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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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

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

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

One of the attractions at country fairs is sometimes what is called a slow race, in which the prize is awarded, not to the rider who gets to the goal first, but to the one who gets there last. The friends of each horse are therefore anxious that he should go as slow as possible.

The political contest in the state of New York this year is very much of a slow race. The Platt machine has secured undisputed control of the republican party, the Hill machine of the democratic party. The better class of republicans, therefore, want the democrats to carry the state, and the better class of democrats want the republicans to carry the state. And from an intelligent party standpoint both are right, for where a party represents anything more than a desire for spoils it is better for it to lose an election than that a ring should be fastened upon it.

In one thing, however, the Platt machine is a good deal better than the Hill machine. It has not manifested any hostility to the Australian ballot system, but the whole republican vote in both houses of the legislature has for two sessions been cast for it. Hill, on the contrary, has twice vetoed this bill, and the democratic platform which he had adopted in Syracuse indorses his action. This is a sufficient reason for anyone who looks to this reform as the largest that can be done to lessen the power of machines in politics to vote for the Platt machine in preference to the Hill machine.

To the Editor of The Standard:

Dear Sir: I have long wondered that a paper edited in other ways with so evident a sense of personal responsibility as THE STANDARD, should reproduce in its columns such sensational statements (without authority too) as appear under the heading "Society Notes." The items, consisting alternately of accounts of rich and poor, foolish or wicked persons, are, in all probability, often false, but even if true, they are selected on some principle which makes it impossible to detect the moral which ought to be drawn from them. Appearing in THE STANDARD, I assume that they are intended to present in a striking way the horrible extremes of wealth and poverty to be found in our republic, and which are due to unjust social arrangements, which the adoption of the single tax would do away with.

Passing over the tales of ridiculous and wicked waste, which ought to excite disgust, but probably as often excite envy. I wish to point out how far, in my judgment, the other more painful items fail of carrying the moral which I presume they are intended to enforce. I take instances from one issue ago, and if I make any mistake please excuse it, as I send away my STANDARD when read. If I remember correctly, the first item week before last referred to a forger, who having been released from prison, was much hurt that he was not trusted and put into a responsible position to work. Is it desirable that a man who has forged should find it as easy to obtain the confidence of others as a man who has always been honest? Is not the distrust consequent upon dishonesty one of the natural punishments and "deterrents" of crime, and would the adoption of the single tax make it perfectly easy for a dishonest man to regain the trust of his fellow men? If so, then in so far, the single tax would do harm.

The second instance was that of a poor old grandmother who was found with four starving grandchildren in some cellar in New York. The children's father was "serving a year on the island" (in prison in other words)—the children's mother "could not be found." Was the condition of these children the fault of unjust social arrangements, or of their father and mother who had deserted them and of the poor old grandmother, who, instead of taking them where they could be cared for, hid them away? There are three associations in New York whose business it is to take such children (the society for the prevention of cruelty to children, the charity organization society and the association for improving the condition of the poor), and see that they are put in one of the twenty-nine institutions in which New York city supports 15,000 children at a cost to taxpayers of over \$1,000,000 a year, but nobody could take

cure of the children until they were found. Does anyone really think that the adoption of the single tax would entirely prevent men and women from doing wrong, and if not, how could the single tax prevent such suffering as this?

The third case, week before last, was that of a young man who had earned enough money in Brooklyn to leave his work and go out west to look for other work. Not finding it, he came back, and his old job being taken, committed suicide. It is indeed pitiful that men should be fools and cowards, but do you believe that the adoption of the single tax would put courage and character into every weak young man in the country? I wonder that you did not put into your "Society Notes" the sad story of the young man who lately drowned himself in the reservoir (dressed for an evening party, and with a bouquet in his button-hole) because his father kept a livery stable.

I had intended to go through the "Notes" for the past three weeks, but my letter is too long already and I close with the following earnest requests—that you will either see that the instances of suffering given in "Society Notes" are due to social injustice, and will draw the moral in each instance, or that you will cease to publish the notes, which in their present form must, I think, excite only feelings which should not be encouraged—envy and jealousy on the one hand, and on the other a sentimental tenderness for what ought to excite deep pity indeed, but a righteous indignation as well against the sufferers themselves, or at least against the immediate causes of the suffering. You are doing your part to foster the weak and depraved sympathy which fawns on criminals and thinks it an honor to shake hands with a murderer.

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

120 E. 30th St., Oct. 3d, 1889.

Precisely what Mrs. Lowell means by reproving us for publishing, without authority, the items which make up our "Society Notes" it is hard to say, unless she would have THE STANDARD publish nothing which we have not personally investigated. This is unnecessary. While nothing ever appears in THE STANDARD which we have any reason to believe is not true, it is sufficient for us in the case of these items that they are taken from the current records of our social life as presented by the press, and that they do truthfully portray the shocking contrasts exhibited under "Christian civilization" in the United States of North America toward the close of the nineteenth century.

Mrs. Lowell correctly enough divines the intent with which these "Society Notes" are published in THE STANDARD. They are samples of the panorama of contemporaneous life which our daily newspapers present. Under such headings as "Society News," "What Is Going On In Society," etc., these papers publish pages of accounts of how the few rich people that they call society are feasting and dancing, marrying and giving in marriage, getting themselves wondrous jewels, gorgeous dresses and luxurious equipages, holding charity balls, and yachting excursions and antiseed hunts. To these rich and idle people these papers exclusively appropriate the title of society, though they really constitute only one extreme, and that by far the smallest. Of the life of the other and far larger of the extremes of our society, in the true meaning of the term, they also contain many, though usually very brief, notices. But what befalls the poor is not printed with the doings of the rich, so that those who prefer (and we all naturally prefer) to look on the sunshine, may not see the shadow.

In culling week by week from the daily papers some of the items relating to these extremes and bringing them together under the head of "Society Notes," THE STANDARD endeavors by a simple juxtaposition more eloquent than any com-

ment to awaken thought and rouse conscience.

We print these items together, not merely because the facts they suggest must be taken together to form an adequate idea of what the society in which we live really is, but because they are causally related. Whatever be the cause of that monstrously unequal distribution of wealth which enables a few to riot in demoralizing luxury while so many are deprived of the prime essentials of healthy physical, mental and moral development, it is the one root from which both extremes proceed. Just as the coming of summer in one hemisphere necessitates the coming of winter in the other, so does the development of the twenty-fold millionaire necessitate the development of the tramp; so is the prince's ransom in diamonds worn by one woman connected with the starvation of another.

And this common cause of demoralizing riches on the one side and demoralizing want on the other, of surfeit and starvation, of idleness from want of incentive, and idleness from want of opportunity, does not lie in the natural order as does the contrast of the seasons. It lies in that violation of the natural order by which we make what bounteous nature, or, as I prefer to put it, a beneficent Creator, has provided to supply the wants of all, the exclusive property of some. Other secondary causes there are, but this, our treatment of land as private property, is the fundamental, primary and sufficient cause. And the remedy lies in the single tax. Not that the single tax would alter human nature, but it would so change social conditions, so substitute an equitable for an inequitable distribution of wealth, so increase opportunities, that it would give what is best in human nature a chance to develop, instead of forcing into hot house growth what is worst. And human nature always must have in it, the power to bless or to bane; the making of angels or the making of devils.

Mrs. Lowell is mistaken in thinking that envy and jealousy, or even disgust, are the only feelings that can be excited by one class of the items which we publish in these society notes. These poor creatures—men who having bound themselves to the treadmill of wealth amassing must toil on to the verge of the grave, fretting, scheming, grasping, to scrape together what they can neither use nor take away; women who make ostentation their life's end, and turn the pursuit of pleasure into a burdensome toil; young girls whose stockings are described in public prints, and young men whose highest aim is an imitation of the follies and vices of a foreign aristocracy—are to the well-balanced mind the subjects of contempt and pity. Nor should their existence be ignored or covered up. They, on the one side, like their correlatives, the paupers, thieves and prostitutes on the other, are indications of the social leprosy of which nations die. They are not to be unduly blamed, any more than the inmates of our penitentiaries are to be unduly blamed. They are not so much causes as effects. And for their existence, as for the existence of their opposite extremes, every man and woman who has the brain to think and the tongue to speak must share the responsibility.

If Mrs. Lowell will consider a little

more carefully the cases to which she particularly refers, she will find them clearly suggestive of social injustice.

Take the first case. The complaint of the man was not that he was not trusted and put in a responsible position, but that he could not get work. And his story is extremely probable, for as we all know it is in many cases extremely difficult for men who have never been in prison to get work—so difficult in fact that Mrs. Lowell herself is a member of a society which has for its object the artificial making of work in order to dole out a little of it by ticket to deserving men. Now to lose the confidence of others is indeed one of the natural punishments and deterrents of crime, but the inability to get work is not. Nature has provided work for the just and the unjust. Work is the appointed way for men to live, and to say that a man is morally unfitted to work, is to say that he is morally unfitted to live. If after they have suffered their adjudged punishment criminals are to be deprived of the opportunity of honest work, then it were better for them and better for society that they at once be deprived of life, and it is a weak and depraved sympathy that shrinks from the death penalty and imposes imprisonment.

The adoption of the single tax would not make it easy for a dishonest man to regain the confidence of his fellows. It would make it harder, for dishonesty would be less common, and the moral qualities would be more valued. But it would make it easy for any man to obtain work. This, while it would give those who really wished to amend their lives a chance to do so, instead of being, as now in many cases, forced back into crime, would restore the natural incentives to honesty and remove the unnatural incentives which now exist to dishonesty. For it cannot be said of our society to-day that dishonesty is condemned and that honesty is admired. To be honest but poor is to be despised; to be dishonest but rich is to be looked up to. Let Mrs. Lowell scan the roll of what our daily papers style society. How many of the fortunes that figure there were got by means any less dishonest than that for which this ex-criminal was punished? Innocent men sometimes get in the penitentiary, and really honest men may sometimes get very rich. But to put the matter moderately, is not the presumptive evidence of dishonesty at least as strong in the one case as the other? And so long as successful unscrupulousness is admired, so long as it brings not merely command over material things, but the respect of men and the homage of women, we may boil the unsuccessfully unscrupulous in oil or flay them alive without repressing dishonesty. For we have destroyed the natural deterrent.

The third case which Mrs. Lowell cites throws light on the two others. A young man who by hard stinting had saved up enough money to take him west, went to Chicago only to find the labor market overcrowded there as here. Returning, he found himself, with money all gone, unable to find work, and he committed suicide. It is cheap and heartless to call such a young man a fool and a coward, and to say that if he had courage and character he would have gone to the Charity organization society or applied to the charity wood yard if the institution is yet open for the season. The very existence of these institutions is a recognition of the fact that it was no mere phantom of the imagination that this young man was conjuring up before him—that there are in our society to-day men for whom there seems no place; who, unable to find work must either beg or starve. What is a man of courage and character to do in a

world in which he can find no place? The best and wisest of the ancient philosophers would have said that it was the part of a man of courage and character to take himself away from such a world.

Christian ideas have supplanted the ancient philosophy, and we now look on suicide as one of the highest of crimes, even sending men and women to prison when they attempt it and fail. But why does Christianity reprobate suicide? Because it regards every man as having been called into this world by the Creator of it and of him, for the purpose of passing here a certain time and fitting himself for another world into which he is subsequently to be called. Yet how does our practice consort with this Christian theory? How do the facts of our "Christian society" consort with it? If men are here by the call of the Creator, then unless the Creator is a blunderer—a host who has invited more guests than he has prepared to entertain—there must be room in this world and work in this world for every one of them. And so there is. The Creator has provided enough and to spare for all. But by our human laws we give to some what the Creator provided for all, and to such men as this young man we deny all right to work or to live, save as they can buy or beg it of some one else. When we shall have thrown open to labor the natural opportunities to labor, when we shall have ceased to fine and imprison men for honest industry, as this young man would have been fined and imprisoned, if, getting a little stock, he had gone to work for himself at his trade of cigar making; when we shall have ceased to need Charity organization societies or to open charity wood yards, then we may lay all blame on the man who rushes out of life. But till then the blame must be shared by all who in any way help to sustain present conditions.

