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CONTENTS:

Editorial. The Duty of Independent Voters at the Coming Election—Ex-Secretary McCulloch's Ideas of Government—Ignorance and Bluster—Cobden's Struggle and Ours—The Double Tax in Boston—The Drainage Question in Chicago—Inequalities in Assessments—Good Work for Ballot Reform—Notes.

Notes and Queries.—The Proportion of Taxes Now Raised from Land—Railroad and Bank Exactions—The Charity of Physicians—Free Trade and Direct Taxation—Small Property Owners and the Single Tax—The Dog in the Manger at Bloomingdale—Protected Cigarmakers who Want Free Trade—Gladstone's Tribute to Rebels of '76.

The Anti Corn Law Movement (Third Article). E. Yancey Cohen.

Judge Fox and the Single Tax. John DeWitt Warner in The Statesman.

The Land and the Community. An English Clergyman on the Single Tax.

British Politics. G. R. Griffiths.

Letters to the Editor. Important Work by the Printers—Mr. Powderly and the Single Tax—A Name Wanted—How Ballot Reform Was Accomplished in Minnesota.

Personal.

Ballot Reform. The Reform Club Aroused to Action—A Conference Proposed—A Big Mass Meeting to be Held—The Workingmen's Meeting—The Excelsior League—The Great Campaign in New Jersey.

Straws That Show the Wind.

Foreign Notes.

Municipal Taxation in Boston.

The Tariff Fight. An Audacious Appeal to Western Cattle Men—Senator Colquitt on Hill's Visit—Free Trade Sentiment in the Dakotas—The Indiana League—McKinley's Chances—A New Club in Philadelphia.

Society Notes.

Single Tax News. The Petition—Talking in the Rain—The Work in Brooklyn—Assessors Who See the Cat—Missouri and Ohio Single Tax Men Prodding the Commissioner of Pensions—The Drainage Question in Chicago—The Tax Question in Minneapolis—A Novel Petition in Iowa—Women Becoming Interested.

Conquest by Free Trade.

The Earth Belongs to the Living.

Real Estate Taxes in New York.

The Church and the Single Tax.

New Ideas, Methods and Inventions.

Albert Spicer and the Congregational Union.

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

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

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

EDITORIAL.

The greatest obstacle to getting political questions clearly before the people of the United States is the notion that prevails among so many that acting with a party is like joining a church. The party they act with becomes *their* party, assumes in their minds a personal character; and to refuse to vote its ticket, and to vote the ticket of another party, seems to them almost like a solemn act of recantation and adoption. I have received several letters from men who are seriously concerned least I should be trying to lure them into the democratic party. So far from seeking to lure them into assuming allegiance to any party, I would have them keep clear of party bonds. The organization of a political party must always, under the present conditions of our politics, be composed mainly of office seekers, and the man who would advance principles will, so far from accepting whatever any of them choose to give him, always hold himself free to vote for the candidates or with the party who is at that time going nearest to the way he desires. I am a democrat in the large sense of the term, and would do all I could to have men support and insist upon the democratic principle, but for this very reason I would have them vote against democratic candidates with more promptness when that principle is opposed or ignored by their nomination. Who is elected to this office or that office makes little difference; the great use of the ballot in the hands of the intelligent man is to express his will as to general principles.

In the state election in New York the thing most to be hoped is the defeat of Governor Hill's ticket and the election of members of the legislature who will pass a proper ballot bill over the governor's head. Platt's machine is far preferable to Hill's machine in this that it is presumptively not against the Australian ballot. The republicans in the state legislature have twice passed a secret ballot bill which the democratic governor has twice vetoed, and in state politics they ought for this to have the credit that is their due.

But besides the effect that the defeat of the ticket which Governor Hill has nominated for the democratic party would have upon ballot reform, there are other reasons why democrats who hope for the revival of democratic principle should hope for the defeat of Hill's candidates. Hill is essentially a machine politician, one of the ablest, if not the ablest, in the United States, and utterly unembarrassed by any predilection or prejudice in favor of general principles. He has declared for tariff reform, since the set of the tide in the national democratic party is irresistibly that way, but should he retain his undisputed control of the machinery of the democratic party in New York until the convention of 1892, that influence is likely to be used in conjunction with democrats of the Randall-Gorman type to impose a half way platform and candidate on the party, and prevent a clear-cut contest. Governor Hill cannot be nominated for the presidency. Nothing in politics is more certain than that. But he may be able to defeat the nomination of Cleveland, and to work other mischief.

The objection is, however, raised by some, that the defeat of the whole democratic ticket at the coming election in this state would be accepted by the country at large as a blow at the policy of tariff reduction, to which the democracy of New York is committed. There may be something in this. But the way in which such an inference may be avoided is very plain. The strength of the national party is usually judged by the votes cast for the head of the state ticket. Mr. Rice, the democratic candidate for secretary of state, is an entirely reputable man. The only objection to him is that he has been put forward by Hill to strengthen a ticket that is inherently weak, though containing the names of some other capable men.

If Mr. Rice can be elected and the remainder of Hill's ticket defeated, the position of the national party on the tariff question will be indorsed, while the local machine will be defeated. The incongruous elements now bound together in the support of Hill would be in revolt against him within a week of the announcement of the defeat of the ticket he has forced on his party. Let the men, then, who desire to release the democratic party from the malign influence which oppresses it in this state, vote for Rice to show their adhesion to the policy represented by Cleveland in the last presidential election and vote for the republican candidates for the other state offices, in order to show their objections to Hill and his rule. So far from hurting the cause of free trade in the democratic party this will be the most effective way to support it. It may be added that the two candidates on the state ticket who are Hill's especial representatives are Tabor and Wemple.

Ex-Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch has contributed to the New York Times an interesting paper in which he sets forth his views of the two national parties, of various matters of great public moment, and particularly of the tariff question, which he properly regards as having the largest immediate interest. Mr. McCulloch's paper was doubtless written with a view to assist in the revolt against the tariff policy of the dominant party which is so largely going on among the manufacturers and business men of the eastern states, and if acquiescence in their prejudices and superstitions is really an advantage for this, it is well adapted for the purpose. The main burden of the paper is well summarized by the very competent headline artist of the Times as "the folly of maintaining a protective tariff when protection is no longer needed."

For though Mr. McCulloch points out some of the glaring absurdities and injustices of the tariff, which are particularly evident and injurious to the class with which he is identified, and which he obviously addresses; while he declares that protection must be hostile to the interests of our farmers, and even that it is in reality unconstitutional, he is still evidently in the bond of the protectionist superstition, and even his plea against protection as it exists in the United States to-day involve protectionist fallacies. He is in fact still at heart an old line whig who reluctantly finds himself in the democratic camp, not that he has seen the glory and the strength of Jeffersonian principles, but because the republican party of 1889 has so far outwhipped the whigism

of the old party divisions that the democracy of to-day seems to him to more nearly occupy the position once held by the followers of Henry Clay. Some facts he has learned, but not the meaning of the facts. He sees that protection to-day hampers and cripples American manufactures, but he still clings to the delusion that protection built them up. He declares that *freer* trade is absolutely necessary, but he does this on the ground that the United States has grown to be the greatest producing nation in the world, and can now make other nations its tributaries, evidently still cherishing the protectionist absurdity that it is better to sell than to buy, and that the nation that exports most and imports least becomes the richest nation—a notion that, if it were true, should lead us to look to Ireland for the richest country of the world.

However, let us be thankful for Hugh McCulloch, such as he is. He has by the policy of contraction, which as secretary of the treasury he carried out, done more than any one man now living to hasten the concentration of wealth in the United States in the hands of a small class, and it is for this reason all the pleasanter to see him now trying to do something for freer trade, even though he evidently still retains an ignorant horror of free trade. He and men like him may do something to break the phalanx of selfish interests which supports the tariff as it is, and to start men on a road which goes much further than they see. But it will be a misfortune to the country if in another presidential election such old whigs as he are suffered to define the position of the democratic party and set its pace. The thing with which effectually to fight protection is, not modified protection, but free trade. For one protectionist who can be lured from the support of the high tariff party by convincing him that his special interests can be better served by lowering the protection accorded to other interests, ten men can be had by showing them that protection in all its phases and degrees was, is, and must always be, nothing more or less than the robbery of the masses for the supposed benefit of a privileged few.

Mr. McCulloch says: "The question immediately and prominently before the country is, shall duties be imposed mainly for protection or mainly for revenue—for protection as the object and revenue the incident, or for revenue as the object and protection the incident?"

So far as formal and official presentation is concerned he is right. But party platforms and official utterances always minimize their expression of the spirit that is behind them, where that is a live one. Their effort is to catch the last man—to hold the most timid, since the ardent are secure. And the formal question between protective tariff and revenue tariff must, as it grows warmer and goes deeper in popular discussion, really bring up the question between a protective tariff and no tariff at all.

Mr. McCulloch says, and in this the wish is evidently father to the thought, "There are men in both parties who favor free trade, but there is no free trade party in the United States, nor will there be for years to come, if ever." This is in the first part of his paper. But he winds the paper up by telling those who fear the moderates that the radicals are fast on

their heels, and that if the friends of protection successfully resist the gentle pruning knife in the hands of the one they will be certain to see the ax wielded by the other. These are his concluding sentences:

There is, I am sure, no risk in predicting that, if the present congress does not revise the tariff and free it from the features that stand in the way of international trade, the power in the next congress will be in the hands of those who will push the reform of it to an extreme. That it is soon to undergo thorough overhauling is quite certain. Shall the work be done by its friends or its opponents is a question to be decided by the present congress.

The last word of the ex-secretary is truer than his first. The present congress cannot revise the tariff in anything worthy of the name without tearing asunder the coalition of utterly selfish interests, struggling each for its own hand, which to-day makes up the effective strength of the protectionist party. And thanks to the educational influences of conflict, the men who finally revise the tariff will be enemies of the tariff, anxious to curtail it as close as possible to the ears. This is the "mercy" that now appears in Cleveland's defeat—that the contest must go on till reform comes with the ax, not with the pruning knife. It will hardly be in the next congress, though the demand will show there, but the longer the delay the more thorough the work at last.

There is indeed no free trade party in the United States to-day in the sense of a formally organized and avowedly free trade party. But there are in the single tax men free traders of the most ultra and determined kind; free traders to whom the Cobden club is little better than a protectionist organization; free traders whose aim is not merely to get rid of a protective tariff, but to get rid of all tariffs, and to make trade between the United States and all the rest of the world just as free as it is between our separate states. And the idea of these free traders is the growing political idea in the United States to-day, to the diffusion and advance of which all discussion and political conflict is contributing, and which is permeating the minds of thousands and thousands who are not conscious of whence the impulse comes and hardly conscious of whither it is leading them. This idea meets, supports and combines with the revival of Jeffersonian principle which is going on in the ranks of the democracy, and of which the rapid formation of democratic societies, under the leadership of Black of Pennsylvania, is one of the indications. And it must at length either dominate the democratic party or break it asunder, forming anew a Jeffersonian party, to carry forward the struggle for "free trade, free land, free men." The hooting of Randall and the cheering of Cleveland in the convention of Pennsylvania democratic societies is significant of the rapid drift.

And let Mr. Cleveland's friends, of whom Mr. McCulloch is doubtless one, make no mistake. That he is to-day the strongest man in the democratic party, and that from present appearances he is likely to be accorded a far greater honor than would have been his election to an immediate second term is, not because he is deemed a moderate and safe man by those who are tender least protectionism be too much hurt, but because in the popular mind he represents the radical idea better than any one who has yet come to the front in the democratic party.

Nothing could better show how out of touch ex-Secretary McCulloch is with the principles of true democracy, and how he is still at bottom a protectionist in the fullest meaning of the word, than the manner in which he approaches and

treats the deeper political problems. He states very properly that wages, though somewhat higher in the United States than in Europe, are not in reality much higher, and have been going down. But the reason which he gives for this shows that he is still a victim to the fundamental delusion which gives protectionism its popular strength—the notion that labor, instead of in reality employing itself, must be accorded employment by some superior order or class, and that wages, instead of being in reality the earnings or makings of labor, are drawn from some fund belonging to this employing class, so that the more workers the less the share that can come to each, and the lower wages must be. He says:

Wages are higher in the United States than in Europe, but they are lower now than they have been, and unless immigration is checked they will soon go down to about the average European standard. . . . I doubt very much that the laborers in United States factories are better off at the end of the year than laborers in British factories. As long as there is free trade in labor, as long as our ports are open to all comers, there will be, all things considered, little difference in the price of labor between this country and other countries.

The italics are the ex-secretary's.

If protectionism were only attacked in this way it would, in a country like the United States, where universal suffrage prevailed, be invincible. Men like Mr. McCulloch may get a few manufacturers to refuse their subscriptions to Wanamaking funds, but they can never turn a wage earner from his belief in protectionism. It is only we single tax men who can do that. And it is due to our preaching of the truth that labor is the creator of its own wages, and that so long as the natural opportunity and material for labor—the land—is open to labor, no increase in the number of workers can diminish the opportunities of work or reduce wages, that the hold of protection on the workmen of the manufacturing districts has been so far broken as was shown in the last election, and is every day being further broken.

If the effect of immigration were only, as he thinks it to be, to reduce wages by increasing the number ready to do work, Mr. McCulloch would probably have few regrets. But it is his prejudice against foreigners as foreigners, and in his distrust of universal suffrage, that he shows himself most thoroughly a protectionist—one who believes that the people should be beneficently governed and cared for by the superior class, whose greater wisdom enables them to know what is best for the masses—rather than a democrat in the true meaning of the word—one who believes in government by the people.

Mr. McCulloch says:

There is another question which ought to receive and which, if our republican institutions are to be permanent, must soon receive the earnest attention of the people, to wit: Shall the offscouring of European nations continue to be invited to come and help govern the great republic? This question is the question of surpassing interest; but, as it is not a question of dollars, it will not receive the attention which it deserves and demands until the tariff, the old apple of discord, is disposed of.

He deprecates interference by the federal authority in elections at the south, declaring that the negroes, for want of intelligence and discipline, are totally unfit for the exercise of governing power, and saying that "if the question is left where it belongs it will not be many years before the colored men in all the southern states will vote as freely as they do now in Virginia, and both of the great parties will be soliciting their divided vote."

Soliciting their divided vote with dollars where the Australian ballot is not in the meantime adopted! The ex-secretary is fully conscious of this, though he puts the blame on colored people and foreigners. He says:

The franchise is a very difficult question for even states to deal with, and it is likely to be as troublesome in some of the northern states as in the southern. What is called the foreign vote is even now as threatening to the welfare of St. Louis, Cincinnati and Chicago as the negro vote may become to the welfare of Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. The Canadian French, whose votes are for sale to the highest bidder, are a dangerous element in New Hampshire, and foreigners of all descriptions are a dangerous element, not only in the cities I have named, but in all large manufacturing districts.

What has been said in regard to the incompetency of the colored people for the government of states, is equally true in regard to foreigners. Among the former are many intelligent and competent voters, and the same is true of the latter, but an overwhelming majority of both is not only unfit for the proper exercise of governing power, but for the intelligent and independent use of the ballot. The influences which prevent a full vote at the south are certainly no more unjustifiable than is vote buying at the north. Each state will have enough to do in the proper management of its own elections without attempting through its representatives in congress to regulate the elections in other states. One thing is certain, in no state will life and property be in danger because there are not voters enough. It is unlimited suffrage, the exercise of the highest of all political privileges, by those who have no interests at stake, that threatens the well being, if not the life, of the republic.

The italics are the ex-secretary's. And in this emphasized sentence he has stated what to the people of this country is the gravest of facts, and has suggested the great question which lies behind the tariff question and to which it is but the avenue and approach. Mr. McCulloch is at bottom a protectionist, that is to say, a believer in the paternal government of men by their superiors. I am a democrat, that is to say, a believer in the natural and equal rights of men. Yet I agree to the proposition he states as fully as he can. If the destinies of the country are committed to the votes of those who have no interest in the well being of the country, then a democratic republic becomes impossible, and even an oligarchic republic, such as Rome became, and the United States is rapidly becoming, must after a reign of corruption, give way as Rome did, to the rule of the dictator or emperor, call him what name we may. This is why we real free traders, we who would push on the tariff fight to the abolition of all tariffs, and, doing away with all taxation on labor or the products of labor, would institute the single tax, believe that the very life of the American republic, the destinies of democratic government throughout the world, are bound up in the struggle that is now beginning.

The principle of a property qualification of the suffrage is a true one. The man who has no stake in the country ought not to vote, and it is dangerous to let him vote. But that does not mean that universal suffrage ought not to be, as ex-Secretary McCulloch evidently thinks. It means that every citizen ought to have an interest in the country, as we who advocate the single tax would give him.

Mr. McCulloch lays the blame for low wages and the decay of popular government—for it is certainly decaying in the United States—to foreign immigration from Europe. But neither he nor any one of us would be here, and the country would still be in the possession of its aborigines, but for that foreign immigration from Europe. The real trouble is, that while we have adopted democratic political institutions, we have at the same time retained that treatment of land as the private property of individuals from which aristocracy necessarily grows up. "Who owns the United States" is the significant title of Thomas G. Shearman's article in the last number of the Forum on the growth of monstrous fortunes in the United States. Already only a minority of the people of the United States own the country and its

wealth. In a short time, if we go on as we are now going, it will be but a handful, and what happened in Rome must happen here. There is but one remedy, and that is the single tax—the culmination and consummation of free trade, the recognition of the equal rights of all citizens in the land that they call their country.

Mr. McCulloch traces at some length the genealogy of the parties of the United States, but he misses the principle. The natural division of parties in every country is into the party of the masses and the party of the classes—the party of popular rights and the party of special privileges. The political development becomes distorted, as it was in the United States by the slavery question, and a clear line is often impossible to trace. But it is to this line that political divisions tend to revert. The republican party of Thomas Jefferson was the party of popular rights and self-government, the federal party was the party of special privileges and monarchical tendencies. To-day the hope of our politics is that a division as clear as the early one is about to take place, and that while the republican party seems hopelessly bound to the support of special privileges, the democratic party, clearing itself of those who do not adhere to the Jeffersonian principle, will again become the party of popular rights. But under some name the party of popular rights will come.

In the article headed, "Judge Fox and the Single Tax," reprinted elsewhere, from the Chicago Statesman, Mr. John De Witt Warner, a single tax man limited, it may be necessary to say, not only exposes the ridiculous ignorance of Judge Fox concerning the subject that he has presumed to write upon, but makes a most interesting contribution to the general discussion of the subject. The extracts given in Mr. Warner's article from that to which it is a reply, shows the spirit and scope of the article so completely that it is not necessary for THE STANDARD to republish it, in order that its readers may understand the controversy.

Henry DeForest Baldwin, secretary of the Reform club and assistant secretary of the executive committee of the National league of democratic clubs, has been nominated as a democratic candidate for assembly in the Eleventh assembly district, which extends from Twenty-third to Fortieth streets, and from Lexington to Seventh avenues. Mr. Baldwin is an active and sincere ballot reformer. He is an absolute free trader, being a single tax man limited, and he is a man of intelligence and character, who would go to Albany to make an honorable reputation for himself. The Eleventh is the district formerly represented by Robert Ray Hamilton, and has ordinarily a republican majority of from 400 to 600, but it ought to be carried by a candidate of character and brains like Mr. Baldwin.

George B. Bowen, M. D., of San Antonio, Texas, writes to THE STANDARD proposing that single tax men unite to found a single tax city, the success of which would be a demonstration of the virtues of the single tax that would compel attention and secure imitation. The site he prefers is on either side of the Delaware river below Philadelphia.

As I have often said in response to such suggestions, I do not believe in the feasibility of any such plan. The single tax cannot be fairly tried on a small scale in a community not subject to the single tax, and with state government and national government to levy taxes. And all the difficulties of establishing a colony

for founding a city to order would tel against the plan.

HENRY GEORGE.

IGNORANCE AND BLUSTER.

The Minneapolis Tribune published recently an editorial article entitled, "How will the George men bell the cat?" The article purports to be an answer to one by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman in the North American Review, but it consists almost entirely of unfounded assertion and weak attempts to refute an argument that no one has made.

Assuming that it is the object of single tax advocates to take away the possessions of all land holders, it dilates on the "earth hunger" that is "a leading trait of the Anglo-Saxon race," and declares that this "earth hunger" has been systematically provoked and influenced by our government. Such being the case it says:

Assuming for the sake of the argument that the George confiscation theory is sound if established, it is plain that the change can be brought about only by the conversion or conquest of the eight or nine millions of land and lot owners in the United States and those immediately associated with them in interest as expectant heirs. If they are to be induced by philanthropic teaching to give up their lands and homes for the sake of an untried theory of a single tax to be levied on their land to the amount of full rent value, how many centuries of single tax agitation and education will it take to get them in that state of mind? If instead of persuasion force is to be resorted to, who will undertake the war of dispossession? . . . Who will lead the attack against them? Tenants cannot be expected to do so, for under the new system they would still pay about the same rent. Why should they risk their lives for the privilege of paying rent to the government instead of a private landlord? And they are not strong enough to overthrow the owners of land, anyway. If land owners were becoming few in number and their ranks reduced, as in some land monopoly countries, there would be a prospect of conquering them, if all other classes united against them. But the contrary is the fact. Estates in this country are being divided up and distributed among children or sold to landless purchasers. Tenants are becoming owners of farms or homes, and even the blacks of the south, who make up the great renting class in this country, are, many thousands of them, acquiring land, and nearly all the others would like to. If the land owners were in a minority they would, nevertheless, make a desperate fight and give up their possessions only at the price of their lives, but when they make up an actual majority of fighting men who is to subdue them? Where are the mice that can bell the big cat?

It is difficult to patiently answer such a combination of crass ignorance and silly bluster. No man of ordinary intelligence will be deceived for a moment by the Minneapolis paper's statement of what it calls facts. It simply is not true that the number of actual land owners is increasing. On the contrary, all investigations made with any attempt at accuracy show that the number of even nominal land owners is decreasing, while the mortgage indebtedness of farmers as a class is steadily increasing. By the last census one-fourth of the farms in the United States were worked by tenants, and every careful observer believes that fully a third of our farms are so worked at the present time. As to the increase of mortgage indebtedness, the Tribune has only to examine the records of Illinois and Michigan to see that the increase is rapid and menacing. The fact is that the concentration of wealth that is going on in all other directions is going on in farms, and the Minneapolis paper will have to find some better basis for opposition to the single tax than a denial of so patent a fact.

If this were the whole of its argument it would not be worth answering, but its article betrays a misapprehension of the objects of the single tax movement that ought to be corrected. Our theory does not ignore "earth hunger." On the contrary, it recognizes the fact that all men not only want land, but that they must have it if they are to remain on this earth. We further insist that all men are equally entitled to the use of land, and that since the competition among them for the better or more favorably located land creates economic rent, that that rent should be taken for the public use and benefit. This does not mean hardship for farmers, for the most desira-

ble land, which commands the highest rent, is *not* farm land. So far is this from being the case that a moment's consideration ought to show the Tribune that if all the taxes for the support of government were levied on land in proportion to its selling or rental value, cities and mining lands would bear the bulk of taxation, and the proportionate burden of farmers would thus be decreased.

But, asks the Tribune, when the tax on land values practically absorbs the whole rental value, what interest would tenants have in it, since they would still pay almost the same rent? This may appear a natural question to a paper believing that a tariff tax is a public blessing, but to most men it will seem that if the tenant paid to government in tax about the same rent that he now pays to private individuals, and thereby escaped the payment of all the other taxes that now vex and burden him, he would have a hope of relief such as men have often staked their lives on.

But why this talk about "risking lives" and a desperate fight? The single tax will not be established unless it is enacted into law by consent of a majority of the people in the states affected by it. Does this Minneapolis paper mean to say that if the present taxes on the products of industry are gradually removed until the only remaining tax is one on land values, that the people for whom it speaks will resort to violence and defy the law? If they do they will come to grief, and if the Tribune has any interest in them it had better advise them not to adopt the tactics of the Chicago anarchists. But it is nonsense to talk so. The number of landlords is diminishing too rapidly to make their opposition dangerous when public sentiment has been educated into demanding a just system of taxation. We are not going to have any trouble about imposing and collecting the single tax when the people once understand it; and a vast number of them already understand it better than the Minneapolis Tribune.

CODDEN'S STRUGGLE AND OURS.

We print this week the third of the interesting series of articles by Mr. E. Yancy Cohen on the anti-corn law movement in England. None who have read them can have failed to arise from their perusal with an added respect and veneration for the name of Cobden—a name that it has been the fashion of the modern American successors of the old time English Tories to treat with scorn and derision. In the article printed this week is an account of the incident when Cobden turned on the stupid landlords of England and warned them of that greater agitation which their greed and folly might provoke, and the beginnings of which they are now called on to face.

