

THE STANDARD

NO. 147---VOL. VI, NO. 17.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD.

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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.

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Across the Atlantic.

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.

The recent significant elections in Peterborough, in England, and in Elgin and Nairn, in Scotland, seem at last to have made it evident to the official liberal leaders and even to the London correspondents of the American press that it is not the Irish question, but the great social question, that is the burning issue on which future elections in Great Britain will be decided. As I wrote to THE STANDARD from that country in the early part of this year, the single tax is surely coming to the front, and Gladstone must yield to the set of the tide or ere long give way to more radical men. In Ireland, too, Michael Davitt's ideas are steadily gaining ground on those of the really conservative parliamentary party, and his opposition has broken the scheme by which the Tories hoped to separate the Irish strength from English radicalism. The steady march of events on the other side of the Atlantic makes it more and more probable that the next parliamentary election will be fought on the land question—not the Irish land question, but the land question of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the fundamental social question of the whole civilized world. And when this question comes into practical politics in Great Britain it will not long lag behind in the United States.

At the late meeting of the Congregational union at Hull the most important feature was the reading of a paper on "Christian economics with reference to the land question," by Albert Spicer. This paper was, as our readers will well understand, an exposition of single tax principles. The significant thing is that, according to the report of the Christian World, which sees great danger in this introduction of the single tax into Congregationalism, it was received with loud and prolonged cheers. In my letters from England a few months ago I noted how largely the single tax idea seemed to be permeating the Congregational body. The reading of this paper by a man of Mr. Spicer's influence will perceptibly hasten this, for, as the Christian Union deprecatingly says, "it will go forth from the assembly with something resembling an official sanction." In the Congregationalists, single tax ideas are getting into the very heart of the liberal camp. They have constituted a most influential part of the liberal party, and, although he is a high churchman, the very backbone of Gladstone's strength.

In New South Wales the single tax is rapidly gaining, and the same sort of a coalition is forming between single tax men and free traders as is taking place here. At a great liberal conference held in Sydney in the last week in August, in which Sir Henry Parkes, the premier, and the members of his cabinet participated, a strong single tax sentiment was developed, and a land value tax and free raw material were demanded. The Sydney Telegraph compliments the single tax men on their superb victory.

Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. of London, and D. Appleton & Co. of New York, will on the 1st of November publish a book entitled, "The Land and the Community," by the Rev. S. W. Thackeray, M.A., LL.D., Trinity college, Cambridge. I wish warmly to commend this work, for which at Dr. Thackeray's request I have written a preface. Written

primarily for English readers and by a clergyman of the established church, it will yet have as much interest on this side of the Atlantic as on that, and will, I believe, prove extremely useful, especially with churchmen. There is no wavering about Dr. Thackeray's conclusions. They are unhesitatingly for the single tax, and the single tax unlimited. And his treatment of the subject of compensation is extremely clear and gratifying. He utterly repudiates the notion that the people must compensate anybody before resuming their natural and God-given rights.

I desire, on behalf of the enrollment committee, to open in the columns of THE STANDARD a subscription for the continuance and more efficient pushing of the work which the committee has undertaken, and to ask our friends to contribute to it, either in single subscriptions, or by subscriptions of a certain sum per week or per month.

The reports printed from time to time in THE STANDARD, and especially the reports printed in the issues of October 5 and October 12, give some idea of the work the committee has done; but only some idea. To fully realize what an efficient piece of machinery for the propagation of single tax principles has really been organized, and to what large uses it is capable of being put, one must visit the room of the committee. Nearly 70,000 original signatures, each on a separate blank, are arranged for binding in separate books, according to locality, so that when presented to congress, instead of being in one unconsultable mass, as is usually the case with petitions, each representative will readily be able to see just who among his constituents has signed it. The names and addresses copied from these blanks are also arranged in boxes by states, counties and towns so as to furnish a directory, capable of many efficient uses, of men inclined to our ideas. In addition to this the committee has also compiled a directory of earnest single tax workers arranged alphabetically and by localities.

The work which the committee has thus far done is not merely most gratifying in itself, but it shows the possibility and opens a means of still larger and more efficient work in the future. When it was begun the most that was hoped was that 50,000 signatures to the petition might be obtained in the course of a year. But although the mode adopted, that of individual signatures to separate blanks, made it more difficult to obtain signatures than that usually adopted, nearly 70,000 have been obtained already, and in supplying information, in making our friends acquainted with each other, in promoting the formation of clubs, disseminating literature and arousing an interest in the single tax, much valuable work has been done.

While the form of this petition, on separate slips, and the way in which it can thus be presented to congress will give it far more weight than usually attends such presentations, the true efficacy of the work of collecting these signatures is not in the effect on congress, but in the effect on the signers, and even on those approached on the subject who do not sign. Its greatest usefulness is as a means of presenting and propagating our ideas among the people, by giving

single tax men an excuse for approaching and explaining to others our principles. When a man signs the petition, not placing his signature in a long list of others, but placing it alone on a separate blank as though he individually were petitioning congress, it does not necessarily prove that he has accepted our doctrines, but it does prove that he is open to them; it does put him on our side; and it does make it certain that he will think of the matter and talk of the matter again. And where this is the case it is only a question of time when he will be fully with us. Even where one who is approached refuses his signature, the effects are hardly, if indeed any, less beneficial. In most cases some attention is excited, some portion of prejudice dispelled, some thought aroused. The man refuses his signature at the time, but he has at least heard of the single tax and the reasons for it, and the next time he hears of it he will think the better of it. Nay, he is almost certain of himself to think of it again, and to think the better of it. A seed has been planted which requires only time to grow. And even where opposition is aroused or is intensified, good is done. The next thing to making an advocate for the single tax is to make an opponent. All we really need fear is silence. All we really need arouse is discussion. Whatever brings our principles to attention, whatever promotes discussion, is for us a gain.

But over and above the petition, and the work done for the petition, the enrollment committee has largely filled the function of a bureau of correspondence, information and organization, and as its lists increase its capabilities in this direction constantly grow. Without any of the disadvantages of a political organization, we have in it a source of information and a medium of communication which gives for our purposes all the advantages of the costly machinery maintained by the great political parties. In fact, so far as the work of the committee has been pursued, it has given us better machinery for the diffusion of literature and the concentration of intelligent effort than is possessed by either of the organized parties.

We already have the machine. What we now want is the steam to run it. The men whose signatures have been obtained have been promptly supplied with one set of tracts and with blanks for obtaining more signatures. This ought not merely to be kept up, but the whole list ought from time to time to be supplied with papers and tracts, and the signers followed up until all the workers among them are discovered and got to work, and means are found to plant in localities as yet unreached some nucleus of our propaganda. The enrollment committee is in short the readiest means by which something like the work done in Great Britain by the Anti-corn law league may be increasingly carried on until time and opportunity develop something resembling that famous organization. How much can in this way be done depends upon the funds.

I know that the great amount of local work which is being done is already a serious tax upon the active men in the various localities, but I not only think that many of them would be glad to contribute something for the carrying on of

more general work, but that there are among our friends many who, taking no part in the active work, are yet willing to assist pecuniarily any promising effort to push our ideas. Whatever subscriptions may be received by the committee during the week will be announced in the next number of THE STANDARD.

But it is not funds alone that are needed. The men and women who are anxious to do something for the cause will find nothing that can give them better opportunities than the obtaining of signatures to the congressional petition. And especially in our cities the clubs can do no more effective work than to make a systematic canvass for the petition. In the signatures so far received the large cities are relatively far behind the small towns. This comes solely from the fact that in the cities men are less acquainted with each other. And a noticeable thing is that very many active and enthusiastic single tax men have not even sent in their own names. How much a single tax man can do has been shown by Robert Baker of Albany, who has himself obtained over 1,700 signatures. Had the returns from the rest of the country been proportionately as large as from Albany, we should already have over a million signatures to the petition.

The citizen's movement in the city of New York, as the combination of county democrats and republicans is called, has determined to confine itself to nominations for local offices, and to put no legislative candidates in the field. Possibly this is the best that could be done by such a coalition, but while its declarations on the subject of ballot reform are good as far as they go, they will not, unbacked by the nomination of candidates, have any practical effect. There is even more need for "downing Tammany" in the legislature where she backs Governor Hill in opposing the Australian ballot, than in the city where she now controls pretty much all the local offices, and probably the best way to aid in this will be by supporting the republican ticket. In Massachusetts single tax men have a clean democratic state ticket on a platform in favor of tariff reform to vote for. In New York it is a choice between machine and machine. But the republican machine is pretty well pledged to give us the Australian ballot, while the democratic machine will deny it.

HENRY GEORGE.

ALL HIS EGGS IN ONE BASKET.

Governor Hill is the boss of the democratic party in the state of New York. Its machinery is directed by his hand and its conventions are simply his servants. He has compelled his party in this state to array itself against the best sentiments of democrats throughout the country on the subject of ballot reform, and to give its formal approval to his disgraceful vetoes of the Saxton bill and to the pettifoggery measure urged by him as a substitute. Disregarding the protests which even Tammany's sense of decency compelled it to make against the renomination of public officers accused of complicity in the ceiling job, Mr. Hill forced a reluctant convention to accept weak and obnoxious candidates. After thus displaying his power as the boss, he proceeded to confirm it by using the machinery at his disposal to drive from the state committee, so far as possible, every man known to be favorable to Grover Cleveland. In thus asserting his mastery over the democrats in New York he prepared the way for placing himself beyond question in a position to dictate their action in 1892.

Mr. Hill then hied him off to Georgia to begin his campaign for the presidential nomination. By natural instinct he selected a state whose politics is

dominated by crafty and unscrupulous railroad managers, and whose most conspicuous newspaper has won its notoriety by advocating a "new south," that shall be distinguished from the old by unblushing greed and an entire absence of all sense of honor. In such a community Mr. Hill was received with every appearance of enthusiasm, and a "boom" in his behalf as a presidential candidate was openly carried on. One politician is quoted as saying: "Cleveland and tariff reform was a good cry, but I am for Hill and victory." The Atlanta Constitution kept Hill's boast, "I am a democrat," conspicuously displayed in its columns, and declared that it was a good enough platform. Yet the Constitution knew that that boast was uttered for the express purpose of conveying an idea that Mr. Cleveland was not a democrat. Patrick Walsh, a former member of the democratic national committee, condoned the treachery of Hill in 1888, and actually boasted that the unscrupulous trickster had saved victory for himself out of the democratic wreck of that year, ignoring the fact that he was saved on a raft of his own devising, which he took aboard the ship before she sailed.

Throughout the whole disgraceful proceeding at Atlanta no man dared attempt to state an idea or a principle with which the name of Governor Hill is honorably identified. Hill openly sneered at Cleveland, the question of tariff reduction was ignored, and all that anyone sought was a "cry" on which to win in order that they, instead of republicans, might feed at the public crib. The fact that Hill won his success through the money and trading of liquor men determined to elect him if they had to trade off the presidency was entirely lost sight of by these hungry place-hunters.

The Georgia incident no longer leaves room for doubt, or even the pretense of doubt, as to Hill's intentions. He has always professed to be a tariff reformer, but he went out of his way to make his subservient state convention make an open declaration against free trade. He visited Samuel J. Randall before going to Atlanta. Roswell P. Flower, a man of numerous and ill assorted ambitions, went to Atlanta in his train. Ex-Congressman Stevenson, Cleveland's first assistant postmaster general, who sought to become postmaster general and then vainly tried to obtain the nomination for the vice-presidency, was there, probably with a view to seeing how the names of Hill and Stevenson would sound together. Pat Collins was there, and Pat Collins means mischief.

Mr. Hill is now openly in the field as a candidate for the democratic presidential nomination. It is manifestly his intention to maintain his mastery of the democratic machine in this state and use it to put New York before the country in the most humiliating position she has yet occupied. When the democratic convention of 1892 meets it is to be asked to forget the betrayal of its candidate in the previous campaign and to reward his betrayer by making him its standard bearer. Should the democracy of the whole country come to that convention demanding the nomination of a man whose candidacy would lend character and purpose to the campaign, the representatives of the New York machine are expected to stand out against this desire and demand that its own boss shall be nominated under penalty of another betrayal of the party in a pivotal state.

This is impossible. Hill cannot be nominated—there is too much honesty in the democratic rank and file throughout the country for that; but by controlling New York's vote in the convention he may defeat Grover Cleveland, and he may become an important quiet factor in presidential trades.

The question is not one of men. The choice is not between Cleveland and Hill, but between the things they respectively stand for. Hill evidently regards it as a personal contest and openly sneers at Cleveland. It is for Mr. Cleveland, or rather for Mr. Cleveland's friends, to accept the challenge or pass it by as they

see fit. So far as the matter is a personal one, that is their affair; but the people who have adhered to Mr. Cleveland because he stands for opposition to the monstrous protection fraud, because he represents the idea that public office is a public trust, cannot longer afford to ignore Mr. Hill's public proclamation of his plans. It is their business to defeat his scheme. The fact that the Platt machine is no better than the Hill machine does not concern such people. They are not looking to the republican party to accomplish their purposes. Their business is to smash Hill's machine, and the way to do that is to defeat his candidate for state office. He has put all his eggs in that basket. Let the basket drop.

MONOPOLY BEFORE THE COURT OF APPEALS.

The recent decision of the court of appeals of New York state in the grain elevator cases is as interesting to students of economical subjects as it is to students of the law. In 1888 the legislature fixed a maximum price for elevating grain, and prescribed penalties for overcharging. Convictions for excessive charges were obtained and the cases went to the court of last resort on a question of constitutional law. It was freely conceded that excessive charges had been made, and generally speaking the sole question was whether the legislature has the power to thus regulate this class of business concerns. The court was divided, Judges Ruger, Earl, Danforth and Finch voting to sustain the law and Judges Peckham and Gray to override it. The law was accordingly sustained and the convictions affirmed.

To fully appreciate the import of this decision it must be borne in mind that the law made no distinction between elevators that might enjoy special privileges from the state and those that were in no wise dependent on a public franchise. But, though the right of the legislature to fix prices in private occupations is judicially recognized, it is by no means recognized as an unlimited right. The court in the prevailing opinion rested its decision "on the nature and extent of the business, the existence of a virtual monopoly, the benefit derived from the canal creating business and making it possible, the interest to trade and commerce, the relation of business to prosperity and the welfare of the state, and the practice of legislation in analogous cases," and it expressly declared that "grain elevators are in every sense common carriers and therefore can properly be placed under legislative jurisdiction."

From the legal standpoint there seems to be little room to doubt the correctness of the decision. The principles from which it proceeds are too well established to admit dispute. Under what is known as the police power of the legislature, private property, when devoted to public use, has always been held to be a proper subject of legislative regulation. Thus, when a man sets up in business as a common carrier, offering to carry for whomsoever may apply, the legislature may regulate his business in ways that no court would tolerate if applied to a blacksmith shop or a thread and needle store. So with the business of keeping an inn, or running a grist mill, or a ferry. The real question for the court of appeals, therefore, was not whether the legislature was empowered to regulate private businesses of a certain class, but whether the particular business they had undertaken to regulate belonged to that class. This was the only debatable ground, and it is difficult to see that the court was in error in placing the grain elevator business in that class, and by likening it to the business of a common carrier, upholding the law that regulated it. Grain elevators, like ferries, are part of the highway; and like common carriers and the inns of former times, they are part of the machinery by which the public are enabled to use the highways. If ferries, common carriers and inns are subjects of legislative regulation, even though private property and without the benefit of any express public franchise, it seems reasonable enough to conclude that grain

elevators, though also wholly private, are within the rule.

While the strength of the legal position is clearly with the majority of the court, it is not so clear that the strength of the economical position is too. There is not much to criticize in Judge Peckham's dissenting opinion when he says: "The legislation under consideration is not only vicious in its nature, communistic in its tendency, and in my belief wholly inefficient to permanently obtain the result aimed at, but it is an illegal effort to interfere with the lawful privilege of the individual to seek and obtain such compensation as he can for the use of his own property, where he neither asks nor receives from the sovereign power any special right or immunity not given to and possessed by every other citizen, and where he has not devoted his property to any public use within the meaning of the law." This is sound political philosophy, whether it is sound law or not.

It will be observed that both the dissenting opinion and the opinion of the court lay stress upon the element of monopoly. The opinion of the court rests, among other things, upon the fact that the grain elevator business is "a virtual monopoly," and therefore upholds the law; while the dissenting opinion assails the law because the business is not invested with any special privilege, or, in other words, because it is not a legalized monopoly. Here both sides of the court are in substantial harmony, and it is at this point that they have unearthed the sap root of the question. The rules of law ought to, as those of sound principles of economy do, prohibit legislative interference with private property and private business. It is only when individuals are invested with special privileges that they are justly under the jurisdiction of the legislature in the management of their legitimate enterprises. It is only, that is to say, when they enjoy the benefits of a monopoly. But when we consider that monopoly, whether virtual or actual, can flourish only under some system of special privileges, the harmony on so vital a point between these two judicial opinions goes to show that their diverse conclusions are due to some consideration that in one or both of the opinions has been ignored. That consideration is the fact that the grain elevator business is a monopoly; not the vague kind contemplated by the majority of the court when they speak of it as a "virtual monopoly," but the kind that falls exactly within the description of Judge Peckham when he speaks of rights and immunities from the sovereign power not given to and possessed by every citizen.

The localities where the business must be carried on are very limited. They must be along the highways of commerce and have close local relations with ocean, lake, river, and railroad shipping points. Now, what secures exclusive possession of these points to men in the elevating business? Is it not the sovereign power? Could they hold these parts of the earth's surface, which by nature are places of common right, but for a special privilege from the sovereign power not given to nor possessed by others? Will any lawyer dispute the proposition that the exclusive right to perpetual possession of particular land has no foundation in nature, but is a special right or immunity conferred by the sovereign power? Then is not the "virtual monopoly" which proceeds from this privilege in all truth an actual monopoly, a legalized monopoly, a monopoly dependent on special enjoyment of a sovereign privilege? And in that view of the matter, what becomes of the conclusion of the dissenting judges that the elevator law interferes with non-privileged individuals?

Whether the plan of the elevator law is a good one it is not necessary to discuss. The question is whether the legislature has a right to make special exactions in cases of this kind. The court of appeals holds that they have; and though the dissenting judges deny the right, they lay down a principle which, considered in its relations to the proprietorship of land, logically leads to the same conclusion.

Where the conclusion toward which Judge Peckham's principle points will in its turn lead to, every intelligent student of the single tax already knows.

THOSE REALLY RESPONSIBLE.

The people of New York were shocked recently by the report that a dynamite bomb had been thrown into the business office of a firm of butchers, and that if the head of the firm had been in his usual place he would have been blown to atoms. It appears that for some reason there was a strike in the shop, and that the strikers had distributed boycott circulars against both the firm and its customers, and also against the wife of the foreman, who kept a little fancy store in the neighborhood. It also appears that they assaulted men who were at work in the place, and that finally they threw dynamite into the business office. Nothing can be said in defense of such outrages. From the boycott to the bomb, they were without possible justification. The firm was conducting its own business in its own way, as it had a right to do. To boycott it was to interfere with the right of its members to trade in the community on the merits of their goods; to boycott the foreman's wife in her little trade was an indefensible invasion of her rights; and to resort to violence culminating in an attempt at murder and an actual destruction of property is deserving of severe punishment. To this every "order loving citizen" will agree. But there is something behind it all about which many "order loving citizens" are criminally indifferent. These outrages are not wantonly committed. In the minds of these men this firm had work to give, and they knew that without work they could not live; and when the firm refused them work, or rejected their terms, it was to them a powerful and heartless persecutor. The law gave them no remedy; and the politician's sweet words about prison labor and short hours was to them as a stone when they wanted bread. There was no one to show them that behind the firm against which they struck was a network of special privileges—land ownership, tariff protection, railroad monopoly, taxes on production—that took away from them their independence; and perhaps if they had known this they would have acted in the same way, for when a man is being crushed in a crowd he does not try to hit those far from him who are responsible for the pushing, but aims his blows at the man next to him who is a victim of the crush as well as himself. However that may be, the fact remains that men who have nothing to take to market but their willingness and ability to work, and have no legal right to use land, without which no one can work, are practically outlaws, and society must not complain if they play the part of outlaw in all its phases. When everyone's hand is raised against them it cannot be expected that they will refrain from now and then raising their hands against somebody.

True, they have no right to be employed by any one in particular nor by every one in general; but they have a right to employ themselves to the best advantage that the knowledge of their time affords. This right is denied them. They cannot find any land to work without becoming exiles. They cannot work land near by without dividing their products with some one who does nothing to assist them. They cannot accumulate capital without having part of it taxed away to support a local government which is at present chiefly employed in maintaining land ownership, the very institution that impoverishes them and makes them helpless. And they cannot deal with a customer outside of the United States without paying a tax levied for the sole purpose of compelling them to trade with some privileged person within the United States. When the natural rights of a man are thus abolished by law, he cannot be expected to have much respect for other laws promulgated by the same authority; and when natural rights are so lightly regarded by the community, men who suffer from it cannot be expected long to

have much concern for the natural rights of other men.

The real responsibility for such outrages as occurred during the strike referred to, lies less with the nominal criminals than with intelligent men in comfortable circumstances who either selfishly or ignorantly or thoughtlessly consent to the continuance of things as they are, and never manifest any public spirit until some disinherited man, blind and reckless from a sense of injustice he does not understand, casts a brick at a workman who has taken his place, or throws a bomb at an employer who has reduced his wages or thrown him out of employment.

METHODS OF WORK

The admirable work undertaken and carried to success by the Tax reform club of Buffalo will serve as a model for similar work everywhere. A careful description of it will be found in this issue of THE STANDARD, and we hope every earnest worker will study it. The "Buffalo plan" should be adopted by every club in the country. It brings out facts that compel the attention of all taxpayers and open their minds to a clear conception of the benefits to be derived from the single tax. No club need shrink from undertaking similar work in its own field, for at the time the Buffalo club undertook the task it has discharged so well it had not more than thirty members and the principal work was done by a much smaller number of men.