As for the young man who drowned himself because his father kept a livery stable—has that no social lesson? Can anything be more significant of the differentiation of society into the very rich and the very poor that is going on? Does it not mean that here in the United States wealth is becoming hereditary; that in what our newspapers call "society" honest industry is beginning to be despised, and that, as in certain classes in England, men are beginning to count it a degrading thing ever to have had to work for a living or to have been born of a father who had to work for a living? No amount of denunciation can alter the sentiment. It arises inevitably from a social condition in which one set of people enjoy the produce of labor without doing labor, and other people have to labor without receiving the natural reward of their labor—are taught to deem themselves fortunate to be permitted to work for a mere subsistence and to regard those who in idleness consume the products of work as benefactors to be thanked for the occasion to work.

The poor old grandmother, with four sick children, the eldest six years, the youngest thirteen months, thrown out on the sidewalk on Saturday afternoon because she could not pay rent, and huddling with them into the cellar of the tenement from which she had been evicted—Mrs. Lowell is to be pitied if in such a scene, that, if put on the playhouse stage would make women sob and strong men turn away to wipe their eyes, she can see no hint of social injustice—can see no one to blame save the poor old creature in whom the deepest, sweetest, holiest instinct that glorifies our human nature was still so strong that she gathered the sick babies to her aged breast and crept with them into a cellar, instead of hunting up some of the agents of the three children's

aid societies and twenty-nine public institutions. No one else to blame? Does Mrs. Lowell know that even in Ireland, no sheriff or sheriff's officer would have dared to evict the old woman and those sick babies, unless the representative of some public institution had been notified and had been present, provided with whatever was necessary to take them off and care for them? Does she realize the utter impossibility of such an occurrence taking place among the veriest savages in anything like normal times?

The father had been sent to Blackwell's Island! Mrs. Lowell must know that in this metropolis of the land of the free and the home of the brave thousands of men are every year committed to Blackwell's Island at their own solicitation because they cannot get work. Granted that this was not the case with this man, yet that it is the case with others, proves the existence of a social pressure that might well drive a man to theft or to drink, who under better social conditions might have worthily discharged all the duties of a man. And the mother had disappeared! Without food, without money, without home; with her husband in prison; with four sick children and an aged mother—is hers alone the blame if she followed the example of the two young men?

Mrs. Lowell speaks of the three children's societies and twenty-nine public institutions as if in supporting them the well-to-do portion of society had discharged all their obligations to God and man, and should no longer be annoyed by the miseries of people who did not like to go to them—if not with something of the pride with which a gentleman in Ireland once invited me to visit a certain village to "see what a fine workhouse we have." Such institutions instead of being a glory are a shame to New York. The very existence of such institutions, the immense amounts of money spent in public and private charity every year in New York are proofs of social injustice and evidences of the uneasy consciousness on the part of the well-to-do that the misfortunes of the poor are not entirely their own fault.

Yet how utterly impossible it is by such devices to compensate for social injustice or to avert the certain dangers that it brings? It were far more merciful to the great majority of the people annually sent to those institutions, far cheaper for the city, far safer for the state and nation, if they were loaded into iron cages and submerged for fifteen minutes in the East river. As for the reformatories, Recorder Smyth not long since sentenced two boys, one thirteen and the other twelve, to the penitentiary. If he could have sentenced them to be hung it would have been kinder and wiser. But he said he could do nothing else with them. They had been caught stealing after having been through all the three reformatories. And in spite of all our institutions, babies are a merchantable article in New York. "Nellie Bly" of the World bought one last week for \$10. You can get a handsomer one for somewhat more and an uglier or sicker one for somewhat less. And the triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal church is holding its meeting in St. George's with tan bark spread all around the streets so that passing wagons may not disturb its prayers. If you pass you may happen to see the lord bishop of Albany strutting around in leggings, silk apron and tied up hat, looking for all the world like his grace of Canterbury, or his lordship of Sodor and Man. Not far from there lives Police Justice Power, with his cocoanut mat, worth perhaps twenty-five cents when new, chained with a brass chain to his stoop, lest in this Christian city it should be carried off. But on our

silver dollar, which we are coining in such quantities to make a few millionaires rich, we put the motto, "In God we trust!"

Mrs. Lowell is herself an example of one of the dangers of attempting to substitute charity for justice. Like the anatomist, who, tracing bone and muscle, and nerve, comes to think that the machine is the man, she has been so long occupied in charity work that, woman of clear brain and warm heart though she is by nature and by culture, she has come to think that the shortcomings and vices that are born of poverty show only the weakness and viciousness of those who suffer poverty—to insensibly conclude that the rich are rich because they are good, and the poor are poor because they are bad?

The weaknesses and the vices of the unduly rich, the weaknesses and vices of the unduly poor—they are not isolated, but connected. Take this nauseating case of Robert Ray Hamilton, of which our daily papers have been full, and in which all the pity has been for the man, all the indignation for the woman.

Robert Ray Hamilton was a rich young man—one of our privileged classes, having inherited a part of New York, which enabled him without work to draw \$40,000 a year from the produce of other people's work. As a consequence of his having more than he ought to have, some others have had less than they ought to have. He has had enough to support a number of families; as a consequence, some other men have not been able to marry, and some women who ought to have been wives have been forced to go without husbands. Robert Ray Hamilton contributed to the support of some of these women, but not as wives; and he fell a prey to the parasites which such social conditions inevitably engender. He is to be pitied, all say, as well as blamed. But is he really more to be pitied than the woman and her confederates? Are not both the victims of a social injustice? Given such as he, and are not such as she inevitable?

THE STANDARD has done nothing to foster the weak and depraved sympathy which fawns on criminals and thinks it an honor to shake hands with a murderer. On the contrary it would have justice sure, swift and, where reformation cannot be hoped for, final. But it would not spend righteous indignation against proximate causes; it would rouse it against primary causes. It would endeavor to awake the thoughtful and religious and sympathetic and patriotic to the fact that we are developing here a state of society which must ultimately make not merely republican government impossible, but must destroy our civilization itself.

HENRY GEORGE.

BALLOT REFORM A PRESENT ISSUE.

What has become of the ballot reform movement of a year ago? The Reform club then had a committee that was active in behalf of the Saxton bill, and it appears from its club book that it still has such a committee. But the work was not confined to the Reform club. Its committee solicited the aid of outsiders, and the first steps were taken toward forming a ballot reform association. At that time the Saxton bill was pending in the legislature with good prospects of passage, and some were even so sanguine as to hope that, if once passed, Governor Hill would permit it to become a law. The work nearest at hand, then, was to be done at Albany, and it is not surprising that there was doubt as to the necessity of forming an association for propaganda work in behalf of the principles involved.

But Governor Hill did veto the bill, and in the campaign that followed neither

the republicans nor his numerous opponents in the democratic and independent ranks made that veto so prominent a factor as it ought to have been made in order to educate the people into a clear understanding of the need and method of ballot reform. Governor Hill was re-elected, and success has emboldened him in his opposition to any real effort to purify the ballot box and overthrow the dictatorial power of the political machines, while, on the other hand, the advocates of the Australian system have become strangely quiescent. Some of them even go so far as to say that ballot reform is not an issue in the present campaign because neither of the political parties really desires it or has unequivocally committed itself to any effective measure.

This is a poor excuse for inactivity. It is the duty of those ballot reformers who are such from conviction, and not from a mere desire to find a weapon against Governor Hill, to make the reform an issue. It is in their power to do so. The fact that both parties have been compelled to recognize the necessity for some change makes it easier to compel attention to the only effective change open to us. No matter what may have been the motives of the republican members of the legislature in passing the Saxton bill, they did pass it, and their convention has denounced the governor for vetoing it. It was the most perfect measure that the friends of the reform, assisted by the hostile criticism of the governor, could pass. The Linson bill, on the other hand, was obviously the device of the enemies of the reform to avoid going any further than they could not help toward granting a demand that they dared not ignore. The democratic state convention, at the dictation of Governor Hill, has approved the veto of the Saxton bill and indorsed the Linson bill. So far as this campaign and the next legislature are concerned, this puts the democratic party out of the category of agencies to which the people of New York can look for any effective legislation in this direction.

Sincere ballot reformers are therefore compelled to look to the republican party as the only agency for the accomplishment of their desires. The declaration in its platform on this question is not so explicit as could be desired. Though the convention denounced the governor for vetoing the Saxton bill, it failed to promise that its representatives will re-enact that measure if the people will give them the power to override that veto. Nevertheless the denunciation of its veto makes it a quasi party measure, and leaves every republican candidate for senate or assembly free to pledge himself to vote for the Saxton bill without the modification of a single one of its essential features. The present duty of ballot reformers is to see that such pledges are given, and that no effort is spared to assure the election of every republican candidate who will thus pledge himself to stand by a measure that his own party has accepted, and which it has not attempted to repudiate.

Have we any ballot reformers in New York who propose to perform this duty? The STANDARD can answer for many such, but they are committed to an idea unpopular with many, and they have no desire to thrust themselves forward as the leaders of a movement that equally concerns all who have in view any definite public purposes that they hope to further by the use of the ballot in a free and fair election that will assure a true expression of the will of the majority. A year ago there were numerous men outside the ranks of the single taxers and free traders who were eager to do something for ballot reform. Ballot reform has not since been effected, and neither has anything happened that makes the need of it less urgent. The time for action has come. What do the friends of the measure propose to do?

THE COMING TIN KING.

The New York Sun of Sunday devotes two columns to a description of the tin lands of Dakota. They are described as wonderful in richness and extent, and it is said that the Harney Peak company already owns two hundred lodes, which is

not more than a third of the whole number discovered. The company is developing its mines preparatory to building a railroad and erecting a mill. Three millions of dollars are set aside for the development of its property, and the company employs more than 350 men "under the direction of experienced mining captains from Cornwall." The correspondent says that some people sneer at the company because it does not smelt and concentrate its ore, but he explains that though such a course might be advisable if it were a speculative company seeking to sell its shares, it would be very unwise for the Harney Peak company, which is a solid concern, seeking a permanent investment. If by prematurely producing tin such a company were to convince the world that its deposits are as valuable as the Sun correspondent believes them to be, he truly says that it would thereby greatly enhance the price of newly discovered lodes, placers and desirable ranches, whereas the purpose of the company seems to be "to buy everything in sight as cheap as possible, and then control the output." It already, he says, owns most of the water power, much of the timber and many of the ranches in the district, and it looks to the correspondent "as though one company will eventually monopolize the production of tin in America," while the man who dominates that company will be the "tin king, richer than Rockefeller, if not richer than Gould."

The perfect clearness with which a Sun correspondent is thus permitted to set forth in detail the preliminary processes of building up a great monopoly and creating a modern "king," shows that the defenders of such monopolies have not an intelligent conception of the forces with which they must presently deal. There is no pretense in this article that the people constituting the Harney Peak company base their hopes of splendid profits in the real service that they propose to render society by devoting their energy and capital to increasing the world's stock of tin. They are in no hurry about beginning that service. What they are doing is buying every lode, placer and desirable ranch in sight so that they will own all the mines, water power and fuel in the whole region. Then they can not only control the whole output and regulate prices, but, by their control of the land, prevent anyone else from mining any tin, so that workmen will have to accept such wages as they offer or try to get a living outside the tin region. After a while this land monopoly feature of the enterprise will not be so apparent, but in the beginning the plan and purpose is apparent even to a child and it is clear to any one that it is the sole foundation for the hope of extravagant profits.

When the monopolization of the land is complete the actual production of tin will probably be still further delayed until shrewd and well paid advocates have explained to willing republican congressmen the claims of the capital thus liberally expended to its full share of the "protection" which that party is dispensing to the few at the expense of the many. Then we probably shall see a heavy duty imposed on manufactured tin and tin ore, in the interest of the Harney Peak company, and every workman in the country must thenceforward pay more than is necessary for his tinware and canned goods on the plea that possibly a few thousand foreign miners "under the direction of experienced mining captains from Cornwall" may mine tin in Dakota, for wages perhaps a trifle higher than are paid by tax burdened farmers engaged in producing wheat to sell in the free trade markets of the world. Then with foreign tin shut out the monopoly will be perfected, and the coming of the tin king will be but a matter of time. His subjects will have called him to his throne.