There is a singular similarity between the great movement for freer trade that Cobden led and the greater movement for free trade in which we are now engaged. The beginnings of both were small. At first both were denounced as revolutionary and communistic, and both were led by enthusiasts who appealed solely to the moral sentiment of the people. As soon, however, as public interest was aroused, Cobden saw the necessity of fraternizing with "the sensible portion of the mercantile middle class," and appealing to their obvious interests in order to further the reform, though at the same time he declares that "a moral and even a religious spirit must be infused into the movement." This was the spirit that animated him, and it was the answering spirit in John Bright that made him respond to Cobden's celebrated appeal: "Come with me, and we will never rest until we have repealed the corn law"—the law that made it hard for the poor to get bread.

This band of enthusiasts, animated by religious zeal but guided and sobered by practical common sense, like the single tax men of to-day pressed forward a reform to which one great political party was hostile and the other indifferent. They made no compromising alliances, but they missed no chance to force their ideas into politics, and Cobden speedily

entered parliament to demand the attention of the only body that could bring about the reform he advocated.

At last a tottering ministry, frantic with the fear of defeat, made a great step forward, but with timid reservations that excited the scorn of the reformers. Yet that first step paved the way for all that followed, and Cobden was quick to see all that it involved. The first concession made, there was no possible stopping place, and the once derided agitator had the joy of voting for the total repeal of the corn law and of hearing Sir Robert Peel confess that it was not to himself but to Cobden that the credit was due.

We cannot yet say how far the parallel will be complete, but the single tax movement, which proposes to strike down every restriction in trade and to pursue monopoly and privilege to their last stronghold and there destroy them, while it has still the high hope and religious enthusiasm that inspired it in the beginning, has already become practical in its aims and methods and is a growing factor in public affairs.

The men whom its success will benefit have not yet come to its assistance with tongue and purse, but that is merely a matter of time, and it is more than possible that long before the slow process of education is complete some tottering political party may, in its blind reaching out for any possible support, grasp the great truth embodied in the single tax, and establish justice on lasting foundations without intending to do more than meet a mere temporary crisis in its own affairs.

However this may be, there is much encouragement for us in the record of Cobden's great struggle, and our faith is weak, indeed, if we do not see that we are sure to complete the work that he so well begun, and to which his prophetic warning to the landlords of England pointed so unerringly.

THE DOUBLE TAX IN BOSTON.

The attitude of the Boston business association on the subject of municipal taxation is of great interest to single tax men, and if the movement started in support of Mr. Lane's ideas reaches a stage that calls for public co-operation, our friends in Boston should lend it their most earnest support. The Boston Advertiser calls it a single tax scheme, but is careful to say that "it is not to be confounded with Henry George's theory of land taxation." Single tax men will be equally prompt in insisting on the radical difference between the two ideas, for Mr. Lane's proposal is not for a single tax on land values, but a double tax on land and buildings.

Despite this difference the real single tax men can well afford to help forward the proposal to concentrate taxation on real estate. Our fight is against all taxes on the products of labor—against all taxes on industry and enterprise. Mr. Lane proposes eventually to get rid of all such taxes but one. He would still impose a fine on the enterprise and industry—on the capital and labor, engaged in erecting buildings. Why he should make this exception we do not know, but we have no fear that the exception would long continue after all other taxes on the products of labor are abolished. It is easier to overthrow one bad tax than several thousand bad taxes, and so let us help Mr. Lane and the Boston merchants in abolishing all but one of the multitudinous taxes on industry.

Meanwhile we need not keep quiet about the true plan. The agitation in behalf of the double tax prepares men's minds for a consideration of the single tax. Popular support for the double tax can only be obtained by means of single tax arguments. The business men of Boston want the city's business to grow, and they see that taxing it retards its growth. Everybody in Boston wants to see it become more and more a city of handsome business structures and comfortable homes. So soon as they are taught that taxes on business retard business, they will begin to see that taxes on improvements retard the erec-

tion of handsome business structures and comfortable homes. When they see that they will begin to "see the cat."

THE DRAINAGE QUESTION IN CHICAGO.

The single tax men of Chicago are displaying that practical sagacity that is beginning to characterize our movement in all directions. The drainage question in their city is one of those questions that properly excite intense popular interest. The project is one enormous in its proportions, and involving a gigantic expenditure of public money. The law is so drawn as to force the consideration of the question as to who are the real beneficiaries of the proposed system.

Here was an opportunity that our friends could by no possibility have made for themselves, but which they were prompt to seize. Their contention that the men who own the land on which Chicago stands will be the sole ultimate pecuniary beneficiaries of such an improvement is sound, and the more it is discussed the plainer it becomes to all who will think. The demand, therefore, that the land owners shall pay the whole cost of the proposed drainage system is logical and just. The mass of people will be benefited, it is true, but they will pay for such benefits in increased ground rent; and so long as this rent goes to individuals, instead of the community, the landlords ought to pay the whole cost of bettering their property and increasing their incomes.

It does not matter whether the single tax men see any hope of immediate success in their agitation. They have a grand object lesson in the single tax to put before the people, and before a people whose earnest attention is directed to this very matter. If they win now they will have partly established the true principle of taxation, and if they lose they will have gained many new allies in their next attempt to establish the single tax.

This is the kind of work that tells.

GOOD WORK FOR BALLOT REFORM.

The meeting of the Reform club in behalf of ballot reform was earnest and enthusiastic, and it shows that the club is ready unanimously to sustain its committee in work in this direction. There is not time to do much between now and the election, but there ought to be no delay in immediately organizing for active work after the election, first to force a good bill through the legislature next winter, and if Hill again vetoes it, then to make sure that two-thirds of the next legislature shall be composed of men who will pass such a bill over the veto. If the Reform club chooses it can take the lead in this great reform.

Now that the committee has gone to work it displays commendable vigor. The conference with other organizations is an important step toward uniting forces that, once united, become irresistible in any effort for the common good.

The committee has called a mass meeting for Saturday evening, November 2. The arrangements are not completed at the time THE STANDARD goes to press, but the meeting is sure to be a great success, and it cannot fail to give force and direction to the powerful sentiment in the community in favor of true ballot reform.

INEQUALITIES IN ASSESSMENTS.

Probably the most surprising thing shown by the comparison of the selling price of real estate with the assessment, given elsewhere, is the utter lack of any uniform rule for valuing properties of the same class. Men have grown accustomed to the violation of law by assessors in the valuation of vacant lots, but the general supposition is that there is an approximation to equality in the assessment of each class of property. That such is not the case is shown by the figures printed elsewhere. In one instance a house and lot are found to be assessed at ninety-one and a half per cent of their auction value, while another and more costly house and lot are assessed at but thirty-four and a half per cent of their auction value. In the assessment of vacant lots there is a like inequality. It is

astonishing that the sufferers by this injustice do not organize to protect themselves against an undue imposition of public burdens.

There seems to be no rule regulating the valuation by assessors of properties of the same class, but there is a rule that is clearly discernable in differences between the assessment of vacant land and improved land. The figures given show that the average assessment of improved property is fifty-four per cent of its auction value, while the average valuation of vacant land is thirty-nine per cent of its value.

Why do house owners and enterprising builders submit to this injustice? It does not require an understanding of the single tax theory to teach them that this system imposes on them more than their share of the public burden. If they did understand the single tax system, however, they would see that the taxation of land values only would decidedly reduce their proportion of taxation. Until they do see this nothing more can be expected of them than a demand for the equalization of assessments under the present system, and the wonder is that such a demand is delayed.

Mr. Buell's account of the way in which ballot reform was brought about in Minnesota is not only interesting, but shows that the single tax men of Minneapolis are a sensible body who care more for results than for temporary glory and who know when to talk and when to be quiet. May their tribe increase!

The workingmen's ballot reform meeting at Cooper union last week was good so far as it went, but it did not go far enough. It was not sufficiently advertised to attract public attention and the agencies depended on for filling the hall do not appear to have been efficient.

The inquiries put forth by the committee representing the International typographical union, and set forth in Mr. Roche's letter to the editor printed elsewhere, should be carefully considered and promptly answered by single tax men. Let our friends never forget that it is to the great body of workingmen that we must look for the ultimate success of the single tax and lose no opportunity for presenting our arguments to every branch of organized labor. When these men see that palliatives and expedients have utterly failed to stay the downward tendency of wages they will turn with practical unanimity to the true remedy for existing wrongs.

The question of taxation is constantly coming up in some shape and it will not down at anyone's bidding. Minneapolis has been considering the matter and a committee appointed by the board of trade has divided and brought in two reports. One report practically declares that something ought to be done, but that for the life of them the members of the committee cannot say what. The other report, signed by Chas. A. Pillsbury, the great miller, and C. J. Buell, president of the single tax club, is clear and definite, and it simply demands that the city shall cease to tax manufacturing plants—that is to say, make a partial application of the single tax. The men who know just what they want have a decided advantage in such a difference of opinion.

Judge Love of the United States court recently heard an application for an order upon the receiver of the Wabash system to suspend the operation of a non-paying railroad line in Iowa. The judge refused the application, saying that railroads, being public conveyances and carriers, owe obligations to the public which they cannot be allowed to escape by taking up their tracks and retiring from business. The right to build a road through private property involves the task of providing transportation for the public, and he declares that it is a permanent one that must be performed. "The courts have no right," he insists, "to deprive the people of this transportation on the showing that the road does not pay expenses."

In other words, he practically declares that when a railroad is built the public acquires a vested right in its operation, and that said right cannot be destroyed. This is in direct conflict with the declaration of ex-Congressman Scott, president of the Spring Valley coal company, in Illinois, that "there is no law, moral or statute, which makes it obligatory upon a corporation to conduct its business, regardless of the interests of such business and the conditions of trade." If the courts generally accept Judge Love's view they will doubtless find it difficult to prevent railways from abandoning unprofitable roads, but such abandonment will be likely to pave the way for the forfeiture of these roads to the public, and their opening to those who will consent to operate them.

The tithe war is still going on in Wales and with more and more bitterness. The tithe factors are trying to break down resistance to the payment of tithes by enforcing distraint and piling up legal charges, and their progress on this mission under guards of policemen is accompanied with scenes such as have become familiar in Ireland. The South Wales liberal federation has issued a call for subscriptions in aid of distrained farmers, and the bitter feeling which is being aroused is much helping the progress of radical thought on the land question.

The reply of Robert L. Porter, superintendent of the Eleventh census, to the Indianapolis single tax club is precisely similar to that made by him to the Manhattan single tax club of this city, and in the latter case the refusal to make the inquiries suggested is backed up by Mr. Noble, secretary of the interior. If the new census law is construed as literally in all respects as it is in this instance, the census report of 1890 ought to be far less voluminous than that of 1880. The truth doubtless is that the present administration cannot well afford to make an official showing of the rapid growth of land monopoly during the period of high protection.

A number of people in California, some years ago, bought in good faith, unbroken, unimproved land in Los Bolsas. They cleared the land and erected buildings, and their farms with the improvements thereon are now worth ten times, and in some instances fifty times, their original value. A law suit has recently resulted in a decision that the people from whom these settlers obtained their titles were not the legal owners. Some among them recognized the danger of such an outcome long ago, and made contracts with the agents of those now adjudged the owners. These people will be allowed to carry out the contracts thus made, but the majority of the settlers will now have to buy the land over again at the increased value their settlement has given it, and also to actually buy the improvements that they have put upon it. Yet we are told that the existing system of land tenure is sacred and that it would be wicked to deprive the winners of this suit of their opportunity to rob their unfortunate victims.

The registration of voters in this city for the coming election shows a total of 218,808 as against 286,570 in 1888 and 233,446 in 1887. This shows that 67,762 citizens who took part in the presidential election a year ago have not enough interest in the battle between the Platt and Hill machines to register this year. Considering the increase in population a falling off of 14,638 from the registration of 1887 is remarkable.

Potatoes are going to be scarce and high priced this year throughout New York state; the failure of the crop is general and the wet weather that has brought this about in this state has accomplished a like result elsewhere. A few farmers have been more fortunate than their fellows, and they of course will make large profits. The consumers of potatoes, however, will feel the scarcity, and every quart and bushel that they buy will be

enhanced in price by the tariff on the potatoes that must now be imported. What good will the protection of potatoes do to the hundreds of farmers throughout this and other states who have not been able to raise enough for their own use? How do the laboring men of New York like the outlook?

The number of people in this country who wear boots and shoes is considerable. The advocates of tariff reform ought to make copies of a circular now circulating in the far northwest and see that every wearer of boots and shoes gets one. The circular is distributed by country postmasters at the request of the republican national committee. Some extracts from it are printed elsewhere in a letter from Seattle, Washington. It is what a boy addicted to slang would call "a dead give away." The admission is frankly made that the free importation of hides has more than quadrupled the amount imported and reduced the price one-half. A protective tariff is asked for for the express purpose of increasing the price to the consumer, and the writer truly says that this is the exact effect of the existing tariff on wool and iron ore. Remember that this tract is not only circulated by the republican national committee, but that it is published by its authority!

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(1) What proportion of the taxes now raised in New York or Philadelphia is derived from land? (2) Is it true that out of every \$1 a man spends forty-seven per cent goes for tariff, plus twenty per cent for government expenses, thus making sixty-seven per cent he would not have to pay if the single tax were in operation? (3) If under the single tax land is confiscated for non-payment of taxes, and for a long time no one comes forward to use it, would not the government become a landlord to the first man who wanted the land? (4) Why will interest be ten per cent under the single tax? (5) Will land below the margin of production, as well as prairie farms, escape taxation under the single tax? R. J. M.

(1) Without an extensive examination of statistics it is impossible to say what proportion of taxes is now derived from land. It is no doubt far below one-half.

(2) All expenditures for foreign products are saddled with the tariff tax, plus profits of middle men on the tax. Taking all foreign products together, this amounts to forty-seven per cent, plus the profits. The government gets the forty-seven per cent. But there are a great variety of other taxes on labor besides the unnatural profits on domestic articles which the tariff creates. All these burdens would disappear under the single tax.

(3) Land would not be confiscated for non payment of the single tax. In form it would be sold along with other property of the delinquent for all it would bring, just as is done now. If it were not worth the tax nobody would use it until the tax was reduced; but land values are so easily determined by every one in a neighborhood that it would seldom or never happen that any land value tax would be greater than the land value.

(4) No one can say what the rate of interest would be under the single tax. What we can say is, that as production would be greater and land values less, both the laborer and the capitalist (using the latter term in its true economic sense) would be better off.

(5) Land below the margin of production would not be taxed under the single tax. Whether or not prairie farms would be would depend upon whether they were below or above the margin of production. Some would be and others would not.

The World warns the trustees of the Bloomingdale asylum that if they attempt to make trouble about the use of their property for the world's fair, they will attract attention to the manner in which that institution embarrasses the growth of this city and deprives our population of needed room for expansion. The World says that upon "a false pretense" the trustees have secured "a long exemption of their large property from the taxation, to which it ought, in justice, be subjected." The institution takes care of a few charity patients and thereby obtains an exemption from taxation out of all proportion to the services it renders. The World says:

The asylum is a nuisance where it stands, and its large landholding is an obstacle to the opening of public thoroughfares and the growth of the city. Obstruction to a great civic enterprise wantonly indulged in comes

with an exceedingly bad grace from an institution which is at once a detriment to the city and a mendicant accepting the city's bounty to the full extent of the taxation from which it is excused.

Would it not be well for the World to insist on this wrong against the public interest being righted, whether the Bloomingdale trustees oppose the use of their property for the world's fair or not?

PRESCOTT, Ark.—If railroad monopolists are permitted to tax without limit for transportation, and the banks are permitted to curtail the medium of exchange, how can the single tax save us? OLIVER S. JONES.

When railroad monopolists tax for transportation and banks curtail the medium of exchange, free trade is interfered with; and since the single tax involves the principle of free trade, its adoption would point to the destruction of these monopolies. It would in itself badly cripple railroad monopoly, for that is based on special rights for the exclusive use of land. But whether or not the single tax in form would reach these monopolies, makes little difference. Upon the abolition of land monopoly, which the single tax would accomplish, its underlying principle of free production and free trade would find expression in appropriate methods of abolishing restrictions upon transportation. Any attempt to abolish these monopolies while the fundamental monopoly continues, must be as futile as an attempt to dam the Hudson while its waters flow.

Among the most ardent protectionists of this country are the cigar makers. In arguing with them the free trader is met at every turn with the "foreign pauper labor goods flooding the country" argument. In this connection it is interesting to note the movement on foot among some of the cigar manufacturers to get a law passed allowing them to import tobacco leaf free of duty provided the same be made into cigars for export purposes. That is, they believe that as far as labor cost goes we can manufacture cigars cheaper and better here than abroad, and are only handicapped by the duty on raw material. Michael Stachelberg, one of the largest manufacturers of this city, who has just returned from a trip abroad, is quoted as saying:

We believe that we can help the Englishmen and the Russians out of their preference [for their own cigars] when we give them our cigars. It is beyond doubt that we can sell our higher-priced cigar in Europe, and it would perhaps be better if our whole attention were devoted to introducing that cigar. Having caught the taste of the upper classes, we could work in among the lower classes. I think that in about a dozen years as many of our cigars would be disposed of in Europe as now are sold here in the United States.

Mr. Gladstone, in an address delivered last Saturday in Chester, England, contrasted the condition of the English workingman to-day with his condition a few years before the abolition of the corn laws, claiming that a great improvement had taken place. He asked his hearers to study the history of the American revolution, holding that the principles which animated that revolt originated in England. On the other hand England has since learned from America. He extolled the virtues and ability of the great men who led the American revolution, saying that they were the equals of any in the whole history of the world and superior to any of a single epoch.

SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.—Reputable physicians often give service and medicine to the poor free of charge. They even give food and clothing when necessary. In doing this they confer a benefit upon the community for which they receive no reward. Now, why should we condemn the injustice involved in the private appropriation of rent when this injustice prevails? H. A. PULSFORD.

What physicians do in these cases they do as an act of charity. If their charity is to be rewarded, all charity should be rewarded. But the private appropriation of rent is a wrong to be remedied. When the physician attends a poor patient free of charge, it is purely a personal matter between himself and the patient; but when the community compels a man, as the condition of laboring and living, to divide the products of his labor with one who does not earn it, an injustice is done for which the community is responsible. It is not necessary, however, to discuss the question along this line, for when every one is secured from spoliation every one will be able to reward his physician, and no physician will be under the burden of which you complain.

A part of the old Bergen farm, Brooklyn, comprising 244 lots, on Third, Fourth

and Fifth avenues, between Thirty-second and Thirty-fourth streets, and within a radius of four miles from the city hall, was offered for sale recently and purchases were made by a number of small investors. The prices brought by the lots ranged from \$500 to \$1,800, and were thought very reasonable.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Being an absolute free trader I believe in direct taxation; and as land cannot be hidden, and taxes on it could be easily and cheaply collected, I see no objection to the single tax. But I am opposed to making the tax any larger than the necessities of government require. I do not see, either, that the single tax would be a panacea for the workman's woes. We have long had millions of acres of fairly good land in this state, any 160 acres of which any man can have for improving it and be free of taxes for five or seven years; yet during all that time thousands of families in this city have not known a month ahead where to get food and clothing. Now, if they have not taken advantage of this free land when it was free of taxes, why should they take advantage of it when it is certain that all their taxes would be put on the land?

R. C. WORTH.

You are good enough single tax man for a beginning; and if you hold fast to your doctrine of absolute free trade the whole single tax idea will come to you as clear as crystal. It is not proposed to make the tax any more than the necessities of government require; but we do not believe that the necessities of government are properly served now, and we hope that when public revenues are derived from land values exclusively there will be a general demand, as land values increase, for improvements that are now poorly made or not made at all. However, it will be time enough to discuss this question when such as you, in conjunction with such as we, shall have lifted the burden of present taxation from labor and placed it on monopoly of land holding. The same may be said of your idea of the ineffectiveness of the single tax to relieve workingmen and improve their condition; but it would be well to remind you that under the single tax the land of which you speak would be perpetually free of taxation, unless it increased in value, and that all improvements would be exempt, not for five or seven years, but forever. As a free trader, too, you ought to understand that the improvements of this land are not now exempt at all. Every article that enters into these improvements is somewhere saddled with a tax. Moreover, this land is so situated with reference to the channels of trade that labor can do no better upon it, paying no rent, than it can on the dearest land, paying high rent. In other words, where land is valueless to-day it is because it is so far away from trade centers that, commercially speaking, it is unproductive.

There will be over 5,000 new Indian voters in South Dakota as a result of the recent land allotment acts. Every Indian over twenty-one who receives an allotment becomes, thereby, a citizen.

The bankers' convention, recently held in Kansas City, passed a resolution asking congress so to amend the National bank law that the penalty for taking usurious rates of interest should be simply the forfeiture of the interest in excess of that allowed by the law.

During the last year the exports of sewing machines and parts of sewing machines from the United States amounted in value to \$2,245,110. Next year's exports promise to be larger.

DETROIT, Mich.—I am told that under the single tax small property holders would bear the greatest tax burdens. For example: Here is a lot worth \$1,000 on which there is a house worth \$1,000; adjoining is a lot worth \$1,000, on which there is a building worth \$10,000. Here the man whose property is worth only \$2,000 would pay as high a tax as the man whose property is worth \$11,000.

R. B. RAY.

Your statement of fact is correct, but your inference of injustice is due to a confusion of terms. We do not propose to tax property; what we propose to tax is monopoly. In the case you cite, the man who owns the \$10,000 building is the larger property owner; he owns \$9,000 worth of house more than the other man does. But as monopolists they are equal; each owns a piece of common property worth \$1,000. Hence, if monopoly ought to be taxed and production to go free, as we claim, then these men are equally taxed.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT.

[Third Article.]

The effects of the legislation of 1842 were soon brought before the minds of all classes of the nation. Trade began very shortly to revive. The manufacturers reopened their mills, operatives found employment, wages rose. In fact, the league was not a little endangered. For awakening prosperity closed the eyes of thousands to the immediate urgency of the main question, inasmuch that in 1844 it was confessed the corn laws were, for the moment, falling into the background. However, on the subject of free trade as against protection the operatives, shopkeepers, manufacturers and merchants had made up their minds. They stood, almost as one man, for the principles expounded by the league.

The farmers in the country did not so perfectly understand the benefits of the recent change. They found that the reduction of the restrictive duties on grain and meat was lowering the prices of their products, and their dull minds were roused by a suspicion that the leaders of their party had been untrue to their pledges and were deserting the agricultural interests. The farmers understood better, perhaps, than any other class of the community the true philosophy of protection. What did it matter to them, living far from the centers of activity and exchange—in the fens of Lincolnshire or in the drowsy midlands—that the nation as a whole was reviving from its slough of mercantile despair, if their own profits were at the same moment actually melting away? They were no philanthropists—protection had put money into their pockets, they believed in protection and they wanted more of it. "This," says Justin McCarthy, in the "History of Our Own Times," "is the very meaning of the principle of protection: When the commodity which the protected interest has to dispose of is so abundant as to be easily attained by the common body of consumers, then of course the protected interest is injured in its particular way of making money, and expects the state to do something to secure it in its monopoly. Whenever Providence, through the blessings of genial seasons, fills the nation's stores with plenteousness, then and then only has the cry of ruin to the cultivator been proclaimed as the one great evil for legislation to repress."

But what surprised the English farmer, in his philosophic study of the problem, was the almost inexplicable fact that while the market price of his wheat was falling in a disheartening manner, the rent he had to step up every lady day and hand over to his landlord remained quite the same. This struck the farmer as being unfair. If, as the great landlords in parliament had been telling him, there was an indissoluble and thoroughly natural alliance in things material between the owners of the soil and their tenants, how was it that the loss occasioned by the withdrawal of "protection to the great agricultural interest" fell altogether on the farmer, and was not shared by his ally the landlord as well? This query might have remained forever unanswered, so far as the landlords were concerned, had not Cobden and his friends at this very moment come to the farmers' rescue with an explanation.