The inquiry clubs that are about to be started by the Brooklyn single tax club promise to become valuable aids to propaganda work. They are based on the idea of the question clubs organized in Massachusetts in the interest of tariff reform, which have been very successful in disseminating sound doctrine on the tariff question. One great advantage attending this plan of work is that it offers a pleasant and congenial field of activity to the many women, who, though devoted to our principles, cannot find opportunity for work through our clubs.

Each club shows a disposition to work intelligently along the line of least resistance, and it is to be hoped that they will watch one another carefully with a view to profiting by each new suggestion.

All of these varying plans show that our movement has got beyond the crank stage of petty hair splitting, and that the people in it have gone seriously to work for the establishment of the single tax. In the future, as in the past, converts must largely be made by personal argument, and this presents a sufficient field for individual activity. Question clubs prepare the way for an effective parlor campaign that will supplement individual work, while the clubs are the agencies for forcing public discussion and presenting the facts, figures and arguments necessary to overcome the misapprehension which alone bars the way to a general acceptance of our principles.

In relation to Professor William Ogilvie, whose remarkable "Essay on the Right of Property in Land" was spoken of last week, the following letter, which has been unearthed by Mr. C. C. Macdonald of Aberdeen, is interesting. The writer is the celebrated Scottish philosopher who succeeded Adam Smith as professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow, and whose work on "The Philosophy of the Intellectual Powers" is regarded as the first complete survey of the science of the human mind. It will be seen from this letter that Ogilvie's work and opinions were known among his learned friends, but probably nowhere else:

GLASGOW COLLEGE, April 7, 1789—Dear Sir: The bearer, Mr. George Gordon, a preacher, wished very much to be introduced to you. As he has been long of my acquaintance, and a young man whom I esteem, I could not refuse him that favor. He is much pleased with "An Essay on Landed Property," and cannot see a reason (neither can I) why it should go about like a foundling without its father's name. Men seem by degrees to improve in the notion of liberty, and I hope likewise will in that of property. But though this earthly globe should be monopolized by a few to the exclusion of others, I hope the intellectual

globe will always be common, and that those who possess the largest share will be still ready to impart to such as are willing to improve it. The bearer professes to belong to this last category and hopes to increase his stock by a visit to Aberdeen. I am, with much esteem and affection, dear sir, your very humble servant,
THO. REID.

In the London Times of February 23, 1819, Mr. Macdonald has also found the following notice:

Died on 14th inst., at Aberdeen, in the eighty-second year of his age, Professor William Ogilvie of the King's college of that city. Mr. Ogilvie was one of the most accomplished scholars of the age. His talents were of the first order. His taste was of the most refined and correct nature, and the whole of his very prolonged life was passed in the ardent pursuit of knowledge. He died universally admired for his valuable acquisitions, and esteemed by all who knew him in private life for the benevolence of his heart and the faithful discharge of every social duty.

The New York Sun is indignant that Randall should have been hissed and Cleveland cheered at the general assembly of the democratic societies of Pennsylvania. It declares that these societies have neither "a sense of decency, nor appreciation of democracy," and that "the trouble with them is that they are free traders and nothing else." It is pretty safe to conclude that any political organization denounced as undemocratic by the Sun, is sound on Jeffersonian principles.

The congregation of St. Luke's Episcopal church in Hudson street want to move up town, and they accordingly sold their present land and building to Trinity church, which intended to build on it a large church with schools and hospital attached. There was, however, a graveyard attached to St. Luke's, and the descendants of the people buried there a generation ago demand that the bones of their ancestors shall be placed in handsome vaults at the expense of St. Luke's congregation. The latter object to the charge and legal proceedings are to be instituted to prevent the transfer of the property. The constitutionality of the act of 1887, which provides for the removal of bodies, is denied by counsel for the defendant. Thomas Jefferson's idea that this earth belongs in usufruct to the living and that the dead have no rights in it whatever, is not accepted by the people who propose instituting this suit.

At the annual convention of the street railway presidents held in Minneapolis on October 16, a report was received congratulating the association on the total collapse of the organization known as the Knights of Labor, so far at least as the city railways are concerned. The report goes to say in behalf of the railway presidents that it is their earnest desire that there shall be in the city railway business such community of interest between labor and capital that perfect harmony will reign. This desire seems likely to be gratified so long as the employers have everything their own way. When the workmen learn that their fight is not with capital, but with monopoly, they will vote for legislators who will refuse to private parties the right to monopolize public streets for their personal profits, and then the railway presidents may have less cause to felicitate themselves.

It is pleasant reading, the criticisms of some objectors to the single tax, they are so candid. Here is N. B. Wilkinson, who writes to the Minneapolis Stock, Farm and Home, saying that though the rise in land value be caused by the growth of the community, yet by no principle of ethics can the owner be divested of his title to it or any part of it without compensation. This means, or it means nothing, that if the land owner have any of his land value taxed away, he must be compensated. But to compensate a man for being taxed is an absurdity, unless we are to understand that government is a compensation for being taxed, and that Mr. Wilkinson means not that the landlord should have his tax refunded, but that his values should be taxed uniformly with other values. Since it is conceded,

however, that land values are caused by the growth of the community, why should the community tax any one so long as this value of its own creation is not exhausted. Let us be honest. Mr. Wilson sees some of the beneficial effects of the single tax, even if he does not approve it. He observes that if profit in mere land owning were denied it would be in effect to say that "a man shall not purchase land unless he intends to improve it." If Mr. Wilkinson would go among the farmers of the west and oppose the single tax on this ground he would make a most useful missionary, for they begin to see clearly the wrong that land speculation does them, and if the remedy were pointed out, and the single tax no doubt is the remedy and the only remedy, they would come over to us in legions. If to this Mr. Wilkinson would unite his idea, also perfectly sound, that it "would lessen the market value of land," he would add immeasurably to his efficiency as a single tax missionary. That is a feature that would be very popular among farmers who now rent land because they cannot afford to buy at the high prices that prevail. Mr. Wilkinson expresses his intention to say some more about the question in the same paper, and it is to be hoped the editors will give him an opportunity.

The Labor Leader of Boston triumphantly calls attention to the statements that there are in New Hampshire 887 deserted farms that can be had at a simply nominal price, and sneeringly suggests that the single tax people probably have some sophistry by which they can explain all this without injury to their theory. No advocate of the single tax has ever suggested that blood can be got out of turnips or that either rent or taxes can be got out of land on which a man cannot get a living. If there are 887 farms in New Hampshire so worthless that nobody can be got to take them and pay the present taxes for the privilege, then it is evident that the local authorities are trying to levy a tax that cannot be collected and ought not to be collected. The single tax system does not contemplate securing public revenue from land of this class, and before the Labor Leader undertakes to talk about the subject it ought to learn enough to prevent it from making so silly a blunder.

Judge Reid is out at Tacoma, in the new state of Washington and will probably make it his place of residence. He carries his principles with him to his new post, and an article from his pen entitled, "A Christmas Dream," will be found elsewhere.

We print this week the second of a series of three articles by Mr. E. Yancey Cohen on the anti-corn law movement in England. Single tax men should study this article carefully, as it is full of suggestions as to ways and means for carrying on our own work of propaganda.

Some figures are given elsewhere showing the difference between the selling price and the assessment of real estate in New York. The vacant lots included in the list are generally in the neighborhoods where many building improvements are in progress, and the percentage of assessment shows that there is some inclination on the part of the assessors to equalize the taxes on improved and unimproved property. This tendency, however, shows a most unwarranted discrimination against improvements, and a violation of the law which requires assessors to assess property at its true value.

Considering the fact that Mr. Burns, leader of the London strike, has been held up by socialistic writers in this country as a man who achieved his success solely through the influence of the London socialists, the bitter denunciation of him, printed elsewhere, from London socialistic journals, will doubtless open the eyes of any who may have been deceived. Socialists everywhere seem to have a positive genius for falling out with all practical men who under any circumstances consent, for however brief a time, to co-operate with them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mr. William Olmstead of Forest City, Iowa, sends a set of resolutions adopted by the Winnebago Farmers' alliance on September 27. They declare in favor of exemption from taxation of all capital invested in buildings, machinery and apparatus used exclusively for manufacturing purposes for a period of at least ten years from the erection thereof. A delegate was appointed to present these resolutions to the republican legislative convention, and Mr. Olmstead writes that the convention accepted them, and it was expected that the democrats would adopt similar resolutions. The object of the farmers is to promote manufacturing, which they think in turn will benefit themselves; but why they are willing to exempt the buildings of manufacturers without asking exemption for their own farm buildings and dwellings is not explained. The district has hitherto been solidly republican, but there is now much dissatisfaction because the home market and good prices promised to the farmers by the republican orators have not yet appeared. Prices are lower and times are duller than they have been since the panic of 1873. Mr. Olmstead adds that if the single tax as a measure of state revenue could be presented to these farmers now that they would be ready to accept it, as these resolutions show that they comprehend the injury wrought by the taxation on improvements.

LAZEARVILLE, W. Va.—What do you mean by taking the full rental value? Do you mean that whatever would be asked for a piece of land would be taken in taxes?

WM. A. YOUNG.

By full rental value or the economic rent of land is meant what a piece of land would rent for if there were no improvements on it. Thus, in the case of a farm the economic rent, which the single tax men propose to tax, would be the annual rental value which the land would have if all the houses, fences, barns, crops and cultivated trees and other improvements were burned up or swept away by a cyclone. Rent in the ordinary usage means the annual value of both the bare land and of all the improvements on it. But they are really two very different things. The improvements on land are the creation of the individual, and when used productively they are, economically considered, capital. The value they bring in annually to the owner, either when he uses them himself or when he allows others to use them, is interest. But the bare land is not a product of the individual, and its value is not the result of the owner's exertion, and its annual value is distinguished from interest on capital by calling it rent.

A manufacturing company in Georgia was called upon to furnish information for campaign purposes. One query was as to the need for a protective tariff on its products. The secretary, a young man, proceeded to formulate replies to the printed circular.

Thus: "Without a high protective tariff we cannot compete with foreign manufacturers owing to the high cost of our machinery."

The president of the company suggested the leaving out the clause as to machinery, lest some wicked free trader should ask inconvenient questions.

The Waterbury, Conn., Examiner, in its issue of October 5, comes out squarely for the single tax as the complete solution of the labor problem.

BISHOP CREEK, Cal.—In a discussion a few days ago I made a statement which has caused me some study and I am still in the dark somewhat. I stated that it was impossible to compel the importer of another country to pay the tariff levied on things sent into this country. Whereupon, a Canadian present promptly took me up and proceeded to prove that whenever a Canadian brought a horse across the line for sale he paid the duty. And since hearing his explanation (although not clear) I have re-read in "Protection or Free Trade" chapter 9, the illustration of the Canadian farmer sending wheat into this country. What I wish to know, is it true that the Canadian pays the duty on horses, and if so, is it not true in many other cases?

C. W. GARRETSON.

The question is, Where does the tax eventually fall? not who pays it in the first instance. The Canadian who brings a horse across the border is a United States importer as well as a Canadian exporter; so that when he pays the duty you cannot say whether the importer or the exporter is paying it. But suppose that when he is across and has paid the duty he uses the horse himself, as a resident of this country. It has cost him then the original price plus the duty, has it not?

That is, as a resident of this country he is paying more than he would have paid under free trade—the tax being paid by the consumer. If on the other hand he brings his horses over only for sale, he must get whatever it would have brought on the other side of the line plus the duty he paid when he crossed over. For it is evident that if he could not get the duty back from the purchaser, he never would cross the line at all. Thus again, you see, the duty is eventually paid by the consumer here. This is so with everything. How could the foreigner pay a duty of say 150 per cent on something he sent here and then sell it for the value it had outside the custom line, without adding the duty to it?

The United question clubs of Massachusetts, whose post office box is No. 3392, Boston, are doing excellent work in bringing the tariff question straight home to the people, and forcing individuals to think about it. They are now sending out a series of questions calling for information concerning the effect of the tariff on wool. It will be impossible for anyone to attempt to answer them without seeing that the prices of domestic wool have fallen under the protective system, while the cost of woolen goods has gone up. As this fact becomes plain, more of their questions as to the effect of the tariff are likely to call forth answers condemning the whole protective system.

The Mexican house of representatives has passed a bill to offer lands free for negroes who will emigrate from this country to Mexico. The bill has been sent to the senate and it is believed that it will pass that body and be signed by President Diaz. The expectation is that in event of this bill becoming a law there will be an enormous exodus of negroes from the southern states.

ROXTON FALLS.—Will THE STANDARD kindly publish a short history of the first and second vetoes of the Australian ballot reform bill in New York state by Governor Hill? I have heard that Hill gave good reasons for his veto, as there was another bill pinned on with the ballot bill, and that Hill is ready and will be glad at any time to approve a good straight Australian ballot reform bill.

W. S. SHAW.

The two ballot reform bills that were passed by both houses of the New York legislature and vetoed by Governor Hill, were in most essential points identical. The governor's long veto message in which he explained his position, accompanies his first veto. It called attention to one or two defects in the first bill, and these defects were corrected in the second bill; but it was chiefly an argument against the whole spirit and purpose of the Australian system. He claimed that any law that forced a voter to use only an official ballot was wrong in principle and unconstitutional, and insisted that as to blind and illiterate voters the Australian system destroyed the secrecy of the ballot, in that the sworn officials were the only persons who could assist them in the marking of the ballots. In the interim between the first and the second passage of the Australian bill, the governor's supporters introduced into the legislature a bill which embodied his ideas of ballot reform. It provided for the printing of the ballots at the public expense, but it also allowed the use of ballots furnished by the politicians themselves, and it permitted the voter, if he cared to use the official ballot, to take the ballot away from the polls, mark it under the direction of his friends, and then come back and vote it. It also permitted the assessment of candidates by political machines by a provision that any candidate may "voluntarily pay his fair share of the bona fide, reasonable and actual expenses of printing his ballots." This bogus ballot reform bill the governor never had a chance to sign, for it never was passed, but the amended Yates-Saxton Australian bill was passed immediately afterward, and no other bill was tacked on to it. Again the governor vetoed it. Both of his veto messages, his speeches, and the bill which he had introduced, show that Governor Hill is opposed to anything like the Australian system of voting.

The fourth annual convention of the American federation of labor will meet at Well's Memorial hall, Boston, Tuesday, December 10. The call was signed by Mr. Gompers as president of the federation, and reasserts his faith in the ability of trades unions "to cope with every emergency, economic, political and social." It declares that the workers of each trade are better qualified to adjust

difficulties that arise between them and their employers than other men unacquainted with the condition of the business, and says that reckless and so-called sympathetic strikes are disastrous in the extreme.

The Paris exposition has given awards to 33,000 out of 60,000 exhibitors, so that the honor of getting an award is a doubtful one, to say the least. Some of the "medals" were given on paper only, as they will never be actually cast.

There is a proposition before the city council of Ann Arbor, Mich., looking toward the city putting in its own electric light plant.

Judge Irwin, of the Marion county criminal court of Indiana, has declared the dressed beef act of the last legislature unconstitutional. The case will now go to the supreme court. This is the third decision against the act rendered in the nisi prius courts of Indiana. The act prohibits the sale of meat in the state which has not been inspected alive there, and is simply a local protective act in the interest of the butchers of the state.

The legislature of the new state of South Dakota has elected R. F. Pettigrew and Gideon C. Moody as United States senators. These are said to be the candidates of the railway interests out there, and the wise farmers of the new state have themselves to thank for the result.

Municipal lighting is the all-absorbing question just now in Buffalo. The single tax men there are earnest advocates of the movement, but they do not by any means stand alone in that position. The agitation seems likely to result in a very definite movement in behalf of establishing a public plant for electric lighting.

A correspondent of the San Diegan, in response to that paper's suggestion that an investigation be made into the propriety of applying the single tax theory to the land owned by the city of San Diego, declares that such an investigation can only be intelligently made after the people have read "Progress and Poverty," and he says he attempted to procure the book and could not find it on sale. This simply shows that the bookstore keepers in San Diego are not good caterers to public demand.

One of the conditions made by the capitalists who are to furnish the money for paying the railway subventions of the Mexican government is that no more such subventions shall be made, which the Mexican government is reported to have gladly acceded to. The Mexicans have apparently grown tired of using public money and credit for the benefit of private enterprises; for so long as the government does not own the roadbeds on which it builds them, railways are as much private enterprises as grocery stores.

The action of the Financial reform association of England, in coming out squarely for the abolition of the "breakfast table duties" on tea, coffee, etc., and the substitution of a tax on land values in lieu thereof, is commended by many influential papers as being in a line with the principles of Richard Cobden, and it is recognized as the first step toward the single tax. The London Star, the Irish Times, the Liverpool Post, the Nottingham Express, the Halfpenny Weekly, the Kent Messenger, the Northern Daily Telegraph, and other papers, are quoted by the Financial Reformer as indorsing the new programme. The Brighton Examiner says:

A free breakfast table has been the ideal of liberal financial reformers since the days of Cobden; while the suggestion for a tax on land values in substitution is only the embodiment of a policy which, as an abstract principle, has for years past been received with approval and satisfaction by liberals. In pressing this matter upon the notice of the federation, it is pointed out by the executive of the Financial reform association that year by year the value of land is increased through the growth and industry of the population; and this increase, being created by the community, should be appropriated by taxation for the community, and should not go into the pockets of comparatively few private owners.

It is not altogether certain that the liberals have been "for years" anxious to levy taxes on land values, but if they are now, that is the main point.

Honor to Whom Honor is Due.

Philadelphia Ledger.

Governor Hill, of New York, called on President Harrison yesterday. Considering his services to the latter he was entitled to almost as cordial welcome as Senator Quay himself.

OWNERSHIP OF VACANT LAND.

The scheme for social regeneration by directly abolishing ownership of vacant land, is not likely to deceive anyone who gives much thought to the subject; but there is a certain plausibility and an appearance of earnestness in the way in which it is put that might mislead one who mistakes dreaming for thinking and scolding for zeal.

Undoubtedly the freeing of vacant land would be more important than the taking of rent for public use, if the two could be separated; for society suffers more from waste of productive power through inadequate use of land than it does from loss of actual rent. Hence, when it is proposed to make a crusade directly against ownership of vacant land, much may be said, which, considered without reference to practical difficulties or related principles, is of great force. It is this half-sided way of presenting it that gives to the scheme the only plausibility it has. There is really no merit in it. Practically, it is as feeble as a rope of sand; and in principle it is as vicious as the present system, of which it is the parent.

Before ownership of vacant land can be abolished, a mode must be invented for distinguishing land that is vacant from land that is not vacant. This mode must be one of two general kinds: it must be an artificial system, under which the distinction will be arbitrarily made; or it must be a natural system, under which the distinction will make itself. The first kind is inferentially repudiated by the political economists who propose to abolish ownership of vacant land. Opposed as they are to all government, they could not well admit the propriety of government commissions to decide as to what land is vacant and what is not. But if this were the mode proposed, it would be futile. On Broadway, in the lower parts of the city, every foot of ground is occupied; but a very large proportion of that same ground is really vacant. When a poor building occupies space where a good building ought to be, or a small one stands where a large one should, or garden land is used for sheep pasture, or city lots for chicken raising, that land is as truly vacant, to the extent of the difference between what it is used for and what it ought to be used for, as if it were an open common. But where is there a man capable of judicially deciding, even approximately, to what extent occupied land is vacant? Who is capable of determining, with respect to most of the buildings on lower Broadway for example, in what degree they fall short of a full use of the land on which they stand? Nor would the difficulty end here. If it were possible to decide so subtle a question it would be impossible to abolish ownership of parts of particular land while recognizing ownership of other parts of the same land. If it were determined that a certain lot was put to one-third use, it would be impossible to abolish ownership of the two-thirds that were not in use while protecting ownership of the third that was in use. It is obvious that any plan of arbitrarily distinguishing vacant land from non-vacant land would be complex, vexatious and untrustworthy, even if it did not generate new varieties of corruption.

But according to this new and entirely original school of political economy, the distinction is not to be arbitrarily made. A natural method is relied on. Most of us have supposed that to make it profitable to use land and unprofitable to keep it out of use would be the simplest and most perfect natural method. Simple, because it may be accomplished under existing forms by means of taxation, with the current of public sentiment and not against it; perfect, because it distinguishes with substantial accuracy not only absolutely vacant land, but also land that is partially used and the degree of use to which it is put; and natural, because it appeals to self interest—not the self interest that profits by plunder, but the self interest that, profiting by production, seeks the easiest means of producing. But this is not the natural method we are now invited to adopt. There is to be no governmental interposition;

no appeal to natural and honorable self interest; no legal removal of legalized restraints upon industry; no force; no violence of any kind, except violent language. Every man who withholds vacant land is to be called a thief and robber—not in a Pickwickian sense, not in metaphor, not as a type, but a really and truly sure enough thief and robber—until he believes he is a thief and robber, and, as a self respecting repentant thief and robber, drops the stolen goods. And then, when some unrepentant sinner appropriates the same vacant land and withholds it from use, he, too, is to be called a thief and robber until these soft words of the peaceable anarchist sting his soul and awaken his conscience, and he lets go of the vacant land for others to pick it up and endure in turn the mental and moral torture of their predecessors in iniquity. When this eminently natural and effective method of abolishing an established institution shall have resulted in the abandonment of all vacant land, every one will be free, because there will be free land for all, and all will be equal, because—miracle of miracles!—no land will be more valuable than vacant land, which will have no value at all. Thus, with a grand chorus of "Stop thief!" which is to reverberate from the hills and make the welkin ring with echoes sweet as the music of the lyre and soft as the notes of a lute, ownership of vacant land is to be abolished and rent is to disappear!

He would be a sorry preacher of justice, indeed, who proposed to abolish ownership of vacant land while insisting on ownership of land in use unless he could make himself believe that land value would be obliterated. For, no matter how free vacant land might be, owners of valuable land would live without labor on the premiums they could command; social advances and material improvements would but augment their wealth, leaving to the rest of mankind such a living as might be made on land the least productive in use; and, worse than all, there would be a constant temptation to speculate in future rent, and thereby bury out of sight the beneficent system of land tenure that had been patiently built up with such a prodigal expenditure of violent language. Hence, the pretense that rent would cease with the abolition of ownership of vacant land grows out of the necessities of the case. It is necessary on the side of principle to keep up an appearance of demanding justice; and it is necessary on the side of practicability to explain away the temptation there would be, if rent continued, to speculate in vacant land in spite of the universal cry of "thief!" and "robber."

