

THE STANDARD

NO. 151—VOL. VI, NO. 21.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

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

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

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

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

ADVERTISING rate thirty cents per agate line each insertion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sample copies sent free on application.

CONTENTS:

Editorial. The Knights of Labor Adopt the Single Tax—Wonderful Progress in Canada—Herbert Spencer's Apostasy—The Hutchins Bequest—The Army and Navy—Location of the World's Fair—Allison's Chances of Re-Election—Let the Millionaires Alone—The Trouble in Pennsylvania—Mr. Shriver's Reflections—The Enrollment Committee's Address.

Notes and Queries. The Barbed Wire Trust—A New On Company—The Adirondack Forests—Harlem's Streets—Farmers and the Single Tax—Can a Tax on Land Values be Shifted?—Speculation at Salt Lake—The Democrats and the Senate.

Letters to the Editor. Father Huntington's Chicago Speech—Progress in Ireland—Bearing Fruit in New Zealand—Something of a Difference.

Freedom for Sham Money. T. G. Shearman. Some Political Reflections. E. J. Shriver. English Politics. Rev. Harold Rylett. Progress in London. Foreign Notes.

The Social Problem. Nationalism in the United States—Christianity and Socialism—The New Trades Unionism—The Owners of the United States—Trusts and Monopolies—The Arena.

Ballot Reform. County Democrats Declare for It—Connecticut Ballot Reformers Encouraged—Opinion of ex-Congressman Russell—Governor Hill Ready to Compromise.

Socialism and the Police.

New Ideas, Methods and Inventions.

The Free Trade Fight. Ex-Secretary McCulloch Advocates a Tariff for Revenue Only—Captain Cushman on Our Mercantile Marine—Senator Frye on Reciprocity.

Taxes in Illinois.

City Improvements.

Society Notes.

Single Tax News. The Knights of Labor Declare for the Single Tax—The Petition—Address of the Enrollment Committee—Cincinnati Preachers Face a Dilemma—Mr. Shearman's Address to the Harlem Democrats—The Drainage Question in Chicago—West Virginia—Mount Vernon's Assessment—Land Monopoly in Brazil.

Herbert Spencer on the Land Question.

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

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

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

EDITORIAL.

The declaration of the general assembly of the Knights of Labor in favor of the single tax, is to the labor movement the most important event which during the six volumes of its issue THE STANDARD has been able to record.

At last the great vague impulse which gave birth to the Knights of Labor, and has inspired all the efforts to organize workingmen against social injustice, has become coherent. At last the true standard is raised in the ranks of organized labor—at last the true path has been taken.

To the influence of General Master Workman Powderly, backed by that of the many single tax men who have remained in the order, this action is due. He has now—and it may be as soon as he prudently could—put himself in the position which properly belongs to him, and made himself a power for all that is good. He has brought the great order which he heads out of the jungle in which it has been entangled into the straight road that leads to victory.

How thoroughly Mr. Powderly understands the step which he has taken, and how completely he has united himself with the forces of reform, and brought the knights into the alliance which is destined ere long to sweep the country and rewrite its laws, is to be seen in the interviews such as that telegraphed to the Herald even more conclusively than in the amended declaration of principles which the Knights have adopted. He has not merely declared for the single tax, but has specifically declared for its corollary free trade, and though heretofore a life long protectionist, has come out squarely against the system of robbery which goes by the name of protection. In the Herald interview Mr. Powderly says:

"I'm not talking tariff this year," said Mr. Powderly, "but it seems to me that the policy of protection is a wrong on labor. The laboring classes are not protected—only the manufacturers. The rich receive the protection. The American manufacturer adds the duty to what should be the natural and fair price for his product. The burden of the tariff rests its crushing weight upon the poor. The tariff needs reforming. It is the poor, the great mass of the people, who need protection, and they will never get it under the so-called policy of protection."

Mr. Powderly now proposes to make a union of the knights with the farmers' alliance. He can do nothing more useful. The interests of labor are one, and to permanently improve the condition of the workingmen of the cities the condition of the farmers must be improved. The way for this union is now clear.

Full of promise for the future as the action of the Knights of Labor is, it is also a notable indication of the way in which the single tax idea has been making progress among the masses.

One has but to read the signs of the present to see that the future is ours.

Ex-Congressman R. G. Horr of Michigan, and I, opened the course of the Young men's Christian association of Syracuse, N. Y., on Tuesday, the 12th, with a debate on the single tax. Mr. Horr is a fluent speaker and a good representative of notions current among a class of people who think that this country depends for its greatness upon the tariff, and that the single tax would ruin the farmers and

make land worth nobody's holding. The audience seemed to enjoy the debate.

A splendid audience it was, both in quantity and quality, a large proportion being ladies. The clergy of all denominations were out in full force, among them Bishop Huntington of central New York and Rev. Father O'Hara, whose noble form and silvery hair would make him a man of mark anywhere. United States Senator Hisecock was also present, as were prominent local members of all parties. Rev. Alfred S. Durston, secretary of the Young men's Christian association, presided.

The Y. M. C. A. of Syracuse is a live institution. Though not large enough for the debate which took place in the Alhambra, they have a very beautiful hall of their own which will seat some six hundred. They have spacious parlors and reading rooms, a good bowling alley and a well appointed gymnasium, where muscular Christianity is taught to classes of both sexes by Professor McCormick and Assistant Professor Plant. This is an exceedingly popular part of the establishment, so much so that the classes have outgrown it.

Louis Prang of Boston arrived in New York on Sunday week from Paris, where his exhibit of oil printing carried off the gold medal. Louis Prang is a single tax man, and therefore an absolute free trader. He has, of course, no conscientious objections to smuggling, but don't like to tell even a custom house lie. (There may be protectionists of the same sort, but I have never happened to run across them.) So he declared that he had in one of his trunks two pictures and some presents, and consequently had to wait while an appraiser was sent for to come to the other side of the North river and determine how much he should be fined. I, as well as the surplus, profited by his conscientiousness, for while the trunk was in duress and the United States was hunting up an appraiser, he came to see me. During his stay in France he has been paying particular attention to the system of public education, which he declares to be now the best in the world, far ahead of Germany and far, far ahead of the United States. Every communal school throughout France has now its gymnasium and gymnastic classes and its technical instruction. And the text books and teaching are, Mr. Prang says, of the highest order. France cannot hope to cope with Germany in military power, for the increase of the German population, in spite of emigration, is steadily increasing the relative preponderance of Germany, but the magnificent system of public education which is now in operation in France will in a short time, Mr. Prang believes, put her far ahead in all the arts of peace. And even military power must in our modern times ultimately depend on the arts of peace.

After I had come away from Paris this summer I heard an Englishman speaking with admiration of one of the things in the American exhibit—a straight-line engine running without packing, built in a place called Syracuse.

I was in the place called Syracuse, but had forgotten all about the straight-line engine until, as I sat in the audience in the Alhambra waiting for Mr. Durston and Mr. Horr to make their appearance,

I heard two men behind me talking. One was saying: "The usual sign is, 'No admittance except on business,' or 'No admittance except to those employed in these works,' or something of that sort; but that man puts up, 'Visitors always welcome!'"

Apologizing for the interruption, I asked who the man might be. "There he is," was the reply, "the gentleman who has just come in with the lady—Professor Sweet, who builds the straight-line engines."

The next day, before I left Syracuse, I sought the straight-line engine works, for I had never in my life seen a factory or machine shop with such an inscription. There it was, sure enough, and on a fine new brick building which is being put up to meet the rapidly increasing demand for straight-line engines, it is carved in stone over the archway.

Professor Sweet was out, but I said I would like to see the works, and without more ado a young man took me over the whole establishment and explained to me everything I cared to know. Before leaving I said: "Professor Sweet is a free trader, of course?" "No," said the young man, "he is a republican—a protectionist." "Good heavens!" I replied; "does a man who builds engines like these want to be protected?" "Oh, no!" said the young man; "Professor Sweet don't want any protection for himself. He could get along all right. But he wants protection, I think for the other people who can't."

I met Professor Sweet on the street, just as I had left the works, and had a little chat with him. He is a protectionist by habit, just as I was once and as thousands and thousands of intelligent men are yet—because they have been busy on other things and have let others do their thinking for them on such questions as the tariff. But there can be no doubt where the man who will put "Visitors always welcome" over his factory gates will be when he does begin to think about the tariff.

Professor John E. Sweet was formerly professor of mechanics at Cornell, which position he resigned to go into the business of making an engine that would run steadily enough to fulfill the requirements of electric lighting. I congratulated him upon his sign. For this he refused to take credit. He said he got the idea during a trip in England, where he found such a sign on the great pen works of Joseph Gillett. He thought it was a good spirit and good policy, and determined to adopt it.

I met in Syracuse our friend J. K. Maguire. His report of the steady advance of the single tax idea was very encouraging. He has been writing some single tax articles for the local papers, which Bishop Huntington told me have attracted a good deal of attention. For some time past Mr. Maguire has been acting with the democratic party, keeping his eye on free trade, the single tax and the Australian ballot. The democrats offered him a nomination to the legislature at the last election, but he would have been pitted against a moneyed man, and judged it hopeless to run with the present system of voting in force.

I crossed into Ontario at the suspension bridge, where American custom house officers rob travelers and blackmail commerce at one end and Canadian custom house officers do the same thing at the other. In Toronto I spoke for the Anti-poverty

society on the night of the 14th in Association hall. Though the night was bad, the audience was a splendid one, including a number of the provincial ministers and members of parliament. Mr. S. P. Wood presided, and the platform was filled with active single tax men.

Nowhere do our ideas seem to have made greater progress than in Toronto. Significant indications of this have been given in extracts printed in THE STANDARD from time to time from the Toronto Globe, the leading daily of upper Canada, and the Toronto Grip, the Canadian Punch—for papers like these not merely move, they measure public opinion. The Mail also, which was at one time a staunch supporter of protection, is now hammering away against it, while the Empire, the tory organ, which Sir John Macdonald tried the protected manufacturers into starting, is from all accounts simply wasting their fat, without obtaining any circulation worth speaking of.

How much attention is being directed to the subject of taxation and how rapidly the single tax idea is coming to the front in Canada was shown in the convention of officials of the various towns in Ontario, which assembled in Toronto in the early part of last week to discuss municipal legislation. In this convention Alderman Mason of Hamilton moved the recommendation of an amendment to the municipal act that would confine taxation to real estate. He declared that he himself was in favor of going further, exempting improvements and putting all taxation on the value of land, pointing out that this was not only far more equitable than the present system of attempting to tax everything, but that it would prevent speculators from holding land vacant that ought to be in use. His speech, according to the newspaper reports, was received with ringing cheers, as were also similar remarks of Alderman Henderson of Ottawa. Mr. Larke of Oshawa, supported Alderman Mason's proposition. He said the present system put the bulk of taxation upon men who were least able to bear it and that there could be no measure that would be so beneficial to the masses as the concentration of taxation on land values. Mayor Heyd of Brantford declared himself personally in favor of the proposition but opposed action by the convention because he did not believe the people were yet prepared for it. Mayor Taylor of London also declared himself personally in favor of the abolition of all taxes upon incomes and personalty, but he did not think the convention ought to pass upon the matter, as the members had not been instructed, and did not know the opinions of the municipalities upon the question. He thought the provincial government should send out a circular asking the opinion of the municipalities on the question of exempting incomes and personal property from taxation. At present he was in favor of recommending the abolition of all exemptions (of church property) as a first step in tax reform. This seemed to be the opinion of a majority of the convention, for it voted down Alderman Mason's amendment, but adopted a recommendation in favor of doing away with the exemptions of taxation now made in favor of church property. But the unexpected debate showed the great strength of the idea of concentrating taxation on land values. The only one who really opposed the idea was Warden Dwyer of Lincoln, and he did so, not as a matter of individual opinion, but, as he said, because he believed the farmers would object to it.

In the session of the Baptist Congress of America which opened in Toronto on the 12th, the single tax also forced its

way to the front. Hon. David A. Mills, a member of the provincial parliament, brought it up by a speech in which he opposed the protective principle, declaring that all attempts to favor particular industries by artificial restrictions and monopolies were at the expense of the rest of the community, and made the many poorer and the few richer. The granting of bonuses—the attempt to give some people an advantage at the expense of other people, was, he declared, not taxation, but robbery. Then, strangely enough, Mr. Mills went on to oppose a doctrine, which, he said, was taking firm hold upon the people—the doctrine that land ought to be taxed and nothing else. As to this he said a great many foolish things, showing that he did not apprehend the fact that the ideas he was opposing were only the logical extension of the ideas he had been advocating. But in doing this he gave the single tax men among the members of the Baptist congress a fair opportunity to expound our doctrines, and was replied to in admirable style by Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch and Rev. Leighton Williams, both of New York, who declared themselves single tax men, and explained the single tax principle. They were followed by the chairman of the congress, Mr. D. E. Thomson, a leading lawyer of Toronto, who left the chair to make a ringing single tax speech.

Such friends of ours as E. W. Thompson and A. C. Campbell of the Globe, as Wright of the Grip, and as Wood and Douglas and the other active men of the Anti-poverty society tell me that all their most sanguine expectations have been exceeded by the manner in which during the last few months the progress of single tax ideas has been showing itself on every hand. And I got the same report from the friends I met from other parts of Canada.

As the thin end of the single tax wedge, the Anti-poverty society are circulating a petition to the provincial parliament of Ontario asking for the exemption from taxation of \$600 worth of improvements to each person. This they have found to be an exceedingly good way of setting the farmers to thinking on the subject. Whether in this way or in some other, the question must ere long come into practical politics in Canada. All the influences of the time are pushing it to the front.

In the Toronto meeting questions were sent up in writing. Among them came this, which was read by the chairman and which will be of special interest to our friends in the Keystone state. As to the fact I know nothing except the general fact that in the Pennsylvania legislature, as in congress and other legislative bodies, there are many men who really hold our opinions, but do not think that the time has yet come to say so openly:

It may be of interest to Mr. George to know that at a recent meeting of the lower house of the Pennsylvania legislature, during an interval in the business proceedings, a member inquired how many present had read and favored Henry George's doctrines. The show of hands counted 110 members in favor of them out of 220 present. The writer had this from Dr. Walk, a member from Philadelphia.

In Canada, in Pennsylvania, as in New York and everywhere else, what is most needed is that the quiet men who believe in the single tax should in some way come out and show their colors. There are thousands of clergymen ready to come to our side as soon as they know that there is a public opinion to support them, while as for the politicians, all that they wait for is to see which way the popular current sets. Every man who avows himself in favor of the single tax not merely adds his influence to

the movement, but helps to bring out some one else to swell the growing tide.

I went from Toronto to Kingston, where I lectured in the opera house on the night of the 15th to a very intelligent audience of some 600 people. I rode to Port Hope with one of the most active and useful single tax men on the three continents, John F. Baker of Toronto, who told me much of interest; and for the rest of the way with Mr. R. W. Shannon of the Kingston Daily News, a member of the municipal council of Toronto. Mr. Shannon is a great lover of music, even though he is a protectionist and cannot see the economic harmonies, and a great admirer of Sir John Macdonald, at present the "uncrowned king" of Canada. What most excites my admiration of all I have heard of Sir John is the ability which he is said to have to curl himself up whenever he wants to and go to sleep. This must be a great element of power.

Kingston has a beautiful situation, on the site selected by the early French explorers for the building of Fort Frontenac, just where Lake Ontario narrows into the mighty St. Lawrence.

J. M. Machar, a leading lawyer of Toronto, met me at the station and the Folger brothers, who were originally New York men, but have for years been doing a large business in Canada, put their steamer at our disposal for a sunset sail along the front of the city. The air was crisp, the atmosphere wonderfully clear, the sky luminous; the broken clouds in the west, black and gold, and the beautiful lake as smooth as a mill pond. As we quietly sailed along my fancy sought to restore the virgin forest and to participate the feelings of the first explorers as the great inland sea opened to their eyes and the thought of the new empire they were giving to Christianity filled their minds. Church and college and luxurious mansion rise now from the banks of Lake Ontario; the town is lit with the electric light, and connected with the uttermost parts of the world of trade by telegraph. But the most prominent building in the panorama unrolled as one sails along the city front is the great penitentiary, where seven or eight hundred human beings, deprived of all that makes life worth living, are immured. One also sees the graceful lines of a steam yacht, now hauled up for the winter, belonging to an American who has made a fortune out of penitentiary labor.

Roswell P. Flower of New York is president and largest owner in the railway which runs from Kingston to Pembroke, a hundred miles to the north, penetrating a large lumber and mineral country. Kingston gets its coal from the American side and has to pay a duty, while New England gets its coal from Nova Scotia and has to pay a duty on that. Rich mines of magnetic iron ore along the line of the Kingston and Pembroke railway are unworked because of the seventy-five cents duty which the United States stupidly imposes on iron ore. At the same time these ores cannot be worked in Toronto because of the duty which the Dominion government imposes on coal.

The station of the Kingston and Pembroke railway is a little gem, and reflects great credit on the company of which Mr. Flower is president, and the Folgers are, I believe, the local agents. It is built in very neat and tasteful style, is lit by the electric light, and has ample accommodations for waiting passengers. But the gilt edge which distinguishes it above other stations are the palms and other indoor plants which ornament its

waiting room. Upstairs is a reading room well furnished with current papers, and containing a little library. This is maintained by the railroad company for the accommodation of the men who may have to wait around the station.

Although I only stayed a little while in Canada, I had the pleasure of meeting some most interesting people, among them Principal Grant of Queen's college, originally an iron molder, who, losing one arm in an accident, has forced himself up by sheer dint of mental power and character to one of the most influential positions in the Dominion. I also met Professor Short of the same college. He is a student of political economy, but is seemingly oblivious of the fact that under the present treatment of land the user must always pay to some private individual, if not to the government, a bonus equal to the special advantage that the use of that land will give him, and in addition to this he is in many cases compelled to pay a bonus based upon the expectation of the future increase in the value of land. So he has a queer notion in his mind that to concentrate taxation upon land values would be to limit the use of land and consequently to crowd people closer together. He has evidently not traced the distinction between a tax on all land and a tax on land values.

Mr. Machar's wife is a sister of Grant Allen, the novelist, now living in England, who wrote some months ago for the Contemporary Review a splendid single tax article, which was reprinted in THE STANDARD. She looks very much like him. Mrs. Machar, since attention has been called to it, has fished out of the library of her father a copy of Dove's "Human Progression," with the leaves still uncut, which she showed to me and lent to another one of our Kingston single tax men, Mr. A. Hoppins.

I stopped in Montreal only to change trains and get breakfast, but I found waiting for me at the station William Keys, vice president of the Tax reform association, and the two Darlington brothers, of the same association. Our friend L. L. Peltier, a conductor on the Grand Trunk, left his train to join mine and ride with me well into Vermont. They had much to tell me of the progress that is being made in Montreal. One of the things that is bringing the single tax idea up there is the matter of the assessment of water rates, which are now levied on tenants, the poor paying much more than the rich and the holders of vacant lots escaping altogether. The Star, the paper of largest circulation in Montreal, and the Witness, the evangelical paper of largest circulation in Canada, are both opening their columns to articles setting forth single tax ideas, and there are many individual instances which show the advance.

I was curious to know whether we were making any progress among the French Canadians. Mr. Peltier, who, although a native of Vermont, is of French descent and speaks French as his mother tongue, tells me that we are. In proof, instanced the fact that in the Canadian labor convention, held recently in Montreal, the French delegates, twenty-two in number, voted unanimously for the single tax resolution which was adopted.

The same general conditions which exist in the United States exist in Canada. The cities are growing, and great fortunes are beginning to arise. Toronto has doubled her population in seven years and a few people have made much money by the increase of land values, one gentleman who was the means of giving us one of

the most efficient friends we have in Canada, by handing to him a copy of "Progress and Poverty," has cleared a million and become unable, publicly at least, to see why all other property should not be taxed equally with land. But it is becoming harder for the masses to live. Poverty is growing, and more penitentiaries and insane asylums are required. The farmers are being steadily impoverished and eaten out, and in protected factories children of ten years are working fifteen hours a day. I had a talk in Toronto with a gentleman who knows as much probably of the mortgage business as any man in Canada. He told me that mortgages are being plastered over the farms as extensively as in our western states, and with the general result that the farmer never gets clear again. Agricultural land in Ontario and Quebec is declining, while the city land is increasing in value.

As an instance, a certain capitalist in Kingston held a mortgage on a farm in the vicinity, from which he drew \$300 annually in interest for seven years. The farmer could pay no longer and the capitalist foreclosed. He rented the farm for \$200 per annum for three years. Now the tenant comes to him to declare that he can no longer pay such a rent, and that if he does not get a reduction to \$150 he will quit.

One gentleman, probably as well situated to make an estimate as anyone in the Dominion, told me that he was of opinion that there are at least six hundred millions of English capital now invested in Canada drawing interest in one form or another, and if present conditions continue the situation of the country will soon approximate that of Ireland. The national policy or protective system has made a few men rich, but very few; while the onerous taxes which it imposes are grinding the masses. Local taxation is no better than ours. As one instance given me, a carpenter in Portmouth bought one out of seventeen lots offered by a speculator for sale, and proceeded to put upon it a little house. The taxes which were at once assessed on him were more than the speculator was assessed on the other sixteen lots. At Gananoque, at the head of the Thousand Islands part of the St. Lawrence river, an iron worker, whose name was given me, bought a lot well out of town from the McDonald estate, which descended to the present owners from one of the American loyalists who were awarded grants of land in Canada for their losses in our War of Independence. He paid for the lot \$300, the savings of six years, and by putting in a little other money which he had saved, and by giving a mortgage on both house and lot, he managed to put up a house costing \$300. The tax on the land in its vacant state had been one and a half cents a year, it being valued as agricultural land at \$10 per acre. No sooner had the iron molder put up his little house than the lot which had paid a cent and a half when vacant was assessed to him at \$300, and the house at \$300 more, making the tax nine dollars a year as against one cent and a half to the speculator.

A school teacher, of whom I was told, got married twenty-five years ago. He and his wife have since that time worked early and late clearing up and improving their farm and paying taxes upon it. An adjoining piece of land, of the same size and quality, belongs to a non-resident lawyer. He has let it lie in a state of nature and has during these years paid next to no taxes at all. But standing timber has increased in value, and to-day his tract would sell for twice the money

that would the farm on which twenty-five years' of labor have been put.

A great deal of money has been made in Canada by the advance in the value of timber, but it goes to a few rich men. One gentleman in Renfrew paid originally \$25,000 for a timber limit. He has lumbered it for twenty-five years, and recently sold it for \$700,000. He now thinks he let it go too cheap.

As showing the advance of land values even in the older parts of Toronto, a lot was pointed out to me that was in 1855 bought with a house upon it, by its present owner for \$1,000. He has recently let it to parties who propose to put up a new building, for \$2,000 a year, and they pay the taxes.

As suggested by the story of "George Washington Smith and His Little Ax," which appeared in last week's STANDARD, Mr. Baker told me that at Millbrook, near Port Hope, he got into conversation toward the close of last winter with a laborer. This "protected laborer" said that all the work he had been able to get during the winter had amounted to three weeks, for which he received eighty cents a day, handling grain. Within sight of where they stood was the virgin pine forest of the township of Manvers, consisting of thirty-eight square miles of splendid pine land, increasing in value year by year, but paying almost no taxes. Had he been but free to nature's opportunities this laborer could have made a comfortable and easy living.

But Canada is waking up, just as the masses in Great Britain and the United States are waking up. It is fortunate that in all three countries the party of protection and monopoly is in power, for the advance from liberalism to radicalism will be on this account the more rapid. The discussion of the tariff question in the United States is having its counterpart in Canada and is progressing in the same direction.

The rapidity with which the single tax idea is taking possession of the liberal party in Great Britain, and the manner in which the leaders are yielding to it, was illustrated at the recent great gathering of Gladstonian liberals from all parts of the north of Scotland, held in Aberdeen on October 22. Delegates were present from all the liberal associations of the north. The earl of Elgin, chairman of the Scottish liberal association, presided, and there was a large gathering of members of parliament, including Sir George Otto Trevelyan and Mr. Labouchere. The third resolution was moved by John Rae of Haddo, Laurencekirk, and seconded by D. C. Macdonald of Aberdeen, the gentleman who has reprinted Professor Ogilvie's book. It was as follows:

III. That this conference views with the deepest concern the increasing congestion of the working population in our large cities, while the country population is comparatively on the decrease, leaving large tracts of land to lie uncultivated; and therefore resolves that parliament be urged to give immediate attention to land law reform, with the object of insuring a just distribution and full use of lands, fishings and mines, by making them subject to imperial and local taxation on their real value, irrespective of buildings or improvements, thus preventing lands in town and country being held speculatively, or for purposes of sport, to the detriment of the highest interest of the nation.