Cobden, Bright and the ablest speakers of the league began a campaign in the rural districts that lasted three full years. It was a campaign to delight the active hearts of our own modern movement. A small town or hamlet was invaded by the speakers, a platform erected and the rusties and their employers harangued. There was very considerable organized opposition. For although the honest squires and the farmers and their laborers listened calmly and interestedly, active agents of the "Agricultural protection society," of which the dukes of Buckingham and Richmond were the prime organizers in London, were instructed to break up the meetings, if possible, by every means at their disposal. But very little success attended the bullying and blackguardism of these hirelings. The farmers and their men far outnumbered the opposing land agents, auctioneers, small lawyers and other parasites of landlordism, and although they had reverence enough for the aristocracy, they were quite willing to allow fair play to the gentlemen on the platform or at the cart-tail. Cobden's speeches in the counties were models in their way. His language was plain and

direct, his illustrations taken from the callings best understood by his listeners, his arguments simple and effective, and his whole discourse pervaded with a persuasiveness that left the poor farmer quite at sea with his "protection." Cobden challenged any man in England to take the platform with him and, before the farmers as an audience, answer the question, How, when or where have farmers and farm laborers benefited by the corn law? But for the most part economic opponents kept in the rear of the crowds. "The Tories," said he, "fear discussion as they fear death." Cobden alone addressed thirty-one county meetings and Bright thirty more, while Villiers, Thomson and a great army of league orators spread themselves everywhere over the broad agricultural districts. If we may judge from the way the vote was generally given at the close of the discussion, the free traders, even in the biased minds of the farmers, had the best of it.

Thus, up to 1845, six years had been spent by the Anti-corn law league in urging upon the country by every peaceable means the justice of repeal of the corn law. The council of the league, sitting in daily session at Newall's building, Manchester, directed affairs with an ability that challenges admiration. Their calls for funds were never unsuccessful. Up to the beginning of 1843 they had expended £100,000 in agitation. Up to the same date over two thousand lectures had been delivered, and more than five million tracts printed and circulated. Five conferences of delegates had assembled in London and waited on the government. In London, about 1844, Drury Lane and Covent Garden theaters were secured, and overwhelming meetings declared for free trade. In the metropolis the enthusiasm that greeted the onslaughts on the threadbare, played-out old fallacies of the protectionists was wild and extreme. It seemed that the English intelligence was being roused and stirred to its uttermost. Even the Times, following the drift of the age, was forced about this period to confess that the league was indeed "a great fact."

Meanwhile Cobden and his followers continued their yeoman's service among the farmers, sifting the discussion down to its kernel. The league had not hitherto had much to say about the landlords, but it would now pay some attention to their objections and demands. The landlords, driven to bay, made no bones in confessing that they opposed free trade because they believed it would lower their rents. They audaciously maintained that the country had placed heavy burdens on landed property, and a further strain they would be unable to bear. This false and cowardly plea was held up by Cobden to the scorn and opprobrium of the public. Yet even now, on a theme that called to him so loudly for the severest treatment, he used the most judicious. He was statesman enough to keep just ahead of his followers and not dash recklessly away from them into the unknown country. With great restraint, he took the line of proving to the land owners that under free trade the farmers must continue to prosper, that although wheat might decline in price wheat was not the sum total of agricultural produce, that farmers were likely to engage in more careful and productive cultivation, that they in short were likely to be more able without than with protective assistance to pay their rents. Nay, more. He showed that with a greater production and more economical cultivation, coupled with increase in population and greater demand for land (which, he reminded his audience, was strictly limited in quantity and was monopolized by a comparatively few great land owners), rents were bound to rise. The landlords need give themselves no uneasiness on that score. But he adjured the landlords, if they had any regard for the interest of their order, to cease their declamations about the burdens they were carrying. The time had not come for the nation to delve into the mysteries of taxation, but it behooved the landlords least of all to urge the people to do that. "I warn ministers," cried Cobden in 1845, "and I warn land owners and the aristocracy of this country against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrious classes the subject of taxation. For, great as I consider the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the corn laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last 150 years, you will

find as black a record against the land owners as even in the corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another league at the death of this one, if they want another organization and a motive—for you cannot have these organizations without a motive and a principle—then let them force the middle and industrious classes of England to understand how they have been cheated, robbed and bamboozled upon the subject of taxation. And the end will be, if they force a discussion of this question of taxation, if they make it understood by the people of this country how the land owners here, 150 years ago, deprived the sovereign of his feudal rights over them, how the aristocracy retained their feudal rights over the minor copy holders, how they made a bargain with the king to give him four shillings in the pound upon their landed rentals, as a quit charge for having dispensed with these rights of feudal service from them; if the country understood as well as I think I understand how afterward this landed aristocracy passed a law to make the valuation of their rental final, the bargain originally being that they should pay four shillings in the pound of the yearly ratable value of their rentals, as it was worth to let for, and then stopped the progress of the rent by a law making the valuation final—how the land has gone on increasing ten fold in many parts of Scotland and five fold in many parts of England, while the land tax has remained the same as it was 150 years ago; if they force us to understand how they have managed to exempt themselves from the probate and legacy duty on real property, how they have managed, sweet innocents that taxed themselves so heavily, to transmit their estates from sire to son without taxes or duties, while the tradesman who has accumulated by thrifty means his small modicum of fortune is subject at his death to taxes and stamps before his children can inherit his property; if they force us to understand these things, they will be making as rueful a bargain as they have already made by resisting the abolition of the corn laws."

There was prophecy in these words; but in 1845 they could not effect what they can and do effect in 1889. The audiences that Cobden addressed satisfied their personal dislike for landlords by going into shouts of derisive laughter when the speaker told them of his grace the duke of Norfolk, who went about the country urging upon the attention of unemployed and starving working people a sort of curry-powder he had discovered, which if taken in small quantities with a little water would be an excellent stay for hunger.

During the summer of 1845 the leaders of the league might well have rested from their labors with the settled conviction that the nation was with them. Yet so far from being near the consummation they so devoutly wished, there was never a sign of what was coming. The legislation of 1842 seemed likely to remain the sole glory of Peel's administration. The Tory majority that had supported him in that unexpected measure were distinctly opposed to going farther. Even the whigs in opposition, under the leadership of Lord John Russell, gave no sign of any particular interest in the doctrines of the Manchester school. All at once, by the happening of the unforeseen, the apathy of statesmen and parties was disturbed, sudden action was forced to take the place of complacent indifference. A terrible misfortune had befallen the nation, and a remedy must be applied once. Then it was that the voice of the English people was heard in a manner to overawe their servants in parliament. The education that had been going on for seven years was now to point out the one course that ministers were bound to take.

The autumn of 1845 in England had been the wettest autumn within the memory of man. While the grain was spoiling in the cold, soggy fields, ominous news came from Ireland that the potato rot had appeared in that unhappy island, reducing the food supply of the common people to the starvation point. The league saw that the crisis had arrived.

As early as October Peel had summoned his cabinet to consider the situation. He had written to Sir James Graham that the only effectual remedy was the removal of impediments to imports. But the cabinet was not of one mind. Lord Stanley and the duke of Wellington refused to follow their leader.

On the 22d of November Lord John Russell dispatched from Edinburgh a let-

ter to his constituents in London, accusing the government of procrastination in face of the present frightful suffering in Ireland and England, and urging his friends to unite to put an end to a system which had proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality and crime. If the end was to be achieved it must be gained by the unequivocal expression of the public voice. "The Edinburgh letter," says John Morley, "was the formal announcement that Lord John Russell had come round to Cobden's programme, the winning of free trade by agitation." And Russell spoke for the entire whig party. "Your letter," said Mr. Bright to Lord John, "has now made the total and immediate repeal of the corn law inevitable; nothing can save it."

Hurried meetings of the cabinet followed, in which a hopeless difference of opinion was made evident. Lord Stanley would not give in. In vain did Sir James Graham point to the ferment throughout the country, and characterize it as the most formidable movement of modern times. Peel resigned. Lord John Russell attempted to form a ministry, but was unsuccessful. The whigs were in a hopeless minority. Peel's enlightened followers stood by their leader. The stubborn protectionists sulked apart. For some days there was no responsible government. "The league alone stood erect and aloft amid the ruins of the factions."

At a great meeting in Manchester Cobden and his associates had made an appeal for £250,000. Amid a scene of enthusiasm that has often been described, shouts came from different parts of the vast building, "Put me down for £1,000!" "And me for a thousand," "and me for a thousand." No less than £60,000 were subscribed on the spot.

Sir R. Peel, withdrawing his resignation, reassumed office on December 20. Stanley withdrew at once from the cabinet, leaving the prime minister now free to bring in his measure. This Peel did at the opening of the session of 1846. The repeal of the corn laws was to be total, but it was not to be immediate. The ports were not to be entirely open for three years. Not until February, 1849, were the views of the league to be fully realized.

This was an error in judgment that Cobden and the league tried in vain to rectify. He showed that immediate repeal would be the best for all concerned. But the whigs and Peelites were for going more slowly, and the leaguers in parliament were constrained to rest satisfied. The bill passed the house on May 15, and the lords on June 25. On May 16, Cobden wrote: "I last night had the glorious privilege of giving a vote in the majority for the third reading of the bill for the total repeal of the corn law. I trust we shall never hear the name of 'corn' again in the commons. There was a good deal of cheering and waving of hats when the speaker had put the question, 'that this bill do now pass.' Lord Morpeth, Macaulay and others came and shook hands with me and congratulated me on the triumph of our cause." On June 26, Cobden wrote to his wife: "My dearest Kate, hurrah! hurrah! the corn bill is law, and now my work is done."

On the same day that the corn bill passed the house of lords, Peel was defeated on an Irish coercion bill in the house of commons. Three days later he announced his resignation. Speaking of the recent legislation, he said: "In reference to our proposing these measures I have no wish to rob any person of the credit which is justly due to him for them. But I may say that neither the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite, nor myself, nor the gentlemen sitting round me—I say that neither of us are the parties who are strictly entitled to the merit. There has been a combination of parties, and that combination of parties, together with the influence of the government, has led to the ultimate success of the measures. But, sir, there is a name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures; it is not the name of the noble lord, the member for London, neither is it my name, Sir, the name which ought to be and which will be associated with the success of these measures is the name of a man who, acting I believe from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason, expressed by an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be and will be asso-

ciated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him."

E. YANCEY COHEN.

JUDGE FOX AND THE SINGLE TAX.

The Statesman for October.

In the September number of the Statesman, under the title of "Henry George and the Gracchi," Mr. Fox states his objections to the single tax. So far as he deals with Mr. George personally, I shall not volunteer to champion a gentleman so abundantly capable of fighting his own battles as Mr. George has proven himself to be, or even attempt to correct what I believe to be Mr. Fox's misapprehensions of Mr. George's tenets. Since, however, I have, and believe every thoughtful citizen should have, an interest in the cause which I believe would be aided by the adoption of the principle inadequately characterized by the term "single tax," I venture to answer some of Mr. Fox's objections—to the end that the one of us who is wrong may be ultimately set right.

It has been nearly twenty years since I have felt that the only salvation of this, or any other country, was to be found in such a development of its social and political economy as should insure that the many of its citizens—not necessarily, though probably, the majority, but in any case such in number and quality as should dominate its national development—should be small freeholders, tilling the land they occupy. I believe that Mr. Fox agrees with me—if, indeed, he does not consider the race too perverse to make this a hopeful expedient. The single tax, as I understand it, tends to discourage large holdings of land, especially unimproved land. If so, then it is an important step toward the desired consummation, and should be favored unless there are more weighty considerations in opposition. And when objections arise which seem to me mistaken ones—as do some of those urged by Mr. Fox—I trust I may be excused in attempting to refute them.

As I understand him, his first objection is the hopelessness of the task. He says, referring to the experience of the Gracchi, to which he properly refers as a precedent:

His (Tiberius Gracchus) theory was right. . . . His scheme was impracticable, because its operation did not fit the nature, wishes and character of those men who had become thoroughly corrupt and degenerate from contact with life in Rome. They did not and would not return to the industrious and frugal life of a farmer.

And again:

Tiberius Gracchus reasoned correctly in thinking and acting upon the conclusion that the industrious and frugal farmer was the mainstay and support of the Roman state, as he is of any, every and all governments; but he reasoned wrongly in thinking that these men could be again made farmers by legislation.

To this there are two answers:

First—Whatever may have been the case at Rome, the mass of our population has not as yet become corrupt and degenerate from contact with city life or servile dependence upon wealth. Such may be the surface indications. But I believe they are only such, and at the worst characterize tendencies rather than results. Mr. Fox will not claim that our rural population, as a whole, is embroiled and servilized—if I may use the term—to the extent that was the Roman proletariat in the time of Tiberius, not to say that of Caius Gracchus.

Second—The scheme of Tiberius Gracchus did prove practicable, and was grandly successful. Untoward as were the human elements with which he had to deal, unfavorable as were the circumstances under which his law was put into operation after its author was slain; nevertheless the lands allotted by his commission were eagerly settled by the landless citizens; the decay of the Roman state was temporarily checked, and the number of her free burgesses, which had been decreasing for a generation, steadily rose again, until six years after the law went into operation it had increased by twenty per cent. When Caius Gracchus took up the reform his murdered brother had inaugurated, not merely all available Italian allotments had been eagerly taken, but thousands stood ready to leave Latium to take up the lands that he procured to be allotted in Africa and Spain. After his death this allotment was stopped by the senate. Whether state socialism had already sapped the foundations of the Roman state; whether the remedy the Gracchi proposed had not come too late to have attained its end—these are questions that can never be settled. But dur-

ing the short period that the Gracchan laws were allowed to operate, their phenomenal success was such as to have ever since remained an authority for the advantage and practicability of promoting a land owning, as distinguished from a servile or hireling, population.

Third—The single tax plan has an important advantage over the Gracchan system, in that it would make it for the interest of the greater land owners themselves to lessen their holdings. An appeal to their selfish interest will be considered as practical, even by Mr. Fox in his despair.

It consequently appears that the scheme of Gracchus was tried under more unfavorable circumstances than now confront us, but proved practical and successful so far as it was tested; and that the single tax plan has certain advantages over the Gracchan system which make less formidable the obstacles against which that system was dashed to pieces.

Mr. Fox's second objection to the single tax, as stated by him, is that:

Confiscation and a redistribution of the land of this country are the logical and practical result of this (single tax) theory put into operation. . . . Let him (Mr. George), remember that according to his theory an acre of land in the city of New York, is to be taxed at the same rate or sum as another acre of land, even the poorest, in the most uncultivated portion of the Empire state.

These expenses (national, state, municipal), are annually increasing, while the quantity of land from which these taxes are to be gathered is forever permanently fixed.

About five years would elapse before the state and national governments would clash as to the ownership of the land in the various states. . . . The alternative, together with the actual certainty that one or the other would soon have and own all the lands, because there is a deficiency of land as compared with the increase in the amount of the triple expenses, brings us face to face with the final question; how many and where would the public granaries be located; at Washington, or at our state capitals, or at our great public centers? Who would raise the corn and all the other necessities to fill them?

Appalling—if true. I have italicized above the portion of Mr. Fox's statement which it seems to me includes his fundamental error. The "theory" he sets forth is a straw man of his own creation, to which, on the single tax theory, he is entitled to the absolute ownership, and which, after he has knocked him down, he may burn at his leisure. The single tax idea, on the contrary, is that every acre of land shall be assessed at its value for use, irrespective of improvements thereon. To illustrate—just opposite my office there was a year since a plot of ground 80x90 feet in area, from which had just been removed all the improvements formerly thereon, preparatory to erecting a new building. Just as it was—original sand bank, strewn with worthless debris of the old structure—that plot of ground was salable at, and was worth for use, even though subject to annual tax payment, a million of dollars. Since then a ten-story granite building has been built thereon at an expense of \$500,000. A month ago I went to the Adirondacks to inspect certain tracts of wild land there, and decide whether to pay the taxes due upon them or abandon them to the state. I concluded that they were worth for development, say \$5 per acre, and that it would pay to settle the taxes and sell the land for improvement. Now under the single tax system that city lot and those Adirondack lands would be assessed at \$1,000,000 and at \$5 per acre respectively. As to assessment, therefore, the only difference between that and the present system is that the owners of the lot would not be heavily fined, as they now are, for having benefited every one in the vicinity by their enterprise; and some sturdy citizen who shall subdue these lands and build his home thereon would not be fined, as our present laws will fine him, even more in proportion to the worth of his property than they do the city lot owners, for having helped in the most efficient way to insure the prosperity and stability of our state.

Again, Mr. Fox, in his remarks quoted above—an elaborate discussion, which I need not quote here—argues that the single tax is inadequate to meet all the burdens of government. It might be enough to note that his whole argument falls with the erroneous assumption (as to the theory of the single tax) on which it is based. But as the burdens of government may conceivably amount to almost any per cent of the net earnings of a people, this according to the extent of the functions which government assumes, it is worth considering whether the objection is in any case a formidable one.

There can be no question that the annual value for use of the land of every

state is greater than the taxes now annually assessed thereon. Hence, in any event, the single tax would permit the abrogation or reduction of other taxes; that now hamper commerce and impose penalties on enterprise. That would be a good thing in itself. If a part only of those other taxes could be thus made unnecessary, then so far so good. If all other taxes could thus be dispensed with, as I believe they could, so much the better. Such benefits, however, are incidental to the operation of the single tax, not its object. The present law fines enterprise and encourages idle speculation. The single tax, to the extent of its operation, relieves industry and thrift from the burdens of government, and, making the land owner pay for his opportunities whether he improves them or not, applies the parable of the talent to the case of the occupier of land, and fines him for any lack of thrift of which he is guilty. Its operation would, be first, to help distribute lands among those who would utilize them to the utmost, and, second, to give additional inducement for such intensive culture and improvement as shall get the most use from the least land. This means ever smaller holdings, and more of them; that is, a constantly increasing number of independent husbandmen—the bulwark of the state.

Mr. Fox, however, is apprehensive of the result should government need more taxes than the single tax would produce, and, imagining government ownership to be the result, sees a dependent mob of citizens fed from government granaries. But what has that to do with single tax? Mr. George believes that such tax will provide liberally for every proper function of government. So do I. Land might be taxed at its full value for use, but it goes without saying that higher taxes could not be generally collected. If more is assessed and the land is sold for taxes, as it is under the present system, what is there to prevent the state doing as it does now—ascertaining by public auction what citizens are willing to pay for its use and reassessing it accordingly? Why need government remain the owner of land sold for taxes any more than it does nowadays?

It would, however, be unfair to Mr. Fox to assume that a demonstration of the practicability of such an assessment as shall keep the land of a state out of the hands of the government is a refutation of his objection. That objection goes deeper. It is really this: That taxes might be so increased as to aggregate more than the rental of the land without improvement, and thus become so oppressive as to discourage private ownership and bring about state socialism to a more or less advanced degree. This is possible; but how would the single tax make it more probable? To-day the great majority of our voters would be apparently benefited by such increase of taxation as, providing for an extension of the functions and expenditures of government, should give them more than they now get at the expense of the minority who own the bulk of the wealth of the country. That the majority does not do so is creditable alike to its intelligence and integrity, in which we have grown to have such confidence that we have ceased to fear such action as that suggested. Would that majority be less conservative if a still larger proportion of our voters were to become direct tax payers? Would it not be most so in regard to the land tax, which more than any other would be evenly felt in every quarter of the country? If Mr. Fox wishes to criticize the name "single tax" on the ground that it might not, under all imaginable circumstances, produce all that the government might need, we need waste no time in refuting his conclusion; though we may consider all the probabilities, all the possibilities indeed, assuming our civilization to continue its development in the direction of individualism—to be against it. It is easy to imagine a system of state socialism that would absorb, to redistribute, far more than the rental value of the land of the country. It is one of the strongest points in favor of the single tax—or primal tax, if Mr. Fox prefers the term—that its tendency is to build up individualism and to reduce even the chances that now exist of danger from socialism.

Lastly, from the practical side, Mr. Fox states what, if an actual, is a formidable obstacle to the success of the single tax movement:

Tiberius Gracchus reasoned correctly in thinking and acting upon the conclusion that the industrious and frugal farmer was the mainstay and support of the Roman state,

as he is of any and all governments. Henry George, starting with diametrically opposite conclusions, is by his system undertaking to obliterate the farming class of our citizenship by destroying their personal ownership of land in order to protect labor from capital. Henry George will fail because the farmers will, to protect themselves, be compelled to combine with capital to stop this unjust war upon their rights and interests; it is their only course, and is self-preservation.

I absolve Mr. Fox from willful misrepresentation; for not only does his whole article entitle him to the presumption of candor here, but the perfection of the misstatement is such as is obviously due to a most happy chance rather than to any ingenuity. Gracchus apportioned his land allotments in small, durable leaseholds, subject to a perpetual ground rent. The single tax proposes to facilitate the voluntary creation of such leaseholds, with this exception: That the ground rent is to be fixed from time to time by the votes of a free people, of whom, as a main effect of the system, the land holding farmers will form a constantly increasing proportion. And except in the last noted incident, which makes it all the more favorable to the farmer, it differs in no way from our present tax on unimproved land, which is a variable ground rent annually fixed by the state. So far as concerns "capital," except land without improvement (if such can be termed capital at all) the single tax would relieve it from taxation.

These considerations might be sufficient to meet the text of Mr. Fox's criticism. It would hardly be fair, however, to drop Mr. Fox here. For, I take it, the really important consideration he wishes to present is: How will the single tax affect the farmer—the voting rural population?

It is proposed to assess all lands at their unimproved value, and not otherwise. That amounts to this: that all improved lands are to be relieved somewhat of present taxation, and all unimproved lands are to be somewhat more heavily taxed; that all more improved lands are to be less taxed in comparison with all less improved lands—generally speaking that all extensive estates, the worth of whose broad acres, irrespective of their improvements, is greater in comparison with such improvements, will pay more, and small farms, a greater part of whose worth is made up of buildings and improvements, will pay less. Which are the more numerous? Which would the single tax tend to make more and more numerous? Which is it good policy for the government most to encourage? To ask these questions is to answer them, and to demonstrate that in its comparative incidence upon improved and unimproved rural property respectively, the single tax is at once more just and politic than our present system.

But any general system of taxation involves questions of general as well as local proportion. What share of taxes would rural communities, as a whole, pay under the single tax, as compared with what they now pay, or as compared with that paid by urban communities? Let us see. It will be admitted that "unearned increment"—increase in the value of land, due not to improvement of the land itself, but to improvement of lands about it—as in the case of city lots, is a more important factor in the city than in the country. It will be admitted that in a state where there are no cities or villages, no causes for unearned increment in special localities, it will be perfectly fair to assess all lands at their present value for use equally except as present productiveness or availability of each tract may differ. Now as the state, as a whole, increases in productiveness and wealth its lands become more and more valuable for use in two general ways—first by actual improvement of the land itself and the buildings placed thereon, second by increased availability for use of certain parcels in or near villages and cities—which will aggregate themselves about certain natural or artificial vantage points. This increase in availability, this so-called "unearned increment," is so intensified in cities, and so minimized in strictly rural districts that it may be considered a factor of land values in cities and villages alone; and when it is considered that the worth of a city lot—unlike even half cultivated land—is scarcely affected by whether it is fenced or ditched, cultivated or not; and how enormously out of all proportion to the value of farm land is the value of city land as such, without reference to any improvements whatever on the particular parcel, it will be seen how hard it is even to imagine a village, much

less a city, where the value of the land, without reference to the improvements, does not bear a greater proportion to the value of all real estate there, including improvements, than does the land in any rural district, considered as wild or unimproved land, bear to the actual value of the real estate of such rural district, including all buildings, fences, ditches and improvements of every kind that have made it more fertile and more valuable. And it is impossible to imagine a state, including growing cities, where the comparison in question will not be more conclusive in the same direction as the proportion of urban to rural development increases.

To sum up: Not merely is the single tax, as compared with our present system of taxation, the more just and politic as between the several members of a rural community; but, if put into operation, it would decrease the proportion of taxes which the farming community would have to pay as compared with our cities; and would increase, faster than would our present system, the proportion of taxes which cities would have to pay.

Even as now assessed, taxation falls mainly on real estate, exemptions and evasions leaving but a comparatively small amount of assessed personality. Again, it is notorious that the opportunity and practice of evasion is so increased with the volume of personal estates that, generally speaking, the more rigorous the method the greater the unfairness of personal assessment, and the heavier the comparative burden of taxation on those least able to bear it. It is a mooted problem whether any community is benefited by a tax on personal property; it is demonstrable that most are harmed by it; it is easily shown how small must be the advantage in the remaining cases. In the very cities where there is most of it taxed, and where a larger majority than elsewhere of voters are least interested in evading taxation, it is most certain that on a popular vote all classes would unite in collecting all taxes from real estate (including real franchises) alone. But allowing all possibilities in favor of taxation of personality, even its problematical benefits to rural communities are so limited that, discarding every doubtful factor, the effect of unearned increment upon assessments under the single tax plan would be so great that there can be no question as to the net benefits which would accrue to the farmer by the single tax system of assessment, as compared with that now in vogue.