No assumption could be more preposterous than that under any imaginable form of civilization, rent would disappear. True, rent results from monopoly of land, but there can be no civilization without monopoly of land tenure, and monopoly of tenure causes rent as certainly as monopoly of ownership does. The philosophic crusaders who propose to abolish ownership of vacant land do not propose to abolish monopoly of tenure; on the contrary, they propose a continuance of the same monopoly that we have now, on the sole condition that the monopolist shall in some fashion use his land or cause it to be used. His monopoly would be absolute, perpetual and wholly free, even from taxation. He might never see the land, but if he could hire others to work upon it, or induce them to become his tenants, all its profits would be his. And, unless rent did disappear, he could hire others to work upon it, he could induce them to become his tenants, and he would make profits which would be chiefly the profits of land monopoly. That rent would not disappear is obvious to any one who understands that rent follows monopoly of tenure.

But it is said there is no great natural difference between different lands; that it is population, in conjunction with ownership of vacant land, and not natural productiveness, that makes some land more valuable than other land; and that if vacant land were free population would shift so readily that value could

never attach to any place. This is illustrated by reference to the location of a vessel on the free waters of the ocean. So long as the vessel remains in one spot it is entitled to monopolize that spot; but when it goes away any other vessel may take its place; and since it cannot monopolize more space than it occupies, and any other vessel may drop anchor alongside, the first vessel could not get another to pay it a premium for its location. The illustration would be apt if men, like vessels, used no more space than their bodies occupied. Then, though a man monopolized the foot or two of ground on which he at any time stood, since the ground would be vacant and open to the next comer as soon as its occupant stepped off from it, there would indeed be no such thing as rent. But civilized men do not use the land as vessels use the ocean. They require exclusive possession of far more space than they physically occupy; and they require it, not for the moment in which they pass over it, nor for the somewhat longer time in which they take on cargo or make repairs, but for so long a time as their interests lead them to exercise dominion over it. And when a man settles in a place it is not without labor and loss, to say nothing of sentimental considerations, that he removes. Therefore, even though all land were naturally equally desirable, he would pay something rather than change. And the disposition of men to remain where they are, creates the very advantages which induce other men to settle near them, and to pay for the privilege of doing it. This would produce rent without considering differences in natural productiveness, even though use alone gave title.

That our amiable philosophers vaguely recognize the difference in this respect between civilized men and ships, appears from another of their illustrations. Asked if they would justify the monopoly of a lot of land on Fifth avenue for the purpose of raising chickens, the reply is in the affirmative. It was a question that sorely tried the harmonies of this unique system of political economy; for while it is difficult to conceive a much more flagrant case of vacant land ownership, it could not be said that the land was not in use. But the elastic quality of the principles of the system were equal to the emergency. The land was in use, of course, and therefore the occupant was not a thief; true, it was capable of better uses, but if the occupant saw fit to withhold it from those better uses, no one would suffer, for there would be plenty of unoccupied land just as good, and the occupant would not profit by his lack of enterprise, for no value would ever attach to his land. That the occupant would not profit, proceeds from the assumption that rent would have disappeared, and that rent would have disappeared and no one suffer from this monopoly, proceeds from the assumption that people wanting to displace the chicken farm with a dwelling would go to Harlem or up into Westchester county, beyond the region of urban chicken farms, rather than pay the dog in the manger a price to let them build on Fifth avenue. The fundamental assumption is childishly absurd and the other falls with it.

If vacant land were free, men would be governed by the same motives in using land that govern them now. They would need land then as they need it now; and they would seek the sites of greatest production with least expense then as they do now. It follows that if populations do not now tend to shift in such manner as to bring all rent to the level of rent for the cheapest land, they would not then tend to shift in such manner as to bring rent to zero. Yet, it is upon the flimsy theory that if vacant land were free populations would be inclined to shift so as to prevent greater value from attaching to any land than attached to vacant land, which would be no value at all, that this whole scheme rests, so far as it can be in the slightest degree attractive to men imbued with the moral principles underlying the single tax. If all the vacant lots of New York city were free, would business at the

lower end of Manhattan island shift to Harlem rather than pay rent to remain where it is? If it would, why does it not now shift to Harlem, where land is comparatively cheap, rather than pay the high rents of the present business center? Would the fact that not only the vacant lots of New York, but all vacant land in every city and every country place, was free, produce this beneficent result which free lots in New York alone would not? Why, then, is not that result now produced down to the point of lowest land value? Or, if lowest land value is not the proper limit under existing conditions, why is it not produced down at least to the point of highest value for land which is not even used for raising Fifth avenue chickens? In any settled society locations vary in desirableness, the different degrees of which are measured by land value; and this value is regulated, not produced nor abolished, by the supply of free land. If all vacant land were free, land that is in use would be worth less than it is now; but it would not fall in value to zero unless the vacant land were, all things considered, just as desirable. And that the vacant land is not just as desirable, all things considered, is conclusively proved by the fact that its lower price does not now draw people away from the dearer land they occupy. They are now drawn away to an extent sufficient only to keep the dearer land down to a price that measures its desirableness as compared with the desirableness of cheap vacant land; and if this vacant land were free the price would be further reduced, but not more than enough to measure that same difference.

It is true that if a lot of land were vacant and free an occupied lot adjoining would have no value, unless it possessed some special advantage, as if it were a corner lot; for the same reason that this would be so, it is now worth as much and no more than the vacant lot. But no vacant lot adjoining a valuable occupied lot would be free under a system that allowed it to be monopolized for chicken raising free of all taxation and of every burdensome condition.

While it is true that differences in rent are due more to differences in population than to natural differences in land, it is not true that rent is wholly due to this cause. Natural differences in land is a factor, although without population there would of course be no rent. But to say that without population there would be no rent is not to say that without centers of population there would be none. Even if population were so distributed as to prevent the rise of what we may call urban rent, rent would nevertheless arise if men were allowed to monopolize land holdings, even though they were prevented either by law, or self interest, or public opinion, or violent epithets from peaceable reformers, from monopolizing more than they used. Whoever occupied land that with the same labor yielded more bushels of grain to the acre than other land in use would yield, would be getting rent. If he used it himself, he would get rich with less labor than the occupant of the poorer land; if he rented it, he would get a higher price, though the improvements were the same; and if he hired men to work for him, he would get a larger share of their product. No matter under what system he used the land, nor in what kind of civilization he lived, if his tenure was secure he would get rent. Wages comprise the whole produce only so long as the holding of land is not monopolized. When tenure is established, even tenure for use, the better soils yield rent, and the centralizing of population and discoveries of latent productive power in soils produce locality rent in obedience to the same law that causes agricultural rent.

With monopoly of tenure (and without it there can be no civilization), wages cannot be more on any land, all things considered, than they are at the same time on the poorest land in use. When no land is held except for the best use of which it is capable, this is normal wages. All above it is due to natural fertility and general improvement, to the advantages of both of which, not the individual,

but the commonalty, is entitled. There is, then, normal wages—so much as can be produced on the poorest land in use; when land not in use is free; and normal rent—so much of the produce of superior locations as exceeds what equal labor and skill can produce on the poorest land in use when land not in use is free.

But when vacant land is appropriated and kept out of use (and let it be remembered that this happens when land is not put to its best use as well as when it is put to no use at all), both wages and rent are abnormal. Wages are lower, because labor is forced upon land that yields less than other land not yet in use; and rent is higher, because the amount of desirable land freely open to labor is less than the demand for it. And when this process of appropriating vacant land continues until no desirable land is open to labor, an effect of frightful import is produced. Productive land is unused, and production is stopped at its source; labor is idle; capital wastes; involuntary poverty and fear of poverty torture individuals, and afflict society with their train of evils and premonitions of social disaster; classes differentiate; the rich are enervated by luxury; the poor are destroyed by their poverty, and the middle class is absorbed by the two extremes. It would be long before normal rent, even if privately appropriated, could produce this effect—not until all desirable land was in full use; and he who understands this must be void of honest emotion if a proposition to abolish ownership of vacant land does not appeal to him with peculiar force. But emotion will not abolish ownership of vacant land. Neither will invective, nor an imaginary abolition of rent, nor a fanciful reconstruction of human nature. If done at all, it must be done in recognition of and harmony with the law of rent, and in accordance with the common forms of modern civilization. And it must be so done that the incentive to appropriate vacant land will be removed, which cannot be while rent, an ever-increasing proportion of production, is allowed to go into private purses. So long as rent actual is privately appropriated, rent potential will offer a constant temptation to break through the strongest barriers of vacant land. It is out of monopoly of land in use that monopoly of vacant land has grown; and if ownership of vacant land were to completely disappear, it would return again if ownership of land in use continued.

As yet the single tax is the only just and effective method of abolishing ownership of vacant land. It recognizes rent as natural, and as the just property of society; it repudiates the idea that any man has a right to own any land either vacant or used; it knows of no title to land by virtue either of use or any othersign save that of having been born and being alive, and then only to an equal right in common with all living men. At the same time it demands perpetuity of tenure of valuable land for whoever will share the value of its special advantages with his fellow owners in common; and it makes effective provision for freedom of access to land having no normal value. By taxing all land according to its value, the single tax takes for common use a common property, and incidentally but inevitably makes it unprofitable to hold out of its best use any land whatever. All that could be accomplished by abolishing ownership of vacant land the single tax will accomplish. And when its principles and effects are really understood, nothing it does not comprehend remains in the scheme for abolishing ownership of vacant land but a residuum of absurdities and petty egotism. Louis F. Post.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT.

[Second Article.]

When it became known that an association had been formed in Manchester to urge upon parliament the repeal of the corn laws, advocates of the cause seemed to spring up throughout the country. The amount of pauperism was so frightful, trade was so depressed and going from bad to worse, and charity proved to be so illusory and ineffective a palliative, that associations urging repeal of the odious law and modeled upon that of Manches-

ter were formed in many places. In a short time they united with the parent organization to form the celebrated league. An executive council, among whose members were Cobden, Villiers, Milner Gibson, Colonel Thompson and Lords Radnor and Ducie, undertook the practical work of the league, meeting daily in a room at Newall's building, Manchester, and directing the transactions they deemed expedient. From the beginning Cobden seems to have been the leading spirit of the movement. He was endowed with an admirable tact and judgment that led him always to seek the point of least resistance when undertaking an attack. In this struggle he determined, as he afterward confessed, to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. There were to be no wild demands, no threatening of ultra measures, no noisy outpourings like those which the chartists were exciting with such scant success. From the beginning he saw that the whole wrong could be attributed to faulty conceptions of political economy entertained by the nation in general, and it should be the purpose and duty of the league to educate and enlighten. Educate the people, and statesmen in parliament must hearken to the people's voice. "Such as the tail and body are," said Cobden, "such will be the character of the head. Nature does not produce such monsters as an ignorant and vicious community and virtuous and wise leaders."

When Cobden set about the task of instructing and rousing the country on the question of the corn laws no man in England appreciated better than he the difficulties to be surmounted in order to insure their repeal. The two houses of parliament were walled strongholds of the landed nobility and gentry, whigs and tories being united in a stanch and stalwart adherence to protection and to government on an exclusive or monopoly principle. "You will overturn the monarchy as soon as you will bring about the repeal of the corn law," said a whig peer to Cobden in February, 1839; and Lord Melbourne, the prime minister, speaking in the house of lords, declared that "he had heard of many mad things, but, before God, this project to repeal the corn laws was the maddest of them all!" The masses of the people, in whom Cobden had unbounded faith, were none the less thoroughly well understood by him. He recognized their "opaque ignorance," and entertained "no illusions on their special susceptibility to either light or enthusiasm." But he saw that it would be not so difficult to gain over completely the great body of manufacturers and merchants. "Let us," he said to the council of the league, "fraternize with the sensible portion of the mercantile middle class and appeal to their money-bags—our political opponents will be sure to read all we have to say." It seemed to him that after that the question might be taken out of doors. "It appears to me that a moral and even a religious spirit may be infused into that topic (the corn laws), and if agitated in the same manner that the question of slavery has been, it will be irresistible."

The league fell upon some of those expedients with which we to-day, in our prosecution of a not unsimilar cause, are familiar. They wrote to the newspapers; they even bought up permanent space in many journals; they invited correspondence; they started and supported a weekly paper of their own; they issued and circulated tracts by the hundreds of thousands; they engaged lecturers to journey from place to place, and explain to gaping audiences in the market places of the towns the evil laws that were oppressing the people. Petitions were drawn up urging parliament to repeal the corn law, and workers started out to secure signatures. Bazaars and tea parties were held in the larger towns, in which ladies enthusiastically took part.

The press of the country spoke very contemptuously of these reformers of the north, larding their denunciations with much coarse wit and scurrility. The Times, which was perhaps no bitterer than any of the rest, worked itself up, in the course of a year or two, to quite pitiable outbursts of splenetic passion. An assembly of six hundred and fifty ministers who had in a body advocated repeal, were characterized by the "Thunderer" as "varlets," their clothes were "borrowed from old clothes shops," and their shirts were "unfit for the backs of footmen," while lecturers of the league were paraded as "tap-room companions," and members of parliament favoring the

movement were designated "fools, dolts and fanatics."

After a year of hard work it was decided by the council of the league to send up to London representatives of various towns bearing with them a petition signed by half a million people. In March, 1840, two hundred deputies assembled in London and obtained an interview with Lord Melbourne, the premier, stating their object to be the repeal of the corn laws. "You know," said his lordship curtly, "that is impracticable." The deputies then secured interviews with Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham and other leading members of parliament. Henry Ashworth relates that in the interview with Sir James Graham "he (Ashworth) exclaimed against the injustice of restricting the import of food in order to uphold rents. 'Why, you are a leveler,' Sir James called out, and inquired in an insolent tone whether he was to infer that the laboring classes had some claim to the landlords' estates?" "Being somewhat startled," Ashworth goes on to tell us, "I appealed to my colleagues as to whether anything I had said supported such an idea, when Mr. Thomas Ashton called out, 'Go on, Mr. Ashworth, and never mind what he has said.'" Sir James finally replied to the deputation, "That if the corn laws were repealed the land would go out of cultivation, that church and state could not be upheld, that all our institutions would be reduced to their primitive elements, and that the people we were exciting would pull down the houses about our ears. We responded to the effect that to uphold our institutions we must remove injustice; that we had no fear for our own houses, and that whatever might come of the established church we had no fear for religion."

The deputies returned home, and the work of propaganda was renewed with redoubled vigor. Stern facts were supporting the arguments of the free traders. The country having passed through a sharp financial crisis in 1839, was left in a condition of alarming debility. The nation seemed to be falling to decay. Commerce was declining, exports of merchandise dwindled at the rate of two millions sterling a year. The operative classes were despairing, whilst the criminal class in three years had increased almost twenty per cent.

The quiet educational work of the league now began rapidly to tell. It is not going too far to say that when Sir Robert Peel assumed office in September, 1841, the reformers had won over to their side the vast majority of the middle and lower classes of the north. Cobden himself had been returned to parliament from Stockport, defeating whigs and tories alike. Many other repealers had also been elected. The struggle was now to be forced into the stronghold of the enemy, the agricultural districts and the two houses of parliament.

The Melbourne ministry had been defeated on a half-hearted measure brought in at the eleventh hour, to place a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on wheat in lieu of the so-called sliding scale of 1828. But the Melbourne ministry had been in a moribund condition for some time and they were easily ousted at the polls. Sir Robert Peel assumed office, pledged to the triumphant tories to support the corn law and maintain protection. His gradual conversion to free trade, his struggle between party allegiance and growing conviction, his manly courage at a most trying period, and his curious fall from office, taunted and derided by his former associates, praised, beloved and revered by an overwhelming majority of the English people, make one of the most interesting passages in later parliamentary history.

The time came for the question to be forced on the farmers and landlords. Lord John Russell's measure, which had defeated the Melbourne ministry, had brought the question of the corn laws in a leading manner before parliament and the country. From this time on the struggle was one of free trade versus protection. In his early speeches in the house Cobden faced an amused audience of allied tories and whigs with the unmistakable purpose of going to the very heart of the question. "His maiden speech," says John Morley, "sounded a new key, and startled men by an accent that was strange in the house of commons. He reminded the house that it was the condition of the nation, and not the interests of a class or the abstract doctrines of the economist, that cried for

a relief which it was in the power of the legislature to bestow."

But the abstract doctrines of the economist, as presented by the acute, original and well-instructed mind of Cobden, rapidly made their way by diffusion among the people, insomuch that soon the cry for relief became a cry for justice. It would be decidedly unfair and untrue in any account of the overthrow of protection in England to give the whole credit to any one man or any small coterie of men. An economic change, to become permanent, must find its safeguards in a general popular conviction, and popular conviction is a growth, and not an enthusiastic resolve. It is not difficult to believe that had the great body of the people not become genuine and irredeemable converts to the doctrines of free trade, the efforts of the reactionist conservatives under Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli in 1852 might have led the nation back to their old protection creed. But the nation was converted and convinced. "In vain," says Sir Thomas Erskine May, "did the conservatives advocate protection in the counties and free trade in towns. They were defeated at the elections; they were constrained to renounce the policy of protection." I say, in bringing a nation to so firm a resolution, the continuous and untiring efforts, arguments, oratory and writing of many men are necessary. A political or religious agitator, says Morley, must not be afraid of incessant repetition. And, Cobden asked, how had every social change been accomplished otherwise than by an appeal to public opinion? "Not," he said, "by sitting still and quietly wishing for it, but by a number of men stepping out, spending their money, giving their time, agitating the community." And again, as the biographer of Cobden wisely writes, "men are so engaged by the homely pressure of each day as it comes and the natural solitudes of common life are so instant, that a bad institution or a monstrous piece of misgovernment is always endured in patience for many years after the remedy has been urged on public attention. No cure is considered with an accurate mind until the evil has become too sharp to be borne, or its whole force and weight brought irresistibly before the world by its more ardent, penetrative and indomitable spirits."

In 1841 Cobden made that solemn compact with John Bright, which was carried out with all the strength and honesty of those two noble men. "Come with me," cried Cobden, "and we will never rest until we have repealed the corn law." For five years the figures of these two men arrested the attention and engaged the sympathy of all England. Deserting their counting houses, they gave themselves up heart and soul to the carrying forward of the great principle they stood for. For the mere rewards of statesmanship they cared nothing. "We are no political body," said Cobden, speaking of the league; "we have refused to be bought by the tories, we have kept aloof from the whigs, and we will not join partnership with either radicals or chartists; but we hold out our hand, ready to give it to all who are willing to advocate the total and immediate repeal of the corn and provision laws."

The best minds of England came over to the league, leaving the tories a phalanx of stupid country gentlemen and farmers shouting for protection, and the whigs a mere opportunist party, divided in opinion and unworthy of either sympathy or consideration. With the accession of so many valuable new recruits to the doctrines of the league, the subject of free trade began to receive from thinkers that deep and penetrative attention that has discovered the foundations of the theory to rest upon the broadest and firmest truth. Essayists like Greg examined from every point of view the postulates and conclusions of freedom in trade. Orators like Bright and Fox and Villiers held up to scorn what Adam Smith had termed "the mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile system," and drew brilliant sketches of what free trade must accomplish. Cobden, in his speculations, beheld ultimate conclusions that occasionally led him to great heights of oratory. But his wonderful sagacity withheld him from straying from the one straight path he had marked out. He pointed his finger, as if by instinct, at the obstructionists who, all unsuspected, oppose the progress of society. But he would not bring them to the bar. And we have no reason to regret that he distinctly failed either to recognize the

world wide problem of poverty or to suggest the remedy. That was reserved to be the crowning accomplishment and glory of our own day.

Meanwhile upon the well balanced and judicious mind of Sir Robert Peel, the leader of the united, triumphant and obedient protectionists of England, all this discussion forced upon the country by the indefatigable league at Manchester, was making a notable impression. Cobden maintained that Peel was always a free trader in theory and that on all politico-economical questions he was as sound as Adam Smith or Bentham. But unless we accuse Peel of downright trickery or something worse, and in doing that applaud the bitter taunts and sarcastic denunciations of Disraeli after 1846, we can scarcely believe that with a mind open to and in sympathy with the truths of free trade, he could have taken office to maintain the odious thievery of protection. We prefer to think him an honest man, seeing the truth slowly as it was unfolded to him. His fame and reputation will continue to be debated by two sets of defenders, who, while agreeing in applauding the practical greatness of his measures, will dispute the political morality of the course he took.

At all events, by a sudden and startling proposition in 1842 he arrested the attention of the country, struck his own party with unmistakable alarm and for a season even disconcerted the minds and judgment of the leaders of the league. That proposal was the budget of 1842, which Morley calls "the most momentous budget of the century," and "the precursor of all the great things that were to follow." As a practical statesman Peel saw that with the revenue two and a half millions below expenditures, and with the working classes throughout the country suffering the most bitter distress, something more than a half measure was necessary. It is possible that he found his cue in the celebrated report handed in in 1840 by a parliamentary committee on import duties. This report recommended, instead of a multitude of duties, a small number on the most productive articles. While appearing to take little notice of the agitation against the corn laws, Peel brought in what at the last election in this country would have been denounced as a "rank free trade" measure of the most radical and threatening kind. The object of his proposal, as set forth by the minister himself, was to reduce the duties on raw materials constituting the elements of manufacturers to an almost nominal amount. On articles completely manufactured the object was to remove prohibitions and reduce prohibitory duties, so as to enable the foreign producer to compete fairly with the domestic manufacturer. The duties on raw materials were not to exceed, as a general rule, five per cent of their value; the duties on partly manufactured articles not to exceed twelve per cent, and the duties on manufactured articles not to exceed twenty per cent. A sliding scale was to be maintained for wheat, but with such reduction of duties that where the old duty had been 23s. a quarter, the new would be 9s. The duty on the importation of fresh and salted meat was lowered. The general purpose of Sir Robert Peel was, like that enunciated by President Cleveland in his message, to effect a considerable reduction in the cost of living. And to that end how far did the budget of 1842 exceed in effectiveness the paltry reductions of the Mills bill! The sudden falling off in revenue that Peel foresaw as the immediate but not ultimate result of diminishing duties, he proposed to recompense by the imposition of a direct tax on incomes at the rate of seven pence in the pound. Should, after the expiration of five years, the customs revenue prove sufficient to meet expenditures, this direct tax might be disestablished. An otherwise magnificent budget was marred by a fatal defect. The sugar duties remained untouched. "It seemed," says Morley, "an absurd, miserable flaw in the new scheme to talk of the main object being to lessen the charge of living, and then to leave bread and sugar, two great articles of universal consumption, burdened with heavy protective taxation. Many a league meeting in the next three years rang with fierce laughter at the expense of a minister who talked of relieving the consumer when he had taken the tax off dried fruit, cosmetics, satins, caviare, and left it upon the loaf of bread."