This is a quiet and dexterous, but perfectly clear, putting of the single tax idea. The significant thing is that it was unanimously adopted.

As our readers will wish to see the full text of Herbert Spencer's recent declaration on the land question referred to in the cable dispatches, we reprint it in this issue from the London Times of November 7. There is, however, nothing new

in it. It merely shows what Herbert Spencer has already abundantly shown, that now that the principles which he so admirably laid down in 1850 have come into the arena of practical action, he does not want to be connected with or held responsible for them. He was bold as a lion in declaring the equal and inalienable right of all men to the use of natural elements in 1850. Then he could state the truth without offending the ruling class, since it was then a mere matter of philosophical speculation. But now that the same truth is filling the minds of men and stirring the masses to action, he has become as timorous as a hare.

The disingenuous way in which Herbert Spencer treats the proposition of buying out the landowners and making land the formal property of the state as though it were the only one that is made or is possible, for the restoration of their natural rights to the people, is characteristic of his cowardly apostasy. No one knows better than Herbert Spencer that this is neither the only, the obvious, the probable nor the popular method for restoring to men the equal right which he has so unanswerably shown to be theirs by reason of their existence.

He knows that the plan which is coming into practical politics in England, the idea of which the pleasant society in which his intellectual power has at last given him the privilege of moving is most afraid, is not that of the nationalization of land by making land the formal property of the state, but that of the single tax, which has none of the objections which he states, and which runs against socialism and communism, and not with them.

This letter will be a shock to many single tax men who are sincere admirers of Herbert Spencer, and who will compare it with "Social Statics." So far as I am concerned, I got that shock over seven years ago, when in a London salon, crowded with men distinguished in literature, science and politics, I for the first and only time met Herbert Spencer, and heard him declare with the utmost vehemence that he was in favor of "any amount of coercion in Ireland that was necessary to give the tenants freedom to pay their rent!"

Herbert Spencer has sold more than his birthright for a pitiful mess of pottage during the few years that remain to him. But palter and circumlocute as he may, he can never cover up the truth which in his younger days he so clearly demonstrated. The time is rapidly coming when all over the civilized world the laws will concede what he, in 1850, laid down—that "it is impossible to discover any mode by which land can become private property"—when all over the civilized world the masses will answer the question which he then asked: "How long does it take for what was originally wrong to grow into right? At what rate per annum do invalid rights become valid?" But while the intellect of the man will be admired, the man himself will be despised. He will be one more example of the men who in intellect giants, have in the moral qualities been dwarfs—one more added to the list of those called upon to be prophets who have stooped to bend the knee to Babel.

Just as THE STANDARD goes to press I learn that the decision of Vice-Chancellor Bird, holding the legacy bequeathed by Mr. Hutchins of Ancora for the distribution of my works to be invalid because the teachings of those works were immoral and against public policy, has been reversed by the highest court of New Jersey. This is, of course, what was to be expected. Vice-

Chancellor Bird has simply made himself a monumental example of legal ignorance. I will, as soon as the funds are available, print as large an edition as they will permit (with a fair profit) for distribution among farmers, and will turn over everything above the bare cost to the widow, in whose favor I offered to abandon my claims if the collateral heirs would abandon theirs.

The thanks of the people of New Jersey for relieving New Jersey law of the ridicule which Vice-Chancellor Bird put upon it are due, not only to these collateral heirs, but to the lawyers who have carried on this case without expense to me. But I have not time to speak of the matter in detail this week.

General Schofield wants to have the army raised to 30,000 enlisted men. A more democratic plan would be to discharge every enlisted man. We have commissioned officers enough for all the standing army the American republic needs.

Four vessels of the "new navy" have sailed from New York for Boston, under command of an admiral, who has not been to sea for twenty years—so many are the life office holders for which our navy is an excuse. From Boston they are going to the Mediterranean and other European seas, to show off to the "effete monarchies." The thing is ridiculous as well as expensive. A nation which strangles its merchant marine with protective duties cannot be a real naval power, no matter how many war vessels it may build.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE ENROLMENT COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS.

The single tax enrolment committee is right in assuming that the year 1890 is likely to be an important one in the history of our movement. The congressional campaign of next fall will be a fierce contest on the issue of protection or free trade. Of course the question will nominally be one as to the mere reduction of existing tariff taxation, but no ingenuity or determination of the democratic leaders can confine the discussion within these narrow lines. The appeal must be made to the farmers and the workingmen, and the moment these people are shown how they have been cheated and deceived by the protectionist advocates they will turn fiercely on the whole system and be disposed to attack all forms of tariff taxation. The arguments against taxing men on what they consume necessarily go beyond mere tariff reduction and make for absolute free trade.

In such a light the single tax men will not only be active participants, but they constitute the advance guard of those who will break down the superstition that has bound so many wage earners to the support of the protected monopolists. In no other way can they so effectively force economic questions on public consideration and so effectively pave the way for the establishment of the only just system of obtaining the necessary fund for the maintenance of government.

There ought to be among us concert of action and purpose and renewed zeal and energy in the advocacy of our principles, not merely in connection with the political campaign, but in the direct advocacy of the single tax. In order that such concert and energy may be assured the work of organization must be carried on systematically, and our friends all over the country must be stimulated and encouraged by the knowledge that they have numerous fellow workers. Until a representative committee is constituted through the action of a sufficient number of state or local organizations the enrolment committee is the most convenient agency for inter-communication between single tax organizations, and it is a subject for congratulation that the committee is willing to carry on the work.

In order to do this effectively it must

have funds, and there is reason to believe that it will obtain them. A year ago there was no known body of single tax workers to whom it could appeal, and the necessary expenses were met by the liberality of a few friends of the cause, but the committee hopes that this year the contributions will come from a larger number of people. The response thus far indicates that the hope will be realized, and future numbers of THE STANDARD ought to show further evidence of this. Subscriptions ranging from one to five dollars a month are easily within the means of many who would find it difficult to contribute ten, twenty-five or fifty dollars in a lump sum, and they have the advantage of giving the committee an assured income that will enable it to form a reasonable estimate as to the amount of work it can safely undertake.

Let no one fear that the fund will become too large. The committee's addressing list now contains nearly seventy thousand names, and thousands of dollars could be profitably spent in sending literature over the whole list, to say nothing of responding to calls for tracts and petitions from the growing army of "workers." Money is not the only thing that is needed. The petition should be pushed, clubs should be organized, and those joining such organizations should see that they are made effective in advancing our principles.

"LET THE MILLIONAIRES ALONE."

Mr. Allen O. Meyers has been telling the democratic members-elect of the Ohio legislature that they ought not to vote for a millionaire for United States senator. "Don't do it," says Mr. Meyers. "Don't vote for Cal. Brice or John R. McLean or Thomas. The moment you send a millionaire to the United States senate from Ohio, just that moment you beat the democratic party for ten years to come. The senatorship is for sale, but there is something that is not for sale, and that is public sentiment."

Mr. Meyers is not the man to whom we should naturally turn for instruction in public morals, but we may rely implicitly on the completeness of his knowledge of corruption and rascality in politics, and he has had personal experience of the consequences of such conduct that may well lead him to serious reflection. We believe he is still under sentence of imprisonment for participation in ballot box frauds, though out on bail pending an appeal. It is but just to say that Mr. Meyers makes no attempt to ignore this, for him, unpleasant fact, for in the course of his speech he declared, "I want no office. I would not accept one. The only thing I want is to keep out of jail." For himself he admitted that there was no political future, but the newly elected men, he said, have a future, and as they value that future he implored them: "Don't sell the senatorship this time. Don't let any man buy it. Don't put it up at auction. Give it to a poor man. If you give the senatorship to a rich man you will drive away from you for ten years those who have just contributed to your magnificent victory. Let the millionaires alone!"

There appears to be no reason for doubting the sincerity of Mr. Meyers's advice. He speaks from experience. He helped Millionaire Payne into the United States senate from Ohio, and he knows very well that that did not help the democratic party in his state. His advice is sound and should be taken to heart, not merely by the men to whom it was offered, but by democrats generally. "Let the millionaires alone." Do not senselessly attack them, for it is the people who have insisted on maintaining the conditions that have practically forced many men to become millionaires. Many of them are honorable men and doubtless some of them are sincere democrats, not merely in the party sense of the word, but in its broader sense.

Nevertheless, Mr. Meyers's advice is sound. "Let the millionaires alone" when it comes to bestowing public offices, and especially in electing United States senators. They are rapidly becoming, as Mr. Shearman has shown, "the owners of the United States," and they are apt to re-

gard themselves in that light rather than as public servants. The United States senate is often called "the American house of lords." It will become such veritably whenever it is a house of landlords representing "the owners of the United States."

The party that aspires to lead the people in the present fight against the growing power of monopoly and privilege cannot afford to lay itself open to the suspicion that it is willing to bestow power on men merely because they are wealthy. The people are properly suspicious of such elections, and they will not continue to trust a party that uses their votes to confirm the growing power of the plutocracy in our government.

Let the leaders of the democratic party never forget that its success depends on its becoming really democratic. Even when it had strayed furthest from the principles and policy of its founders, it was its name, and the memory of what it had been, that saved it from extinction. It has a better name than its opponent, for an aristocratic or a plutocratic republic is possible, and a believer in such a republic may fairly call himself a republican. Any man, however, who claims the name of democrat, with a full sense of its meaning, is necessarily the foe of aristocracy and plutocracy. There never before was a time when it was more important that the democratic party should impress on the public mind a conviction that it really means all that its name implies.

It is in this tariff fight to stay. It may have drifted, or it may have been dragged into it, but it cannot get out of it. Neither can it confine it to any mere question of the percentage of taxation to be imposed on the consumer. The protectionists are too clever to permit that, and yet not wise enough to see that this would nevertheless be their most prudent course. They loudly insist that tariff reduction, once begun, means the ultimate destruction of the protective system, and in this they are right. Nevertheless they thus force the democrats, however reluctantly, to attack the protective system, and the battle is at once joined between protection and free trade, without wasting years in a picaresque debate over percentages instead of principles.

But there is nothing to be said in behalf of free trade by those who favor the governmental fostering of monopolies. The manufacturers have as good a right to such aid as the railway rings, the coal barons or the owners of "holes in the ground," like the Standard oil trust. In fact, the arguments in behalf of taxing everybody to help some manufacturers are at once more plausible and more respectable, on the score of age, than those in behalf of taxing everybody to help other monopolies. This will become plainer as the contest continues, and whatever may be their mere intellectual conviction, those millionaires who are governed in their political action by a desire to get more millions will drift to the side of the protectionists. Doubtless some, and perhaps many, of them will rise superior to such selfish impulses, but these are not of the kind that buys gubernatorial honors and seats in the senate. Out of his bitterness of heart and his plenitude of experience Mr. Meyers has spoken words of true wisdom. The democratic party in Ohio and elsewhere had better heed his advice and "let the millionaires alone."

THE LOCATION OF THE WORLD'S FAIR.

The attitude of some of our "metropolitan journals" toward the claim of Chicago to the coming world's fair is anything but "metropolitan." It is a fact disputed by no one that New York and its sister cities clustered about the mouth of the Hudson constitute the metropolis of the American continent, and few, if any, doubt that this city will remain for all time the commercial and financial center of the western world. It certainly will so remain if the present burdensome restrictions on our foreign trade are abrogated. This being the case, it is narrow and provincial for New Yorkers to

look with anything like jealousy or dislike on the growth of inland cities. With commerce unshackled, the larger they grow the greater New York will become, and we should rejoice in the prosperity of any or all of them.

It is entirely natural that the people who live in New York and its vicinity, and especially that those who own land hereabouts, should want a great exhibition held here. It is equally natural that the daily papers should join in that desire, since the presence here of a multitude of visitors would promote the sales of newspapers, and by increasing the business of retail merchants add to their advertising revenues. But the land owners, the retail merchants and the newspapers of Chicago have an equal right to seek the same advantages, and it is preposterous for their rivals of New York to attempt to lecture them for their impudence and presumption in asking that a world's fair be held in the great interior city. Chicago has just as much right to the fair as New York, and her people have thus far shown more liberality and enterprise than ours in their efforts to get it.

Of course, we share the local desire that the fair shall be held here, but we recognize the fact that the people who own New York have not shown much intelligence or liberality in the matter and that the zeal and enthusiasm of Chicago have been phenomenal. If the latter gets it it will be because it deserves it. THE STANDARD as a metropolitan paper, circulating in every land where the English tongue is spoken, and recognizing our whole country as its local field, certainly does not propose to join in the sneering chorus of our daily and weekly papers against another American city which displays a spirit like that animating a village paper's denunciation of the pretensions of some rival hamlet. We are really ashamed of our New York papers.

ALLISON'S CHANCES OF RE-ELECTION.

The prospect that the Iowa legislature may refuse to return Mr. Allison to the United States senate grows brighter. The republican majority on joint ballot is very narrow, and several of those helping to constitute it are disaffected toward the Dubuque senator. The workingmen of the state and the Farmers' alliance are reported as likely to unite in opposing his re-election on the ground that he has shown himself more concerned in the profits of railway companies and eastern protected manufacturers than in the welfare of the agricultural people of Iowa. The possibility that an anti-protectionist republican can be elected in Mr. Allison's place is apparently brighter than it was a week ago.

But along with these encouraging reports comes a rumor that there are men who were but recently elected as democrats to the Iowa legislature who will assist Senator Allison to a re-election. A correspondent of the New York Times says Senator Allison is "a foxy politician." He has led his party to defeat, but does not accept the logic of the situation. "He knows that he cannot rely upon being returned to the senate by republican votes," and "hence he is scheming to get the pledges of enough democrats to pull him through." The correspondent does not believe that this scheme will succeed, though he says that "already his [Allison's] henchmen are bandying the names of two members of the house, elected as democrats and by democrats, as the ones expected to come to his relief."

Let us hope that this act of treachery will not be consummated. In a state like Iowa, hopelessly republican for fully a third of a century, the democratic party machinery is likely to contain many men who are mere incarnations of prolonged political hunger and spite, to whom partisanship is everything and principle almost nothing. To such men there is no choice between two republicans, and the protectionist republican is just as good as a low tariff republican so long as he acknowledged himself a republican of any

kind. If such men have been elected as democrats to the Iowa legislature there is some ground for fear that the Times's story is true.

But even if the danger exists it ought to be averted, and it behooves those claiming to be leaders of the democratic party, whether in Iowa or in the republic, to prove their fitness for leadership by interfering to prevent such an act of folly or treachery. It was not the old mossbacks who have always been democrats who broke the power of the republican party in Iowa, but former republicans who have been to a great extent alienated from their party by its attitude toward protection. It will not do to say to these men that democrats do not care whether a protectionist or a free trader goes to the United States senate so long as he is not a democrat; and hence if Senator Allison is re-elected he must either clearly owe his success to republican votes, only or to an alliance between protectionist republicans and known and branded traitors to democratic principles. If this is not made plain the democratic party lacks leadership and capacity, and its local triumphs in republican states will, in the long run, do it more harm than good.

MR. SHRIVER'S REFLECTIONS.

We think that Mr. E. J. Shriver, in his article printed elsewhere, underrates the relative importance of ballot reform. It is a subsidiary question, perhaps, but it is such a subsidiary question as that of the effective arming of troops before leading them into battle. On its proper decision the greater result frequently depends. The agitation for the single tax and free trade is an appeal to the reason and conscience of the people, and it can only be made effective through according those convinced an opportunity to express their opinions through elections free from intimidation and bribery. It is a recognition of this fact that has caused the single tax men to take the lead in ballot reform, and it is not to be wondered at that they resented the stupid and unnecessary opposition of Tammany to such a measure. Nevertheless it is by no means certain that this resentment took the form of supporting the grotesque combination that put forth the so-called "Citizens'" ticket at the recent election.

But there is a still deeper question underlying that of ballot reform, and that is the restoration of popular government to professedly democratic communities now ruled by oligarchies of office holders. This is not a question subsidiary to any other, save that which aims to emancipate men from industrial slavery by restoring to them the right of access to nature's storehouse, and in the order of consideration the question of free and pure elections comes ahead of even that.

We agree with Mr. Shriver in the general idea that we should exercise judgment and common sense in the use of our votes and influence and put aside mere prejudice that would stand in the way of aiding any movement that helps on the great reform that we seek; but we have not the definite knowledge of all the facts necessary for either the indorsement or repudiation of his criticisms on the policy of single tax men in other states.

THE TROUBLE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

In every state of the Union where elections were held this fall the result has been favorable to the free trade side, except in Quay's state, where on a remarkably light vote Quay's candidate for state treasurer came out with a majority unexpectedly large. What is wrong in Pennsylvania? Are the people less intelligent than elsewhere? Are they more corrupt? Do they love high taxes for their own sake? The democratic state convention there adopted a tariff plank particularly explicit and radical; the party machinery is all in the hands of Mr. Cleveland's friends; the democratic societies have done a good work, and the friends of reform hoped for a great reduction in the usual ring majority. But on the contrary, that majority is increased, and the only rational explanation

tion we have seen is that furnished by the following special to the World:

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11.—People in the great world of life and light and progress are apt to look upon Pennsylvania as a sort of political China, given over eternally to the barbarism of protection—and on the surface the outcome of the late election would seem to support the theory. While even Ohio and Iowa advance toward industrial freedom, the state of Quay and Randall not only does not join in the common movement, but appears to recede further into Cimmerian gloom. But there is an explanation which he who runs may read.

There was nothing at stake in the election but the office of state treasurer. There were no issues. In so far as issues might have been made by a platform in an election which did not practically involve them, they were carefully eliminated by the Clearfield management of the democratic state convention. There was literally not a live stick left in the platform, except tariff reform and the Australian ballot, which could not be ignored. The labor issues were slurred over and destroyed in a meaningless phrase, and the live, potential, "sumptuary" issue, upon which the democracy boldly stood and won in New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Iowa, was deliberately dumped. Mr. Bigler, a Clearfield man, was very much against the will of William A. Wallace, the candidate for treasurer, but it was deemed necessary to manage his candidacy so as not to endanger the greater candidacy of Mr. Wallace for governor next year. Mr. Wallace being the corporation candidate for governor, more or less compromised in the pluck-me-store business and with a record specially obnoxious to labor men, the labor issue was dispensed with for his benefit. Mr. Wallace being a prohibitionist, having favored the submission of the amendment, and his county having given a large majority for it, that issue went with the labor issues—the tail with the hide.

Although Bigler's nomination was due chiefly to his intimate official association with the Cleveland administration, Mr. Wallace made a speech before the convention which was recognized as a studied assault upon the ex-president and all he had stood for. He then immediately went upon an ostentatious pilgrimage to Mr. Randall, and the "Wallace-Randall combination" was announced by authority and regarded as an unquestioned and fixed fact ever since. Mr. Randall went to Washington and Mr. Wallace to Europe, but the combination worked on. Every effort was made to disturb the harmony of the great tariff reform club convention in October, where the Allegheny "Wallace-Randall" contingent made all the trouble they could, in committees and on the floor, and improved their nights brawling for Wallace in the hotels in company with the Randall placemen in the United States mint. Where all this was tending the republican leaders knew quite well. Their organs—especially Chairman Quay's Inquirer—patronized the combination industriously, and Sheriff Leeds understood what it was expected to accomplish when he stated the day before election that the democrats would not carry a single ward.

Wallace and Randall agreed in intense hostility to Cleveland. Their common object was to promote a reaction, nominate Wallace for governor and get possession of the party machinery for 1892. This could be attained only by breaking down the existing democratic organization in the state and city, both in the hands of revenue reformers and Cleveland men. If the democrats did not comprehend this as clearly as Mr. Quay and Mr. Leeds did before the election, it cannot be denied that they do now. The democratic wards bunched in the Randall district slashed and slaughtered both the state and local tickets without mercy, and there is not a democrat in the city who does not understand how Boyer's big looking majority was rolled up and Quay's prestige preserved for next year. The democratic state ticket, in spite of the backed and splintered platform, made large gains in the state outside of Philadelphia. Some old democratic counties, like Fayette and Westmoreland, which had in late years fallen away, were completely redeemed. There has been progress—good progress—in Pennsylvania. But for the Quay-Wallace-Randall combination, whose work appears to best advantage in the wards composing Mr. Randall's district, but is seen in less degree all over the city, the Pennsylvania democracy would to-day be rejoicing with Ohio and Iowa over reduced republican majorities, and the prospect of an early deliverance from the corrupt Quay machine and the protection monopolies.

If Mr. Wallace, after this last signal service to Quay, and with his corporation record, is still anxious for a gubernatorial nomination, he should carry his claims to Quay's convention, where they would be sure of respectful consideration by grateful friends. But he would be out of place in a democratic convention—unless that party in Pennsylvania has resolved to become the tail to Quay's kite for good and all.

The proposed new viaduct to connect Washington heights with McComb's dam

bridge ought to be built, but it ought to be paid for by the holders of the land that will have its value enormously increased by the improvement. Here is a great object lesson in single tax doctrine that ought to be made clear to the legislature when the bill authorizing the condemnation of land for the viaduct comes before that body.

The Brazilian people, or rather that limited number of Brazilian people who have any say in the government of their country, seem to have suddenly grown tired of monarchy, and they have accordingly evicted the emperor and the whole imperial family and set up a federal republic, to be known as the United States of Brazil. The revolution was accomplished without any loss of life, and as the emperor was given a handsome purse and assured of a liberal annuity for life, he seems to have quietly accepted the notice to quit without further protest than a formal notice that he yielded to superior force. This new form of peaceable dethronement, with compensation, is far less picturesque than the old method, but it is at once less costly and more humane. There is no excitement over the event in this country, though there is a general feeling of quiet satisfaction that there is no longer a crowned head in either of the American continents.

Though Pennsylvania can do nothing toward assuring the election of any democratic candidate for president it will cast sixty votes in the next national convention of the party. Governor Hill is of course aware of this, and, according to the Erie, Pa., Herald, he has already begun to intrigue for these votes in 1892. There is nothing in the results of the recent election to show that Hill might not succeed in this; for whatever hopes he may cherish must be based on the expectation of the aid of the kind of democrats that prevent their party from advancing on the only lines that lead to victory. That kind of democrats seem to have had hold of the party machinery in Pennsylvania during the recent campaign.

We hope the people who think that land is easily obtained and remunerative employment is abundant in the far west will read Mr. Paulsen's letter.

Rev. Harold Rylett's letter, printed elsewhere, gives new and most gratifying evidence of the solid progress that the single tax idea is making in England. The fact can no longer be disguised that the land question is the vital one in English politics and this recognition compels the speedy consideration of the single tax as the only possible remedy for existing evils.

It is to be hoped that the Evangelical preachers of Cincinnati will muster up enough courage to consider the paper sent to them by the single tax club. They ought certainly to be able to make up their minds as to whether the proposal is in accord with the scriptures or not, and they are asked to accept it or point out where it is in error. They are teachers and here is a call on them to teach. Mr. Brokaw's sermon to preachers, in a recent issue of THE STANDARD, might be helpful to them.

Under the title "The Social Problem" we propose hereafter to give in THE STANDARD a summary of current opinion on social and economic questions. It is not the purpose to quote extensively, but rather to photograph down each article of prominence, so that our readers may keep themselves informed as to the drift of public opinion and know where to find any article of especial interest. In our next issue we shall be able to give abstracts of the leading articles in the December magazines and thereafter to keep abreast of the thought of the day that finds expression in periodicals of all sorts. Of course THE STANDARD does not indorse the utterances of writers thus quoted, even when it fails to comment on them. Take the few preliminary articles from recent English magazines in this issue as an example, Dean

Plumptre and Mr. Frederic Harrison both display in a marked degree that drift toward state socialism that almost invariably characterizes the first attempt of clergymen and mere literary men to wrestle with the great problem of modern times. Their comprehension of the situation is generally superficial, and their proposed remedies are childish and indicate indisposition toward the hard thinking and persistent investigation requisite to any definite conclusion.