Let the American farmer be relieved (a) by abolishing "protective" taxation—which mulets him, not to support government, but to subsidize his fellow citizens who make a business of lobbying tariff laws through congress; (b) by abolishing indirect taxation, which wastefully collects for government the amount it realizes, and at the same time hampers our commerce, and (c) by the single tax system of assessment; which would tend to build up the farming class and to reduce its share of tax burdens.

And since these are not interdependent, let each be welcomed as it approaches—whether in company with the others, or as their forerunner—for each true reform is the prophet of every other that has not already preceded it.

JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

THE LAND AND THE COMMUNITY.(1).

The Single Tax (Unlimited) Set Forth by an English Clergyman.

This is a noteworthy book—not merely for its own intrinsic merit, but because it is the first work in which a clergyman of the Established church of England declares himself unhesitatingly and unfalteringly for single tax principles.

The preface is by Henry George, bearing date London, July 18, 1889. A few extracts from it may aid in giving an idea of the book:

In its original form this book was the thesis which, according to custom, was presented by the Rev. W. S. Thackeray, when applying, in the early part of this year, to his university of Cambridge for the degree of doctor of laws. Somewhat expanded, and arranged so as to facilitate reference, it is now laid before the general public in a form which I trust will give it a large circulation and enable it to do a most useful work.

The manner in which Mr. Thackeray has treated the subject, the fullness and clear-

(1) The Land and the Community. In three books. By the Rev. W. S. Thackeray, M.A., LL.D. Trin. Coll., Cantab. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 16mo. pp. 228.

ness with which he has dwelt upon its historical and legal aspects, the attention he has given to the matter of compensation so much mooted in this country, and the religious feeling and conservative disposition which he has manifested throughout, seem to me to peculiarly adapt this book to English thought, and especially to the thought of that influential section of the English people with which, as a graduate of one of the great universities and a clergyman of the Established church, he comes into closest touch. At the same time its directness and compactness, and an arrangement which facilitates reference and adapts it to the requirements of teaching, specially fit it to the needs of the time.

Then after speaking of the rapid growth of true ideas as to the relation between the land and the community, Mr. George goes on:

To give force and definiteness to these ideas; to make manifest their conformity with historical experience and religious truth; to put them in such relation that the recognition of common rights in land may strengthen, not weaken, the recognition of individual rights in the products of labor; to supply ready answers to the fallacious arguments by which the defenders of vested wrongs on the one hand and the deniers of all rights of property on the other hand are endeavoring to confuse the essential distinction between what God created and what man has produced, between the natural reservoir from which human labor must draw and the things which labor may for a while withdraw from that exhaustless reservoir and put into shapes adapted to the satisfaction of human needs—there is needed some clear and simple exposition of essential principles and important facts.

This need it seems to me Mr. Thackeray has well supplied. Without going over all the ground or entering into the controversial arguments or economical reasoning which seemed to me necessary in "Progress and Poverty," he has reached the same conclusions. First unraveling the tangled skein of our history in such way as to show how the peoples of the English speech, losing their earlier perceptions in a long course of usurpation and tyranny, came to regard the land itself as subject to those rights of exclusive ownership which properly attach only to the things which labor draws in from land, Mr. Thackeray has then set forth the principles that ought to govern the relations between the community and the element which is alike necessary to all its members, and shown how easily these principles may be applied in the conditions of the present day. And finally he has shown how such application, insuring their natural rights to all and conforming the most fundamental and important of all social adjustments to the supreme law of justice, would, without injury to any, open the way to a civilization as much higher than that which now exists as that is higher than barbarism.

I should like to commend this work, which I hope will soon pass into a popular edition, to members of school boards who are anxious to make national education a means of diffusing the most important of all knowledge among the rising generation, to superintendents and managers of Sunday schools, and especially to those who hope for the conversion of the official ministers of religion, and particularly the bishops and clergy of the church of England, to a living and practical faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men.

The authority and influence of a body that ought to be foremost in the endeavor to establish justice and of those who ought to be first to welcome truth, have been so often used to bolster vested wrongs and to cover up the truth that threatened them, that to many who read this book, it will be, as it is to me, a special gratification that its author is a clergyman of the church of England and an honored graduate of one of the great English universities. And I fancy there will be few who will dissent from Mr. Thackeray's proposition that that portion of the public fund which has been saved from private appropriation for the support of the church and the maintenance of institutions of learning should under the salutary conditions which he suggests, be continued to such purposes. This certainly will be the case if the church and the universities shall be found to contain many men like Mr. Thackeray who will be led by his example to come forth on the side of equal justice and lend their influence to the restoration to the disinherited millions of their rights in the bounty of their Creator.

Book I, the first of the three subdivisions into which the "Land and the Community" is divided, is devoted to "The History of Land Tenure in England." In this Dr. Thackeray has devoted a great deal of learning and research to the task of giving a clear account of how the land of England passed from the recognition of common and equal rights by the primitive system, through the Saxon development and the feudal period, until finally, as the result of long struggles,

the nobles, supplementing their victory over the crown by a compromise in which the system of public debts and indirect taxation was fastened on the people, and greatly assisted by the arts of the lawyers, succeeded in instituting the system of virtual private property in land which still exists.

As for the future of land tenure, Dr. Thackeray thus states the problem:

How can we reconcile the right of the individual possessor in the land (which is necessary to enable him to reap the fruits of his toil) with the continuous right of ownership in the community?

And the answer, he says, is:

To appropriate all ground rents by taxation, and apply the proceeds for the benefit of the whole community.

The historical part of Dr. Thackeray's work is especially valuable, and sheds much light on the real meaning and historical genesis of many of the intricacies of our law. And to make the general features of English history with regard to the tenure of land more easily understood and remembered, Dr. Thackeray has thrown them into the form of an allegory in which is narrated the fortunes of three boys—Merchant, Arisan and Peasant—left by their Saxon mother to the guardianship of Old Feudal King, and from his abuse rescued by one Simon de Montfort to be placed under the guardianship of an uncle, Landed Aristocracy. The three young men have now come of age, the eldest in 1832, the second in 1867, and the third in 1885—the dates of the franchise extensions—and though they have not yet insisted on demanding their inheritance, it is pretty evident that they are getting ready to. The allegory concludes with this significant paragraph:

I have been told also, though I can scarcely credit it, that the uncle has cherished some kind of an idea that he would obtain from the young men some "compensation" when they took the control of the estate into their own hands, because of course he would then have no more opportunities for pilfering as he had been accustomed to do. But really I cannot believe that, hardened as he is, he can have the conscience to expect that.

Book II is entitled "On Compensation." This is delightful reading. That the equal right to land is irrefutable and indefeasible Dr. Thackeray shows from first principles, illustrating from Magna Charta and other declarations of right, from the litany and prayer book of the church of England, and from accepted principles of law. He then shows how the single tax would secure both the rights of the individual and the rights of the community, how it is necessary to take not merely a part but the whole value of land for public uses, to what large beneficial purposes the great fund which would thus come into public disposition could be devoted, and how involuntary poverty would be first diminished and then utterly extinguished. Finally he brings the claim of the landlords for compensation to trial in a series of formal pleadings, the result of which is the inevitable verdict that they are entitled to no compensation whatever, and that if they persist in talking about compensation it must be held that they are not only bound to give up the common property which they or their ancestors or grantors have wrongfully appropriated, but must also be called on to make recompense to those who have been injured by their wrongful appropriation. The third book embraces a series of statistics of great value in discussions of the subject.

Dr. Thackeray has written and arranged his book with the skill of the practiced teacher, for use in schools and academies. It is broken up into numbered paragraphs accompanied with marginal notes which make reference exceedingly easy. We shall take opportunity to make some future extracts, and in the meantime heartily commend it to our readers. It will be sent from THE STANDARD office post paid on receipt of publisher's price, \$1, and will make an exceedingly appropriate present to a clerical friend. Its publication is, as Mr. George says in concluding his preface, a significant indication that the day in which the equal rights of men to land could be ignored has passed.

BRITISH POLITICS.

Supplying Liberal Candidates with Land Reform Data—Michael Davitt on the Recent By-Elections—The Bishop of London and the Sweating System—The Tithe Agitation in Wales.

LLANBERIS, North Wales, Oct. 16.—The Free land league has addressed a circular to 1,300 liberal associations and clubs, calling attention to the importance of placing before the electors the best methods of land law reform in view of the next general election, and offering to co-operate in regard to public meetings upon the subject in every constituency.

Michael Davitt, writing to the Dublin Freeman's Journal, blames it for referring to Mr. Seymour Keay's views about single tax as a "fad." He says both Peterborough and Elgin were won on the joint platform of home rule and the single tax, and if North Bucks fails to follow it will be because the home rule candidate is weighted with the evil name of landlordism. "It can only be a comparatively brief time," says he, "till the industrial classes of Great Britain demand the abolition of all indirect taxes now imposed on their tea, cocoa, tobacco and drinks, and insist on the national revenue being levied upon those values which the community itself imports to land in country and city."

Before the election at Elgin and Nairns, the tory cry was that Mr. Seymour Keay was not a fit candidate for any British constituency, because of his horrible views about the single tax. And to my amusement I read in a tory paper the day after the election that two things were greatly against the tory candidate, he being a lawyer and a land agent. Oh, consistency, where art thou?

Rev. Charles Berry, speaking on "The government endowment of Roman Catholicism" at the Congregational union meetings at Hull, mentioned that some of the Irish leaders were almost committed on that question; but says he: "There came upon that short statement of Mr. Parnell's a letter in the Pall Mall Gazette by a man whom some of us think to be the bravest and best of Ireland's sons, a true and reverend Catholic, as well as Mr. Sexton, but who learned democracy, the rights of man, in England, and has never failed in their application—Mr. Michael Davitt. (Applause.) He threw over the promise of the Catholic university, not as some of his brethren afterward did, on the ground that it would probably hinder the national movement, but he went further and argued the question on its merits and altogether apart from the question of home rule, and entirely on the merits of the question he repudiated a Catholic university endowed by the state." We are proud to think that Mr. Michael Davitt is one of our pillars.

Much has been written, and loud has been the cry against the cruel sweating system which prevails in our great business centers. In London an "anti-sweating league" has been organized, and many influential men have enrolled on its side, and have promised their support in legally agitating reform of the barbarous system. The bishop of London was asked to join and assist in the movement, and the three points of the organization were presented to him: (1) "A reasonable reduction in the hours of labor, lessening overwork whenever it interferes with health and comforts of the workers, etc. (2) To abolish the cruel and varied systems known as 'sweating,' by which the worker is oppressed and deprived of the legitimate fruits of his labor. (3) To seek to accomplish their ends by persuasion, combination, arbitration, legislation and constitutional means, as well as by promoting obedience to industrial statutes." The bishop emphatically refused to take any interest in the matter until the "commission of the house of lords" have reported on the matter. "I do not know what are the legitimate fruits of any man's labor," he said, "and such language seems to me to be misleading and mischievous." It is very probable that the bishop never made a truer statement, for he and many of his kind have never realized what are the "legitimate fruits" of labor. They live on the sweat of other people's brows, by wringing tithes against the will of the people. What a pity that such men living in luxury do not know what the legitimate fruits of labor ought to be. To him such language is "misleading and mischievous." I wonder if he would think so if to-morrow he were disrobed and had to work for a living? In the bishop's opinion the laborer has no alternative; "if he can't make enough to live in London let him go where he can get enough to live."

The South Wales Daily News publishes a lengthy report of a private meeting of the emergency committee of the Liberal federation to consider a report made by certain gentlemen appointed to investigate the circumstances under which recent distraints have been carried out in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire. It was alleged that illegal extortions have been imposed in many instances. In one case £98 had been paid in respect of a tithe claim, which originally was £10 15s.; and that in another case execution had been levied for £71 in respect of a tithe claim, which was originally £6 17s. 6d. The report has created the greatest excitement in Wales, and is rather a damper upon the glowing meetings of the Church congress which recently met in Cardiff and claimed everything good that has ever taken place in Wales. Legal assistance has been procured,

and some lively prosecutions are expected. Special collections have been made in Non-conformist chapels to aid in the prosecution and to defray all expenses of a thorough investigation. One hundred and forty farmers in Cardiganshire have received notices of distraints, and there are probably an equal number in Pembrokeshire. Sir E. J. Reid, M. P., and the Messrs. Duncan of Cardiff have each contributed £10. This is another strong spoke in the wheel, and the tithe agitation will in a very short time be a thing of the past. The land question is freely discussed, and takes its place as one of the three great questions in Wales, the other two being the church disestablishment and home rule for Ireland.

Mr. John Burns, speaking on Sunday the 15th, sums up the results of the late strike in this manner: One hundred and sixty of the eight thousand trades of London have gained ten per cent increase of wages and fifteen per cent reduction of hours; one hundred thousand members have been added to the trade unions of London; an entirely new spirit has been thrown into labor movements all over the country; and, finally, labor questions have been forced to the front of the political programmes of the day. Mr. Burns attributes the radical successes in Peterborough, Elgin and Nairns, and North Bucks to the prominence they have given to social questions.

The paper in advocacy of the single tax by Mr. Albert Spicer, J. P., of London, at the Congregational union, and the discussion which followed has created quite a stir in England and Wales. Mr. Spicer's sincerity and earnestness are praised and admired on all sides. One report states: "Nothing could have been more admirably concise and moderate than his statement of facts—revealing a social position full of anxiety and even of danger—nor could any fail to be moved by the earnestness of his appeal to Christian men to consider and to grapple with this great problem of the age." The good cause is making rapid and sure progress.

G. R. GRIFFITH.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Information Pertaining to the Printers.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: The committee appointed at the annual session of the International typographical union, held last June at Denver, Col., in accordance with resolutions which have heretofore been published in THE STANDARD, to solicit and receive correspondence from the members of the craft throughout the jurisdiction of the union as to the causes of labor's degradation and as to what action is demanded of the trade union in order to increase its usefulness, and to compile and submit the suggestions received to the next session of the international body, has just issued a circular to the craft calling for contributions. No restrictions whatever, the committee say, are placed on those wishing to contribute, but a few suggestions are given as to certain lines on which it might be best to have the discussion proceed, as follows:

1. Has the average condition of American workmen declined within the last few years; and if so, why has such been the case?
2. What effect have existing revenue laws had on the condition of the working classes, and how far are such laws responsible for the dissatisfaction with the present conditions?
3. Definitions of the terms "capital," "wealth" and "labor."
4. What are the various factors in the production of wealth?
5. What is the source of wages; from whence are they drawn?
6. What are the laws governing the distribution of wealth?
7. What is the law of rent? Is rent natural or artificial?
8. What are the functions of money and the law of interest?
9. What political or legislative action, if any, is necessary on the part of labor?
10. Effects of a reduction of the hours of labor and how may such results be attained?
11. Apprentice laws and other methods tending to increase the efficiency of skilled labor.
12. What would be the effect of the adoption of the so-called "single tax."

The circular then proceeds:

The object in view by the committee is a more general diffusion throughout the craft of a knowledge of political economy, and it is believed this can be more thoroughly attained in the manner indicated than by any other means. Writers need not confine themselves to the topics suggested above, which are merely submitted as a sort of outline, but can treat any feature of the labor question "in its varied aspects" in such manner as seems to them most desirable and convenient. It will be noted that the general line of the inquiry is to be directed toward discovering "what action is demanded by the trade union in order to further increase its usefulness," and suggestions under this head are especially solicited, as are also views upon the feasibility and best methods of promoting discussions, essays, etc., in the subordinate unions.

The members of this committee are Fred W. Stevens, St. Paul, Minn.; Frank A. Lewis, Pittsburg, Pa.; Charles A. Lynch, Boston, Mass.; Henry A. Glenn, Wichita, Kan.; Martin Knowles, Chicago, Ill. Two at least of these gentlemen are single taxers, Mr. Stevens, chairman of the committee, and Mr. Lynch. Every single tax man in North America should respond to this invitation, if only to say that "the single tax will do it."

Many in Boston have signified an intention to contribute. JOHN R. ROCHE.
Boston, Mass., Oct. 21.

Perhaps Some One Can Give His Name.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: A man in Wisconsin (I forget his name), in about 1857, advocated the single tax in Racine papers. After his death his widow, in England, had the articles published in book form. Rev. McCarthy of your city has or had a typewriter copy. J. H. BLAKENEY.
Binghamton, N. Y.

Mr. Powderly and the Single Tax.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: Having just read in your paper an extract from a speech of Mr. Powderly's, in which he claims to have seen the cut, it seems necessary to observe that, although it is good to hear that that gentleman has at last got a glimpse of the feline, it is very much to be regretted that the stimulus to his comprehension of the single tax idea should have been a direct application of the present unjust system to himself instead of a more successful search after the real trouble in the first place.

Manistee, Mich.

HAROLD HARMER.

Ballot Reform in Minneapolis.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: Lest your item in the issue of Oct. 19, regarding the adoption of the Australian ballot in Minnesota, should mislead some readers, I hope you will permit me to state the facts in the case, so that others, to whom great credit is due, may not be overlooked. The facts are as follows:

In March, 1888, the state convention of republican clubs met in Minneapolis. On the first day of their convention I happened to meet Mr. J. P. McGaughey and Mr. C. A. S. Higley, who, together with myself and some others had been discussing the need of ballot reform for some months. "Buell," said McGaughey, "you are just the fellow we want. Higley and I have been talking the matter over and we want you to go before this convention of republican clubs, explain the Australian ballot system, and urge them to indorse it." "Oh," said I, "you boys better do that. You are better known than I am, and your recommendation would carry more weight." We then sat down and drew up a resolution to be introduced and I went home.

That evening Albert Dollenmeyer came to my house and said that arrangements had been made to have me address the committee on resolutions at eight o'clock. I did some hustling and appeared before the committee at the appointed time.

After a half hour's explanation and the answering of some questions, the committee voted unanimously to recommend the measure to the convention. The next day the convention took it up and voted unanimously to recommend it to the republican state convention when it should meet.

CHAPTER II.—When the democratic state convention met I was on hand with my ballot reform resolution. Hon. P. J. Smalley, a good single taxer, was chairman of the committee on resolutions. As soon as I introduced myself and my scheme to him, he gave us both a hearty welcome, as one single tax man always does another, and we easily got the measure indorsed in the platform.

The newspapers now began to urge the matter, and great credit is due them for the efficient work they did. By the time the republican convention met the matter had got to the point where the committee on resolutions was fairly deluged with demands for a ballot reform plank. I attended the convention, but my services were not needed.

At this stage of the work the single tax men wisely decided to refrain from actively pushing the measure. We thought it especially wise not to urge the legislation, but allow others to do that. About this time many very good and conscientious people became very much frightened at single taxers so we kept out of the fight.

CHAPTER III.—The second bill introduced into the house was the now much talked of Australian ballot bill, presented by Hon. J. A. Keyes of Winona. He pushed the bill vigorously and judiciously and secured its passage on the last day of the session. The credit of actually putting the bill through the legislature is not at all due to me, nor to any other single tax man, so far as I know. I never met Mr. Keyes and do not think he was in communication with any of us. We decided to keep perfectly still, as the best way not to kill the bill. The papers punched up the legislature toward the close of the session and fairly drove them, after they had once killed the bill, to reconsider and pass it.

I could fill your whole paper with details of the work of getting the measure through, but have given enough to show just where the responsibility lies, and also I hope to give credit to others who did much to give us the reform that must precede all other reforms.

Minneapolis, Minn.

C. J. BUELL.

Dove's Book Among the Presbyterians.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD: Would not Dove's "Theory of Human Progression" be just the book to place in the hands of Calvinistic clergymen who may be prejudiced against the name of "Progress and Poverty" on account of the hostile criticism of the latter work by Principal Grant, a leader of Canadian Presbyterians? These ministers are mostly honest humanitarians, and when

they read Dove they will not hesitate to read George. Then they will have an iron chain of logic binding the image of the cat in their brains. The standards of the liberal party here are waving in the freshening breeze that seems to come from the sunny, sunny land, driving the old and rotten national policy dug-out right against the northern rock of common sense. But Laurier, the liberal leader, has unfurled the fair flag of free trade, and has anchored his policy in the hearts of a tariff ridden people. "Vive la Laurier" is a cheering battle cry.

A Montreal commercial traveler named Macdonald recently happened among a group of hotel guests before whom I was delivering one of my periodical single tax harangues. He listened intently, and when I had finished he took the floor, warmly indorsing all I had said, and proceeded to make a capital argument in favor of one tax on land, pointing out the essential difference between land and property, and the immorality of landlordism. Now, this man had never heard of Henry George except as an "agitator."

M. J. MACDONALD.

Clusterville, Ontario, Can., Oct. 20.

PERSONAL.

James H. Barry, editor of the San Francisco Weekly Star, has been sentenced to five days' imprisonment and a fine of \$500, for contempt of court. The contempt consisted in an editorial criticism of the ruling of a local judge, published in the Star. Mr. Barry is a strong single tax man, and has made the Star one of the best single tax papers in the west.

D. C. David has a column article in the St. Laundry, La., Democrat on the single tax. Mr. David has been doing splendid work among the farmer's alliances and in the county newspapers of Louisiana.

Axel C. Burman of Marinette, Wis., has written a little pamphlet showing the influence of the protective tariff in depleting the returns for labor, whether on the farm or in the shop.

Mr. E. L. Ryder, editor of the Northwest Trade, whose recent visit to New York was noted in THE STANDARD, writes to his paper an interesting letter giving extracts from an old ledger belonging to Anthony Beekman, a New York merchant, in whose honor Beekman street was named. One of the most interesting items is one showing that though Mr. Beekman conducted a business averaging \$200,000 a year, he paid about \$28 per year rent for the property that now rents for \$10,000 a year. Mr. Ryder is a solid single tax man who never misses a chance to get a fact like this before the public.

Indeed, How Pitiful.

New York Commercial Advertiser.

How pitiful, beside England's average payments of from \$3,000,000 to \$6,000,000 yearly, appear our own mail subsidies of \$47,000!—[Boston Journal.]

How pitiful appears such misrepresentation from a newspaper which pretends to address the educated classes! England's average annual payment for the conveyance of mails in ships is almost exactly £630,000, or \$3,150,000. The payment of the United States for steamship conveyance was \$903,852 in 1888, and for the current fiscal year it is estimated at considerably more than \$1,000,000. After correcting its own figures, will the Journal kindly direct its attention to the railroad subsidy question? How pitiful, beside our payment of \$19,500,000 a year to the railways, appear England's railway mail subsidies of \$4,518,000!

"His Head is Level."

Evening Post.

Mr. Shearman is one of the most active and zealous members of the single tax propaganda, but he does not go to the length of requiring that the whole rental value of land should be taken by the tax gatherer if such rental value exceeds the amount needed for all the expenses of government, both local and national. He is confident that if the present value exceeds present expenditures, the latter will rapidly overtake the former when single taxing becomes the policy of the nation; and in this matter his head is level.

MASS MEETING

in behalf of

BALLOT REFORM,

under the auspices of

THE REFORM CLUB,

at

COOPER UNION,

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

At Eight O'Clock.

Eminent Speakers Will Address the Meeting.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

Twelve such subscriptions will be received for \$1.50

BALLOT REFORM.

THE REFORM CLUB AROUSED.

A Large and Enthusiastic Meeting of the Club—Mass Meeting to be Held.

A meeting of the Reform club was held in the club house at 12 East Thirty-third street on Monday evening to take action on a set of resolutions unanimously adopted by the ballot reform committee of the club. The meeting was called by President Everett P. Wheeler at the request of the following members: Horace E. Deming, Lucien Oudin, J. Hampden Dougherty, Louis F. Post, John Brooks Leavitt, Walter S. Logan, Lawrence Dunham, William M. Ivins, Edward B. Whitney, William T. Croasdale, Daniel G. Thompson, Wheeler H. Peckham, Abram C. Bernheim, William J. Coombs, John De Witt Warner and Calvin Tomkins.

Mr. Deming, who is chairman of the ballot reform committee, opened the meeting by presenting and supporting the resolutions, which were as follows:

Resolved, That this committee request the president to call a meeting of the club to act upon the following resolution, unanimously recommended by it.

Resolved, That the Reform club recommends to voters that they support in the coming election those candidates for the legislature, irrespective of party, who favor the essential principles of the Saxton ballot reform bill, to wit:

1. The ballots should be printed and distributed at the public expense.
2. The names of all candidates for the same office should be printed upon the same ballot.
3. The ballot should be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.
4. Only ballots so delivered should be voted, the voter guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

In his remarks, Mr. Deming said that while the movement for ballot reform had progressed so far that both parties were declaring themselves for it, yet the kind of ballot reform proposed was not always satisfactory. It was necessary, he said, for independent voters to declare themselves specifically for the principles embodied in the resolutions if they wanted real ballot reform.