But looking back calmly at Peel's great measure, we cannot so readily sympathize with the denunciations which it be-

came the fashion for orators of the league to hurl at it. We, who have been educated to the wisdom of hailing with delight "the step in our direction," must regard the legislation of 1842 not as a step, but as a great leap. For the acknowledged leader of protectionists vastly to discredit protection at one fell swoop, might seem to be progress enough for the three years' campaigning of the league. From the general disturbance of opinion caused by Peel's budget, Cobden was the first to recover. To his mind Peel was a free trader. So undoubtedly were Gladstone and Ripon. With apostasy lodged in the innermost tent of the enemy, who should say how soon the day of final deliverance was to be at hand?

E. YANCEY COHEN.

A CHRISTMAS DREAM.

I dreamed a dream. I walked the streets of a great city. It was a winter's night, and the ground was glazed over with sleet. It was a Christmas night, and fire crackers and pistols were exploding, and tin horns blowing, and egg-nogs being drunk in honor of Christ's birthday. The sights of woe and shame and horror I saw that night what tongue can tell! In six and seven-storied tenement houses men and women, born in the image of God, with the look of Satan seared on their faces, were drunk and fighting, and cursing and screaming in the presence of their skeleton-limbed children, on whom hung filthy rags. Two and more families, of all ages and both sexes, tenanted the same foul, fetid room; and in one of them, in a dirty corner, lay a gray haired, red nosed corpse—a child of Him who "made the seven stars and Orion, and who turneth the shadow of death into the morning."

Gambling and whisky palaces, gambling and whisky dens, brothels and dance houses, were at every turn. Only one-quarter of the city lay in darkness and silence—the money changers were at their luxurious firesides or at church. On the street a hectic cheeked woman, once a father's and mother's pure-eyed, soft-haired lassie, passed me, coughing, and out of her eyes shone the look of a lost soul. O that look, that look! Will the woman ever get rid of that look? How can God preserve the harmony of the spheres with that look tormenting him?

At one time I stood in front of a great church, out of the doors of which came a broad stream of light that lit up the sidewalk, and I saw a beautiful young lady, clothed in thick soft furs, with diamonds in her ears, brush by a little girl who stood in rags and worn out shoes, holding by the hand her wee-bit brother, more ragged than herself. I entered the building and seated myself in a pew richly carpeted and cushioned. A silk covered hassock invited to prayer, assuring one against his knee-caps being bruised or his trousers becoming specked with dust by reason of his genuflection. The ceiling was frescoed, and in the center a grand chandelier blazed and sparkled with gas jets. The immense gilded organ was a marvel of costly work. The pulpit, with its red velvet covered sofa, furnished a handsome setting to the minister dressed in black broadcloth. In a pew near to mine sat a man (I cannot say a gentleman, for he was dressed in coarse jeans and wore a homespun cotton shirt) with the sweetest, and yet saddest look in his eyes I ever saw—large Oriental eyes, full of tenderest love, with the shadow of a great agony and bloody sweat on them, but with a gleam that revealed the power to shoot forth lightning flashes of scorn.

While the church was filling up with the usual fashionable congregation the low thunder of the organ broke upon my ear. I heard the rustle of a silk dress as a society belle swept up the aisle, a diamond cross flashing at her neck, and an ivory-bound, gilt-edged prayer book in her kid-gloved hand; and I heard, but not from the choir—from I knew not where—a sweet, pure voice, as of an angel, with a touch of tears in it, sing:

Hark! the rustle of that dress,
Stiff with lavish costliness.
Here comes one whose cheek would flush
But to have her garments brush
'Gainst the girl with fingers thin,
Who wove the weary broidery in;
Bending backward from her toil
Lest her tears the silk might soil;
And in midnight's chill and morn
Stitched her life into the work.

The words died out with a sob, and the look in the eyes of the man in jeans reminded me of the appearance of the sky before a gathering storm. Then up the other aisle a foremost citizen, "a pillar and a shining light," one who had observed the commandments from his youth up, headed his family to their pew; and again I heard a voice sing, but this one had an undertone of sternness and scorn and menace in it:

Hark! that heavy, pompous tread
Tells of one well clothed and fed.
Here comes one whose cold heart ne'er
To his eye has forced a tear.
Ragged children round him weep:
"Feed my sheep, feed, feed my sheep!"
But he counts his rich gains o'er,
Schemes to swell the ample store,
And grinds the faces of God's poor.

In some strange way I knew that these two songs had been heard only by the man in jeans and myself. Then the clergyman, twirling a pair of gold rimmed eyeglasses, arose and said, "Let us pray!" The prayer was "long drawn out," and was "offered up" in a tone of voice and manner that indicated that the speaker was on terms of great familiarity with the awful Being to whom it was addressed. During its delivery I was startled to see these words, in large golden characters, appear upon the wall just above the minister's head; but I noticed that none of the congregation seemed to be attracted by them: "When thou prayest thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love to pray standing in the churches that they may be seen of men. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet; and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father who is in secret." At the conclusion of the prayer the preacher gave out a text, and therefrom proceeded to demonstrate the theological plan of salvation, and "justify the ways of God to man."

While the monotonous drone of the preacher's voice sounded in my ear, suddenly the lights burned low, and the church filled up with an army of specters. They all were in dirty tatters, and wore a starved look; and on the limbs of many of them clanked iron chains that ate into the festering flesh. All the bodies and souls of God's children that ever had been murdered by man in that great Babylon—an innumerable host—trooped up the aisles, and such a look each fixed upon that "man of God" and his fashionable congregation as I shall never see again until that day that the Son of Man shall come in his glory to judge the earth. And while I looked, on the walls of the church, through the darkness, these words sprang out in letters of fire: "Depart from me, ye cursed, for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. For inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these least ye did it not to me."

Then I heard the low thunder of the organ, and as the music wailed like a lost spirit seeking God throughout Immensity, lo! the congregation, the pews, the ceiling faded before me like an unsubstantial vision, and I saw the clear sky overhead, and a mountain whose sides were clothed with olive trees, and a great multitude seated on the ground, the most of them from their dress working people, listening to a man who had sandals on his feet, and the sweetest and yet saddest look in his eyes I ever saw—large Oriental eyes, that had in them the shadow of a great agony, and bloody sweat, the heartbreak of a child forsaken by his father, full of tenderest love, and yet with a gleam in them that revealed the power to shoot forth lightning flashes of scorn; and I heard these words fall from his lips: "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, outwardly ye appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. All your works you do for to be seen of men, for you make long prayers, and love the chief seats in the churches, and salutations in public places, and to be called of men doctor and bishop. Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, 'This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.'"

Here my dream ended. But was it all a dream?
FRANK T. REID.
Tacoma, Wash.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

A Dangerous Project.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD—Sir: The New York Herald in a long editorial leader discusses the "very interesting fact that between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean there are about one hundred million acres of arid and therefore untillable land," and moreover that "the republican party would like to convert this arid area into political capital" by employing "an army corps of political workers" to build reservoirs, dig canals and ditches in states whose votes would thus be insured to "the party which suggested the plan and taxed the people to carry it through." The Herald denounced this partisan job and is of opinion, moreover, that "the federal government had better keep out of the project."

It cannot legitimately engage in real estate speculations. It doesn't need to improve its lands in order to sell them at a profit. It wants no profits. They belong to the people, who have the nerve and the grit and the genius to grapple with difficulties and overcome them. It would be better to pay the country to give these lands away than to spend fifty or a hundred millions to make them worth ten dollars an acre. Let the government mind its own business, and if there is any money to be made let the people make it.

Evidently, as the Herald says, the republican party and the national government should keep their hands off the irrigation projects. But is not its advice to hand these projects over to private enterprise even more dangerous? This subject of irrigating and reclaiming arid lands in the west is one to which I have given some investigation. In such states as Colorado, Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona, where the area of arable land is limited, it is indeed possible for "private enterprise," in the shape of corporations, to provide the irrigating canals. To do so seems at first in every respect laudable. But what of the people who are to till

the lands dependent on the future water supply controlled by these irrigation companies? Will these companies, having a monopoly more hedged by nature than any railroad monopoly, not collect as high water rates as the people can possibly pay—rates but little short of confiscating their property? But a casual glance at the matter will show that this would be so. The people settling on lands dependent on water supplies controlled by "private enterprise" will in a few years find themselves in a serfdom only second to "making bricks without straw." They will never need to worry about taking care of their wealth, however industrious they may be; the irrigation companies will relieve them of it as fast as produced, and religiously exercise "stewardship" thereover.

What is the remedy? There is but one equitable, common sense remedy. That is for the state governments to provide irrigation at the common expense. Certainly no state government could lose any money thus invested, since its lands "would be increased in value from one-half dollar to ten dollars per acre." The increased revenue thus secured would soon pay the cost of the irrigating canals, etc., and thereafter the people would have their water supplies free save a small portion of tax to keep the irrigation systems in repair. It seems to me to be nothing less than criminal to permit private enterprise to have such an unequalled monopoly.

TITUS K. SMITH.

New York.

A Suggestion for Cart-tail Campaigners.

Editor of THE STANDARD—Sir: Reading the accounts of the cart-tail campaign of the Manhattan club has led me to suggest the following method of propaganda. Let each of the single tax clubs in the principal cities and towns contribute something toward having a number of views made (of uniform size and no two alike) for the magic lantern. Distribute these views among the clubs that pay for them. Let each club have a magic lantern and provide a canvas, say twenty feet square, mounted on light tough sticks, in such a way that it can be taken down and rolled up. When Minneapolis has exhausted the territory with the first set of views, exchange with Chicago, etc. In this way many people can be induced to notice the single tax that would forget all about a speech in five minutes and who would not read literature if it was given them. It is not necessary that these views be masterpieces of art; some of Bro. Bengough's cartoons published in THE STANDARD recently would be excellent. Let us hear from STANDARD readers with regard to this matter.

THOS. J. HUDSON.

Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 12.

THE LONDON SOCIALISTS.

There is bitter war among the London socialists—there generally is; but since the strike it seems to have been intensified.

Justice, the organ of the social democracy, contains a leading article on the errors of the strike by H. W. Hobart, in which he says:

Up to a certain point the assistance and co-operation of alderman, lord mayors, prelates, bishops and M. P.'s might have been tolerated, but beyond that limit they never ought to have been trusted. . . . Men of the class referred to, whatever their titles or positions may be, have no possible conception of the various things that go to make a strike necessary. All they think about is an "amicable settlement," as they call it, which, in nine cases out of ten, means a very considerable concession on the part of the men. . . . All this excitement, all this hardship, all this privation, and only one solid advantage—and that advantage not to be enjoyed until November. In the meantime, which is the worst thing of all, the men who have been struggling and fighting for the last five weeks have been pledged to behave well to the scoundrels and traitors who have been fighting against them. Why this compromise, above all others? Do the leaders think that the dockers are without all sense of right and without any conception of treachery? But such things are worthy a political trickster and intriguer. . . . We have ever found the red flag worthy of our support; and, depend upon it, the moment the white feather is allowed to supplant the red flag our cause is lost. . . . Our progress may, possibly, be slow, but better that we should never see the fruit of our labor than to have to reap it at the cost of principle. Again we proclaim the class war, raise the red flag on high, and shout for the social revolution.

Under the heading of "Justice on Traitors" Justice calls on all honest men to give up their connection with the Labor Elector or be held up to the world as traitors to the cause of socialism. It adds:

The Labor Elector is edited by Mr. H. H. Champion, and the following are the present "managers": George Bateman, John Burns, Keir Hardie, Tom Mann, W. Parnell. Comrades, the red flag is still good enough for us, and we rejoice to say the S. D. F. was never so strong.

The Echo has an article on the political side of the strike in which it says that for the past four years the connection between the socialist leaders and a certain class of conservative politicians has been intimate; and after mentioning some

cases in which socialist candidates are said to have been run with tory money, adds:

A few months ago it was the common talk of the house of commons smoking-room that socialist candidates would be run at the next general election in those London constituencies which return radical labor members; the wealthier men like Mr. Lawson, Mr. Causton, Mr. Montagu, and Mr. Beaufoy, are to be left to the chances of ordinary political warfare.

The dockers' strike was genuine enough at the outset, for Mr. Ben. Tillett had been for a long time endeavoring to organize the laborers, but at once a knot men who had no past connection with the docks fastened themselves to the movement when the strike began, and in the most insulting language warned off all sympathizers who did not belong to their own clique. Their success has made the "plan of campaign" much more feasible. The move is a daring and skillful one, for thereby the dockers, the majority of whom are Irishmen or of Irish descent, will be led to use their votes against home rule.

Probably Mr. John Burns has no present intention of being used in this manner. The fact that he broke away from Mr. Hyndman at the time of the Kennington election, and strongly supported Mr. Beaufoy, points in the opposite direction. But, unless something unforeseen turns up, we may expect three-cornered contests all along the line in the London working-class constituencies. Why not? The socialists openly boast that they fight for their own hand, and there is no reason why wealthy Tories should not act upon the principle, "Divide and conquer!"

The general council of the democratic federation has issued a manifesto, under date of September 10, in which it denounces Champion at length and declares that Burns for the last two years has refused to submit to discipline, has withdrawn from the federation, has denounced socialists as men "shooting at the moon," has said that there were not above thirty people who understood what the class war meant, has excluded the red flag from the ranks of the strikers, and set the police upon men who were carrying it, and denounced the delegates sent by the federation to the Paris congress.

Mr. H. M. Hyndman writes to the Echo saying that it does not matter one straw to social democrats what source money comes from as long as it is paid into the hands of the treasurer of the social democratic federation and is used by authority of the general council, and adds:

The social democratic federation has never had any connection with tory wire pullers, any more than it has had with liberal wire pullers. So far from this being the case, Mr. H. H. Champion was expelled from the organization in November, 1888, because he refused to give up his most compromising intimacy with the tory agent, Mr. Maitland Barry. From that day to this his journal, the Labor Elector, has indulged in the most violent abuse of action of socialists as well as of advanced radicals. I have very little doubt, in fact, that the paper and the organization are both alike subsidized to do the work of the reactionists. To our great regret, John Burns, after he had been elected to the London county council by the efforts and subscriptions of the S. D. F., withdrew from us and threw in his lot with Mr. Champion.

Should we have sufficient funds, the S. D. F. will run social democratic candidates at the next general election. John Ward is already in the field for Wandsworth. (The district for which William Saunders is a candidate.—Ed. STANDARD.) At the rate things are going now, however, it is not altogether improbable that by the time of the general election the full programme of social democracy will be accepted by the really advanced radicals, who are already abandoning the shallow political trickery which has hitherto contented them in favor of an enlightened collectivism.

Taxing Personal Property.

S. D. McHutton, a resident of Kilmundy township, Illinois, and apparently a farmer, has been sent to jail for one year for swearing to a false schedule of personal property. Among household goods and other articles, the schedule contained two horses, one mule and six head of cattle. It was afterward found out by Assessor Harlan that McHutton owned three horses, three mules and ten head of cattle, though McHutton claimed at the time, and at the trial, that the excess of the live stock outside of his schedule belonged to other parties, and this fact was sworn to by other parties, but the prosecution produced witnesses on that point which seemed to outweigh the defendant's. Mr. McHutton had to pay the costs of the suit and his lawyer's fee, in all some \$400, and was as above stated sent to jail for one year. He is now serving out his sentence at the Chester penitentiary.

The same paper that prints the account of this conviction has a long article on the unequal and unjust taxation of the property holders in Chicago and elsewhere. The claim is made that city property and the property of corporations is not assessed at over one-tenth what the law prescribes. The state board of equalization is described as utterly corrupt and at the beck and call of a handful of lobbyists. The newspaper prints the two articles together and lets its readers draw their own conclusions. The St. Paul Globe, in commenting on the McHutton case, says that the stock of the Pullman palace car company, which amounted to \$19,872,000, was assessed for taxation at only \$352,205.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE WORKINGMEN'S MOVEMENT.

Active League by the Excelsior Ballot Reform League—Meeting Addressed by Mr. Saxton.

The Excelsior ballot reform league held its second meeting last Sunday afternoon at 98 Forsyth street, and after adopting the report of the temporary executive committee, effected a permanent organization by electing Thomas Carson president and C. F. J. Doody secretary and an executive committee consisting of James E. Quinn, William McCabe, Owen Seery, Patrick Rock and Maurice H. Nugent. An address was read and adopted, and 100,000 copies ordered printed, setting forth the benefits to be gained to workingmen by the adoption of the Saxton electoral reform bill. The mass meeting called by the workingmen for Wednesday evening, at which Mr. Saxton was to speak on his ballot reform measure, was held, but THE STANDARD goes to press too early to report its proceedings.

The headquarters of the executive committee will be at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, where Mr. Doody will be in attendance every evening from now until the night of the election.

Organization of branches has already been effected in the Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth assembly districts.

THE REFORM CLUB.

A Meeting of Members Called by the Committee on Ballot Reform.

At a meeting of the ballot reform committee of the Reform club, held at the club rooms on Monday night, it was resolved to call a meeting of the club to be held on Monday, 28th, for the purpose of acting upon the following resolution, the adoption of which the committee unanimously recommended.

Resolved, That voters at the coming election are recommended to support those candidates for the legislature, irrespective of party, who favor the essential principles of the Saxton bill for ballot reform, namely:

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.

QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.

The Albany Single Tax Club Proposes to Ask Questions.

At a recent meeting of the Albany single tax club the following resolution was adopted:

Believing that the question of paramount importance at the present time is the enactment of a law which shall secure the absolute secrecy of the ballot, to the end that the will of the people may be correctly expressed at the polls, the Albany single tax club hereby directs its corresponding secretary to send a copy of the following questions to all candidates for legislative honors in this county at the ensuing election:

1. Are you in favor of the absolute secrecy of the ballot?

2. If elected, will you vote for the bill which will best secure such secrecy?

3. As the so-called Australian system of voting is the best yet devised for that purpose, will you vote for any measure in which is embodied the essential feature of that system, viz.: the prohibition of the use of any but the official ballot, with such other provisions as will secure the marking of said ballot by the voter in secrecy?

This club also declares that its support of any candidates will be determined by the replies received in reply to these questions. A failure to answer them by any candidate being regarded as equivalent to a reply in the negative.

A Symposium in Brooklyn.

The single tax men of Brooklyn are arranging for a most effective demonstration in behalf of ballot reform. On Wednesday evening, October 30, at 7.45 p. m., there will be a mass meeting at the Athenaeum, over which ex-Mayor Seth Low will preside, and in which democrats, republicans, single tax men and prohibitionists will take part. The speakers will be William N. Ivins and Fred W. Heinrichs, democrats; John C. Campbell and P. J. Hurminway, republicans; Louis F. Post, single tax man; Lloyd Thomas, prohibitionist, and Horace E. Deming, independent.

The demonstration is called a ballot reform symposium, and all of the speeches will be carefully reported, published in full, and extensively circulated in Brooklyn and elsewhere.

A body of men calling themselves the legislative reform party has adopted a platform which treats of the conspiracy laws, prison contract labor, and the railroad question. The first plank of its platform demands "the enactment of the secret ballot reform law, so that the purity of the ballot may be restored and bribery and corruption at the

polls done away with, which can only be done by the enactment of the Australian system of voting." The Seventeenth assembly district branch of this organization meets every Thursday evening at 747 Ninth avenue, between Fifth and Fifty-first streets.

A public meeting of the Ballot reform association of the Thirteenth assembly district was announced for Plisterer's hall, 205 Eighth avenue, on Tuesday, October 23. THE STANDARD goes to press too early to report the proceedings.

The first application of the new ballot law in Rhode Island will be at the state elections in April, 1890. In order to facilitate the proper operation of the system and form an organized public opinion in favor of the maintenance and success of the law, the Rhode Island ballot reform association has called a public meeting of the friends of the reform to be held at Lyceum hall, Providence, on Oct. 25th. It is expected that the meeting will appoint a committee to visit some of the cities of Massachusetts on the ensuing election day, and observe the operations of the law in that state. A long list of gentlemen of prominence who earnestly support the movement is given, and the name of E. B. Andrews, president of Brown's university, heads the list.

The Free land club of Dayton, Ohio, has adopted resolutions indorsing the Australian bill which was introduced into the last Ohio legislature and failed of passage. The club has sent a copy of these resolutions to each candidate for the legislature with a demand that he shall answer "yes" or "no" to two questions: First, whether he will support the same bill if it is introduced this year; and, second, whether he will see that a similar bill is introduced in case last year's bill is not presented again.

Tammany hall, at its recent convention took positive ground against any effective measure of ballot reform. Its resolution was as follows:

This organization throughout its history has been the dauntless champion of popular suffrage and the tireless advocate of popular rights. We have always favored and we will now support any legislation that will diminish the cost of elections and render impossible bribery or intimidation at the polls, but we protest against the enactment of any laws which, under the color of reform, are intended to limit the extent or abridge the vigor of the suffrage. The law recently adopted by the state of Connecticut contains ample provision for the suppression of bribery, while it leaves every citizen free to ask the suffrages of the electors at any time before the close of the polls on election day. Such a measure we would gladly see incorporated in our electoral system, and we pledge our hearty support to this or any other measure which will effectually protect the safety and purity of the ballot.