Dean Plumptre is a shining example of the vagueness and confusion of thought that characterize most men of his class in their attempts to discuss the social problem. He dismisses Mr. George's "plan of confiscating rent" as "childish," and yet dates the beginning of socialistic legislation in Great Britain from the poor laws of Elizabeth, and not only shows that the pretext for such legislation was found in the appropriation of the people's land by "aristocratic acts of oppression," but declares that the intended good was thwarted by another set of landlords who practically deducted the poor rates from the miserable wages of the landless poor. How a man who thus understands the origin of British poverty can close his eyes to the remedy for it it is of course impossible to say, but Dean Plumptre does it and is evidently pleased with his blindness. Mr. Frederic Harrison, with like self-complacency, takes pleasure in demonstrating that he has never really thought out the problem he attempts to discuss.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Under the laws of 1883 and 1884, annexing the district beyond the Harlem river to the city of New York, the control of the streets, drainage and sewerage of the annexed district was put in the hands of the department of public parks. Since that time the population has increased from 40,000 to 85,000, and the people there feel that their needs have outgrown the provisions made for them. The property owners of the district have adopted resolutions recommending that the department of public works be relieved from the control of the streets, avenues, drainage and sewerage in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards, and that a special commissioner on street improvements shall be appointed for the district, who shall be an additional member of the board of street opening and improvements of the city of New York; such commissioner having special permission to exercise the powers now devolving on the department of public parks. The people of the annexed district claim that in order to properly develop it, 200 miles of paved streets are needed. The landlords are now active in urging the change, and in response to a question from a member of the senatorial committee now investigating the subject, ex-Assemblyman James L. Wells declared that they make no claim that a fair share of the city taxes raised in the district is not expended on improvements there. "What they complain of," said Mr. Wells, "is official indifference, and what property owners ask is the opportunity to make improvements at their own expense." This is encouraging and property owners ought not to be denied the opportunity they seek.

It is now said that the type founders of this country contemplate the formation of a trust. A type founder of Chicago has sent out a circular urging upon the trade the necessity of measures to restrict competition in prices.

W. F. Fox, secretary of the New York state forestry commission, tells the Times that all the land now held by the state was acquired by the tax sale, and may be redeemed upon the payment of back taxes and interest. The only reason why the state remains possessed of its present tracts is because no one else wants them. They are practically worthless for lumbering purposes, and consequently for hunting, because deer will not congregate in open woodlands. During the last year the state has surrendered to claimants at least 30,000 acres of the land which was thought to be absolutely public land through the construction placed upon the law by the state comptroller's office. Any piece of the state lands in Adirondacks which may have advantages to the lumbermen or hotel keeper, Mr.

Fox declared was at the mercy of the first comer who made a claim. According to the commission's secretary, the state at present is merely the authority that holds the property until some one wants it, and upon application promptly surrenders it. The chief means is by what is known as the "agricultural clause," which gives the man who has tilled the land a right of redemption for what seems to be an indefinite period.

There are now seventy additions to Salt Lake City, Utah, and new ones are being laid out all the time. These additions are all the way from three to ten miles from the city, and many of them will not come into use as city property for years to come. A perfect fever of speculation has taken hold of the people, and lots are going up and up in value, of course.

According to the Washington correspondent of the New York World, the democrats may gain control of the United States senate in 1891. The republican majority being now six, counting the senators from the new states, the displacement of three republicans by three democrats in 1891 would make the senate a tie, the casting vote being in the possession of Mr. Morton, the vice-president, and the election of four democrats in the place of four republicans would give the democrats a majority of two.

If the New York Times is correctly informed, Senator Ingalls of Kansas fears defeat in the next election. His equivocal article on prohibition in a recent issue of the Forum, his apathy in furthering the ambitions of office seekers in Kansas; and the old charge that Mr. Ingalls has lived so long outside the state as to have lost touch and sympathy with the people, will be used by his enemies. Mr. Ingalls's most dangerous rival is George R. Peck, general solicitor of the Santa Fe railway system.

Grover Cleveland on the 13th of this month laid the cornerstone of "the Thomas Jefferson," a new building in Brooklyn to be used as permanent headquarters by the Kings county democracy. Mr. Cleveland was warmly cheered by thousands who stood in the rain during the ceremony.

LITTLETON, Col.—I cannot see the justice of taking land values for public purposes in the country districts. To take in taxes the difference between the best farming land and the poorest in cultivation, would be to reduce all farmers to the condition of the poorest farmer. Supposing the best farms yield fifty bushels and the poorest ten bushels of wheat per acre, the tax on the former would be forty bushels or four-fifths of the product. But in town the mechanic's or trader's income from work is not lessened one cent by the appropriation of the unearned increment of his landed property.

I am theoretically a free trader but I do not believe in our twiddling our thumbs while others are doing our work. I would leave trade on natural lines perfectly free, that is from north to south and south to north; but I do not believe in exchanging the fertility of our soil for the labor of other lands whose climate and products are similar to our own. When we have laborers at home seeking work, this is analogous to impoverishing.

DIOPHANT.

The effect upon farmers would be, not "to reduce all farmers to the condition of the poorest," as you put it, but to elevate all farmers—their skill, industry and providence being the same—to the condition of the best. Your error lies in supposing that under the single tax the margin of production would be as low as it is now. That is not true. The margin of production is now abnormally low on account of the extensive monopolization of land for speculative purposes. The single tax would kill speculation in land, and that would throw upon the market so much land of every kind—urban, mining, farming, etc.—that the margin would rise with the increase of the tax until it reached the point at which the demand for land for actual use would naturally fix it.

You are right in saying that the single tax in towns would not lessen the mechanic's or trader's income from their work. Indeed, it would increase it. If the actual rent of land were divided up among them it would not make, perhaps, a very great difference. But the depressing effect on their earnings of heavy taxes on industry, and of the keen and unnatural competition that is generated by the closing to labor of natural opportunities through speculation, is simply incalculable. The same thing is true of farmers.

You err in supposing that trade on natural lines is from north to south

and from south to north. The natural lines of trade are the lines along which it moves when unobstructed. You need not worry about our laborers when trade is free. The labor of other lands will send nothing to us unless the labor of our land asks for it and sends its equivalent back. And the labor of our land will not ask for the products of other lands unless it can get them easiest by making something else and trading it for them. You are misled here by the fact that we have a class who get an income without working, and who would rather buy foreign than domestic products if they could get them cheaper. You look on this class as an employing class who deprive our labor of custom when they buy an imported article. But the truth is that whenever this class buy anything abroad they must hire American labor to make something to send abroad in payment. It follows that whenever anything is imported American labor is called into activity to produce its equivalent in another form. Nor does the American labor get less pay than it would get for making the exact counterpart of the imported article. Wages do not depend on that; they depend on opportunities for labor. And the only opportunity for labor, in the last analysis, is land. When land is scarce and dear wages are low, and when land is plentiful and cheap wages are high. Free trade and the single tax would make land plentiful and cheap.

The Federal steel company of Illinois is the name under which the barbed wire combination hides. It has a capital of \$12,000,000, and it controls almost, if not quite all, the barbed wire output of the country, as well as the wire nail output. A reassuring dispatch from Joliet affirms that it is the benevolent intention of the combination to keep down the price of wire, and thus enrich the public and the manufacturers. The present price of barbed wire is \$3.10 in car loads. It is admitted that the price after January 1 will probably be fixed at \$5.60, but it is explained that this difference is due to an increase in the cost of raw material which, awkwardly enough, came about while the combination was buying up the mills.

The Geyser oil company, with a capitalization of \$800,000, has obtained control of 30,000 acres of land lying together in Allen and Van Wert counties, Ohio. The leases were made quietly at low rates and tests were made with great secrecy. Having secured all the territory they could handle, the lessees set about getting capital interested and found no difficulty in obtaining all that was wanted. The result is the formation of the Geyser oil company. It is the largest transaction that has yet taken place in the Ohio field outside of the Standard oil company's deal.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Father Huntington's Chicago Speech.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: One day, a year or two ago, while in a provincial town in Ontario, Canada, I picked up two books, "Property in Land" and "Little Lord Fauntleroy," both of which I carried to my lodgings. The latter was quickly disposed of, but the former I had to treat with more deliberation, though my admiration was at once awakened at the attainments of an author who could so easily put to rout such a worthy disputant and eminent man of letters as the author of the "Reign of Law." "Social Problems" and "Progress and Poverty" were read with avidity and delight. At this time I was but a very young man, but since then, in going to and fro over the northern part of this great commonwealth and through Canada, after visiting city, town, farm and mining camp, I have grown old, very old, very old, in experience if not much more antiquated in years. Social inequalities, extreme wealth and the extremest poverty, pauperism and crime, the natural concomitants of congested wealth; in other words, the "menace of plutocracy" everywhere stare one in the face. Although I knew I had the cat (in the bag) I never tried to make others see her. I didn't then know about THE STANDARD and consequently didn't know that the feline followers were gregarious. It was left for me on visiting Iowa to find that it was a real living issue.

Allow me to give, as Methodists say, a little experience. Never in all my recollections was I so enthused and wrought up as when, a fortnight ago, I

listened to Father Huntington in the Madison street theater in this city expound the system of single taxation. The youthful father was grandly eloquent. His clear exposition of the injustice and inhumanity involved in individual ownership of land, his resistless logic and consistency of argument from beginning to completion and his very earnestness, vivid illustration, and, at times, deep pathos, carried his large audience entirely away. I would not have missed it for the best half year of my life. I did not wish to go by myself—I am a comparative stranger in town—so I hired a fellow student into one of the now famous Yerkes grip cars and rode downtown. He had an idea that I was going to hear some red-handed, bomb-throwing follower of Herr Most, and that I was afraid to go alone. He expected to hear nothing but riot and rebellion talked. And don't you believe this country is just full of people who, in their ignorance of the single tax doctrine, with great bluster decry it as of not enough worth to be considered for a moment? My friend came away with the lugh on the other side of his face. Said he: "That George theory, land nationalization or single tax scheme or whatever you call it, is, for a fact, a pretty good thing." And he asked a thousand different questions about it. Every one in that jammed car which we boarded on our way home knew where we had been and what Father Huntington had said, and when we got home we "sat by the fire and talked the night away." My friend had been a good rabid adherent of the g. o. p. But he has since read "Progress and Poverty" and has seen the cat.

Two other students have become thoroughly interested. One is reading carefully "Progress and Poverty," while the other one has already read and accepted it. What has given me added pleasure is the discovery that one of our learned and dignified professors of theology has come into the faith.

It is not policy perhaps, according to his way of thinking, to proclaim himself an out and out single taxer but that is undoubtedly what he is. This is most cheering. This is one of the leading theological seminaries on the continent, of the good old Calvinistic order, yet even here the heaven is at work. Nor will it cease within these walls. Greater things are anticipated from the seed we are now sowing. We will never cease in the proclamation of the tidings of good news to those of our age and calling and to those of our people in all the varied walks of life, with whom, if we are spared to labor, we will journey to the great beyond.

THEOLOGICAL STUDENT.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 15.

Progress in Ireland.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: As an indication of the progress of the single tax idea over the ocean, permit me to relate the following incident:

A friend of mine, who called me a crank and who was bitterly opposed to Henry George, a short time ago paid a visit to Ireland. On his return I asked him how the situation was over there. "Why, Peter," he said, "I found the reverend father and the people as radical George advocates as yourself," and I found that he also had changed.

PETER E. PLUNKETT.

New York City, Nov. 12.

Bearing Fruit in New Zealand.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: The fruits of your doctrine are not all falling on stony ground, but even in this remote colony are bringing forth fruit to perfection. If Henry George could manage to visit New Zealand when he came to Australia it would start what he agitates for from a proper focus. I firmly believe this country will play a strong hand in the single tax game as its true merits become more and more disseminated throughout the working classes.

C. H. MILLS.

Havelock, Marlborough, New Zealand, Sept. 20.

Something of a Difference.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: We had a laugh over this conundrum at the club. It may be ancient, but it was new to us:

Conundrum: What is the difference between a young lady just married to a lawyer, and Henry George? Answer: One taxes a single advocate and the other advocates the single tax.

W. L. CROSMAN.

Roxbury, Boston.

FREEDOM FOR SHAM MONEY.

Thomas G. Shearman, Esq., Dear Sir: Permit me to ask you, through the columns of THE STANDARD, a few questions suggested by your reply to the mutual bank propaganda. You say: "The state has a right to prohibit not only ordinary swindling, but any actions which experience shows inevitably ends up with swindling." I deny that right, and call upon you for the proof of your assumption, for a "right" must have a more substantial foundation than the opinion of one set of men that certain actions may end up with swindling. And here allow me to quote from a recent editorial by Mr. George: "The protection of fools from the consequences of their own folly is not one of the functions of government." [I quote from memory.] Now if the people are such fools that they will accept worthless money in exchange for goods, do you think the state justified in protecting them against the result of their unwise action? Is not your argument the real foundation principle of state socialism, protection and prohibition? Do not the advocates of those schemes point to the fact that the people are such fools that they cannot be trusted to buy or manufacture goods, or drink beverages, as a reason why the state (or, in other words, the representatives elected by those same fools) should interfere with the rights of the citizen? You advance as a serious argument the fact that in a few western states the people were desirous of prohibiting the circulation of money issued by private bankers. Have you forgotten that in these enlightened days the states of Iowa, Kansas and Maine have had such an experience of the swindlers who not only injured them financially, but ruined their health as well, by selling them intoxicating liquors, that they have prohibited the sale of all such liquors? Can you logically oppose prohibition of liquor selling, and yet favor prohibition of money issued by private persons or individuals? Why do you not point to the fact that thousands of people are being swindled by shoddy cloth, as a reason for the state assuming the business of manufacturing cloth? Or again, why do you not ask the state to protect the foolish public from being swindled by the bakers who furnish adulterated bread, indigestible buns or mince pie which is not all it purports to be, by making the baking business a state monopoly? You will reply, quite properly, that baking bread or weaving cloth is not part of the functions of government. Then of you I ask, Why should the pieces of paper which the baker gives the weaver in exchange for cloth (with a distinct promise to return an equivalent in bread or some other service) be issued by the government? I recognize the right of government to compel the fulfillment of contracts, and beyond this no government should go. I believe in the single tax because it is a long stride in the direction of freedom for the individual man; because it is an important addition to the philosophy of liberty; and for its promise of a state of society in which each unit shall have rights which are respected by law and by its fellows. And I fail to understand how a believer in free trade, free land, free men, can consistently favor state interference with such an important factor in commerce as the currency. For once admit that the state should undertake to watch over the affairs of private citizens in order to protect them from such injuries or losses as may befall them by reason of their own folly, which permitted them to be duped, and you have opened the way for paternal government. Yours, very truly,

J. WHIDDEN GRAHAM

North Attleboro, Mass., Oct. 12.

The "money question" is one upon which dispute will never cease, and in the discussion of which many intelligent men seem unwilling to learn anything from experience or history. But, for these very reasons, it is always useful to consider the subject, whenever it is brought up. We must, however, be short.

Mr. Graham says that government has no right to interfere with the issue of pretended money by its citizens, because it has no right to "protect fools from the consequences of their folly," nor to do anything except to compel the performance of contracts. This idea well illustrates the absurd results of pressing any general maxims to their utmost possible extent. I have just as much right to assert that the correspondent who lays down this doctrine denies the right of government to punish or prevent robbery and murder, as he has to claim that the maxim which he quotes denies the right of the state to prohibit swindling by means of sham money. How about counterfeit coins? Has the state no right to punish the issue of those? How about forged bank notes? How about forgery in general? None of these acts could be punished, if the state has no right to do anything except to enforce contracts. Nor could the possession or making of counterfeit coins be punished, if the state had no right to punish acts which necessarily led up to swindling, though stopping short of it.

I do not know that it is really worth while to discuss this question. There are

probably a hundred persons who believe that the government should allow no money to be issued by any private person or corporation, to one who believes that the government should have nothing to say about money. But for the benefit of the few who entertain the latter notion, attention is invited to some practical illustrations of the working of "free money," which are but recent samples of frauds which within my recollection were almost universal in this country. Mr. John L. Merewether, the labor commissioner of Missouri, has recently reported numerous cases of employers who have paid hundreds of ignorant laborers in store orders, which pretended to be for cash, but which in fact were made payable only in ten years; and, on presentation of these orders, the laborers were informed that they could receive payment in merchandise, at an exorbitant value, or else wait ten years for their money. This system of store orders, commonly called "truck payment," existed almost universally throughout Great Britain and the United States within our own lifetime. It was first prohibited in Great Britain, and has since been prohibited in almost every state of this Union. Every organization of workmen which has interfered with politics at all has invariably made the prohibition of such payments one of the first planks in its political platform. The simple truth is that the restrictions which are placed upon the issue of private tokens or other substitutes for money were chiefly enacted at the instance and for the protection of laboring men; and wage earners, all over the civilized world, have always demanded such laws as soon as they dared to demand anything. And they are right: for the liberty of issuing sham money is the most effective method of robbing the poor for the benefit of the dishonest rich that was ever invented. It far surpasses even a protective tariff in this direction.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

SOME POLITICAL REFLECTIONS.

For a week or more past it has been on my mind to ask for part of one of your columns wherein to preach a little homily upon independent voting; and now that the results of the recent election have borne out much of the truth to be found in the text from which I had proposed to hold forth, my intention has grown into resolution, even though some of my conclusions may run counter to the editorial opinions of THE STANDARD, and almost certainly to those of many of its readers. My text is the truism that the use of the ballot is at once a privilege and a trust, from which the first logical corollary seems to be that we should exercise it not merely to express our opinions, but in such manner, also, as in our judgment will most certainly tend to accomplish the results which we deem best both for ourselves and our fellow citizens. The man who votes in the air, equally with the man who neglects or refuses to vote, fails to do his duty by the society in which circumstances have placed him, and which has a right to call upon him for practical co-operation in its advancement.

And in like manner are we recreant to our social duties when, from a false conception of independence, we segregate ourselves from our fellows, and either hold ourselves aloof from all political companionship, or refuse to associate with our natural and most effective allies, because in an imperfect state of development they fail to fully come up to our ideal. Part of this truth the advocates of the single tax in the main have learned, but some of the prejudices engendered during our necessary Ishmaelish stage have not yet been dispelled, as became apparent in the recent canvas. For two years a policy of independent political action was forced upon us by the necessity of doing something to attract public attention to the doctrines which we had to set forth; since that was accomplished, those of us who have been sincerely desirous to take a step forward toward our ultimate aim rather than to talk about it, have gradually become convinced that our national line of action, for the present at least, must coincide with that of the democratic party. Yet, in more than one instance, we have neglected this year to fully utilize such opportunities as the situation presented for the promotion of our cause through the cementing of cordial relations with those best able and most inclined to advance our general programme.

The most pronounced example of this was the opposition shown by some of our

Ohio people to a democratic candidate for governor, who, if not such a one as we would have selected, had at least shown, through his partial repentance of protectionist heresy, the politician's instinct to identify himself with the growing sentiment that is making toward free trade. Here was a blunder which cannot but seriously damage the influence which Ohio single tax men might exert upon the democratic party in Ohio to keep it upon the right track and accelerate its progress in our own direction. In New Jersey and New York, there was more excuse for the disposition to support our natural enemies as against our natural friends, for in both states the subsidiary question of ballot reform was at issue; and in New York the personality of Governor Hill—so nearly synonymous with the state ticket—represents every element in his party that stands in the way of its evolution along the lines on which we hope to see it move. Ballot reform alone I have advisedly alluded to as a subsidiary question, for it is not in any way an essential part of the single tax movement, though its hearty espousal by single tax men has so intimately associated the two in our own thoughts and the thoughts of others. To gain all that we hope for, ballot reform will probably be essential in the later stages, and for that reason it is worth doing a great deal of work for it now; but it is quite possible to have the tariff reduced or even abolished without it, since the very same time-serving politicians against whom the Australian ballot will be a most effective weapon and who, therefore, oppose it, will be the first ones to range themselves on the right side of the tariff question, once convinced that it is the popular side.

While, therefore, the desirability of striking at Governor Hill's prestige constituted a good reason for voting the mixed New York state ticket as suggested by THE STANDARD and circulated by the Manhattan single tax club, and while there was a good reason for voting for republican assemblymen in the fact that this year's assembly could in no way concern itself with the tariff, but will have practical power in the matter of ballot reform, it seems to me that any vote so cast without probable hope of success was a vote thrown away, bearing as its only fruit a possible ground of quarreling with the party organization whose friendship is important to us. Such were the votes cast against Abbott in New Jersey, since his election was almost certain in any event, and it was important that his majority should be as great as possible, for its moral effect in a year when every democratic victory will be taken as a victory for tariff reform, even in a state like Maryland, where the outrageously corrupt party machinery is controlled by an avowed protectionist. It was also of at least doubtful policy to cast ballots for republicans to go to the New York state senate, since that body will help decide who shall represent New York in the United States senate after March 4, 1891, and is, therefore, a practical factor in the tariff fight.

But of all the forms of independence run mad over the comparatively minor issue of ballot reform, to which it subordinated the vital principle of the tariff, was the warfare waged against the Tammany local ticket by some of our friends in this city; inspired, I am afraid, more by the habit of fighting Tammany, which has been acquired latterly, than by an intelligent opposition to Tammany on its merits or demerits of to-day. It is this, indeed, which has more especially suggested these remarks; for I have long been convinced that Tammany is the New York city organization with which it is most important that we should harmonize, and my conviction is made all the stronger by its recent success, which has confirmed its dominance in local politics.

Local politics in New York at the best are so bad that it is easy to understand a reluctance to engage in them actively at all; but that is no reason for embarking in a hopeless contest with the only body that can in any true sense represent local democracy in its national councils, and thereby estranging its machinery from such sympathy with our aims as may put it on our side when the democrats again nominate a candidate for the presidency, or will insure its sending representatives to congress next year who will vote to reduce the tariff. Still less is it a reason for giving any aid to a combination between two organizations ostensibly avowing radically different principles, made solely with the hope of getting a few

petty offices. Even a genuine citizens' movement is usually to be regarded with suspicion, because it never voices anything but a very small class of citizens, such as arrogate to themselves the title of "best" and rally to save society whenever the plain people seem to be getting too much the upper hand. But the ticket opposed to Tammany this year did not even represent such an element of aristocracy as this; it represented nothing but the republican machine, maintained principally for the purpose of feeding needy workers with Union league club subscriptions, and the moribund county democracy, always corrupt, and now happily robbed of its power for mischief. Tammany is not perfect, but it is now governed by a political shrewdness that recognizes honesty to be the best policy; and what is more important to us, it has now been twice clearly demonstrated that, from whatever cause, it commands the confidence of the forces which work our way. Whenever such is the case, a rational devotion to our principles would seem to dictate that we place ourselves *en rapport* with the existing force that can be useful to those principles, and as true independents rise superior to the superstition of voting or working against a name whose history is disagreeable to us, just as easily as we throw off the bondage of a party yoke that we have become accustomed to. Perhaps it may be said that such reflections as these are more timely before election than after; but I think that men are easier reached by argument when the campaign is ended than in its midst, and therefore submit them now with the hope that they may lead some of our active spirits to see the wisdom of pulling with the stream rather than against it, and by helping those who can best help us, gain influence rather than fritter away their strength. EDW. J. SHRIVER.

ENGLISH POLITICS.

Significant Results in Recent By-Elections.—The Approaching Liberal Party Conference—Notable Utterances of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir George Trevelyan and Lord Derby—The Glasgow Municipal Election Contest—Michael Davitt's Remarkable Speech Before the Parnell Commission—Harold Rylett Called to a Lancashire Pastorate.

DUDLEY, England, Nov. 1.—The most notable events in England lately have been the three elections, Peterborough, Elgin and Nairn, and North Bucks. In all these cases supporters of Mr. Gladstone have been returned by substantial majorities. Of course these elections are regarded by the mere politicians as indications that the country is rapidly coming around to home rule. As a matter of simple fact they mean a great deal more than this.