Mr. George Cary Eggleston followed with an amendment which changed the first clause of the resolutions so as to make it read as follows:

Resolved, That the Reform club recommends to voters that they support in the coming election those candidates for the legislature who favor the essential principles of true ballot reform.

Mr. Eggleston objected to using the word "Saxton" to denote the kind of reform wanted, inasmuch as the bill, as amended and finally presented in the legislature, was not Mr. Saxton's bill.

Mr. Deming, on behalf of the committee, accepted the amendment of Mr. Eggleston, inasmuch, he said, as it did not change the sense of the resolution at all.

Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger then proposed that the resolutions be changed so that the club should recommend action only in the case of candidates for the assembly and not for the senate, on the ground that the assembly elected this year would not vote for United States senator, and therefore there was no objection to electing protectionist assemblymen if they were ballot reformers; whereas, in the case of state senators who would hold over and vote for a United States senator, it was very important that tariff reformers be elected—more important than that they should be ballot reformers.

This proposal occasioned a lively debate, which was participated in by George Cary Eggleston, Thomas G. Shearman, Walter S. Logan, Wheeler H. Peckham, John De Witt Warner, William M. Ivins, William T. Croasdale and R. R. Bowker. With the exception of Mr. Eggleston, all of the speakers opposed the idea of limiting the efforts of the club to assembly candidates. Mr. Shearman, in the course of his remarks, said that he did not believe the gentlemen who expressed their fear lest a protectionist United States senator should be elected from this state were any more interested in the question of tariff reform than he was and had been for many years. In fact, he said, he believed he went a good deal further in his tariff reform than they did, yet he recognized the prime necessity of ballot reform and was willing to risk the chance of a protectionist United States senator if by so doing a real secret ballot law could be passed. This brought Mr. Eggleston to his feet to say that while Mr. Shearman might possibly go further in his tariff reform ideas than he did, he doubted it, "for," said Mr. Eggleston, "I am for abolishing the whole tariff, and want to see it done to-morrow." This occasioned a good deal of laughter and hearty round of applause.

The proposed amendment was fluently withdrawn, and a motion was made to adopt the resolutions as they stood. It was carried unanimously.

It was decided that the club should ask the co-operation of workingmen and others with its committee on ballot reform, and Mr. Shearman, who proposed this action, subscribed \$100 for its furtherance. Then it was resolved that the committee on ballot reform should collect and lay before the club the records and the sentiments of the candidates

for election by all parties concerning the subject of the evening's discussion.

The ballot reform committee met immediately after the adjournment of the club, and issued an invitation to the Manhattan single tax club and the Excelsior ballot reform league to join them in a conference as to further work.

The committee resolved to hold a mass meeting in Cooper union on Saturday, November 3, to be addressed by Henry George and other prominent advocates of the reform.

BALLOT REFORM IN NEW JERSEY.

An Active War Being Waged by Honest Men—An Outline of the Work That Has Been Accomplished Throughout the State.

Never before in the history of politics in New Jersey has there been such interest taken in any one issue of a campaign as there has been this year in the question of ballot reform. Before the political pot commenced to boil the managers of both the democratic and republican parties had agreed to make the taxation and license questions the issue. All preparations were made for a heavy battle over to which party belonged the credit of having reduced the taxes. The heavy men were in training for months, delving in the state library, overhauling the records of members of the senate and the assembly, all for one purpose—to fire miles upon miles of statistics at one another. While the managers were at work laying out their plans other people were at work also making arrangements to make the question of ballot reform the issue. These men were connected with ballot reform associations, the Knights of Labor and the State federated trades. They had had introduced in the legislature last year a ballot reform bill known as the Kane bill, which was brought before the assembly by D. M. Kane of Middlesex county. The bill was defeated by the machine politicians of both parties, who saw that if it was passed it would be their death, politically. Governor Green promised that if that bill were passed he would sign it. The history of the fight is an interesting one, and goes to show that the professional politician's word is not to be taken. The greater part of the bill was framed by Mr. Herbert Boggs of Newark, who has done much toward organizing the present campaign.

When the ballot reformers were defeated they were not discouraged, but they immediately started in to make a hard fight at this election. Associations were organized throughout the state, the district assemblies of the Knights of Labor hustled about and used their influence to have only such men nominated for the senate and assembly who were in favor of genuine ballot reform. In some instances they were successful. Where the workingmen did not take an interest in the matter the independent ballot reformers did, and they spared neither time nor money to accomplish their purpose.

As soon as Leon Abbett, the democratic nominee, and General E. Burd Grubb, the republican candidate, were placed in nomination, they were visited by committees, who asked them to pledge themselves in favor of electoral reform. Both of these gentlemen wrote strong letters on that subject, and Leon Abbett dealt with the question at length in his letter of acceptance. Both conventions also passed ballot reform resolutions. Then the politicians saw that they were stumped, and instead of making the liquor and taxation questions the issue, they were forced to come out for ballot reform. This was the first victory. As soon as this was done the ballot reformers set out to pledge the candidates for the senate and the assembly. Those candidates who refuse to sign the pledge will be damned, and steps will be taken to defeat them at the polls. The democrats and the republicans have gone so far now that they cannot go back on their words, and when the legislature convenes a genuine ballot reform bill, comprising all the essential features of the Australian law, will be passed. Ex-Governor Leon Abbett will undoubtedly be elected.

Mr. Abbett is a man of strong determination, and when he becomes interested in a movement he will work with a will to make it a success. He is heartily in favor of ballot reform. I have had a number of interviews with him, and he has assured me that if he is elected he will not only sign the bill we want, but he will do all that lies within his power to have it passed. And that means a good deal. Leon Abbett's opponents may call him a trickster, a professional politician and all that, but that does not make it so. I have known him for a number of years. He is a bitter enemy of railroads, corporations and corruptionists, and above all he is perfectly honest and truthful. His word is as good as his bond. He is just as much disgusted at the manner in which elections are conducted now as any one of the ballot reformers.

It would take columns of space to tell about all the good work that has been done so far, of the interviews had with candidates, the tricks that have been resorted to by the politicians, and above all the earnestness of the men engaged in this great struggle—for great it is, indeed.

It is not my intention in this article to do more than to touch upon some of the leading features of the canvass.

There are in the state of New Jersey today 137 ballot reform associations, and nearly

all of them are in a flourishing condition. These are independent of the labor organizations. The legislative committees of the Federated trades and of the Knights of Labor have done good work through their subordinate bodies.

The chairman of the legislative committee of the Knights of Labor is E. Dickson. He is a man of considerable force of character, an excellent speaker, and has done much toward making the organization a success. Another earnest worker in the cause is Charles Schugrew. He has good judgment, and by his hard work has earned for himself the respect of the workers throughout Hudson county. Henry C. Gruber, who is also the vice-president of the non-partisan organization in Hudson county, is another member of the committee who has been untiring in the campaign; he is a rapid talker and generally is successful in carrying his point in debate. Of the legislative committee of the federated trades Owen White is the chairman. He is known throughout the state as a strong trades unionist. Another member of this committee is John W. Jakeway. There is no need to say much about him. He is too well known to the readers of THE STANDARD to need any introduction. A jovial fellow of strong personality and good single tax man. What more can be said?

Outside of the labor organizations there is the Electoral reform association. Connected with this are Reid Gordon, E. W. Nellis, H. Craig, and last, but not least, Herbert Boggs. Their work has been done principally in Essex and Passaic counties.

Another active and strong organization is the Hudson county ballot reform association, of which J. R. Abarbanell is chairman, H. C. Gruber and A. P. Brown vice-chairmen, and myself secretary. It would be egotism on my part to tell all they have done. They have pledged the candidates, and besides have taken an active part in the state work. Committees from the association waited on the county conventions and secured the passage of ballot reform resolutions instructing the candidate for senate and assembly to sign the pledge and vote for a genuine ballot reform measure.

One thing that has helped us considerably is that we have had the hearty support of both the democratic and republican papers and the New York World. Edward F. McDonald, the candidate for senator on the democratic ticket, and William S. Stuh, the republican nominee, have signed the pledge. Some of the members of this association have gained the reputation of being dictators and bosses and the enemy of the machines. These are titles to be proud of, coming from the class of men they do.

Looking over the whole state I find that the single tax men are in all the associations, and many of them are the most active workers.

The ballot reformers of Middlesex county have done a good piece of work. D. M. Kane was anxious to secure a renomination for the assembly from his district. He was entitled to it by precedent. And then, too, his whole course as a legislator has been such that no one could ever say he did a dishonest action. He championed the labor bills and introduced the ballot reform bill, which took his name. This did not suit the machine politicians or the Hon. Miles Ross, the congressman from the district and the democratic boss. Mr. Ross, who is the creature of the railroads, issued orders that Mr. Kane was not to be renominated and the orders were obeyed. Another man was nominated, and Mr. Ross swore that his man should be elected. This raised a storm among the organized workers throughout the state. The ballot reformers of Middlesex got together, nominated Mr. Kane on an independent ticket, and the republicans indorsed him. It is a hard fight that he has to face, for he has arrayed against him the money of the corporations. If Mr. Kane is successful it will be a great victory of honesty over corruption.

Mass meetings are being held throughout the whole state, and nothing but ballot reform is preached. A large meeting was held in Newark on Tuesday evening, October 29, at the Academy of Music. The speakers were Henry George, Erasmus E. Potter of Morris county, Hon. D. M. Kane, J. P. McDonald of the Paterson Labor Standard, and Herbert Boggs of Newark.

The Hudson county association held a non-partisan mass meeting on Thursday evening, October 31, at the Tabernacle in Jersey City. Rev. John L. Seudder, the pastor of the church, presided. One peculiar feature of the meeting was the appearance upon the same platform of the opposing candidates for senator and the assembly, who had signed the pledges. The following is the programme:

Overture, Tabernacle band; Address, Rev. J. L. Seudder, chairman of the meeting; Report of the executive committee of the Hudson county ballot reform association, J. R. Abarbanell, chairman; Musical selection, Tabernacle band; Address, John De Witt Warner of New York; Musical selection, Tabernacle band; Reading of letters and resolutions, J. T. Altemus, secretary; Address, Hon. E. F. McDonald; Address, Hon. William S. Stuh; Musical selection, Tabernacle band; Address, Richard J. Allen; Musical selection, Tabernacle band; Address, Louis P. Post of New York; Address, James M. Brann; Cornet solo; Address, William M. Ivins of New York; Musical selection, Taber-

nacle band; Short addresses by the candidates for assembly indorsed.

I think that I have given a pretty good outline of the work so far accomplished in New Jersey. All that I wish is that the ballot reformers of New York had worked the way those in New Jersey have done. If they had started in six months ago to agitate for ballot reform the prospect would look brighter. What is needed in New York is concentration of organization. It is work that talks and not speechmaking. It is well enough to hold meetings, but something more is necessary.

If the ballot reformers of New Jersey had only held their meetings and did no work they would have been in the same position as the reformers of New York. They did the work first and the talking afterward. As I look over the field I feel confident enough to predict that this year will be a red letter year in the history of legislation, and that before the legislature adjourns New Jersey will have a genuine ballot reform law.

J. T. ALTUMUS.

The Workingmen's Meeting.

A mass meeting was held on Wednesday of last week under the auspices of the Excelsior ballot reform league in Cooper union, New York city, at which Charles T. Saxton, author of the Saxton ballot bill, was the principal speaker. Circulars headed "Vote against Hill and his party, the deadly enemies of purity and freedom of election," and reviewing the governor's vetoes of reform measures, were distributed, together with other literature.

The meeting was called to order by James E. Quinn. Thomas Carson of the Wire workers' section was elected chairman, and Cornelius F. Doody secretary. Mr. Saxton's address was a masterly review of the necessity for and origin and history of the celebrated measure. He discussed with great clearness and force the arguments of the opponents of the bill. His exposition of the merits of the great reform measure was vigorous and instructive. He commented upon the workings of ballot reform elsewhere, and closed with an appeal to voters not to cast a ballot for enemies of honest reform. Several persons in the hall arose and asked questions about the provisions of the bill, and received prompt and satisfactory replies. From an educational standpoint, the mass meeting was a great success.

After the meeting many workingmen personally thanked Assembly Saxton for his address, and assured him that he had made converts of them.

The Excelsior ballot reform league met at 98 Forsyth street last Sunday afternoon. The amendment to the address, which was offered at the Cooper union meeting by James Redpath, was repudiated by a unanimous vote of the league.

The executive committee will meet every evening during the week at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, 36 Clinton place; and as soon as the party nominations are all made a circular will be issued giving the names of the candidates in the various districts who are sound on ballot reform. The league has declared that, immediately after election, it will form branches of the Excelsior ballot reform league in every assembly district of the city, so that by the next election ballot reformers will be able to meet the political machines on equal terms.

The ballot reform club of the Nineteenth assembly district will hold a mass meeting in Grothe's hall, 832 Ninth avenue, between 54th and 55th streets, on Saturday evening, Nov. 2, at 8 o'clock. John Carlin, the candidate for senator of the district, will address the meeting.

The club was started to aid in the election of members to the legislature who are pledged to vote for the Australian system of ballot reform, and who will vote for it over the governor's veto, if necessary. The officers of the club are: Geo. Ashton Black, chairman; John E. Timmons, secretary; Julius Schlueter, treasurer. The executive committee are Messrs. Anderson, Donohue and McLaughlin.

D. M. Kane, the ballot reform candidate for the assembly in New Jersey, opened his campaign last Friday evening with a big mass meeting at South Amboy. Kane is the man who introduced the ballot reform bill known as "the Kane bill" in the last New Jersey legislature. The bill passed the house, but failed in the senate. He was a candidate for renomination by the democrats, but was rejected. He was thereupon nominated by ballot reformers and indorsed by the republicans, and he has the quasi indorsement of the Knights of Labor. The district is strongly democratic, but Mr. Kane's friends hope that he will carry it.

District assembly 48 of the Knights of Labor at Cincinnati has addressed a letter to legislative candidates inquiring how they stand on ballot reform. The Cincinnati ballot reform league, of which William C. Wulff is secretary, has sent out a similar letter. Guy W. Mallon, candidate for representative to the general assembly, under date of October 25, makes reply to the league to the effect that every man on the democratic ticket is in favor of those laws which will secure honest elections, and puts himself on record in very clear, precise words, concluding with

this sentence: "I am heartily in favor of this reform (Australian ballot), and if elected to the general assembly of Ohio shall devote my best energies to securing its adoption by our state."

The Boston Budget prints the following:

At the club one evening last week several members were expressing their opinions as to the probable effect of the Australian system of voting. One thought it would help one party and another thought it would have the opposite effect. Another thought it would decrease the total vote, while another expressed the opinion that it would have no appreciable effect in that direction. "I tell you what it is, fellows," said one, who had been listening; "you don't know anything about it. When a man is alone with his God and his lead pencil you can't tell what he'll do."

In the same connection the following from the Northampton, England, Reporter, is interesting as showing how the real Australian ballot secures the voter from showing how he votes:

Scene: A North Bucks village.—Primrose dame: Good morning, Mrs. Ayryss. Has your husband told you which way he is going to vote? Laborer's wife: Yes, m'm. Primrose dame: What a nice baby you have! How is Mr. Ayryss going to vote? Laborer's wife: By ballot, m'm.—[Door.]

STRAWS THAT SHOW THE WIND.

From the Illinois and Indiana line westward the Pan-American tourists will find no considerable number of people who really believe in the Jim Blaine scheme of taxing a commerce to death and then trying to revive it with more taxation. That is the aim of the convention soon to be held in Washington. It will recommend nothing but subsidies. The commerce which can be built up only with subsidies is of the same value to the people as the heathenish system of economy which annually condemns the coal miners of Pennsylvania to starvation, and the farmers of Kansas and Nebraska to the use of corn for fuel.—[Chicago Herald.]

The Workingman will advocate the single tax doctrine and unconditional free trade between all nations of the world.—[Seattle, Wash., Workingman.]

Henry George must have talked in a convincing way in his recent lecturing tour through the British isles, as one of the ardent advocates of his land theories was elected by an overwhelming majority, and these theories will now be heard in parliament. These significant movements in England and elsewhere are proving what Henry George says in his recent article on the warning of the English strikes, that "the social problem cannot be ignored; that unless the moral advance of our civilization is commensurate with its intellectual and material advances, civilization itself is doomed."—[Detroit News.]

In hewing sharply to the line of reform in elections and in tariff taxes the democrats of Pennsylvania are engaged in a great work which will certainly end in victory. The beginning of a change of opinion among the voters of manufacturing districts was clearly indicated in the last election.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.]

Rent paid for access to the natural resources is nothing but robbery pure and simple, and is only tolerated because the people are either moral cowards and dare not assert their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that is guaranteed to every American citizen by our constitution, or they are mentally incapable of determining what their rights are.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

To tax personal property or any product of labor is to make it dearer to more than the amount of the tax, but to tax land is to make it cheaper by the sum of the tax, as all authorities in political science are agreed. An exclusive land tax would throw public burdens on those best able to bear them.—[Topeka, Kas., Jeffersonian.]

Mexico has a surplus of lead and silver ores. The United States has a surplus of fat hogs. Our government fines its people for buying ores of Mexico, and Mexico fines her people for buying hogs of us. Truly the "beauties of protection" are past finding out.—[Kansas City, Mo., Commercial News.]

Any man who is compelled to roam over the country in search of work is a tramp. There is no discrimination made between the naturally idle and the victims of a false and unjust industrial system.—[Washington Craftsman.]

Give a soft headed dude control of the land; don't tax his land, and he will govern the labor of every man who has to toil for a living.—[Williamsport, Pa., Labor Record.]

With the tightening of social and commercial bonds will come political relationships in which standing armies, large bodies of revenue officers, expensive embassies, and other costly paraphernalia of government will be reduced to their lowest terms, while the volume of commerce between the various countries will increase vastly, and the condition of the inhabitants of the new world progress through illimitable stages of betterment.—[Chicago Inter Ocean (rep).]

We are now in a condition not only to develop still further and supply our home market, but to supply other markets, and the problem is to get into the markets already possessed by Europeans. We can do it by providing regular means of communication, by cultivating international and mercantile friendship with our southern neighbors and showing them what we have to offer in exchange for the products we buy so freely of them. This is the problem which we want to discuss with the delegates to the Pan-American congress.—[Springfield, Mass., Union (rep).]

FOREIGN NOTES.

Mr. Freak, the secretary of the shoemaker's society of London, stated recently that about twenty-five per cent of the persons engaged in the boot and shoe trade in the east of London are foreigners, amounting in number to over 10,000 persons. Of the persons engaged in tailoring in the parish of St. George's-in-the-East, over eighty per cent are foreigners; while, taking the trade for the east end as a whole, Mr. Zeitlin estimated that twenty-five per cent are foreign. Mr. Burnett, however, who has conducted inquiries into the sweating system in the east end of London, places the figures much higher. The same state of things exists in Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Glasgow. Free trade England appears to be the refuge for the underpaid workers of protected continental countries.

Archdeacon Farrar has written an article in Murray's Magazine on a proposed new brotherhood in the church of England. To a reporter who interviewed him on the subject, Dr. Farrar said that there were no definite plans formed as yet. "The vows," he said, "are those of celibacy, poverty, and obedience. They will be voluntary, temporary, and dispensable. It is absurd to speak of them as reviving monasticism. They will simply be promises that so long, and so long only, as a man remains a member of the brotherhood, he will conform to its rules. In the Wesleyan body, I believe, the ministers have to promise that they will not marry for three years, but no one ever dreams of charging the Wesleyans with attempting to revive monasticism. We want men who will deny themselves and live among the poor. In my parish, for instance, there are streets where a lady could not possibly live; but a member of the new order, whatever it may be called, could, I believe, do infinite good by living there among the people."

Russian officials have recently collected statistics concerning the number of beggars in Russian provinces and cities. Russia has about 350,000 beggars, all of whom carry on begging as a business with the indorsements of village, city and church authorities. Upward of 3,200 of them are of noble blood, 3,491 are of the clerical calling, 20 were once merchants, 43,434 hucksters and small traders and 181,932 peasants.

An advertisers' handbook just issued in London gives the following figures about the circulation of journals in Great Britain: Lloyd's News has a circulation of 612,000 a week; Tit Bits, 401,000; Reynolds's Weekly, 350,000; People, 350,000. Of American journals the Detroit Free Press circulates in Great Britain to the extent of 100,000 a week, if this list is to be relied on, while the Century circulates 17,000 and Harper's Monthly 30,000.

Among the tracts issued by the English land restoration league are the following: "Free trade in land, would it benefit the people," by J. Morrison Davidson; "Landlordism the cause of trade depression," by Arthur O'Connor, M. P.; "Poverty, Taxation, and the Remedy," by Thomas Briggs; and "Taxing Land Values," by Henry George. The league sells Mr. George's "Land Question" for three pence, "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," and "Protection or Free Trade?" at one shilling each in paper, one shilling and six pence in cloth.

Mr. John Leng, who was recently elected to parliament from the district which includes Dundee, Scotland, stood for a very radical programme. Briefly summarized it is as follows:

1. State payment of members.
2. Payment of returning officers' charges out of the rates.
3. Ground values to be rated by local authorities in the same manner or proportions as applied to tenants and occupiers.
4. Land nationalization.
5. Adult suffrage—one person, one vote—and reform of registration laws.
6. Free education.
7. National parliaments for England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with an imperial parliament for imperial affairs.
8. Disestablishment and disendowment of state churches.
9. Reform of poor laws and the abolition of property qualification.
10. An eight hours bill for miners and a reduction of hours of labor for all those employed in occupations requiring parliamentary sanction, and in all the government works.
11. Triennial parliaments.
12. Nationalization of royal rents.
13. Abolition of perpetual and political pensions and all sinecure offices.

14. The establishment and legislation of courts of conciliation or arbitration between employers and employed in all matters of trade disputes.

Mr. Leng is the proprietor of a number of prosperous and influential newspapers, including the People's Journal, which is read by at least 500,000 people; the Dundee Advertiser, the best liberal paper north of Edinburgh; the Dundee Evening Telegraph, the Weekly Advertiser and the People's Friend. There was no opposition candidate in the election. Mr. Leng is, of course, a home ruler.

John Burns is standing for parliament in the Battersea district, London. His programme includes free education, an eight hour working day, adult suffrage, registration of voters, payment of members of parliament by the government, the abolition of the house of lords and all hereditary authority, shorter parliaments, home rule, nationalization of the land and mines, and the power of declaring wars and concluding treaties to be under popular control.

A recent programme of lectures and discussions to be held in the National liberal club of London included the following subjects:

"What can the socialists teach us?" introduced by Mr. Lewis Sergeant; "The licensing of theaters and music halls," introduced by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam; "That taxation should be shifted from the other sources of revenue and concentrated on economic rent," introduced by Mr. William Saunders; "The government of India," introduced by Mr. J. Dillon O'Flynn; "How should a single tax be levied," introduced by Mr. John Noble.

The Henry George institute of Glasgow publishes a list which includes:

Proposed National System of Local Taxation, Mr. Robert Hill; The Ethics and Economy of Co-operation, Mr. J. Shaw-Maxwell; Justice the Measure of Man's Rights, Mr. Richard Ashcroft; Progress and Poverty, Mr. J. S. Jamieson; God's Gift to Man, Mr. Alexander Bowman; December 1, The Black Spots of Glasgow, Bailie Morris; December 22, Joseph Mazzini and Republicanism, Mr. H. L. I. Davies; Biblical Land Tenure, Rev. J. M. Cruickshank.

It is officially announced that the new French chamber of deputies will be composed of 362 republicans and 205 members of the opposition. The republicans comprise 236 moderates and 126 radicals. The opposition consists of 100 royalists, 58 Bonapartists and 47 Boulangists. General Boulanger has gone to the Isle of Jersey.

The Dundee People's Journal says:

The houses on Lord Bute's property at Cumnock are built on leases of ninety-nine years. Many of these leases are now about to fall in. According to the contracts of the men who built them with Lord Bute's ancestor, the houses on the ground leased become the property of Lord Bute. The contract was made and the lease holders are bound by it. Lord Bute refuses to abate one jot of his legal rights. He says that he does not approve of the "feudal system." What he means by this is not very clear. Feud and the feudal system have no necessary connection, or connection of any kind, except perhaps "feu." But to the Cumnock people his lordship's meaning is plain enough. It means that he will not give them feus, and that he will take their homes.

