, Dak.—R H Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N Y—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Owego, N Y—M J Murray, 18 Main st.
Passaic, N J—J J Barnard, 183 Washington place.
Petersen, N Y—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 59 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W Va.—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Patuxent, Md.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peabody, Ore.—C S Jackson.
Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.
Peyoille, Ark.—W Bell.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. H. Stinson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N Y—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Roberts, 147 2nd st.
Portland, Ore.—S B Higgin; R H Thompson, 48 Stark street.
Poughkeepsie, N Y—William C Albro.
Providence, R I—Robert Grilvee, 32 Sutton street.
Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulsaski, N Y—G V Harbottle.
Rayenswood, Ill.—W H Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Kirkull, 15 N 6th street.
Reynolds Bridge, Conn.—John Carner, box 23.
Richmond, Ind.—M Hutcheson, 415 South A street.
Ridgeway, N Y—J Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
Rochester, N Y—Charles April, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N J—Red Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—H Brown, Cherry street.
Sacramento, Calif.—E D Wegener.
San Diego, Cal.—A Harvey, 159 10th street; George I Whaley.
San Francisco, Cal.—Juane James O Maguire, Superior court, S T, reaching corner 9th & Market street.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances A Maguire.
Seattle, Wash Ter.—Alexander Wall.
Seneca Falls, N Y—Wm H Addison, P O box 56.
Sharon, Conn.—A J Hostwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club, 100 South Fifth street.
Southboro, Mass.—B H Howes.
South Gaston, N C—W L M Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N Y—G L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McGee, secretary Bangamora single tax club, 623 Black street.
St Louis, Mo.—H H Hoffman, 665 Nichols street.
Springfield, Mass.—John F Har, 13 light block.
St. Louis, Mo.—H Hoffman, 419 N 4th street, president Single tax league; J W Steele, 2313 Eugene street.
Stockton, Cal.—D A Learned.
Stockton, Mass.—Dr W Symington Brown, secretary, 11—George G Quinter.
Stratford, N Y—H R Perry, 149 South Clinton street.
Sturbridge, Mass.—Wm W Johnston, or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Seabeck, Wash Ter.—F P Morrow.
Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F C Clarke, 148 K st.
Tampa, Fla.—S M Leonard, pres, 146 E G Shearman & Smith, Bu U L Wendall, vice-pres; John H McCormick, sec.
Tecumseh, Mich.—William Gaston.
Toledo, O.—J P Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 113 Summit Street.
Tonawanda, N Y—J W Howard, 58 Lower Venaleux st.
Trenton, N J—H R Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N Y—B B Martin.
Tuckahoe, N Y—Albert O Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McLaughlin.
Utica, N Y—Wm W Johnston, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Buckley, grocer, south west corner First and Catherine.
Victoria, B C—W L Simon, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 3 and 4.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakefield, R I—David Harrower.
Washington, D C—Dr William Geddes, 1719 G street, W, secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—J W Johnston, 1001 Third.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y—A B Stoddard.
Wheeling, W Va.—John L Frank, 237 E 6th street.
Whitestone, Long Island, N Y—George Harwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C P Holl, cigar store; Thos Douglas, president Single tax league, 100 E Main street.
Woodstock, Ill.—W C Cummings.
Worcester, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
Wyoming, Pa.—Wm Hancock.
Yonkers, N Y—Joseph Butlerland.
Youngtown, Pa.—Prof Isadore, Redcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio—J W Johnson, 27 Van Buren street.
O A Peary, pres, single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

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

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

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

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

ADVERTISING rate thirty cents per agate line each insertion.

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

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

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

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

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Though the idea that wages are paid out of a capital fund has given place to the doctrine that the laborer produces his wages as he works, the old notion lingers even in the minds of men who, when they stop to think, realize its absurdity. The Detroit Free Press, for example, in discussing the London strike, is influenced by it. It deplores the alliance of the striking dock laborers with other trades on the ground that it tends to make the struggle of the former for higher wages hopeless. "It is strange," it says, "that workmen cannot see that, while the carpenter may gain by singlehanded efforts which advance his own wages ten per cent, the carpenter gains nothing by joining hands in a movement which advances all wages ten per cent." To explain what it means by such a remarkable statement, the Free Press says: "The reason is simply that by his individual success he gains ten per cent in wages. His success costs him no advance in anything which he buys, while if all trades advance wages at the same rate, ten per cent at least will be added to the price of the product in each, and the carpenter will find his own advantage neutralized by the added cost of the necessities of life which he must buy." This explanation involves fallacies which give to the idea of tariff protection all its plausibility.

It assumes that wages are paid out of some fixed fund, of which, when some men get more, others must get less. This is the exploded wages fund theory, which assumed that capitalists provide the wages fund and that laborers are paid out of it in proportion to their numbers and relatively to the magnitude of the fund. If relatively laborers were many and the wages fund small, wages would be low; but if laborers were few and the wages fund large, wages would be high. If that were the law of wages, an increase of wages in one trade might give an advantage to the trade of higher wages; and a general increase of wages might be neutralized by increase in the price of products. But that is not the law of wages. Every laborer produces his wages as he works. If he is a car conductor, he produces them in money; if he is a carpenter, he produces them in buildings; if he is a weaver, he produces them in cloth; if he is a shoemaker, he produces them in shoes. Thus, in every occupation, the laborer produces for his employer his own wages and something more, over and above the materials consumed. True, in all occupations other than money collecting, the laborer produces his wages in some other form than that of money, while the wages are generally paid to him in money. But that makes no difference. The money represents and is of the value of the wages produced. This being the law of wages it is absurd to say that "the carpenter gains nothing by joining a movement which advances all wages."

When wages increase without increase of production, the increase comes, not out of any wages fund, but out of that

part of the product which goes to monopoly. It is not true that some laborers must lose when others gain. The gain of the laborer is the loss of the monopolist.

It may well be, however, that the alliance of the London dock laborers with other trades will not raise the wages of either. But if it fails it will not be because of the alliance, but because the alliance falls short of including all laborers. If it included all and they held together, all wages might be raised at the expense of land values. But so long as an alliance of laborers is weaker than the practical alliance of land owners, there can be no permanent rise of wages either in a particular employment or generally. If generally, the advancing tendency of rent will press against them until they fall; if in a particular employment, the rush of laborers into that employment will finally reduce them to the general level.

What prevents the rise of wages is the monopoly of land owning, which, reduces the supply of raw material below the normal demands of labor. Thus all the channels of production are choked, and the wages of labor being low at the source of production are depressed at all points—in every trade, every profession, every employment. The congestion is intensified by systems of taxation, under which taxes are made to fall on labor as it produces. Of these systems, the customs tariff is the principal one. They operate, economically considered, precisely as land owning does; just as land owning interferes with original production, taxes on labor products interfere with the more advanced stages of production comprehended in exchange.

The only way to permanently advance wages is to strike at land values in such manner as to take for common use the rental value of all valuable land. This will free land that, but for land speculation, would be valueless; because no one will pay for the privilege of keeping land out of use unless he can hope to get back what he pays with a profit added. That done, opportunities for labor at the source of production will be abundant, and wages generally will rise at the rate of the rise there. The simplest way of taking rental value for common use, the way best adapted to existing methods of government, is through taxation. By abolishing all other taxes, and collecting revenues from the value of land alone, we should at once remove taxation as an obstacle to industry and overthrow the greater obstacle of land monopoly. The abolition of other taxes would make the trade mode of production free, and the freeing of vacant land by taxing it would make production free at the source. This is the single tax.

The real estate reports in the various newspapers of the country afford to the single tax man as entertaining matter as he might care to read. We have before us a specimen from the Tribune of Minneapolis: "Real estate dealers are still hopeful," it tells us. "Prices continue firm;" "the inquiry for property seems to be increasing;" and so on, and so on. Then we are informed that the purchase of certain land for a park "has already had a perceptible influence on the price of real estate in that vicinity," and some dealers consider it "sufficient grounds for advancing the price of their property twenty-five per cent." On the heels of this comes the prophecy that "when active work is commenced on the different proposed cable systems there is no doubt there will be a very decided increase in the value of all properties along the lines." How much these quotations read like extracts from some single tax paper! The price of land is firm, because inquiry for it seems to be increasing, and its price has gone up because of public improvements in the vicinity. That is what single tax men say; but they add, that it is a rank injustice to allow the owners of land in the vicinity of public improvements to fine everybody who tries

to get the benefit of those improvements, and they therefore propose to raise government revenues by abolishing all taxes except a single tax on the fines, which in the form of land rent or price, land owners impose.

Consider this a moment. "When active work is commenced on the different proposed cable systems," says the Tribune, "there is no doubt there will be a very decided increase in the values of all properties along the lines." This increase in values will be caused by the public improvement and will be realized in the higher prices which people who use the improvement will pay for "all properties along the lines." But "all properties" does not mean everything that is owned. This is only the real estate dealers' slang, and really means real estate. Of course a public improvement does not increase the value of personal property. Clothing along the line of the improvement will not sell for higher prices; it is probable that it will sell for lower. The kind of property the value of which is increased by public improvements is not personal property, and the Tribune writer alludes only to real estate; but in fact it is only that part of real estate which is distinguished as land, that goes up in value in consequence of public improvements. Houses do not rise in value any more than personal property does. They seem to, because the higher value of land is often paid in the name of a house rent or a house price; but it is the land and not the house that is dearer. The reason is obvious. When a public improvement attracts population to a particular spot a demand is made at that place for land on which to locate and for labor products to consume. The labor products, houses included, come from all parts of the world, and, except as their production is impeded by tariff and other penal laws, may be produced to one place almost as readily as to another, and therefore are at a practically uniform price everywhere. But the land on which to locate at the point of the public improvement is at that place and nowhere else, and there is not much of it. Whoever would use it must bid for it, and the more beneficial the public improvement which attracts him the higher must he bid. The owner of land, therefore, has the value of his property increased by public improvements, while the owner of houses, goods, cattle, and all things not embraced in the correct idea of land, has no pecuniary benefit from them.

These considerations relate to facts within the knowledge of every observer. No one needs to be told that a public improvement increases the value of land without increasing that of labor products at all. Every one can cite instance after instance within his own knowledge. He may at first be confused by the fact that public improvements often make products more saleable and their production more profitable, but if he will consider he will see that these greater profits soon merge in rent. For example: A fertile farm may be so far from market that the value of its produce is very low, until a railroad touches its borders, when its produce is worth almost as much on the farm as at the market place. But the benefit of this value is not reaped by the producer. If the railroad is not under strict regulation it will take all the increase in freights, and the farmer, whether a tenant, a laborer or an owner, will be no better off. And if the railroad charges only reasonable tolls, the benefit will go to the owner of the farm. If he is also the producer, he will be better off, but it will be as a land owner and not as a farmer. But if he be a tenant on short lease or a farm laborer, it is of small importance to him whether the railroad is made or not. As of railroads, so of drainage, public highways, public improvements of any kind, which facilitate production; the benefit is measured by the higher price of land in the locality it affects. It is not the laborer, the farmer, or the business man, as such, who is pecuniarily benefited by public improvements; but the owner of lands.

And yet legislators insist on taxing everybody and everything uniformly. Though the owner of personal property is not benefited in pocket by public improvements, and the owner of land is, they would tax both alike. Is this right? Is it honest? Is it sound public policy? When the government, the state or the municipality increases the value of a certain class of property without increasing that of another class, is it not just that the former should pay all the expense? Can there be any doubt about it? If the state drains a marsh, thereby making plough land out of mud and mire, is it not right that the owners of the transformed mud and mire should pay all the cost, since they enjoy all the pecuniary benefit? And is it right at all that the owner of a cow, which is no more valuable than before, should contribute to the expense of the drainage? In such a case it is plain enough that the expense should be paid by a single tax on the value of the land the drainage improves. All government acts are much the same, in so far as they increase productive power, and most of the just acts of government do; they add to the value of land, precisely as in the case of a public drainage. The only difference is that in cases like that of a drainage, the increased value is local, while in other cases it is general. But in either case the pecuniary benefit shows in land values, and in no other values whatever. Indeed, other values tend to fall as productive power is enhanced, while land values alone tend to rise. Is it not obvious in such circumstances that the revenues of society should be derived from a tax on the kind of property the value of which is enhanced by society? Would this not be so, even if land were in other respects like other property—something in which the owner has by nature an exclusive right of ownership?

But when we remember that land as property differs radically from other things, the reasons for making its owners bear the burdens of taxation are multiplied. What a man produces is his. But for his efforts it would not exist. No one can contest his right to it, whether it be little or great, of much value or of none. But the land, the source from which labor produces things, is entirely different from the things produced from it. Naturally men are entitled to use it in common, and in the earlier stages of civilization they can and do use it in common consistently with the general welfare. But as civilization advances, and industry is divided and subdivided, it becomes necessary for the general welfare that individuals should have exclusive occupancy of particular land, not merely for a season or a series of seasons, but for so long as they may want to keep it. This right of exclusive occupancy is necessary; but it would be as unnecessary as unjust to secure to the occupant the profits of exclusive ownership. Perpetuity of tenure assures ownership of improvements and secures to the individual the profits of his labor. This is its justification. It also secures to the individual the pecuniary benefits which arise from the mere ownership of superior land. For this there is no justification. But exclusive possession with all the just rights which that secures may be harmonized with public ownership of the profits of mere dominion. By taking for public use that value which exclusive possession gives to superior lands, and leaving to the occupant the profits of his own labor and enterprise, the demands of public expediency and private right are met. This can be most easily done in our time and under our institutions by abolishing all taxes that fall on labor, and making the value of land, irrespective of improvements, the sole basis of taxation.