Peterborough, for example, is one of those eminently respectable cathedral cities of England in which the clergy and the landed aristocracy are supposed to wield supreme influence. The Fitzwilliams have for generations regarded Peterborough as their property in every sense, and indeed, now that the Gladstonian candidate, Mr. Morton, has been returned, the Tories and their allies are loud in their lamentations that a Fitzwilliam could not be found to oppose him. They flatter themselves that if a Fitzwilliam could have been induced to stand he would have been returned as a matter of course. Such a thing is possible, no doubt, but I fancy not probable. The Fitzwilliams did all they could to assist their nominee, and they are badly beaten.

This election, therefore, means that the clerical and aristocratic influence is losing its power in the country—the fact is that the great landed interest is beginning to be found out. The idea which has been dominant for seventy years has been that the great landed proprietor was an enormous blessing to the country, in that he spent a great deal of money, and was a better customer to trades people than poorer folk. It was right, therefore, that all such personages should be treated with great deference. They have been so treated, and to such a length has this deference been carried that in the rural districts especially, and in the smaller towns, an amount of servility has been generated which has not yet been by any means counteracted. But to a rapidly increasing extent it is now being discovered that the great landlord, instead of being a blessing, is a burden, not to say a curse. There is, too, a great decline in the deference extended to the aristocracy. The abominable social scandals of the past twenty, and particularly the last ten years, in which the upper ten have been concerned, have had a re-

markable effect upon the common people, and the attitude assumed by the house of lords toward certain important measures of reform has also had its influence.

But I think that the cause to which above all others may be attributed the attitude of the popular mind toward the aristocracy or great landed interest is the extent to which the gospel of "Progress and Poverty" has penetrated the minds of the smart men among the working classes. Of course, in all such cases—that is to say, in all cases of social or political revolution, there is nothing more difficult than to designate with perfect accuracy the real causes which have produced a particular effect, and I am far from saying that there have not been other causes than "Progress and Poverty" at work in this case. There certainly have been other and very powerful influences at work. But I take my own experience as typical. Before I read "Progress and Poverty"—now nine years ago—[is it not marvelous how time flies?] I had a strong notion that our land laws were urgently in need of reform, but I had only the most vague and general notion—indeed I cannot truly say that I had any definite idea at all as to how the reforms that were proposed would effect any serious change in the industrial condition of the country. "Progress and Poverty" opened my eyes. For the first time I saw clearly how land monopoly was destructive of industrial prosperity, and I saw none the less clearly how that monopoly must be treated with a view to the rendering industrial prosperity an absolute certainty. Now I have good reason to believe that this is what has happened to thousands upon thousands of the more intelligent of our artisans throughout the country. The quick nostrums of "abolition of primogeniture and entail" and "free trade in land" have never meant anything to the intelligent artisan. The proposals of "Progress and Poverty," on the other hand, have a very definite meaning. Working men in this country are coming to see with a rapidity that is astounding that Henry George's theories are at once simple and practical and absolutely certain in their effect. And so it comes to pass that Peterborough has returned as its member not only a home ruler, not only a Gladstonian, but a follower of Henry George.

The same is true of Elgin and Nairn. I referred in my last letter to the circumstance that the official liberals in this instance were very dubious about supporting Mr. Seymour Keay, and I pointed out that Mr. Gladstone had commended his candidature on the ground that while he was right on the main issue, he might be excused for entertaining a craze on a fad about the nationalization of the land.

These two victories are very important—the latter, perhaps, is even more important than the former because Mr. Seymour Keay is an avowed and prominent supporter of the single tax, and well known to be so.

The North Bucks contest is a purely home rule affair, and consequently, instead of great revolutions of opinion being manifested, the home rule candidate has only won by a majority about one-fourth as large as he won by in the election previous to that in which home rule was the crucial question.

On the whole, as you will gather, we, on this side have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the trend of events. It is quite certain that for the future in every constituency in which the skilled artisan is the most important factor candidates will be constrained to avow a much more radical platform than heretofore. The Irish parliamentary party served us a good turn when they prostrated themselves before the "base, bloody and brutal" Balfour, and professed themselves willing to throw over the Gladstonians and sell their own national cause for a miserable mess of Catholic university pottage. Though they have cringed under the lash of Davitt's criticism and protested more than ever their appreciation of the sacrifice which the liberals have made for the cause of Ireland, there is not a liberal of any weight in the country who has an atom of real confidence in the alliance. The whip of the new radical party, Mr. Jacoby, has distinctly said that they owe no allegiance to Mr. Gladstone on any question of the future other than the home rule question—for that Mr. Gladstone has honestly declared that he will not deal with any other question; and accordingly he calls upon the new radicals to take up the condition of England question—formulate a programme

of English social reforms and go to the country when the time arrives, not only upon the question of Ireland, but upon the question of England. This advice has been followed in Peterborough and Elgin and Nairn with eminently satisfactory results.

We shall find when the liberal conference takes place in Manchester in the first week in December, that there will be a very emphatic expression of sympathy with this policy. It is quite possible, of course, that the conference may not see its way to a definite pronouncement, but such hesitation will not surprise any one familiar with English life and especially English political party life. So many things have to be considered before a new plank can be added to a party programme; the men who supply the funds necessary for the organization of the party have to be taken into account, and for the most part these are men who have been so busily engaged in making money for the greater part of their lives that they have some difficulty in seeing even "self-evident truths." And then there are the men—a tolerably numerous class—who are wedded to the existing programme and fearful that any addition may imperil the carrying of it out. All sorts and conditions of men have to be thus "considered" by the party managers. There is no doubt, however, that within the next ten years the taxation of land values will be an integral part of the liberal programme. It is already the faith of all the most intelligent, the most earnest and the most active spirits of the liberal party in all working class constituencies.

The best evidence of this is that all our prominent public men make the English social question a leading topic when they address the public. The archbishop of Canterbury has made his quadrennial visitation of the clergy and laity in the diocese of Canterbury. And his very first remark is instructive. He said that "when last year the Lambeth conference was come and gone, it was not without expressions of pleased surprise—for it was a kindly world—that public organs remarked that a solemn assemblage of prelates from the whole world, had concentrated its force on questions moral and social." And the archbishop added, "to churchmen this was no new idea," but he admitted that there was "justification for the surprise." Justification indeed! For to most radical reformers, the church is one of those privileged institutions which has been for ages far more zealous for its privileges than for the common weal. However, the archbishop in the course of his visitations has spoken with much force and plainness of poverty, temperance and purity. But he has not, of course, indicated any remedy. His position is like unto that of Prof. Ogilvie, and his reasoning is not dissimilar. The point, however, is not so much what the archbishop has said as that he has said anything at all. The Times rightly estimates the position when it says that his grace's charge "is a significant testimony to the pressure and urgency of the social problem of our time."

I may cite some remarks of Sir George Trevelyan at Aberdeen the other day as additional testimony. Denying that the liberal proposals were extravagant, he added: "Similarly the proposals for leasehold enfranchisement and taxation of land values are reasonable proposals, and the liberals are united in their support. And the conservatives and liberal unionists are again united in opposition to them." He referred to the injustice by which the London ground landlords profited, and quoted a letter written to the Times by a conservative, protesting against the injustice. Sir George Trevelyan is a little confused; he does not quite see the cat, but I quote his words to show that my affirmation is true—that our gospel is penetrating the minds of the leaders of the liberal party.

Then Lord Derby has been speaking at Liverpool. His Lordship is the big landlord of Liverpool, and it is the custom for the mayor of the city to entertain the noble lord to dinner once a year. Lord Derby alluded to foreign affairs mainly, but toward the end of his speech came some interesting observations upon the condition of England question. His lordship and I had a tussle a few months ago in London on the occasion of my appearance before the sweating committee, and I then told him that the conditions of the nailers and chainmakers was due to land monopoly. So that I am rather interested in what his lordship says upon social and economic questions. Talking

of the national debt, he observed that it was important to get it paid off.

For me the matter seems hardly one in which we have a free choice, for I am sure that if we were to tell the democracy frankly that the land which they now bear must continue without end, and without abatement; that in the year 2,000 they will still go on paying for victories nearly 200 years old, they would begin to raise very awkward and difficult questions as to the right of any government to entail a perpetual tax upon future generations—questions which I, for one, should be sorry to put and should be very much puzzled to answer. Gradual repayment to my mind is the only alternative to ultimate repudiation.

His lordship next touched upon the relations of labor and capital, but he declared that "he had not, and he believed no one else had, any suggestions to offer in the way of remedial legislation." Well, at a late event it was hardly to be expected that Lord Derby would see the force of my suggestion that the great landlord should be taxed to death.

I might multiply instances of this kind, but to little avail. Perhaps the most significant sign of the times is the report of the Society for the taxation of ground values, which is at the point of being issued. About a million copies of this report are to be printed and a copy sent to every householder in London. I will leave you to deal with this report. The author is a very eminent queen's counsel.

As I write a most interesting contest is proceeding in Glasgow. In several of the wards single tax candidates, drawn from the working classes principally, are contending ostensibly for the honor of a seat in the city council. I do not expect them to win, but the mere fact that they are standing is evidence that our principles are taking root. Edward McHugh, the McHugh, is standing for the Thirteenth ward. The chief declaration of his address reads in this wise:

All taxes upon labor and the products of labor should be abolished, and a single tax imposed upon land values. The land value of Glasgow is produced by the associated people. The price charged by landlords for the use of the land, exclusive of buildings, is the measure of this value. I would have the ground rent of the city, which now flows into the pockets of the landlords, diverted, by the single tax, into the municipal treasury. This is the way, and this is the only way, in which wages can be increased and house rents reduced.

There are, I think, six of our men in similar positions, and they have issued a similar address, all proposing that for the purpose of reducing taxation that land values be taxed. Although not one may succeed in securing a seat in the city council—because in these local contests so many local considerations have weight—still it is certain that the effect of their appearance in the field will be to direct a vast deal of attention to the principles they represent.

Of late Richard McGhee of Glasgow and I have come to the conclusion that enough has been done in the Black Country district to insure the prosperity of the single tax in the near future. In the last three years we have availed ourselves of every possible opportunity of preaching the single tax. Sometimes singly, oftentimes together, upon the occasion of Mr. McGhee's frequent visits to these parts, we have addressed workingmen's clubs, liberal associations, trade societies, Knights of Labor assemblies, and under all sorts of meetings, and we are satisfied that the seed we have sown will ere long bear abundant fruit. And now we have come to the conclusion that it is well that a move should be made to fresh fields and pastures new. The most promising field—and the most important in England—is the Lancashire district, of which Manchester is the center. Happily a call has reached me from a church in the immediate neighborhood of Manchester, and I proceed to take the pastoral charge on December 1 of the present year. We hope, and indeed believe, that opportunities of extended usefulness will open before us in due time, and that before the next general election we shall have so far infected the Lancashire district with the principles of "Progress and Poverty" that any legislation on the land question on the old lines will be rendered impossible.

The most notable event in the last few days is Michael Davitt's magnificent vindication of the land league before the Parnell commission. I have not time to treat of it at any length, but you may judge that it was a splendid effort from the circumstance that when, yesterday, after speaking for six days, never dropping the thread of his argument, Davitt sat down, the judge not only made no attempt to suppress the burst of applause which ensued, but the president, Sir James Hannen, went out of his way to compliment

Mr. Davitt upon his speech and to express the thanks of the court for the assistance the founder of the land league had given the court. This last of the series of noble services which Davitt has rendered his country has placed him higher in the estimation of all the best men in England than ever before, and done more than anything to convince the court and the country that a movement initiated and supported and defended by such a man cannot be the evil thing the Times has declared it to be.

HAROLD RYLETT.

PROGRESS IN LONDON.

The Parliamentary Committee of the County Council indorses Mr. Saunders's Plan for Compelling Beneficial Landowners to Pay the Cost of Certain Public Improvements—An Overwhelming Vote in Its Favor—The Matter Now to Go to Parliament—Summary Treatment of a Sweating Firm—Reducing the Working Hours of Municipal Employees.

LONDON, Nov. 6.—The progressive party in the county council has achieved a great victory. I have already in these letters said a good deal about the proposed improvement in the Strand by the removal of the block of buildings to the south of Holywell street, and I must again recur to this subject, for it is being treated, both by reformers and by conservatives, as a test case on which will be fought the question of taxation of landlords for urban improvements.

Last week I described how the council proposed to buy a good deal of land in the neighborhood of the proposed improvement, so as to partly recoup themselves for the cost by selling the land again at an enhanced price. Mr. Saunders proposed as an amendment that the council should apply to parliament for power to levy a special rate on property situated within the area principally benefited by the improvement. This amendment was ruled out of order. But this week the parliamentary committee to whom had been intrusted the duty of drawing up the necessary bill for compulsory purchase, unanimously reported in favor of adding to this bill a clause establishing the special rate demanded by Mr. Saunders. In the actual words of the report, the committee proposed "that owners of property within the district likely to be improved by the operations of the scheme shall be required to contribute toward the expense of the improvement in proportion to the enhanced value of their property due to the improvement."

To the ordinary mind the justice of this proposal is so obvious that it is difficult to understand how any person claiming to be honest can oppose it. But the landlord party in the council was up in arms at once. Speaker after speaker rose to denounce the parliamentary committee for sneaking in this important proposal by a side door. Of course it was not to the character of the door, but to the character of the proposal that the reactionaries objected. Only it sounded better to say that the committee had not chosen the proper way of dealing with such a big question than to say plump out that, in the opinion of the speakers, it was part of the eternal fitness of things that the owners of land in a small district should have their property enormously increased in value at the expense of the rate payers of the whole metropolis. During the debate the progressives lay low. Only one speech of any importance was made on their side, namely, by Mr. Charles Harrison, the chairman of the parliamentary committee, who ably defended the action of his committee on technical as well as on general grounds. Then came the voting, and to the intense disgust of the reactionaries, they were defeated by 69 to 39.

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of this decision. It seems that the council has definitely accepted the principle that landlords shall pay for the improvement of their own property. The mere statement of this principle of course ought in any healthy community to be sufficient to win for it instant acceptance. But so perverted are our notions in regard to landed property that a long struggle has been necessary to establish this piece of elementary justice. Moreover, the matter still has to come before parliament, and it is quite possible that either the house of commons or the house of lords will throw out the bill in order to bolster up the landlords' right to rob. In fact the conservative members of parliament in the council distinctly announced that the government would not accept the proposed clause. If they do not, so much the better for the advanced party in im-

perial as well as in municipal politics. The conservatives will find that they made a bitter mistake if they venture to go to the poll on the cry of liberty to the landlord to rob the rate payer. At any rate we have taken a big step forward, and the reformers will take care that their victory is not a barren one.

To turn to another subject. In an earlier letter I alluded to the general order passed several months ago by which the council bound itself not to employ firms who did not pay the trade rate of wages to their workmen. The advantage of this rule has just been agreeably illustrated. A firm of builders, called Brass & Son, had tendered for a contract for the erection of a new lunatic asylum, and the asylum committee recommended that their tender should be accepted. When the matter came before the council, John Burns, the hero of the great strike, rose and denounced Brass & Son as "sweaters," and moved that the report of the asylums committee should be sent back for further inquiries. The council adopted his motion, and the consequence is that this week the asylums committee reports that they found the firm of Brass & Son not to be so satisfactory as they thought, and that they will invite other tenders. This very satisfactory. It shows that the county council fully realizes its responsibilities as the largest employer of labor in London, and that it will not allow the people whom it employs to be treated unfairly by their immediate masters. In many ways, perhaps, this is one of the best lines that the intervention of the state in the organization of labor can take. We must, of course, have a certain amount of compulsory legislation to protect the weak, as in the case of our excellent body of factory acts. But beyond this there is an immense amount that can be done by the force of example set by public bodies in their treatment of their own employees.

An excellent illustration of this has been recently given by two of the most important municipal corporations in the United Kingdom, namely, Birmingham and Glasgow. Up to the present time it has been the custom in gas works for the men to be employed in two shifts of twelve hours each. Obviously, this is too long. After twelve hours of such exhausting work as that of feeding retorts a man is unfit for anything but sleep, and his whole life is thus spent in a mere alternation of sleep and work, without any chance of rational enjoyment or of mental improvement. A month or two ago the Birmingham corporation, which owns the gas works of the city, recognized this fact, and of its own accord decided to institute three shifts of men, while continuing the rate of pay as before. This splendid example of generous justice has inspired gas workers all over the kingdom with the hope of improving their condition. The gasworkers of Glasgow in particular began to stir, and the corporation of that city last week followed exactly the example set by Birmingham. Other towns are sure to follow sooner or later—in fact the gas company at Newcastle-on-Tyne have already announced a similar concession for the new year—and generally there is little doubt that a rapid improvement all round in the condition of labor is in progress.

Laws Which Burden the Farmer.

Popular Science Monthly.

If an eight hour law is enacted, its maleficence, not its advantage, falls on him. The milking hour and the harvest will not be postponed in obedience to any legislature. So far as it makes the day's labor brief, so certainly it extends his own labor from twelve hours to fourteen. Notice, too, how every tax system now uppermost puts the heavy end of its incidence on the farmer. In the state, county, and township allotment of fiscal burdens, the tax is direct. It falls upon what can be seen and discovered with greatest weight. But it never fails to discover the farmer. His broad acres cannot be hidden or sworn away; while his neighbor, rich in personal holdings, can cunningly suspend his own tax by evasion—and sometimes by an artful change or confusion of residence—so as to add his tax, too, to the tax of the hidden farmer. But worse than all this is his relation to the national tax system, which exploits away his hard-earned profits, small in percentage, almost invisibly, and then adds abuse to injury by successfully persuading him that it exists for his supreme advantage. He pays for a paper, as likely as not, which tells him, and has been telling him for a generation or more, that the beneficent system which prevents him from buying forty-five hundred articles as cheaply as he might, and compels him to sell his own products, minute in number, at the lowest price which ingenious legal artifice can dictate, is a measure for his particular benefit.

FOREIGN NOTES.

The London county council has made the beginnings of a new municipal debt. It has been decided to issue a loan for \$5,000,000, not to be payable before the lapse of thirty years. The rate of interest is two and one-half per cent, and the price of bonds must not fall below eighty-eight per cent of the face. The loan may run for sixty years. As the Pall Mall Gazette shows, this means that in return for £880,000 to be received by the county council within the next few weeks, the people of London for the sixty years to come will have to meet an annual charge of £25,000, and at the end of that time will still have to pay one million sterling.

The famous leaning tower of Pisa has been put up for sale by lottery. The municipality of Pisa, having become greatly straitened for money on account of expensive improvements, offers the tower for sale in order to prevent the town hall from being seized, and has adopted the method of a lottery so as to get the highest price possible.

The bishop of Peterborough is reported to have said, at the recent diocesan conference, that Christianity made no claim to rearrange the economic relations of men in the state and in society, and it was his firm belief that any Christian state carrying out in all its relations the sermon on the mount, could not exist for a week. It was a mistake to attempt to turn Christ's kingdom into one of this world. To introduce the principles of Christianity into laws would lead to absolute intolerance. The law of Christianity was self-sacrifice, impelled by love; the principle of the state was justice, impelled by force. The state had to do justice between man and man, and to restrain violence; the duty of the church was not to force Christian principles on the statute book, but to inculcate in the minds of men, both capitalists and laborers alike, to do unto others as they would others should do unto them.

Bed and breakfast can be had for three pence a day at one of the semi-charitable lodging houses in London. The beds are long boxes, not unlike coffins in shape, with mattresses stuffed with seaweed and chamois leather bed covers.

A London bread trust has been formed with a capital of £500,000. It proposes to acquire 277 established bakeries and three flour mills, and to control the bread making business of the metropolis.

Mr. Cunningham-Graham, M. P., in a recent address to his constituents, said that while he was a strong believer in home rule for Ireland there was some questions on which he did not agree with the Irish leaders. He believed, he said, in the nationalization of land in Ireland, Scotland and England, whereas the leader of the Irish party believed in a peasant proprietary. He had seen this tried in France and Spain, and considered it a failure.

The Paris municipal authorities have erected a crematorium at the cemetery of Pere la Chaise, where a body can be cremated for \$10. The mayors of the different districts of Paris may order the gratuitous cremation of the dead of those too poor to pay.

The university of Oxford is supported by the taxpayers of England to the extent of over £400,000 a year. Here is the way some of the money is spent: The professor of Greek receives £500 a year, and does not lecture; the professor of Sanskrit has £1,000 a year, and three pupils attend his lectures; the professor of Chinese has £500 a year, and an audience of four; the professor of comparative philology has £300 a year, and he does not lecture; the professor of ancient history has £600 a year, and he does not lecture; the professor of English language has £900 a year, and his audience numbers about five. There are fourteen professors who have an aggregate income of £8,500, and an average attendance of four or five persons at their lectures. In addition to their revenues Oxford and Cambridge have the right to two members of parliament each, and generally elect the most conservative of conservatives.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE STANDARD will be sent for six weeks to any address in the United States or Canada for

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

Twelve such subscriptions will be received for \$2.50.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Nationalism in the United States.

That somewhat amusing thing sprung from Mr. Bellamy's novel "Looking Backward," and called "Nationalism," is entertainingly discussed by Nicholas P. Gilman in the last issue of the Quarterly Journal of Economics. Mr. Gilman regards the widespread popularity of the book as significant of "an inclination to question the prevailing social order in a large class of people not to be ranked as workmen or women."

Mr. Gilman has learned that the "Boston Bellamy club" was started in September, 1888, and formally organized as "The Nationalist club" in December last. The constitution proclaims the club's object to be "the nationalization of industry, and thereby the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity." The club would familiarize the people with "the beneficent idea underlying nationalism by encouraging national and local measures tending in this direction." September 1, 1889, the club numbered one hundred and seven members. At that time seventeen other clubs of the kind, including seven in California, had been fully organized, and sixty-eight others were forming. A "nationalist league" was in contemplation. The reviewer seems to think it significant that there is no business man of prominence in the original nationalist club. The "many very distinguished men and women" whom the friends of nationalism report as interested in the movement are summed up by Mr. Gilman in this list: The Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Miss Frances E. Willard and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Dr. Hale, however, has declared in the organ of the nationalists his belief that the American people will carry forward the business of intrusting different manufactures to the government "just about as fast and as far as it will pay." Col. Higginson is an "associate member," such persons being admitted to the club upon profession of their belief in the wisdom of putting any one industry now in private hands under governmental control. Col. Higginson would place the telegraph system under the control of the United States government. The names of Mr. Geo. M. Stearns, the noted Massachusetts lawyer, Rev. Minot J. Savage and Rev. Dr. Heber Newton have been erroneously connected with the movement.

Mr. Gilman then points out that the revolution of 1776, in which Mr. Bellamy finds a parallel to the social revolution of his prophecy, was a protest against that very centralization which Mr. Bellamy preaches, in fact, a war for the right of home rule. "Mr. Bellamy's nation is a hard and fast bureaucracy, the personnel of which, once instituted by popular vote, would perpetuate itself in the closest routine." The author is also aptly charged with offering "the consistency of this metaphor with itself as an equivalent to consistency with reality or probability." The idea of one umbrella for a whole city is cited as an example.

The reviewer combats the idea that in any future social development state lines in this union are likely to disappear, and finds in the great size of the country, the existence of our forty-two federated commonwealths, and the intense individual life of the states, insurmountable barriers to any such scheme as that outlined in "Looking Backward." "For my own part, I perceive here the rock upon which all American socialists must founder—if they ever reach it! The corner stone of political freedom—the American state—will shipwreck every Utopia that strikes it."

Mr. Gilman suggests that Mr. Bellamy's alarm at trusts is needless; thinks that they are no more threatening than the railways, and finds in a revision of the tariff a remedy for the former. He notes, too, that nationalism has not been seriously treated by any one save the nationalists; that it has not enlisted practical men of affairs or teachers of economic science; that it is derided by labor organs, and that it finds no sympathy among the advocates of the single tax. He thinks, however, that the movement may find a mission in hastening the time when we shall have state ownership of railroads and telegraphs and municipal ownership of street railways and the means of illumination. "No person advocating the same measures in the United States can be set down as merely fanciful. Professor Jevons well stated the position, I take it, when he declared in words of which Dr. Hale's, already quoted, are an echo, that no theory of the proper limits of governmental power would stand in the way of any forward step which is manifestly for the public welfare."