Yet Dakota farmers have just voted to sustain the party of protection, and eastern workmen, whose very dinner pails are to be taxed to pay tribute to the new king, can yet be found who believe that such taxation is designed to increase their wages. This will continue

to be so until the impetus of the movement in which they are engaged shall carry forward the mere tariff reformers to a recognition of the fact that the monopolizer of natural opportunities is the ultimate beneficiary of the whole tariff swindle, after which they will join hands with the real free traders who propose to abolish custom houses, repeal all laws taxing the products of labor and compel congresses to mind their own business and leave men free to produce and exchange, without interference from a paternal government.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The Civil service reform league of the United States, at its recent meeting in Philadelphia, adopted, with little dissent, a severe arraignment of President Harrison's administration for its frequent and flagrant violations of the spirit, if not the letter, of the civil service law. It will doubtless be a long time before we shall have a national administration that will wholly escape criticism by the league, for it is an undeniable fact that the existing law is obnoxious to the managers of both the great parties, and probably ahead of public opinion on the question. Hence public officials of both parties are likely to yield to the pressure constantly put upon them to evade the law without much fear that they will be severely called to account for their shortcomings.

Under these circumstances it speaks well for the persistence and intelligent alertness of the civil service reformers that they have been able to prevent a more general violation of the letter and spirit of the law. They have displayed a political sagacity in this matter, sometimes wanting in their methods in other directions, and they have shown their wisdom in re-electing George William Curtis as their president.

The reform of the civil service and the overthrow of the spoils system are absolutely essential to good government, but the existing law, though good in itself, does not reach down to the roots of the corruption that it curtails, but does not cure. A clearer perception of this fact would have brought the mugwumps much sympathy and support thus far denied them, and it would have restrained the arrogance of a small number of their leaders who have sought to create the impression that they are the whole body.

The Philadelphia meeting seems to have been largely dominated by reasonable men with whom other reformers can work in harmony, and the men who have sought to create a corner in brains with a view to creating a greatness trust, do not appear, from the newspaper reports, to have figured conspicuously in the proceedings.

All reports from Montana agree that the Australian system of voting not only involved less difficulty than its enemies prophesied, but even less friction than was anticipated by its friends. In anticipation of delay the party workers got their voters to the polls early, and, since all went smoothly, in many places nearly the whole vote was polled by noon. The Helena Independent says that the voters were generally quick to comprehend the new method and rapidly checked off the names. It further says:

The party workers had cards ready for the illiterate bearing the names of the candidates of the voter's choice. At the top was printed, "I want to vote for the candidates on this card." The voter signed this card and presented it to the judges, who checked his official ballot accordingly. Voters of this sort were thus disposed of with great expedition. The party workers, too, had little more difficulty in ascertaining how a man voted than under the old law, and when the polls closed their conjectures as to the result were quite as accurate as in past years.

Considering the method of voting the illiterate thus described this is hardly to be wondered at, though, for that matter, so long as any measure of freedom and personal independence remains the opinions of the mass of voters will generally be known from their previous utterances. One object of the Australian system is to make it difficult to hire men to vote other people's opinions, and the Montana law

seems to need some amendment to make it more certain of accomplishing this object.

The Connecticut law, which is in many respects very defective, is reported to have worked well at Monday's election which goes to prove that the American voter is not quite so stupid in learning new devices as the opponents of ballot reform appear to think.

The advocates of ballot reform in New Jersey are setting their brethren in New York a good example. The Electoral reform association of which Read Gordon is president, has begun active work and the sketch of the plan of action, given elsewhere, indicates that it is making good progress. The people are far ahead of the politicians in their understanding of the need of this reform and intelligent activity on the part of its advocates will bring it to the front wherever an earnest effort is made.

The woolen manufacturers who met in New York last week were not immodest in their demands. Expressly disclaiming any intention of trying to get a reduction of the tariff on wool, and other materials that enter into their manufactures, they explained that all they want is an increase of the tariff on woolen goods. The man who did not object to having his pockets picked so long as he was allowed to rifle bank vaults seems to have had the business instincts of an organized woolen manufacturer.

These woolen men should have enlightened the people a little more by explaining why they want an increase of duty on their goods. They did explain to the extent of intimating that the tariff on materials makes it necessary; but this is not sufficient. What is wanted is an explanation not in conflict with the protection idea that the foreigner pays the tax.

According to Governor Hill, in his speech at Kingston on the 3d inst., the democratic platform of the state of New York, reiterates the party's belief in the necessity for tariff reform, but "distinctly repudiates the doctrine of free trade." What does Governor Hill expect to gain for the democratic party by such a statement? What did he expect to gain for it when he caused the platform to make this repudiation? If the platform is sincere in declaring for tariff reform, it is idiotic in "distinctly repudiating" the doctrine of free trade. It might propose to postpone free trade, or to approach it gradually, without incurring criticism; but when it "distinctly repudiates" the doctrine, it leaves to intelligent and honest supporters of the party no room to advocate tariff reform, which it professes to indorse. The practical issue is higher tariff or lower tariff; but the opposing doctrines are free trade and protection. To repudiate the doctrine of free trade is to adopt that of protection. Perhaps, however, Governor Hill's indorsement of tariff reform, like his indorsement of ballot reform, refers to measures that reform only to make worse. Dana, Randall and the protectionists all believe in tariff reform. They want it reformed so as to be more protective. Is that what Governor Hill wants?

The result of the second ballots in France last Sunday is to greatly strengthen the popular verdict in favor of the continuance of the republic under its present constitution, rendered at the first election on the previous Sunday. The hodge-podge of divergent factions that united under the fantastic lead of General Boulanger, having failed, is rapidly disintegrating, and the fact that all of them put together have so little strength, gives republicans of all shades of opinion the right to rejoice. In fact, one may say that the result assures the permanency of a republican form of government in France and gives reason to hope that the French people are at last prepared to enjoy and maintain their dearly bought liberties. Certainly the impression prevails in Europe that the result of the elections establishes the republic permanently among

existing powers. If the rumor, cabled to some of the papers, that General Boulanger intends crossing to France and attempting to raise an insurrection shall prove to be true, then the work of establishing the republic will be completed through the universal laughter at a movement started with sound and fury and ended by such a ridiculous fiasco.

There appears in this issue of THE STANDARD, the first of a series of articles by Mr. E. Yancey Cohen, in which he proposes to tell as briefly as possible the story of the Anti-corn law agitation that ended in the partial overthrow of protection in England. The methods employed by these successful agitators for freer trade is well worthy the careful consideration, not only of single tax men, but of all opponents of the protective system.

The cart-tail campaign of the Manhattan single tax club is arousing new interest in the single tax among the people of this city and Mr. Wolf's appeal for more speakers and sufficient money ought to meet a prompt and generous response.

The East End Poverty of London.

London Edition of the New York Herald

Most people will agree with you in ascribing the cause of east end poverty to the immigration of foreign labor, but the new school of political economists will not. We think that people are forced into poverty if they are not permitted to work, and that the present system of taxation keeps willing workers from natural opportunities of labor. I will briefly state some facts obvious to all. Uniformed farm or building lands, or factory sites, pay but a trifling tax, though their selling value may increase thousands of pounds per annum. It is, therefore, highly profitable to the owner to hold it for a rise. When he does use or improve it, or sell or let it to others who go to work upon it, the taxation is increased in proportion to the increased value created by industry. The workers are thus seen to be taxed, while the idle are enriched. Those whose labor creates all wealth are ever poor, because they, or those who employ them, are fined in proportion to the results of their industry, while, on the other hand, competition forces them to pay ground rent to the owners of the planet in proportion to their earnings. We single tax men claim that a transfer of taxation from industry and its results to land values, exclusive of improvements, would be both just and expedient—just, because land values are created by the public, and not by owners; expedient, because it would compel people who own land either to use or sell it. All would have an equal natural opportunity to earn a living, the sacred rights of man, as well as of property, would be secured, the laws of nature followed, and voluntary poverty abolished.

S. M. BURROUGHS.

Setting a Contemporary Right.

Boston Globe.

Mr. George's plans for the reform and regeneration of the world may or may not be sensible ones; but at least he is entitled not to be held responsible for ideas which he does not hold and has never advocated. One of our Boston contemporaries (the Herald) yesterday defined his "panacea" as "the division of the land, so that everyone shall have a share in it." But Mr. George does not propose, and has never proposed, any arbitrary division of the land. If his scheme were put in operation in its entirety, no proprietor of land would be arbitrarily dispossessed, and the legal titles to land would not be disturbed at all. But since land would be taxed at a high rate, while all other things would be exempt from taxation, the tendency would be for capital to invest in more useful ways; in houses, in factories, in machinery, in railroads, in business of all kinds. Land speculation would no longer be a profitable business, but Mr. George's claim that all other business would be greatly benefited seems extremely plausible. This, apart from the question of justice to landowners, would seem to be a most desirable change. Mr. George's plan should not be indiscriminately condemned until it is understood, and those who say that it is "the division of the land" do not understand it.

Streams Which Show the Wind.

New York city covers probably the richest twenty-five square miles in the new world; yet in that city, in this year, 1889, thousands of children have been turned off from the public schools.

The platform of the Baltimore city democratic convention reaffirmed as its declaration of principles the platform of the national convention of the party. It favors the "Tilden election law" or the Australian ballot system, or such a combination of the two as will secure the freedom and purity of elections. It recommended that the city authorities appoint a commission to examine all departments of the city government and make recommendations to secure efficiency in local administration and reduction in city taxes. It favored a revision of the tax laws to secure a better assessment of taxable property and more equitable partition of the taxes raised in this city between the state and city governments.

The Detroit Sunday News recently employed a lady to go round to the various midwives in Detroit and see how many children she could buy. In a single day she was offered seventy, mostly the children of poor girls who were unable to take care of them. In some cases mothers were found who speculated in their own children.

PERSONAL.

Hon. James G. Maguire left New York for San Francisco on Saturday, the 5th. He intended to stop en route at Chicago, where he was to be accorded a public reception by the single tax organization and sympathizers in the movement on the 7th.

R. H. Ferguson has a letter on taxation in the Buffalo Times in which he shows that if the land values alone of Buffalo were taxed the tax rate of that city would be reduced about forty per cent. He asserts that the tax for the coming year (\$14.14 on the \$1,000) is high because the holders of unused land here have not been properly assessed. Mr. Ferguson insists that such a property holder is a detriment to any community.

The London Star relates the following incident about the burning of Burroughs, Wellcome & Co.'s drug factory at Wandsworth: Yesterday afternoon as a Star man was passing along Snow Hill, Mr. Burroughs, of Burroughs, Wellcome & Co., came out of the city establishment and said: "I've just got a telegram that our mill at Wandsworth is on fire; will you come down with me?" "Yes," said the Star man. "All right; jump in here," pointing to a cab. On the way to Wandsworth Mr. Burroughs said not a word about the burning mill and the £30,000 that were being consumed. First, the strike was discussed, and during the discussion Mr. Burroughs passed a sovereign to our man—his second donation to the strike fund. Then the apathy of the British public in view of the way that members of parliament were sent to prison nowadays was commented on, Mr. Burroughs explaining that if they sent members of the house of representatives to prison like that in America the whole country would be up in a blaze—especially if the offense had been simply giving bread to famishing people. Not a word about the fire until, near the scene, Mr. Burroughs met one of the girls employed in the mill. "You've got a fire here?" he said to her. "Oh, dreadful, sir," replied the girl, with a frightened look. "Is everybody safe?" "No, sir; three girls are missing." "Oh, dear, dear"—and Mr. Burroughs then showed a little excitement and began to run. When he came in sight of the mill and saw the long line of engines—"The place is completely burnt down," he said, "but, fortunately, it won't interfere with our business arrangements. We have a large stock of goods warehoused and we are ready to start work at Dartford. My own private library of 700 volumes, too, is all burnt." When, later, he heard of the death of one of the firemen, he told his manager to find out whether any people were dependent on him. The employees will in no way suffer. Mr. Burroughs says they will pay their wages until they get fairly to work at Dartford.

Rev. Father Huntington lectured in Baltimore on October 2 before the Liberty club. The lecture was held in the lecture room of Rev. Mr. Roth's Episcopal church and was a most eloquent exposition of the religious side of the single tax doctrine.

Mr. J. F. Muirhead is the English editor of the famous Baedeker guide books, by means of which the traveler can go to almost any corner of Europe and northern Africa and know just what to see and how much to pay. Mr. Muirhead prepared the "Great Britain" volume himself. In a recent interview he said that a new Baedeker—that is a new revision or a new volume altogether—acts to some extent like a new railway as an opener of traffic, so widely read are these little red covered hand books.

Our little friend, Burton Knisely of Canton, Ohio, son of A. E. Knisely, a well known single tax man of that place, has distinguished himself by winning the first prize in a declamation contest which recently took place at the Stark county fair. He recited Duganne's "The Two Wants" and Mackay's "Our Daily Bread," which he studied from THE STANDARD. This is the second time the little fellow—he is under ten years of age—has won the first prize for declamation.