It is not real estate dealers alone who in common with single tax men recognize the fact that public improvements increase land values. The trustees and faculty of the Methodist university at Mitchell, South Dakota, see it clearly. At their urgent request the executive board of the institution has mailed circulars broadcast among the voters of this

new state asking them to vote for Mitchell to be the capital. From these circulars it appears that the campus of the university is surrounded by 250 vacant lots, the property of the university, now worth about \$125 each, which are to be sold for its benefit. "If the capital of the state should be located at Mitchell," so runs the circular, "these lots would be quadrupled in value." This would make more than \$100,000, which, as the circular says, "would be quite a beginning for an endowment fund." There is no reason why the friends of the Mitchell university should not seek an endowment fund for it in this way, nor any reason why other land owners in Mitchell should not seek an endowment fund for themselves in the same way. Nor yet is there any reason why the state should not provide for the expense of erecting public buildings by taxing the "endowment funds" which the location of the capital at Mitchell would confessedly produce. Not only is there no objection to this course, but it would be a wise and just course to pursue. The increased value of the Mitchell university lots would not of right belong to the university, for it is not a contribution or an earning, but a result of public improvement. The same would be true of the increased value of all other land in Mitchell. It is quite plain, therefore, that these enhanced values ought to pay the expense of the public improvements to which they will be due; and unless other kinds of property than land will be similarly affected, these values alone ought to pay the expense. But no one seriously supposes that other kinds of property will be similarly affected. Houses will be worth no more; neither will clothing, jewelry, machinery nor any other thing that labor produces. A tendency to a rise in the value of these things would be promptly checked by competition.

It is worth while to ask how these increased land values are to be paid for. Neither land nor land value is what the university needs. What it needs is labor. It proposes to get the labor it needs by exchanging for it the land it does not need. And the higher the value of the land, the more labor it will get for the same dirt. At present it can get but \$125 worth of labor for each lot; but if the capital is located at Mitchell, it will be able to get \$500 worth of labor for each lot. Thus, in consequence of locating the capital at South Dakota at Mitchell, the university will be able to get four times as much labor for the privilege of using its vacant lots as it can get now for the same privilege. This supposes, of course, that the value of labor does not rise. But no one pretends that locating the capital at Mitchell will increase the value of labor there. The laborer who should demand higher wages on that account would soon find his place taken by an outsider. And what is true of the lands of the university is true of all the land in Mitchell. So it appears that the effect of locating the capital at Mitchell would be to make a free gift to the landlords of that town of the labor of four men for every one whose labor they are now able to command. Mitchell university may be a very deserving institution, but it can lay no just claim to such a privilege; nor can it in honesty object, should the people of the state say, we will locate the capital at your city, but we shall take in taxes for public use the increased value of the lands which that act of ours produces, and thereby exempt labor from so much at least of the tax burden that would otherwise fall upon it.

When a laborer is compelled to give part of his produce for the privilege of using the land from which he produces, it is easy to see that his wages are reduced in inverse ratio to the value of the land. But in the complexity of modern production it is not always so easy to see that this is true in all instances. The laborer is generally a mere hired servant, who has no dealings with the owners of land except such as relate to the little spot of ground or little air space which he calls his home. A business man stands between him and the landlord in

all his industrial interests, and the relation of his wages to the value of land is obscured. It is this that sets so many "thinkers" on a wild goose chase for the cause of low wages. The cause is before their eyes, but it is masked, and they content themselves with an examination of the paint on the mask. The New York Sun, however, in its issue of last Sunday, gave an excellent object lesson on the relation of wages to land values in an article on the pavement block quarries of the Hudson river, part of which we reprint in another column. It will be noticed that the Sun writer has told the story all unconscious of its economic bearing, but it is the more important for that reason. Here is an industry which, for the present is free. The quarries have not attracted the attention of capitalists, and as yet they are not securely fenced in. Consequently, no workmen can be employed for less wages than the same workmen can earn working for themselves. If their terms are not accepted they get their day's wages in the open quarries, while their would-be employer sucks his thumbs and wonders how he will get cheaper labor. The answer is plain. Let him bring workmen there, and if they leave to go into the open quarries let him bring others, and so on. It will not be long before all the quarries are closed to independent laborers; and then, though the value of quarry land will go up, the wages of quarrymen will go down. What is true here is true throughout the ramifications of modern industry. When land values rise, the price paid for land either in rent or purchase money, must come out of the wages of labor.

A New Magazine.

Howard's Negro-American Monthly is a bright little magazine, which has been started in Harrisburg, James H. W. Howard, editor. The September number contains an article by Sheldon Hismark, entitled "The Negro and the Tariff," which takes strong ground against protection, declaring the colored people as a whole are not benefited in the slightest degree by the industries which it is the aim of the tariff to build up, while as consumers they are robbed in the enhanced prices they are compelled to pay.

To this number W. H. Marshall contributes a poem entitled "The Birth Place of the Soul," which has something of an oriental flavor:

Dear Leslie, mamma's little boy,
And more than half her earthly joy
Now, little one be real quiet
Just for a very few minutes
To hear mamma the story tell
About the Spirits and the bell:
And sitting quiet on my knee
I'll tell it as 'twas told to me.

There is a place called Spirit Land
Where all souls wait for God's command
To leave the grand and fairy home
And to this life and its care come:
Now where these spirits dwell, Leslie,
There's naught but joy, music, beauty;
And peace is there too sweet for earth—
Peace blended with a Godly mirth.

In Spirit Land a bell is hung,
A silver bell, they say, my son;
And then when souls are wanted here
In bodies starting life's career
This bell rings out and seems to say:
"Who'll come and go to Earth to-day?
Who'll leave our most pleasant bowers
To dwell where weeds grow with flowers?"

Then all the land with the cry rings,
"I'll go! I'll go! give me but wings!"
And mid music too grand for earth,
Christ sends a soul, flesh gives it birth.
Spirits are not nearly the same,
They differ more than differ names;
But yet the Soul our Savior picks,
The one it's for it always fits.

Now he who rings that bell above
Goes up from Earth; his name is Love.
The Soul comes down flying through space,
On wings of Love in Love's embrace,
And begins life pure and white—
To keep it so man must live right.
And now mamma's story is done—
Why you're asleep, Leslie, dear one.

Ballot Reform in New Jersey Politics.

JANVIER, N. J., Sept. 23.—To my mind it seems clear that just as we supported Cleveland because the democratic party was taking a step toward free trade, so should we now in New Jersey support the republican candidate for governor because the platform of which he is the representative declares straight out for the Australian ballot system. The first and essential reform is electoral reform, and I think THE STANDARD has repeatedly called attention to this fact. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways, and as the tariff question is a national, and ballot reform a state question, this election seems to present a fine opportunity for showing that we are only ready to support the old parties when they represent our principles.

Were single tax men to support the democrats in Pennsylvania because they endorse ballot reform, and at the same time refuse their aid to the republicans in New Jersey who do the same thing, they would lay themselves open to the charge that they are busy for the democratic party and after that for reform. SYDNEY B. WALSH.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Frederick F. Thomas, a mining engineer of California, recently went to New South Wales and took hold of a mine which was said to be played out. He has uncovered a mother lode, the ore of which is estimated at \$10,000,000. As soon as he gets to working it we will have another name to add to our long list of millionaires.

A tale of bitter poverty was brought to the World's notice last week. An old lady, the widow of a physician, and her invalid daughter, were penniless, starving and about to be put out of their quarters for a pittance of rent in arrears. The address given was No. 317 West Twentieth street, back basement. Nine steep stone steps led down to the door under the "stoop." The door was open and a cobwebby vista of dirty coal bins and ash heaps was disclosed. Two narrow planks made a path over the damp ground. In response to vigorous rapping a sad little spectre of a woman, clad in faded black, emerged from the gloom. "I am Mrs. Marcellus," she replied to a question, and she led her visitor to a hole in the rear of the cellar, called by courtesy a room. The walls and ceiling reeked with moisture. The floor looked wet. A decent bedstead, a stove fireless, a table and a few chairs made up the furnishing. Mrs. Marcellus was in a nervous chill from famine and fear. The landlord had just left her after a threat to put her into the street. And she had not one cent in the world, and no food save some scraps of cold fish and a baked tomato, which had been given her at a basement door where she begged for a crust. Yet this woman was once in affluence. Her husband was for forty-four years a physician in this city, and she had a house and servants and her own carriage, while the names of her former friends, which she spoke between her sobs, were those of people well known in social and religious circles. The late Bishop Onderdonk was godfather to one of her children. Dr. Muhlenberg and Dr. Lawrence she knew well. Dr. Parker was her husband's friend. Her husband, Dr. Marcellus, late in life met with heavy losses, which broke his heart. The wife and daughter were left alone with a mere pittance. The mother has worked as long as her feeble strength held out. She is now suffering dreadfully from rheumatism and malaria. The daughter, about seven or eight and twenty, is a hopeless consumptive. For the miserable hole in which they are now housed they pay \$5 a month.

Mrs. Westinghouse, wife of the rich air brake inventor, spent last summer at Lenox where she lived in regal style. She had a French chef, and was particular that he should always present for her inspection every day, whether she dined alone or not a carefully thought out menu. If this met her views she signed her name at the bottom, and the dinner was served according to the programme, but if it did not appeal to her imagination she drew a cross mark down the list, and the whole dinner had to be composed again from the very beginning. She always dined with a butler in evening dress in attendance and many lackeys in plush to aid him. Even if she sat down to the meal quite alone the whole place was lit with wax candles, the tables loaded with flowers, and all the plush clad lackeys with knee breeches and powdered hair ranged round the dining room. Every time she passed to or from her carriage all the footmen were in attendance ranged in a double row from the front door down to the carriage. They all came out and bowed solemnly as she passed between them until the last footman shut the door of the vehicle; and as soon as she was sighted returning the lackeys were summoned and she gained the threshold again between an avenue of plush coats and breeches.

A wan-faced woman, hungry and weak, staggered into the East Thirty-fifth street police station early Sunday morning with a dead babe pressed close to her breast. Her features were pinched and grief stricken, and her exhaustion so great that she could speak only in a hoarse whisper. When she had recovered sufficiently to speak, and aided by restoratives, the poor creature told of her wretched plight. Her name she said was Mary Mullins, aged twenty. At the age of seventeen she had married John Mullins, a printer, with whom she lived happily until three months ago. The husband lost his place in a printing office, and after a vain search for employment in the metropolis, he raised enough money to take him west, in the hope of getting work. The wife was left behind with her two children—one of them three years old and the other an infant in arms. Mrs. Mullins had made her home with her husband's mother, at No. 72 Jackson street. To support herself the young wife got a place in a big shirt factory in White street, earning a miserable pittance for a long day's work. In order to lessen the burden on her mother-in-law, she placed the eldest child with a friend in Front street. Her work was of such an exacting nature that she broke down and was unable to continue. The infant, which had been sickly from birth, wasted gradually away, until it became a miserable little bundle of skin and bone. Mrs. Mullins, according to the girl-wife's story, then told her she must go. So with her dying child she left home last Saturday and drifted out to go she knew not whither. Half dazed and hungry she tramped for hours, sinking into the shadows when she saw a policeman approach. For six hours she kept on her weary way, up one street and down another, until she became so confused that she did not know where she was. The weeping at her breast had wailed a little when the mother first started on her aimless wandering, but soon after midnight it became still. Two hours later she thought that her baby felt cold. Then she drew the wrap aside and saw that she carried a corpse. The green lights of the station house shone in the distance, and after she was searched Justice Murray heard the sorrowful story

yesterday, and committed the miserable mother to the care of the commissioner of charities and correction.

One of the elegant features of a lady's dressing room is a circular seat called a pouf, where she sits while her hair is being combed. The chair is without a back, the upholstering is done in some rich brocade, and buttoned in down to the depth of eight inches. When not in use this luxurious seat is placed at the foot of the couch.

Robert Clark, aged seventy-one years, of Feltville avenue, Summit, N. J., committed suicide yesterday afternoon by hanging himself. He had remarked to his wife that he was tired of life, as he could find no employment. His body was found dangling from an oak tree in a woods one hundred yards from his home. He was a man of massive build, about six feet three inches in height, and was at one time noted for his strength. He enlisted in Company I, Seventh regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, and was mustered out of service in 1865. County Physician Westcott granted a burial permit.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 9.—Benjamin Cable committed suicide yesterday by hanging himself with a rope attached to his bed-post. He had been out of work for some time.

Death of Mr. Firth, Chairman of the London County Council.

Recent English exchanges bring us accounts of the sudden death of Mr. J. F. B. Firth, member of parliament for Dundee, and deputy chairman of the London county council. He was traveling in Switzerland with his wife and her father and sister. Arriving at Chamounix the rest of the party remained in the valley, while Mr. Firth started out alone to climb Mount Flegere. He was apparently in perfect health. He did not return in the evening, as agreed, and on inquiry it was found that he had been attacked suddenly with what proved to be apoplexy of the heart, and had died a short distance from the hotel, half way up the mountain. He was buried at Chamounix, in the English churchyard, the residents showing every mark of respect.