The reviewer recommends that the nationalists abate their pretensions and devote themselves to further the extension of state and municipal control to the industries named in the last paragraph, though he does not commit himself to the wisdom of such extension.

Christianity and Socialism.

Dean Plumptre of Wells occupies eighteen pages of the Contemporary Review for November with an article entitled "Christianity and Socialism." After presenting definitions of Christianity, socialism and individualism, and the observation that socialism might be the ideal of any form of government, while individualism seems incompatible with aristocracy or monarchy, the dean sets out to inquire with which of these two

antagonistic forces Christianity is more in affinity. He finds in the Old Testament laws and prophets, which he regards as a partial anticipation of Christ, features distinctly socialistic.

Christianity sanctioned neither socialism nor individualism, because it had other things to do, but many of the parables, of the beatitudes concerning the poor, and of the woes against the rich, savor of altruism, of the living for others, rather than of individualism. "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," is, in the dean's opinion, hardly a Christian sentiment.

The confiscation of church property after the English reformation increased the evils of individualism. The poor law of Elizabeth recognized the socialistic principle that the state must provide for a starving people deprived of their peasant proprietorship by the inclosure of commons and other aristocratic acts of oppression. But the intended good was thwarted by the farmers, "who used the rates to supplement their miserable wages." The trade monopolies of Elizabeth and James brought new evils; the next century, busied with wars, left social problems unsolved, and the eighteenth century advanced little beyond *laissez faire*, "which, of course, tended to strengthen individualism." English whigs, terrified by the French revolution, allied themselves with individualists of the Smith and Ricardo school, who taught that wages must tend to a minimum just sufficient to keep the human machine in working order. The revolutionary movement of 1848 saw the birth of "modern methodized socialism." Economists, both conservative and radical, Peel, Graham, Bright, Cobden, denounced laws for the protection of women and children as socialistic and invasions of individualism. The Christian socialists of that time in England, while not insisting upon parliamentary legislation as a cure-all, contended against the idea that unlimited competition and the law of supply and demand alone could solve the labor problem. The dean, however, traces remedial legislation in Ireland, state aided and compulsory education and some other legislation, at least in part to the influence of the Christian socialists.

Dean Plumptre thinks that Christians, and especially churchmen, may not rightly identify themselves with associations because the aims of present socialists are purely secular, and they, as well as individualists, are likely to be on the side of disendowment and disestablishment. "Those who urge the nationalization of land are not likely to exempt the property of the church of England from the range of its operations."

Christianity cannot sanction violent forms of socialism or the creation of an ideal society by the destruction of the present order without compensation to those who would lose by such change. This, the dean thinks, must prevent Christians from espousing schemes "for the nationalization of land like that of Mr. Henry George." Mr. A. R. Wallace's plan of reasonable compensation is "so far less objectionable."

Christianity must recognize individualism as a factor in social progress, and if possible harmonize it with socialism. The attitude of Christians toward socialism should be one of intelligent and watchful sympathy. But Christians must be slow to indulge in optimistic dreams as to legislative solutions of social problems. "The bureaucracy of a state organization of capital and labor will bring forth the old evils of the middleman and the sweater. The locust swarm of clerks and commissioners may lay waste the socialistic paradise." On the other hand, individualism as a savior of society from the excesses of socialism may stamp out the last traces of the aspirations which issued in those excesses. In fact, no social laws can bring reform unless men come to accept the idea of men's brotherhood.

Dean Plumptre finds in the action of Cardinal Manning and Bishop Temple during the recent London strike a hint as to the true relations of Christianity and socialism. He believes that in that struggle Christians were on the side of labor.

Dean Plumptre sums up his hopes for the near future in these things: Fewer and more successful strikes, arbitration between labor and capital, admission of women to all trades unions, expropriation of Irish landlords with moderate compensation, the estimated value of the interest of the present possessor and the heir to be paid in a lump sum or in annuities; this to be a lever for like changes in England; application slowly of "Mill's doctrine of the unearned increment" by the exaction of decent sanitary accommodations from ground landlords; a postal savings banks and insurance system, and an eight hour law. Even with all this, he doesn't hope for a world without sin, shame or poverty.

Of the single tax, Dean Plumptre says: "I do not expect, looking to the love of both the Englishman and the Irishman for ownership—I may add also their sense of fairness—that Mr. Henry George's somewhat childish plan of confiscating rent, leaving the present possessors with a small percentage for their trouble in collecting it, will find general acceptance."

The New Trades Unionism.

Mr. Frederic Harrison, the positivist, writes in the November Nineteenth Century on what he calls "The New Trades Unionism." "This he conceives to be the old trades unionism as

transformed by the aid of socialism and a friendly public opinion. Mr. Harrison says that thirty years ago the old orthodox political economy, "the gospel of selfishness" of supply and demand dominated capitalists and even overawed leaders of the laboring class. Then socialism was an outlandish dream. Today that political economy is ancient history and socialism is in the new, vague sense, as a modifying tendency, a very real force.

The new trades unionism has demonstrated above all things that unskilled labor may combine for its own betterment. In the recent strike of the dock laborers skilled workmen for the first time in Mr. Harrison's thirty years' observations struck in sympathy with the grievance of unskilled labor. The highly organized prosperous trades union composed of well paid workmen, is the thing with which for years the socialists have quarreled, because such unions were conservative, slow, and without sympathy for the residuum of unskilled labor. Now that trades unionism has modified these objectionable features socialism has dropped its attacks on the institution of capital. This is the work of John Burns, equally prominent as a socialist and a trades unionist, and the head of the most extraordinary labor movement of our time. In Mr. Harrison's opinion John Burns has attained some such influence over the laboring masses of London as Gambetta exercised over the peasantry of France.

The new trades unionism occupies a place between the old fashioned conservative trades union and the mere temporary club organized for a strike. In large part this organization of the unskilled workers is the outgrowth of the dock laborers' strike. In the general good feeling of English people toward that strike Mr. Harrison sees the strongest evidence that trades unionism has established new relations with society.

Mr. Harrison traces the various influences that have brought about what he regards as a *modus vivendi* between socialism and trades unionism, and says: "Socialism in any systematic or definite form as a scheme for superseding the institutions of capital had not, in my opinion, made any serious headway." At the same time Mr. Harrison adds: "But socialism as meaning the general desire to have all the arrangements of society, economic, legislative and moral, controlled by social conditions and reformed to meet permanent social obligations—this kind of socialism is manifestly in the ascendant. Such socialism, I mean, as is found in Henry George's powerful book called 'Social Problems,' where we have his view of the problem, apart from his sophistical remedy." The old doctrine of *laissez faire* is dead; and in the absence of any other gospel of authority, a vague proclivity toward socialism comes to the front."

Mr. Harrison thinks that serious men of all schools see that the present arrangement of society, by which the lowest stratum is subject to an increasing pressure, must be remedied. Rulers, from Bismarck to the pope, see the necessity for relief. Mr. Harrison speaks with approval of some one's definition of the term socialism as teaching that "capital must be turned to social objects, just as capital arises from social combination." Again, "industry must be moralized by opinion, not recast by the state—moralized by education, by morality, by religion."

"The Owners of the United States."

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's recent article in the Forum entitled "The Owners of the United States" has called out much newspaper comment. The Christian at Work regards Mr. Shearman's estimates of great fortunes as "entirely untrustworthy," and affirms that the assertion that at the present rate of concentration 50,000 will soon practically own the wealth of this country, will be "very funny reading in 1914." The Philadelphia Ledger attacks Mr. Shearman's facts in like fashion, and instances the estimate of the late I. V. Williamson's estate as inaccurate. "What are the 59,975,000 going to do about it?" is the query of the Boston Globe in noting the estimate that 25,000 persons own half the wealth of the Union. The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin questions the accuracy of the figures and professes the opinion that those concerning Philadelphia's millionaires are not trustworthy. The Somerville Journal is astonished at the figures and advises its readers to make haste to get among the 50,000. The St. Louis Republic accepts the figures of present wealth, but questions the estimates of future conditions. "If 25,000 persons own half the wealth of the country, it means that in one form or other they receive tribute from the public at large as the use price of it." The Republic believes that if conditions responsible for such concentration of wealth continue, in time permanent ownership of property will be impossible to seventy-five per cent of the people and that proportion must pay rent to the others. The repeal of tariff laws, an income tax, a tax on bequests and a tax on transfers of property, are suggested as remedies. Mr. Shearman is charged by the San Francisco Examiner with making wild guesses, but that paper recognizes the gravity of the facts and says: "There is one lesson clearly visible in Mr. Shearman's list of abnormal fortunes. It is that most of these extravagant accumulations of wealth would have been impossible if the government had retained certain natural monopolies in its own hands." Things

are not serious, according to the Philadelphia Times, because millionaires after a while will be unable to spend their incomes upon themselves. That paper also derives mysterious comfort from the hope that the possessors of great wealth will be drawn "into political and diplomatic prominence as allied with social responsibility and display." "More Shearman Absurdities" is the title of the editorial article in which the Troy Times discusses the problem presented in the Forum. The Times apparently regards present social conditions as admirable, and calls upon Mr. Shearman to "unload" before he attacks the accumulations of others. "We fail to see a cause for alarm in existing conditions," is the comment of the Albany Evening Journal.

Trusts and Monopolies.

In a recent issue of the Baltimore Sun, Congressman William L. Wilson of West Virginia talks of trusts and monopolies. He affirms that in all legislation for the suppression of abuses it is of the highest moment to respect and observe the great maxims and principles upon which free government has been slowly and laboriously built up, the established and inviolable safeguards of liberty and property, and in our country not less carefully also the just boundaries between state and federal authority. After reviewing remedial legislation in several states and some offered in congress, Mr. Wilson questions whether such measures can be enforced, and if so, whether they may not invade the domain of liberty. He notes that English courts have reasoned that free trade was a sufficient guarantee against home monopolies. He believes that laws aimed against trusts must be "correct in principle, simple in their provisions and easy of enforcement." He points out the difficulty of proving the offense as one great obstacle to effective legislation.

The Arena for December.

THE STANDARD has received advance sheets of the Arena for December. Among the contributions are these: "Agencies that are Working a Revolution in Theology," Rev. Minot J. Savage; "History in the Public Schools," Rabbi Solomon Schindler; "The Democracy of Labor Organizations," George E. McNeill; "Certain Convictions as to Poverty," Helen Campbell; N. P. Gilman, O. B. Frothingham, O. P. Gifford and C. A. Bartel, respectively, discuss in brief notes, "Poverty and Crime in Our Great Cities," "Is Poverty Increasing?" "Our Poor" and "The Word of God in Our Constitution." Other articles are by W. H. H. Murray, Professor Joseph R. de Buchanan, Mary A. Livermore and Hudson Tuttle. Mrs. Livermore's article is a review of the woman suffrage question. Mr. McNeill arraigns conservatives who see danger in the power of labor organizations. He defends the so-called tyranny of such organizations and insists that their secret methods are not conspiracy. "The power of discharge which means banishment or starvation may be met with the freemen's power to strike, even to the enforced bankruptcy of the antagonist."

W. H. H. Murray finds an intimate connection between individualism and Christianity. What we love in a friend is "the man, the mystery; that memorable force, vigor, grace, charm, that is individual in him. Others may not read him, but you translate him easily. Blank to others, to you he is as a written message; you understand him, you interpret him, and over you he has that greatest of all powers—the power of sweetness. Now, as I apprehend it, the power of Christianity as a religion is because it is a religion of the individual."

The Arena is a new publication, issued from Boston, and devoted to the discussion of social problems.

Factories and Farming.

London Advertiser.

"Who ever knew of a truly agricultural people who were greatly prosperous without manufacturing?" asks Mr. John Hallam in a letter to the Toronto Globe. The question may be answered by asking another—Who ever knew of a truly agricultural people who were greatly prosperous with manufacturing? How is it in Mr. Hallam's native land, England? How is it in Belgium? How is it in Switzerland? How is it in the United States? In all these countries there are important sections, in which the agricultural interest is in a very depressed and languid state because of manufacturing. The young men and women of the farms have been induced to desert them by the more glittering attractions of the factories, and throughout New England especially there is abundant evidence to show that the country is going back into woods again. In Vermont, in New Hampshire, in Massachusetts, in Connecticut and in Rhode Island there are thousands of acres which grew grain and grazed cattle and sheep 100 years ago, and which to-day are for the most part in timber or used to pasture a lone cow or two. Land which fifty years ago in those states was worth \$10 to \$50 an acre, cannot be sold at the present day \$10 an acre; no men can be found to take or work them, such is the craze for getting employment in the factories, and various schemes are projected for bringing out farmers to occupy them from Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In those states the situation is much more serious than in England, and one of the reasons for it is, that the government's protective policy has put a premium on manufactures, which has ended very nearly in the ruin of the agricultural industry. Now will Squire Hallam answer his own question?

BALLOT REFORM.

The County Democrats Declare for It.

At a meeting of the county committee of the county democratic organization, held last week, a series of resolutions were presented denouncing the fraud, bribery and coercion of the last presidential and the recent elections, and demanding a ballot reform law which shall embody the following principles:

First—The ballots should be printed and distributed at the public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office should be printed upon the same ballot.

Third—The ballot should be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

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

These, it will be seen, are the essential points in the Australian system, as formulated by the Reform club.

District Attorney John R. Fellows spoke enthusiastically for the resolutions. He pointed to the splendid results of the Massachusetts law, and announced his belief that Governor Hill would sign a real ballot reform act if passed this year. The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Movement in Connecticut.

The marked difference between the real ballot reform law of Massachusetts, which was so successfully operated a couple of weeks ago, and the bogus secret ballot law of Connecticut, which was tried in October, has helped the Connecticut advocates of the Australian system very much. They will renew the fight for a good law as soon as the legislature meets. A correspondent of the Times mentions the following gentlemen as the leaders of the movement in Connecticut: Hon. Henry C. Robinson of Hartford, Congressman William E. Simonds of the First district, John Addison Porter, editor and manager of the Hartford Evening Post; Lieutenant-Governor S. E. Merwin of New Haven, Labor Commissioner S. M. Hotchkiss, State Senator Fuller of Putnam, William A. Countryman, chief clerk of the bureau of labor statistics; Frank E. Hyde, the leading democratic representative in the legislature from Hartford; Speaker John H. Perry, and Judge William B. Glover of Fairfield. As the Times correspondent says, all of these men are in the ballot reform movement to stay. He says too that the next election will give a majority of the legislature for the reform, and that it cannot be put off further than next fall.

Opinion of a Leading Democrat.

Ex-Congressman John E. Russell of Massachusetts, who made such a strong free trade fight in congress and during the last campaign, was interviewed the other day in regard to the operation of the Massachusetts ballot reform law. He had watched the balloting carefully, and gave it as his opinion that the voting was never so rapidly accomplished. He said: "In one town of which I had an account the first voter who came had voted and left the hall inside of one minute, and in Leicester, where I live, the first seventeen men voted in less than seventeen minutes."

One of the effects of the adoption of the new system by the various state governments, Mr. Russell said, will be to do away with the republican project of controlling the congressional elections by federal legislation and officials. "Troops at the polls, under the control of marshals appointed by the party in power, a wide extension of the Quay-Dudley-Elkins-Foraker-Mahone system, becomes impossible in the light of this beneficial regulation."

Governor Hill Unconvinced.

According to the Times Governor Hill hears from all parts of the state, from democrats as well as republicans, the query: "Will the people of New York get a ballot reform bill next year?" Mr. Saxton has promised to introduce this bill early in the legislative session and Senator Linson will offer his bill on the first day of the session. The Saxton bill will be modified in one or two insignificant features. The Linson bill, on the contrary, will be handed up in practically the same shape in which it was defeated by the republican legislature. Governor Hill has expressed the opinion that the Massachusetts law is imperfect in many details, and it is said that he will use information as to the working of the measure specially gathered from all parts of Massachusetts as a vindication of his vetoes of ballot reform bills in this state. It is understood that Governor Hill is as tenacious as ever of his arguments on the secrecy of the ballot, of the danger of death of a candidate between the time the official ballots are printed and the day of election, and for the unofficial ballot. In speaking to a friend the other day he alluded to the danger to be apprehended from a disgruntled leader of a district who the night before election should lock all his ballots in a safe and the next day forget the combination.

Ex-Judge Walter R. Staples, a leading democrat of Virginia, believes that the election laws of that state must be materially

amended. He thinks that the Australian system of voting must be modified to fit Virginia's needs, but regards an absolutely secret ballot as essential. Major J. T. Ellyson of Richmond, a member of the democratic state executive committee, believes that a secret ballot would win for the democrats many votes from the negroes. Senator Daniel regards the Australian system as affording the needed protection. Governor Lee has not studied the system with sufficient care to express an opinion upon it, but he may make in his message to the legislature some recommendation as to ballot reform.

James W. Pryor, president of the City reform club; Abram C. Bernheim and J. Noble Hayes, members of the same organization, spoke on ballot reform on Monday, the 15th inst., before the East side ballot reform league at 209 East Broadway. The league will further organize the east side.

The Outlook.

Philadelphia Press (rep.).

The help of the county democracy in New York may bring enough assistance to the republicans to override Governor Hill's opposition to ballot reform in that state. Governor-elect Abbott of New Jersey was forced during the recent canvass to take an attitude favorable to some method of reform, and the result may be an envelope law something like that in force in Connecticut. A bill was lost in Ohio last winter, but it is not improbable that one will pass next winter, and in Iowa the signs are especially promising for similar action. The southern states in which ballot reform laws are possible are Maryland and Kentucky. The Baltimore Sun has begun already to urge the adoption of the Australian system in the first state, and the success which has attended its application in Louisville may lead to its extension to the whole of the second state. There are five states, then, in which ballot reform laws may be adopted this winter. There are nine states which have adopted the Australian system already, if Connecticut's law is to be classed under that head. If five states take favorable action on ballot reform bills, next year one-third of the states in the Union will then have adopted the system. Some of the new states may also range themselves on the side of the same reform.

Death of Rev. James T. Bush.

ITHACA, N. Y., Nov. 17.—The single tax cause met with a sad loss by the death of the Rev. James T. Bush, which occurred very suddenly from heart disease on Monday last. Mr. Bush came to Ithaca only a few months ago, attracted by the advantages Cornell university offered for the education of his children. In this short time he became greatly admired and esteemed by all single tax men. He was one of the most genial and companionable of men, a delightful conversationalist, keen yet always kind, full of humor yet always dignified, and his warm sympathy and deep enthusiasm for our reform quickly won the hearts of many.

He was for many years a prominent and influential clergyman of the Episcopal church, at one time filling the Rev. Heber Newton's pulpit, yet not long before his death he left that denomination for the Unitarian.

Mr. Bush was the author of "More Words About the Bible" and "The Evidence of Faith." He was an occasional contributor to several magazines and newspapers, among the number THE STANDARD.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

Publishing an Assessment Roll.

A "copy of the assessment roll of Mt. Vernon, N. Y.," has just been put into type and is being sold in the village at fifteen cents a copy. It gives all the different plots in order, the names of the owners, amounts assessed thereon, and in most cases the number of feet frontage.

Mt. Vernon is not a large place, and the total assessment amounts to but \$2,760,000, but the manner of levying the assessment has excited enough opposition to make the publication of the tax roll seem desirable. If Mt. Vernon's assessors are like other assessors of this state this will show some strange methods of taxation.

Mormon Monopolists.

San Francisco Examiner.

The Henry George men should turn their attention to Utah. In the application of the single tax to that territory they would have the backing of the powerful religious element which is ready to touch a match wherever there seems a chance of smoking out the Mormons. The governor, in his report just published, predicts that it will be many years before the Gentiles will be in a majority. The reason is that the Mormons hold all the arable land, and all the water-rights upon which successful agriculture depends, and "as they hold and own the land and water, they hold and own Utah."

There seems to be only one way of remedying this state of things, and that is for the government to break the monopoly. But the blank, unvarnished confiscation of private property would not be tolerated, even if the victims were Mormons. The easiest way out, therefore, would seem to be the adoption of the single tax, with government control of irrigation works to insure a fair distribution of water.

SOCIALISM AND THE POLICE.

Sergeant Tims Accused of Being a Revolutionary—What Inspector Byrnes Says—An Interview With the Sergeant.

The New York police force was stirred this week by newspaper interviews in which Sergeant Oliver Tims was represented as holding socialistic opinions. Sergeant Tims some days ago made an address at the funeral of Patrolman DeNyse, an officer who held somewhat radical religious and social views. The Volks-Zeitung, an organ of the socialists, printed on Sunday last a two-column article purporting to give opinions expressed by Sergeant Tims in an interview with a representative of that paper. The article represented Tims as declaring himself in full sympathy with the professedly revolutionary movement led by Schevitch and Most, and expressing the opinion that a fifth of the police force held like opinions. On Monday the Herald printed an interview with Tims in which he was represented as saying that he had talked freely to the Volks-Zeitung's representative because he thought that, as the paper was printed in German, his views would not attain wide circulation. The Herald represented Tims as saying that every thinking man is a socialist, and that he could name from memory fifty members of the police force who are in full sympathy with the socialists. Tims was represented further as saying that he looked for an early realization of Henry George's ideas, and if such realization did not bring about social regeneration, the teachings of "socialism proper" must be adopted. The Herald then gave this as Tims's social creed:

Large fortunes are acquired—

1. By robbing the workingman of the just fruits of his labor—that is, by underpaying him.

2. By asking exorbitant prices for the privilege of selling the products of the labor of others.

3. Through fraud and bankruptcy.

4. By swallowing up the savings of others who are swindled on business principles.

The sergeant is further represented as declaring that no man could earn a million dollars by his own unaided efforts; that he was glad to see the progress of revolutionary ideas; that the revolution was sure to come, and that whether it should be bloodless, as in the case of Brazil, would depend largely upon the attitude of the rich when called upon "for a just distribution of the products of labor."

The Herald represented Inspector Byrnes as surprised at Mr. Tims's utterances and as declaring that "it would not do to tolerate socialism or anarchism on the police force."

A representative of THE STANDARD asked Inspector Byrnes on Monday what action the department proposed to take in the matter.

"The sergeant was summoned to police headquarters to-day," answered the inspector, "and with him came his captain and a police inspector. I questioned Sergeant Tims as to the two alleged interviews, and he replied that they were a tissue of falsehood. I asked him especially whether he had said that a fifth of the force held socialistic opinions, and he denied having said anything of the sort, adding that he could not know the opinions of a fifth of the force as he was not acquainted with that proportion of the police officers. At my request Sergeant Tims will make report, on this matter probably to-day, and that report, I suppose, will go to the police commissioners."

"Do you believe," asked THE STANDARD's representative, "that in the case of an uprising of socialists or anarchists, the effectiveness of the force would be crippled by reason of sympathy with revolutionary ideas on the part of police officers?"

"I do not," answered the inspector. "I have no belief that such opinions are prevalent in the force, and in the whole course of my experience, now extending over more than twenty-five years, I have never known the members of the force to flinch from any duty. I believe that the New York police force is firm upon the side of law and order."

"Would a man who was known to entertain such opinions as are ascribed to Sergeant Tims be retained upon the force?"

"That is a matter for the consideration of my superior officers, the police commissioners."

"Were the opinions of Policeman DeNyse known to the department?"

"They were not, and if I have been correctly informed, DeNyse was not a socialist; he merely held in a conservative way the views of Mr. George, and I can see no objection to that."

Police Commissioner McClave, when seen by THE STANDARD's representative, promptly expressed his belief in Sergeant Tims's denial.

"But if a police officer did entertain such opinions, would he be retained on the force?"

"I cannot speak for the commissioners, but if it lay with me, upon the discovery of any such views among police officers, I would act very promptly."

Another representative of THE STANDARD called on Sergeant Tims. The sergeant said that the articles in the papers were for the most part made up of garbled quotations from an address he had delivered before the Caledonian club five years ago. He had not said that he or other members of the force were in sympathy with socialism or the socialists. "If I am a believer in the single tax and the teachings of Henry George, and I am,"

said the sergeant, "how can I be a socialist? The two principles are opposed to each other." He said he had distinctly repudiated any idea of violent revolution, that he had given no "platform" or "credo" to the reporter, and that both articles were for the most part inventions.