The People's Journal thinks that Lord Bute must be anxious to push the land nationalization idea ahead, for he is taking the best possible steps in that direction.

The Custom Houses Block Trade.

When the members of the Pan-American congress get settled down to work perhaps the American delegates may be called on to explain why it is that international commerce between the United States and the other nations represented has fallen off within the last five years very nearly one-eighth, while the total commerce of the countries other than our own has increased. The phenomenon cannot be explained by the greater difficulty of transportation to and from this country, for transportation between the United States and Mexico has been notably improved, without preventing the decrease of trade. The simple fact is that with the development of the population, resources, and enterprise of our neighbors, our tariff becomes a steadily more formidable barrier to commerce. As the evil lies in that direction, the remedy ought to be obvious, and the perception of it should not be obscured by the pleasing notion that a big trade can be built up with subsidies. It is not the cost of getting goods to our ports, it is the cost of getting them through the custom houses that blocks trade.

He Needs One.

St. Louis Republic (dem.). The next time Mr. Hill gets outside of New York we advise him to take his encyclopaedia along and study it carefully. This is a very large country. There is a great deal of it outside of Albany. The Albany statesman who talks to any section of it without knowing what he is talking about is liable to find that acuteness is a delusion, and slickness a snare.

MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

Important Action in Boston—A Proposal to Shift All Taxes to Land and Buildings.

The annual meeting of the Boston executive business association was held last week. Forty-six delegates, representing the most important business associations of the city, were present, together with several invited guests. The routine work accomplished, a standing committee on taxation for the city of Boston reported through the Hon. Jonathan A. Lane. Mr. Lane is president of the Boston merchants' association, and it will be remembered, created a sensation about a year ago at a dinner of that organization, by making a speech in which he pointed out the probable benefits of levying taxes on real estate only, instead of on personal property and real estate. His position and that of the committee is explained at length in the report submitted last week.

The report reviews the tax laws of Massachusetts, their effect on industry and their equality or inequality, and finally sums up the opinion of the committee, which is that the time has arrived to consider plans for the abolition of all taxes upon personal property by the local assessor; that this reform would be in the interest of justice and right pre-eminently, but also every real interest of the state would be subserved thereby, especially the real estate interest as a whole. But, in order not to go too fast, the committee recommends that the small portion of the taxes which is levied for state and county purposes shall for the present be raised by a tax on personal property, and favors taxes on collateral inheritances and personal estates inherited in direct succession. But taxes upon business, stocks of goods or capital in trade, as well as an income tax, are condemned. The bulk of taxes, therefore, it recommends, shall be collected from real estate; and it is encouraged to believe that the proposed reform will be easy to accomplish, inasmuch as Massachusetts has recently abolished the double taxation of mortgages as being injurious to the business interests of the state, which was a reform in the direction of that proposed in this report.

Under the proposed system, which the Boston Daily Advertiser and the Springfield Republican both speak of as a single tax system, the tax rate in Boston would be one and six-tenths per cent on the assessed value of the real estate, \$600,000,000, and would raise a revenue of \$9,600,000. From other sources \$2,400,000 would be raised, making \$12,000,000 in all.

In addition to this recommendation the committee criticises strongly the present manner of treating those monopolies, such as the street railways and municipal lighting. The report says:

It is especially recommended that consideration be given to the duty of "self help" in the way of utilizing those natural and most profitable resources which, although the birthright of the city or town, are at the present day, with an almost criminal folly and neglect, given away to private corporations in spite of remonstrance of the wisest political economists and the example of other cities. The defeat of the bill in the last legislature authorizing the town of Danvers to sell light and power to her inhabitants is to be condemned. Towns may as properly supply themselves with light as water. A few lessons of this sort, illustrating the capacity of the people, as well as the economy of the result, will be invaluable in the light which it will throw on this whole economic question.

The committee recommends special taxes on the gross receipts of electric light, gas and street railway and all other companies "that are more and more taking possession of our streets, and more and more thereby illustrating the enormous value of those franchises, which, although the birthright of the city, have by her neglect enriched none so little as herself."

Commenting on this report, the Boston Advertiser says:

The single tax argument championed by Mr. Lane's report is not to be confounded with Henry George's theory of land taxation, because it proposes a tax on real estate of all descriptions. Mr. Lane's proposition is to tax the real, the tangible, not because the latter ought not to be taxed, but because the best possible methods of taxing personal property are so inefficient as to do much more harm than good. His single tax theory is a sort of compromise with weak human nature. We do not mean by this designation of the single tax theory to condemn it necessarily.

While the general proposition of taxation of real estate and exemption of personal property needs thorough ventilation and opportunity for slow growth of public sentiment, we have no hesitation in heartily assenting to the condemnation in Mr. Lane's report of the tax upon income derived from property in capital, stocks or business already taxed. This is hardly less than an iniquity, and is the result of the overdeveloped instinct in an assessor to see that nothing escapes taxation which by any means can be levied upon. It is to be hoped that the report will be published in pamphlet form, so that it may receive the study and reflection which it merits.

The Springfield Republican says: The general argument against the taxation of movable property need not now be rehearsed. So far the reform advanced has much to recommend it.

The report was accepted by the association and a resolution was adopted fixing a day for its special discussion and ordering that it be printed.

THE TARIFF FIGHT.

PROTECTION IN THE NORTHWEST.

An Attempt to Secure the Support of the Cattle Growers—Postmasters at Work.

SEATTLE, Wash., Oct. 14.—A country postmaster, after reading some complimentary remarks concerning the republican party, recently handed me a circular now being distributed hereabouts. He did not take the trouble to tear off a little slip printed in red ink, pasted on the first circular in the package. This little slip is interesting as showing the source from which country postmasters obtain such literature. It reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 28, 1889.

Dear Sir—We have just mailed you a package of circulars on the stockgrowing interests. Will you kindly place a copy of the same in the hands of every voter of your acquaintance who is directly or indirectly interested.

Yours truly,

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The circular is headed, "How the stockgrowing interests will be benefited. A practical illustration of protection to American industries. By W. F. Wakeman of Kansas City," and the following extract shows its general tenor:

Perhaps you or your friend are interested in obtaining more money and more profit from your cattle. Certainly you are! You know better than I that for the last few years prices of cattle on the hoof have steadily decreased in value until every farmer and every ranchman has felt that the bottom in prices had certainly been reached. As you know, hundreds and thousands of farmers continue the stock business only in relation to the dairy, and many ranchmen have gone to the wall on account of the lack of profit in stock. You may be surprised, but it is unquestionably true that this condition of the stock interests is directly attributable to the democratic free trade policy.

Now, how is this? Not going into minute details, take the hide of a steer as a sample. The hide of every slaughter is fully one-quarter of the total value. We have free trade—absolute free trade in hides—and what is the result? Since they were placed upon the free list the prices of green salted steer hides have steadily declined from twelve and three-quarter cents a pound, until now you get scarcely six cents a pound. This is an illustration of pure, simple free trade and the democratic policy that would have been applied to the great wool growing interests of the country had the democratic party succeeded in 1888. You will ask how does free trade affect this result? Please notice this statement of hides imported from 1860 to 1889, which shows the enormous amount received into this country each year.

Then follows a table showing that the value of hides imported into this country in 1860 was \$10,639,699; that it reached a maximum of \$30,002,254 in 1880, and was \$25,127,750 in 1889. Another table shows that the price of hides has fallen from 12 to 12½ cents in 1872 to 8½ to 6½ cents in 1889, so that the actual quantity now imported is double that shown by the first table—that is, more than quadruple the quantity imported in 1860.

Mr. Wakeman goes on to denounce this as a ruinous policy, and he says that though we "produce fully eighty per cent of the hides consumed in this country," by allowing the foreigner free access to our market we have reduced the price of raw hides one-half. He then goes on to say:

The hide is to the tanner what wool is to the manufacturer. Wool is and should be protected, for it is the finished product of the wool grower.

The hide is to the tanner what iron ore is to the smelter. Ore is and should be protected, for it is the finished product of the miner.

The hide is to the tanner what clay is to the potter. Clay is and should be protected, for it is the finished product of the miner.

This argument might be followed throughout the entire list, but at every point we are met with the conclusion that hides, representing one-fourth of the value of every animal, should have a reasonable protection from foreign competition.

What would be the result of this? Our home market would be secured, and thus stability of prices attained. Our hide merchants would not be compelled to underbid foreign prices every day in the year in order to continue in business, and there would be an advanced value to every animal.

If farmers and laboring men can be galled into the belief that it is to their interest to advance the price of boots and shoes and leather goods generally for the sake of these ranchmen they will in time reach a condition in which they will themselves be bought and sold like cattle or hide.

WILLIAM SEIDELMAN.

No Political Significance.

United States Senator Colquitt of Georgia has been telling a New York Times reporter that Hill's visit to Georgia had no political significance whatever. Senator Colquitt did not refer to the after-dinner speeches nominating Hill for president, but in response to a question as to the governor's attitude on the tariff he said:

"He discussed general principles of taxation and economy, the bearing of which was plainly in opposition to a protective tariff. The high tariff policy is regarded in my state as unjust and odious, and the sentiment of opposition to it is growing in strength and popularity. I believe this is true, too, of the whole country. Mr. Cleveland and his administration will be distinguished for courage and patriotism in the effort to redeem the

people from unjust burdens and unequal taxation. This has endeared him and his administration to the people of our section, who almost universally oppose legislation in the interests of special classes against the interests of the masses."

Free Trade in the Dakotas.

Testimony of the strength of free trade sentiment and of the activity of its advocates in the two Dakotas has come from an unexpected quarter in an interview in the Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin with A. M. Thomson, a republican and at one time a newspaper editor in Dakota, and altogether a man whose standing makes his utterances worthy of attention.

The Farmers' alliance, he says, is a standing menace to the republican party in the two Dakotas. Not only are all the leading men in that organization on top in politics, but the farmers themselves, all with whom he had any acquaintance, at any rate, are free traders. Wherever the alliance lecturers go "they try to indoctrinate the minds of the farmers with the tariff-for-revenue-only idea." "In North Dakota the official organ of the alliance is edited by a free trade democrat, and the most of his space is occupied with arguments fresh from the Cobden club. The farmers are made to believe that protection to home industries is the father of trusts and monopolies, and that a low tariff, or none at all, would enable them to sell higher and buy cheaper."

A tariff reform club was formed in Philadelphia last week at 1325 Columbia avenue. The temporary officers elected were: President, Joseph A. Reed; secretary, Frank Buck, and treasurer, James McNally. It was announced that "all citizens in sympathy with the movement are eligible to membership, irrespective of party." The next meeting of the club is to be held on Saturday evening, November 21. The name of the club will probably be the Tariff reform club of Philadelphia. It is said that one hundred well known business men have expressed a desire to join the club.

The executive committee of the Indiana state tariff reform league held a meeting in Indianapolis last week, which was attended by prominent tariff reformers from all parts of the state. The meeting was preliminary to a thorough and systematic organization of the state into districts, which are to be canvassed in the interest of reform and the people thoroughly educated in its principles, as far as that can be done by the dissemination of literature. There will be ceaseless agitation of the subject from this time till the polls close in 1892. It was determined to engage speakers, both local and foreign, whenever possible, and make a special effort to secure the attendance of the middle and laboring people at the meeting. Committees will be appointed in each county, and through them tariff reform literature will be freely disseminated.

The speech of President Eliot of Harvard, in which he comes out for tariff reduction, has created a sensation. There are calls for copies of it on all hands, and a hundred thousand of them are being printed.

An address on the "Evils of Tariff," accompanied by an explanation of the single tax, was given recently in the M. E. church at Montville, in Berkshire county, Mass., by John Waterous, of Brooklyn. A correspondent at Great Barrington writes: "The lecture was very interesting and instructive, and it has set some of our republican friends to thinking whether the tariff is the blessing that it is reported to be by the protectionists."

The Baltimore American's Washington correspondent quotes Robert P. Porter, editor of the New York Press and superintendent of the eleventh census, as saying:

I believe Major McKinley will be elected speaker, because he is the man the manufacturers want. They know that the tariff will be revised by the coming congress, and it is only natural and proper that they should feel interested in the selection of that man to be over the house in whom they have always recognized the ablest champion of their industries. I have reason to believe that they have discussed the subject, and that they will bring all their power to bear upon their respective congressmen. There has been some talk of a formal meeting to be held just before congress convenes, for the purpose of formally endorsing Major McKinley, but I hardly believe that the meeting will be held. Major McKinley may not be elected on the first ballot in the caucus. On the contrary, Mr. Reed of Maine may poll the biggest vote, but his first vote will, I think, be his strongest.

Tariff Notes.

It is noticeable that the republican press shows a great willingness to keep the tariff question in the background. Why is this? A year or two ago the republicans thought the tariff their strong point.—[Boston Globe.]

Mr. Blaine and other American statesmen, after ship building has been made unprofitable by heavy duties on the raw materials and it is forbidden to buy foreign built ships, propose to revive our commerce by subsidies. It is like hiring a carriage for a man who would be perfectly able to walk if his bandages were taken off.—[Providence Journal (Ind).]

Workingmen should remember that the protective system of taxing the necessities of life makes us pay, not according to our means, but according to our necessities.

Those whose necessities are greater than their means should protest against such injustice.—[Woburn City Press.]

Perhaps the American people may some fine morning awaken to the fact that the only possible way to abolish poverty is to multiply all of the good things of life—to remove every obstacle to cheap production or cheap distribution; to flood the whole land with food, clothing and household comforts. This will be done only when the people realize that an abundance of these things, which are usually represented by money, is not a curse, but a blessing, that every act of congress that in any way lessens this abundance is an evil of vast proportions.—[Louisville Courier Journal.]

Mr. Gladstone sees clearly, as President Eliot does, and as all clear thinkers do, that our tariff protects us only from trade; that it ties our hands but our own. He admitted that we could whip England in a fair commercial fight, but experience has shown that we cannot win in such a contest when her hands are free and ours are tied.—[Boston Globe.]

Gentlemen, the wage earners of this country, particularly those employed in the coal and iron industries, are repeating O'Connell's question. They are inquiring how, if our present tariff on coal and iron gives employment and high wages, it has happened that since Harrison's election work has been getting less and wages lower, accompanied by strikes, lockouts, famine, violence and Pinkerton detectives. They are asking how it is that the men who shouted loudest for high tariff, and paid the most to get it, are now foremost in reducing the wages of the men they employ.—[William E. Russell, democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts.]

It is now proposed to send the fleet of new steel cruisers to the South American ports in order to display our maritime greatness. It is so long since a formidable looking vessel bearing the stars and stripes has sailed in those waters that the natives will not be able to believe the evidence of their eyes.—[Boston Globe.]

How the Farm Pays.

There are 887 deserted farms in New Hampshire with buildings upon them in a fair state of repair, or that easily might be made fit for occupancy. This information has been received in reply to an official circular of the state commissioner of emigration making inquiry of the selectmen of 160 towns.

Agriculture is just a little off in some parts of Windham county, Conn., and the market value of farming property is not what the owners of it desire. At a public auction at a homestead in Danielsonville the other day, Daniel A. Dean bought the barn on the place for 45 cents, some sheds were sold for 50 cents, and another outbuilding for \$1. The latter piece of real estate was something rather choice. Landlord Salisbury bought twenty bushels of fine winter apples for \$5 and everybody said he was an "extravagant man." When the auctioneer tackled the house there was not one bid for it, and he said sadly: "I did hope ter get a dollar'n seventy five cents fer it, but, gentlemen, hev yer own way; hev yer own way." The latest project by which it is hoped it may be disposed of is to have a \$5 raffle for it at 25 cents a ticket, and the lucky man has got to treat the crowd on Danielson small beer.

The New Orleans Times Democrat says:

A great deal has been said and written lately about the mortgage companies operating in the west, and advancing money upon western farms. Two commissioners of agriculture have reported on them, showing the immense debt under which the western farmers are struggling, and their reports have created such a sensation that Superintendent Porter has promised to include this subject in his census, and determine whether these stories are true or not, and whether western agriculture is being retarded and overburdened by mortgages, as reported. The failure of the Farmers' loan and trust company of Kansas has brought out a new feature in this mortgage business, and is causing far more alarm than the amount involved in the failure would under ordinary circumstances. The bankrupt company had \$2,223,007 in guaranteed loans and \$200,000 in debentures. The bad condition of Kansas land mortgages of late, has prevented it from meeting the guaranteed interest, and it has therefore been compelled to close business. Its liabilities will wipe out its capital, but the holders of its loans and debentures have the mortgages to fall back on, and there is likely to be a lively time in consequence, if the eastern capitalists go to work foreclosing on the farmers. To show the extent of this business, the American Wool Reporter gives the amount of business carried on by thirteen out of the one hundred land mortgage companies in this country, and by no means the largest, to be \$12,637,633 of guaranteed loans, and \$9,189,018 of debentures. That these are the smaller corporations is shown by the fact that two in Connecticut, not included in this list, have \$45,955,259 loaned on western farm mortgages, while the New England savings banks have the bulk of their deposits, several hundred millions, thus invested. The department of agriculture estimates that the farm mortgages in Kansas amount to \$79,000,000. Commissioner Heath, of the Michigan bureau of statistics, who has investigated the subject, placed the mortgages in that state at \$129,229,553, paying an annual interest of \$9,451,851. It can be seen from these gigantic figures why the alarm caused by the Kansas failure has been so great.

Whom Does This Remark Hit?

Charleston News and Courier.

Here and there, first in New York, now in Georgia, again in Wisconsin, then in Pennsylvania, a "get together" democrat pipes out feebly that we shall be beaten again if we do not surrender to the demands of the monopolists and go over body and soul to the enemy.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Cards have just been received in town from John Bigelow, announcing the marriage of his daughter Annie to Butler Kenner Harding on Wednesday, October 23, in the Church of the Holy Innocents, Highland Falls-on Hudson. The ceremony was a beautiful sight. The chancel of the church was decked with palms and exotics brought from the conservatories of J. Pierpont Morgan's country place. The bridesmaids, six in number, wore quaint costumes of yellow silk, with white fichus and caps, carrying long walking sticks with gold knobs. The bride wore white satin and duchesse lace, her veil being held in place with a diamond star. A breakfast followed at "The Squirrels," Mr. Bigelow's country place.

Officer King, of the Delancey street, New York, police station, found a homeless Pole named John Krasbinsky, thirty years of age, lying on the sidewalk on Ridge street, near Delancey street, in a semi-comatose condition last week. The poor fellow shook like one in an ague fit, and his extremities were quite cold. The officer with assistance hurried the apparently dying man to the station house. Thence he was transferred to Gouverneur hospital, where he died in less than five minutes. Death, it is said, resulted from mal-nutrition and exposure to the cold.

The triangular table for dinner parties is the latest fashionable fad. The hostess occupies the base of the triangle, and has the distinguished men with her. The Twomblys gave one of these triangular dinners the other night that was a tremendous success. The center of the triangle was filled with ferns edged with Parma violets, and the table cloth was of pale pink silk under elaborate openwork damask. At each place was a little gilded Japanese basket tied with silk ribbons and filled with the violets. There were twenty-two people at table, but every one was brought into such direct communication with the host and hostess by this arrangement that it resulted in being one of the pleasantest and liveliest dinners of the season, and it is likely to be imitated many times.

Mrs. Anna Amber gave birth to a child some days ago in an outhouse next to her former home, No. 2303 Caroline street, Philadelphia. She staggered with the child to an old wash boiler, in which she placed the infant and covered it with ashes. The police were notified by some neighbors and the child was taken from the boiler, but died a few hours afterward. Mrs. Amber was sent to the Philadelphia hospital and will be arrested as soon as she recovers. The woman has heretofore borne a good name. She was in extremely destitute circumstances. Her husband is dying of consumption, and she became unable to care for herself and two children. A few days ago she was turned from her home because of failure to pay the rent. The two children, who were nearly starved, are at the hospital with their mother.

Mr. George Vanderbilt has gone down to Asheville, N. C., with his friend and architect, Mr. R. M. Hunt, to lay the foundations of the French chateau which is to be erected on Mr. Vanderbilt's four miles of mountain and woodland in that picturesque region. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Vanderbilt traveled together through the south of France last spring, visiting many of the most celebrated old buildings. It was said at the time that they had bought and brought home a chateau, piecemeal, which was to be put together again, like a Chinese puzzle, on the North Carolina property. This, of course, was an error. They brought plans and models only, from which the most unique and original country house that has ever been built on American ground will be constructed.

Great Barrington, Mass., Oct. 22.—In a seven-by-nine slate shanty, with one room, in the woods on Brush hill, in the town of Sheffield, State Agent Anderson and Sheriff Day yesterday found a family of eight persons, consisting of Henry and Jane Winters and six children, ranging from twelve years to a babe in arms. The only provisions in the house were a little flour, a bit of pork and a ham bone. The room contained one bed, which was covered with filthy rags, while the children were barefoot, with hardly sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness, their bodies being in a most filthy condition. The father works in a coal bush. The officers hunted with lanterns for three hours before finding their squalid home. They brought all of them to this village, where they were taken before the court to-day. But one child ever attended school, and none ever have seen the inside of a church.

An appeal for contributions to a peculiar charity appears in the Animal World, to which lovers of the feline race doubtless will respond with alacrity. It seems that the home for starving and forsaken cats founded about four years ago by Miss Swifte is badly in need of money to carry on its humane and eminently practical and necessary work. The cats' retreat is maintained and supported in such a manner that every kitten receives personal attention and interest and none are allowed to leave the home unless guarantee is made that they will better their condition. This home is built at Whitechurch lodge, Rathfarnham, Ireland, and its object is to protect cats against brutal neglect and actual torture, to nurse them in sickness and support them when forsaken, and to this work Miss Swifte gives her personal supervision and attention, together with such devotion as only enthusiastic women bestow upon the particular cause they espouse.

Bridget Walsh, who was nearly 75 years old, was found dead yesterday in a room which she rented of Charles Turbett, at 14 Congress street, Newark. She earned a scanty living making trousers. There were no chairs in the room, and she was found sitting on the floor bending over a pair of partly finished trousers, in which the needle still remained. She had been seized with hemorrhage.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

TALKING IN THE RAIN.

The Trucks of the Manhattan Club Sent Out Among the People, Who Stand in the Wet Streets and Listen Gladly—The Sunday Night Lecture.

It was raining last Saturday evening, but the cart-tail campaign committee of the Manhattan single tax club went right along fixing things for the evening's work. The trucks were decorated, the literature put in, the torches lighted, the umbrellas lifted, and at 8 o'clock precisely the drivers cracked their whips and the horses pulled out the wagons—one bound to the east side and the other to the west.

Commander Wolf, of the east side division, ordered a halt at the corner of Grand and Henry streets, where a crowd of between four and five hundred gathered in the muddy streets to hear what the speakers had to say. Despite the rain the crowd stayed for over an hour, listening to Messrs. Steers and Wolf, and then the truck moved away. At Norfolk and Grand streets another large crowd gathered and listened to the speakers until nearly 11 o'clock, when the truck moved homeward.

Commander Van Veen, of the west side truck, took up his position on the corner of Eighth avenue and Twenty-fifth street, where he and his speakers talked to a very large audience. From there the truck moved to Twenty-eighth and Thirty-first streets, where W. Meyers, M. Van Veen, Benjamin Doblin and a Mr. Reed of Glasgow, Scotland, delivered addresses. It was after 11 o'clock before the last meeting adjourned.

The Manhattan club has concluded that after the exhausting work of the cart-tail meetings the inner man needs refreshing; so when the campaigners returned to the club rooms after their labors they found two large tables spread with a number of good things, of which all hands sat down to partake, and which soon disappeared. After the lunch a couple of hours were pleasantly spent in listening to stories, songs and recitations, after which the members dispersed.

A. J. Wolf opened the proceedings at the lecture last Sunday evening. There was a large audience present. Mrs. McDonough recited the "Three Preachers" by Charles Mackay, after which Joseph McDonough gave the lecture; subject, "The Land Question." An interesting discussion followed.

This Sunday evening James A. Herne was to have read Professor Garland's story, "The Lion's Paw," but being again troubled with an old throat ailment, he has been advised by his physician to refrain for the present from all public talking outside of his professional engagements. Louis F. Post will deliver the address.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Oct. 29, 1889.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	67,054
Received during week ending Oct. 29	513
Total	67,567

Contributions received during the past two weeks have been as follows:

F. J. Jones, Buffalo, N. Y.	\$0 34
P. C. Sullivan, Snodhish, Wash.	28
Anonymous	1 00
Henri Pineau, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 00
Josephine Shaw Lowell, N. Y. city	5 00
Sundry stamps	20

Total \$8 91

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,706 33

Total \$1,715 24

In addition to these, several contributions have been received in response to the suggestion made by Mr. George in the last number of THE STANDARD. As the committee has not been able to get out its circular so as to make a general appeal for contributions for continuing the work, it is thought best to withhold a public acknowledgement of such contributions for one week after the mailing of the circulars.