Mr. Firth was the senior representative of an old well-known Quaker family of Yorkshire. He was by profession a lawyer, but acquiring considerable property by his marriage, he gave up most of his law business and devoted himself to the reform of political abuses. He was for five years chairman of the London municipal reform league, and after a great deal of abuse and opposition had been wasted on him, he saw his efforts succeed in the legislation that established the London county council and similar municipal bodies throughout England. His book, "Municipal London," was and is a standard work of reference.

In parliament Mr. Firth first represented Chelsea, a London district, in company with Sir Charles Dilke, and later was the member for Dundee, Scotland. He was greatly respected, both by his constituents and the leading liberals in parliament.

When the London county council was organized, Mr. Firth was elected deputy chairman—that is the salaried and acting chairman, as distinguished from the nominal chairman. Here he was one of the advocates of the taxing of ground rents and the relief of the rate payers. He attended the recent conference of land reformers at Paris, and made a speech at the banquet.

The London County Council Gazette proposes that some memorial of Mr. Firth's great efforts for the reform of London government should be raised. It says: "A bust, a portrait, a tablet, or some such simple memorial, placed in the council chamber, would remind all who looked upon it of the possibilities of a life devoted to the welfare of its fellow lives in the great metropolis, and would but be a small part of the tribute due from the present governors of London to one who has made its reform the main object of his existence."

The War Has Hardly Begun.

Real Estate Record and Guide.

Let any one who has seen in the divisions between Henry George and his followers an indication that the holders of real estate have nothing more to fear from the single tax movement quickly banish any such belief. The fight is not over yet. The probabilities are rather that it has hardly begun. We are inclined to think that it is in Great Britain rather than in this country that the war will first be waged, because on the other side the men interested are more influential in political circles and because it is more easy there with parliament, constituted as it is, to bring a radical scheme before the public and by continued discussion to make it a living issue. Here, on the contrary, the agitation must be a state not a national one, and our political conditions are unfavorable to the introduction of radical measures, unless there is a strong popular demand for them. But wherever and however the agitation is continued, we have not begun as yet to see the beginning of the end.

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WHAT CAME OF A CONVERSATION.

Among the supporters of the single tax movement in this city is a traveling salesman, who in the course of a year travels in nearly every state of the Union. It can be said emphatically that he never lets an opportunity pass to spread the doctrine. One of his latest stories shows how he made a convert to the single tax in a way that benefited the convert immediately. Two years ago our salesman's friend, in the course of his travels, stopped at a little village in one of the western states. He put up at the only hotel in the place. After transacting the business that had taken him there, he repaired to the hotel, had his dinner, lit a cigar and took a chair on the front porch to enjoy a smoke and give his meal an opportunity to digest. He had been seated but a short time when the hotel keeper came out and joined him. After the two talked and smoked awhile the salesman, pointing to a block of vacant land, which was fenced in, asked who it belonged to and what it was worth. The host answered that a man named Griffin owned it, and that he valued it at \$8,000.

Then said the salesman: "To whom does this property you are on belong?"

"It belongs to me," answered the host.

"What do you value it at?"

"Well," replied the host, "I have a quarter block and this house; I suppose the property is worth \$5,000—perhaps a little more."

"Have you any idea what taxes Griffin pays on that block?"

"Oh, yes," was the answer, "I know what tax every property holder in this town pays. Last year Griffin paid forty dollars."

"What taxes did you pay last year?"

"Just twice as much—eighty dollars!"

"What?" said our salesman, with emphasis, "Your property worth only five-eighths as much as Griffin's and you pay twice as much taxes? Is that right?"

"Oh, well," answered the hotel keeper in an apologetic tone, "you see, Griffin is getting no income from his property, while I am; so of course—it is perfectly right and just that I should pay twice as much. Don't you see?"

"I must confess," retorted our salesman, "that I don't see. Why don't he work his land so as to get an income from it?"

"Well," again apologetically, "he owns a good deal of land about here, and does business in Chicago. He wants to sell that property."

"Well, why don't he sell it?"

"Because he can't get what he thinks it is worth."

"Don't anybody want it?"

"Oh, yes; lots of people want it. I would buy it myself if I could get it at what I consider a reasonable price—say between five and six thousand dollars—but he wants eight and that bars me out, and bars out all buyers so far."

"Well, then," said the single tax man, "he ought to be made to sell or improve; don't you think so?"

"Y-e-s," answered the hotel man, slowly; "but how can it be helped—the property belongs to Griffin, and he has a right to do with it as he sees fit. But," he continued thoughtfully, "if Griffin would give our people a chance, at a reasonable price, they would build all over that block."

Then our salesman thought he saw his opportunity, and he said:

"Mr. Landlord, I think it is a shame that a man should be allowed to hold land idle while waiting for a rise, doing nothing on it himself while such people as you are made to bear the burden."

"I don't quite catch on," said the landlord. "Well, I'll put it to you this way: You bought this piece of land, paid men to build a hotel for you on it, and you opened the place for the accommodation of the public. You have actually been a benefit to the village. You have paid out money for labor and materials in the building of your hotel, and you pay wages to the people who help you to run it. Now, this block of which you own one-quarter, would be worth how much if there were not a building on it?"

"About the same as Griffin's," answered the host.

"About the same as Griffin's. Very well. You pay twice as much taxes for the use of one-quarter of this block as Griffin does for that whole block, don't you?"

"Y-e-s."

"If the same proportion holds, the people who have built upon and occupy this block pay eight times as much taxes as Griffin, don't they?"

"Y-e-s" (very deliberately).

"Well, can't you see where you and your enterprising neighbors are being unfairly treated in this matter? Don't you see where you are paying the most of Griffin's taxes while he holds his property for speculation?"

"Yes, I see that," answered the other, "but what can be done about it?"

"Well, in my opinion, one of two things could be done: Either Griffin should pay as much taxes as you and the others on this block pay, or else you and the others ought to pay collectively as little taxes as Griffin pays on his block."

The landlord remained silent for a time, evidently doing a good deal of thinking, at last he said:

"What you say looks fair; but still your propositions might be unfair toward Griffin. But I will think over what you have said."

Our salesman thought it wise to not push the discussion any further, and so he turned

the talk on to other subjects—the crops, potatoes, and what not. That evening at supper the landlord took a seat with him at table, and gossiped during the meal, but his actions indicated that his mind was on something else.

The next morning the salesman got up early, for he had to catch an early train. The landlord was up too, and the two went into the dining room together. During the meal the landlord, with some hesitation, said he had been pondering over what the other had said the day before, and that all night he had been very much disturbed about it. "Now," said he, "I feel that I am being wronged in this matter of taxes, but I fail to fully grasp the reason why."

The traveler did not have time for further explanation, but when he reached home he bought a copy of "Progress and Poverty," and after marking some of the passages, forwarded it to the proprietor of the hotel.

Last spring the salesman again visited the village, and went to the hotel. The landlord greeted him cordially, and gave orders that the best house afforded should be placed at the disposal of his guest, who was overpowered by the excessive hospitality. After dinner, while the two men were again seated in front of the hotel enjoying their cigars, the latter opened the conversation.

"You remember sending me 'Progress and Poverty'?"

"Yes; did you read it?"

"Every word—kept on reading it until everything was clear to me."

"Well?"

"Well, the assessor came round last fall and said he would fix my tax at the same figure as the previous year. I objected, and when he expressed astonishment, I took him out doors here and pointed out the Griffin block, and then I sailed into him. I gave all the reasons you gave why I should be taxed less than Griffin; pointed out where I was being fined for improving my place, and where Griffin, who was doing nothing to advance the interests of our village, but on the contrary, stood in the way of improvement; that he was allowed to hold that block while paying a nominal tax, while we, the improvers, were being made to carry his burdens; that if he were compelled to pay a tax on the valuation he put on his place, he would be either compelled to improve or sell his land to some of us who would. Oh, I talked the assessor blind, I tell you."

"What was the effect?"

"Well, he said he would think over what I had said. A day or two after he again called on me and said that I was more than half right. And now, with the new view which my talk had given him of taxation, he intended to revise the assessment list."

"Has anything come of it?" asked our salesman.

"This much, already; I now pay forty dollars in taxes and Griffin pays eighty; and next year Griffin and his class of land owners in this village will pay more and we that have improved land will pay less."

The Single Tax Among Western Farmers.

NICKERSON, Kan., Sept. 16.—In my earlier experience as an agitator of the labor reform movement against all forms of monopoly, among the farming classes, I found it very difficult to interest the farmers in the growing evils that menaced labor. They listened with a sort of nonchalance that is so discouraging, and which seemed to say—that is none of our business. We are farmers. In fact, they regarded the factory operative, mechanic, miner and other class of wage workers in the towns and cities as a naturally belligerent set of people whose interests were inimical to theirs. They considered that the causes of which the farmer complained were more fanciful than real, and whether real or not, as something with which they had nothing to do, though they saw that their own burdens were increasing, while their means to meet them were growing less every year, and that at every turn they made for relief the ghost of Shylock confronted them. And as a salve for their discomfiture at the low prices which they obtained for their produce and the high prices of all the things which they were compelled to use and high interest on the money they were compelled to borrow, they were told that they had produced too much. The placeman, politician and stump orator corroborated this stuff, applauded their fealty to the principles and policy as enunciated in the grand old party, called for three rousing cheers for the candidate of monopoly and the pledge of ninety per cent of the farming element to "vote it straight."

The reason why this kind of work has been so successfully and so often repeated, is not that farmers are fools by any means, but because they are too patriotic to assail their government for the ills that beset them unjustly, and because they are unsuspicious of the great crimes perpetrated by their legislators. The oft repeated assurance of relief to them by a firm adherence to the announced policy of the old party candidates, encouraged the acceptance of the admonition given by Moloch and his emissaries, to beware of "visionaries, cranks and malcontents, whose purpose was to disrupt the government, introduce systems new and untried, dangerous and impolitic," and has proved an effective score crow in dissuading the American farmer from a fair investigation of the legislation for

the past twenty-five years, or examination of the real basic evil of land monopoly and monopoly of opportunity, of transportation, telegraphy, mining, etc. But the day of deception has passed in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Dakota and other western states. The single tax doctrine is taking root. The opposition of the greenback people is about gone; they are forced to accept the everlasting truth of land reform. The multitudes come to hear the single tax economist, and the more intelligent among republicans and democrats who have withstood the financial policy of the greenbackers as being an inadequate remedy for existing evils, readily accept the truth and force of the single tax policy.

The capitalistic class are now our only real opponents. Several of the Union labor papers of this state and Nebraska are mildly if not boldly descending in very favorable terms on the merits of the system.

General J. B. Weaver spoke here in Hutchinson on the 10th to a large audience, very many of whom were old time republicans and democrats. He dwelt chiefly upon the United States senate, or "American house of lords" fraud, with a most salutary effect. He is making quite an extensive canvass of the state, and when he has done the people of Kansas will be ready to reform that capital abuse and elect their senators by a direct vote of the people, or I am bad at guessing. The general is hale and hearty and plucky as ever. He spoke good words for the single tax reformers, wishing them God speed, and in a private interview expressed a desire to heal the breach made at Cincinnati. Let me offer encouragement to the readers of your paper and our friends at large and those who have born the burdens of unrequited toil, that the day of relief has dawned in the west and that before '92 the "Farmers' and laborers' union" will score a home run in Kansas.

E. C. CLARK.

The Law Allows It and the Court Awards It.

BROOKLYN.—On one of the ocean liners that arrived from Europe the other day was an elderly woman, whose object in coming to the United States was to lay claim to a large portion of Minneapolis, Minn., which her husband had bought as wild land thirty years ago, and which has become immensely valuable through the increase of population. The woman was Mrs. Fanny Vertun, and she lives near Breslau, Germany. What has Mrs. Vertun done to make this wealth? Nothing. Even the New York Herald sees it, for in speaking of her arrival it said: "Although the land has become immensely wealthy by the growth of the city, Mrs. Vertun proposes to reach out and calmly take it all in."

And why shouldn't she? I know Mrs. Vertun, and she is just as honest a person as any other land owner or land grabber, and a great deal more innocent, or she certainly wouldn't expect to make a serious legal fight against the Minneapolis land speculators, who are about as sharp as any the world is blessed with. She hasn't paid any taxes on the land for the thirty years, and yet she expects to make good her claim, because she has in her possession a little piece of paper, yellow now and time stained, which her husband received thirty years ago, and which she expects the courts to recognize as a sufficient title to the best part of the metropolis of the northwest. Single taxites have been blamed for calling such bits of paper "blackmail privileges," but in this case does not the truth of it flash out? Would this German woman bother about pushing her claim to the land—and its improvements, too, of course—if the present occupiers would pay her what she thinks she could bleed them out of? Wouldn't that be a very close approach to legalized blackmail?

But is the Herald coming toward the single tax when it sees something wrong in this "reaching out" for others' wealth? Why does the Herald single out the hard, well worn hand of old Mrs. Vertun for its sarcastic shafts? Aren't the lily white hands of the Astors, the Vanderbilts and nearly all of Ward McAllister's 400 doing the same, right under the Herald's nose, with no more right than this German woman?

INQUIRER.