As to his speech at the funeral of Patrolman DeNyse, Sergeant Tims said that the newspaper reports were very inaccurate. He was quoted, for instance, as saying that DeNyse repudiated the bible and its teachings, when, as a fact, he had said the very reverse.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

The Extent of Electric Railways.

The extraordinary development of the electric street railway within a short time is shown by the table published in the Electrical World of American street railways in October, 1889. There are a total of 179 electric street railways, of which three are in Canada and the remainder in the United States. The roads in actual operation are 115, the other 64 being in course of construction and equipment or under contract. The total length of track is 1,260 miles, and the number of motor cars reported as actually in use 1,884. Of the 179 roads all but three are returned as working by overhead systems. Not one is operated entirely by conduit, and only one, in Allegheny, Pa., reports a partial use of conduit; it has one mile of conduit and three miles of overhead wire. Three roads are reported working with storage batteries. Two of these appear to be experimental lines, only two storage battery cars being used on one road and a single car on the other. The only line of consequence using the storage system is the Fourth avenue in New York, which reports eighteen and one-half miles of track operated with ten Julien cars.

Various Notes Concerning Electricity.

The Age of Steel publishes the following list of questions and answers relative to electricity:

What is the longest distance over which conversation by telephone is daily maintained? A. About 750 miles, from Portland, Me., to Buffalo, N. Y.

What is the fastest time made by an electric railway? A. A mile a minute by a small experimental car. Twenty miles an hour on street railway system.

How many miles of submarine cable are there in operation? A. Over 100,000 miles, or enough to girdle the earth four times.

What is the maximum power generated by an electric motor? A. Seventy-five horse power; experiments indicate that 100 horse power will soon be reached.

How is a break in a submarine cable located? A. By measuring the electricity needed to charge the remaining broken part.

How many miles of telegraph wire in operation in the United States? A. Over a million, or enough to encircle the globe forty times.

How many messages can be transmitted over a wire at one time? A. Four, by the quadruplex system in daily use.

How is telegraphing from a moving train accomplished? A. Through a circuit from the car roof, inducing a current in the wire on poles along the track.

What are the most widely separated points between which it is possible to send a telegram? A. British Columbia and New Zealand, via America and Europe.

How many miles of telephone wire in operation in the United States? A. More than 170,000, over which 1,055,000 messages are sent daily.

What is the greatest candle-power of arc light used in a lighthouse? A. Two million, in the lighthouse at Housholm, Denmark.

How long does it take to transport a message from San Francisco to Hong Kong? A. About fifteen minutes, via New York, Canso, Penzance, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Penang and Singapore.

George Westinghouse, jr., of Pittsburg, writing to the New York Sun on the development of gas as a fuel, says: "In the near future, when the illuminating gas companies make it a business to introduce economical devices for the burning of gas, it may be expected that the citizens of New York and other large cities will use gas very largely for cooking and other domestic purposes. There is a simple device for the heating of water that ought to be in every household. By lighting a gas jet and turning on the water at the same time, water is boiled in about fifty seconds, and will run continuously at the boiling point at the rate of seventy gallons, with a consumption of about fifty cubic feet of gas per hour. There are roasting devices, wherein the radiant heat of the gas is reflected upon the meats to be roasted, and the result is a saving of from ten to fifteen per cent in the weight of the meat, which is lost by the present method. Heated air prefers the top of the room, and thus leads to the consumption of a large amount of fuel in order to get a small amount of heated air upon the floor, where it is most needed. A European invention is so designed and arranged that about fifty per cent of the heat is reflected upon the floor, so that at a distance of ten or twenty feet from one of these contrivances set in an ordinary fire place, the heat can be readily noticed upon the floor. Not only is the heat reflected upon the floor, but the heat in the products of combustion is utilized in warming the air in the room, which it puts in circulation. So economical is this stove that about thirty-five per cent of the entire heat units contained in gas are made available, as against ten per cent from coal grate fires. In all bed rooms, and for heating in moderately cool weather, stoves of this character, from a sanitary point of view, would be worth their weight in gold, for in one minute after lighting the gas jets the reflected heat may be felt upon the floor."

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

Tariff for Revenue Only.

The Hon. Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury in the cabinets of Presidents Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur, has written a significant letter to Mr. Robert Grier Monroe, chairman of the house committee of the Reform club. Mr. McCulloch describes protection as "savoring more of the old Chinese policy than of the enlightened sentiment of a progressive and wide awake people." Of the tariff discussion in congress he says: "It has been, in a large measure, treated as a sectional and party question, upon which there has not been free exercise of independent thought and action. The time seems now to have come when the consideration of it can no longer be controlled or restricted by sectional or party influences. It has at last been forced to the front as a question too broad and far reaching to be considered as any other than a national question, in the proper settlement of which all our great interests—agriculture, manufactures, labor—are deeply concerned."

Having shown the superior effectiveness of labor in this country as compared with labor in Great Britain, Mr. McCulloch says:

"The protective tariff can no longer be defended on the ground that wages are lower in Great Britain than in the United States, which is not only the most productive but the most inviting of countries, with doors wide open to all comers. If labor was not more efficient here than in other countries the foreign laborers, who every year are coming by thousands, would equalize its cost."

"To me it seems very clear that all the great industrial interests in the United States are greatly in need of a freer trade with other nations, and that this can only be brought about by a radical change in our financial policy."

"I congratulate the members of the club upon the progress which tariff reform is making, as indicated by the recent elections, but it must be borne in mind that the protective interests are strong in wealth, if not in numbers; that having controlled the economic policy of the government for nearly a quarter of a century and been enriched by it, they will not yield that control without a severe contest. If, however, such associations as yours do their full duty; if the great body of fair-minded people, especially the farmers, are made to understand to what extent the many are taxed for the benefit of the few, how prejudicial the tariff is to all our great interests, especially the farming interests, which underlies all other interests, the result of the contest will not be long doubtful."

"With constantly increasing faith in the soundness of the doctrine of which I have been for many years a humble advocate, that as a rule taxes should be imposed for revenue only, I remain very truly yours,

"HUGH McCULLOCH."

The Philadelphia Textile Record, protectionist, in discussing the use of shoddy in woolen manufactures, says that of the 6,500,000 pounds of "rags, waste, shoddy, etc.," which were taxed at the custom house on their way to our factories and thence to the clothing of the poor, not more than 1,000,000 pounds were genuine waste. It says:

The remainder, five-sixths of the gross imports, were fine scoured wool put into the shape of waste and run through our custom houses at the waste duty for the purpose of evading the laws. This stuff has come in as nearly worthless waste, but when it has gotten in it has been sold for from fifty to sixty-two cents a pound. Under this system the government has been defrauded of revenue, and the American wool growers have been robbed of a portion of the domestic market. The facts about the business may be found in the report of Consul Grinnell of Bradford, England, to the state department, under date of March 19, 1889, and they are indisputable.

Thus tariff doth make liars of us all.

Speaker Carlisle regards the tariff issue as the chief cause of democratic gains in the recent elections, and declares that the general result means Mr. Cleveland's renomination in 1892. Mr. Carlisle believes that even Governor Hill sees that the people demand Mr. Cleveland.

Senator Frye of Maine, on being asked whether a suggestion from the Pan-American congress for a radical revision of our tariff would be received with favor by the present administration, answered, "I would not vote for free trade with the republics, and for good reasons;" and then he suggested a limited reciprocity which should involve the free admission of some raw materials from South and Central America. From this point of view of protectionists, such as Mr. Frye, a mere declaration against free trade with our sister republics seems a little lukewarm. It recalls the inadequacy of Artemus Ward's suggested remedy for the civil war, which was to go to Richmond and persuade Jefferson Davis to join the Young men's Christian association.

Captain John Codman discussed at the Reform club's last semi-monthly meeting Congressman Dingley's recent article on the "Mercantile Marine." Captain Codman believes in free ships and declared that when that question came up in England it was rightly reasoned that it was much better to buy ships abroad than to abandon trade. He

denied that the ascendancy of the British merchant marine is due to subsidies. Only two per cent of British steamships carry the mails. This subsidizing because of the transportation of the mails cannot be very great. Subsidies do not improve steamships any more than a subsidized stage line would improve the style of coaches. The British government displays no more liberality in contracting for war vessels than does our own. The contracts are awarded to the lowest bidder who undertakes to make the standard of vessel required. The Clyde yards turned out hundreds of steamships before the admiralty paid any attention to them.

A Skilba, Boone, Iowa.—At last the light is breaking. Even Iowa has gone democratic. Last year the republican majority in Boone was 201; this year the democratic majority is 209. The democrats nominated a free trade republican for the legislature, and although the county went republican he was elected.

Press Comments.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, the leading democratic paper in Ohio, declares that the victory in that state gives "a new momentum to the principle of tariff reform." The Enquirer used to be classed with the Randall faction. The democracy is really "getting together."—[Boston Globe.]

The solicitude of Mr. Hoar's party for "the protection of both labor and capital," has closed thirty-six per cent of the rolling mills of Massachusetts and put thousands of workmen out of employment.—[Boston Globe.]

The result of the approaching congress will be insignificant, unless it leads to freedom of trade, absolute or in a very great measure, among the American nations.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

Those thousands of starving farmers in North Dakota must derive infinite consolation from the reflection that they enjoy the blessings of a "home market," and that by their votes they have helped to secure these blessings.—[Boston Post.]

TAXES IN ILLINOIS.

The Board of Equalization Refuses to Find Personal Property, and Increases Real Estate Taxes.

A correspondent of the St. Louis Republic, writing from Springfield, Ill., gives some glaring examples of how the tax laws which attempt to reach all species of property fail in doing so. The Illinois state tax is thirty-five cents per hundred dollars, and the board of equalization is supposed to see that this tax is assessed fairly on all species of property. How the board "equalizes" things can be judged from the following specimens of its work.

Under the head of personal property the board is supposed to put everything not enumerated as lands, houses or merchandise. Grain is therefore personal property, and Chicago, with its one hundred elevators, probably has on the average more grain stowed away than any city in the world except, perhaps, Liverpool. The board has "equalized" the assessments in grain so that Chicago's enormous stores are assessed at a total valuation of \$75,000, whereas the grain in the little county of Ogle is valued at \$90,000, La Salle county at \$200,000, McLean county at \$160,000, Champaign county at \$155,000. These counties are agricultural districts. The equalizing of assessments on all other forms of personal property is as bad, if not worse. "It is enough," says the correspondent, "to quote the equalized figure of assessed valuation of melodeons and organs of several counties. That of Cook county, in which Chicago is located, is a little over \$10,000; Kane county is assessed for more than \$12,000 in the same line, and Ogle, La Salle, Fulton, Adams and Champaign are all "equalized" higher than Chicago and Cook county."

Almost everywhere in the state the board has increased the assessments on real estate, while it has reduced the assessments on personal property. The net percentage showing reductions in the assessment of personal property throughout the whole state is 461, obtained by adding together all the percentages of increase and all the percentages of decrease and subtracting the former from the latter. Doing the same thing with the real estate assessments we find a net increase of 15. Everywhere the board of equalization simply refused to tax personal property. In Johnson county, for instance, the local assessors had increased the personal property assessments, for local taxation, some \$20,000, while they had only increased the real estate assessment some \$10,000. But when these equalizers got at the lists for assessing the state tax they entirely disregarded the local tax assessors' estimates, and equalized things by actually reducing the personal property assessment 19 per cent, and increasing the real estate assessment 41 per cent.

If anything was needed to show the impossibility of levying taxes on personal property with any fairness this report of the equalizers would show it. It is everywhere the same; where assessors are forced to assess personally they tax the poor many times more than the rich in proportion to their wealth, but in the majority of cases they simply shut their eyes and refuse to see or try to see any personal property to tax.

CITY IMPROVEMENTS.

How New York's Streets and Paving are Paid For—The Proposed Washington Heights Viaduct.

There has been considerable talk in the papers of late about the proposed new viaduct which shall connect Washington heights with the low land to the east. The idea is, and indeed, the plans have been approved by the board of estimate and apportionment, that an iron roadway, resting on iron pillars and stone piers, with a wagon road as broad as an ordinary street, and sidewalks on each side, shall be constructed from Tenth avenue or St. Nicholas place and 155th street down to the southerly end of Macomb's dam bridge, which is at about 155th street and the end of Seventh avenue. The length of the structure will be about 2,400 feet, and the grade about four feet in every hundred. The cost is estimated at about \$500,000.

The desirability of this viaduct will be apparent to anyone who has ever ridden up to the terminus of the elevated railroad, at 155th street and Eighth avenue, and had to climb up to the heights by the wretched wooden steps and the wooden inclined plane. But while it will be merely a convenience to most of the citizens, it will be of enormous pecuniary advantage to the property owners on Washington heights.

But there are two peculiarities about this viaduct construction. The first is that it is not, like the new streets, sewers, paving, etc., to be paid for by the property owners who get the benefit of it; and the second peculiarity is that the department of public works has not the power to condemn the property necessary for the right of way, as it has when it wants to make a new street. And taking advantage of the latter fact, the property owners on the low lands between Seventh avenue and the elevated road, and west to the hill, have refused to grant easements for the viaduct, and a special act of the legislature will be necessary. The cost of the viaduct will fall on the taxpayers of the whole city, just like our share of the cost of the Brooklyn bridge, but unlike that of the Brooklyn bridge the value of the viaduct will be chiefly appropriated by the owners of a small part of the city instead of distributing itself.

It would be hard to say on what principle the cost of an improvement like the Riverside park and driveway is assessed one-half on the city as a whole and one-half on the property owners, while the cost of this viaduct will be charged wholly to the city. Riverside park has cost \$7,292,000, of which the city's proportion was only \$3,550,000.

Riverside avenue, as yet incomplete, has cost \$658,800, of which one-half will be assessed against the property holders benefited.

Assessing the benefited property in this way is a real step in the direction of the single tax, although of course if all rents were the property of the community it would be unnecessary to assess any particular property for any particular improvement, as wherever the improvement raised land values the community would get the increased value in increased taxes.

When a new street is wanted in the opinion of the board of public works, or the department of parks, which has charge of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards, or in the opinion of the owners of three-fourths of the property along the proposed street, the department is given full power to condemn the land and make the street, and

The lands, tenements and hereditaments that may be required for the purpose of opening may be taken for that purpose, and compensation and recompense made to the parties and persons, if any such there shall be, to whom the loss and damage thereby shall be deemed to exceed the benefit and advantage thereof, for the excess of the damage over and above the value of the said benefit.—[Consolidation act., chap. 410, laws 1882, sec. 962.]

The damages and benefits are assessed on property on both sides of the street half way to the next parallel street; and

All the moneys which the said mayor, etc., shall pay, disburse and expend on account of compensation for damages, and all expenses of proceedings] . . . shall be borne and reimbursed and paid to the said mayor, etc., by the parties and persons interested . . . in the lands and premises . . . deemed to be benefited thereby.

In case the city owns land or buildings on either side or in the proposed street, the law treats it just as if it were a private person, and either awards damages or assesses it to pay for damage done other people. Paving, sewerage, curbing, etc., come under the same law.

In the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards for some unexplained reason one-half the cost of any new street over one mile in length is assessed against the city. In all other cases the people benefited must pay all the costs.

In assessing the damages and benefits, if the commissioners find the benefits do not equal the damages, they nevertheless are directed to assess pro rata on all the property holders interested the extra damages, and as stated, the whole cost falls on the people whose property is benefited. As a matter of fact, however, the benefits are always far greater than the damages, and in this matter of street opening, sewerage and paving, public improvements are always ahead of population. That the streets are afterward not kept clean and in good order is due partly to

the bad kind of pavement used here—the Belgian blocks—and partly no doubt to bad government.

This system seems to be a very good one as far as it goes, and it could easily and justly be extended. Thus, in the case of a new engine house, a new school or a new post office, all of which add more or less value to most of the land in the neighborhood where they are located, it would be easy to adopt the same plan and make the property owners pay at least the cost of the lot which the city has to acquire. At present, of course, these taxes for streets and such a tax for a school would fall heavier on house owners than on mere lot owners, but the evolution from a tax on real estate to a tax on land values only is a natural and inevitable one, and if the general principle that which attaches to real estate by reason of public improvements belongs to the community can be asserted, that is the main thing.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Susan Fulton, a young English woman, with a four weeks' old baby in her arms, was arraigned at the bar of the general sessions yesterday under indictment with her husband for stealing a fur-lined circular and other articles of clothing from Elizabeth Fredericks of No. 2 Commerce street. The Fultons were arrested on October 5. Frank S. Fulton, the husband, pleaded guilty to receiving stolen goods, and his wife confessed that she was guilty of petit larceny. Affidavits submitted on their behalf said that they were married a year ago and a few months later the husband, who is a carpenter, lost his employment. He could get no work, and was compelled to pawn his clothes to obtain food, and finally pawned his working tools and his wife pawned almost all her clothing. She found that she was about to become a mother. She was tempted to take the clothing and pawn it for a few dollars to buy food. Her husband, she says, knew nothing of her crime until several weeks later, when he found the pawn tickets. She then confessed to him that she had stolen the clothing. He took the numbers of the pawn tickets for fear they should be lost. He showed the book in which he had made the memorandum, and he said that he had endeavored to earn the money with which to pay for the stolen property. Mrs. Fulton's baby was born in the Tombs about a week after her arrest. Judge Cowing said that he was convinced from the affidavits that the woman had stolen only under the pressure of extreme want. He sentenced the husband and wife to one day's imprisonment in the city prison. A small sum of money was collected in the court room for the woman and child.—[New York Tribune, Nov. 12.]

One of the Miss Drexels, an heiress to the extent of some three to six million dollars, has taken the white veil of the Sisters of Mercy. At the ceremony Miss Drexel was dressed in a costume valued at \$2,000.

Mrs. Anna Ruck, sixty years of age, was taken to the receiving hospital of San Francisco, a short time ago, to be relieved of a dose of morphine taken with suicidal intent. She said that she went to Mexico about six months ago with her husband, who was a fresco painter, in the hope of being able to better their condition, as he was unable to find work here. They were much worse off there than they were here, as he was unable to find any kind of employment, and in a fit of despondency he blew out his brains. She came back to San Francisco and took a room at 255 Minna street. Although she had about \$400 left out of their savings of a lifetime, she became despondent and took a dose of morphine.

Mr. De Bardeleben is the Andrew Carnegie of Alabama, and the wealthiest man in the state. His wealth is variously estimated at from \$4,000,000 to \$40,000,000. He is at the head of almost half the iron companies of the Birmingham district. Not many years ago he was a farmer. By a clever business stroke he secured the now famous Pratt coal mines for a song, developed them, and then sold out to the Tennessee coal, iron and railroad company, making a cool million of dollars.

A policeman found the dead body of a young woman in a small cabin in Philadelphia the other day. She had taken poison. A man named O'Neill, whose address was found in her pocket, identified her as having been arrested by the park police for sleeping in an outhouse. She said that she was out of work and without friends.

How the Thing Works.

Pittsburg Commoner and Glassworker. Mrs. Schenley, of England, who was made a millionaire by the growth of the city of Pittsburg, where she owns much land, has donated 500 acres of beautiful ground to the city for a park. Her generosity is fully appreciated, for a park was needed badly enough surely, but her suggestion that the city pay \$120,000 for another hundred acres adjoining should be declined with thanks. Three hundred acres will make a fine enough park in one locality. The price of property near the park location jumped 250 per cent in value the day after the gift was made public.

Useful Holiday Presents.

A most acceptable and useful present is one of the comfortable Luburg adjustable easy chairs with its fifty changes of position. They sell from \$7 and upwards, and are manufactured by the Luburg manufacturing co., 145 N. Eighth street, Philadelphia, Pa., who are the largest manufacturers of adjustable reclining chairs for family, library and invalid use, or invalid wheel chairs for street use. They are also makers of the finest and most complete line of baby coaches in the United States.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Nov. 19, 1889.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending November 19, are as follows:

Nicodemus, Wooster st., New York.	\$12 00
Anonymous, New York city.	100 00
C. T. Cooper, Brooklyn, N. Y.	12 00
Louis F. Post, New York city.	80 50
W. and M. Mendelson, New York city.	50 00
A. R. Wynn, Toledo, Ohio.	12 00
Canby T. Christensen, Brooklyn, N. Y.	36 00
O. and L. O. McDaniel, N. Y. city.	75 00
S. and F. M., New York city.	50 00
William B. DuBois, Bayonne, N. J.	50 00
Henry J. Wingardner, New York city.	6 00
Antonio Bastida, New York city.	60 00
W. Wellstood, New York city.	12 00
John Welsh, New York city.	6 00
Charles Matalene, Brooklyn, N. Y.	6 00
"A Pagan," Jersey City.	6 00

Subscriptions previously acknowledged
in THE STANDARD. \$573 50
1,183 00

Total. \$1,756 50

The cash contributions for the week are as follows:

J. L. Flynn, Binghamton, N. Y.	\$1 00
E. W. Dundon, Binghamton, N. Y.	1 00
Geo. Hawkins, New York city.	1 00
A. D. Wittingham, New York city.	1 00
Geo. A. Boyd, New York city.	1 00
Andrew Nisbet, Elizabeth, N. J.	1 00
A. Harvey, San Diego, Cal.	1 00
Thos. Fisher, Shaker Station, Ct.	10
John Dunn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 00
Anonymous, Cle Elum, Wash. Ter.	5 00
Sundry stamps	48

Cash contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD. \$13 58

Total. \$25 34

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	67,964
Received during the week ending Nov. 19	290

Total 68,254

Wm. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

THE K. OF L. FOR THE SINGLE TAX.

Important Action of the General Assembly at Atlanta.

ATLANTA, Nov. 18.—The Knights of Labor took the final plunge to-day and committed themselves to the single tax. Mr. Powderly, in his address to the general assembly, recommended that the declaration of principles of the order be so amended as to demand that "all lands shall be taxed to their full rental value." The question came up to-day for final decision, and the fourth clause in the order's declaration of principles now reads as follows:

That land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to possession of land. The taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to tax for the community all the unearned increment.

The following preamble and resolutions were next considered:

Whereas, The accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of a few, and the growth of a plutocracy threatening the stability and existence of free institutions renders important a knowledge of economic conditions to successfully resist aggression from these dangers; therefore be it

Resolved, by the general assembly of the Knights of Labor, That it is our judgment that the next census of the United States should show what proportion of the people of this country occupy their own homes and farms; what proportion have their property free from debt, and of the homes and farms under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.

Resolved, That the general secretary-treasurer be and he is hereby instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the president of the United States and the Hon. John W. Noble, secretary of the interior, Washington, D. C.

Resolved, That all local assemblies be urged to at once adopt resolutions requesting congressmen from their respective districts to use their influence to have these facts collected and published.

The resolutions were adopted, with further recommendation that the members of the order make efforts to have similar resolutions passed in the several state legislatures which may convene at an early date.

In the action taken on the land question we single tax men have great cause for rejoicing. The organization which contains the largest number of those interested against land monopoly is now allied with us. And the knights are to be congratulated. Before this, in their combinations, strikes, and agitations of the labor question, they were like our forefathers who fought Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, and other battles, before independence was declared. Now that they have inscribed the single tax upon their banners, they are like our forefathers after the Declaration of Independence had given the war of the revolution its fitting goal. For the knights have declared for the only remedy for the gigantic evils which they combat. Surely it augurs well for our cause that it is at last formally embraced by those who are above all others

its natural champions. It is but to be expected from now on that the supporters of the single tax will rapidly multiply within the order; that the order itself will gain confidence and become stronger every day as its members become conscious that they have found the right road; and that in the not very distant future it will be admitted that the numbers of those in America ready to vote for our doctrine make its victory certain.

While we congratulate the knights let us especially thank ourselves that Mr. Powderly was endowed with the ability, tact and eloquence necessary to secure the making of this amendment. While he had able assistance from members whose services should never be forgotten, I am inclined to think the lion's share of this triumph belongs to him.

I am glad to inform you further that it is probable that there will be shortly co-operation between the Farmers' alliance and the Knights of Labor on many important subjects. If this does come to pass, it will be also mainly due to Mr. Powderly.

Those of us here who advocate the single tax grieve to know that our growing city lags behind in the good cause. We regard it as a special good fortune that the general assembly of the Knights of Labor embraced the single tax while in session here. We hope that this fact will impress the locality and arouse its people to the importance of the great subject. We feel sure that it will re-awaken the interest of the local knights in their order, warm up the cold and turn the backsliders; that they will commence a real discussion of the single tax, and that thence the agitation will permeate the whole community.