George G. Guenther of Galloway, Ill., writes that a paper, to be called The Lotner, is to be started at Streator in the interests of the miners of Illinois. He thinks it will do great good if the right spirits control. Mr. Guenther will be one of the contributors to its columns.

Mr. J. Edson of Chicago has printed in neat form an admirable single tax essay entitled "Progress and Poverty, or the New Political Economy," which was read last June before an audience mostly composed of members of Ascension Parish church. Mr. Edson says in a preliminary note: "My special object has been to present the moral and religious aspects of the case, for while I believe in the single tax as a great fiscal reform, I believe in it above all because I regard it as pre-eminently a religious movement."

John R. Roche of the Boston single tax club has just turned up as one of the Malden delegates to the Democratic representative convention, who have been instructed to vote for a resolution favoring "legislation which shall, with due and just regard to the rights of private property already vested, permit cities and towns to supply water, gas and electric light, and shall enable them to render to their inhabitants such other services as are now delegated to individuals and private corporations." At the meeting at which these delegates were elected a com-

mittee of three was also appointed to investigate the manner in which property is assessed in Malden, and report through the local press. The Boston Globe, commenting on this, says: "One of the side lights of the present democratic campaign showing the healthy public spirit that animates the democratic party of Massachusetts was the appointment of a committee at the democratic caucus in Malden to investigate the assessment of property in that city. The claim is made that, while the poor man's home is assessed at its full value, and sometimes far beyond its value, the properties of the wealthier residents are assessed at about half their value. There are doubtless many other cities and towns where the democratic caucuses might profitably order a similar investigation."

Mr. J. N. Birks having written to the South Australian Register proposing to alter the name of the "Single tax league" to "Tax reform league," so as to get protectionists and free traders to work together, W. C. Wilson writes to say that there is no concord between light and darkness. Let free trade be advocated in all its fullness, let its corollary, the single tax, be likewise advocated unflinchingly, and let protection be arraigned as an impious interference with natural God-intended trade that should go on without impediment.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

The New Jersey State Association—Active Work Begun—A New Club in Jersey City.

The New Jersey state electoral reform association, of which Reid Gordon of Roselle is president, met a week ago last Wednesday for the first time and decided to go to work and start the formation of clubs in every city and town in the state. In an interview with a representative of THE STANDARD Mr. Gordon thus described the purposes and plans of the organization: "The bill introduced last year will be printed with explanations of the work done, accompanied by general arguments in favor of the reform, and the clubs will be used as a means of circulating the same, with a view to arousing increased interest in the various sections which may lead to an expression of public opinion through meetings, memorials to assemblymen and senators in the different districts, and communications to the newspapers. They also published an appeal which will be sent to every newspaper in the state with a special request that it be published with suitable editorial notice, and suggestions that citizens organize at once and send their names and addresses to the secretary, E. W. Nellis, 89 North Main street, Paterson, N. J.

"As soon as a sufficient number of organizations are formed a conference will be called by the state electoral reform association, at which general business will be attended to, and which will undoubtedly lead to the formation of a permanent executive committee who will take charge of the preparation of a bill to be introduced this winter. The bill will be on the lines of the former one. Funds will be raised to meet the expenses of the propaganda, and an accounting will be filed with the secretary of state when the work is done.

"There are already organizations formed in Jersey City, Newark, Orange, Paterson, Morristown and several towns in the southern part of the state. What promises to be a very influential organization was formed in Elizabeth on October 3, when there were present citizens of all shades of political beliefs, and addresses were made by Foster M. Voorhees and Fred. Marsh, the republican and democratic assemblymen from the districts included in the city and vicinity. Both of these gentlemen professed their entire fidelity to the cause and practically to the bill as before introduced.

"We try to keep all partisan feeling out of the organization, and do not extend membership to any person holding an elective office, while at the same time we court their assistance and shall be glad to avail ourselves of their services on the rostrum in behalf of the reform.

The general sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of the Australian system of balloting, and nothing can prevent its success but the machinations of political rings."

Our friends in Jersey City have just organized there the "Hudson county ballot reform association," to which all voters, who favor the reform, are eligible for membership regardless of party and of their views on other subjects. There is, however, one restriction; no one can be an officer of the association who holds or is a candidate for political office under either party. The association will not endorse any candidate for any office except that of state senator or assemblyman. It will not make any nominations of its own so long as one or both of the candidates of the principal parties will give a pledge to vote for genuine ballot reform. The association will not accept money from either of the principal parties, or from any of their candidates, but of course it will be free to get money by voluntary contribution from the friends of ballot reform in case it is forced to nominate candidates in any legislative district. The constitution forbids the discussion of any political subjects at the meetings except the subject of ballot reform. Regular meetings are to be held once a month. Mr. J. P. Abarbanel is the temporary chairman and J. T. Altemus, of 317 York street, Jersey City, is temporary secretary.

EARLY PROTECTIONIST ARGUMENTS.

The protected monopolists are likely to find the task of deluding the farmers one of increasing difficulty as the discussion of the tariff question goes on. It is, in fact, doubtful if this delusion was the chief factor in holding the votes of the western farmer to the republican party at the last presidential election. I am assured that in at least one western state some of the campaign orators, instead of declaring that free trade would ruin the farmers, denounced the democratic party as a faithless organization that could not be trusted to keep its promise of tariff reduction, and triumphantly quoted the utterances of the half-hearted managers of Mr. Cleveland's canvass to prove their assertion. How far this went I cannot say, but it is reasonably certain that it was prejudice against the democratic party rather than a belief that free trade would ruin the farmer that gave thousands of votes in the west to Harrison.

Of course the organs of the protected monopolists will henceforth, with redoubled energy, seek to bolster up their absurd claim that the existing tariff protects the workingman and the farmer; but their effort will eventually fail, and its failure would be greatly hastened if it were possible to get the earlier arguments of the protectionists before farmers and workingmen.

At first there was a frank avowal of the intent to protect capital, and even as late as 1827, though the pretense that farmers would be indirectly benefited had been set up, there was a pretty clear recognition, even by the protectionists, of the fact that the protection of manufactures was not in the interest of either farmers or wage earners.

Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury under John Quincy Adams, in his annual report dated December 8th, 1827, said:

There is an inducement to increased legislative protection to manufacturers in the actual internal condition of the United States, which is viewed with an anxiousness belonging to its peculiar character and intrinsic weight. It is that which arises from the great extent of the unsold lands. The magnitude of the interests at stake in this part of our public affairs ought not to appeal us from approaching it. It should rather impel us to look at it with the more earnest desire to arrive at correct opinions on any course of legislation that may affect, primarily or remotely, an interest so full of importance.

The great question thus timidly approached was the land question as it was then understood. The "infant industries" of the east felt that the ease with which people could acquire land in the western states had a tendency to keep up wages in the manufacturing industries, and some of their advocates unblushingly proposed to stop the sale of lands in order to enable manufacturers to obtain cheaper labor. The politicians, however, did not dare go quite so far, and approached the question with more craft and caution. Secretary Rush's report thus continues:

The maxim is held to be a sound one, that the ratio of capital to population should, if possible, be kept on the increase. When this takes place, the demand and compensation for labor will be proportionably increased, and the condition of the most numerous classes of the community become improved. If the ratio of capital to population be diminished, a contrary state of things will be the result. The manner in which the remote lands of the United States are selling and settling, while it may possibly tend to increase more quickly the aggregate population, and the mere means of subsistence, does not increase capital in the same proportion. It is a proposition too plain to require elucidation that the creation of capital is retarded rather than accelerated by the diffusion of a thin population over a great surface of soil. Anything that may serve to hold back this tendency to diffusion from running too far, and too long, into an extreme, can scarcely prove otherwise than salutary.

This is not the only treasury report in which some queer political economy is to be found. A condition of affairs that increased population and at the same time made it easier for all to obtain a living, according to Mr. Rush, obviously prevented the increase of capital. Manifestly he regarded money with which some men were able to hire other men to work for them as the only thing entitled to the name of capital, and he and the other protectionists of his time deliber-

ately sought to use governmental power to build up this kind of "capital" even at the expense of wilfully shutting men out from natural opportunities for the express purpose of preventing them from employing themselves. Protectionists had reason in those days to congratulate themselves on the fact that workingmen had not yet debated such questions nor become accustomed to asking embarrassing questions. Had such been the case, Mr. Rush might have found it desirable to revise his political economy with a view to saving votes. Mr. Rush goes on as follows:

Moreover the further encouragement of manufactures by legislative means, would be but a counterbalance, and at most a partial one, to the encouragement to agriculture by legislative means, standing out in the very terms upon which the public lands are sold.

Here the true purpose of the secretary's argument crops out more plainly. Good land was selling at \$1.25 per acre and could still be purchased at that price by those who wanted to use it themselves. This was not looked on by Mr. Rush and his friends as a refusal to erect artificial barriers against the right of access to natural opportunities, but as a departure from the universal custom of land monopoly that was in effect an artificial legislative bounty to the farming industry. Mr. Rush thought the bounty came from congress, not the Creator of the soil. He saw that the system could not be changed but he proposed to "counterbalance" it, to use his own exact words, by giving equal artificial encouragement to manufactures. "Counterbalance!" The word is full of significance. The farmer was enjoying a good thing under the land laws; he ought, therefore, to consent that tariff laws, even though against his interests, should be enacted to help the manufacturer who was supposed to be injured by the easy access of farmers and intending farmers to the soil. How would Mr. Blaine like Secretary Windom to make this plea to the farmers of the west in his next annual report? Mr. Rush left no doubt as to his meaning for on returning to the question he said:

It cannot be overlooked that the prices at which fertile bodies of land may be bought of the government, under this system, operate as a perpetual allurements to their purchase. It must therefore be taken in the light of a bounty indelibly written in the text of the laws themselves, in favor of agricultural pursuits.

The protectionist view of 1827 could not be more boldly stated, and the semi-bankrupt farmers who now occupy the partially exhausted soil from which, in the days of its greatest fertility, the protectionists wanted to exclude their predecessors ought to know that protection was demanded in the beginning on the plea that farmers were so unduly prosperous that they ought to sacrifice something by permitting a tariff to be established for the benefit of the poor, struggling manufacturers.

Professor Sumner in his "Life of Andrew Jackson," referring to this early phase of the tariff struggle, says:

The old states, especially the tariff states, then saw distinctly the relation of the lands to the tariff. Everything which enhanced the attractiveness of the land and made it easier to get at it, was just so much force drawing the man who had no land and no capital away from the old states and out of the wages class. Every improvement in transportation; every abolition of taxes and restrictions like the corn laws, which kept American agricultural products out of England; every reduction in the price of land increased the chances of the man who had nothing to become by industry and economy an independent land owner. The capitalist employer in the old states was forced to offset the attractiveness of the land by raising wages. This, of course, is the reason why wages in the United States are high, and why no wages class has ever yet been distinctly differentiated here. It might justly be argued that it was improper for the federal government to raise funds by taxation on the old states, and expend them in buying, surveying and policing wild land, and then give the land away to either "the poor" or the rich; but the protectionists distinctly raised the issue which was raised for their pet dogma, and demanded that the lands should not be surveyed and sold abundantly and cheaply, but should be kept out of the market. The effect of this would be to prevent the population from spreading thinly over the whole continent, to make it dense in the old states, to raise the value

and rent of land there, to produce a class dependent on wages—i. e., a supply of labor, and to keep wages down. At the same time all the taxes on clothing, furniture and tools would reduce the net return of the agricultural and lower the attractiveness of the land. Lower wages would then suffice to hold the laborer in the east. These two lines of legislation would therefore be consistent and support each other; but they were surely unjust to the man who had nothing save his stout hands with which to fight the battle of life, and his good will to work.

Professor Sumner in the utterance quoted above so clearly recognizes the fact that equal opportunity for access to the land is the sole solution of the labor problem, that single tax men will be disposed to forget his injustice and to hope that he will in time learn to comprehend that true wisdom does not demand adherence to error, however regularly and respectably error may have been taught.

Professor Sumner is one of those who, having been duly apprenticed to the trade of political economist, and served their apprenticeship, do not propose that any man shall work as a journeyman in that shop who did not serve his apprenticeship in the regular way under the rules of the political economist labor union, and hence he has been very bitter in his denunciation of "Progress and Poverty" as a kind of "rat" or "scab" political economic treatise, but such comments as those quoted render immediate service to the cause of real free trade and prepare the way for the ultimate acceptance of the single tax without regard to the professor's prejudices or desires.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW MOVEMENT.