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

WOMEN INTERESTED.

A Society of Ladies Inquiring Into the Single Tax.

QUINCY, Ill., Oct. 25, 1889.—Next to the oldest, and one of the leading literary societies in this city is the "Atlantic," now in its tenth year, and whose membership is confined exclusively to women. This season, beginning with October and ending with June, and including thirty-five weekly meetings, the society will devote to the study of the French revolution. The last regular meeting, being the fourth thus far, occurred on the 23d inst., and a few days prior to this date, I received through Mrs. Anna L. Parker the president, an invitation to be present at the meeting, with an intimation that I might be asked some questions regarding the single tax. Knowing the exclusiveness of the society, the high social and intellectual standing of its members, and that such an invitation to one of my sex was unprecedented, I was naturally much impressed, and gladly accepted the invitation. The meetings begin at 2.30 p. m.

The opening of the meeting by Mrs. Parker

and the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting by the secretary, Miss Mabel Stillwell, was all done with that easy grace and dignity that bespoke experience and ability. Then came the literary proceedings. First was the main topic, "Louis XVI, His Ministers and His Court," introduced by Miss Serita Stewart, in an admirably written paper which evidenced close study of the subject, a keen insight in the characters portrayed and much originality of thought regarding the principles that moved that fascinating period of French history. Then followed an informal discussion of the topic, in which all members took part and was therefore very instructive, for all were fully informed, and where a point was not touched on by one, it was by another. Then came, in turn, two conversational topics. The first was "Turgot and His Proposed Reforms," which was introduced by Mrs. Chauncey Castle, and in such a delightfully clear, concise way that all the salient points were brought out. Mrs. Castle referred to Turgot's belief in the teaching of the great Quesnay; of the labors of the former ere he became comptroller of the finances; his faith in the promises of the king; his efforts in behalf of the edicts against the carree (road tax) and the jurand (trades guilds); how he succeeded in getting the edicts passed, only to see them soon revoked; but how, after Turgot's death, the edicts were reissued, and are largely in force in the France of to-day. She alluded to Turgot's belief in the impot unique, and in absolute and universal free trade. At the close of the introduction, the president asked me whether Henry George agrees with the phisioerats that agriculturalists alone produce wealth. I answered no, that Mr. George regards those who bring things to consumers as truly producers of wealth as those who dig things out of the ground; and hence, that transportation and exchange are methods of production, etc. This question by the president was followed by so many others by various other members that even within the limited time allotted, most of the main points of Mr. George's single tax "theory" were brought up, and the interest manifested was very gratifying. The next and last conversational topic was "Assignats vs. Greenbacks," introduced by Mrs. Milton Weems, and I, for one, felt genuine regret when the introduction was concluded. It was thoughtful and critical, while through all of it flowed a vein of quiet satire that gave to all she said a piquancy that was simply delicious. In the discussion that followed I expected that my part would simply be that of an instructed listener. But Mr. George's views came in demand again, for soon they were asked regarding the issuing of money. I replied that Mr. George, having been occupied with other subjects, had not treated the finance question exhaustively, but had said incidentally, that while banks are in the nature of labor-saving inventions, similar to that of storekeeping, etc., yet the issuing of money is a sovereign power which should not be exercised in the domain of private enterprise, but is really a function of government, etc. Before the meeting closed, after expressing my thanks for the privilege enjoyed, I asked permission to present to the society a copy of "Social Problems," which was accepted. After the meeting quite a number of the ladies expressed to me a decided interest in the single tax, and the intention of investigating it further. The manner in which some of them spoke of Mr. George gave me more pleasure than anything since I grasped the hands of Warren Worth Bailey and other splendid men in Chicago and listened to Judge Maguire's truly great address there. The officers of the society which gave this mark of respect to Mr. George are as follows: Mrs. Anna L. Parker, president; Mrs. J. M. Glover, vice president; Mrs. T. L. Gilmer, second vice president; Miss Mabel Stillwell, recording secretary; Mrs. Annie W. Roberts, corresponding secretary; Miss Lucy Bagby, treasurer. Directors: Mrs. Anna S. Woods, Miss Ida Stewart, Miss C. A. Collins, Mrs. Milton Weems. "Do thy work and reinforce thyself" is the motto of the society. It would doubtless tend to awaken a deeper interest among these ladies were some of their own sex, such women as our esteemed California poetess, Mrs. Milne, and others to write to the "Atlantic" thanking the members for the interest manifested and encouraging a full investigation. C. F. PERRY.

CHICAGO.

The Drainage Plan of Campaign Raising the Question of the Single Tax to Public View.

CHICAGO, Ill.—The burning question before our club nowadays is drainage, and through its discussion our principles are coming to the front in the most encouraging manner. Perhaps it will be well for me to state briefly what the scheme is:

A law has been passed authorizing the formation of a sanitary district, which shall have the usual corporate powers, to be exercised by a board of nine commissioners, who shall have authority to raise funds by taxation for the purpose of constructing a great drainage system that will also serve as a link in a waterway scheme connecting the lakes with the gulf via the Illinois and Mississippi rivers.

The project is really stupendous and it involves the expenditure by the sanitary district of not less than twenty and possibly forty millions of money, and it is calculated

by the judges who fixed the boundaries of the proposed corporation that the work cannot be completed in less than ten, perhaps not within fifteen years.

The law, enacted at the last session of the legislature, provides that the necessary revenues may be raised by the commissioners by taxation, either by general levy or by special assessment, or by both methods. A saving clause of which we have not failed to take advantage in our agitation on the subject, is to the effect that in no case shall any property be assessed for a greater amount than it is benefited.

We have taken the impregnable position that no property can be benefited by the proposed improvement except property in land, and that therefore no other property should be subjected to taxation. In a circular which we have sent out to every labor and economic organization in the city, our attitude been clearly defined and we call upon workingmen and the public in general to assist us in having the tax placed where it belongs—upon land values, which will surely be enhanced by the projected improvement. Thus far a number of powerful organizations have formally indorsed our position, the list including the carpenters' council, the iron molders' union and several assemblies of the Knights of Labor. Other are responding right along, and we believe that by the time the election for commissioners arrives we will be in a position to carry our point. This confidence has been materially increased since last week, when the democracy of Cicero, Austin and Oak Park, among other radical planks of their aggressive platform, inserted the following:

Resolved, That while we favor the construction of a drainage channel to improve the sewage of this district, we emphatically insist that the revenue required shall be raised by a tax upon landed property only, and in proportion to the benefits conferred.

Another significant plank in this platform runs thus:

Resolved, That we favor a reduction of taxes on our homes and personal property and a relative increase in the taxation of unproductive but valuable land held out of use by speculators, boomers and land grabbers.

If this doesn't indicate that the great democratic party is coming our way, what does it indicate?

We have effectually silenced both the Herald and the Times. They got hold of the hot end of the poker when they tackled us, and dropped it with mingled surprise and rage. Our only trouble is to find anybody with grit enough to stand up against us. W. W. BAILEY.

TAXING MANUFACTURING PLANTS.

The Question Brought Before the Minneapolis Board of Trade—A Report that Points Toward the Single Tax.

The question of the taxation of manufacturing plants in Minneapolis has been given exhaustive treatment in two reports from a committee of the board of trade. One report, signed by T. B. Walker, J. Newton Nind and J. T. Wyman, favors the extension of some encouragement to new manufacturing enterprises, but did not suggest any method of doing so.

The other report, signed by Charles A. Pillsbury, proprietor of the largest flouring mill in the world, and by C. J. Buell, and approved by J. T. Wyman, notwithstanding his signing the foregoing report, is clear and outspoken, and leads straight for the single tax. After carefully explaining the principles of taxation, the report concludes "that taxes on manufacturing enterprises tend to destroy old industries, or prevent the establishment of new ones; diminish the supply of products as compared with the demand, thus increasing prices or preventing their decline; lessen the demand for raw materials, thus injuring or destroying the industries that supply them; cut down the demand for labor, thus lowering wages, and consequently lowering the standard of living among laborers; again diminishing the demand for all sorts of things, checking or destroying industry, forcing more people to idleness, with a further reduction of the standard of living, and so on down toward general business depression."

Manufacturing plants in Baltimore are not taxed, the report says, and Mr. Pillsbury ascribes Philadelphia's great manufacturing prosperity to the two facts, namely, that manufacturing buildings and their contents are not taxed and the price of land has been kept down. The report, therefore, recommends a policy for Minneapolis at least as liberal as is the policy of Philadelphia.

A NOVEL PETITION.

The Cause of Poverty Plainly Stated to an Iowa Board of Supervisors.

Mr. James Hagerty, of J. Hagerty & Sons, Burlington, Iowa, has devised a novel method of calling attention to our principles while endeavoring to aid a victim of existing economic conditions. As the petition may serve as a useful hint to others we print it below, omitting the name and address of the family referred to. It is as follows:

To the Honorable Board of Supervisors of Des Moines County, Iowa: Your petitioner recognizes the fact that your honorable body as at present constituted administers the affairs of the county justly, wisely and generously, in spite of the unwisdom of eco-

nomie laws under which 28 cents of the average 56 cents earned daily by producers is appropriated by the few who revel in idle luxury. These figures are from Edward Atkinson, a man never suspected of undue solicitude for "poor people who have to work." Your petitioner would show that under the laws that encourage such abuses there is sore distress, even in Iowa, in the presence of such abundant production as the world never witnessed before, and he begs to call attention to one of many cases in our own city, where the head of a family of eight (or more) persons is working for about \$20 a month; where children who are to become American citizens are ragged, shoeless, hungry and in need of moral and secular instruction to fit them for their social duties. The county physician now allows a half-cord of wood per month, and medicine in case of sickness, provided one of the family can come to his office. The family referred to is that of —, living at —.

It might be objected that the man has too large a family, but your petitioner knows of no law divide or human against that; the wrong is to be sought elsewhere. Your honorable body will know how best to proceed in the case referred to.

There is a growing belief that a slight change in our tax laws will secure steady employment and the full reward of labor, prevent the accumulation of wealth in the hands of those who do nothing to produce it, banish poverty and the dread of poverty—the Creator having stored the earth abundantly with subsistence for all its people from the beginning to the end of time—that the value which land acquires through the presence of population belongs to the public, and should be taken for public use in the form of taxation; that houses and improvements and personal property of all kinds, being the fruit of labor, belong to the individual as against all the world; that so long as the revenue from land values is sufficient for governmental uses no one should be deprived of any portion of that which is his. Your petitioner would say that if this belief is wrong it ought to be refuted. At present, however, we are dealing with a condition, not a theory.

MORTGAGED FARMS AND THE CENSUS.

Correspondence in the Matter Between the Secretary of the Cincinnati Single Tax Club and Superintendent Porter.

On October 1 the secretary of the Cincinnati single tax club, Mr. William C. Wolff, addressed a letter in substance as follows to Superintendent Porter of the eleventh census at Washington:

Resolved, That the secretary request Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the eleventh census 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 is so mortgaged.

The following letter was received in reply:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 11, 1889.

Eleventh Census of the United States.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst., transmitting a copy of a resolution passed at the last meeting of the Cincinnati single tax club.

In reply I have to say that said resolution has received the careful attention of this office.

The line of inquiry suggested is not contemplated in the act under which the eleventh census is to be taken, a copy of which act is inclosed herewith for your information.

Your attention is called to that portion relating to the collection of the statistics of recorded indebtedness of private corporations and individuals.

The report based upon this requirement of the act will show the aggregate mortgage indebtedness upon real and personal property.

It will afford me pleasure to submit at an early date the aforesaid resolution to the secretary of the interior with a view to the advisability of asking special legislation by congress to enable the census office to conduct the investigation suggested.

I fully realize the importance of statistics which would throw light upon this subject.

Very respectfully,

ROBERT L. PORTER,

Superintendent of Census.

To the secretary of the Cincinnati Single tax club, Cincinnati, Ohio.

THE NEXT CENSUS.

Farmers and Single Tax Men Want to Know What the Tariff Has Done for Farmers.

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 25.—The movement to have the next census show the mortgage indebtedness on the homes and farms of the country is gaining strength every day. The Farmers' federation of the Mississippi valley, in a general convention held in St. Louis October 23 and 24, adopted resolutions demanding that the next census "show what percentage of the people in this country occupy their own farms and homes, and what percentage are tenants; and of those occupying their own farms and homes, what proportion have their property free from debt; and of the farms and homes under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged." This convention was made up of delegates named by the governors of all the states lying in the Mississippi valley, and of delegates elected by various farmers' organizations in the same district, and it represented a million and a half of farmers.

There is one more step which should be taken at once. Mr. Robert P. Porter, in reply to resolutions sent to him, says that the act authorizing the census did not contemplate the collection of these data; that to

gather them he must have authority from congress; that they are important and should be collected; and that he will lay the matter before the secretary of the interior with a view to asking for such legislation. It is very certain that when congress convenes a bill will be introduced amending the act and providing for this enumeration. There is a probability that some of the associated monopolists in congress will, for obvious reasons, oppose the amendment. Anticipating this, the undersigned take this method of asking every single tax league in the United States to at once readopt the resolutions sent out by this league, but changing the last clause to read as follows:

Resolved, That the secretary of this league be instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the congressman from this district, with a request that he use his influence to secure the collection and publication of these facts.

From information which the committee have, they believe that this is an important part of the work, and they therefore ask the single tax leagues to take action at once. Statistics have been gathered in great abundance to show the production of wealth, but none to show its distribution; and no effort should be withheld which will compel the next census to make this searching inquiry into the economic condition of the masses of the people.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS,
B. C. KEELER,
HAMILIN RUSSELL,

Committee on census, St. Louis S. T. League.

The Western economic association has issued an address to the farmers of the country, asking them to pass similar resolutions, and that address is now being printed in the agricultural papers of the country. A copy was sent to every agricultural paper.

TAX ASSESSORS WHO SEE THE CAT.

Schedules of Assessments in an Oregon County Which Show the Entering Wedge of the Single Tax.

A tabulated statement of this year's tax assessments of Umatilla county, Oregon, in which the town of Pendleton is situated, is published in the Pendleton East Oregonian. The East Oregonian says that there is a "gratifying increase" in the assessment of land. Last year the amount was 299,955 acres valued at \$1,882,000; this year the assessors found that there were 380,209 acres and they valued them at \$2,247,000, an increase in amount of \$80,254 acres and an increase in assessment of \$364,000. The assessors of Umatilla county are evidently on the single tax track, whether willingly or unwillingly, it does not matter, as the following summary of the changes in the assessments will show:

As compared with last year the assessments on town lots have increased from \$712,000 to \$1,052,000, or over \$300,000, while the assessments on town lot improvements have increased only \$3,000. That is, of the total increase on lots and houses one hundred parts are on the land values to one part on the improvements. The increased assessment of merchandise and implements is only \$84,000. The number of horses and cattle and their value is actually less this year than last on the assessors' books; the horses decreased from 15,000 to 13,000 in number, and the cattle from 18,100 to 16,500. There was an increase in the assessments of money, notes and accounts amounting to \$266,000.

A great many of the smaller agricultural townships have a smaller aggregate assessment this year than last, while such places as Pendleton, where the town lots are valuable, show an increase.

The assessments on non-residents and mortgages have increased largely.

These changes in the assessment are undoubtedly due in great part to the efforts of single tax men and the articles on taxation which the East Oregonian has had in its columns.

The Brooklyn Cart-Tail Meeting.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 27.—The Brooklyn cart-tail crusade is doing splendid work, and this is the kind of work that is bound to tell. It is carrying our doctrines into the midst of the people whom we could never get to come to our club house. Saturday night's meeting was a grand success. Long before the illuminated truck with its load of missionaries reached the corner of DeKalb avenue and Fulton street a large crowd of expectant men were waiting, and a shout of welcome went up when the truck appeared. It didn't take long for Frank P. Rand, vice-president of the Brooklyn single tax club, to open the meeting. He made a few felicitous remarks and then introduced Everett Glackin, secretary of Typographical union No. 6 of New York city, who delivered a capital speech.

Frederick Schrimshaw followed Mr. Glackin, and his witty sayings and strong points in favor of the single tax, free trade and ballot reform went right home to the hearts of his listeners. Brooklyn's Billy Radcliff, R. C. Utess, next followed, and he created a tremendous storm of opposition when he sailed into the henchmen whom he said Governor Hill had sent into labor organizations to corrupt and turn them to his own ends.

When the truck left the square at 11.15 it left behind it groups of debaters, for the discussion had waxed hot and heavy.

I am told by a member of the club, who remained on the ground, that at 12 o'clock protection and free trade was still being discussed by excited throngs.

A proof that those meetings are beginning

to tell is the eagerness with which the people take our literature.

If any one can give us a little help, either in money or literature, or service as speaker, he should do so. We are determined to work, and work we will if we can get the means.

J. T. O'NEILL,

Chairman agitation committee, Brooklyn single tax club.

New York State.

Chester L. Platt, Ithaca, N. Y.—The list of single tax clubs printed in THE STANDARD reminds us each week that Ithaca has no organization, and that it ought to have. We have single tax men, though, more of them than ever before, and the gospel of equal rights for all to access to nature's storehouse gets preached notwithstanding. The Unity club at the Unitarian church closed its meetings last spring with an address on the single tax, as a solution of the social problem, by Mr. J. G. Parsons of the university. At the first meeting held this fall Rev. James S. Bush gave an address to a large audience on the causes of the increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of the upper tens, and pointed out the need of a just and natural system of land taxation to bring about adequate and equitable industrial remuneration for the lower million. The Ithaca tariff reform club we hope will resume its meetings soon. Among its members are a large number of professors from the university. President Andrews, now of Brown university, Professor Herbert Tuttle, Professor C. A. Collins, Professor F. M. Burdick and Mr. C. H. Hall are among the number who took an active part last year and addressed public meetings. The Ithaca Democrat, formerly edited by Mr. Ward Gregory, is now conducted by Mr. George W. Appar, a radical tariff reformer. The evils of our system of taxation are assailed in a more vigorous manner than ever before, and the farmers of our county in particular are coming to see that high tariff taxes are worse than high school or road taxes, or high state and county taxes.

The Rochester single tax union circulates widely an invitation to attend its meetings, and sets forth the principles that it is working to advance with great clearness. After a graphic description of the present industrial system and its effects the circular says:

That such a system is unjust, oppressive and dangerous to the peace and welfare of society, will be readily admitted by all but the few who have an interest in its maintenance, and we hold that it is the duty of every good man to do what he can to put an end to this monstrous system, and endeavor to set up in its stead a civilization wherein something like justice and equity will be meted out to all.

The problem may seem an intricate one, but its solution is by no means difficult. It only requires you to lay aside all prejudice, and approach it with intelligent concern. It is this interest that we want to excite. Your intelligence will soon accomplish the rest, and self-interest will impel you to action.

A correspondent writing from Binghamton, N. Y., says that the carpenters there had a large meeting on the evening of the 15th. P. J. McGuire, the national secretary, was to have been present, but illness prevented. J. H. Blakeney was called on and gave a rousing speech, in which he demonstrated that he was familiar with every phase of the labor question. He took up and explained the single tax doctrine, and as the Saturday Call afterward said, "Some of the audience got new ideas on that subject." E. W. Dundon followed, and showed the utter insufficiency of a tariff to "protect" labor. When he sat down W. J. Welsh took the floor with the air of a man who intended to make mincemeat of the heresies which had just been uttered, but instead of that his argument, when Mr. Dundon had had a chance to reply, resembled, to borrow a simile from the Southern New Yorker, a copper penny after a freight train had rolled over it.

Sunday Night Lecture in Jersey City.

Mr. Everett Glackin will lecture before the Standard single tax club of Jersey City, at Hamboldt Hall, 186 Newark avenue, Sunday, November 3.

Pennsylvania.

D. L. Hawes, Pottstown, Pa.—The chief industries of this congressional district (comprising Chester and Delaware counties) are iron manufacturing and agriculture. The district is always republican, but tariff reform is steadily gaining ground. The single tax idea is also getting a firm foothold, principally among the iron workers and mechanics, although some of our farmers are also beginning to see the cat. We have a single tax club in Pottstown with fifteen members. Pottstown is in the Montgomery county district and generally goes democratic. Montgomery county's representatives voted solid against ballot reform and Chester county's solid for it.

J. F. Cooper, Hites, Allegheny County, Pa. The chief industries of this congressional district are those of Pittsburgh, which are too well known to enumerate. The chief industry of my nearest town—Tarentum—is plate glass making. The projectors of this industry came here in 1883 bankrupt. They got some Pittsburgh capitalists together, purchased three hundred acres of land, built two immense factories, utilized natural gas, and now have a business which has assumed colossal magnitude. One of the company is

a member of congress. The company owns the land and tenements occupied by nearly all of the seven hundred and fifty men, women and children who operate in the Tarentum factories.

Recently this company has purchased four hundred acres of land near Kittanning, whereon they have built another colossal plate glass works at a cost, it is said, of \$2,000,000. It is a model of monopoly. They have built a town there, and the occupation of a company tenement is a *sine qua non* with their 1,200 operatives. Agricultural interests are everywhere in western Pennsylvania declining. Testimony of all farmers corroborates this otherwise evident fact. This congressional district went strongly republican in the presidential campaign last fall—on the high tariff, high wages issue. Protectionism is the established religion and the only change in sentiment, if any, regarding the wellnigh universal superstition is that it waxes more rabid and rampant. There are a few earnest single tax men here, but they are too weak numerically and financially to establish and maintain organization. I have persistently urged organization, but as yet I have been unable to fire others with my own "divine rage." I fear that the single tax idea is not growing hereabouts. There seems to be no labor problem here. Baseball and bicycling absorb the energy of young men, to whom high rents, unsanitary dwellings, typhoid fever, diphtheria and Calvinism constitute the incidents of life. The people are quite ignorant and indifferent concerning ballot reform. I lately remonstrated with the republican member of the legislature for this place for having voted against the ballot reform measure in the late session of the legislature—and so obtuse was he that he declared himself unaware that such a measure had been before that body! I believe the nimbus of ignorance and greed is exceptionally dense in Pennsylvania and if all of the Union is like this portion, the first blows for reform must be struck with weapons sterner than words.

C. D. Burley, Germantown, Pa.—We had an interesting debate on the vacant land theory at the Henry George club last Thursday evening. The weakness of the theory was thoroughly exposed. I cannot understand how sensible men can hold it.

Missouri.

Pa Chase, St. Louis.—Yesterday morning I went to the St. Louis car wheel foundry at Sixth avenue and stood at the gate until 7 o'clock when the gates closed as the last man went in. I had 300 tracts of King's "The Case Plainly Stated." The men seemed to know me, as I had been there before, and I could see by their faces that they were interested. I heard from the superintendent that "the men were all reading the tracts and discussing them."

J. N. Simons, Benton, St. Louis, Mo.—We had an interesting debate on the single tax on the 9th inst. Mr. Merriweather opposed and Mr. Little defended our doctrine. Mr. J. Z. White made a short but sharp speech that made the fur fly pretty thoroughly, and was heartily applauded. We are endeavoring to stir things up from the very bottom, and intend to make it warm for anyone in Benton who upholds privileges and monopolies. We expect to get up some more public meetings during the coming winter.

Iowa.

A. Skliba, Boone, Iowa.—I have sent to the enrollment committee the signature of J. W. Johns. He is a farmer, an ardent free trader, and the democratic candidate for sheriff of this county.

Massachusetts.

W. L. Crossman, Roxbury, Mass.—During the coming winter the members of the Roxbury single tax club will procure a list of voters in the several wards and compare it with the directory in order to learn the occupation of each voter. Then we will mail them a tract to suit the calling of each; to the lawyer, "A lawyer's reply to criticisms;" to the minister, "Thy kingdom come;" to the laborer, "The case plainly stated;" and so on through the list.

California.

Thomas Watson, San Francisco.—The San Francisco Chronicle has attempted at times to make Henry George responsible for views just the opposite of those he has promulgated. Now the Chronicle has a new building towering skyward eight or nine stories, and it begins to think it is unfair that a person making such an improvement should be heavily taxed on account of his enterprise, while an adjoining lot, just as valuable, is occupied by a little frame building that pays hardly any tax. It winds up its editorial on the subject by saying that there is something in Henry George's idea after all. The Chronicle is the great protection sheet of California.

Indiana.