A Boycott That May Have Portentous Results.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 22.—A dispatch from Monteville, Bibb county, says the negroes have all resolved to do no more work for white people. The negro women are in the movement, and white families are unable to obtain cooks or women to do their laundry work. The negroes refuse to work on the farms, and many farmers will be unable to gather their crops unless they can obtain white laborers. The only reason given by the negroes for their action is that they are tired of working for white people.

Something to Impress on the Mind.

CHICAGO, Sept. 10.—Please reprint in italics this statement which appeared in the last STANDARD: "We can make absolute free traders out of protectionists where the half-way free traders, the tariff for revenue men, could make no impression." For eight years I have been a missionary in the cause, and made this discovery almost at the start. "Tariff reform" ought never to be tolerated by democrats.

(I. S. HUGHES.)

PASTE AND SCISSORS.

Travelers report that more English is spoken on the European continent this year than ever before.

The amount of water passing over Niagara falls varies with the height of the river. Professor W. D. Gunning estimates the average amount at 18,000,000 cubic feet per minute. Allowing 62½ pounds to the cubic foot this would give a total of 562,500 tons per minute, or 25,312,500 tons in forty-five minutes, of which somewhat more than two-thirds passes over the Horseshoe falls. Other estimates place the total amount passing over both falls as high as 100,000,000 tons per hour.

It is calculated that during a London season the average amount spent in flowers daily is £5,000.

A grand fete out of compliment to "America and Corsica," the latter as the most formidable claimant to being the birthplace of Columbus, will be given on the 12th of October in Paris for the celebration of "the 397th anniversary of the discovery of the New World." There will be a procession of delegates from all the American states and from the West Indies.

In August, 1889, \$11,000 worth of stamps were sold in Portland, Oregon, as against \$4,000 for the same month in 1888. There are now 133 ships on the way to that city from foreign ports.

Electricity is now employed in India to prevent snakes entering dwellings. Before all the doors and around the house two wires are laid, isolated from each other, and connected with an induction apparatus. When the snake attempts to enter the house he completes the circuit and is killed by the shock.

There have been settlements on the Kennebec river in Maine since 1634, and it was only the other day that the discovery was made that there is coal in the banks of the stream. A local geologist says that considerable quantities of it are washed ashore on the beach at the mouth of the river.

Charles Chamberlain of North Dakota has found valuable deposits of salt on his farm near Bismarck.

The plague of fleas which is annoying the residents of Cambridge, Mass., is accounted for scientifically by a Boston paper, which says that the number of companies of educated fleas now performing in the dime museums in the country have increased to such an extent that they have been obliged to visit Harvard college at Cambridge for the purpose of putting the finishing touches to their education.

California, it is said, manufactures nearly all the iron she needs, though only a few years ago she depended on the east for her supply.

Representative Reed of Putnam county, Georgia, was one of the legislative committee sent to inspect the asylum, says the Georgia News. There was a dance on the night the committee spent in the investigation, and Mr. Reed took for a partner one of the fair unfortunates to whom he was introduced. "I don't remember having seen you here before," said she. "How long have you been in the asylum?" "Oh, I only came down yesterday," said the gentleman, "as one of the legislative committee." "Of course," returned the lady; "how stupid I am! However, I knew you were either an inmate or a member of the legislature the moment I looked at you. But how was I to know? It is difficult to tell which."

An officer in the Russian army has been cashiered for saving the life of a peasant woman and thereby lowering his standard as a gentleman.

Los Angeles, Cal., feels the collapse of the real estate boom and the property owners have petitioned the state board of organization to reduce the assessment of Los Angeles county twenty per cent. One piece of property that was sold for \$15,885 two years ago has been returned to the owner for \$6,000, the face of the mortgage. On sixty town sites that were then laid out there are now but 235 inhabitants.

Lieutenant Schwatka estimates the number of living cliff dwellers he has discovered in southern Chihuahua at from 8,000 to 12,000. They are very wild and shy, and upon the approach of white people fly to their caves or cliffs by notched sticks placed against the face of the cliffs if too steep, although they ascend vertical stone faces if there are the slightest crevices for the fingers and toes.

Not to be Sat On.

Toronto Grip.

"I don't believe that the single tax can ever accomplish much improvement, incentive to action I fear it lacks, And I take no stock in the so-called movement."

"It ought to be sat on right away."

So he seated himself with a pompous air, But sprang up again in wild dismay And rent the welkin with yell and swear.

The practical joker whispered low,

"The movement energy hardly lacks; The point is obvious—never go

And sit down hard upon single taxes."

MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

AN INTERESTING NEWSPAPER DISCUSSION IN BOSTON.

Jonathan Lane, President of the Merchants' Protective Association, Argues With John R. Roche, a Member of the Single Tax League—The Latter Shows How Boston Could Raise More Than Her Present Income and at the Same Time Lift the Whole Burden of Present Taxation From Industry.

The discussion of the subject of taxation is exciting greater and greater interest in Boston. Jonathan Lane, president of the Boston Merchants' association, who still adhering to the protectionist theory while advocating reciprocity with Canada, has been pestered by hard questions from the Question club, recently wrote an open letter to John R. Roche, published in the Boston Herald, in which, after setting forth the advantages of reciprocity, he claimed the right to ask some questions of Mr. Roche, and went on:

I happen to find myself just now on one or two committees to consider and report on "taxation." You will allow this is not the most agreeable duty in the world, and yet may feel that something good can be done even there. Some of us have an earnest conviction that the taxation of personal property in this state is exceedingly disproportionate and unreasonable. But, to find a remedy which all hands, high and low, rich and poor, will accept; that's the rub.

Real estate now pays three-fourths of the taxes, and it says: We won't take in any more, anyhow; we don't believe releasing personal property will help us, and shall oppose any such sort of reform. Now, my dear sir, what would you do in this case? Please don't reply by writing me to swallow Henry George whole, for that will do no good. His whole theory involves the abolition of all customs revenue and internal revenue taxes, which both political parties favoring, is so entirely impracticable, that it will amount to nothing. You are a man of thought and convictions. We have had some talk on taxation. I think I am under obligations to you for documents on the subject, and with pleasure I address you personally. I shall be glad to hear from you in reply on this particular point.

There is one thing more which I venture to suggest to you as a matter of inquiry. It may be that by-and-by you will get surfeited with that discussion. I confess, I hardly know of a subject in regard to which there is more misconception, misrepresentation, extravagance, straining at effect, distortion, deception and humbuggery in general; and I think this is as true of the schoolmen, so called, of Harvard, Williams, Yale, as it is of the sensational methods of my friend Radcliffe and the Home Market club. We can all take a rest, and do more good in another field for a while.

The city of Boston wants about one million more annual income. The growth of the city in part creates this need. We must keep up our real estate valuation by taking good care of streets, sewers, etc. There is but one difficulty in supplying the needful in this rich and prosperous city, and that is a want of confidence in those who spend the money. This great municipal corporation is neither a corporation pure and simple, nor an illustration of popular government. It has the disadvantages of both. There are men in our midst who are political leaders and managers, and they follow it up for gain. Between the city and the citizen they thrust their beggarly palms for a profit which they have not earned, and they teach by word and example, to the young men coming forward to represent the city in its council, that there is money to be made out of it if you know how. Can you think of a greater curse or hindrance to good city government than such parasites and plunderers? They are more detestable than the poor thieves and prostitutes who infest all great cities. Direct your inquiries into such transactions and after such men. You can do more good in this way than you imagine.

Mr. Roche's reply, which was published in full in the Boston Herald, congratulated Mr. Lane in having so far ceased to be a protectionist as to see the advantage of free trade with Canada, and pointed out that the way to get that free trade was to abolish our own custom houses without waiting for Canadian action, and thus went on:

As, since your eyes have been opened as to the stupidity of fining our citizens who trade with the people of other countries, you may not be longer an acceptable member of the Home market club, allow me to offer this as a brace in the event of any misgivings you may have in deserting your old associates to follow the truth:

The cause of human liberty covers and includes all possible forms of human industry, and best determines how the production thereof may be exchanged at home and abroad for mutual advantage. He is the most sagacious political economist who contends for the highest justice, the most far-reaching equality, a close adherence to natural laws and the removal of those restrictions which foster national pride and selfish-

ness. . . . Believing that the interests of the American people in no wise materially differ from those of the people of any other country, and denying the rectitude or feasibility of building ourselves up at their expense by an exclusive policy, obstructing the natural flow of material exchanges, I avow myself to be a radical free trader, even to the extent of desiring the abolition of all custom houses throughout the world. My faith is absolute that it will prove advantageous to every branch of human industry, whether at home or abroad. Its realization cannot fail to bring great and signal blessings along with it, and to foster a more noble and expansive spirit of human brotherhood, through which at last all the nations of the earth shall strike hands in amity and peace.

These are the words of the elder William Lloyd Garrison. I might add the sayings of Abraham Lincoln and other Americans of almost equal renown for truth and wisdom, in the same vein, but this will suffice. I may say, however, that the truth which the elder Garrison here puts so clearly has been carried out to its logical conclusion by the present William Lloyd Garrison, a worthy son of a noble father, who perceives that real free trade means not only the freedom of exchange of products alone, but also freedom of production. And now you stand on the threshold of truth, let me give you a glimpse of what you will see within, in the words of the younger Garrison, in a speech before the Liverpool (Eng.) Financial reform association delivered on the evening of July 19, this year:

Free trade itself is but the portal to that larger temple of liberty—the natural right of man to the use of the soil. We aim to emancipate from individual appropriation the land, which, like the sunshine and the air we breathe, is plainly the bounty of the Creator to all mankind.

Now, sir, we have arrived at the point where your question as to municipal "taxation" may be considered understandingly. But I must be allowed to examine the question and to answer you in my own way. You ask my opinion and then you would handicap me by insisting on an orthodox answer. I will not ask you to swallow Henry George whole, but if you and your merchant associates will hear me out, I hope to be able to convince you that there is a way out of the difficulty that presents itself to your committees and to the taxpayers of Boston—or, to use your own words, "a remedy which all hands, high and low, rich and poor, will accept, if but understood." Your special aim seems to be to get rid of the vicious personal property tax, which tends to drive movable capital from the city, and also to shut out to an extent the inflow of such capital. You recognize that, capital being wanted in the city, it is stupidly foolish to drive it away; but I cannot for the life of me understand how you arrive at this conclusion without perceiving the corollary that taxation on what we may call fixed capital, such as buildings, has the effect to curtail or hinder investment in buildings, and if carried far enough would actually compel the tearing down or destruction of buildings. You remember the experience of Mohammed Ali when he levied the heavy tax on date trees. The Egyptian fellahs cut down their date trees. But a tax of nearly twice the amount levied on land had no such result. Here is another: According to the Grocers' and Canners' Gazette, Egypt produced 6,000,000 pounds of tobacco in 1888. This year she produces none. Why? Well, the khedive has imposed a very heavy tax on the production of tobacco. What puzzles you then, is how to relieve what we may call migratory capital of the burden which prevents its influx, and to so place the burden as not to prevent the investment of such capital after it gets here. To the orthodox mind the problem is a hard one; it is, indeed, insoluble. But let us investigate it in the light of the new political economy which you taboo in your letter, and I think we will find that it can be solved.

The city of Boston needs about \$1,000,000 more annual income, according to your letter, which would make the municipal, county and state taxes raised in the city \$11,000,000. You will agree, I think, that the question may be fairly resolved into this: What system of levying the \$11,000,000 of city, county and state taxes would nearest comply with the following conditions: That they bear as lightly as possible upon production of wealth and upon the influx of capital; that they bear equally, so as to give no citizen an advantage or put any at a disadvantage as compared with others. That our present system of taxation does not even remotely comply with these conditions it is hardly necessary for me to tell you. The tax which falls on that part of real estate covered by the term improvements has practically the same effect as Mohammed Ali's tax on date trees, only in less degree; the tax which falls on movable capital or personal property has the effect to drive it away; and both taxes bear unequally, in that they tax citizens according to their industry or saving habits. A citizen invests his savings in a home, and down comes the taxgatherer and fines him by a tax, as though he had committed a crime. Another citizen builds and equips a factory, and he is mulcted in the same way for his temerity. Productive enterprise is as a glass ball for the gun of the taxgatherer, while idleness and unthrift are encouraged. The industrious, hard-working man beautifies and improves his home, giving employment to labor; the manufacturer adds to the capacity of his factory, giving employment to labor; and instead of encouraging both, it is our custom to punish them for the

good they have done, by increasing their taxes. And I may remark incidentally that it is here that the labor question comes in. It is well known that the supply of labor is in excess of the demand, and consequently wages tend downward. Yet, instead of encouraging those who would increase the demand for labor, and thereby raise wages, we discourage them by our present system of taxation. The only way, it seems to me, to reach the end that all fear equally the expense of government is to concentrate all taxation in a single tax on the rental value of land, on which and from which all must live. Land is the source from which all wealth is drawn, and the great beauty of a tax on the source of wealth, instead of on wealth itself, is that, unlike the tax on date trees, it would not tend to check production, but would really encourage the production of wealth and the employment of labor, for the reason that it would be ruinous to hold land idle while all taxation was levied on its value, and for the reason that the tax would not be increased if the land were put to use, as is done now.