I cannot close this communication without noticing the pleasure that the single tax men of Atlanta have had in meeting Mr. James P. Archibald of New York and Mr. J. J. Fay of Rutland, Vt., delegates to the general assembly. We have a warm welcome for all such.

JOHN C. REED.

OUR CAMPAIGN FOR 1890.

The Single Tax Enrolment Committee Calls for Another Year of Vigorous Work—A General Conference Suggested.

The single tax enrolment committee has entered vigorously on its work for the coming year, and is preparing a new tract for general distribution, which opens with the following address:

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Nov. 19, 1889.

The single tax enrolment committee has entered on the second year of its work. It is a voluntary organization, claiming no authority over individuals or organizations enlisted in the single tax movement, but it proposes according to the means at its disposal to be helpful to all engaged in any earnest effort for the spread of our principles.

The committee will continue to work on the lines originally laid down. The fight for free trade continues, and shows increasing vigor. The result of the election in 1888 has not been, as protectionists fondly hoped, to settle the question, but, on the contrary, has made it the one overshadowing and all-absorbing issue in politics. In the congressional elections next fall and in the presidential election of 1892 it will be practically the only issue between the two great parties.

In the midst of such a conflict it would be obviously impossible to attract public attention to any distinctly new issue. Happily we have no occasion to make the attempt. It is well for us that economic questions are at last the vital ones in practical politics. Men's minds once directed this way are opened for the consideration of broader questions than those nominally discussed and fought over. This is easily seen. The magazines and all other periodicals making any claim to the discussion of serious questions are now crowded with articles treating of social and economic problems.

That the single tax has profited by this tendency is plainly apparent. Men who sneered at it less than two years ago are now rendering it the great service of serious opposition. Men who were but recently indifferent are now studying it without prejudice as one of the questions that must soon become a leading issue in politics. Better still, an ever-increasing number of influential men have become substantially advocates of our cause, while refusing to concede our ultimate demands.

This was inevitable from the moment that we abandoned the policy of isolation and flung ourselves into the thick of the fight for tariff reduction. There are no effective arguments in favor of tariff reduction that are not equally strong for tariff abolition. Thousands of men who entered the presidential campaign of 1884 as timid tariff reformers, are now stalwart free traders who see the folly and wickedness of taxing men in proportion to their consumption of the necessities of life. But the cry for free trade and the abolition of custom houses provokes the instant query, "Where are you going to get your revenue?"

The free trader who attempts to answer that question cannot avoid coming to us unless he abandons free trade. The old answer, "Put all taxes on real estate"—meaning lands and buildings—will not do. The enterprising men who have improved the natural opportunities that they hold will not submit to such a scheme, and they ought not

to submit to it. They feel instinctively that it is unjust, and they are right. Improve ments of all kinds are the products of labor and capital, and it is obviously unjust to tax one form of production and let all others go free. There is but one answer to the question, and that is, "We will raise all public revenues by a tax on land values," and he who makes that answer becomes one of us, no matter what his opinion as to the proportion of the rental value which ought ultimately to be taken for public purposes.

This is no mere theory as to the logical process of the movement through tariff reform toward free trade. We know that it works in this way from actual experience. Men who have come by this road to the acceptance of our principles may not manifest the fervor and enthusiasm that animates those of us who see in the single tax the instrument for restoring their heritage to the heirs of a just Creator's bounty, but they are effective workers in breaking down the prejudice that has stood athwart our way, barring all progress in certain directions, and there is no need to fear that in the heat of the final battle for real free trade they will lag behind any of us in zeal and enthusiasm. Let us help them loyally in the immediate fight in which they are engaged, and we need not fear that we shall not have them with us in the great battle to which the tariff fight is but the preliminary skirmish.

THE PETITION.

The principal task assumed by the enrolment committee was the procuring of signatures to the petition to congress. In this work the committee has had the hearty and effective co-operation of thousands of single tax men throughout the country. The petition (copies of which ready for signature will be found on the last two pages) has, as the result of our first year's work, received about 70,000 signatures. We propose now, if the funds at our disposal warrant it, to begin a new and persistent effort to greatly increase the number of signatures with a view to presenting the petition at the second instead of the first session of the present congress, by which time it will doubtless be backed up by a vote of the people demanding tariff reduction. The petition certainly will not be presented for some months yet, and YOU ARE EARNESTLY URGED TO DO EVERYTHING IN YOUR POWER TO IMMEDIATELY INCREASE THE NUMBER OF SIGNERS. Tear apart the blanks in this number of THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY and have them signed. More will be sent you if you ask for them.

THE ENROLMENT.

One of the most important features of the committee's work is the enrolment of the names of all signers. These are arranged in a card index by post offices, and serve as a complete addressing list for sending out tracts and other literature. If the committee had a sufficient fund it could make effective use of this piece of machinery, but even with its limited resources it has been able to send over the list a large number of tracts. The list has also proven of great advantage in the organization of clubs. In New York it has been invaluable in calling public meetings, and it might easily be put to similar use elsewhere. The committee sends a copy of the list for its own locality to any club that will meet the mere expense of copying. It hopes that the clubs generally will make use of this opportunity for circulating literature and increasing their membership and influence.

THE WORK OF ORGANIZATION.

The enrolment of the "workers"—as those displaying activity are designated—has incidentally paved the way for a very general work of organization, and there is every promise that many new clubs will be formed during the winter of 1889-90. A list of his fellow workers has been sent to each worker in every locality, and the men thus brought together have formed clubs or committees for organized effort on behalf of our principles. The list of clubs is printed regularly in THE STANDARD, and the number is constantly increasing. It is important that this work shall be pressed forward with vigor, as there is a general desire that an informal conference of representative single tax men shall be held in the summer of 1890 to consider what can be done toward assisting in pressing forward the tariff agitation and in the election of opponents of "protection" to congress. Such a conference would probably also take steps toward organizing a national single tax league, which could choose a representative committee that could carry on the work of propaganda and organization after the enrolment committee shall have completed its self-imposed task by the presentation of the petition to congress.

THE WORK FOR 1890.

Never before was the outlook for our cause so encouraging. The spread of our ideas through a process of gradual diffusion has gone on with remarkable rapidity. Let us not lag, now that we can entertain a reasonable hope of success in the not distant future. Let us make the year 1890 a memorable one in our movement. Let those work who can only contribute their services and let those who can both work and contribute do both. Every dollar spent now under the favoring conditions due to the aroused interest of the people in economic questions will count for vastly more in visible results than could have been expected when we were merely endeavor-

ing to wake the interest of a torpid public in such questions.

Our work of direct propaganda should be carried forward with new vigor. The face to face argument should go on. The petition opens opportunity for this. Any one may properly ask his fellow citizen to sign a petition to congress. If the person thus approached asks why he should sign, the debate is opened and the opportunity is at hand.

Of equal importance is the work of organization. It is not merely important that single tax men shall come together in clubs, but that having come together they shall do something for the single tax. The mere joining of an organization and payment of the small dues necessary for its support is not enough. Our friends have doubtless all read in THE STANDARD the description of the effective work done by the Buffalo club to bring our principles home to the people of that city. Similar work should be done everywhere. Clubs should procure tracts, and see to it that they are circulated. They should obtain the enrolment for their own towns, and invite the signers of the petition to attend these meetings. They should organize for the systematic increase of the enrolment by obtaining new signatures. They should, in short, go to work so that we may be ready to enter the next congressional campaign as an organized body of free traders prepared to exert a powerful influence against the nomination and election of protectionists to congress. We have got through with hair-splitting argument over the probable results of a reform to which all who desire it look for beneficent results. Now let us go to work for the establishment of the single tax. Let us educate men to believe with us in the single tax unlimited, but let us help all who are striving to take any step in our direction, whether they are tariff reformers, free traders or single tax men limited. We have already had gratifying evidence of our influence when co-operating with our fellow citizens in another good cause, that of ballot reform. We were first to direct public attention to the Australian system of voting, and the effort at that time appeared to be one that would necessarily continue for years before any effects could be hoped for; yet to-day there is no question that it will succeed within a year or two in all the more enlightened states of the Union.

We fought that battle side by side with men from whom we differed on other questions, and our allies found the single tax men ever present and ready for duty. We can do as much, and more, in the tariff fight, and if we do we may reasonably hope within a short time to see the tide set as strongly toward free trade as it now sets toward ballot reform. Let our watchword for the campaign of 1890 be: "Contentious obstructionists to the rear; faithful workers to the front."

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

WEST VIRGINIA.

The School House Campaign—The Club at Parkersburg.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va., Nov. 14.—The single tax club of this city held a called meeting on Saturday evening, November 9, for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, with the following result: W. Curry, president; T. E. Quinn, vice president, and W. F. Thayer, secretary. Both our new president and vice president are "hustlers," and will get there.

Our "school house campaigners" have been stirring up the rural districts, and will continue to do so while good weather lasts; but now that the winter season is approaching, we will be compelled to turn our attention more to city folk.

The single tax ideas are making rapid headway here so fast we now consider Parkersburg abreast of any of the other towns of equal size, on this question, in the United States. We also intend to make an effort to increase the sale of THE STANDARD by selecting a number of men known to be in sympathy with the movement to whom we will mail for six weeks a copy of THE STANDARD. At the expiration of that time another list will be made, and so on.

W. F. THAYER, Sec.

THE HARLEM DEMOCRATS.

Thomas G. Shearman Addresses the Harlem Democrats on the Single Tax.

On last Wednesday evening Mr. Thomas G. Shearman spoke before the Harlem democratic club on the single tax. The meeting being a public one, a considerable number of outsiders were present, and the hall was pretty well filled in spite of the very bad weather. Mr. Charles W. Dayton, president of the club, occupied the chair.

Mr. Shearman, in his address, pointed out the evils of our present system of indirect taxation. He claimed that wealth was really more concentrated in this country than anywhere else in the world, and that this was due not to the exceptional ability of the few who earned the greater part of the wealth, but to the tax laws which built up monopoly and special privilege, and favored the rich while oppressing the poor. A resort to direct taxation, he said, was absolutely necessary, and was the one great fundamental reform, and he proved that the only direct tax which would raise sufficient revenues and could at the same time be fairly levied was the single tax on land values.

After the address the floor was opened

for discussion, and Mr. Cyrus L. Salzberger, a member of the club, rose and said that, in his opinion, the land tax could be added to the rent or shifted. He said he knew this was disputed by the single tax men, but he had never had it proven to him that it could not be shifted. Mr. Shearman replied to the objection at some length.

Mr. W. S. Andrews, lately excise commissioner, a member of the Harlem club, followed with a plea for the single tax unlimited.

Mr. Shearman said that the reason he did not advocate the taking of the full rental value was that, in the first place, it could not be done at once, and he preferred to address himself to the first step which was merely the shifting of taxes from production to land values; and, in the second place, he said, he did not believe it would be altogether just to make so great a change immediately. He, however, scouted any idea of the landlord being entitled to compensation, no matter how great the land tax might be, and said that the tax would gradually take a larger and larger proportion of the rent of land.

The meeting was then adjourned, with a vote of thanks to Mr. Shearman.

PREACHERS IN A DILEMMA.

The Cincinnati Single Tax Club Sends a Letter of Sympathy to the Evangelical Alliance Which Creates a Fine How-do-Do-The Letter Eventually Accepted With Thanks.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Nov. 12.—The battle which the Evangelical alliance of Cincinnati, which includes all the "evangelical" ministers of the city, has with the help of the "Committee of 500" been waging against theaters and saloons on Sunday, and the part which they took in the election of city officers this spring, has been heard of throughout the country. Yesterday the alliance held its first meeting since the fall elections, and the president stated that it was to be a pivotal meeting, one of the most important for years, for the Sunday closing was in a critical condition.

The single tax club thought that it had an idea, and sent in the following communication:

To the Evangelical alliance of Cincinnati: The Cincinnati single tax club sends greeting, and would respectfully say that they are most heartily in favor of law and order, of temperance and of the proper observance of a Sabbath, and will welcome the opportunity to co-operate in any wise effort for the attainment of those blessings.

We wish briefly to set before you our ideas as to the best method of procedure, in order that if we are mistaken in them you may correct our error and point out to us the true way of advancing the interests of Christian civilization. We are sure of your sympathy, for we are seeking the same general good for which your body is striving.

There is a special law in Ohio against the keeping open of saloons on Sunday; but that which leads the proprietors to keep open, and makes the bartenders willing to work on that day, is the same that leads to all common labor on that day. It is engaged in, not from pleasure nor perverseness or lawlessness, but from the necessity of business competition. The proprietor says: "If I do not carry on my work on Sunday, I will lose custom and money." The laborer says: "If I do not go to work as I am directed to do, I will lose my job."

The true way to have Sunday observed is to take away this stress of competition. Wendell Phillips said in 1872: "Intemperance is the cause of poverty, I know, but there is another side to that; poverty is the cause of intemperance. Crowd a man with fourteen hours' work a day, and you crowd him down to a mere animal life. Let a man, give him life, let him work eight hours a day, let him develop his taste for music, give him a garden, give him beautiful things to see and good books to read, and you will starve out these lower appetites."

But how shall these good times be reached? Henry Ward Beecher said at Liverpool in 1863: "The chief things requisite for prosperous labor, prosperous manufactures and prosperous commerce, are, first, liberty to produce; second, liberty to distribute; third, liberty to consume."

Now since man cannot create, but can only change the form of, and adapt to his use, the materials found in the earth, liberty to produce must involve freedom of access to the materials of the earth, from which all things are produced. Liberty of life necessitates access to the opportunities of life.

If, as the scriptures teach, God created the earth for the use of all the children of men, then denial of equal access by all to these raw materials must be injustice to some, and furnishes the key to the explanation of competitive strife such as forces men to labor on Sunday.

Then if the earth be the common heritage of man, and any one appropriates for his exclusive control a certain portion as is necessary for a home or the conduct of business, the annual value of that should go into the public treasury, whether as royalty of mines, stumpage of the primeval forests, or rent of the ground itself, entirely irrespective of any improvements upon it. That will at once throw open all natural opportunities, and give perfect freedom to produce. It will at the same time insure to each the natural product of his labor, whether of hand or brain, so that the employer would not be harassed by the fear of failure and bankruptcy, nor the laborer be compelled to work on the Sabbath from fear of losing his position and his wages.

We respectfully ask that if this doctrine be in accordance with natural justice, and with the light of the scriptures by which you are guided, that you should give it the weight of your sanction, and assist us to make it better known, but if it be not cor-

rect, to kindly point out our error, so that we may heartily engage with you in that which you show to be the more just and effective plan of making the evils that afflict society to cease.

DAVID DEBECK, M. D.,
Wm. C. WULF, Secretary.

The club handed me, as a member of the alliance, the above paper to present in their name. The Boston lecturer, Joseph Cook, was expected shortly after the opening of the meeting, and it was thought he might occupy the entire time, so that "miscellaneous business," which gave me an opportunity, came just after calling the meeting to order. I read the paper, and then the question came as to what should be done with it. A motion was made to refer it to a committee, and some one moved to "respectfully return it to its authors." Objection was made to that, and the mover reminded us that he had said "respectfully" return. Mr. Cook, in the meantime, had come in, and in the midst of the jangle the suggestion was made to lay the paper on the table. The motion prevailed.

Mr. Cook then made a few remarks upon the Sunday question. Other visitors were present, who told of the work among the Mormons and the Indians, and a lady also from gospel work in the East end, London.

The speeches seemed to touch the heart of one worthy brother, and he rose up and said, that in view of what we had heard it did not seem right to dismiss the paper which was read at the beginning as cavalierly as had been done; that these men had come to us in sincerity, and it was not politic just now, as we needed their help in Sunday closing, to give them a slap in the face. No one offered objection to that view, but the chairman suggested that it might be considered farther at the close of the meeting.

The order of the day was then taken up, and prepared speeches on Sunday closing were delivered.

It was getting late by this time and some of the members were dropping out, but when the opportunity was given no less than three were on their feet at the same time, each with a written resolution in his hand which he hoped might meet the occasion. The objection was made by more than one that the resolutions offered dodged the point, and it was admitted that that was so, but there was nothing else to be done.

It was very amusing to me to take the part of a disinterested spectator and watch my brethren come up to the point, as you have seen an unsophisticated young dog do to a caterpillar. He puts his nose wonderfully close, as he thinks, and gives a challenging bark, then puts out his paw bravely and jerks it back without daring quite to touch the uncomprehended object, then defiantly barks again, and looks up into your face with a puzzled what-shall-I-do-about-it expression.

The preachers were afraid to offend the single tax club in the "critical" state of the Sunday closing question, in which, as they acknowledged, they needed everybody's help, and they were equally afraid to indorse a paper in which might be hidden unknown depths of heresy. Finally, they passed a harmless sort of sympathetic resolution, and greatly relieved that it was over, scattered for dinner.

E. P. FOSTER.

TAX THE BENEFITED PROPERTY.

The Chicago Club Shows How the Great Drainage System Can be Paid for Without Increasing General Taxes or the Public Debt.

Robert H. Cowdrey, Mark Bangs, E. O. Brown, J. T. R. Play and Leon Hornstein, a committee of the single tax club of Chicago, have issued the following address on the drainage question to the voters of that city:

You will soon be called upon to choose trustees to take charge of a great public improvement—the building and maintenance of a system of drainage for the city of Chicago and vicinity. The law providing for the board of trustees invests it with extraordinary powers. It has been given not only the power to levy taxes to pay for the improvement, but the right to determine what class of property shall be assessed. It may raise the money needed by a general tax upon all taxable property within the proposed drainage district, or by special assessment upon the land and lots benefited by the improvement; or it may do it partly by one and partly by the other method, as it shall deem best.

When the several parks, which are the pride of Chicago, were established, being local improvements, the cost was justly assessed against the lots and lands which were benefited by them. They added very largely to the value of the lands in their vicinity, and those lands had to pay the cost. In the same way, when a new street is opened, the cost is charged against the lots benefited by the improvement. It would be a manifest injustice to levy a tax upon the clothing, food, shelter or other personal property of the whole people to pay for opening a street or for making any other local improvement where the land alone receives all the benefit.

This drainage canal is a case of precisely the same kind. It is a local improvement which will make the lots and lands more valuable—will increase their price—and the amount of that increase will be equal to the full amount of the improvement; and it is the only property which will be benefited. It won't make a man's coat wear any longer; it won't put a spoonful of flour in the barrel or coal in the bin; it won't add to the value or usefulness of your sewing machine, your piano or clock; it won't mend a leaky roof or keep out the chilling winds of winter; it won't raise the price of a single article any

man has to sell unless he is a land speculator. Nor will it increase wages one cent. But it will raise rents.

In view of these facts, any attempt to raise the vast sum necessary to build this drainage canal or any part of it by general taxation, or in any other way than by special assessment upon the land values, becomes an undisguised attempt to tax the mass of the people for the benefit of a few land owners. It would be taxing the whole people in order to make a very costly present to a few of the people.

Besides, buildings, improvements and personal property are the result of labor performed in production, and any tax levied upon these things is so much taken from the actual earnings of their owners. But the land values are not, in any sense, the earnings of the land owners. They result purely from social growth and are rightly termed the "unearned increment," because they are not the earnings of those who get them. Therefore a tax levied upon land values is no measure of justice to land owners. It takes from them no part of their earnings, while a tax upon the products of labor is so much subtracted from the earnings of labor.

The view of the fact that a determined effort is to be made to saddle the cost of this improvement upon the people, through general taxation, amounting to from \$20,000,000 to \$40,000,000, we call upon the voters of Chicago to join with us in demanding such guarantees from those whom we shall elect as trustees that no part of the money shall be raised by taxation of personal property, but that it shall be raised solely by a tax upon the land values within the proposed drainage district.

The single tax men are making a strong fight to have the cost of building the new drainage system assessed on all land within the drainage district. They declare that if the drainage system be an improvement at all, it must be an improvement to the land alone. It will render the land within the drainage district more desirable to live and do business on, and therefore will increase its rental value and the capitalization of that rental, which is the selling value. They say that every one who uses land in the drainage district will have to pay increased rent to his landlord, and that if any other method than that of an assessment on land values is adopted to meet the cost of the drainage system, those users of land who are not landlords will not pay only this increased rental, but be obliged to bear also an unnecessary and unjust burden in increased taxation of personal property and building improvements, and that such taxation is always eventually shifted to the wage working consumer. Their slogan is:

UNNECESSARY TAXATION IS UNJUST TAXATION.
UNJUST TAXATION IS ROBBERY.

They are circulating the following pledge and obtaining numerous signatures which are sent to T. W. Wittler, secretary, at McCoy's hotel:

The undersigned hereby declares his intention of voting only for such candidates for the position of trustee of the Chicago drainage district, regardless of their party affiliations, as pledge themselves to the raising of the necessary funds for the proposed work by an assessment upon the lands within the district, exclusive of improvements, in proportion to the benefits received.

LAND MONOPOLY IN BRAZIL.

The Effort of the Late Government to Build Up a Landed Aristocracy.

Mr. William M. Ivins, in an interview with a reporter of the New York Times concerning the recent revolution in Brazil, stated that immigration had been encouraged by offering land free and supplying the immigrant with enough to live on until he could get out his first crop. A gentleman connected with the Brazilian consulate in this city tells a Times reporter that whatever may have been done by some of the provinces, the policy of the imperial government has been the very reverse of that described by Mr. Ivins. He is thus quoted:

The imperial government has offered no greater inducement to immigrants than a sale of land upon favorable terms of payment.

But even such encouragement as this has been sadly hampered by the system of laws and the traditions of the country. It is commonly imagined here that there is plenty of good land in Brazil which the government could afford give away. It is true that much excellent land is not at present in process of improvement. But at the same time most of this is in the hands of individual holders and cannot be taken away from them. As a matter of fact, these land holders have always been conspicuous favorites of the government. Not a penny of tax is paid by them on their estates. The inducement to improve land is thereby reduced to a minimum, and each owner waits for adjoining land holders to carry out improvements by which his own land will be increased in value without cost to himself. While land is untaxed it is a pretty safe investment for capital, possibly safer than anything else in Brazil.

Favoritism does not stop here. To maintain a class of big land holders laws similar in effect to the British law of entail and its cognate enactments have been passed from time to time. For example, a heavy tax is paid upon all collateral inheritances of land, and an almost prohibitive burden is put upon land transfers. There are, therefore, very few small holders and the great bulk of the population lives at the mercy of those who rent to them or give them employment.

New York.

A correspondent writing from Herkimer, N. Y., says: "We are alive in Herkimer county. We do not do much shouting, but

quietly 'get there.' Just think of the election of John D. Henderson for assembly in this hide bound republican county. He is a good, sterling democrat—a friend of electoral reform and a free trader, and he is proud of it. More than all, he is an honest man. Can it be the beginning of the end is really here?"

Charles Potts, Cohoes.—I have sent in three signatures to the petition, two of them being signed by democrats and the other by a strong republican. I had a long talk with the signers, and the republican, though a great protectionist, has become deeply interested in our principles and says he will subscribe for THE STANDARD and buy Mr. George's works. I advised him to begin by reading "Protection or Free Trade?"

John C. Cogan, New Brighton, S. I.—I am happy to say that our club is just beginning to wake up, and the outlook for the future is promising. The feeling in this town, outside of the protectionists, is decidedly with us.

A correspondent writing from Syracuse, N. Y., says, last Tuesday night, November 12, the Alhambra hall contained some 1,500 persons who had gathered to hear Henry George debate with the funny ex-statesmen, Hon. Roswell G. Horr of Michigan. The admission fee was fifty cents, the affair being under the auspices of the Young men's Christian association. The subject was "The Land and Tax Question." Each speaker was allowed half an hour, then twenty minutes, then ten minutes.

As a comedian Mr. Horr is a howling success, but, when he leaps into the arena of political economy, a dismal failure. Henry George, on the other hand, succeeded in sustaining his great reputation as an economist. Horr massacred most woefully the logic of "Progress and Poverty," called real estate land values, confounded rent with the protective tariff, and wound up by informing the audience that Henry George was a socialist, and worse than that, wanted to confiscate everybody's land, houses, personal property, etc. Out of this labyrinth of absurdities he managed to wiggle by cracking jokes innumerable—veritable ancient, too.