William Henry, Connersville, Ind.—The single tax men are awake even in the sleepy city of Connersville; a few of us have been working silently, slowly and steadily. Last Sunday evening, October 20, Brother Thomas Hudson kindly came down from Indianapolis and delivered a lay sermon at the court house to an audience which, though not

large, was attentive and appreciative. He took for his text, "Ye shall hear the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The subject was the "Bible and the Land, or the Sermon on the Mount and its practical application," which he handled in a pleasing manner. His eulogy of the character and works of Christ, a comparison of the church then and now, and the Christianity of the single tax, were so finely drawn that his hearers could scarcely restrain themselves from applause. We hope to have him come down some week night in the near future and present not only the religious, but also the cold fiscal side of the question, which we feel sure Brother Hudson can do the satisfaction not only of us single tax men but all who hear him.

Illinois.

Edward H. Bailey, Chicago.—The growth of the single tax sentiment in Chicago is really marvelous. The oldest men in the cause can hardly keep up with the movement here without losing sight of its growth elsewhere. The Daily Globe prints once a week a summary of one tax news, furnished by Warren Worth Bailey and others.

Canada.

George G. Soryiss, Cardinal, Ont.—We broke the ice in this village night before last with a public meeting. Mr. Geo. Graham showed some of the absurd inconsistencies of the tariff system; Mr. John Birks made it clear that the tariff in the United States cost the tax payers more than their recent rebellion; I treated the immigration question and Mr. John Reid trotted out "our infant industries" for exhibition. Altogether the meeting was a success and has since been the chief topic of conversation. We propose to have more meetings of the kind this winter—one each month if possible.

Conquest by Free Trade.

Toronto, Can., Daily Globe.

We are sapiently told by one of Sir John's [protectionist premier] city organs that the establishment of continental free trade would be equivalent to the conquest of Canada by the states. Why not to the conquest of the states by Canada? The whole republic would, in fact, become ours by unrestricted reciprocity just as much as though we had killed or captured all Uncle Sam's forces, and put garlands in New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Ogdensburg, Charleston, Philadelphia and every other city or town of note. Nay, it would be more truly ours by free trade than by conquest. Did we overrun the republic with the governor general's body guards our neighbors would be as much annoyed as surprised.

They would not then buy freely from us. Their guerillas would try to capture without paying for those immense herds of Canadian cattle, horses and sheep that American consumers will buy, when we have free trade with them, at prices twenty per cent higher than our people get now. Surely all rational beings must perceive that a Canadian conquest of the states would not give Canadians one particle more profit than continental free trade, but would put them to huge expenses in maintaining their position. On the whole, we had better not subjugate our neighbors by superior strength when it is so plain that we can gain all the advantages of subjugating them, and a great many more, by an untaxed exchange of commodities.

The novel doctrine that free trade between two countries is equivalent to conquest of one by the other tends to some curious conclusions. For instance, Ontario has conquered Quebec, and Quebec has conquered Ontario. Manitoba has conquered Nova Scotia, and British Columbia has conquered the whole confederation. Were an imperial Zollverein established, Canada would have conquered Great Britain, Australia and all the other parties to the compact. Again, the doctrine that free trade in all things is equivalent to conquest has this corollary: Free trade in some things is equivalent to partial conquest. We have therefore obtained a considerable victory and an undivided interest in the whole territory of the United States people by selling them untaxed eggs. They have conquered considerable, though unspecified and unmapped, possessions in the dominion by selling us untaxed cream of tartar. In accordance with these enlightened premises it may be logically argued that Canada's conquest of the states, and the states' conquest of Canada, are in strict proportion to the values of the international exchanges of free and dutiable goods. If this be not incorrect, we have been almost half conquered by our neighbors, for they send us annually about \$24,384,168 of goods which we do not tax, and about \$27,097,680 worth of goods which we do tax. Equally, of course, we have about half conquered them by sending them free and dutiable goods in something the same proportions. Just here the important consideration comes in that our conquerors, who thus appear to own an undivided half interest in Canada, have no representative in either the dominion or provincial legislatures. Nor have we, after half conquering them, any representative in their congress. Isn't this very remarkable? Doesn't it point straight to the conclusion that if we wholly subdue them by continental free trade, and they wholly subdue us—thus absorbing each other as the two snakes did that swallowed one another from the tails—we need not have a common legislature, and, therefore, each country would retain as much independence as it has now? This seems at first a queer conclusion from the acceptance of our tory contemporary's novel doctrine, but we are sure it is a correct one, and we hope, at least, that all logicians will combine in a certificate that we have reasoned as soundly as possible upon this very intricate, strange and perplexing subject.

THE EARTH BELONGS TO THE LIVING.

The Editor of a Religious Paper Argues Against Permitting Dead Men to Govern the Property of Their Successors—Thomas Jefferson's Letter to Earle.

Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., editor of the National Baptist, has an article in the last Independent entitled "The Dead Hand." The subject of the article is the right of a man to bequeath his property as to virtually control it after he is dead. Dr. Wayland holds that it is unjust to permit such bequests to stand. He says:

I apprehend there is no right of absolute ownership. Each generation receives a great deal from the generation which precedes it; its possessions are a trust under the will of the past generation to be transmitted to the generation following. Each generation is but a life tenant. It has no fee simple.

And much of the value of the property held by the generation of to-day is really given by the generation which is to come. The railroad of to-day is valuable largely because fifty years from to-day men will use it and will pay for the use of it. The bond due in 1939 owes half its value to the fact that the next generation will pay the coupons. We enriched the last generation (unconscious benefactors) before we were. The amount of gratitude due from each generation to the following, the sum of the debt we owe to posterity, has never been adequately considered.

Still more, suppose that a founder of the last century left certain land for a certain purpose. That land derives all its present value from the labor of the men of to-day. Without this labor it would be valueless. Again, in an eminent degree all its increase in value comes from the labor of to-day. The land which went begging at \$2 an acre is now a bargain at \$5,000. Who created this increase?

The writer also quotes Thomas Jefferson's letter to Thomas Earle of Worcester, Mass., which was dated from Monticello, Va., Sept. 24, 1823, and reads as follows:

That our Creator made the earth for the use of the living, and not of the dead; that those who exist not can have no use nor rights in it, no authority or power over it; that one generation of men cannot foreclose or burden its use to another, which comes to it in their own right, and by the same divine beneficence; that a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts, these deriving their obligation from the will of the existing majority, and that majority being removed by death, another comes in its place, with a will equally free to make its own laws and contracts—these are axioms so self-evident that no explanation can make them plainer; for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence, or that nothing can move something. They are axioms, also, pregnant with salutary consequences. The laws of civil society, indeed, for the encouragement of industry, give the property of the parent to his family on his death, and in most civilized countries, permit him to give it by testament to whom he pleases. And it is also found more convenient to suffer the laws to stand on our implied assent as if positively re-enacted, until the existing majority positively repeals them; but this does not lessen the right of that majority to repeal, whenever a change of circumstances or of will calls for it; habit alone confounds civil practice with natural right.

Dr. Wayland draws no distinctions in the matter of bequests between landed property and personality, but holds that the entailing or restricting the use of any species of property by a testator is wrong and should not be permitted. His strongest point, however, is that which Jefferson puts so plainly, namely, that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

REAL ESTATE TAXES.

Some More Assessments and Selling Prices Compared—How the Improver is Fined.

The plots of improved and unimproved property, of which the assessed valuations and selling prices are compared below, are fairly representative of the two classes of property. The improved property includes business and residence property, and the empty lots are in different sections of the city. It will be observed that the tax assessors have made much greater differences in assessing the various improved plots than in the case of the vacant lots. Thus, one house and lot is assessed at 91½ per cent of its selling value, while another is assessed at only 34½ per cent, while the lowest assessment of the vacant lots is 25, and the highest 62½. Whether this is because the value of the vacant lots is more easily ascertained than that of the houses or not it is impossible to say, but the fact is that the assessments are more nearly uniform in the case of the vacant land than in the case of the buildings.

The various sales are taken from the last issue of the Real Estate Record and Guide. The assessments and selling prices of the improved plots are as follows:

Three story stone front dwelling, 206 West 53d street. Sold for \$12,550, assessed at \$9,000, or 72 per cent of value.

Five story brick flat and stores, northeast corner Lexington avenue and 115th street. Sold for \$58,000, assessed at \$20,000, or 34½ per cent of value.

Five story brick office building, No. 49 Cedar street. Sold for \$60,000, assessed at \$27,000, or 45 per cent of value.

Six story brick office building, No. 35 Broad-

way. Sold for \$395,000, assessed at \$200,000, or 50 per cent of value.

Three story stone front dwelling, No. 153 East 80th street. Sold for \$15,500, assessed at \$7,000, or 45 per cent of value.

Five story brick tenement, No. 522 West 33rd street. Sold for \$18,000, assessed at \$8,000, or 44½ per cent of value.

Three story stone front dwelling, No. 253 West 120th street. Sold for \$13,000, assessed at \$8,000, or 61½ per cent of value.

Three story brick dwelling, No. 177 West 97th street. Sold for \$13,100, assessed at \$12,000 or 91½ per cent of value.

Four story brick store, No. 113 Bleecker street. Sold for \$40,000, assessed at \$14,500 or 36 per cent of value.

Four story stone dwelling, No. 205 West 221 street. Sold for \$12,050, assessed at \$7,500 or 62½ per cent of value.

Footing up the above percentages and dividing by ten, the number of plots, we find the average assessment on these lots and buildings to be 54½ per cent of their value as shown by the sales.

Now for the vacant lots:

Avenue B, west side, 51 feet south of 82d street. Sold for \$14,000, assessed at \$3,600, or 25½ per cent of value.

No. 538 West 35th street. Sold for \$5,500, assessed at \$2,500, or 45½ per cent of value.

North side of 103d street, 250 feet east of Second avenue, six lots. Sold for \$14,700, assessed at \$9,200, or 62½ per cent of value.

North side of 104th street, 250 feet east of Second avenue, three lots. Sold for \$11,800, assessed at \$6,000, or 51 per cent of value.

North side of 100th street, 80 feet west of Fourth avenue. Sold for \$6,000, assessed at \$1,500, or 25 per cent of value.

North side of 144th street, 425 feet west of Grand Boulevard two lots. Sold for \$3,100, assessed at \$1,000, or 32 per cent of value.

South side of 71st street, 213 feet east of First avenue. Sold for \$6,500, assessed at \$2,500, or 38½ per cent of value.

South side of 87th street, 200 feet west of avenue B. Sold for \$6,000, assessed at \$2,500, or 41½ per cent of value.

North side of 88th street, 100 feet west of West End (Eleventh) avenue, three lots. Sold for \$31,500, assessed at \$9,000, or 28½ per cent of value.

Footing up the above percentages and dividing by nine, the number of plots, we find the average assessment on these vacant lots to be 39 per cent of their value as shown by the sales.

Estimating that the value of the houses, in the case of the above improved lots, is equal to the value of the lots on which they stand, we find that these house owners are paying taxes on 54 per cent of the value of their lots and an equal amount on their houses, making in all 108 per cent of the value of their lots, as against 39 per cent paid by the empty lot owners, or just three times as much taxes in proportion to the value of the land they use.

The Church and the Single Tax.

Mr. Theo. J. Werner has written a letter to the Newark, N. J., Item, asserting that it is the right and the duty of clergymen to discuss the great social problem in their pulpits, and protesting against any attempt to put the single tax movement in an attitude of hostility to the church. He says:

Ridiculing and abusing the church and its ministers, because they do not see the social question and the remedies proposed as we do, is not only wrong, because it is not according to the golden rule, not only absurd and conceited, because it is not so long since we thought that our social system was natural and could not be changed, but it is very poor policy, for let us remember that these men are the representatives and in some respects the leaders of not only the members of the churches, but of nineteen-twentieths of those who never go into a church (and who profess anything but respect for those that do), for for these very men are generally the quickest to resent an attack on the faith they were born in. This being so, the opposition of the clergy and church would certainly retard and perhaps defeat the triumph of our cause, while if by showing them the truth and justice of the remedy we propose we can gain an ally that will insure our triumph, would we not be fools to antagonize them? I favor no yielding of principle, no methods of the ward politician, no false pretences, but the use of the policy of common sense. If it is true, as was said by a well known anarchist of the Boston school, "that the church and the present social system must stand or fall together, then we have undertaken a big contract, or bit off more than we can masticate, but it is as great an absurdity as the idea of no economic rent if land was free, or that latest exhibition of crankism, the vacant land theory."

It is clearly the duty of the clergy as of all others to look into the social question and the labor problem with a desire, not to controvert the ideas of any one, but to get at the truth, and when they have found it to give it their congregations in allopathic and homoeopathic doses as they will take it. Let all single tax men remember that attacking people's religious opinions is a poor way to tempt them to listen to your doctrine of political economy. A first-class object lesson is an exhibition right here in Newark. For months the church and its ministers have been bitterly assailed and ridiculed because, forsooth, they would not throw overboard their belief in God and a future, and would not proclaim a belief in doctrines advocated by a man that changed his belief as readily and nearly as often as his clothes; and what effect does the attacks have toward bringing recruits to the infidel hosts? Why, none whatever! and the Christian church merely looks on with amused contempt.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A Gravity Railroad.

General John Newton, the well known civil engineer, is said to be very enthusiastic over a gravity railroad invented by Major Benjamin S. Henning of this city. An exceedingly rapid motion is to be created by gravity on a sharp incline which carries the cars down the grade on an increasing momentum until a level is reached, and then a hill on the opposite side will be reached, and cable power introduced, the cars being attached by automatic grips so there will be no loss of motion, nor will there be any noticeable change in speed. The speed of the trains can be governed by the depth or steepness of the incline and can be regulated to suit any requirements. It is said that this invention will be applied in carrying passengers through the tunnel under the Hudson river. But it can also be applied to street car use. Stations would be about 1,200 feet apart, the cars starting from an elevation at one station and reaching a similar elevation at the other. The time between stations on a moderate grade would be twenty-two seconds, or an average of twenty-two miles an hour. Elevators would be provided to lift the passengers to the starting station. The inventor says that as for the unpleasant feeling which might at first seem inseparable from such a great rate of speed, that would be entirely absent. The seats would be suspended and the cars dark, so there could be no suggestions of moving at all scarcely to the passengers. The darkening of the cars would act similarly to the shutting of one's eyes in an elevator, when it becomes an impossibility to tell whether the elevator is ascending or descending.

Soda Water as a Life Preserver.

It is not a Yankee invention, for it originated in the brain of a Frenchman. Coats and trousers are hereafter to be made with large waterproof pockets, which will contain a small amount of carbonic acid. If the wearer falls into the water, a small outlet will let in just enough water to create a gas, which will float the man for a number of hours.

A Yacht Propelled by Electricity.

At last electricity has been successfully applied to yacht propulsion. A yacht run by this motive power recently made a trial trip in Jamaica bay, Long Island. Unlike the steam yacht, this craft has no smoke stack or pipe of any kind showing, nor has she any spars. The only thing about her that suggests machinery is a set of switches on the wall of the pilot house, above the wheel. They occupy a very small space, and start, stop, back or slow the boat as the pilot may wish. There is no sound of machinery about her when in motion, and she goes through the water noiselessly. She is thirty-six feet long and has a draught of three and one-half feet. Down under the floor of the cabin is a long shaft, at the middle of which is a ridge of copper, against which bushes or bunches of fine brass strips are placed. This is all of the machinery which runs the boat that is visible. It is a ten-horse power motor. With this motor and 200 cells all charged the yacht can run eighty miles at an average of eight miles an hour. The yacht has incandescent electric lights throughout, and makes a handsome picture when traveling through the water.

Albert Spicer and the Congregational Union Christian World, Oct. 3.

Among the English converts to land nationalization, or the single tax, as Mr. Henry George prefers to call his proposal, Mr. Albert Spicer ranks with the "chiefest apostles" who are carrying on the propagandism. Mr. Spicer is a man of great intelligence and great enthusiasm; his sympathies are with the poor, and him "that hath no helper"; he is known in the world of commerce as a man of sound business tact, and he applies his business talents and his time and energies with unsparing devotion and loyalty to the service of his denomination. Such an adherent must add weight to any cause, and predispose in its favor many whose interest might otherwise never be stimulated or their sympathies aroused. All these things invest with unusual importance the paper on "Christian Economics" read at the meeting of the Congregational union yesterday. What Mr. Spicer says in the assembly is always sure of a respectful hearing. It is likely to deeply

influence the minds of the hearers, and to go forth from the assembly with something resembling an official sanction. There is a danger in all this. Mr. Spicer, like all the followers of Mr. Henry George, has been magnetized by the fiery zeal and the entraining eloquence of his master. He is absolutely sure, beyond all doubt, that the single tax is the one and the only remedy for the ills of society. The poor, he argues, have been disinherited by the rich, who have deprived them of their birthright in the land. From this deprivation, from the removal of all fiscal burdens off the shoulders of the land owners on to those of workers, from the power given to the owners of the land to abstract the earnings of those who are dependent upon the use of the land for the means of industry, the bulk of the poverty, ignorance, and degradation of civilized societies directly and indirectly comes. The oppressed and the degraded are those for whom the churches are bound to feel the deepest solicitude, and over whose interests they are bound to watch with vigilant care. The poor have been robbed of their birthright in the soil. Therefore—such is Mr. Spicer's conclusion—the churches are bound to take up the question of the land, and the churches of the Congregational union most of all. The Congregational union is in a "specially happy and unique position for arousing interest in the subject and showing how it can be handled effectively and at the same time in harmony with justice and righteousness."

(The Christian World goes on to deprecate the introduction of the land question into the Congregational churches.)

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

No. 36 Clinton place, Eighth street, New York. All single tax men visiting New York are cordially invited to make our rooms their headquarters while in town.

The rooms are open every evening from six to midnight, and from twelve o'clock noon to midnight on Sundays.

Lectures on economic subjects of interest to every citizen, every Sunday evening, and once during each month throughout the season, on a weekday evening. Any information as to the club, its lectures, work, and objects can be had on application to the secretary, A. J. STEER, 39 Nassau St., N. Y.

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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 Enrollment committee or the Standard.)

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 909½ Market st. Reading room open every evening, 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell, 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. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

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

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 1448 Lawrence st. Pres., Andrew W. Elder; sec., E. McAuley, 906 Holladay 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. Williss, 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 Haimes, care of Loflin & Meyer.

ILLINOIS.

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

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph 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, 1903 Woodland ave.

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

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

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

KANSAS.

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

LOUISIANA.

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

MAINE.

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

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

MARYLAND.

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

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 35½ Neponset ave., Boston. Pres., John Lavis; sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., Frank W.

Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

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

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

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

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

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

ORANGE.—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., R. 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, 2234 Walnut street.

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

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

HERMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. 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.

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

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 Avenue house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 Grove st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK.

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

Pres., W. H. Faulhaber; sec., A. J. Steers.

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

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

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Geo. White; cor. sec., C. A. Durfee, 100 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.

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

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 50 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. H. Bluntach; sec., J. M. Campbell, 30 Charlotte st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OHIO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OREGON.

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

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Henry George club. Every Friday, 9 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Chairman, J. F. Halbrach; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE.—Single tax association of Rhode Island. Alternate Friday evenings, room 23, Slade building, cor. Washington and Eddy sts. Pres., Dr. Wm. Barker; sec., Geo. D. Laddell, 145 Transit st.

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

TENNESSEE.

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURGH.—Single tax league. Every Saturday night, 500 Market st. Pres., W. I. Boreman; sec., C. G. Abramson.

The Poor Ye Have Always With You. Christian Union.

A few weeks ago there was in The Christian Union a paragraph in which was refuted the

oft used argument that Christ—by his words, "The poor ye have always with you"—taught that it was right that poverty should always exist. Will you kindly explain the verse again, as I cannot find the paragraph? E. B.

Jesus did not say, "The poor ye must have always," as if by necessity or right; nor "ye shall have," as if in perpetuity; but simply "ye have," as an existing fact, however caused or however continuing. To make anything else out of it than the recognition of a then existing state of things is altogether arbitrary.

Labor Slavery—a Lesson in First Principles St. Louis Republic.

Labor slavery is the condition in which labor is not the master of its own products—that is, it is not free to trade in them.

Trade is the exchange of the products of labor.

Every laborer who is not free to trade in the products of his labor is a slave.

The essential condition of slavery is that the laborer has no control over what he produces. The negro slave produced cotton. Had he been free to trade in it, it would have been his own, and he would not have been a slave. The essential condition of servitude would have been lacking. The slave is only valuable for his product. The laborer is bound or free as his product is another's or his own. Wherever labor is denied the right of controlling its own products, there slavery exists.

Freedom of trade between individuals is the liberty to exchange the products of labor. It is based on the liberty of one laborer to dispose of the products of his labor or to exchange them for the products of the labor of another. Freedom of trade between nations is the liberty of all their citizens to exchange with each other the products of their labor.

Wherever labor is denied freedom of trade it is slave labor. Free trade is nothing more than the liberty of one man to trade with any other man he pleases. In as far as this is denied, liberty is taken away and slavery is established. If the laborer is not allowed to trade at all in what he produces, and is controlled in person as well as in product, he is a chattel slave; but he is none the less a slave if his person is controlled through his product, as under the republican system which takes away from labor the freedom to trade in its own products.

A Foolish Laborer.

A common day laborer who was shoveling dirt at Red Bank, N. J., turned up with his shovel \$20,000 in bank notes and a lot of silver, supposedly buried by a bank robber. The laborer was an unsophisticated man, and proclaimed his discovery instead of funding the \$20,000 into a pocket of his blue jeans overalls. As a consequence his employer, who owns the land, took the money away from him.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY.

1. A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. Louis F. Post. 8 pages.
2. Australian System. Louis F. Post. 4 pages.
3. First Principles. Henry George. 4 pages.
4. The Right to the Use of the Earth. Herbert Spencer. 4 pages.
5. Farmers and the Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
6. The Canons of Taxation. Henry George. 4 pages.
7. A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms. Samuel B. Clarke. 16 pages.
8. Back to the Land. Bishop Nutty. 16 pages.
9. The Single Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 8 pages.
10. The American Farmer. Henry George. 4 pages.
11. Unemployed Labor. Henry George. 4 pages.
12. The Case Family Started. H. F. Ring. 8 pages.
13. Social Problems. 32 pages. 12mo. Paper, 35c.
14. Objections to the Land Tax. Thos. G. Shearman. 4 pages.
15. Land Taxation. A Conversation Between David Dudley Field and Henry George. 4 pages.
16. How to Increase Profits. A. J. Steers. 2 pages.
17. The New Political Economy. E. O. Brown. 4 pages.
18. Thy Kingdom Come. Henry George. 4 pages.
19. The Functions of Government. Henry George. 8 pages.
20. The Menace of Plutocracy. Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.
21. Tenement House Morality. J. O. S. Huntington. 4 pp.
- 22, 23, 24, 25, out of print.
26. Henry George's mistakes. Thomas G. Shearman. 3 pages.
- Prices of Single Tax Library: Two page tracts—1 copy, 1 cent; 40 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 20 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
- Four-page tracts—1 copy, 2 cents; 20 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 40 cents; 1,000 copies, \$3.
- Eight-page tracts—1 copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$6.
- Sixteen-page tracts—1 copy, 4 cents; 5 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, \$1.00; 1,000 copies, \$12

Soliloquy of the Modern Hamlet.

Thomas J. Hudson in Indianapolis Sentinel.
A tax, or not a tax, that is the question:
Whether 'tis better for the state, to suffer
The "trusts" and "combines" of protected
nabobs,
Or, to repeal the laws by which they prosper,
And by free imports end them? To buy, to
sell,
Trade free; and by our commerce say we
break
The power by which these lords now hold us,
And make men free; 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To trade—to gain:
To gain! perchance to fail; ay, there's the
rub;
For in the world's great mart what ventures
come.
Ere we have shaken off this robber tax
We must go slow; there's the belief
Born of superstition, that makes men think
Prosperity only comes by paying tax.
Else who would bear a life of toil and care,
The oppressor's wrongs, the proud man's con-
tinually,
And drudge and sweat beneath the summer's
sun,
To pay this tax—that others might grow
rich—
When he, himself, might his poor lot im-
prove,
With one small ballot? Who would these
burdens bear,
But for the thought that foreign pauper
goods,
Of which we hear so much, would fill the
ships
Of European countries, from whose ports
They'd quickly come, to glut our markets
here,
Closing our mills, and forcing us to give
Gold for goods; and leave our workmen
idle?
This thought alone makes havoc in our minds,
And makes us rather bear the ills we have
Than choose the pathway that would give
success.

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