There are two classes of land owners, those who use land productively and those who monopolize or speculate in land; and those who collect ground rent from tenant users must be included in the latter class. They are not users; they are monopolists. The former employ labor, and by their industry add to the wealth of the city and of the nation. The latter are mere barnacles on the ship of industry. They do not produce; they do not employ labor, but by holding land out of use discourage the employment of labor; they render no service as land owners in return for the product they consume. But they furnish the land! And is that a service equivalent for what they consume? In fact, is it a service at all? I throw now. Now let us consider the effect of a single tax on land values on each of the two classes, users of land and speculators in land. At the present rate of \$13.50 on \$1,000 levied on land, buildings and personal property, we raise, in round numbers, \$10,000,000. The average assessed value of land in recent years—according to Mr. Edward Atkinson, who, by the way, used the figures to disprove the benefits of the single tax—has been \$333,000,000; of buildings and improvements, \$230,000,000; of personal property, \$201,000,000; total, \$764,000,000. If personal property were released from taxation, as is your idea, real estate owners would say, according to your letter, "We shall oppose any such sort of reform." And small blame to them, for that would not mend matters in the least, raising the tax on improvements as it would and thereby militating against the investment of capital in Boston; and your only reason for wishing to exempt personal property must be to encourage the investment of capital in Boston. I can conceive no other, and I have read carefully your speech before the Merchants' association last year, although I have it not at hand now. But, if understood, the single tax would only be opposed by the drones in the hive, or land speculators, because it would, while relieving personal property, which you favor, not defeat the end in view in relieving personal property; and it would, at the same time, relieve the users of land of the onerous taxes which now operate against their production of wealth. To raise the \$11,000,000 you say is necessary for city, county and state purposes, the rate would be a little over \$33 on the thousand on the present assessed value of land in Boston. For the sake of simplicity we will eliminate the fractions and apply a rate of \$33. This would give us \$10,989,000. Let us illustrate the effect of this tax on using owners of land: There is a home (one of thousands of such) in an outlying part of Boston that is assessed as follows: Land, \$1,100; house, \$3,700; total, \$4,800. The tax on this home, as at present levied, is \$64.80; at the \$33 rate levied on land value alone it would be \$36.30, a decrease of \$28.50, the price of a decent business suit of clothing. Here's the way it is done:

UNDER PRESENT SYSTEM.			
	Vacant lot.	Home.	
Assessment of land. . . .	\$500	\$1,100	
Assessment of house. . . .		3,700	
Total assessment. . . .	\$500	\$4,800	
Tax at \$13.50 in the 1,000. . .	\$10.80	\$64.80	
UNDER THE SINGLE TAX.			
	Vacant lot.	Home.	
Assessment of land. . . .	\$800	\$1,100	
Assessment of house. . . .			
Total assessment. . . .	\$800	\$1,100	
Tax at \$33 in the 1,000. . .	\$26.40	\$36.30	

While the land user gains to the extent of \$28.50, the mere speculator in the source of all wealth and the source of even life itself has an increase of \$15.60. And it must be remembered that the land user would be still further relieved by a fair assessment of the land. The vacant lot in the above table is equally valuable with the lot on which the house is built. And worse than that! With in stone's throw of these lots is equally good land that is held for twenty-five cents a foot which is assessed as pasture land. Of this subject of unjust assessment I will speak further on. Now, let any using land owner in the city of Boston take out his pencil and figure out what his taxes would be on the present assessed value of the land as compared with his present taxes on land, build-

ings and personal property, and my word for it, he will find himself the gainer if his buildings are in any way commensurate with the value of his land. If the values of land and improvements are not made out separately in his tax bill, he will find them made out separately at city hall. The greater the comparative value of his improvements, the greater he will benefit by the single tax on land values; and, conversely, if his improvements are old tumble down shanties on valuable land, he will fare not so well. And if any citizen finds that the new system, on account of tumble down buildings on his land, militates against him, let him bear in mind that by making improvements somewhat commensurate with the situation of his land he can obtain all the benefits of the new system without paying any extra tax. If he improves under the present system it is at his peril. And let the tenant users remember that they will benefit to the same extent as using owners. The abatement of taxes on houses will lessen house rents by the amount of the tax, because a tax on land values, as I believe political economists agree, cannot be shifted, as can taxes on improvements; and the reason given is that taxes on improvements tend to curtail the supply, while a tax on land values not only could not reduce the supply of land by an inch, but would practically increase the available supply by making it unprofitable to hold land out of use. If all this is so, and I think I have not only proved it, but shown the way for others to prove it in their own cases, what a wonderful impetus the adoption of the single tax would give to the prosperity of the city. The man who then erected the finest building in town would be recognized and rewarded as the public benefactor that he is, instead of being treated as a malefactor, as under the present system.

Of course, you will say that this new system could not be put in force in Massachusetts without amending the constitution. But neither can the personal property tax be abolished, as the constitution now requires that all property shall be taxed equally. If you and your merchant associates, however, came to realize the benefits that would accrue to both labor and capital by the change, how long, with your great influence, would it take to amend the constitution? I say it would benefit both labor and capital. Capitalists have been constantly reiterating since I can remember that there is or should be no cause for difference between labor and capital; but this assertion had never been proved satisfactorily until Henry George demonstrated its truth in "Progress and Poverty." The fact is that the interests of labor and capital are identical. They are both on the same side of the fence (the outside), while the common enemy, the land shark, is on the other. But leaving the amendment of the constitution out of the question, there is yet a way in which you can at least raise the necessary addition of \$1,000,000 for the uses of the city without militating against capital or the production of wealth. I have spoken heretofore of the fact that our present assessment discriminates in favor of land out of use, and I have given an instance of equally valuable land being assessed in one instance at about fifteen cents a foot, where used for a home, while vacant adjoining land is assessed as pasture. If you will turn your attention to this, and insist that equally valuable land shall be assessed equally, whether used or not, as now provided for in the state constitution, your dilemma as to how to raise the extra \$1,000,000 without interfering with industry will disappear.

The foregoing, however, is not all that is involved in the single tax. As I promised you should not be required to "swallow Henry George whole." I have only treated the subject from one point of view. That there may be no misunderstanding, I will simply say, without examining into the merits of the view from another standpoint, that to the amount of tax levied on land values the single tax will destroy the selling value of land, and consequently abolish private ownership of land. This, as we have seen, would not prevent the profitable use of land, but on the contrary, would make the use of land more profitable than at present.

"The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is Mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with Me."—Leviticus, xxv, 23.
 "The earth is the Lord's."—Psalms xxiv, 1.
 "The earth hath He given to the children of men."—Psalms cxxv, 16.
 "Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all."—Ecclesiastes, v, 9.

The charlatan politician who "thrust out their beggarly palms for a profit they have not earned" are as nothing compared with the haughty lords who own the land, who, with both feet in the trough, do not beg, but demand, "a profit they have not earned." The growth and improvement of the city gives all the value to land. This value, in the shape of a yearly rent or tax, should be taken for the use of the city.

How is This from a Protectionist Newspaper?
 Boston Evening Record.

At the rate the cost of living, particularly in rents, is increasing in and about Boston, the outlook is bad for people with small incomes. Even in the suburbs the price of land is increasing so fast that the houses are beginning to be crowded in all desirable localities within ten miles of the city. What is the remedy? Tax land more and bring into the market the large unoccupied tracts that now lay wild, so that the people can have the benefit of them, either in tax rates or in dwellings.

UNDER THE LION'S PAW.

Hamlin Garland in Harper's Weekly.

It was the last of autumn and first day of winter coming together. All day long the plowmen on their prairie farms had moved to and fro on their wide level field through the falling snow, which melted as it fell, wetting them to the skin—all day, notwithstanding the frequent squalls of snow, the dripping, desolate clouds, and the muck of the furrows, black and tenacious as tar.

Under their dripping harness the horses swung to and fro silently, with that marvellous uncomplaining patience which marks the horse. All day the wild geese, honking wildly, as they sprawled sideways down the wind, seemed to be fleeing from an enemy behind, and with neck out-thrust and wings extended, sailed down the wind, soon lost to sight.

Yet the plowman behind his plow, though the snow lay on his ragged great-coat, and the cold clinging mud rose on his heavy boots, fettering him like gyves, whistled in the very beard of the gale. As day passed, the snow, ceasing to melt, lay along the plowed land, and lodged in the depth of the stubble, till on each slow round the last furrow stood out black and shining as jet between the plowed land and the gray stubble.

When night began to fall, and the geese, flying low, began to alight invisibly in the near corn field, Stephen Council was still at work "finishing a land." He rode on his sulky plow when going with the wind, but walked when facing it. Sitting bent and cold but cheery under his slouch hat, he talked encouragingly to his four-in-hand.

"Come round there, boys!—round agin! We got t' finish this land. Come in there, Dan! Stiddy, Kate!—stiddy! None o' y'r tantrums, Kattie. It's purty tuff, but got a be did. Tch! tch! Step along, Pete! Don't let Kate git y'r single tree on the wheel. Once more!"

They seemed to know what he meant, and that this was the last round, for they worked with greater vigor than before.

"Once more, boys, an' sez I, oats an' a nice warm stall, an' sleep f'r all."

By the time the last furrow was turned on the land it was too dark to see the house, and the snow was changing to rain again. The tired and hungry man could see the light from the kitchen shining through the leafless hedge, and lifting a great shout, he yelled, "Supper f'r a half a dozen!"

It was nearly eight o'clock by the time he had finished his chores and started for supper. He was picking his way carefully through the mud, when the tall form of a man loomed up before him with a premonitory cough.

"Waddy ye want?" was the rather startled question of the farmer.

"Well, ye see," began the stranger, in a deprecating tone, "we'd like t' git in f'r the night. We've tried every house f'r the last two miles, but they hadn't any room f'r us. My wife's jest about sick, 'n' the children are cold and hungry."

"Oh, y' want a stay all night, eh?"

"Yes, sir; it 'ud be a great accom—"

"Waal, I don't make it a practice t' turn anybody away hungry, not on sech nights as this. Drive right in. We ain't got much, but sech as it is—"

But the stranger had disappeared. And soon his steaming, weary team, with drooping heads and swinging single-trees, moved past the well on the block beside the path. Council stood at the side of the "schooner" and helped the children out—two little half-sleeping children—and then a small woman with a babe in her arms.

"There ye go!" he shouted, jovially, to the children. "Now we're all right. Run right along to the house there, an' tell Mam' Council you wants sumpthin' t' eat. Right this way, Mis'—Keep right off t' the right there. I'll go an' git a lantern. Come," he said to the dazed and silent group at his side.

"Mother," he shouted, as he neared the fragrant and warmly lighted kitchen, "here are some wayfarers an' folks who need sumpthin' t' eat an' a place t' snooze," he ended, pushing them all in.

Mrs. Council, a large, jolly, rather coarse looking woman, took the children in her arms. "Come right in, you little rabbits. 'Most asleep, hay? Now here's a drink o' milk f'r each o' ye. I'll have s'm' tea in a minute. Take off y'r things and set up t' the fire."

While she set the children to drinking milk, Council got out his lantern and went

out to the barn to help the stranger about his team, where his loud, hearty voice could be heard as it came and went between the hay mow and the stalls.

The woman came to light as a small, timid and discouraged looking woman, but still pretty, in a thin and sorrowful way.

"Land sakes! An' you've traveled all the way from Clear Lake t'-day in this mud! Waal! waal! No wonder you're all tired out. Don't wait f'r the men, Mis'—"

She hesitated, waiting for the name.

"Haskins."

"Mis' Haskins, set right up to the table an' take a good swig o' tea, whilst I make y' s'm' toast. It's green tea, an' it's good. I tell Council as I git older I don't seem t' enjoy Young Hyson n'r gunpowder. I want the reel green tea, jest as it comes off'n the vines. Seems t' have more heart in it some way. Don't s'pose it has. Council says it's all in m' eye."

Going on in this easy way, she soon had the children filled with bread and milk and the woman thoroughly at home, eating some toast and sweet melon pickles, and sipping the tea.

"See the little rats!" she laughed at the children. "They're full as they can stick now, and they want to go to bed. Now don't git up, Mis' Haskins; set right where you are, an' let me look after 'em. I know all about young ones, though I am all alone now. Jane went an' married last fall. But, as I tell Council, it's lucky we keep our health. Set right there, Mis' Haskins; I won't have you stir a finger."

It was an unmeasured pleasure to sit there in the warm, homely kitchen, the jovial chatter of the housewife driving out and holdin' at bay the growl of the impotent, cheated wind.

The little woman's eyes filled with tears which fell down upon the sleeping baby in her arms. The world was not so desolate and cold and hopeless, after all.

"Now I hope Council won't stop out there and talk politics all night. He's the greatest man to talk politics an' read the Tribune. How old is it?"

She broke off and peered down at the face of the babe.

"Two months 'n five days," said the mother, with a mother's exactness.

"Ye don't say! I want t' know! The dear little pudzy-wudzy," she went on, stirring it up in the neighborhood of the ribs with her fat forefinger.

"Pooty tough on 'oo to go gallivant'n' 'cross lots this way."

"Yes, that's so; a man can't lift a mountain," said Council, entering the door. "Sarah, this is Mr. Haskins, from Kansas. He's been eat up 'n' drove out by grasshoppers."

"Glad t' see yeh! Pa, empty that wash basin, 'n' give him a chance t' wash."