[First Article.]

The present seems a not inopportune moment for reconsidering the causes that led to the overthrow of protection in England and the establishment of free trade. The story of the Anti-corn law movement has often been told, and the lives of Cobden and Peel have found eloquent historians. It is the purpose of the present articles to bring before the minds of readers of this paper the inspiring example presented by a great people roused to do justice, persuaded by strenuous argument and the stress of bitter circumstance to cast away the conservatism of error and step courageously forward into the light of truth. Nor will it be less a pleasure to show how that vivifying truth has grown to be the very life and guide of the nation, from which there is no turning away; and to consider how worthily and generously the English people have striven to persuade the world to follow in the path of justice, until now at this day, when a greater light is before their eyes heralding the true reign of peace and good will among nations, Milton's England is once again rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and rekindling her eyes in the full midday.

The England to which the sorrowing widow of George Osborne returned after the battle of Waterloo, was for purposes of government and legislation, entirely in the hands of a prosperous class of gentlemen who owned land which they let out to farmers for rent. The landowners of England in 1815 were in very high feather indeed, for rents had doubled during the war without adding a penny to the land tax; and tenant farmers, having for a quarter of a century enjoyed a monopoly of the grain and provision market, were rich. What was the condition of the poor artisan of the towns, earning fifteen or twenty shillings a week, and obliged in a year of scarcity, like 1801, to pay one shilling ten pence for a quarter loaf? However that might be, it became clear to the landowners of England that with the end of the war foreign wheat might be imported, lowering the price the farmer could sell at and thereby diminishing their rent. Taking fright, the landlords resolved in a hurry that rents must be maintained, let bread be never so dear. Parliament, which was simply a club of the landed aristocracy, passed a stringent corn law. No foreign grain was to be imported until wheat in the home markets had been for six months at or over eighty shillings per quarter. The cost of cultivation being so heavy as to bar him from competing with foreign grown grain, the English farmer, said these philanthropic statesmen, ought to be protected. The English farmer was nothing loath. The prosperity he had enjoyed during the war had encouraged him to indulge in the most reckless extravagances

both in living and in cultivation, and he gave a hearty support to the measures of the government to maintain prices.

Such legislation was directly in accord with the general scheme of economics that for so long a time had prevailed in Europe. The aristocratic lords of the land were first of all to be exempt from bearing any of the burdens of the state. They made the laws and let others pay the taxes. By means of almost every method of indirect taxation that the cunning and greed of man has devised, the burden was shifted through the various grades of society until it fell with a crushing weight upon the very lowest order of the population, the day laborers in the country and the workmen in the manufacturing towns. In England, although these poor people were beneath the notice of the law makers, the ship owners, the manufacturers and the merchants were deemed some consideration, and were allowed to come in for their share of the good things considered so abundant under the system of mercantilism. Now according to ideas so generally accepted, it was well for a country to export largely and import as little as possible. The sea acting as a natural highway for the "inundation" of the British isles with foreign commodities, it was deemed strictly necessary to guard against flood tides. Accordingly, partly to carry out this principle and partly to protect the ship owner, no goods were allowed to enter English ports unless they were conveyed in British ships (the duties imposed on goods carried in foreign bottoms being altogether prohibitory)—by which ingenious plan it is clearly seen, moreover, that home production and home industry must necessarily have been largely fostered. When it came to the high public duty of exporting, the government encouraged the shipper with liberal drawbacks and bounties from the exchequer. The manufacturer also came in for a good deal of protection. While the farmer was relieved from competition in the wool market by a heavy duty on foreign raw wool, the manufacturer had the entire home product at his disposal, the export of English wool being, by an exception to the general rule, prohibited for his accommodation. Then there were handsome import duties on silks, linens, glass, iron, paper, bricks, soap, on everything which in those days could come into competition with the products of home manufacture. To be sure, the cotton manufacturer was a little disconcerted when, as in 1819, a specific duty of 5-16d. per pound was placed on raw cotton, garnished with an ad valorem duty of six per cent; but at the same time he saw the excise on cotton prints raised to 12s. 6d. per piece, and considered, on the whole, he was honestly dealt by. Excise duties were numerous. Although everybody was more or less protected, it was nevertheless found necessary by means of them to eke out a disappointing revenue. They fell disastrously on common articles used mostly by the poor. The landlords in parliament gave the collection of the excise into the hands of an army of miscreants who, prowling about the country like jackals, snatched percentages from honest men's labor and ran back with them to their lion-hearted masters.

The people? There was the poor law for them. The people did not very much disturb theorists who supported protection and the mercantile system. If, these philosophers reasoned, the farmers are not protected wheat will come in from abroad, imports will tend to gain on exports, gold will flow out and that terrible consummation, the result of perverted truth, would be the direct of calamities. So the farmer was protected, the landlord got his rent, the manufacturer worried at not effecting sales and great numbers of people crowded the workhouses, subsisted on alms or starved. Grain, it must be remembered, was not the only prohibited article of food. Cattle, under the provision law of 1815, were, living or dead, to be admitted into the country on no terms whatever. Butter and lard might be imported, but not as food; they might be employed as grease for wheels or for the smearing of sheep—and it was the duty of the custom house officers to "spoil" these articles with a tarred stick to insure their proper usage.

Add to all this that in the merchant's share in this benevolent regime competition was a principle deemed entirely at variance with established truth and expediency, and that abroad as well as at home to think of applying the maxim of "a fair field and no favor" was to entertain democratic delusions subversive of

the stability of institutions. The great trade of the east was wholly in the hands of the autocratic East India company, the commerce of the Mediterranean was monopolized by the Levant company and a large portion of that in North America by the Hudson's Bay company. Ireland and the colonies were strictly guarded for the benefit of a small number of home producers, manufacturers and merchants. Competition, in fine, was scouted on principle in a manner to make the heart of the modern socialist leap up when he looks back at those halcyon days.

The people were in truth entirely at the mercy of a benighted, heartless oligarchy. They were without education and without power. What the progress of reform in England has been during the past sixty years one can learn by dwelling upon those lamentable years that followed Waterloo and preceded the reform bill. The masses of the English people were held in a vice. If we consider the hand-loom weavers of Lancashire rising against the newly introduced power loom as their enemy and in a frenzy destroying the machinery that should have saved their labor; if we consider the cowardly butchery of peaceable men, assembled for discussion, in the Peterloo massacre of Manchester; if we consider the atrocious hypocrisy of the beneficiaries of those restrictive laws, posing the while as philanthropists, opening soup kitchens and distributing coal, clothing and alms while they sucked the very life blood of the nation; if we consider the darkness of men's understandings when they hailed the blasphemous pedantry of Malthus as almost a divine revelation—if we consider these things and then ponder upon the revulsion that swiftly followed after the passage of the reform bill, the awakening of conscience and morality, the search for justice, the settled determination to undo the vested wrongs of the past, the enthusiasm that brought visions with it of a glad and wondrous future, we must look upon those brief years as embodying the noblest revolution in the history of thought.

For fifty years, during which the masses of the people of England were dwelling in that house of bondage, the great work of Adam Smith lay forgotten on the dusty upper shelf of gentlemen's libraries. The "Wealth of Nations" had fully exposed the worse than folly of the mercantile system, and in it labor had found its first great champion. But the days that followed the death of Pitt were evil days for the people of England, and scarcely a voice was raised for them, on purely economic grounds, until Thomas Tooke, the author of the "History of Prices," drew up about the year 1820 a petition to parliament embodying many of the free trade principles of the "Wealth of Nations." Somewhat later, when the agitation for the passage of the reform bill was directing men's minds to the grievances of the people, the theory of protection began to be examined, criticised and exposed by not a few newspapers, members of parliament and literary men. In 1829 Col. Perronet Thomson wrote "The Corn Law Catechism," in which he proved that "the corn law was a flagrant scheme of the landlords to enrich themselves by a legal authority which oppressed all other portions of the community. Mr. Hume raised his voice in the house of commons against the iniquity, and Ricardo, Dr. Bowring and others argued to the same effect. As late, however, as the beginning of 1836 no organized movement had been inaugurated against protection. Toward the close of that year, during a period of stagnant trade and general depression, an anti-corn law association was formed in London, led by Grote, Molesworth, Joseph Hume and Roebuck, and counting among its adherents about twenty members of parliament. But it came to nothing. Its leaders could argue, but they lacked the gift of popular organization. It was the manufacturers of the north who first came as a potential body to see and spread the light.

The great manufacturing towns, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bolton, were given representation in parliament by the reform bill of 1832. It is not strange that during the half dozen years of declining commerce that followed that act the minds of energetic and sensible business men were turned toward the problem of their ill success in trade. It did not take them long to see that what they wanted was larger markets for their goods, and discovering this they asked themselves how they could secure foreign

customers when the laws forbade by protective tariffs the importation of foreign commodities in exchange for their goods? Beyond this, they saw that the home market was restricted by the general poverty of the people brought about by the very lack of employment which they, as manufacturers, were restrained from giving, and brought about by the corn and provision laws, which mulcted the working classes so mercilessly for the benefit of the farmers and landlords. The sound headed manufacturers came to see these things during these years; and when in 1838 the town of Bolton was visited with a stringent crisis, and thirty out of its fifty factories were closed down and thousands of workmen were without homes and on the verge of starvation, the moment came when the manufacturers made a stand and spoke out. Their first thoughts were for the suffering workmen. If starvation was to be prevented the price of bread must come down, and to bring that about the only remedy was the repeal of the corn law.

On December 20, 1838, a general meeting of the Manchester chamber of commerce was held, and a petition was read and carried praying parliament for "the repeal of all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence." A special organization followed, headed by Cobden and Henry Ashworth. This small body assumed the title of the Anti-corn law association, and on January 10, 1839, a meeting was held in Manchester "to consider the proper mode of carrying forward the proceedings of this association in a manner commensurate with the magnitude of the obstacles to be surmounted and worthy of the object for which it has been established." Cobden, making a practical appeal, advised those present "to invest a part of their property to save the rest from confiscation." Eighteen hundred pounds were put down on the spot, and in the course of a month subscriptions amounted to £6,100.

This was the beginning of that celebrated movement for the overthrow of protection and class legislation which was to be continued for seven eventful years with untiring energy, skill and devotion on the part of its leaders, and ever increasing enlightenment, sympathy and gratitude on the side of the people. No revolution of such magnitude has ever been brought about so peaceably, nor have ever the results of any revolution been so beneficent and lasting. The statues in England to Cobden and Peel grow more lustrous with the running years, for the light of Truth gilds them with a replenished beam, be they in the market-place or in the quiet precincts of the Abbey. E. YANCEY COHEN.

THE DRAMATIC PROFESSION.

James A. Herne Shows How It Is Affected by the Single Tax—He Proposes the Formation of an Actor's Single Tax League The Dramatic Mirror.

WHEELING, W. VA., Sept. 28, 1889.

Sir: Since the publication of my letter on the salary question I have been in constant receipt of letters urging me to go still further into the subject matter—to be plainer as to my proposed remedy, etc. Now, sir, as this question concerns the general welfare of the theatrical world, and as it would necessitate a corps of stenographers and typewriters to attend to all the correspondence I receive relative to it, will you permit me to make a general reply through the columns of the Dramatic Mirror?

Unquestionably the power that is crushing labor—and don't forget that while acting is an art and the actor an artist, it is nevertheless labor, and he is a wage earner—is monopoly.

No one denies that. A country of sixty-five millions of people and one-half of its wealth owned by twenty-five hundred men; think of it. And think of that ownership concentrated within a comparatively few years—less than thirty. If unchecked, how long will it be before this same twenty-five hundred or their descendants will own the other half, and with it sixty odd millions of slaves?

Now, as I say, no sane man will assert that this is right. No one disputes the fact that this monster should be crushed out; not temporarily, but forever. How is this to be done? Simply by destroying land speculation. With the destruction of land speculation monopoly dies. What will kill land speculation? The single tax. Remove all taxes on industry and place one single tax on land values. Not on the land, remember, for there lies a distinction and a difference, but on the site values of the land, and you will have monopoly by the throat! There is, in my mind, no question of the truth of this, no doubt of its efficacy.