Bourke Cockran, who has persistently fought every real measure of ballot reform in New York, commended Tammany's resolution and said:

There are organizations clamoring for ballot reform. We believe that the people of this country are patriotic and virtuous; that the vast growth of this republic in a hundred years is the best proof that the electorate was incorrupt and incorruptible. We recognize the importance of making our suffrage system better and more secure where we can. We believe in guarding the secrecy of the ballot, but we refuse to countenance any measure which would prevent free nominations at any time until the polls close on election day. (Applause.) When we see an electoral system that is a success, as in the state of Connecticut, we are ready to adopt it. When we see one that is vicious we will oppose it. (Applause.)

The general assembly of democratic clubs at its recent meeting in Philadelphia, unanimously adopted the following:

Whereas, The subject of ballot reform is a pressing and burning question; and,

Whereas, It has been studiously ignored by the republican party and the last republican legislature smothered all propositions looking to that end, having been materially assisted in this by the vote and influence of Hon. Henry K. Boyer, republican candidate for state treasurer; and,

Whereas, The state platform of the democratic party has pledged the democracy of this state to assist in bringing about this reform for a pure, free and secret ballot; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this assembly heartily approves a measure looking to that end.

Subsequently the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution offered by Mr. John Huggand of Philadelphia, urging that pressure be brought to bear upon members of the legislature to secure "that fair system of voting known as the Australian system, under the wise provisions of which a voter can register his will without fear of coercion or dictation."

Not a Risk but a Certainty.

"There is a serious risk," writes the Rev. Thomas Hill to the Pall Mall Gazette, "of a large part of the dockers' gain in wages going direct to the landlords in increased rent. Unless the men insist—and unitedly—on an increased standard of living, the landlord, aware of the new general ability to pay more rent, will insist upon the difference, and will get it. This is hardly the result for which the men have just been striving and suffering, and their leaders straining, and the public sympathizing and subscribing."

PERSONAL.

Michael Flurschheim is contributing to several English publications a series of articles on the land question. Mr. Flurschheim writes fluently in English, and the articles read very much as do his German writings.

Albert Spicer read a paper before the Congregational union of England and Wales at its autumn meeting on "Christian economics, with reference to the laws relating to land tenure." He made a strong plea for the single tax, and urged the members of the union to interest themselves in the social problem.

Bolton Smith of Memphis, Tenn., was in New York last week. He attended the anniversary of the Manhattan single tax club and made a short speech, in which he took occasion to say that the negro question that is attracting so much attention nowadays was but a phase of the social question, and that the solution of the industrial problem in the north would solve the negro question in the south.

Professor Stuart, the well known radical, is proposed for the deputy chairmanship of the London county council in place of Mr. Firth, deceased. Lord Roseberry will remain chairman until next July, when possibly Professor Stuart or some equally progressive man will be made chairman.

Professor Thorold Rogers is the author of a *not* about the strike. Discussing the situation to an admiring audience at the "vestry" in the N. L. C., the professor denounced in energetic terms the tory remedy of emigration. "Emigrate! Certainly not," said the professor. "Emigrate the house of lords, the bench of bishops, the lawyers and the stock exchange, if you like, but not the laborers. Unless these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved."

John Burns, the leader of the great strike, recently resigned from the social democratic federation (state socialists). In regard to his action in this matter he says he is as true a social democrat as any of them, and that he left the particular organization in question because he had more useful work to do than spend his life in the personal quarreling which monopolized all the activity of that organization.

J. W. Bengough of the Toronto Grip, as before stated in THE STANDARD, has been giving a course of caricature entertainments across the continent. He writes from Vancouver, B. C.: "When in Victoria I had the pleasure of making an address before the single tax club, Thursday, October 3. The members met jointly with those of the Sir William Wallace society, the president of which, Mr. R. H. Jameson, is an earnest single taxer. Before commencing my address I requested all who were of the faith to hold up their hands, and by this means discovered that I had a good majority of non-believers before me. I then metaphorically took off my coat and went to 'em. To judge by the frequent applause and the evident interest with which I was listened to, I think a good impression was made; and I hope as a result there will be some additions to the local club. Mr. Sinton, the secretary of the latter, is an aggressive Irishman, who is never tired of trying to make people 'see the cat.' I expect to be home in Toronto again about November 23.

Mr. Timothy B. Powers, a member of the Manhattan single tax club, has proposed through the Herald the erection of a swinging tower that will raise people over 1,000 feet without elevators, as a leading feature of the proposed world's fair.

W. E. Brokaw of Bristol, S. Dak., and "Wheelbarrow," the airy philosopher of the Chicago Open Court, both have articles in the last number of that journal on the single tax. Mr. Brokaw's is, of course, for the reform, and "Wheelbarrow's" is against it, of course. Mr. Brokaw is also contributing to the Millbank, S. Dak., Review a series of articles on protection.

J. G. Malcolm and W. W. Bailey are advocating the single tax idea in the columns of the Chicago Herald. The Herald is giving the question a good showing.

Mr. and Mrs. James A. Herne and company are playing "Drifting Apart" at the Lee avenue academy, Brooklyn, eastern district, this week.

Nothing Left of the Charge.

New York Times, Oct. 21.
In the last number of THE STANDARD Mr. George effectually disposes of the charge of J. W. Sullivan that he borrowed his ideas on taxation and land ownership from Patrick Edward Dove, author of a book called "The Theory of Human Progression," published some years before "Progress and Poverty" appeared. Mr. George says that he first heard of Dove's book three years after the publication of his own, but he disclaims any pretensions to being the first to advocate the doctrines which he has made familiar. On the contrary, he maintains that they are the obvious and natural doctrines on the subject, and have been understood and advocated by many clear-sighted men time out of mind. He deprecates any identifying of them with his name. He frankly states what he has learned about Dove, gives him credit for what he did, and not only sets forth at some length the scope of his work, but offers to re-publish it if assured by subscriptions of a return sufficient to cover the cost. He also credits to still earlier writers than Dove the recognition of what he regards as the sound doctrine regarding land ownership and the deriving of all public revenue from land values. In short, there is nothing left of the charge of plagiarism when he gets through with it.

REAL ESTATE TAXES.

Comparison of Assessments on Improved and Unimproved Real Estate.

The tax rate in New York city this year has fallen below two per cent—something that has not occurred in many years. Two and a quarter or two and a half has been about the average for some time past. The lower rate is due not to more economical government, but to the fact that the assessed valuation of property in some of the wards has increased enormously. The Twenty-second ward, which includes the west side of the city from Fortieth to Eighty-sixth streets, and the great Twelfth, which includes all of the island from the Harlem river down to Eighty-sixth street, furnish the bulk of the increased assessment. It is hardly necessary to point out that the reason the assessments have been raised in these wards is because there has been a great deal of building going on there during the past year.

In this connection it is interesting to note how the assessors value property according as it is improved or unimproved, and we give the assessments on a few holdings taken at random from the sales reported in the last issue of the Real Estate Record and Guide, together with the actual value of the properties as shown by the sales. It is sometimes claimed that the discrepancy between the assessed valuation of real estate and the selling value, is partly accounted for by the fact that a man will make a false transfer or sale at a high figure in order to make future purchasers believe that the property is more valuable than it really is. But these false sales, or deeds which give a higher price than has really been paid, are as common in the case of improved as of unimproved lots. The Record this week mentions a certain builder who habitually makes fictitious transfers of new houses at an exaggerated price in order to get a higher price for them when an actual sale takes place. So that although the prices reported may not always be the true ones, yet they are as apt to be true in the case of empty lots as in the case of houses, and a comparison between the assessments is therefore perfectly just.

Here are some of the assessments on dwellings:

Three story stone dwelling, 148 West 130th street, lot 18.4 by 99 feet. Sold for \$18,500; assessed \$8,500, or 46 per cent of value.

Four story brick dwelling, 244 West 73d street, lot 30 by 102 feet. Sold for \$40,000; assessed \$19,500, or 48½ per cent of value.

Two five story brick tenements, 322 and 324 East 71st street, lot 50 by 100 feet. Sold for \$46,000; assessed \$22,000, or 48 per cent of value.

Three story stone dwelling, north side 63d street, 85 feet west Lexington avenue, lot 14 by 100 feet. Sold for \$12,500; assessed \$6,000, or 48 per cent of value.

Three story brick and stone dwelling, 311 West 51st street, lot 20.10 by 100 feet. Sold for \$22,500; assessed \$10,000, or 44 per cent of value.

Four story stone dwelling, 1725 Lexington avenue, lot 16.8 by 65 feet. Sold for \$12,000, assessed \$6,500, or 54 per cent of value.

Total for the above six pieces of improved property: Sold for \$151,500; assessed \$72,500, or an average of about 48 per cent.

Here are some vacant lot assessments:

One hundred and forty-second street, south side, 400 feet west of Seventh avenue, 125 feet front by 100 deep. Sold for \$30,000; assessed for \$10,000, or 33½ per cent of value.

Eighty-fourth street, south side, 325 feet west of Ninth avenue, 25 by 100 feet. Sold for \$10,000, assessed \$4,000, or 40 per cent of value.

One hundred and thirty-first street, north side, 300 feet west of Boulevard, lot 100 by 90 feet. Sold for \$14,000; assessed \$4,000, or 28½ per cent of value.

Fifth avenue, 25 feet south of 87th street, 25 by 102 feet. Sold for \$33,600; assessed for \$12,000, or fifty-one per cent of value.

One hundred and fifty-second street, north side, 325 feet west of Courtland avenue, 25 by 100 feet. Sold for \$3,350; assessed for \$1,000, or thirty per cent of value.

Total for above vacant lots: Sold for \$81,850; assessed \$31,000, or almost thirty-eight per cent of value.

Estimating, then, that the value of the houses, in the case of the above improved lots, is equal to the value of the lots (a low estimate, for good class stone dwellings are generally worth more than the lots on which they stand), we find that these house owners are paying taxes on forty-eight per cent of the value of their lots, and an equal amount on their houses, making in all ninety-six per cent of the value of their lots, as against thirty-eight per cent paid by the empty lot owners, or just about two and a half times as much taxes in proportion to the value of the land they use.

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THE TARIFF FIGHT.

HOW IT PINCHES.

Opinions of "Standard" Correspondents on the Effects of the Tariff.

Believing from various indications that there had been a marked change in popular thought with regard to the tariff question, the single tax idea and ballot reform, THE STANDARD, with the intention of getting some reliable information on these points, addressed some questions to men qualified to answer living in various parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The questions were:

What is the chief industry in your congressional district?

Did your district go republican or democratic last year, and how or on what issue was it carried?

In what way is sentiment on the tariff going?

Is the single tax growing, and among whom?

What is the outlook for ballot reform?

To the questions THE STANDARD received the following replies:

William Williams, Bristol, R. I.—Our chief industries are rubber and cotton manufacturing and ship building. The district went republican with no issue save humbug, gammon, lies and abuse. I think the protectionists are now weakening a little. Perhaps I should rather say the democrats are more "gamey" and defiant. But nothing is known of the single tax. Free trade is, in my opinion, the powder—you must put that in the gun first.

E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester, Mass.—This, the Tenth Massachusetts congressional district, is given up for the most part to the manufacturing of boots and shoes, wire goods and machinery. Usually republican by 5,000 or more, it went republican last fall by only 2,000. A still hunt on the part of the democrats who hoped dissensions among republicans might result in electing their man (as was done in 1886) did not amount to much. In 1886 that brilliant free trader, John E. Russell, who since gained much reputation throughout the country by his keen speeches on the Mills bill, and is now the candidate of the democrats for governor, during a local republican quarrel was unexpectedly elected—the first time the republicans failed to carry Senator Hoar's district in twenty years or more. I think tariff reform and free trade are gaining ground. A man who for some years was superintendent of an organ factory, now head of a manufacturing company, and with whom I had discussions on the tariff question last fall, recently said to me: "Yes, I'm feeling well, except in pocket-book." "What?" said I, "now that you have secured your protection administration and congress, are you not satisfied? You ought to be doing well!" "Well," said he, after a short pause, "to tell you the truth, I don't believe that either free trade or protection has anything to do with the prosperity of this country." This is quite a step for a former protectionist. On further conversation he said he thought the trouble in this country was that people are leaving the farming districts and crowding into the cities, and to induce people to remain on the land he would "not tax farmers at all."

Henry Robertshaw, Lowell, Mass.—This congressional district comprises the cities of Lowell and Lawrence and several towns, the chief industry of which is the manufacture of cotton. It went republican last year, the issue, protection; and was carried by the agriculturing districts. So far as I can judge, the sentiment is fast changing in favor of tariff reform. The single tax idea is growing, if but slowly, and I think all classes are giving it some consideration. I am hopeful of a single tax club being formed here this fall, when we shall be in a better position for propagating our ideas.

C. A. Pratt, Birmingham, Conn.—The chief industry here is manufactures of brass, copper, iron and silver ware. The district went democratic, and on the issue of tariff reform, and there is steady progress in that direction. The single tax idea has taken root among a few who have read "Progress and Poverty." None of us, however, are of the kind to give it much publicity.

Q. A. Lathrop, Neponset, Mass.—This is largely a manufacturing district of a miscellaneous character. The district has generally gone republican, but last fall we elected the democratic nominee, Mr. John A. Andrew, after a hard fight in which the single tax men were very active. In the Neponset precinct which always goes republican, we reduced the plurality considerably. The fight was largely on principle, and in electing Mr. Andrew we downed that old war horse of protection, Alanson W. Beard. The vote for Andrew should have been larger, as a great many voted the republican ticket who believed protection to be a humbug, but they could not make up their minds to get out of the old rut in which they have traveled so long. But they don't fit so snug as they once did and many of them will be with us at the

next presidential election. As to the single tax idea, it is here, as elsewhere in the city of Boston, growing slowly but surely. The bull has at last got turned the right way, and, as at every turning of the stake the rope lengthens, he will increase his pace and never flag until he stands in the realization of his strength and freedom. In our own immediate vicinity it is the workmen who have most readily accepted our teachings. This is a strong republican precinct, and there are a great many of these people who seem to think that, although reforms might once have been necessary, human affairs are now at a state of perfection. Since its enactment opposition to the Australian ballot law seems to have subsided, it being generally acknowledged that something of the kind was needed.

C. P. Bolin, Whitman, Mass.—The chief industry in my congressional district is shoemaking. The district went republican in last year's election through the pretence that the high protective tariff would keep work plenty and wages high. The sentiment on the tariff has now changed, and is greatly in favor of tariff reform. The single tax idea is steadily growing among both republicans and democrats, and a marked interest taken in all the information the daily papers have on the subject.

John G. Hopkins, Middletown, Conn.—This congressional district takes in the cities of New Haven, Meriden and Middletown, also the large brownstone quarries of Portland. The great industry of Meriden is Britannia goods. That city showed a democratic gain at last election of 400, and Portland showed a republican gain of 150, New Haven and Middletown being about the same as usual. The district went democratic by about 2,000 majority. The issue was tariff reform. The sentiment now is very strong in favor of a reduction. The single tax sentiment, I believe, is growing among the members of both the large parties, and especially among the people who give the land question any thought, and those who see the injustice of the present mode of taxation.

Edward Barker, Pawtucket, R. I.—In this congressional (western) district, there is a great diversity of manufacturing and business interests, chief of which I should say are the cotton manufacturing and machine building. Last fall the district went republican (which is like saying the Dutch carried Holland), though by a lessened majority. I believe, and thus I differ with many, that the tariff question did not play a very important part in deciding votes. The majority voted for party, and I think would have done so had each party's principles been the opposite of what they were. But since election I believe that the sentiment in favor of tariff reform has grown, and what is far better, free traders are increasing all the time. The single tax principles are being accepted more and more among the men in our shops and among our business men, and we hope for more rapid progress since the accomplishment of ballot reform in state and national elections. It is only a matter of time when this will be secured for municipalities.

John J. Hart, Scranton, Pa.—The mining of anthracite coal is the direct pursuit here. Cleveland received a majority of 455 votes in this (Lackawanna) county, and Joseph Scranton, for congress (republican), was elected by 1,100 majority over Collins, democrat. Owing to the slackness of work in the mines the miners are now very favorably disposed toward "tariff revision and reform," as proclaimed by the democratic party, and with this change in thought the single tax idea is making way, and the outlook for ballot reform is very good, too. Determined efforts will be made by organized labor at next session of the state legislature to pass a sound "ballot reform law."

George McGee, Upper Lehigh, Pa.—The chief industry in this, the Twelfth congressional district of Pennsylvania is the mining and shipping of anthracite coal. Although the district elected the republican candidate, General Osborne, to congress, a majority of votes were cast for Cleveland in Luzerne county, which the district embraces.

It is admitted in political circles that in all the United States there are in reality (with our present election machinery) only fifteen debatable congressional districts. This district is one of the number, and when we consider the revolt against an arrogant democratic machine and the political methods peculiar to Quay & Co. that were used to such good advantage in the doubtful districts, we can safely say that with a good, uncompromising county organization the democrats can carry this district on an anti-tariff issue. Indeed, sentiment is gradually drifting to free trade. Twelve years ago no public speaker would have dared to declare in favor of free trade. Now a free trade letter in our local papers fails to draw a reply from the high tariff advocates. And the single tax idea is growing, too—chiefly among intelligent workmen who have failed to gain any permanent relief on the lines as laid down by trade unions, Knights of Labor, etc. Observation of passing events convinces me that we have in every community hundreds of unconscious single tax men, but it is a very difficult matter to place them in a position to enable them to "see the

cat." The outlook for ballot reform is good. The "machines" will be arrayed against it, but no man can be elected to the legislature from this county who would dare vote against it if the lines were tightly drawn.

Mark T. Roberts, Pittsburg, Pa.—The chief industries of this congressional district are iron, steel, glass (window and flint) and coal. The district gave the largest majority of any district in the state to the republican candidate, John Dalzell. The democrats of this district were as much afraid of free trade as the republicans. Nevertheless, among the working people the sentiment is growing that the tariff is a "humbug." The single tax idea is growing principally among business men and the more intelligent mechanics. The outlook for ballot reform is very poor; the people know little or nothing about it here.

A. H. Stephenson, Philadelphia, Pa.—Mine is a textile district and went republican, though the democrats made a gain on the tariff issue. The tendency is toward free trade and the single tax is making steady progress among all classes. Good democrats have endorsed ballot reform, and its adoption is only a question of a year or two.

T. P. Perkins, Lynn, Mass.—The manufacture of shoes, leather and morocco, constitute the chief industry of my district, which went republican, on party issues only slightly modified by the tariff question, last fall. Sentiment is probably moving toward free trade, and as far as I know the single tax idea is making steady progress among all classes. Ballot reform is an accomplished fact.

Martin L. Smail, Rockville, Conn.—The chief industry of this congressional district is manufacturing—well "protected." A great deal of tobacco is raised. We have several kinds of manufacturing, such as woollens and worsted, silk, cotton, both knitting and weaving, screws, planes, etc. The district went republican at the last election. It was carried for tariff reform in the cities, especially in Rockville, where a gain of over one hundred votes was made, but the republicans bested us among the farmers with money, paying as high as \$50 for votes. The workmen are getting sick of protection, and a better showing for reform will be made at the next congressional election. The single tax is steadily growing among the thinking people.

Sam A. Main, Danbury, Conn.—The workers in this district are divided between farming and general manufacturing. The district went republican, and the issue was protection. The motive power was electricity inspired by a mammoth boodle dynamo, Wana-maker design, well greased and blocked up. Sentiment on the tariff is surely gaining, for men will now read and listen. We have here a small but active band of single tax men, and the work goes quietly forward. We have a ballot reform law, such as it is.

HILL IN GEORGIA.

The Governor of New York Shows His Hand—Emotional Georgians Name Him for President.

Governor Hill has been visiting a fair at Atlanta, and his visit was made the occasion for a very remarkable ovation. He arrived at Atlanta late at night, yet a large crowd met him, and according to newspaper reports a conscious effort was made to lend a political significance to the demonstration. A Mr. Clifton, who is prominent in politics in the state, is quoted as saying: "Cleveland and tariff reform was a good cry, but I am for Hill and victory instead." The Atlanta Constitution, for several days before Mr. Hill's arrival, kept in a conspicuous place in its editorial columns his declaration: "I am a democrat," and claim that this is platform enough for any man to stand on.

Governor Hill had an enormous reception at the fair when he attended it on the 16th inst., and the newspapers report that he was greeted by fifty thousand democrats. He talked of northern investments in southern enterprises, and paid an extravagant compliment to Henry W. Grady, alluded in meaningless phrases to the race and labor questions, and carefully refrained from saying anything definite on the tariff question.

In the course of his speech, Governor Hill said:

I could give you figures equally startling about the growth of industries which make up this increased wealth. I could tell you a story of the development of cotton manufacturing which is as interesting as any romance. But these things I know by reading and hearsay. You know them by actual observation and by careful study, and I shall not weary you by repeating dry figures which by this time you must know by rote. Besides, I left my encyclopedias at home.

General Patrick Collins of Massachusetts was given a dinner by the Irish-American club of Atlanta on October 17. Governor Hill's party, Governor Gordon and numerous Georgians were present. Among the speakers were Patrick Walsh, editor of the Augusta Chronicle, and for many years a representative of Georgia on the democratic national committee. He said: "The man sits with us to-night who can lead us to victory in 1892. Under the shadow of my arm you see Governor David B. Hill, who won the victory from the wreck of 1888. He is the man worthy to lead. He is the man whom

we hope we may have the chance to follow in 1892. A man like Hill, who has the courage of his democracy, is the man who would grace the presidential office." Each sentence was greeted with uproarious applause. Mayor Glenn of Atlanta said: "What we want is victory. The democracy of the Union nominated Cleveland and lost. The democracy of New York nominated Hill and won. Hill is the man to get there; what we want is a man who can get there. I believe that in 1892 Hill will get there, for he is that kind of a man." These remarks were received with cheers, as were also those of Clark Howell, who thanked General Collins for coming to Georgia in such company, whereupon some one at the table nominated Hill for president in 1892, and Collins for his secretary of state.

THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.

Radical Sentiments Popular at the Philadelphia Gathering—Cleveland Cheered and Randall Hissed.