Haskins was a tall man, with a thin, gloomy face. His hair was a reddish brown, like his coat, and seemed equally faded by the wind and sun. And his sal-low face, though hard and set, was pathetic somehow. You would have felt that he had suffered much by the line of his mouth showing under his thin yellow mustache.

"Hain't Ike got home yet, Sairy?"

"Hain't seen 'im."

"W-a-a-l, set right up, Mr. Haskins; wade right into what we've got; 'tain't much, but we manage to live on it—she gits fat on it," laughed Council, pointing his thumb at his wife.

After supper, while the women put the children to bed, Haskins and Council talked on, seated near the huge cooking-stove, the steam rising from their wet clothing. In the western fashion Council told as much of his own life as he drew from his guest. He asked but few questions; but by-and-by the story of Haskins's struggles and defeat came out. The story was a terrible one, but he told it quietly, seated with his elbows on his knees, gazing most of the time at the hearth.

"I didn't like the looks of the country, anyhow," Haskins said, partly rising and glancing at his wife. "I was ust t' northern Ingynannie, where we have lots a timber 'n' lots a rain, 'n' I didn't like the looks o' that dry prairie. What galled me the worst was goin' s' far away acrossst so much fine land layin' all through here vacant."

"And the 'hoppers eat ye four years hand running, did they?"

"Eat! They wiped us out. They chawed everything that was green. They jest set around waitin' f'r us to die t' eat us too. My God! I ust t' dream o' 'em sitt'n' 'round on the bedpost, six feet long, workin' their jaws. They eat the fork handles.

They got worse 'n' worse, till they jest rolled on one another, piled up like snow in winter. Well, it ain't no use; if I was t' talk all winter I couldn't tell nawthin'. But all the while I couldn't help thinkin' of all that land back here that nobuddy was usin', that I ought a had 'stead o' bein' out there in that cussed country."

"Waal, why didn't ye stop an' settle here?" asked Ike, who had come in and was eating his supper.

"Fer the simple reason that you fellers wantid ten 'r fifteen dollars an acre fer the bare land, and I hadn't no money fer that kind o' thing."

"Yes, I do my own work," Mrs. Council was heard to say in the pause which followed. "I'm a-gettin' purty heavy t' be on m' laigs all day, but we can't afford t' hire, so I keep rackin' around somehow, like a foundered horse. S' lame—I tell Council he can't tell how lame I am, f'r I'm jest as lame in one laig as t'other." And the good soul laughed at the joke on herself as she took a handful of flour and dusted the biscuit board to keep the dough from sticking.

"Well, I hain't never been very strong," said Mrs. Haskins. "Our folks was Canadians an' small-boned, and then since my last child I hain't got up again fairly. I don't like t' complain—Tim has about all he can bear now—but they was days this week when I jest wanted to lay right down an' die."

"Waal, now, I'll tell ye," said Council from his side of the stove, silencing everybody with his good natured roar. "I'd go down and see Butler, anyway if I was you. I guess he'd let you have his place purty cheap; the farm's all run down. He's ben anxious t' let t' somebuddy next year. It 'ud be a good chance fer you. Anyhow, you go to bed, and sleep like a babe. I've got some plowin' t' do anyhow, an' we'll see if somethin' can't be done about your case. Ike, you go out an' see if the horses is all right, an' I'll show the folks t' bed."

When the tired husband and wife were lying under the generous quilts of the spare bed, Haskins listened a moment to the wind in the eaves, and then said, with a slow and solemn tone:

"There are people in this world who are good enough t' be angels, an' only half t' die to be angels."

II.

Jim Butler was one of those men called in the west "land poor." Early in the history of Rock river he had come into the town and started in the grocery business in a small way, occupying a small building in a mean part of the town. At this period of his life he earned all he got, and was up early and late, sorting beans, working over butter, and carting his goods to and from the station. But a change came over him at the end of the second year, when he sold a lot of land for four times what he paid for it. From that time forward he believed in land speculation as the surest way of getting rich. Every cent he could save or spare from his trade he put into land at forced sale, or mortgages on land, which were "just as good as the wheat," he was accustomed to say.

Farm after farm fell into his hands, until he was recognized as one of the leading land owners of the county. His mortgages were scattered all over Cedar county, and as they slowly but surely fell in he sought usually to retain the former owner as tenant.

He was not ready to foreclose; indeed, he had the name of being one of the "easiest" men in the town. He let the debtor off again and again, extending the time whenever possible.

"I don't want y'r land," he said. "All I'm after is the int'rest on my money—that's all. Now if y' want t' stay on the farm, why, I'll give y' a good chance. I can't have the land layin' vacant." And in many cases the owner remained as tenant.

In the meantime he had sold his store; he couldn't spend time in it; he was mainly occupied now with sitting around town on rainy days, smoking and "gassin' with the boys," or in riding to and from his farms. In fishing time he fished a good deal. Doc Grimes, Ben Ashley and Cal Cheatham were his cronies on these fishing excursions or hunting trips in the time of chickens or partridges. In winter they went to northern Wisconsin to shoot deer.

In spite of all these signs of easy life, Butler persisted in saying he "hadn't money enough to pay taxes on his land," and was careful to convey the impression that he was poor in spite of his twenty farms. At one time he was said to be worth

fifty thousand dollars, but land had been a little slow of sale of late, so that he was not worth so much. A fine farm, known as the Higley place, had fallen into his hands in the usual way the previous year, and he had not been able to find a tenant for it. Poor Higley, after working himself nearly to death on it, in the attempt to lift the mortgage, had gone off to Dakota, leaving the farm and his curse to Butler.

This was the farm which Council advised Haskins to apply for, and the next day Council hitched up his team and drove downtown to see Butler.

"You jest lem me do the talkin'," he said. "We'll find him wearin' out his pants on some salt barrel somewears; and if he thought you wanted a place, he'd sock it to you hot and heavy. You jest keep quiet; I'll fix 'im."

Butler was seated in Ben Ashley's store, telling "fish yarns," when Council sauntered in casually.

"Hello, But! lyin' agin, hay?"

"Hello, Steve! how goes it?"

"Oh, so-so. Too dang much rain these days. I thought it was gon' t' freeze f'r good last night. Tight squeak if I git m' plowin' done. How's farmin' with you these days?"

"Bad. Plowin' ain't half done."

"It 'ud be a religious idee f'r you t' go out and take a hand y'rself."

"I don't haff to," said Butler, with a wink.

"Got anybody on the Higley place?"

"No. Know of anybody?"

"Waal, no; not eggssackly. I've got a relation back t' Michigan who's ben hat an' cold on the idee o' comin' west f'r some time. Might come if he could get a good lay-out. What do you talk on the farm?"

"Well, I d' know. I'll rent it on shares or I'll rent it money rent."

"Waal, how much money, say?"

"Well, say ten per cent on the price—\$250."

"Waal, that ain't bad. Wait on 'im till 'e thrashes?"

Haskins listened eagerly to this important question, but Council was coolly eating a dried apple which he had speared out of a barrel with his knife. Butler studied him carefully.

"Well, knocks me out of twenty-five dollars interest."

"My relation 'li need all he's got t' git his crops in," said Council, in the same indifferent way.

"Well, all right; say wait," concluded Butler.

"All right; this is the man. Haskins, this is Mr. Butler—no relation to Ben—the hardest working man in Cedar county."

On the way home Haskins said: "I ain't much better off. I'd like that farm; it's a good farm, but it's all run down, an' so'm I. I could make a good farm of it if I had half a show. But I can't stock it n'r seed it."

"Waal, now, don't you worry," roared Council, in his ear. "We'll pull y' through somehow till next harvest. He's agreed t' hire it plowed, an' you can earn a hundred dollars plowin', an' y' c'n git the seed o' me, an' pay me back when y' can."

Haskins was silent with emotion, but at last he said, "I 'aint got nothin' t' live on."

"Now don't you worry 'bout that. You jest make your headquarters at ol' Steve Council's. Mother 'll take a pile o' comfort in havin' y'r wife an' children 'round. Y' see Jane's married off lately, an' Ike's away a good 'eal, so we'll be darn glad t' have ye stop with us this winter. Nex' spring we'll see if y' can't git a start agin;" and he chirruped to the team, which sprang forward with the rumbling, clattering wagon.

"Say, looky here, Council, you can't do this. I never saw—" shouted Haskins in his neighbor's ear.

Council moved about uneasily in his seat, and stopped his stammering gratitude by saying: "Hold on now; don't make such a fuss over a little thing. When I see a man down, an' things all on top o' 'm, I jest like t' kick 'em off an' help 'm up. That's the kind of religion I got, an' it's about the only kind."

They rode the rest of the way home in silence. And when the red light of the lamp shone out into the darkness of the cold and windy night, and he thought of this refuge for his children and wife, Haskins could have put his arm around the neck of his burly companion and squeezed him like a lover; but he contented himself with saying: "Steve Council, you'll git y'r pay f'r this some day."

"Don't want any pay. My religion ain't run on such business principles."

The wind was growing colder, and the ground was covered with a white frost, as they turned into the gate of the Council farm, and the children came rushing out, shouting, "Papa's come!" They hardly looked like the same children who had sat at the table the night before. Their torpidity under the influence of sunshine and Mother Council had given way to a sort of spasmodic cheerfulness, as insects in winter revive when laid on the earth.

III.

Haskins worked like a fiend, and his wife, like the heroic woman that she was, bore also uncomplainingly the most terrible burdens. They rose early and toiled without intermission till the darkness fell on the plain, then tumbled into bed, every bone and muscle aching with fatigue, to rise with the sun next morning to the same round of the same ferocity of labor.

The eldest boy, now nine years old, drove a team all through the spring, plowing and seeding, milked the cows, and did chores innumerable, in most ways taking the place of a man; an infinitely pathetic but common figure—this boy—on the American farm, where there is no law against child labor. To see him in his coarse clothing, his huge boots, and his ragged cap, as he stogged with a pail of water from the well, or trudged in the cold and cheerless dawn out into the frosty field behind his team, gave the city bred visitor a sharp pang of sympathetic pain. Yet Haskins loved his boy, and would have saved him from this if he could, but he could not.

By June the first year the result of such Herculean toil began to show on the farm. The yard was cleaned up and sown to grass, the garden plowed and planted, and the house mended. Council had given them four of his cows.

"Take 'em an' run 'em on shares. I dont want a milk s' many. Ike's away s' much now. Sa'd's an' Sund's, I can't stand the bother anyhow."

Other men, seeing the confidence of Council in the newcomer, had sold him tools on time; and as he was really an able farmer, he soon had round him many evidences of his care and thrift. At the advice of Council he had taken the farm for three years, with the privilege of renting or buying at the end of the term.

"It's a good bargain, an' y' want o' nail it," said Council. "If you have any kind of a crop, you can pay y'r debts, an' keep seed an' bread."

The new hope which now sprang up in the heart of Haskins and his wife grew great almost as a pain by the time the wide field of wheat began to wave and rustle and swirl in the winds of July. Day after day he would snatch a few moments after supper to go and look at it.

"Have ye seen the wheat t'-day, Nettie?" he asked one night as he rose from supper.

"No, Tim, I ain't had time."

"Well, take time now. Let's go look at it."

She threw an old hat on her head—Tommy's hat—and looking almost pretty in her thin sad way, went out with her husband to the hedge.

"Ain't it grand, Nettie? Just look at it."

It was grand. Level, russet here and there, heavy headed, wide as a lake, and full of multitudinous whispers and gleams of health, it stretched away before the gazers like the fabled field of the cloth of gold.

"Oh, I think—I hope we'll have a good crop, Tim; and oh, how good the people have been to us!"

"Yes; I don't know where we'd be t'-day if it hadn't ben f'r Council and his wife."

"They're the best people in the world," said the little woman, with a great sob of gratitude.

"We'll be in the field on Monday, sure," said Haskins, gripping the rail on the fence as if already at the work of the harvest.

The harvest came bounteous, glorious, but the winds came and blew it into tangles, and the rain matted it here and there close to the ground, increasing the work of gathering it threefold.

Oh, how they toiled in those glorious days! Clothing dripping with sweat, arms aching, filled with briars, fingers raw and bleeding, backs broken with the weight of heavy bundles, Haskins and his man toiled on. Tommy drove the harvester while his father and a hired man

bound on the machine. In this way they cut ten acres every day, and almost every night after supper, when the hand went to bed, Haskins returned to the field, shocking the bound grain in the light of the moon. Many a night he worked till his anxious wife came out to call him in to rest and lunch.

At the same time she cooked for the men, took care of the children, washed and ironed, milked the cows at night, made the butter, and sometimes fed the horses and watered them while her husband kept at the shocking. No slave in the Roman galleys could have toiled so frightfully and lived, for this man thought himself a freeman, and that he was working for his wife and babes.

When he sank into his bed with a deep groan of relief, too tired to change his grimy, dripping clothing, he felt that he was getting nearer and nearer to a home of his own, and pushing the wolf of want a little further from his door.

There is no despair so deep as the despair of a homeless man or woman. To roam the roads of the country or the streets of the city, to feel there is no rood of ground on which the feet can rest, to halt weary and hungry outside lighted windows and hear laughter and song within—these are the hungers and rebellions that drive men to crime and women to shame.

It was the memory of this homelessness, and the fear of its coming again, that spurred Timothy Haskins and Nettie, his wife, to such ferocious labor during that first year.

IV.