Mrs. E. L. Fernandez, a deep sympa-

thizer with the unemployed actor, told me the other day that she has never known so many idle actors at this season of any former year. Interested parties will tell you that this is the natural result of over supply. Well, if this be so, we must create an over demand. They say that too many theaters and too many actors have killed the business. I say that there are not theaters or actors enough. Kill land speculation, give every man an equal chance to live on this earth—and who will gainsay his right to that chance—and we will need more theaters, more houses, more stores, more factories, more bakeries, more coal mines, more art galleries, more schools, more libraries, more actors, more artists, more writers, more bakers, more miners, more masons, more carpenters, more shoemakers, more spinners, more everything, except monopolists.

And what does this mean if not more wages? Does any actor or manager believe that the now starving miner loves to hear his babies cry for bread? He says: "I am ready to work hard for sixteen hours a day; only for God's sake give me enough for my labor to buy food for my wife and children." Does any actor or manager doubt if that miner could, as he should, command his rightful share of the products of that labor that he would not be proud to live better, to dress better, to be better able to send his children to school, to take the wife occasionally to the theatre?

We have been told that the common laborer, as a rule, has no taste for amusements of an elevated class, or for art or books. Is that true? If so, is it not because unjust poverty and incessant toil— toil without remuneration—has degraded and brutalized him; that oppression has perverted his thoughts and driven them from their natural channels? Place a loaf of bread, a bottle of liquor and a book before a thoroughly discouraged man; he may hesitate between the bread and the bottle, but he'll never see the book.

The cheap price houses have demonstrated that the people will go to the theatre if they have the means to do so. Hence the theatre, like everything else—monopoly included—derives its existence from the product of labor. Therefore must the actor throw himself bodily into the ranks and fight under labor's banner.

Mind, I ask no actor to blindly follow me. I do ask him to investigate my side of the question and when convinced to say so. I have been asked, "Have actors the right to take sides with what is unquestionably a political issue? Will it not prejudice some managers and certain of the public against them?" I have not the patience to answer—I will say—that I assail no man's rights. I attack the privileges of some men, not their rights, and I claim the right to demand justice for myself.

I would like to organize an actors' national single tax league. Who will join me in the enterprise? Let us organize, and next summer—say June or July—hold a mass meeting of actors in New York city. I will agree to get a building for the purpose. I am authorized to say that Henry George and other leading lights of the single tax movement will address and discuss the question fully with such an assemblage. Can't we get the leading lights of our world to meet and listen to these men? Can't we interest Edwin Booth, the foremost of all actors? Has he given this question any thought? If not, why not? Will not some actor near Mr. Booth broach it to him?

Now, fellow actors, it costs nothing to investigate the single tax, therefore begin at once. The closer you investigate it the more thoroughly you will be convinced that it is the solution of the social problem. Fraternally,

JAMES A. HERNE.

Cigar-makers (at \$3 a Thousand) Attention! Rev. Washington Gladden, in the Forum.

Somebody must save money, and the people who save it will be the capitalists and they will control the organization of industry and receive the larger share of the profits. If the workingmen will save their money they may be not only sharers of profits, but owners of stock and receivers of dividends. And the workingmen can save their money if they will. It is the only way in which they can permanently and surely improve their condition. Legislative reforms, improved industrial methods, may make the way easier for them, but there is no road to comfort and independence, after all, but the plain old path of steady work and sober savings. If the working people of this country would save for the next five years the money that they spend on beer and tobacco and base ball they could control a pretty large share of the capital employed in the industries by which they get a living, and they could turn the dividends of this capital from the pockets of the money lenders into their own. There is no other way of checking the congestion of wealth and of promoting its diffusion so expeditious, so certain and so beneficent as this. I wish the working people would try it.

They Will be Heard From.

Toledo Blade.

It is a question whether or not the single tax amendment will be adopted. The ancient maiden ladies have not yet been heard from on the subject.

CORRECTING SOME ERRORS.

Reply to a Century Magazine Writer by a Single Tax Man.

In the Century Magazine for October appears the following communication in the correspondence department, from William S. Kahnweiler, member of a leading importing and manufacturing firm of this city:

In your issue for July you publish, under the title of "Confiscation no Remedy," a letter from W. M. Dickson of Cincinnati, Ohio. Pray grant me the opportunity to answer briefly the objections raised.

Your correspondent says: "In his book Henry George clamors boldly for the confiscation of the land; for its seizure by the state without compensation to the owner. But of late, in his paper and speeches, he would reach this confiscation indirectly, by imposing upon land the whole weight of taxation." Far from having advocated any such measures in "Progress and Poverty" as those here attributed to him, Henry George expressly protests against them. In Book VIII., Chapter II., on page 364, he gives the keynote of his theory: "I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private right to property in land. The first would be unjust, the second needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call their land. Let them continue to call it their land. Let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent." No further comment is needed.

Next your correspondent states that at present the land in Ohio, in his native state, pays about one-third the taxes, and improvements and personal property two-thirds; that to place this whole burden of taxation on land would greatly decrease its value and throw such of it as was not worth the tax on the market. The single tax on land values would undoubtedly act just as described—and that is its object. But your correspondent jumps at the conclusion that, this being so, the farmers would be most injured and would enlist in a body against the tax on land values; and probably knowing that the farmers constitute fifty per cent of our population, he continues: "Hence, whatever its theoretic merits may be, George's plan is outside of practical politics. It is simply impossible."

This is a statement, but not an argument. The farmer is as good as any other citizen, but no better, and he is entitled to no special consideration, or special legislation. Nor is land in the country, whether under cultivation or not, any different, economically considered, from land in the city used for building sites. Land is land, and the taxation on its value will fall no heavier on the farmer than upon the manufacturer, or importer, or other citizen. On the contrary, being on land values, most of the tax will be paid where the value is highest—in cities, in mining districts, and upon land held under franchises. But your correspondent having from sentimental reasons selected the farmers (of Ohio) as a standard by which to test the justice of the measure, let us examine the effect the introduction of the single tax upon land values would have upon their condition.

There are three kinds of farmers in Ohio, as elsewhere:

1. Those who lease their farms and pay rent, in money or in produce.
2. Those who fondly believe they own their farms, but who have them mortgaged.
3. Those who own their farms free from all incumbrances.

The first class may be dismissed at once, for they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. They would pay their rent to the state in place of paying the landlord, and would be relieved of all the direct personal taxes and the indirect revenue and tariff taxes that they now pay upon everything they consume, from lumber, salt, and woollens through the whole category down to the bible.

The second class is really a part of the first class; for if their farms are mortgaged they do not own them to that extent, but are actually paying rent, and so far belong to the first class, and would enjoy the same advantages under the single tax. Another great and direct gain would be, that to start in life they would not be compelled to invest a large sum of money to buy a farm, but could lease it from the state for a moderate sum annually, and enjoy the same security of tenure as now under private ownership of land. The temptation to buy more land than they can cultivate, for speculative purposes only, thus making themselves land poor, would also be removed. Inasmuch as they own their land clear of all incumbrance, they would belong to the third class.

This third class, holding their land free of all incumbrance, would, of course, with the rest of the rest of community, be relieved of all the direct and indirect taxes. Then it should be remembered that they now pay an annual tax not only on their land, but also on their improvements. This tax, which now increases every year the more they improve their property, would be entirely removed. And finally, consider the following:

In the census of 1880 these figures are given for the state of Ohio: Assessed valuation of real estate, \$1,093,677,705. And in another part of the same census: (Real) value of farms in Ohio, including land, fences and buildings, \$1,127,497,353.

It will be seen from these figures that all the real estate of the state of Ohio was assessed at less than the real value of all the farms and their improvements, leaving out all city lands and mining lands, which are by far the more valuable. Two reasons or explanations exist for this—first, the undervaluation of improved property, which is practiced everywhere more or less, but especially in the large cities; and secondly, the entire absence from or nominal valuation upon the tax-lists of tracts of unimproved farm lands. These two facts are notorious, and result in the shifting upon the shoulders of the working farmer of taxes that should

be paid or shared by land speculators, city property holders and corporations.

We therefore confidently assert that, by taking all taxes from improvements, by removing all existing direct and indirect taxes, by assessing all land at its full value, whether improved or unimproved, and by taxing all land values to the extent of their rental value, the taxes of the farmers of the third class also would be less than they are at present, and that they would for the first time get the full return of their labor. This is self-evident when we consider that under the single tax upon land values the farmer would pay no taxes whatever except the rent of his bare land, and that being based upon the natural advantages he enjoyed, he could always afford to pay. All this is more fully discussed in "Progress and Poverty" book IX, chapter III.

As to believing that the single tax is a cure for all ills the flesh is heir to, Henry George does not assert, nor has he ever asserted it. He does believe that the land monopoly is the greatest of all monopolies; and that it should be the first attacked; but the social benefits to be derived from an introduction of the single tax are so numerous and so far reaching that even a partial enumeration of them seems indeed like setting up a claim for a panacea.

And here is Mr. Dickson's solution of the social question: "The remedy is restraint, pruning, regulation, not confiscation." But this, instead of being a remedy, is exactly what we have been doing for centuries. No! decidedly other measures are necessary.

First of all, we stop the restraining, pruning, regulating work of those unjust laws which take from one to give to another; which in violation of the spirit of our Constitution create a privileged class. And after that we must give all the same opportunity to that element land, which is as much a matter of necessity to man as air. This will be doing justice; and this the single tax on land values will accomplish, by killing land speculation and practically restoring the land to the people, without disturbing security of titles or tenure. New York. WILLIAM S. KAHNWEILER.

Herbert Spencer on Property.

Mr. Spencer, in his chapter on "Property" in "Political Institutions," thus sums up his conclusions. As they are perfectly in accord with the ideas held by Mr. George and most single tax advocates, I copy the passage for publication. It may be added that it represents Mr. Spencer's latest thought (1882) on the matter, and puts out of question his present attitude toward chapter IX of "Social Statics."

Complete individualization of ownership is an accompaniment of industrial progress. From the beginning, things identified as products of man's labor are recognized as his; and throughout the course of civilization communal possession and joint household living have not excluded the recognition of a peculium obtained by individual effort. Accumulation of movables, privately possessed, arising in this way, increases as militancy is restrained by growing industrialism. . . . the individualization of ownership, extended and made more definite by trading transactions under contract, eventually affects the ownership of land. Bought and sold by measure and for money, land is assimilated in this respect to the personal property produced by labor; and thus becomes in general apprehension confounded with it.

But there is reason to suspect that while private possession of things produced by labor will grow even more definite and sacred than at present; the inhabited area, which cannot be produced by labor, will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possessed.

This coming at the close of a chapter wherein he traces the changes in the idea of property in the past is very significant. And the great honor of showing how this change in the holding of land can be peacefully brought about belongs to the author of "Progress and Poverty," and that Mr. Spencer has not recognized the great work of Mr. George is only another illustration of the fact that men are but men and have their limitations no matter how great they are. Mr. Spencer has been my great teacher—perhaps my greatest, and I am not yet convinced that he is not with us on general lines. HAMLIN GARLAND.

Why the American Flag is Not Seen On the Seas.

New York World.

So long as ships were built of wood, American ship building prospered, not because of the navigation laws, but because wooden ships could be built cheaper here, with our abundant timber, than abroad. But when iron took the place of wood in marine construction our ship building declined, because it costs about fifteen per cent more to build iron vessels here than in England. The reason is simply the tariff duties on all the raw materials used, and on nearly all the necessities of life consumed by the men engaged in the business, as well as upon their tools, machinery, etc. As we cannot build iron ships except at a fatally extravagant cost and cannot register ships built abroad with American money, it follows that we cannot compete in the ocean carrying trade. Again, in order to make a profit, ships must carry cargoes both ways, but in trading to South and Central America our ships cannot bring back cargoes because the things those countries have to sell are practically excluded—except in the case of coffee and a few minor articles—by our tariff laws.

The Cat In the Hat.

Mrs. Yang Wyo (house hunting)—What! Thirty dollars a month for such a flat as this; with such stuff, dark, little rooms? Why, I could hardly turn round in them. But (looking up the ceilings) are high.

Mr. H. T. Cat (janitor)—Yes ma'am; it don't cost much to build upwards, you see.

LAND SPECULATION.

A Religious Paper Concerned Lest Single Tax Men Fall Into Sin.

In a recent number of the New York Independent appeared the following article:

"A BOLD, BARE, ENORMOUS WRONG."

We quote from Henry George:
"The truth is, and from this truth there can be no escape, that there is and can be no just title to an exclusive possession of the soil, and that private property in land is a bold, bare, enormous wrong, like that of chattel slavery."—"Progress and Poverty," Book VII, chapter 3.