The first meeting of the democratic societies of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia last week, was a notable success and a most significant sign of the progress the democracy of Pennsylvania is making toward the acceptance of Jeffersonian principles. Over 800 delegates were present, and when Hon. Chauncey F. Black called the assembly to order he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. Governor Black's address was a remarkably outspoken one, but it evidently suited the temper of the gathering. He said:

We followed in the hot conflict of 1888 a brave and stainless leader to moral and popular victory, though to electoral defeat. A pure-hearted disciple of Jefferson, his definitions of democratic doctrine were as sound and precise, and well nigh as comprehensive as those of the immortal founder himself. His appeal was to the mass; his challenge to the class. He fell, cut down by venal treachery at vital points and overwhelmed by the tide of monopoly's corruption. But the standards are still there. More than a hundred thousand majority of the American people repared to them, with renewed courage and fresh hope, in the election of last year, and, notwithstanding the tainted victory which brazen monopoly bore away from that field, new standards are daily planted beside the old ones, and streams of sturdy new recruits take permanent place beneath them.

As to tariff taxes, for instance, discriminating against many industries to artificially stimulate a few, pillaging the mass to enrich a class, no democrat ever, as an original proposition, believed their imposition consistent with a republican system. "It is," cried Thomas Jefferson, the first democratic president, "a question whether we are to live under a limited or an unlimited government," and after the lapse of a century come ringing down to us the answering words of Grover Cleveland, the last democratic president, "Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation." Congress has power to tax only for the support of government, economically administered, within limits, specified, constitutional limits, and a seizure of the property of the people, by the exercise of the power of taxation, for any but a public and general purpose, is an unconstitutional and monstrous abuse.

The democratic societies must, by the very law of their existence, by the principle implied in their name, by the inspiration of their historic faith, carry forward to the final and complete triumph of the people the struggle for tariff tax reform, to which they were summoned by Grover Cleveland, reform for the relief of the American taxpayer, for the emancipation of American labor, FOR UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO THE MATERIALS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

The address was heartily applauded and the allusion to President Cleveland was received with cheers.

W. U. Hensel of Lancaster, former chairman of the democratic state committee, was made temporary chairman, and he made a ringing speech which was as bold in utterance as that of Governor Black. He said:

We are for tariff reform. From the high ground to which our great captain led us last year we will not retreat one inch. (Long continued cheering.) From the declaration of our faith made at St. Louis in 1888 we will not abate one syllable. We can well trust to "the safe appeal to truth and time." We may lose the spoilsman, but we will gain the scholar. Camp followers may drop out, but patriots will drop in. We are for a genuine civil service reform which will purge the body politic of the feverish lust of power, and, though we may lose the Chalmerses of Mississippi, we will gain the Elliots of Harvard. We are for ballot reform. We are for a secret, intelligent and free ballot in this commonwealth.

After his speech, which was received with great applause, Mr. Hensel began to read letters. One dated Wallingford, Pa., was listened to in silence until the chairman read the signature—Samuel J. Randall. Then followed a scene that was most significant. The Philadelphia Record says:

The announcement of Mr. Randall's name was followed by a storm of hisses, mingled with applause, the latter finally predominating, the chair meanwhile vainly striving to suppress the sudden tumult by a vigorous use of a ponderous gavel. Mr. Foley of Pittsburg, who claimed the floor, said he was surprised by such an exhibition of hostility to Mr. Randall. Here a delegate interposed with: "He is no democrat," and a voice instantly responded: "You are a liar." The hissing and its counter demonstration were then renewed, and ceased only when the noisy pounding of the chairman's gavel rendered them no longer audible.

The Times says: "Men apparently lost their heads, and for a time affairs ran wild." Then

followed a letter from ex-President Cleveland. It too was listened to in silence until the name was read. "When the chairman mentioned Mr. Cleveland's name," says the Times, "the scene was in striking contrast to the previous one. Randall and anti-Randall sentiment was forgotten, and as if by one accord the entire assembly rose en masse. With some on chairs shouting and others waving the small flags used for indication purposes, the delegates went wild with enthusiasm and the shouting and cheering continued until through sheer exhaustion many of them were forced to quit. Joseph P. Murphy, who is one of the prominent manufacturers of the Kensington district, stood on a chair and waving a white handkerchief round his head seemed to forget all else but that he was cheering for tariff reform's champion."

The tariff resolution adopted by the convention was as follows:

Resolved, That the general assembly of the Democratic society of Pennsylvania heartily reaffirms the national platform adopted at St. Louis in 1888, and also the democratic state convention of 1889, and this assembly pledges its cordial and earnest support to Hon. Edwin A. Bigler, the nominee of the democratic party.

The following were elected permanent officers of the society: President, Chauncey P. Black of York, vice-presidents, Joseph P. Murphy of Philadelphia, William J. Rorke of Reading, John H. Fow of Philadelphia, J. H. W. Howard of Harrisburg, J. Pressley Fleming of Allegheny, secretary, John D. Worman of Philadelphia; treasurer, J. Erwin Steele of Schuylkill county.

Reading was selected as the next meeting place of the assembly.

The convention was followed by a great mass meeting at the Academy of Music, over which Joseph P. Murphy, one of the largest manufacturers in the city, and an ardent tariff reformer, presided. The chairman, after congratulating the audience upon the success of the general assembly, expressed confidence that the country would again call to the presidency Grover Cleveland, who would "rather be right than be president." This sentiment was loudly applauded, and when Congressman Mills was introduced he was received with nine cheers. Mr. Mills quoted statistics to show that labor is becoming cheaper and cheaper in this country every year. Leon Abbott, of New Jersey, declared that "the democratic party cannot be timorous; it cannot shirk its duty." "Protection has been tried, and men by thousands are out of work." "Try democratic doctrine a little while," he said, "since your condition could not possibly be any worse." Mr. Abbott wound up with an appeal in favor of the secret ballot. Congressman Wilson of West Virginia made a speech on the tariff, dwelling particularly on the injury done to our people from the tariff on raw wool. The meeting was a great success, and the more radical remarks on the tariff question the more heartily were they cheered.

The Tariff reform club of Philadelphia recently challenged the Anti-Cobden club to a joint debate on the tariff question. The latter club, as might have been expected, did not take the challenge, and the tariff reformers have now challenged any club in the city to discuss any social or economic question of the day.

The Cleveland democratic society of Baltimore, just organized, declares as its purpose the attainment of the following objects:

1. The furtherance by all honorable means of the political doctrines laid down by ex-President Cleveland in his tariff reform message to congress. The society pledges its support only to such candidates for public office, either city, state or national, as are known to be in active sympathy with the principles enunciated in the aforesaid message.

2. The society hold the axiom "Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation" to be as applicable to the state and municipalities as it is to the national government. The society asserts its belief that all taxes on labor and capital are unnecessary and therefore unjust, that sound public policy demands their abolition at the earliest practicable movement and the substitution in lieu thereof of a single tax on the value of land.

3. Recognizing that these ends can only be attained by educating public opinion thereon and the expression at the ballot box of the political sentiments of every citizen free from all bribery or intimidation, the society will use its very best endeavors to have incorporated in the election law of the state of Maryland the main feature of the Australian ballot system, believing said system to contain only practical methods of preventing frauds in elections yet devised by human ingenuity.

Dr. William N. Hill as chairman of the society, and J. William Jones of 31 North Caroline street as its clerk.

What New York Might Have Had but for Land Speculation and Protection.

Dartford (England) Chronicle.

The trade of the town has experienced a most remarkable revival, and we have not to look far for the reason. The Phoenix mills, after lying idle so long, have been utilized by the enterprising firm of Burroughs & Wellcome, and will soon be in full swing; new industries are springing up round about us in various directions; manufactories that for long have been shut up are about to reopen; house property that has been of little use to the owners of late is now being sought after by eager tenants; wealthy people are coming to reside within our borders; and our population is increasing with the extended labor market.

AT A CART-TAIL MEETING.

It was Thursday evening last and they were gathered around the stove smoking, some eight or a dozen of them, for the night was chilly without, and old Mr. Macdonald had just taken his pipe from his mouth to lay down the points in the case, when the door was pushed open and Billy, the carpenter, thrust his head in and announced that a meeting was about to commence outside. An outdoor meeting is not a common occurrence in Staten Island and so the group about the stove at once arose, and headed by old Mr. Macdonald, strode out of the barroom and across the street to where a crowd had gathered around a truck, illuminated by a kerosene torch and bearing on its side in big letters the announcement that the single tax would raise your wages and reduce your rents. Some of the indefatigable Manhattan single tax club cart-tail campaigners had come over from New York to show the people at New Brighton how to run a meeting from the tail of a cart. The vehicle was drawn up beside Verdenburgh's drug store, on Jersey street, just off the Terrace. Up the road lay the great Sailor's snug harbor estate, sunk in darkness and slumber, and further along, the old home of the late Francis G. Shaw, whom man, woman and child remember with reverence. Across the narrow sheet of water at the foot of the hill lay Bergen point with its feathering pink smoke and great smelting furnaces that burnt fiery holes into the black night. The silence of the place was broken only by a subdued rumble from the plaster mills at the water's edge and the faint and fitful clash of a brass band at a republican reception down the street. The voices from the cart rang out strong and clear, not merely reaching everybody in the circle of the crowd, but arresting the attention of shoppers a quarter of a block away, causing them to stop and listen.

"Da's goin' ter be a scrap," bawled a delighted youngster excitedly, as one of the men in the cart took off his overcoat and hat. The helmeted head of a policeman plowed through the throng, and the young gentleman who made this observation precipitately withdrew.

"Fellow citizens," came from the cart, "we do not come here as politicians to address you, asking you for your votes. We come here in behalf of yourselves, of ourselves, of mankind—to ask you to think upon some very simple truths, for we are confident that when you think rightly you will vote rightly."

"Look around you and behold the want and starvation in this land of plenty. Look just across this bay and behold thousands of human beings herded in the horrible poverty and sickening filth of the slums of that huge city, while great stretches of land, which men would be glad to use, on every side lie vacant. Why, the area of these centers of population sink into insignificance—become mere spots—when the vast territory of this continent is taken into view. What a spectacle—thousands and thousands of square miles of the fairest land under the sun lying absolutely idle while hordes of men in our cities and towns are striving and battling with each other for employment, and women and children are fainting and dying of hunger! Would not men use this land if it were open to them? Would they not build houses on it, plow and plant it, dig minerals out of it, cut timber from it—would not all the vacant land in the cities, towns and villages at once be brought under production? Would not a long train of settlers, ready to face all dangers and defy all difficulties imposed by nature, surge out of the overcrowded centers if but the barrier between their willing hands and this vacant land were broken down? Then why should we not break it down; why not abolish forever this system by which men whom we call owners of this land stand in the way demanding blackmail for its use? Why not stamp out this iniquity of privilege under which some reap where they do not toil and the multitude hover at the brink of starvation? Why not destroy it, by taking taxes off everything else and heaping them upon it? Let us tax these monopolists, and the benefit which they now unjustly derive from land, which rightfully belongs to all alike, will go into the public treasury and be shared equally, while the land they cannot use will be open to any one who will use it."

The crowd which had been held in rapt attention shifted its weight to the other leg and freely commented. "A rare speech and a capable man," remarked old Mr. Macdonald, relighting his pipe, which, in his preoccupation, he had permitted to go out. His companions gravely nodded as they likewise relighted their pipes.

"What's he selling?" inquired a man carrying a small box in one hand and an unlighted lantern and a barn yard fork in the other. "I've just been getting some worms," he added, referring to the box.

"Ah, is that you John?" replied a bushy whiskered man, turning around. "He's selling nothing. He has been talking about free land and the single tax." Sinking his voice he added, "I think he's a free trader."

"Well, what of that?" said the man with the box. "I'm for free trade."

"I don't know, I don't know," replied the other, cautiously. "I believe in free raw materials, but as to free trade—well, I'm doubtful about it."

"I want to talk of and to the single young men and the single young women," called

out another man who had taken the place of the first speaker in the cart. Some pretty girls who had been standing aloof laughing lightly with a young man became silent at this announcement and stole up closer.

"Why is it John and Mary don't marry?" asked the speaker. "For a very good reason. They cannot afford to. John is not earning enough wages to support two and the family of little ones that would in all probability come to them, and so he keeps on with his job and Mary stays at the factory, hoping that soon, some day, fortune will change for the better. Perhaps fortune don't change for the better, and they defy conditions and become man and wife. The struggle for subsistence becomes hard and harder, and soon they sink into the slough of poverty and despond. Is it natural that there should be thousands upon thousands of such cases in this land? Need it be? No, most decidedly not. It was never intended by God or nature; it is due only to man himself. It is due to that iniquitous system which prevents men, who are fully able to provide for themselves and those dependent upon them, from obtaining the fruits of their labor. This!"

A railroad train thundering through a cross street a few yards away drowned the rest of the speaker's words. The crowd took occasion to shift to the other leg, and a smooth faced young man pushed his way from the thick of the throng and hurried off toward the railroad station to meet his wife and child whom he had forgotten.

"What's the matter with Ireland?" shouted another man, stepping to the rear of the cart. "The cry is that she wants home rule. We have home rule and what of it? You never hear of American tenants demanding fifty per cent reduction of their rent. If they cannot or will not pay what the landlord demands they are put out, and at mighty short notice, too. Talking about tyrannical landlordism, it is infinitely worse here than in Ireland. But had as it is, we know how to destroy it. Tax it. That will do it. A tax on commodities decreases production and increases cost, but a tax on the value of land makes land cheap, because it destroys speculation. When your tax assessor next comes around let him tax for what it is worth all the vacant land lying idle about you."

"That's right, tax them," cried somebody. All eyes turned, and saw with astonishment that it was Mr. Crabtree, the coal dealer. "That's right, tax them and see if they don't use the land or drop it," he cried, shaking his hand significantly.

"Tax all land according to its value," continued the man in the cart, "and you won't hear the bricklayer, or carpenter, or mechanic, or storekeeper object. For land will be cheaper and there will be plenty of work for all, and the spectacle of able and willing men unable to find employment, of want in the midst of plenty, of little children in factories, of old men and women working themselves into the grave, will be swept from the land, and in its place you will witness the ease and comfort of all!"

The crowd still remained in a motionless, listening attitude when the sound of the speaker's voice had died away. Then it broke into little knots of twos and threes and fours, and some of them remained about the place to argue long after the light on the truck had been extinguished. Not a few persons sought the comfort of the bar room stove over the way, and old Mr. Macdonald, as he puffed his pipe, related how his father used to tell him of the times, long past, when the land of his forefathers across the seas was owned by all the clan in common.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

An Old Newspaper Man on the Tariff.

George Alfred Townsend ("Gath") is one of the best known newspaper correspondents in the United States, and his nom-de-plume is familiar to all newspaper readers. He is the regular New York correspondent of, among other papers, the Cincinnati Enquirer, to which he contributes much interesting matter. A late issue of that paper has a letter from Mr. Townsend, a considerable portion of which he devotes to a discussion of the tariff question, from which the following excerpts are taken:

In New England they are feeling the loss of those departments of business in which they long had nearly a monopoly, and are demanding of congress some sort of redress. The thoughtful portion of the public, without regard to any theories is coming to the opinion that the American tariff wants a general scaling down, so that no interest in it shall have an advantage of more than 25 or 30 per cent. Industries which can not get along with this amount of protection do not deserve to exist.

As long as the tariff is excessively high the competition for a home market will be the only purpose of everybody in the manufacturing lines.

With a low tariff foreign trade will become a matter of general quest; and it is the comment of South Americans that the United States occupies a very anomalous situation in having no foreign trade.

There are many departments of trade in which we should have the controlling interest in Europe, such as the furniture trade. You can see exposed on the prominent streets of New York hardwood furniture of excellent design at the price of hardly more than \$20, or \$24 per set; and I noticed yesterday a set of such furniture for \$23, with a wire mattress and a surface mattress thrown in. Now, Mr. Jarrett, our consul at Birmingham told me a little more than a month ago that that had been charged \$60, or \$80, for a set of hardwood ash furniture hardly superior to that which I saw in New York for between \$4 and \$5.

SOCIETY NOTES.

A new hunting club has been formed in Dutchess county, of which Mr. Archibald Rogers, who has built the most commodious and architecturally the most beautiful mansion on the Hudson river, is M. F. H. The new club promises well, as it will be backed by the wealth of Astors, Langdons, Livingstons, Rives, Hoyts, Dinsmores, Mortons, and in another year will probably be one of the most aristocratic organizations in the country.

SALEM, Mass., Oct. 10.—A distressing case of poverty was made known in this city today by the eviction of a woman named Heny and her four children from a tenement house in High street court for non-payment of rent. The children were left on the sidewalk while the mother went looking for a tenement. In a cradle, blue with the cold, lay an infant, while along the curbstone were seated the other little ones in no way responsible for the affair, yet made to suffer. The overseers of the poor have been notified and assistance will be rendered the distressed mother and her offspring. It is alleged that the husband and father deserted his family several weeks ago, and at present his whereabouts are unknown.

"The man who appears to have the greatest love for tasteful and rich furniture in Chicago," said a well known furniture dealer, "is C. H. Aldrich, the lawyer. He lately bought of me eight chairs and a table for his dining room costing \$500. I'll show them to you." The outfit was of so-called "quarter" oak—wood saved from immense blocks of oak and cut so as to show, when polished, the grain running in veins of peculiar shape and hue. The rest of the block—and that is the bulk of it—becomes positively useless. Hence the great cost of "quarter" oak. The table as well as the chairs were carved by hand, quaint medieval designs being used, and the seats of the chairs were covered with fine embossed leather. Two pieces for the parlor, likewise bought by Mr. Aldrich, showed a mahogany frame of natural color, with genuine gubelin covers. The fringe on the bottom of the chair cost \$3 a yard.

In the German hospital, Philadelphia, Louis Trickman, forty-nine years old, of 2,206 Wright street, died from the effects of poison a few days ago. He was despondent consequent upon lack of work, and committed suicide to end his troubles.

One of the fashionable crazes at present is to have one or two old Turkish rugs in the parlor; the older the better. A gentleman in Wilkesbarre has one 400 years old, for which he paid \$600.

Sickness and want of work have reduced the family of M. Hansen, at 85 West Erie street, to almost absolute starvation, says the Chicago Herald of October 16. Mrs. Hansen has been confined to her bed for three weeks, requiring the care of a physician every day, and her husband has been out of work for three months. Their three small children are suffering for want of food and proper clothing.

Belts for evening wear made of miniatures are sold at \$500. It takes twenty of the ivory paintings to encircle the slightest waist, and they are not to be had under \$10 each. It is needless to say that this style of girdle will not be the rage.

Mrs. Katy Nnaack, of 1,030 Diversey street, Lake View, Chicago, is destitute. She has been sick for some weeks, and unable to support her five small children. The eldest child is a cripple. The landlord wants his rent, and the money lender who holds a mortgage on the woman's furniture declares he will foreclose it. The neighbors have been helping the family, but are able to do but little.

ALMOST SEES THE CAT.

Opinion of a Prominent Southern Man, Long a Slave Owner and a Friend of the Black Man.

James B. Craighead in Goodspeed's History of Arkansas (in press).

One great drawback to the prosperity of this section of the country is the greed for land which possesses many men who hold hundreds and thousands of acres more than they can be possibly use, and still hunger for more. There is, however, a wiser feeling on the subject, and many are dividing, or contemplate dividing up their surplus lands and selling them out on long time to permanent settlers. As a large portion of the residents and workers of Mississippi county are negroes, who are nomadic, restless and irresponsible, it has been found that the best way to make this people staid and respectable is to make them land owners. As soon as one of this people settles as the owner of a bit of land, he gives up his nomadic habits and becomes a law respecting citizen. The writer thinks (after more than sixty years of association with colored people, as the owner of slaves and the employer of freedmen) that the safety of the south depends upon civilizing these people, not simply by educating the children, but mainly by giving the people an interest in the country as land owners. As an experiment it is perfectly safe. If a man owns 10,000 acres of uncultivated land and sells out one-half of it to small buyers, say in forty or eighty acre tracts, giving long time for payment, he cannot possibly lose anything. If the land is paid for, well and good; if it is not paid for, it reverts to him or his heirs, in an improved condition, partly cleared, with houses, fences, etc., upon it, and in condition to yield revenue, which it had never done before under the creation. As a mere hiring or laborer, African or white, a man is the enemy of, or at least antagonistic to, the landlord, and hostile to law, which he presumes is made for the benefit of the latter; but the moment he buys land, he becomes a landlord himself, and ranges himself on the side of law and order. It would be well, not only for Mississippi county, but for the states at large, if two-thirds at least, if not all the men living in them, owned lands of their own and cultivated them.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, October 23, 1889.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 66,710
Received during week ending Oct. 23 344

Total 67,054

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

THE MANHATTAN CLUB.

Celebration of its First Anniversary—The Sunday Evening Meeting—James A. Herne and Louis F. Post to Speak Next Week—Cart-Tail Meetings.

The Manhattan single tax club celebrated the completion of the first year of its existence with a dinner at its club rooms, 36 Clinton place, last Wednesday evening, October 16. Eighty persons sat down to table, and a merrier, more light hearted party would have been hard to find. One year ago seven men met in a cellar on Fourth street, between avenues A and B, resolved to organize a single tax club and open permanent headquarters and meeting place, and the plan was very successfully carried into execution. Starting in a modest way, the club was self-sustaining and rapidly grew in membership until it was thought advisable to move to larger and more commodious quarters. A floor at No. 8 St. Mark's place was thereupon leased. With that the club at once stepped into prominence as an active factor in the single tax movement in New York city, most of the men who had been prominently identified with the idea joining its membership and taking part in its councils. It since moved to its present quarters at 36 Clinton place, and now has close on to 250 members in good standing on its rolls.

Chef Simon, of the club, furnished a most excellent repast, which commenced at a few minutes past eight o'clock and finished with coffee shortly after nine. William McCabe, one of the founders of the club, then arose in his place at the head of the chief table and made a short, felicitous speech, setting a mad pace of merriment that was kept up all the evening and into the small hours of the morning. First Henry George was called on to speak, then Edward J. Shriver, who had lent invaluable assistance to the club in its infancy; then William J. Gorsuch of Connecticut, Bolton Smith of Tennessee, Charles W. Boone of Illinois, Louis F. Post and Wm. T. Croasdale, spoke. Next the single tax quartette sang several selections, after which short speeches, recitations, and readings were given by Mr. O'Hara of Bridgeport, Conn; William H. Faulhaber and Joseph McDonough, president and vice-president, respectively, of the club; Benjamin Dobbin, A. J. Steers, Charles S. Hopkins, Charles P. Kelly, W. B. Scott, Emanuel Kline, Morris Van Veen, Henry George, jr., and A. J. Wolff. An original and very humorous poem by E. Yancey Cohen evoked tremendous hilarity. When the proceedings came to a close it was declared by a general, if tacit, vote that the celebration of the Manhattan club's first anniversary was a complete and glorious success.