"M, yes; m, yes; first-rate," said Butler, as his eye took in the neat garden, the pigpen, and the well-filled barn yard. "You're git'n quite a stock around yer. Done well, eh?"

Haskins was showing Butler around the place. He had not seen it for a year, having spent the year in Washington and Boston with Ashley, his brother-in-law, who had been elected to congress.

"Yes, I've laid out a good deal of money during the last three years. I've paid out three hundred dollars f'r fence."

"Um—h'm! I see, I see," said Butler, while Haskins went on.

"The kitchen there cost two hundred; the barn 'aint cost much in money, but I've put a lot o' time on it. I've dug a new well, and I—"

"Yes, yes. I see! You've done well. Stalk worth a thousand dollars," said Butler, picking his teeth with a straw.

"About that," said Haskins, modestly. "We begin to feel 's if we wuz git'n a home f'r ourselves; but we've worked hard. I tell ye we begin to feel it, Mr. Butler, and we're goin' t' begin t' ease up purty soon. We've been o' kind o' planin' a trip back t' her folks after the fall plowin's done."

"Eggs-actly!" said Butler, who was evidently thinking of something else. "I suppose you've kind o' kalklated on stayin' here three years more?"

"Well, yes. Fact is, I think I c'n buy the farm this fall, if you'll give me a reasonable show."

"Um—m! What do you call a reasonable show?"

"Waal; say a quarter down and three years' time."

Butler looked at the huge stacks of wheat which filled the yard, over which the chickens were fluttering and crawling, catching grasshoppers, and out of which the crickets were singing innumerable. He smiled in a peculiar way as he said, "Oh, I won't be hard on yer. But what did you expect to pay f'r the place?"

"Why, about what you offered it for before, \$2,500, or possibly the \$3,000," he added, quickly, as he saw the owner shake his head.

"This farm is worth five thousand and five hundred dollars," said Butler, in a careless but decided voice.

"What!" almost shrieked the astounded Haskins. "What's that? Five thousand? Why, that's double what you offered it for three years ago."

"Of course; and it's worth it. It was all run down then; now it's in good shape. You've laid out fifteen hundred dollars in improvements, according to your own story."

"But you had nothin' t' do about that. It's my work an' my money."

"You bet it was; but it's my land."

"But what's to pay me for all?"

"Ain't you had the use of 'em?" replied Butler, smiling calmly into his face.

Haskins was like a man struck on the head with a sand bag; he couldn't think, he stammered as he tried to say: "But

—I never 'd git the use. You'd rob me. More'n that; you agreed—you promised that I could buy or rent at the end of three years at—"

"That's all right. But I didn't say I'd let you carry off the improvements, nor that I'd go on renting the farm at two-fifty. The land is doubled in value, it don't matter how; it don't enter into the question; an' now you can pay me five hundred dollars a year rent, or take it on your own terms at fifty-five hundred, or—git out."

He was turning away, when Haskins, the sweat pouring from his face, fronted him, saying again:

"But you've done nothing to make it so. You hain't added a cent. I put it all there myself, expectin' to buy. I worked an' sweat to improve it. I was workin' f'r myself an' babes."

"Well, why didn't you buy when I offered to sell? What y' kickin' about?"

"I'm kickin' about payin' you twice f'r my own things—my own fences, my own kitchen, my own garden."

Butler laughed. "You're too green t' eat, young feller. Your improvements! The law will sing another tune."

"But I trusted your word."

"Never trust anybody my friend. Besides, I didn't promise not to do this thing. Why, man, don't look at me like that. Don't take me for a thief. It's the law. The reg'lar thing. Everybody does it."

"I don't care if they do. It's stealin' jest the same. You take three thousand dollars of my money. The work o' my hands and my wife's." He broke down at this point. He was not a strong man mentally. He could face hardship, ceaseless toil, but he could not face the cold and sneering face of Butler.

"But I don't take it," said Butler, coolly. "All you've got to do is to go on just as you've been a-doin', or give me a thousand dollars down, and a mortgage at ten per cent on the rest."

Haskins sat down blindly on a bundle of oats near by, and with staring eyes and drooping head went over the situation. He was under the lion's paw. He felt a horrible numbness in his heart and limbs. He was hid in a mist, and there was no path out.

Butler walked about, looking at the huge stacks of grain, and pulling now and again a few handfuls out, shelling the heads in his hands and blowing the chaff away. He hummed a little tune as he did so. He had an accommodating air of waiting.

Haskins was in the midst of the terrible toil of the last year. He was walking again in the rain and the mud behind his plow, he felt the dust and dirt of the threshing. The ferocious husking time, with its cutting wind and biting, clinging snows, lay hard upon him. Then he thought of his wife, how she had cheerfully cooked and baked, without holiday and without rest.

"Well, what do you think of it?" inquired the cool, mocking, insinuating voice of Butler.

"I think you're a thief and a liar," shouted Haskins, leaping up. "A black hearted houn'!" Butler's smile maddened him; with a sudden leap he caught a fork in his hands, and whirled it in the air. "You'll never rob another man, damn ye!" he grated through his teeth, a look of pitiless ferocity in his accusing eyes.

Butler shrank and quivered, expecting the blow; stood, held hypnotized by the eyes of the man he had a moment before despised—a man transformed into an avenging demon. But in the deadly hush between the lift of the weapon and its fall there came a gush of faint, childish laughter, and then across the range of his vision, far away and dim, he saw the sun-bright head of his baby girl, as, with the pretty tottering run of a two-year-old, she moved across the grass of the door yard. His hands relaxed; the fork fell to the ground; his head lowered.

"Make out y'r deed an' mortgage, an' git off'n my land, an' don't ye never cross my line agin; if y' do, I'll kill ye."

Butler backed away from the man in wild haste, and climbing into his buggy with trembling limbs, drove off down the road, leaving Haskins seated dumbly on the sunny pile of sheaves, his head sunk into his hands.

A Good Time Coming for the Poor.

New York Commercial-Advertiser.

A correspondent asks whether the site of the memorial arch will not be a tenement district in a few years. Possibly it may. In that case the arch would help to make the lives of the poor more enjoyable.

CHRONICLES.

1. Now after many days it came to pass that the Adversary, that old Serpent which is the devil and Satan, appeared unto Charles, whose surname was Dana.

2. And he approached and came near and tempted him, and lifted up his voice saying, O, scholarly man and able editor, live forever!

3. I know thy works and thy ways and for a long time have had regard unto thee.

4. At Brook Farm I noted thy down-sittings and uprisings, and I was filled with fear lest thy many and earnest words in "The Harbinger" should draw away and seduce the American people, to the end I should be left altogether desolate and without worshippers.

5. But verily thou hast utterly reversed thy former course, and art become a great man and scholarly; thou and the office cat.

7. And thou canst speak many tongues and hast a newspaper seen and sought after by many people.

8. And surely thy pen is pointed and sharp and persistent and mightier than any sword against the living, and is an especial terror to the dead.

9. And thou art fair and well pleased to delay, miscarry and thwart every reform, no matter how trilling, upon which the heart of the people may be set, and for all these works be assured I am well pleased with thee and thy paper.

10. Behold the age of brute strength is beginning to pass away and cunning and treachery are becoming the order of the day; let us, I pray thee, form a compact and establish a covenant together.

11. Then Charles was well pleased, and answered may thy kingdom endure and thy worshippers be greatly multiplied! Lo these many years have I served thee, I am grown great and increased in goods, and for many years yet I am able to prevent righteousness and obscure justice in the eyes of this people.

12. And the doctrines of Jesus are revolutionary and the sermon on the mount is deficient in literary ability; trusts are a part of the natural order, and great is the gospel of things as they are.

13. Money answereth to all things; money is the true social reformer; by giving money and not by doing justice is the only way for the millionaire to assist the beggar.

14. Cold victuals wrapped up in a copy of the Sun is better than land reform, and almsgiving is better than free trade.

15. And while seeming to speak well of the reforms, I can so manage as to cast discredit upon them and help to keep things as they are, and even to make them still more to thy liking; now what reward shall I have, I and the office cat?

16. Then smiled the Adversary and he answered and said, "Surely in this life thou shalt have nothing and in the world to come I will still further diminish thy wages."

17. And at this moment he heard some one drawing near and wishing it not to be known with whom he had held conversation, he became as thin air and vanished away.

18. Yet was it not observed by any man that the editor, the paper or the cat changed their course in any material respect, but as before seemed to favor inquiry for the love of it. A. P. BROWN, Jersey City.

The Slavery Question in Brazil.

Rio News.

The result of the senatorial elections in this city and throughout the province of Rio de Janeiro on the 4th of August, have caused profound surprise, and if we are correctly informed, they have occasioned no small amount of consternation in the ranks of the conservatives. For a number of years the province of Rio de Janeiro has been dominated by two conservative leaders, Senator Paulino and Deputy Andrade Figueira, who represent the reactionary Bourbon element of that party. For ten years the liberals have been in a hopeless minority, and even in the senatorial elections of 1887 they made no show at all in the returns. Under the stimulating influence of a new liberal cabinet, and under the leadership of one of the most skillful politicians in the empire, all this has been changed, and the conservatives have been so badly beaten that one cannot help wondering where their former majorities came from. If there is any sincerity or stability in Brazilian politics, this election presages the defeat of the conservatives in the general elections at the end of this month, and seals the death warrant of the indemnification movement, of which Paulino was the moving spirit. The present government is on record in opposition to paying indemnities for the slaves liberated last year, and its victory at the polls ought to strengthen that position.

J. Has a Mortgage on It.

Somerville, Mass., Journal.

The earth is the Lord's, but Jay Gould doesn't seem to think so.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

How Shall We Tax Rapidly Increasing Land Values?

NANAIMO, B. C., July 16.—Will you, through your columns, explain how the single tax would prevent speculation in land in a locality where land doubled its value yearly? Such a phenomenon we in this province have had an instance of in the city of Vancouver—the terminus of the Canada Pacific railroad. To illustrate: A bought a town lot in 1885 for \$300. The following year he was offered \$800 for the same lot, but refused; in 1887 he accepted \$2,000 for the same lot. B, who owns it to-day, has refused an offer of \$6,000 for it. In argument with a friend he pointed out this case and said he believed that the single tax would not stop land speculation. All that I could say was that it would be absurd to think that land values would increase at the above mentioned rate for any considerable time; that they must eventually stop, and that the knowledge that the values would be taxed had a tendency to check speculation. Besides that, all lots not in use would be open to the first comer that would use them and be willing to pay a land value tax. If you could point out to me and many other admirers of the single tax a better argument than here presented for such a case I would feel extremely obliged.

WALTER ROOS.

The single tax which would take land values as they increased for the use of the community would destroy the inducement to speculation, which is that of private gain. While the growth of cities, the building of railroads, etc., would cause land to increase in value, the gain would go to the community not to the individual, and the speculation which causes such sharp and exaggerated increases in nominal values, could not take place.

Taxes on Products.

SHARON, MASS.—I often read in THE STANDARD that our present system of taxation imposes what is practically a fine for the creation of wealth; but again I read that this fine is no burden to the producer since he shifts it in full upon the consumer by adding the tax to the price of his products; while more rarely one sees evidence of a perception of the fact that, on the contrary, the tax is a burden to the producer, since the increased price limits his sales. Here we are brought to the subject of my query. Is there not a final truth which in general is unseen or ignored; namely, that though the tax is a burden upon the producer, it is not an undue burden, because the tax levied upon him frees the community from an equal tax, thus preventing the reduction of his sales below what they would be were the tax otherwise levied?

W. I. WEBBER.

It is true that a tax on products limits sales, and in that sense it injures the producer. But it is not paid by the producer; it is paid by the consumer in the increased price of goods. And this tax thus paid, while it injures the producer and robs the consumer, does not free the community from paying a certain tribute which now goes into private pockets and which we call rent. The result of our not taking land values by taxation is simply this: The people at large pay two taxes, one, rent, to private individuals, the other, the tax on products which goes to the government. If we taxed away rent from the landlords we would then relieve the people of the other tax.

The stronger argument also holds good of course, namely that land values belong to the whole people and that natural opportunities should be equalized.

W. B. S.

Shall We Tax Lessor or Lessee?

AMY, WIS.—Suppose a person has leased some unimproved land for a long time, agreeing to pay all taxes on the same and a yearly rent, and has erected on it a valuable building, and since doing so the single tax has become a law. How will the tenant be benefited by it during the term of the lease?

H. B.

If the single tax law were so framed as to tax "ground rents" in such cases, then the taxes would fall on the real owner and not on the tenant. This is a matter of detail for the lawmakers to settle.

Your other questions we cannot answer.

W. B. S.

The Cause and Ownership of Value.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—What is the difference, or what different effect will it have on the masses of the people, what we tax—the value of the wealth or the value of the land? Both are created by or through the demand of the people, and either tax must be paid by the people.

E. F. M.

The value of any article capable of being produced in unlimited quantities, such as a hat or a nail, is measured, on the average, by the labor involved in producing a duplicate of that article. A sudden increase of demand might raise the value temporarily, but as frequently a lessening of demand would reduce the value temporarily, and on the average it would be worth just what the labor involved in making it is worth.

Demand will not increase the value in the long run; it will simply determine the amount produced, and if anything will lessen the value, because a constantly increasing demand stimulates cheaper and cheaper production. The value will be both created and measured by the labor.