Who would suspect that the disciples of Henry George, while still under instruction in his philosophy, and with his approval, would enter into a land speculation, to get an extravagant "unearned increment," by "a bold, bare, enormous wrong?" And yet such is the fact and such the inconsistency.

At the opening of the present summer it was suggested by one or two members of the Manhattan single tax club that a company should be formed among the members for the purpose of purchasing a tract of wild land in Sullivan county, to be used as a camping ground for the club members, and ultimately to be developed into a kind of single tax Chautauqua. The scheme contemplated an expenditure of about \$1,500 altogether. It was to be purely a subscription affair, with no thought of profit, and it was proposed that 150 shares should be issued at \$10 each. About 80 shares were at once subscribed for, and a payment of \$1 each having been called. Mr. Louis F. Post and two other gentlemen went to Sullivan county as a committee with power. These gentlemen, instead of purchasing the originally contemplated tract, chose another and far more expensive one, for which they contracted to pay some \$3,000. Mr. Post inserted a long editorial account of the purchase in Mr. George's paper, THE STANDARD, in which he spoke of the proposed institution as a single tax park.

A company was at once organized, on the basis of a limited number of shares, at par value of \$10 each, each share to carry with it the right of ownership in severalty of a villa site of one acre, on the banks of a lake round which it was proposed to form the settlement; no more shares to be issued at par to anybody, but a limited number to be at once sold at \$20 per share, a second series to be afterward issued at \$30; a third at \$50, and so on, driving the price of the shares as high as might be found possible. No shareholder was to have—no matter what price he might be charged for his stock—any more interest than an original subscriber at \$10; that is, a villa site of one acre for each share, and an undivided interest in the remaining land. THE STANDARD people who went in on the ground floor, and bought the tract for only two or three dollars an acre, are now selling it for \$30 or \$50, making a thousand per cent profit and more of unearned increment out of their land speculation, an injustice on their theory, practiced on those who believe that private property in land is a sin, by those who teach them the doctrine so sharply put by Henry George in his "Progress and Poverty."

"If chattel slavery be unjust, then is private property in land unjust. For let the circumstances be what they may—the ownership of land will always give the ownership of men." Book VII, chap. 2.

William T. Croasdale and Louis F. Post are the moving spirits of the enterprise, and Henry George, jr., is a shareholder. The whole scheme is justified upon the ground that until land speculation is abolished by law it is justifiable. Henry George himself has advocated this idea recently in THE STANDARD, encouraging people to speculate in land and use the money obtained for the single tax cause. Perhaps this is what his enterprising scholars are doing, learning to gather the fruits of an iniquitous system, while denouncing it, with the intention of using their ill-gotten wealth so as to destroy it. It is as if Paul had encouraged his disciples to worship idols so as to destroy idolatry. We close with another apt quotation from the same able work:

"To affirm the rightfulness of property in land is to affirm a claim which has no warrant in nature." Book VII, chap. 1.

The following is the result of an inquiry for information concerning the company referred to which was organized while Mr. George was in Europe:

My Dear Mr. George: I have read the article in the Independent, and find it so full of errors and misrepresentations that the briefest answer I can make is a simple recital of the actual facts, with which, as one of the original stockholders and the vice-president of the Merriewold park company, I am, of course, familiar.

A number of members of the Manhattan single tax club did propose to buy a camping ground. Our opponents have said so much of the ease with which land can be had that we thought it would be a good idea to get some it. None of us were inclined to go to Saratoga, and many of us were not even able to build a modern \$10,000 log house in the Adirondacks, but if good land was selling at \$1 an acre in Sullivan county we thought we might be able to get enough to put a tent on, or perhaps a shanty.

We sent a committee to see about it, and they could not find any land worth having at \$1 per acre. They did, however, find a tract of 1,500 acres at \$3 per acre with which they were much pleased, and they bought it. Of course they exceeded their authority as a committee, and so reported, offering to those who had chipped in \$10 apiece to take it off their hands. This offer was declined by most of those interested. The committee at the same time reported that the shares would have to be sold at a higher price if the land

was to be developed so as to fit it for the highest use to which it could be put.

The price was advanced to \$20 a share to raise money for perfecting title, etc., and a few shares were sold. The price was then advanced to \$30, and all offered at that price were promptly taken. Every dollar thus raised was put into improvements. The buildings were repaired, and comfortable camping arrangements made, so that some forty or fifty persons have been enabled to spend their vacations there cheaply. The property was thus further increased in value by actual expenditure, and shares were sold at \$40. Every dollar thus received was expended in improvements under my personal supervision. Good roads have been made, a substantial stone bridge has been built, and the several hundred acres of park land for the common use of all the stockholders has been partly cleared up. One great dwelling house has already been erected, and the company is about to improve its own buildings and erect an ice house in order that it may accommodate more people next year, while several of the stockholders have decided to build houses in the spring. The property is worth far more than it was a few months ago because of these improvements, and its shares will soon command a higher price. Every dollar thus obtained will go into permanent improvements. When the stock is all sold, and several hundred summer homes have been built around a beautiful natural park, there will probably remain a few hundred acres that can be sold at a profit to people who have taken no part in developing the property, but who will, as purchasers, share in its advantages. These profits will undoubtedly be divided among the men who have taken this piece of wild land and prepared it for human habitation.

No attempt has ever been made to connect this project with the single tax movement. Its promoters were single tax men, and they were disposed, for the sake of pleasant association, to give other single tax men the preference in the sale of shares. That is the whole connection. We think we are really doing as useful a thing as can be done under existing economical conditions. It is true we bought the land. We had to do either that or rent it, unless we proposed to violate the law. Had we rented it, the fruits of our enterprise, along with the increment caused by our removal there, would have gone to the owner. We propose to keep both ourselves, but meanwhile we advocate our principles, and are more than ready to have them applied to the natural opportunity that we hold, and have so informed the assessors of the town of Forestburg. Wherein are we inconsistent? Ought we to have gone and taken what land we wanted by force? Ought we to do without land? We can't do that unless we die and get ourselves cremated. Like everybody else, we must have land. We must conform to the conditions imposed upon us by the folly of our fellow men, in order that we may continue to exist and work for the change we advocate in these conditions. WM. T. CROASDALE.

New York, Oct. 7, 1889.

Another Good Plan.

BATH-ON-THE-HUDSON, N.Y.—So many good suggestions have been advanced for the propagation of our doctrines that I cannot refrain from presenting one to your readers, which if adopted and carried out, cannot fail to create an interest where none exists now and increase our numbers: Let every single tax member supply himself with a copy of "Protection or Free Trade." Next let him get five of his acquaintances in shop, lodge, church or wherever he can get them, who have not read it, to pledge themselves to read it. If any of them chose to read it the second time all the better. As soon as the first have read the book doubtless they will help get up the next club and so one lot after another can be formed. Of course judgment must be used in the selection of the clubs.

This will create an interest in the subject and many will not be satisfied until they have investigated the subject farther and will eagerly read "Progress and Poverty." After three or four clubs have read the book it will be an easy matter to form a single tax club and to circulate other literature. Wherever I go I advise those I converse with on the subject to read the book, and a number have not only followed my advice but have thanked me for it. Who will be the first to try the plan? It is cheap and effective and can only result in good. I have begun. Follow suit. MATTHEW KINSEH.

What De Quincey Thought of Ricardo.

From "The Confessions of an English Opium Eater."
At length, in 1819, a friend in Edinburgh sent me down Mr. Ricardo's book, and recurring to my own prophetic anticipation of the advent of some legislator for this science (political economy), I said, before I had finished the first chapter, "Thou art the man!" Could it be that an Englishman, and he not in academic bowers, but oppressed by mercantile and senatorial cares, had accomplished what all the universities of Europe, and a century of thought, had failed even to advance by one hair's breadth. All other writers had been crushed and overlaid by the enormous weights of facts and documents; Mr. Ricardo had deduced, *a priori*, from the understanding itself, laws which first gave a ray of light into the unwieldy chaos of materials.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The Single Tax Question Persisting in Bobbing Up Before Parliament—Other Interesting Notes.

In one of your June numbers I notice the statement that the single tax was in operation in this colony, which had been generally circulated in the States, was not true and that a bill embodying the principles of the single tax had been passed by the lower but thrown out by the upper house.

The facts of the case are these: We have a land tax in force in the colony, but it is only 1/2d. (one cent) in the pound, not by any means enough to be termed the single tax. We are working away to get it increased to three pence in the pound, and a corresponding amount of taxation taken off tea, coffee, sugar, and similar products of industry.

A bill—the municipal corporations amendment bill—which included a clause to levy taxation for local purposes on the unimproved value of the land instead of on land and buildings as at present was carried last session through our lower house, but was rejected by the upper chamber, which is composed mostly of representatives of property. It is being brought forward again this session, and we earnestly trust it will pass, as it will be a big step onwards in the great movement.

Our local Taxation reform club had 10,000 copies of Mr. Henry George's speech at Ashton-under-Lyne, England, printed in pamphlet form, and the Adelaide taxation reform club are doing similarly with Mr. George's speech before the Financial reform association at Liverpool, and the latter speech will also appear in extenso in the Register and Evening Journal, our leading morning and evening papers.

Mr. Birks, our president, lectures on the good subject whenever and wherever he gets an opportunity and our members are all working quietly and steadily for the good cause, by circulating the literature and discussions, and we find it is slowly and steadily gaining ground. E. LE MESURIER.

Hon. sec'y Port Adelaide taxation reform league.

A Visit to the Cincinnati Club.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Sept. 27.—In response to the urgent invitation of our husband—who is such a thoroughly converted single tax man that there is not one speck of unoccupied space where his prohibitionist wife can get in her work—we visited the charming club room of the single tax men in Cincinnati on their "at home" evening. They have established the very pleasant custom of receiving their friends one evening in every month, and they entertain with music, recitations, and a little sleight-of-hand performance—very jolly and enjoyable. Dr. De Beck, the leading spirit, impressed one as a small bundle of nerves and sensibilities, with plenty of Latin, considerable ancient history, and no end of ideas, dressed in exquisite taste. His eyes glance through gold rimmed glasses, that add dignity to his appearance. One thing struck your correspondent as a step in the right direction: it was the presentation of a circular to the club by the Rev. Dr. Foster, challenging the clergy of Cincinnati to meet the members of the single tax club in debate on this question, claiming that the single tax men have the bible for their position. If single taxers are right the clergy who opposed, he declared, must be wrong and the question must be debated and conclusions reached. He concluded by offering to pay expenses of a hall and other necessities for successfully conducting the debate. I would like to see the faces of several ministers I can think of now, when they receive this challenge. The evening altogether at the club was a very agreeable one. The members of the club evidently belonged to the cultured circles of our city.

Success to all efforts to broaden and extend the plane of liberal and enlightened thought, and as the single tax club seems to invite discussion of their views and offer opportunities to learn and grow wise, they must be accepted as among the valued public educators.

MARY L. WRIGHT.

Farming in Southwest Texas.

SHINER, Tex.—I am a farmer and as such desire to say a few words in your paper on the tenant system in the agricultural districts. I am not a renter, nor have I lived on a rented place longer than six months in my life, but on the contrary have several renters on my farm paying me annually from \$100 to \$150 therefor. It would seem then that I should be interested in perpetuating the tenant system; but I think I am the better able to see the evil of it, and if I did not think the single tax would lessen that evil I should not be so much in favor of it. I have been for many years opposed to land monopoly and have contended that legislation should encourage men to own the land they cultivate, and by levying an extra tax on all land rented or held in large tracts. But after reading "Progress and Poverty" through the second time and then reading all the other books published by Henry George, I found myself fully convinced that the single tax was the great remedy and I keep those works loaned out to my neighbors. All who have read them have been convinced of the truth they contain. There is one feature of the tenant system I have never seen discussed—that is, a man renting land is not identified with a country like one

that feels that he has a personal interest in the soil he tills, and we cannot expect him to take an interest in maintaining the fertility of the soil nor in the political affairs of his government. But if all men were interested in land and all taxes collected direct from land, it does seem to me we might be getting our government on a firm foundation. I have been in Texas nearly thirty-six years, and only once out of it a few days in that time, and it is only since the confederate war that the tenant system has been in existence to any considerable extent in this state, but now even here in southwest Texas lands are so high that the average farmer renter can hardly hope to be able to secure a comfortable home to die in; and I fully realize that if I had to start now as I did at the close of the war I couldn't with the same exertion accomplish as much. And things get harder and harder year by year. I also realize how much more I might have accomplished if all my exertion could have been expended in producing something that would have added to my own and my family's comfort and happiness and to the benefit of my fellow man instead of all being put in land, which has certainly brought no benefit to the class that most needs help, and I do believe if the selling value of land were obliterated as slavery was abolished, that by the time as many years passed as have passed since negro slavery was abolished we would have as much values in property of the production of man as we now have with land values included, and here I will say that I believe the south fully realizes that the abolition of negro slavery has been a blessing to us.