The lecturer before the club last Sunday evening was Samuel Gompers, president of the American federation of labor, and his subject was "Eight Hours." A large portion of his lecture was taken up in quoting statistics, by which he sought to prove that the condition of laborers would be improved and their wages increased by shortening their hours of labor. This coming Sunday evening James A. Herne will read Professor Garland's story, "Under the Lion's Paw," after which Louis F. Post will deliver a speech pertinent to the story. The club will make extra preparations for the occasion.

The success attending the cart-tail campaign of the Manhattan single tax club is great beyond expectation.

The labor and enthusiasm of the campaigners steadily increases with each meeting. The speakers have lost whatever diffidence they had at the start, and with a confidence born of experience address the crowds with pithy illustrations drawn from every day experience, which even the dullest intellect can comprehend—no rhetoric or declamation—plain speaking to a plain people. Humor, pathos, indignation and sincerity punctuates the addresses.

The "tailman" steps to the tail of the cart and opens the meeting with a statement substantially as follows:

"The Manhattan single tax club is not a political organization seeking votes. We want you to think, believing that if you think right, you will vote right. We don't ask you to join any club, sign any paper or subscribe any money. We have no ax to grind. We hold no political offices, nor do we desire any. We are animated by a conviction that the dangers which threaten our republic and civilization can be averted by abolishing all taxes on the products of labor and concentrating all taxes upon land values." This has the desired effect. The people are prepared to listen without distraction as to what game the speakers are chasing.

Strangers have heard the speakers, and some have volunteered their services. The police take an intense interest in the speeches, and give the trucks the best possible protection.

STANDARDS are distributed, and the people eagerly take them. When a truck leaves a stand knots of men gather about and discuss the points, single tax, free trade and ballot reform.

The committee could do even better work, but are limited for want of money.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

An Organization Embracing Most of the Local Clubs Formed.

A number of single tax clubs in New York and New Jersey have been for some time considering a proposition known as "the central committee." The move grew out of the joint committee that arranged the dinner to Mr. George. At one time it was proposed to have a conference, but that project was postponed, and it was resolved to form this central committee. The Manhattan single tax club of this city withdrew its delegates, and has not been since represented in the effort. In the debate in that club it was argued that its cart-tail campaign, its proposed work on the assessment figures, its weekly meetings, Sunday lectures and committee work already taxed to the uttermost the energies and powers of its working members, and that they could see no reason for entering a new scheme that to them seemed to have no special object in view.

Other views prevailed with several other clubs, and the smaller clubs of this city apparently did not sympathize with the Manhattan club's feeling in the matter.

Accordingly a constitution for the central committee was prepared, and it has been ratified by eight clubs. A meeting of the committee was called for Saturday evening, October 12, but no quorum being present it adjourned until Saturday evening, October 19, when credentials were presented for the following clubs:

West Side: C. Orlo Allen, Constant Manany, Dr. M. R. Levenson, W. G. Browne.

Harlem: John J. Hopper, Julius Schlueter, John E. Timmons.

Standard of Hudson Co., N. J.: J. R. Abartanell, J. T. Altemus, J. D. Miller, J. W. Jake-way, Vincent Connolly.

Brooklyn: Edwin A. Curley, George White, E. A. MacClean, F. H. Marsh, Peter Aitken. Ocean Hill: Fred Scrimshaw, Max O. Newman, Allen Mackenzie.

Officers were nominated and elected by unanimous vote *seriatim*, as follows: Chairman, Dr. M. R. Levenson; 1st vice-chairman, J. R. Abartanell; 2d vice-chairman, E. A. MacClean; corresponding secretary, Edwin A. Curley; recording secretary, J. T. Altemus; treasurer, Max O. Newman.

A committee on propaganda was appointed as follows: Mr. Curley of the Brooklyn, Mr. Miller of the Standard, Mr. Hopper of the Harlem, Mr. Brown of the West Side, and Mr. Scrimshaw of the Ocean Hill club.

The committee on propaganda was instructed to ask Mr. George to deliver an address under the auspices of the central committee at the Cooper union on the subject, "For Whom Shall I Vote and Why?" Full powers were granted the sub-committee.

The central committee then adjourned to meet at the Brooklyn club, 56 Livingston street, on Saturday, October 26, at 8 p. m.

The third meeting of the joint committee on reception and conference was held at the Brooklyn club on Saturday, October 19. The treasurer was directed to pay over the funds remaining in his hands to the treasurer of the central committee.

The secretary was instructed to write for publication a short historical sketch of the work of the committee, which then adjourned sine die.

GOOD WORK IN ROCHESTER.

The Clergy Visited—Remarkable Sermon in the Baptist Church—Good Meeting.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Oct. 19.—We are doing good work here, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the actual progress we are making. Recently we appointed a small committee to approach the clergy and endeavor to enlist their sympathy. The committee was not over sanguine of success, but have been encouraged by an incident which occurred last Sunday morning, and which may have been a mere coincidence or the direct result of their interference.

Just a few evenings before, the committee had their first interview, selecting as their victim the genial and popular pastor of the First Baptist church.

On the following Sunday morning he preached from the words, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me," and the sermon was a remarkable one. He pointed out that instead of the world enjoying that "rest" promised by Christ, it was at the present moment in a state of unrest and agitation. He challenged his hearers to look around them and note the condition of things in the social sphere as well as others, and then dare to say that the brotherhood of man held beneficent sway, or that that fraternity existed which Christ taught by precept and example. Alluding to the signs of the times, he cited as the most prominent, strikes and labor agitations and organizations; Henry George and his magnificent reception in the old country, where many churches had been thrown open to him; and the existence all over the country of single tax clubs and associations of a kindred nature. His thought was that people had much to learn in the school of Christ, much to learn from his life and teachings, and he hinted that this teach-

ing they had yet to master did not reach them so easily as the teachings of the popular sciences, and simply because it had to encounter the walls of their selfishness and covetousness. He advised them to learn more of Christ, socially, morally, politically and industrially, and not to remain in a condition of stoneblindness through contemporary opinion or conventional custom. I anticipate much good from the sermon, and it won't be our fault if others of a similar kind do not follow in its wake.

Our meetings, especially the Sunday afternoon ones, are being largely attended, and we are determined not to allow the interest to flag. A good many we approach stop their ears with cotton, but we are going to raise such a din as will compel them to hear us through the cotton and all.

JOHN M. CAMPBELL.

BUFFALO.

The Facts and Figures of the Tax Reform Club Begin to Tell—Mr. Herne Has a Fine Meeting.

BUFFALO, Oct. 21.—The circular issued by our Tax reform club is now being circulated here. Three weeks ago the figures were published in our Sunday papers, creating something of a sensation. Almost every day we meet men who now shake us warmly by the hand, and who but three short weeks ago met us with that look of "profound pity" which every single tax worker knows. In fact, the doubters have been gathered in. Men who have sat for hours and listened to the eloquence of Mr. George, Mr. Post, Judge Maguire and other ardent advocates of industrial emancipation, and who have gone away doubters, have been completely cured of doubt by the array of facts and figures set forth in our tabular statement showing the effect of a single tax on land values in this city. The cat now stalks our streets in plain sight of thousands.

Following close upon the publication of our figures, came the announcement of the arrival in our city of our theatrical friends, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Herne & Co., in "Drifting Apart." And right here permit me to say to our friends at large: Should opportunity offer, do not miss seeing this play. A story of life in our present day, portraying the bright and dark sides—the two extremes—the results of the evils and inequalities of our present social structure.

The quaint humor, the keen insight, the natural touch of character, sympathy with everything manly and honorable, by Mr. Herne; the originality and moving pathos, tender sentiment and fine show of righteous scorn for sham and pretense by Mrs. Herne; the versatility, eloquence, wit, dramatic effect and lively, dashing manners of Miss Langley, need only to be seen by the multitude to be appreciated.

At the Central labor union hall, Sunday afternoon, October 13, were gathered together some two hundred delegates, representing every union and labor organization in this city. Here and there in the audience were seen a sprinkling of theatrical people and other professional men, as well as others outside the pale of organization.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m., and at 3 p. m. the floor was given the speaker of the day, Mr. James A. Herne, who was then introduced by T. M. Crowe, M. D., amid great applause.

Mr. Herne, after a few appropriate remarks, launched out into tax reform with an energy, and for half an hour held his audience attentively, being interrupted only by occasional breaks of applause. The problem was clearly unfolded while he prepared his audience for an intelligible and appreciative hearing of Professor Garland's story, "Under the Lion's Paw." To attempt a description of this reading is quite beyond my abilities. The trials of poor Farmer Haskins were pictured with such dramatic effect that, as a single tax man afterward remarked, "The eyes of some of 'em stood out so far you could knock 'em off with a stick."

The reading and speaking were a complete success, ending up with long continued applause, and when a delegate moved a standing vote of thanks, every seat was vacated.

What with our presentation of facts and figures, and Mr. Herne's successful introduction before the most important labor body in western New York, we of the Tax reform club feel that the way is now open for excellent work.

Half-past 9 p. m. saw the D. L. and W. train steam slowly out of the depot bearing away our theatrical friends on their way to Philadelphia. And it was with a feeling of deep regret we saw their pleasant faces fade from view while an involuntary "God speed you" fell from our lips. May success crown their efforts in this good work, and may we meet them soon again.

H. B. BUDDENBURG,
Secretary Tax Reform Club.

A PRACTICAL MOVE IN CANADA.

Proposing to Learn the Views of Each of the Members of the Dominion Parliament.

TORONTO, Oct. 19.—The Toronto anti-poverty society has determined to pursue the following policy during the coming season, and they wish all friends of the cause at once to co-operate with them without waiting for direct communication:

To wait on personally, if possible, and if not possible, to write to, each member of the

Dominion parliament, and ask for a committee of parliament to inquire into the correctness of the following statements:

1. That many farmers are now living on land of such barrenness that even with the severe toil of themselves and their families, working all the year through, they can procure little if anything beyond the bare necessities for subsistence.

2. That the government returns show that in the province of Ontario from 700 to 1,000 mortgages are sold out yearly by the mortgage companies alone, without counting the number sold out by private lenders. The majority of these are farmers, who notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of themselves and their families, have been unable to pay their interest.

3. That many laborers, clerks and mechanics earn less than \$400 or \$500 yearly, even though doing severe toil and rendering valuable service to society.

4. That all these parties, the farmers, laborers, mechanics and others, are compelled to surrender every year several days' service merely for the maintenance of government.

5. That there are collectors of ground rentals and land values whose incomes may amount to enormous sums, ranging from \$1,000 to \$100,000 yearly, and that the recipients of these incomes need not render one day's service for the support of government.

6. That if it be found true that we are thus overburdening with taxation and often bringing disaster on those whose burden is already too great, and that we are at the same time relieving another portion from all burden of taxation, would it not be more in accordance with justice to diminish the taxes that bear so heavily on the toilers, and increase the tax on these enormous ground rentals, ranging sometimes as high as \$50,000 per acre per annum in our large cities.

To the Ontario parliament we intend sending the following petition, and we would urge our friends everywhere to wait personally on the members for their respective ridings and to press this matter on their attention.

To the Honorable the Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario:

Whereas, Those who hold land merely for speculative and not for productive purposes pay taxes on land values only, while the rest of the community are assessed both on land and on improvements; and

Whereas, An unjust distribution is thus made in favor of those who make no improvements and against those who make improvements;

Therefore, We, the undersigned, citizens of ———, humbly pray that in order to rectify to some extent this unjust discrimination, the assessment act be so amended that all dwellings shall be exempted from taxation to the extent of \$600, but that no exemption be made of the value of the land.

We would be very much delighted if all those who sympathize with us would immediately write to the secretary of the Anti-poverty society, Richmond hall, Toronto, and we will send them blank petitions to be signed. Don't wait for further urging.

S. T. WOOD, President,
J. L. DAWKINS, Secretary.

"GETTING TOGETHER."

A Democratic Convention Declares for the Single Tax.

James W. Bucklin, Grand Junction, Col., writes that the democratic county convention there has unanimously renewed its "allegiance and faith in the principles of Jeffersonian democracy," and denounces the "present tariff as unjust, because it throws the burdens of taxation more heavily upon the poor than the rich; because it fosters trusts and monopolies, enabling combinations to raise and lower the price of commodities at will, thereby creating fictitious values which the consumer is compelled to pay; because it is a direct cause of the strikes and lock-outs and other labor troubles throughout the country; and because it forces the farmer to buy in a restricted market while it compels him to sell in competition with the world."

It also demands "that all taxes, national, state and local, shall be so adjusted as to relieve both the producer and the consumer from all unnecessary and unjust burdens and restrictions, and to that end would recommend that all tariff and other taxes upon trade and the products of industry be reduced or abolished, until only a tax upon land according to its value remains, thereby freeing labor from taxation and securing equal opportunities to all."

It moreover favors the Australian system "as the best means of securing the freedom and purity of elections from monopoly and political corruption."

This platform was adopted with an intelligent understanding of its importance and effect.

THE BUFFALO PLAN.

How the Single Tax Idea Has Been Practically Presented to the People of Buffalo.

Something less than a year ago about eighteen single tax men in Buffalo organized the "Tax reform club" of that city. They were not numerous, and they started out quite modestly, but with a determination to work. Among the most active members were Dr. T. M. Crowe, Samuel C. Rogers, a manufacturer, and H. B. Buddenburg and C. D. Blackhall, the president and secretary of the club.

The club began work several months ago by issuing a circular, already described in

mittee would respectfully remind single tax friends on the island that money is needed to carry on this work. Any sum from five cents up will be applied to the best purpose.

JOHN S. COGAN, New Brighton,
JOHN H. SCHILLING, Stapleton,
A. B. STODDARD, West New Brighton,
Committee.

New Jersey.

S. W. Smith, of Hunterdon, recently addressed a single tax meeting at Philipsburg, Warren county, N. J., and he now proposes going again. Mr. Hubert Boggs of Newark has also promised to speak there. Mr. Smith writes that the place is ripe for active work and declares that it can be carried by storm.

Pennsylvania.

H. H. Johnson, Pottstown.—At the last regular meeting of our single tax club, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The statements are repeatedly made, and the belief is growing, that we are becoming a nation of landlords and tenants, and that the homes and farms of the country are very largely under mortgage; and

Whereas, Exact knowledge on this subject is of great importance in the study of the social and economic questions of the day; therefore, be it resolved by the Pottstown single tax club:

1. That Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the eleventh census, be respectfully requested to collect the data to show, in the next census, what percentage of the people in this country occupy their own homes and farms, and what proportion are tenants; and of those who occupy their own homes and farms, what proportion have their property free from debt; and of the homes and farms which are under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.

2. That the secretary of this club be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the census, and Hon. John W. Noble, secretary of the interior, Washington, D. C.

Arthur Magee, Scranton, Pa.—There are hundreds of people in this city that either believe in our principles or are friendly to our movement, but it requires a great deal of persuasion to induce them to take an active part in our meeting. Our club is composed, with five exceptions, of workmen, and on that account cannot accomplish much through lack of funds. One of the most prominent citizens of northeastern Pennsylvania has promised to deliver an address before our club shortly.

Massachusetts.

R. Scott, Whitman, Mass.—We are congratulating ourselves that we have kicked up a dust in our local paper. One of our men prevailed on the richest man in the town to write an open letter on taxation to the paper. He did so and expressed a hope that the subject would be thoroughly discussed. Of course the paper, which had frequently denied its columns to us, opened them to him, and the first letter paved the way for an article from myself. I did not advocate the single tax out and out, but suggested that we tax vacant land more and buildings and machinery less. I hope the discussion will do some good.

Virginia.

William Hancock, who recently visited Manassas, Virginia, found the old republicans leaning strongly toward free trade, and consequently the single tax. The adoption of the single tax, he says, would give an immense impulse to progress in the south, as it is now dominated almost wholly by the land holding class, who can conceive of no other way to promote prosperity than to relieve land wholly from the burden of taxation. As an instance, no taxes are levied upon land to build or repair roads and bridges in the country, but a tax of two days' work per year is levied upon each individual. Consequently the whole country is without bridges, and farmers are practically imprisoned upon their farms nearly the whole year. These are evidences of its advance everywhere.

District of Columbia.

Dr. William Geddes, secretary single tax league, Washington, D. C.—The single tax people of Washington are preparing to open the fall and winter campaign of propaganda in that city at an early date, and with that end in view they have secured permanent quarters at 609 F street, northwest, which will be kept open at all times, with regular meetings every Friday evening. On Friday, October 25, the subject for discussion will be "Ricardo's law of rent," and it is earnestly requested that all in sympathy with the single tax movement will make an effort to attend this meeting and bring as many friends as they can with them. Already quite a library has been accumulated by donations of books and periodicals by members of the league, and all others having books, etc., can place them in the single tax library to good advantage to the cause. The library and reading room is open at all times, and all are invited to visit it at any time.

Iowa.

Robert Safely, Burlington, Iowa.—That the single tax is making its way among thoughtful men is apparent to those who make a practice of discussing the subject. They en-

counter neither the ignorance nor the prejudice of former years. This is due, I think, mainly to the conservative and sensible course of THE STANDARD.

James S. Mott, Mason City, Iowa.—Our cause is making some progress in this neck of woods, but not so much as we expect it will make during the winter, when we have more leisure. Yesterday I received a copy of resolutions passed by the St. Louis single tax club, requesting Mr. R. P. Porter, superintendent of the Eleventh census, to gather such data as will show the percentage of people owning their own homes and farms; also the proportion of tenants and the amount of mortgage indebtedness. I will endeavor at an early date to have similar resolutions passed by our committee, and likewise by the Knights of Labor here. The work of education is making quiet progress in this community; farmers and laborers are inquiring into economic questions and trying to solve social problems with an interest that seems to me unprecedented. Whenever I come in contact with them I tell them that it is all a question of access to natural opportunities. Give us a chance to unlock the store house of nature and the questions that trouble them will be solved, but under existing conditions we are almost helpless. Some twenty-five years ago a huge whale was left on the beach of Hastings, England, by the receding tide. There it was, the monarch of the deep, deprived of access to its natural element and at the mercy of the smallest school boy. This is the condition of labor shut off from land. I hope the enrollment committee will delay the presentation of the petition as late as possible in the winter and so give us an opportunity to make use of the leisure of that season.

Elias Doty, candidate for governor of Iowa on the greenback ticket, strongly indorses the single tax in his address to voters.

Illinois.

Dr. J. C. Barnes, Hinsboro, Ill., writes that he commenced a schoolhouse campaign recently which is attracting the attention of farmers and tenants, and apparently has started them to think.

Michigan.

James M. Jarvis, Mount Pleasant, Mich.—Patrons of industry are springing up all over this country, and their arguments are very much the same as ours, except that they have not reached the question of taxation. They have a membership in this state of over 2,000, and are growing fast.

Kansas.

A. L. Russel, Abilene, Kansas.—On Saturday, October 12, we organized the Abilene single tax club with Dr. C. W. Brooks as president, H. Charters as vice-president and A. L. Russel as secretary. Three months ago one of our number was a high tariff republican, and all of us except one were at one time of the same faith.

Arkansas.

C. D. Hemming, Little Rock, Ark.—The Knights of Labor and carpenter's unions are very strong here, but the controlling element, politically, in labor circles is a body of greenbackers. At the last election they pooled with the republicans to defeat the democrats, and they are now talking protection and sitting down on any attempt to bring on a single tax discussion in their assemblies. C. E. Cunningham, the union labor candidate for vice president on Streeter's ticket at the last election, is a leader here, and held in great esteem by the workmen. He professes opposition to the single tax, but does not argue the case, satisfying himself apparently with attacks on Henry George. We challenged him to discuss the question with us, but he declined, and we have now issued a public challenge to all comers, and expect the editor of the republican paper here to take up the gauntlet. Our meetings are getting to be tolerably well attended, and the literature we bought for free distribution is in very great demand.

Missouri.

The income from the real estate of the late Henry Shaw is estimated at \$95,000 annually. It will be used for the support of the botanical garden which he gave to St. Louis. The query naturally suggests itself: What could not St. Louis do in the way of supporting public institutions if it owned all the ground rents that its citizens have created?

Louisiana.

The Pioneer single tax club of New Orleans has changed its name to the Louisiana single tax club, and now meets at No. 205 Canal street on the second, third and fourth Thursday of each month. George W. Roberts of 355 Dryades street has been elected secretary.

Colorado.

E. McAulay, Denver, Col.—We are having good meetings of our club lately, at each of which we have appointed a member to review the editorial utterances of the daily papers; and as the editors are constantly giving their readers chunks of news on the labor question, free trade, and so forth, our reviewers have had splendid opportunities to show up the absurdities of the distinguished editors who attempt to discuss political econ-

omy. After reading the papers the club indorsed them and sent them to the editors, for publication, and two have been published, both of which were commented upon, though not in the best of tempers.

California.

D. K. Wade, Centinela, Cal.—I am one of those who have been converted from protectionists to single tax free traders by Mr. George's books and THE STANDARD. I expect soon to join the single tax club at San Francisco, and do what I can for the cause. I have been living here for the last three years, and the situation is one of collapse. I recently heard a money lender refuse to advance more than a quarter of the price paid on some Los Angeles lots, and the lame ducks who have bought them are borrowing money on such terms every day, and pay from thirteen to fifteen per cent interest on it.

The Oakland, Cal., Times, in referring to a remark of a citizen who said that he could not afford to own unimproved lots, quoted from the Salt Lake Journal of Commerce:

Assess unimproved ground well up to its real value, and aim low in the assessments on improvements. Let the assessor go for vacant lots for all they are worth, but lay a light hand on those which are built up in such a way as to aid the commercial growth of the city.

And the Times indorses the scheme as a proper thing to do. Whereupon the Sacramento Bee remarks that the single tax idea has more unconscious friends than acknowledged advocates. The Bee man seems to think that the Times editor stumbled on the idea unconsciously.