Mr. George's lecture has left a profound impression in the minds of our thinking citizens who heard him. I have listened to him many times, but never before heard him in debate. His keenness and logic when under fire is something wonderful. Nothing can discourage him, not even the antics of a clown or the witticisms of the humorist. The prevailing impression of their hearers was that Mr. Horr furnished the fun, but Mr. George the education, the logic.

John M. Campbell, Rochester, N. Y.—We had recently a joint debate, lasting two evenings, with representatives of the Young men's prohibition club, and as the prohibitionists wish to hear more about the single tax, the discussion will be renewed at an early date. The Rev. Margaret A. Brennan of Utica addressed our first public meeting. She discussed social discontent and preached free trade and the single tax. Those who heard her afterward attended our Sunday meeting.

Connecticut.

Philip Higgins, New Haven.—There are a large number of single tax men here, but there appears to be no leader among us. If one earnest and capable man would take hold, we could have an organization of about 500 members. We have procured a new hall, and expect to furnish it at once.

A correspondent at Bridgeport writes: We intend to shake things up in this town on the 25th of this month with a red hot meeting in G. A. R. hall, post office building. William J. G. Ruch will deliver an address, and judging from the reputation he made as a speaker in New York, it will make a decided impression. His subject is: "Is poverty natural? No." After the address questions from the audience will be answered.

Pennsylvania.

William Hancock, Wyoming.—At a meeting of our borough council I took the position in regard to street improvements that the land holders were a privileged class, and for that reason must submit gracefully to such regulations as the council might direct for the public good. My views were approved without a dissenting voice, although one member of council is a large land holder and all the rest owners of land in smaller amounts also.

Mr. John Horrocks, Pittsburg.—The single tax league here is doing very well, having a membership of from seventy-five to eighty. We hold meetings every other Sunday afternoon and have a good attendance of members and a fair sprinkling of strangers. The latter are urged to ask questions and they are not slow to comply. This lends a great deal of interest to the meetings. Our meetings are interesting and progressive, and we are thoroughly satisfied with them.

Illinois.

Dr. Boyd Cornick, Mascoutah, Ill., Nov. 16.—On October 19 addresses were delivered at the court house in Belleville in the afternoon and evening by H. Martin Williams and John Z. White of the St. Louis single tax league. The topics discussed were "The cause of hard times and the remedy" and "How wages may be increased by legislation." After the addresses questions from the audi-

ence were invited and replied to. Considerable interest was manifested, and there was an increased attendance in the evening. Now for the sequel:

The next issue of the News-Democrat contained a long article criticising the single tax as the author understood it—or rather misunderstood it, to which were signed initials. The following week appeared a defense of the single tax by Justitia; a week later a strong letter from Peter Seibert of Fayetteville, a well to do farmer, who, though he owns more land than the fine improved farm which he cultivates, declares himself an ardent advocate of free trade and the single tax. The News-Democrat, which shows the commendable spirit of giving a fair hearing to all sides of the question, brings in its next issue a letter over the initials of a well known single taxer (Judge Nathaniel Niles of Belleville), in which he proves by the miserable wages paid by the most liberal operatives in the protected industry of coal mining, to the miners of the Belleville district, that a protective tariff is a fraud of the first water. Judge Niles then pleads for justice and the single tax, and calls public attention to the fact that THE STANDARD is on sale at every newsstand in the city. Meantime Dr. C. Rembe of Fayetteville has secured a hearing for the cause which we all have at heart, in the Zeitung und Stern, the most widely circulated German newspaper in the country. So the heaven is working. The thing we lack most is a plucky antagonist who will publicly defend the right of one man to exact from other men a price for the privilege of using land, and who will stand up longer than one round.

HERBERT SPENCER.

His Recent Utterance on the Land Question.

The following letter appeared in the London Times of the 9th, addressed to the editor of that paper:

Sir—During the interview between Mr. Morley and some of his constituents, reported in the Times of the 5th inst., I was referred to as having set forth certain opinions respecting land ownership. Fearing that if I remain silent many will suppose I have said things which I have not said, I find it needful to say something in explanation.

Already within these few years I have twice pointed out that these opinions (made to appear by those who have circulated them widely different from what they really are, by the omission of accompanying opinions) were set forth in my first work, published forty years ago; and that, for the last twelve or fifteen years, I have refrained from issuing new editions of that work and have interdicted translations, because, though I still adhere to its general principles, I dissent from some of the deductions.

The work referred to—"Social Statics"—was intended to be a system of political ethics—absolute political ethics, or that which ought to be, as distinguished from relative political ethics, or that which is at present the nearest practicable approach to it. The conclusion reached concerning land ownership was reached while seeking a valid basis for the right of property; the basis assigned by Locke appearing to me invalid. It was argued that satisfactory ethical warrant for private ownership could arise only by contract between the community, as original owner of the inhabited area, and individual members, who became tenants, agreeing to pay certain portions of the produce, or its equivalent in money, in consideration of recognized claim to the rest. And in the course of the argument it was pointed out that such a view of land ownership is congruous with existing legal theory and practice; since in law every land owner is held to be a tenant of the crown—that is, of the community, and since, in practice, the supreme right of the community is asserted by every act of parliament which, with a view to public advantage, directly or by proxy takes possession of land after making due compensation.

All this was said in the belief that the questions raised were not likely to come to the front in our time or for many generations; but, assuming that they would some time come to the front, it was said that, supposing the community should assert overtly the supreme right which is now tacitly asserted, the business of compensation of land owners would be a complicated one—

"One that perhaps cannot be settled in a strictly equitable manner. . . . Most of our present land owners are men who have, either mediately or immediately, either by their own acts or by the acts of their ancestors, given for their estates equivalents of their honestly earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve."

To make the position I then took quite clear, it is needful to add that, as shown in a succeeding chapter, the insistence on this doctrine, in virtue of which "the right of property obtains a legitimate foundation," had for one of its motives the exclusion of socialism and communism, to which I was then as profoundly averse as I am now.

Investigations made during recent years into the various forms of social organization, while writing the "Principles of Sociology," have in part confirmed and in part changed the views published in 1850. Perhaps I may be allowed space for quoting from "Political Institutions" a paragraph showing the revised conclusions arrived at:

"At first sight it seems fairly inferable that the absolute ownership of land by private persons must be the ultimate state which in-

dustrialism brings about. But though industrialism has thus far tended to individualize possession of land, while individualizing all other possession, it may be doubted whether the final stage is at present reached. Ownership established by force does not stand on the same footing as ownership established by contract; and though multiplied sales and purchases, treating the two ownerships in the same way, have tacitly assimilated them, the assimilation may eventually be denied. The analogy furnished by assumed rights of possession over human beings helps us to recognize this possibility. For while prisoners of war, taken by force and held as property in a vague way (being at first much on a footing with other members of a household), were reduced more definitely to the form of property when the buying and selling of slaves became general; and while it might, centuries ago, have been thence inferred that the ownership of man by man was an ownership in course of being permanently established; yet we see that a later stage of civilization, reversing this process, has destroyed ownership of man by man. Similarly, at a stage still more advanced, it may be that private ownership of land will disappear. As that primitive freedom of the individual which existed before war established coercive institutions and personal slavery comes to be re-established as militancy declines, so it seems possible that the primitive ownership of land by the community, which, with the development of coercive institutions, lapsed, in large measure or wholly into private ownership, will be revived as industrialism further develops. The regime of contract, at present so far extended that the right of property in movables is recognized only as having arisen by exchange of services or products under agreements, or by gift from those who had acquired it under such agreements, may be further extended so far that the products of the soil will be recognized as property only by virtue of agreements between individuals as tenants and the community as land owner. Even now, among ourselves, private ownership of land is not absolute. In legal theory land owners are directly or indirectly tenants of the crown (which in our day is equivalent to the state, or in other words the community); and the community from time to time resumes possession after making due compensation. Perhaps the right of the community to the land, thus tacitly asserted, will in time come to be overtly asserted and acted upon after making full allowance for the accumulated value artificially given. . . . There is reason to suspect that while private possession of things produced by labor will grow even more definite and sacred than at present, the inhabited area, which cannot be produced by labor, will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possessed. As the individual, primitively owner of himself, partially or wholly loses ownership of himself during the militant regime, but gradually resumes it as the industrial regime develops, so, possibly, the communal proprietorship of land, partially or wholly merged in the ownership of dominant men during evolution of the militant type, will be resumed as the industrial type becomes fully evolved (pp. 643-46).

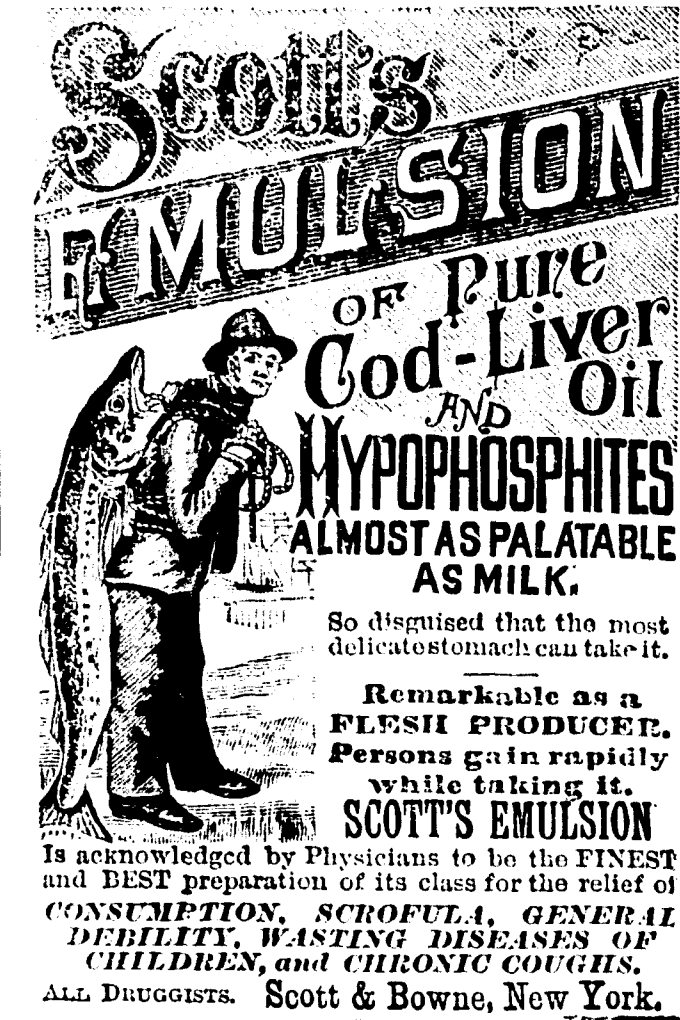
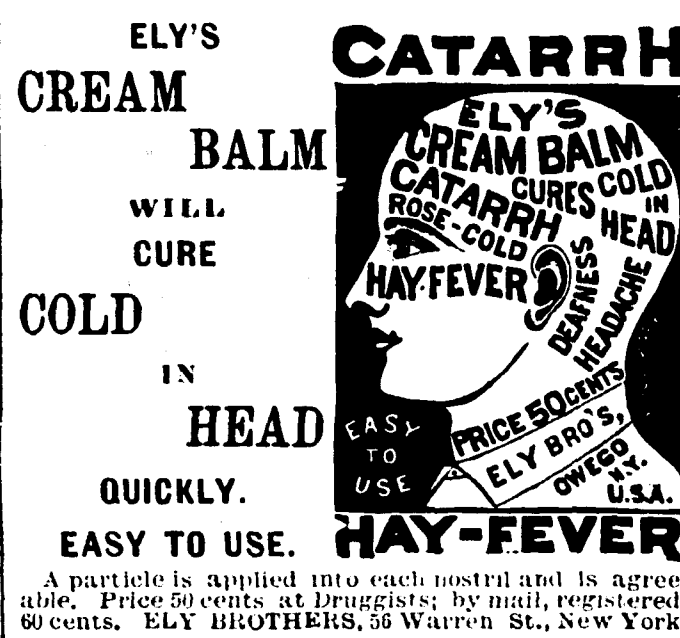
The use of the words "possible," "possibly," and "perhaps" in the above extracts shows that I have no positive opinion as to what may hereafter take place. The reason for this state of hesitancy is that I cannot see my way towards reconciliation of the ethical requirements with the politico-economical requirements. On the one hand, a condition of things under which the owner of, say, the Scilly Isles, might make tenancy of his land conditional upon professing a certain creed or adopting prescribed habits of life, giving notice to quit to any who did not submit, is ethically indefensible. On the other hand, "nationalization of the land," effected after compensation for the artificial value given by cultivation, amounting to the greater part of its value would entail, in the shape of interest on the required purchase money, as great sum as is now paid in rent, and indeed a greater, considering the respective rates of interest on landed property and other property. Add to which, there is no reason to think that the substituted form of administration would be better than the existing form of administration. The belief that land would be better managed by public officials than it is by private owners is a very wild belief.

What the remote future may bring forth there is no saying; but with a humanity any-

thing like that we now know, the implied reorganization would be disastrous.

I am, etc., HERBERT SPENCER.
Athenaeum Club, Nov. 6.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB,
No. 36 Clinton place, Eighth street, New York.
All single tax men visiting New York are cordially invited to make our rooms their headquarters while in town.
The rooms are open every evening from six to midnight, and from twelve o'clock noon to midnight on Sundays.
Lectures on economic subjects of interest to every citizen, every Sunday evening, and once during each month throughout the season, on a week-day evening.
Any information as to the club, its lectures, work, and objects can be had on application to the secretary, A. J. STEIN, 39 Nassau St., N. Y.

TO PROMOTE DISCUSSION!
Cat Scarf Pins in Gold, Silver, Oxidized Silver and Gold Plated.
Send orders to **WM. C. WULFF**
272 Vine St., Cincinnati, O.

PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION
CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS.
Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use in time. Sold by druggists.

READ "A SOLUTION OF THE L.A. BOR PROBLEM." Shows how money may be safely invested DIRECTLY TO PRODUCE 6% "The most far-reaching practical solution yet offered." Also one interested can afford to be without this book. Price 25 cents. THE BROTHERHOOD CO-PARTNERSHIP, 96 Duane St., N. Y.

AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE!
Capable Men and Women to sell the celebrated **MISSOURI STEAM WASHER**. Dirtiest Clothes Washed Clean by Hot Steam. No Rubbing. Fits all Stoves. Sample net two weeks' trial on Liberal Terms. Particulars free. **J. WORTH**, Sole Manufacturer, St. Louis, Mo.

JAN. BOGAN, Principal Agent for James Means' 23 and 24 shoes. 226 Bowery, near Prince's!

PAINLESS EFFECTUAL BEECHAM'S GREAT ENGLISH MEDICINE PILLS WORTH A GUINEA A BOX

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Flashes, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Drowsiness, Cold Chills, Flushings of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Costiveness, Nervousness, Stitches on the Skin, Disordered Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations, &c. **THE FIRST DOSE WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES.** This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a **WORTH A GUINEA A BOX.**

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

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

they **AUT LIKE MAGIC**—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; strengthening the muscular system; restoring long lost Vigour; bringing back the keen edge of appetite; and arousing with the **PLEASANT TASTE** the system of the human frame. These are "Facts" admitted by thousands, in all classes of society, and one of the best guarantees to the Nervous and Debilitated is that **BECHAM'S PILLS** HAVE THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Full directions with each box.

Prepared only by **THOM. BECHAM**, of London, England.
Sold by Druggists generally. **S. F. ALLEN & CO.**, 345 and 347 Canal St., New York
Sole Agents for the United States, who, if your druggist does not keep them,
WILL MAIL BECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.
But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention **THE STANDARD**.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 909½ Market st. Reading room open every evening, 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell, 1125 Mission st.

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

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

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

COLORADO.

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

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

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

HAWKXHURST.—Plateau Valley single tax club. Pres., John W. Hawkxhurst; sec., E. H. Parkenson.

CONNECTICUT.

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

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

DAKOTA.

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

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

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

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

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

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

INDIANA.

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

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

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

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

IOWA.

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

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

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

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

KANSAS.

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

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

LOUISIANA.

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

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Wm. G. Andrews; sec., E. G. Coney.
LEWISTON.—Single tax committee. Every

Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

MARYLAND.

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

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

Neponset single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 389½ Neponset ave., Boston. Pres., John Lavis; sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN.

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

MINNESOTA.

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

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

MISSOURI.

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

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

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. 3 p. m., 2d and 4th Sundays of each month, and also 1st and 3d Tuesdays, Beacon Lodge hall, 1204-6 Walnut st. (cor. 12th st.), third floor. Pres., Warren Wassen; sec., B. A. Birmingham, 16th and Woodland sts.

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

NEBRASKA.

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

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

NEW JERSEY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK.

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

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

The West Side single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 490 Eighth ave. Pres., Dr. David Wark; sec., C. Orlo Allen, 335 8th ave.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Geo. White; cor. sec., G. W. Thompson, 56 Livingston st.

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

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

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

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., Robt. Baker, 178 Madison ave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Temporary pres., Henry Sterling; tem. sec., Frank H. King.

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

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

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

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

OHIO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OREGON.

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

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Henry George club. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.; sec., O. F. Rolter, 248 South Tenth st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RHODE ISLAND.

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

PAWTUCKET.—Single tax association. Every Wednesday evening, Main st. Pres., Edward Barker; sec., Edgar Farnell, 230 Mineral Spring ave.

TENNESSEE.

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

TEXAS.

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURGH.—Single tax league. Every Saturday night, 500 Market st. Pres., W. F. Thayer; sec., W. Curry.

HAVE YOU READ THE DECEMBER

ARENA?

THE BEST THOUGHTS OF LEADING THINKERS.

W. H. H. "ADIRONDACK" MURRAY

contributes an article on *The Religious Question; or The Christianity of Christ; What Is It, and Where Found?* That is, unquestionably, the effort of his life, and is one of the most valuable contributions to the theological literature of this century.

REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE,

Pastor of the Church of the Unity, Boston, contributes an article on *Agencies that are Working a Revolution in Theology*, which should be read by all having faith in the ultimate triumph of Christianity.

RABBI SOLOMON SCHINDLER,

claimed by the Boston Herald to be one of the brainiest and most original thinkers on the continent, contributes an article on *The Use of History in Public Schools*.

MARY A LIVERMORE

writes a noteworthy paper entitled *Centuries of Dishonor*.

GEORGE E. McNEILL,

the eminent labor advocate, replies to Austin Corbin's strictures on labor organizations in the September North American Review; a powerful argument which all laboring men should read.

Among other leading thinkers who contribute to this issue are

HELEN CAMPBELL.

Causes of Poverty:

PROF. J. RHODES BUCHANAN,

Development of Genius:

REV. C. A. BARTOL,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM,

N. P. GILMAN,

the talented editor of the Literary World, and others.

HENRY GEORGE

contributes an able article in the January number of the ARENA.

FOR SALE AT ALL NEWS STANDS.

THE GREATEST ADVANCE

LIFE INSURANCE

in the

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PAID UP AND CASH VALUES GUARANTEED

by the

REFLECTED MASSACHUSETTS INSURANCE ACT OF 1887.

THE BERKSHIRE LIFE INSURANCE CO.,

of Pittsfield, Mass.

INCORPORATED 1851.

GEO. W. ENGLISH, MANAGER.

For New York and New Jersey.

NEW YORK OFFICE:

271 BROADWAY.

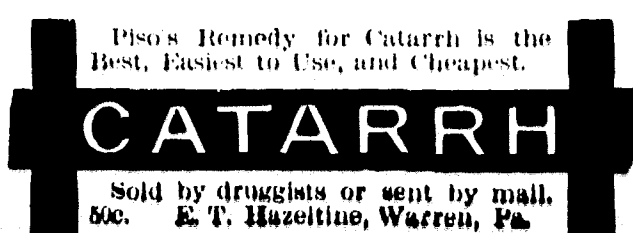
Corner of Chamber St.

THE MASTER WORKMAN.

A simple statement of the views and aims of single tax men, designed especially for workingmen. Single copies, 10 cents; ten copies, 80 cents; twenty five copies, \$1.75; one hundred copies, \$5.00. Sent post or express prepaid on receipt of the above prices. Address,

HENRY J. O'NEILL,

321 Gordon St., Albiontown, Pa.



Sold by druggists or sent by mail.

50c. E. T. Hazeltine, Warren, Pa.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY.

1. A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. Louis F. Post. 8 pages.
2. Australian System. Louis F. Post. 4 pages.
3. First Principles. Henry George. 4 pages.
4. The Right to the Use of the Earth. Herbert Spencer. 4 pages.
5. Farmers and the Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
6. The Canons of Taxation. Henry George. 4 pages.
7. A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms. Samuel B. Clark. 16 pages.
8. Back to the Land. Bishop Nulty. 16 pages.
9. The Single Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 8 pages.
10. The American Farmer. Henry George. 4 pages.
11. Unemployed Labor. Henry George. 2 pages.
12. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. Ring. 8 pages.
13. Social Problems. 342 pages. 12mo. Paper, 35c.
14. Objections to the Land Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 4 pages.
15. Land Taxation. A Conversation Between David Dudley Field and Henry George. 4 pages.
16. How to Increase Profits. A. J. Steers. 2 pages.
17. The New Political Economy. E. O. Brown. 4 pages.
18. The Kingdom Come. Henry George. 4 pages.
19. The Functions of Government. Henry George. 8 pages.
20. The Menace of Plutocracy. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
21. Tenement House Morality. J. O. S. Huntington. 4 pp.
- 22, 23, 24, out of print.
25. Taxing Land Values. Henry George. 8 pages.
26. Henry George's Mistakes. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
27. The Democratic Principle. Henry George. 8 pages.
- Prices of Single Tax Library: Two page tracts—1 copy, 1 cent; 40 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 20 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
- Four-page tracts—1 copy, 2 cents; 20 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 40 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
- Eight-page tracts—1 copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$5.
- Sixteen-page tracts—1 copy, 4 cents; 5 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, \$1.00; 1,000 copies, \$12.
- No extra charge by mail.

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

6. Settler's Nightmare. Louis F. Post. 4 pages.
10. Mysterious Disappearance. Lewis Freedland. 6 pp.
13. Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm. W. T. Crossdale. 12 pages.
14. The Collegiate Church and Shoemaker's Field. W. T. Crossdale. 12 pages.
18. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer. 4 pp.
21. Christianity and Poverty. Father Huntington 4 pp.
33. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George. 4 pages.
38. "God Wills It." Henry George. 4 pages.
44. How John's Father Saw the Light. W. C. Woods. 2 p.
51. Ten Thoughts for Christian Thinkers. Rev. Jobb W. Kramer. 4 pages.
64. Hints as to What You Can Do. Henry George. 4 pp.
71. My Butcher Woman and My Grocery Man. William McCabe. 4 pages.
84. A Republican's Reasons for Supporting Cleveland. Judge Frank T. Held. 2 pages.
88. Jefferson and Hamilton. Chas. F. Black. 8 pp.

GERMAN TRACTS.

42. First Principles. Henry George. 4 pages.
43. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George. 4 pages.
44. Taxing Land Values. Henry George. 8 pages.
47. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer. 4 pages.
48. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. Ring. 8 pages.
53. Sailors' Snug Harbor. Wm. T. Crossdale. 12 pages.

SWEDISH TRACTS.

52. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. Ring. 8 pages.

TARIFF TRACTS.

57. Protection as a Universal Need. Henry George. 4 pages.
60. The Tariff Question. Henry George. 4 pages.
63. American Protection and British Free Trade. Henry George. 4 pages.
69. Protection and Wages. Henry George. 8 pages.
70. The Common Sense of the Tariff Question. Thos. G. Shearman. 8 pages.
72. Protection the Friend of Labor? Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
75. A Short Tariff History. Thomas G. Shearman. 2 pages.
76. Plain Talk to Protectionists. Thomas G. Shearman. 4 pages.
77. An Address to Workingmen on the Tariff Question. Henry George. 4 pages.

A set of Tariff Tracts will be sent to any address for ten cents.

Address

THE STANDARD,

12 Union square, New York City.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY,

An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want With Increase of Wealth—The Remedy.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

512 pages.

Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.

Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

342 pages.

Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.