In the case of land, however, or of any product of which the supply is limited by nature, such as certain kinds of spring water, value arises from the increasing needs of society—from demand—and is not measured by labor. These values are simply monopoly values, and attach only to those things which are not capable of being produced in unlimited quantities.

Now, if we tax the first class of articles, such as hats, nails, etc., we will lessen the production of those articles, and the tax will eventually fall on the consumer, not on the manufacturer, who simply adds the tax to the price. We will thus make ourselves poorer, and at the same time be robbing the man who consumes the articles. But if we tax land values or monopoly values we do not lessen the amount of land, which is fixed, nor make anything dearer, and at the same time we obtain for the use of the community the value of those gifts of nature which belong to all men equally. We simply put all men on an equal footing, and leave to each the full fruits of his own labor.

W. B. S.

Must We Have a Bloody Revolution?

CINCINNATI, O., Aug. 14.—In the pamphlet "The case plainly stated," page 6, second column, I read: "It is true that under the George system you could only sell your place for \$1,500. Still with those \$1,500 you could buy just as good a farm from some one else." This sentence is offered in answer to an imaginary "Smart Aleck" who objects that the single tax operates to confiscate the farmer's land.

The case supposes a farm which will, under the present system, sell for 3,000 silver dollars, but which will, under the George system sell for 1,500 silver dollars, but because these dollars will exchange for another farm he illogically concludes that the farmer has lost nothing in passing from one system to the other. But suppose we pass from farming to banking, will the George system so reduce bank stocks so that he can with \$1,500 obtain as much capital or wealth as he could have obtained with the \$3,000. Mr. H. F. Ring evaded or failed to meet this simple case, which is a matter he should have elaborated with great precision and not tossed it off with the guffaw, "Confiscate bosh!" He does not show me that his scheme is not a clear case of confiscation.

Samuel B. Clarke in his paper, "A lawyer's reply to criticisms," takes the ground that our civil constitutions and statutes, in so far as they secure to the individual a fee simple in lands, are violations of human rights. I can readily concede that, but I recognize the fact that in so doing I am involved in revolution, that is, I propose to remedy existing errors, by abrogating not only existing but fundamental laws. The George system implies confiscation or purchase of all lands by the government.

There is no question about the accuracy of Mr. George's generalizations, but he and his followers uniformly disappoint me in their lack of practical methods. They remind me of the council of mice, who voted to hang a bell on the cat, but failed to secure volunteers for the attempt. Still, I do not doubt that the state will finally own the soil and that the present system will be abolished, but it will be through convulsions more terrible than those men have experienced in gaining the civil and religious rights they now enjoy.

When I talked abolitionism some forty or fifty years ago, I hardly realized that I was countenancing rebellion, but such was the fact, and such is the sequence of events in the Henry George system. Two actual cases have occurred to me which illustrate the ugly chasm that there is between the George system and the present system in regard to property in land. The corner of Fifth and Vine streets, which is to be improved by Carew, is valued at a lease rental of \$18,000, on the basis of five per cent on a valuation of \$360,000. This \$18,000 represents what Carew is willing to pay for the use of the business location, and is the sum of money which belongs to the community, and is to be collected, according to George, as a tax. If Carew, in competition with others, would pay more, then the tax would be more; but if he could obtain the use of the site for less, then the tax would be less, for it is a principle in Henry George's theories that the entire rent of land belongs to the community, and not to the individual. The enforcement of this principle by statutory enactments would operate to transfer the corner of Vine and Fifth streets to the community, and would be a clear case of confiscation.

Take another case: The tenement I occupy at 327 Linn street is one in a block of ten houses, which were built on leased ground. The ground rent is \$75 per house, and the tax is \$55 a year. Under the George system the ground would pay a tax of \$75 and the improvement would be relieved of the tax of \$55, which would doubtless operate to reduce the rent by that sum, so that the rent would be \$300 less \$55; a very decided advantage to me. But the land on which the house stands ceases to have a commercial value, and the land holder is made to contribute to my support.

Now what I need in this matter is to be enlightened as to George's scheme in passing from land holding as it now is to land holding as his principles require. It makes me tired to read the rhetoric showing that the community has a God-given right to

the soil, just as it would tire me to read an argument showing that a man not disturbing others has a right to walk or run or fly or sail from Texas to Maine. The real question is, how statutory enactments forbidding these acts are to be set aside. I can see no means by which society can pass from the present system to the George system but by revolution. The government cannot offer compensation for the land without borrowing the means at rates of interest equal to the taxes the land could pay. To buy the corner of Fifth and Vine would require \$360,000, which the government must provide by a loan, the interest on which must be paid by taxes on this very land.

The most reasonable plan that I have seen is to extinguish land titles at the rate of two per cent per annum, so that at the end of fifty years all the land would belong to the community.

Now this is what I wish to see the Henry George men address themselves to. There may be work to do in enlightening men to see his general principle, but I do not need it. John Brown saw that slavery was a wrong, and in defiance of statutes he threw himself against the law and perished as a martyr and hero. Before society gets through with this Henry George business there will be John Browns demanding with arms in their hands the rights George teaches them to assert. George is not offering a panacea, he is announcing a principle, and principles are incorporated into the Magna Charta of human rights as the sequel of conflicts of class against class.

C. B. CHASE.

The practical steps for a passage from the private ownership of rent to the public ownership thereof have been clearly shown. If the bloody revolution does come it will be because men sit down and say that the present can never learn from the past; that the politically free men of to-day, when knowledge is more widely diffused than for centuries back at least, must act and re-enact the same bloody scenes.

Who are working for the single tax? Every free trader, even though he does not know it. Every man like Mayor Hewitt, who says that personal property taxes should be abolished and state and local taxes levied on real estate alone. Every man who says vacant land owners should be taxed on a full valuation instead of a fractional one. Every man who tries to get a factory plant exempt from taxation. All these are taking the practical steps which lead to the concentration of all taxes on land values and the freeing of vacant land to the user.

There never was a change from one fundamental system to another which had its gradual and peaceful progression so clearly mapped out for it. The breaking up of corrupt religious systems; the abolition of chattel slavery; the acquisition of political rights in tyranny ridden countries—all these involved more or less sudden and violent changes. But for the people to assert their right to the land (which, as you say, is self-evident) by means of gradually dropping other taxes and placing taxation on those values which attach to land by reason of the growth of the community is not only a peaceful and rational policy, but every step in the progression will prove its relative advantage to all but the smallest kind of a small minority of the people, and its actual advantage even to the minority. It has been found that in the cities and towns of Michigan two per cent of the families own sixty-one per cent of the real estate. Do you suppose that it will be necessary to go to war in order that state taxes in Michigan shall be levied on real estate only, once you get people to see the folly and wrong of trying to assess personal property? And once you collect all taxes from real estate, do you

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think it will be necessary to go to war in order that buildings and improvements shall be exempt? No. It may require a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to levy taxes in any way thought best instead of on all species of property, as now, but that is easily obtained once people are made to see what is wanted. The question is not a sectional nor a race question, and appeals to prejudice and bigotry by those who think they will lose will be unavailing.

A reform of taxation which will leave to the individual all that he produces, and stop the robbery of the individual which is involved in landlordism and our present taxes on industry, is a prevention of confiscation—not confiscation. The selling value of land is simply the amount a man is willing to pay for the privilege of collecting values which he does not create, the privilege of taxing his fellow citizens; or, in the case of the user of land, it is the price he pays for the sake of not being forced to pay rent to others; that is, the price he pays to escape being robbed. And when the producers of wealth, manufacturers, merchants, farmers, laborers, or whatever they may be, understand this, they have the peaceful remedy at hand; and the cry of "confiscation" will be raised rather against the robbing taxes that hamper industry and fine the diligent and frugal, than against the single tax even though it does destroy the selling value of bare land.

If a class war does arise, it will be not because of the single tax propaganda, but because of there not having been enough single tax propaganda.

W. B. S.

Notes.

K. P. Alexander, Springfield, Mo.—Yes; wages will continually rise.

Emblems of the Trade.

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Murphy—Oi tought ivry intelligen mon knew they manes fait, hope and an' charity.

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New York Sun, Sept. 22.

There is a laboring community within sight of New York where there are no capitalists, no labor unions, no strikes, no discontent, and no real poverty. Almost every family owns its house and patch of ground, and almost every skilled workman employs his own powers in the way that seems to him best. The land from which these workmen draw their living is either owned by themselves or occupied at a nominal rent. In this community child labor is almost unknown, and the aged employ themselves in tasks lighter than the laborious trade at which most of the adult members work.

Did you ever happen to stand at the Fort Lee ferry and look across the Hudson toward the Palisades? If so, then your eyes have rested upon the abode of this curious community. Along the Jersey shore, from Fort Lee to Coitville, a mile or more, extend the homes and quarries of the men that make bluestone paving blocks. Every one that knows the streets of New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City, Hoboken, or Newark knows the tough trap rock of the Palisades. From Fort Lee northward this rock wall extends for many miles, with varying heights and rare breaks. Westward, for a mile or more inland, the rock lies near the surface. It is easily split with powder or edged tools, but tougher than granite when built into houses or laid in street beds. For thirty-five or forty years the residents of the region, mostly the descendants of settlers long living in this country, have been turning this stone into paving blocks. Partly because the place was inaccessible, and partly because the absentee owners of the land have valued it less for the quarries than as the prospective site of a suburban population, these quarrymen have obtained quarry privileges almost rent free. The prevailing rent, where any has been demanded, is \$1 per thousand blocks, but in many instances the little quarries are worked by squatters, who take the stone rent free, and when warned off retire, only to return when the landowner's agent disappears.

Almost the entire stone output of the region is quarried by individual workmen, who retain for themselves the whole earnings of their industry, save the little that goes for rent. A man brought up in this region becomes a fairly skilled blockmaker in from four to eight months, though half a lifetime is not too much for one who would know all the kinks of the trade and all the peculiarities of the materials in which he works. When once the necessary skill is acquired, a man may set up business for himself at an outlay of perhaps less than \$10.

A skilled blockmaker working from six to eight hours a day can produce from 100 to 150 blocks daily. The price has seldom fallen below \$26 per 1,000, and last year it rose to \$42. It is a poor blockmaker who clears less than \$2 a day, and in good times skilled and industrious men have made from \$4 to \$5 a day. One Italian who has been blockmaking along the Palisades for thirteen years is reputed to have laid up \$12,000. There is nothing to prevent the blockmaker from working all the year round, save on the rare occasions when the weather is absolutely unendurable. In summer the blockmaker works from 5 in the morning until 9; rests until 3 or 4, when his quarry has become shadowed by the western hill, and quits at 6 or 7. In winter he seldom works more than seven hours a day. He allows himself all the holidays going, and regards pleasure as having equal claims with business.

The conditions prevailing at Fort Lee and Coitville have produced some odd results in the labor market. The old Palisades stone company has found the blockmakers a stiff-necked and rebellious generation. The company's quarries lie at the foot of the Palisades, while the individual quarries dot the hill above. From time to time blockmakers are seduced into working for the company, but they insist upon all sorts of privileges, and on the slightest provocation quit work with the defiant proclamation: "We can do better up on the hill." The company has at various times offered to pay blockmakers \$20 per 1,000 blocks, to furnish all tools, do all blasting and sharpening, and provide laborers to handle the rock in bulk. The result was always the same. The men worked irregularly and soon returned to their own little quarries. Recently the company has been experimenting with a machine designed to cut the blocks, but as yet it has not been perfected. The blockmakers know their advantages, and some of them have a clear perception of the economic principles that underlie the situation.

"What would you fellows do if we should lease or buy the whole region here?" asked the company's superintendent.

ent of a blockmaker who had quit the company's employment and gone back to his own solitary, but profitable little quarry.

"Why," said he "we'd have to come down and work for whatever you'd give us."

Other laborers than skilled blockmakers are not especially well paid at Coitville, though, of course, the conditions prevailing there to some extent affect the whole labor market. Indeed the influence of the individual quarries is felt down at Weehawken, where a different system prevails, but where wages are higher than at Jersey City and other points further removed from the example of Fort Lee and Coitville.

Of late years some of the property owners along the Palisades have come to think that it may be worth while to squeeze a fair rental out of the quarries. Accordingly, agents have been stationed on the ground to keep off squatters, and in some instances there have been made with the workmen. The prevailing rental, however, is still in the form of a royalty of \$1 per 1,000, or from 2½ to 4 per cent of the product. Many of the blockmakers, however, own little plots about their houses, and when a New York resident recently drove the squatters from his land, one of the trespassing quarrymen was seen a few days later comfortably making blocks in a quarry opened up in his own front yard.

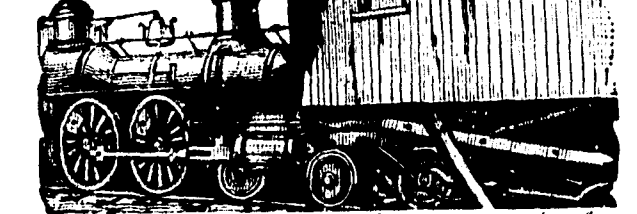
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67	percent for the Golden-Rod,
21	" " " " " " " " " " " "
3	" " " " " " " " " " " "
3	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1	" " " " " " " " " " " "
1	" " " " " " " " " " " "

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