Montana.

Robert J. Forrey, Marysville, Mon.—The single tax movement has made a fresh start here. We have by our continued efforts succeeded in getting a good working crew in this town, but we did not stop here, but have also sown some good seed in the city of Helena. Six months ago we could not count half a dozen men that knew anything about the single tax; to-day the workmen are discussing it everywhere, at their work and on the streets. Montana has had her first trial of the Australian system. There were some fears that it would be slow and cumbersome; but to-day it has friends everywhere, while before the trial it had nothing but enemies. We concluded to go into politics here and made a nomination for assembly, simply to start the people to thinking. Our candidate was Mr. Samuel F. Ralston, and he got about a hundred votes out of the 430 cast in Marysville.

Father Huntington in Chicago.

CHICAGO, October 19.—Arrangements are concluding for Father Huntington's big meeting in the Madison street theater on the 31st inst. Every clergyman in the city will be invited.

Clarence Moeller opened the Knights of Labor lecture course at Evanston, a suburb of this city, last night, to a good audience. Peter Miller, master workman of the assembly and a thorough single tax man, presided. W. W. BAILEY.

It Knows that They Are Growing.

In answer to a correspondent who took it to task for its reference to Mr. George's works and the single tax movement, the Evening Post of October 15 said editorially:

We do not recall anything which justifies the observation that the Evening Post has declared the single tax men or single tax party dead or dying. We have made no concealment of our opinion that their positions are erroneous in principle and contrary to existing facts. Nor have we hesitated to say, as often as occasion seemed to require, that we consider Mr. George's book "Progress and Poverty" superficial and delusive. That is not the same thing as saying that the single tax party is dead or dying, or that Mr. George's book is not popular. We know the contrary to be true as to both. We know that the single tax men are sufficiently numerous to make it worth while, and even necessary, for political parties to reckon with them, and it is gratifying to us to know that they are mostly opposed to protective tariffs.

Pro-Poverty Arguments.

Toronto Grip.

"I must confess," said a land speculator, "that I find some of the arguments of these land reformers mighty hard to answer."

"I don't," said another in the same line of business. "I can settle any of 'em in two seconds."

"I wish you'd give me a pointer then."

"With pleasure. When a Henry George man tackles you, don't you attempt to reply to his arguments straight—if you do you'll get knocked out. Just ask him if he owns any land himself. If he says 'no,' then you say, 'I thought you didn't. If you did you wouldn't talk that way. You've got no stake in the country, and no business to say anything about it.'"

"But how if he says 'yes'?"

"Then profess to be greatly astonished, and say, 'what you own land! Why don't you sell it and give the money to the poor? You've no business to be a land reformer.' That settles him—particularly if you walk away while he's trying to explain himself."

"But suppose there are two of 'em, one a land owner and the other not?"

"Ah, there you've got me. Hadn't thought about that."

PASTE AND SCISSORS.

At the recent state election in Bismarck, Lum Hing, a Chinese laundryman, took out citizenship papers and voted, casting his ballot for the republican ticket. This is the first case of the kind in the history of North Dakota, and the event is subject of much gossip. Lum Hing is twenty-eight years of age, and says he will remain in the United States during the remainder of his days.

Millions of butterflies have recently swarmed the streets of Carson, Nevada. They were so numerous as to frighten all the horses in town.

J. H. Myers of Horton, Mich., announces himself the champion guesser of Jackson county. Last spring he guessed on the weight of 450 sheep and came within half a pound of it, and turned round and guessed that the bean crop on the farm would be forty bushels and the measurement showed only five quarts lacking from that amount.

The English post office does all the express business in Great Britain, carries parcels at an average cost of eleven cents each, and makes a profit of \$2,250,000 a year.

A. H. Stephens of Georgia, while a member of congress in 1870, originated the phrase "too thin" (according to the Pittsburg Dispatch). "Mr. Speaker," he said, "the gentleman's arguments are gratuitous assertions made up of whole cloth. And cloth, sir, so gauzy and thin that it will not hold water. It is entirely too thin, sir."

An old observer of presidential life in Washington says that each new president begins his term by spending more money on hospitality during the first year of office than during any of the succeeding ones. The expenditure decreases gradually, it is said, until the fourth year, when the ordinary president begins to think more about saving money for the coming rainy day than about spending it for dinners and receptions.

A few years ago Antelope valley, on the Mojave desert, Arizona, was considered worthless for farming. This season, however, the people have harvested 60,000 sacks of wheat and the same amount of barley.

The autumn mackerel fishery on the south and southwest coast of Ireland, which has proved very unsuccessful since the opening of the season, has vastly improved. Some very good captures are now effected on the coast, while herring, salt water trout, hake and mullet are showing and are caught in great abundance. The waters were literally teeming with herring a few nights ago and are still, and large quantities were caught in the meshes of the mackerel net, so large were they.

There are more than two hundred lawyers practicing in Seattle, state of Washington.

A canal two hundred and fifty miles long is to be built for navigating purposes in New Mexico. It will be thirty feet wide.

The Indians of the Five Nations take great interest in news from the surrounding states, as well as within the borders of their own nations. Ten weekly newspapers are published within the territory, and a number of daily newspapers from the states are taken by the Indians.

In order to replace the field laborers who have emigrated to Mexico and South America a company has been formed in Havana to make contracts with a number of workmen in Spain and bring them to Cuba with their families.

Members of the Iowa tribe of Indians are very well off. They have been reduced in number to 83 persons and have 200,000 acres of rich farming land, which they are to sell to the government—an average of over 2,400 acres each.

Joaquin Miller says that "in Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, at the Grand hotel I saw a little box with a few dollars of change in it out on the end of the counter in the midst of a dozen or two of the daily papers from various places. No one, so far as I ever saw, was in charge of either the papers or the money. Any man who wanted a paper took it, tossed his money into the box, and took whatever change was his. I set this down as an incontestable sign of prosperity and—let us admit, as we bow our heads in humility to the need of that portion of the Lord's prayer which says 'lead us not into temptation'—of honesty, which is the first born of prosperity."

Slaves of the Soil.

These are weighed down by life—not bowed by age,
Crushed by new hardships in each added year;

The smile so rare, the too familiar tear;
Reading but sorrow in life's crumpled page,
And impotent the "how" or "why" to gauge,
What wonder if they ask, in doubt and fear,

In utter hopelessness, the question drear:
"Is life worth living with but *this* for wage?"
Slaves of the soil, awake! a trumpet blast
Calls you to join a mighty gathering throng
Enrolled to free you. Ye have slept too long;

The night is over—dawn has come at last;
If yet awhile coerced as slaves ye be,
Show yourselves slaves determined to be free!

Bordighera, Italy.

H. DE B. D.

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

The Good Cause Going Bravely Forward.

The following is an extract from a private letter from William McGhee of Glasgow, under date of October 10, to a lady friend in his city:

Since you left us we have been fighting away on the lines cut out by Henry George, and we are carrying forward our cause. Only on Tuesday last we were put in possession of evidence how our work is bearing fruit. One of our friends—a single tax man, M. A. C. Morton, who you may remember at the Bridgeton banquet to George—has been elected by the largest vote ever recorded in Peterborough to a member of parliament. This success of Mr. Morton must be an eye-opener to Gladstonian liberals and home rulers generally. Moderate whigs have fought the seat on home rules lines and have been badly beaten; but when a single tax man comes forward to fight the Gladstonian battle he wins in a canter. This is not the first of such lessons which the official liberals have been taught in electioneering. It now looks, however, as if the lesson was being understood. Peterborough is a constituency near London, and it will have a certain amount of educational influence upon the electors of London, which will help our friends there. But while I write we are waiting for the result of a much more important contest than even that of Peterborough. At Elgin and Nairn, a constituency away in the far north of Scotland, there is a battle being waged for a seat in parliament, which will probably end in a manner to fill the homes of the land robber everywhere with bitter gnashing of teeth, while it will fill with abundant joy the hearts of all those to whom "Progress and Poverty" was dedicated.

Seymour Keay, the distinguished author of "Spoiling the Egyptians," descended on Elgin and Nairn a few weeks ago with the cry of the "Land for the People" as his war whoop. The people received him with open arms, but the leaders of official liberalism would have none of him. Every trick was resorted to by Lord Elgin's party to discredit Mr. Keay. The official whip of the party was set to work, the public press was used by them, and everything was done to drive him out of the field. But he held the field in spite of them. Every day he has been growing in popularity. If the victory falls to our man (here enters a messenger with a telegram—Keay, 5,571; Logan, 2,039; majority for Keay, 532). Hurrah! hurrah! Bravo for old Scotland! Exit land robber, enter Henry George. But what was I writing about when that welcome messenger came in? "If the victory falls to our man"—but what's the use of it? He HAS WON!! And such a victory. Gladstone in 1886, with "home rule" in his bag, won by 119; Gladstone in 1889, with "home rule" plus "the land for the people" in his bag, wins by a majority of 532. And this to Morton's victory and how stands the battle for freedom? The day is breaking!

These two elections were waged in the imperial sphere. But just now we are opening a municipal struggle in Glasgow which may have effects as important and as far reaching for good as these parliamentary contests. The trades council of Glasgow are putting forward five men (and the number may yet be increased to eight) to fight for seats at the town council board. The chief points in their programme will be "Taxing land values" and "Municipalization of the tramway lines of Glasgow."

Our staunch single taxer McHugh has been chosen as one of the candidates, and there are others as good as he is. Our standard in his charge won't get drugged in the dirt. Between now and November 5th we shall drench Glasgow with the pure water drawn from the single tax springs. We have 90,000 pamphlets, most of which we mean to set to work during the days of the campaign. These 90,000 tracts we look upon as 90,000 little proud propagators, each one of whom will have his say, brooking no opposition.

Since you were here the financial reform association has been doing splendid work. It has been agitating the country upon the abolition of what it calls the "breakfast table duties" and the substitution thereof of a tax upon "land values." The secretary addressed a letter to Mr. Schnadhorst asking him to bring the matter before the annual conference of liberal and radical associations. He also sent a copy of this letter to liberal members of parliament and to liberal clubs and associations throughout the whole of England, Scotland and Wales. From all quarters favorable replies have been received, and it now looks as if this step, which will be the first move toward the single tax, will be taken by the official liberal party at the coming conference. Peterborough and Elgin and Nairn will help official liberalism to make up its mind in our favor. The subject will be introduced at the conference by Mr. Muspratt, the president of the Financial reform association, and it could not be in better hands.

You ask me about the dock laborers' strikes. Well, as a means to permanently improve the condition of the poor dock laborers the strike is useless, but as a platform from which to spread the light it is unique. The Glasgow strike has turned creatures who were mental and moral slaves into men. But as long as ——— have charge of the dock laborers' union in Glasgow, there

will not be another strike. We have discovered a better plan than a strike. The policy of harassing the employers while remaining at work is more effective. When we want a concession now it is the policy of "harass" we resort to. It is, to the employers, more expensive than a strike and it costs the men nothing.

I was glad to see by THE STANDARD that George is at the little school primer. There will be many happy days and nights spent in freedom's light when it comes to hand. I venture to predict that its name will at the first schoolboard campaign, become a terror to landlordism in Scotland.

PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

A most interesting and encouraging sign is seen in the great number of individual requests for sample copies of THE STANDARD from people who have never read it or any of Henry George's works. This proves conclusively the great interest that the general public are beginning to take in these reforms, and now is the time to secure recruits.

The recruit subscriptions are coming in steadily and with a decided increase over previous weeks.

Every practical man will find in THE STANDARD something of special interest to him, and after reading six consecutive issues we may feel sure that a fair ground work has been laid for another single tax man. Many of our most ardent friends have been brought into the movement through these short term subscriptions.

Mr. W. L. Sinton of Victoria, British Columbia, is carrying on a most vigorous campaign. He has founded a very active club, and within months has secured through his own solicitation forty-nine yearly subscriptions to THE STANDARD.

Mr. J. Bengough, who has been furnishing THE STANDARD with the cartoons recently published, is now off on his "Chalk Talks," and writes us glowingly of Mr. Sinton and his work.

Mr. Bengough expects to return to Toronto about the end of November, and then will probably continue to send us his excellent contributions.

There can be now but few in Syracuse who can say that they have never seen or heard of THE STANDARD. As sure as the paper goes to press, an order comes from Mr. J. K. McGuire for forty or fifty copies, or directions to send papers to addresses furnished by him.

There are many others like Mr. McGuire who are carrying on this kind of a still hunt. They mark their men, and send papers to them.

It is gratifying to see a good thing appreciated. The photo-gravures of Henry George are going fast, and it is apparent that we will soon have to renew our supply. Every single tax club in the country should have one.

Care should be taken in removing them from their mailing tubes for fear of tearing them.

The proper way to extract a picture from a mailing tube is to take hold of an end of the tube, and with a quick whip motion the picture is started. Then it can be carefully taken out.

Mr. Post's ballot reform tract has taken a new start, and is selling quite rapidly. One newsdealer here in New York city has sold more than two hundred copies of this over his counter, and has just purchased another hundred.

Mr. S. B. Ridden, of the firm of Thompson & Ridden, real estate brokers of Portland, Oregon, who are doing so much good work, writes:

"Civilization, as current literature plainly shows, is becoming infused with the single tax doctrine at a rate which is astonishing thinking men everywhere. Every day I meet bankers, lawyers, doctors and educated persons generally who are falling into line. Our prospects grow brighter daily. Of course I should like to see the single tax unlimited to-morrow, were it possible, but this happens to be an evolutionary job we have on hand, and the course you are following seems the only practical plan of attaining the final results, which will emancipate mankind."

Accompanying this he sends five dollars for recruit subscriptions.

As we go to press another letter comes from the irrepressible Mr. Sinton of Victoria. It contains five recruit subscriptions, and we hope that they will soon bear fruit.

FRENCH POLITICS.

The Position of the Parties—The Opportunity for Land Reformers.

PARIS, Oct. 9.—The occasion seems good for us single tax men to go in for a fight. After the close of the exposition and the cessation of the work connected with it, there will necessarily be a public uneasiness, followed by awakening of the popular mind, by a travail of the public thought along the lines of social questions. I hope that the Paris land committee, the outgrowth of the June conference, will be able to profit by it.

This occasion will not be long awaited, for they are already talking of a minister, Leon Say, grandson of J. B. Say, the great economist. As he retains the narrow and conservative ideas of his grandfather, as he

is the avowed adversary of all agrarian reform (it was he who in 1870 demanded a further exemption of land from taxation), there will be some one to attack face to face. I hope the battle will be lively. I am blowing on the fire with all the breath I have.

The elections altogether passed off well. The moderate republicans have the majority. If one considers only the progress of ideas of social reform, the benefit from the elections is not great.

The radicals like Longuet (president of the land congress) are at the bottom. Whose fault is it? First, the Boulangists are responsible, because, after having captured the masses, they drove them with the fear of fruitless turmoils into the arms of the moderates. Secondly, the radicals themselves are to blame, for in the last chamber they did nothing sufficiently energetic to throw them into relief against the political sky.

I think the government is stronger than before, as the chamber is less divided and the ministers more stable.

CHARLES MARIE GARNIER.

Boston Workmen Against Protection.

At a meeting of the members of trade organizations in Boston on October 10, the following were adopted:

Resolved, That the democratic party, in its Worcester platform, has taken a long step in the direction of that entire freedom of production and exchange which only can insure to labor its full and therefore highest and fairest reward, and the longest step that could with hopes of success be taken by a political party at the present time.

Resolved, That being democrats in the highest and best meaning of the term, we hereby declare that we will support the democratic party so long as it adheres to those true principles of democracy enunciated in the Worcester platform.

Resolved, That we call on all workingmen to join with us in supporting, for the time being, the political party which has so vehemently declared against the system of public robbery cunningly misnamed "protection to American labor" under which workingmen are starving or subsisting on charity for want of the employment which was promised in abundance by the party of protection (?) under a continuance of their system of taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

Resolved, That we, as workingmen, protest against the use of the term "labor party" by the baker's dozen of so-called labor reformers who, representing nobody, and not even belonging to trade organizations, assume to lead the labor hosts.

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Ready November 1, 1889.

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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 Executive 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, 1135 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. Farusworth, 1406 4th st.

SAN DIEGO.—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 130 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, box 1058.

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.

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

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 103 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.

GEORGIA.

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

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

IOWA.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., L. J. Kasson; Sec. J. W. King, 1908 Woodland ave.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club; 15th and 30th of each month, north Main st. Pres., Chas. Stevens; sec., L. Kinnehan, 326 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. Russel.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Pioneer single tax club. Tuesday evenings, 242 Royal st. Pres., John S. Watters, Maritime association.

MAINE.

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

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.

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.

ROXBURY.—Roxbury single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Meadum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Ruggles st.

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

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

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., 6339 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, 1204½ 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. Hasenritter; 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. Hammi.

NEW JERSEY.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Friday nights, Chester row. Rooms open every day and evening except Thursday and Sunday evenings. Pres., Herbert Boggs; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 43 Warren place.

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 Herne house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 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. Wash.

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

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 2:30 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., W. H. Faulhaber; sec., A. J. Steers.

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

THE WEST SIDE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 490 Eighth ave. Pres., Dr. David 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., C. A. Durfee, 109 E. 9th st., New York.

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

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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.

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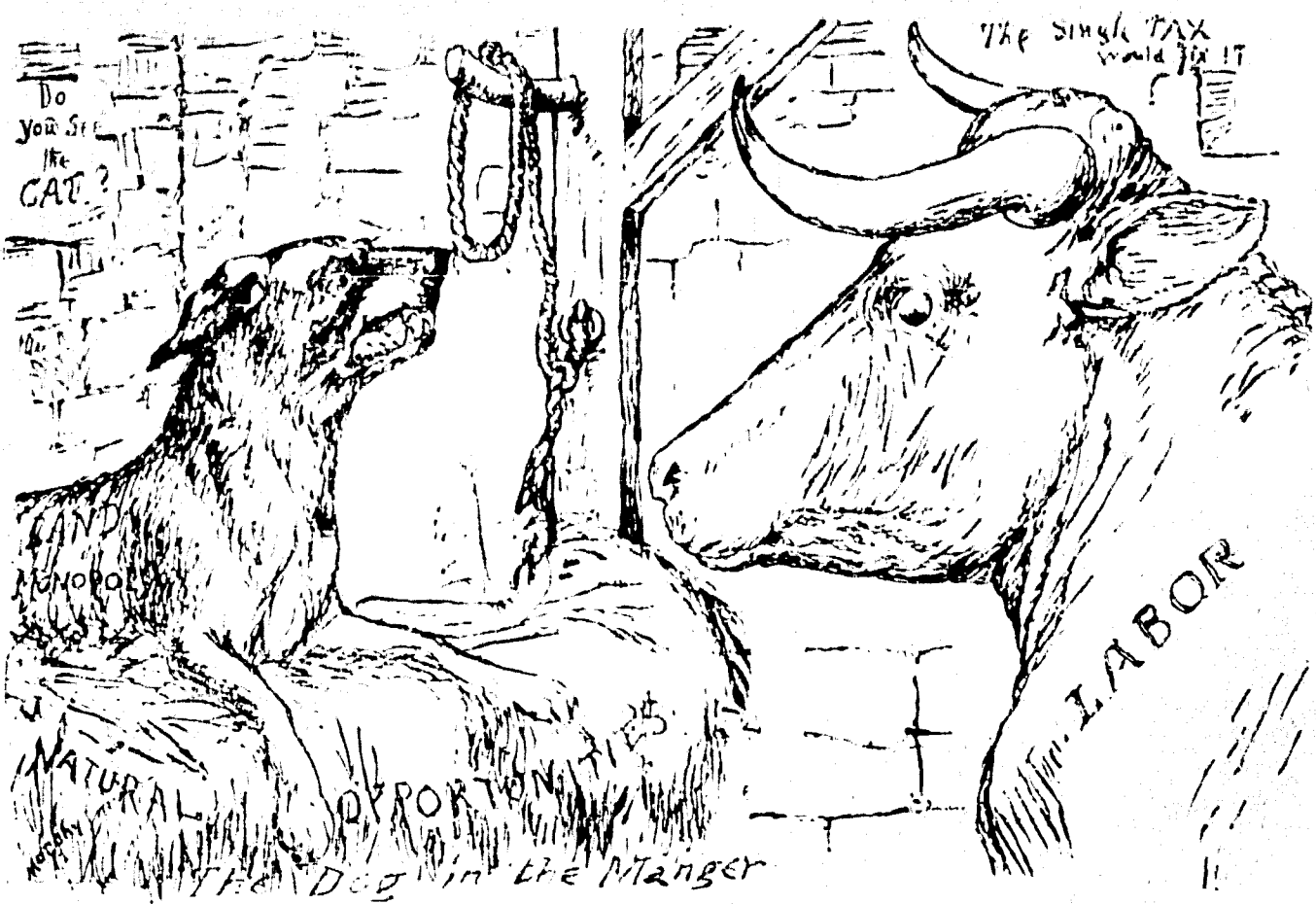
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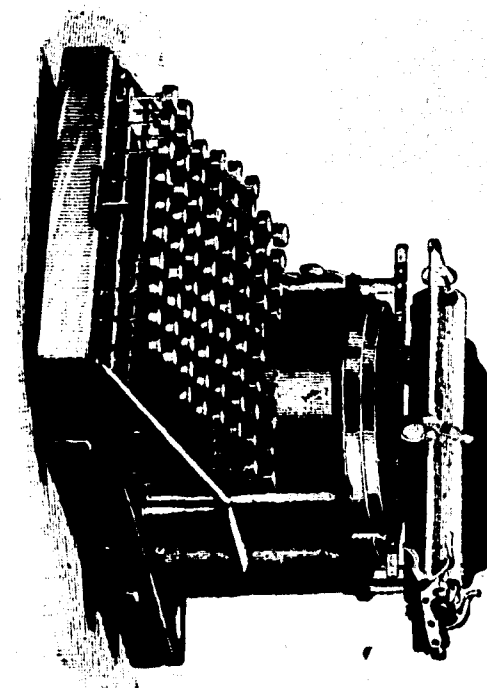
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