R. B. HOLLINGWORTH.

The Quiet Workers.

BOSTON, Oct. 3.—You can see by this bill for our next single tax lecture that we are not inactive. I also send you this signed petition more to show you that what you have been saying in THE STANDARD of the quiet work that is going on is correct, and just as you state it—that the heaven is working surely, if quietly.

Mr. G. works type-setting beside me. He took a stroll in the suburbs one day, not feeling very well, about two years ago. In his stroll, and not having anything particular to do, he stopped at an auction sale of land; \$10 down, the rest on mortgage, were the terms. Luck was with him, and he bid for and got one lot. A short while after, lo, and behold, the officials of this enlightened hub of the universe informed him that they intended to put a street through his land, or, to be more exact, that one side of it was to be taken by the city to make a street. It was done, and the city paid him well for what was taken. He then sold what was left, and in all cleared some \$600. In a joking way I told him that that money was not really his; that he had not earned it, but that, under the existing order of things, I did not blame him to take advantage of the opportunity offered him. He told me I was crazy. Here are almost his exact words: "Jack, you are a good fellow, and probably mean right, but you and Henry George don't know everything, and you must let the rest of us know a little." Well, my friend G. took sick; was laid up for six months. Of course as a friend, and as chairman of the office, I visited him. As he was getting better I asked him as a personal favor—in fact I begged of him—to read "Progress and Poverty," and to please me he did. I lent him one. He got well and came to work again. He liked the book and its arguments very well, and commenced at once to take THE STANDARD, and has continued to do so for a year. I then lent him "Property in Land." When he finished that, and I asked him how he liked it, about his only remark was: "The poor duke." Then I loaned him the "Land Question." I knew it did not please him to say so, but this was his remark to me three months ago: "Jack, I finished your book last night, and as I was getting into bed I just wished that somebody about the size of John L. Sullivan was near enough to kick me, to think I should grow to be 40 years old, and think myself smart, and to have believed anyone ought to own land as they do at present." You can see I felt pretty good just then. Well, I have sent his signature to Mr. Croasdale, as I have about a hundred others, but this one I send to you to tell you this story. Mr. H. is a neighbor of Mr. G., and just spoke to him about the single tax. He told G. he was a lunatic, just as G. told me I was crazy. G. told him that was just what he had said to me, and that that was no argument at all. He got him to read, and I now send you his signature too, and I hope you can feel a little of the pride I do in sending it. JOHN LAVER.

Sec. Dorchester S. T. C.

A gentleman writing to Henry George from Toronto, Canada, declaring this full adhesion to the single tax says:

You may remember when here five years ago having a fool introduced to you in the vestibule of the Royal hotel, which said fool tried to convince you that what was needed was not the single tax, but the Torrens system of land transfer. I was that fool.

A little later I read "The Land Question." Since then I have read every work of yours I could get, and am now waiting impatiently for that primer of political economy.

JUDGE MAGUIRE HONORED.

TENDERED A PUBLIC DINNER UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF SINGLE TAX
MEN OF NEW YORK
AND BROOKLYN.

A Thoughtful Speech by the Guest—Follicious Remarks by William T. Crowsdale, Louis F. Post, W. J. Atkinson, A. J. Wolf, Jason Hinman, Antonio M. Molina, Thomas G. Shearman, John De Witt Warner and Charles W. Boone—Henry George Presides.

About one hundred gentlemen sat down to table at the public dinner in honor of Hon. James G. Maguire of San Francisco, on Thursday, Oct. 3. The dinner, which was in every particular satisfactory, was given at Hotel de l'Europe, 237 East 14th street. The speeches were substantially as follows, Mr. Crowsdale starting off:

William T. Crowsdale.

There seems to be a general disposition to connect Judge Maguire with feline matters (Laughter.) His name is not Thomas, it is James; and yet some man in this room wrote me a letter in which he states, "You bet I will come; I want to see the father of the cat." (Laughter.) He is not the father of any cat; his name is James, I tell you. (Renewed laughter and applause.) Mr. Crowsdale thereupon read some more letters of regret, and said he had received many others of like tenor. He thus continued:

If there had been any toasts this evening I would have chosen for myself "Practical Work," simply because I did not want to talk of practical work, and I notice a man never does talk about the thing he is called on to speak about. (Laughter.) The thing that I particularly wanted to speak about was "Religious Enthusiasm." (Laughter.) You fellows do not think I am in earnest about that, but I believe as firmly in it as any one. The hope for the future of our cause lies in the conviction of its earnest advocates, that through the operation of our principles is to come the emancipation of man from the thralldom into which he has been thrown by his own folly. I believe as a motive power it is absolutely essential, but I believe that religious enthusiasm is like steam in other respects. You see a train moving along with wonderful power—driven by this mighty power of steam, and then you see it come to a stand still. Hitherto it has been in rapid motion with the noise that comes from the whirling of a great body through space, but when the machine stops and the train comes to a stand still, then you hear nothing but the whizz of escaping steam. Religious enthusiasm, uncontrolled by common sense, is nothing but an infernal fizz which does no good to its possessor or anybody else. (Laughter.) As a practical man I want to see religious enthusiasm maintained, but I want to see it confined in a cylinder and made to do the work, and not left to make an infernal fizz to merely distract the people that have work to do.

The Chairman—Judge Maguire has told me that he took two lots in trade for a fee—a five hundred dollar fee, and the man had only one hundred dollars and gave him two lots for the balance. Those two lots are now worth \$850 apiece. Mr. Post, lately of Sullivan county, will now give his opinion. (Laughter and applause.)

Louis F. Post.

I don't know what these two lots have to do with me. (A voice, "Lots." Laughter.) If Judge Maguire will introduce me to that client of his I shall be happy. I suppose what Mr. George had in mind was the great "land speculation" that I have been engaged in. I want to say frankly that I came here utterly unprepared to say anything. I thought the chairman would make an elaborate speech, and that would be responded to by the guest of the evening, and if I could find something to hitch on to it—why I would find it. Now I have found it. I and those other single tax men interested with me are not interested in any land speculation at all; we have undertaken to improve a wild park, up there in Sullivan county, of about fifteen hundred acres, and every acre of it is occupied and in use; we have got a house or two and even a barn upon it, but we also have some of the most magnificent forest trees that you ever looked upon, and if you stand on one of the ridges there you will see little clumps of future shade trees that we are now cultivating and which we expect will shade our children. (Laughter and applause.) And then we are cultivating raspberries and blackberries, and there is nothing that we are not cultivating there according to the philosophy that anyone cultivating land, however situated, is using it. (Laughter and applause.)

I suppose there are a great many here who feel interested to know why Judge Maguire has come to be spoken of as the father of the cat. There are a number of men present here to-night who were present at the time when the judge told that story. I will tell it very briefly, for I know it is a great strain upon a man's modesty to relate a good story that he got off once before himself. (Laughter.) Mr. Post then repeated the story of the cat familiar to all single tax men.

Chairman—Mr. Atkinson of Philadelphia will say something for Pennsylvania.

W. J. Atkinson.

Mr. Chairman, I protest for the second time against being called on to represent Pennsylvania. I am by birth a New Jerseyman, and if any Pennsylvanian were present he would tell you that a Jerseyman knows as little about Pennsylvania as Congress about religion. You know when Mark Twain was private secretary to Senator Nye of Nevada a petition from certain clergymen, praying for the incorporation of the Methodist church of the state of Nevada, was given to him to answer. He wrote to Rev. John Halifax and others:

Gentlemen—You will have to go to the state legislature about that speculation of yours—congress don't know anything about religion. But don't be in a rush to go there, because this scheme in a new country isn't expedient—in fact, it's ridiculous. Your religious people there are too feeble in intellect, in morality, in piety—in everything, pretty much. You can't issue stock on an incorporation of that kind, anyhow, and if you did, the other denominations would "bull it" and "bear it," and "sell it short" and break it down. They would try to do just what they do with your mines out there—make all the world believe it was "wildcat." You should do nothing to bring a sacred thing into disrepute. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. I think you close your petition with the words: "And we will ever pray." I think you had better—you need to do it. Very truly, etc., MARK TWAIN, for James W. Nye, U. S. senator.

One thing, however, I do know of Pennsylvania, there are now many men there ready and anxious to welcome Judge Maguire heartily, both for his own sake and as the representative of the single tax men of California.

As for Pennsylvania's condition, it reminds me of two men who met over on Chestnut street the other day and talked about as follows:

"G-go-good m-m-morning, M-mr. A."
"G-go-good m-m-morning, M-mr. B."
"M-m-mister A-a, w-why d-don't y-you g-go to D-d-dr. Qu-Qu-Quack and g-g-g-g-get cu-cu-cured of y-your s-stammering?"
"W-w-why, M-mr. B, is, is he g-good?"
"G-g-go-goo-good! w-w-w-why h-h-he c-c-c-c-cured m-m-m-me!"

And so poor, patient, plodding Pennsylvania, points to protection and with stammering tongue still insists "I-it c-c-cured m-me!" But we have in Pennsylvania many men who know that as to cure stammering it is necessary to cut the ligature that binds the tongue, so to cure our halting, half paralyzed industries it is only necessary to free trade from the tariff cords that binds it.

The Chairman—I will now call upon Mr. Hinman, of the Reform club, for a few words. (Applause.)

Jason Hinman.

The work of the Reform club in the state of New York is not the work that you are engaged in. Whatever my own notions may be about the single tax, I make it my business now to do everything I can to induce people to see that a lower tariff is what they want. When they see that perhaps they will see the difference between a lower tariff and a higher tariff, and then perhaps they will see the difference between a low tariff and free trade. After that perhaps they will see something else. What you teach them, then, is your business, none of mine. The first thing to do now is to get in the small end of the wedge and see how it works, and our business just now in this state is in making a canvass which will tell us something about every voter in the state outside of the fifteen largest cities; tell us their business or occupation, their politics, what they think about the tariff, what their tariff interests are, and whether they are men governed by the Grand Army machine. Then we shall know how to appeal to them. That work is going forward very rapidly, and out of the seven hundred and fifty thousand actual voters, we now have on record in our office nearly two hundred thousand, and we will get the remainder before the 1st of January. We shall know how to appeal to them then, and can give them the arguments that we hope will induce them to cast their votes in favor of a lower tariff. Then we will give them an object lesson. Talking principles is all very well; it means something sometimes, but there are a great many men who do not care anything about principles to whom you cannot appeal on that ground at all. But give them an object lesson and they will grasp it at once. That is what tariff reformers intend to do, and we hope you will not find fault with us for proposing to do that work in that way. I believe that is the way it is to be done. As Puck says, "What fools these mortals be." The only way you can teach them anything is to make them feel it, and when these men feel the difference between low tariff and high tariff you can tell them something about single tax. (Applause.)

The Chairman—Now I want to call upon a representative of another class of workers, the men of the single tax club, the men who started the cart-tail campaign. Mr. A. J. Wolf, the chairman of that committee, will say a few words.

A. J. Wolf.

I can only say this, Mr. Chairman, that as a humble representative, as I am, and a late

comer to the single tax movement, I have been moved by a desire to do something. Now, we have all been talking. We all believe in the single tax, and we all talk to each other. What I want to do is to talk to the people. (Applause and cries of "Hear, hear.") Now, we of the Manhattan single tax club have in a very modest way been attempting to talk to the people. We have been giving them object lessons. We have been calling for the men who are not orators, who are not declaimers, but who can go to the people on a simple statement of facts, who can call their attention to the deplorable condition in which they are situated, and show how they are descending, step by step, into a condition of absolute slavery. We take the position that this cause is just as sacred, is infinitely more important to the American people than the abolition of the slavery of the black man; it is the abolition of the slavery which is impending over the white man. (Applause.)

I simply wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that we have been met by a response on the part of the people, upon the part of the people who are supposed to be the most ignorant, the most degraded, the most poverty stricken, that is absolutely amazing. We are not a club of rich men, as you know, sir; we are all workers. Our club is a very humble organization. We contribute but ten cents a week. The club has never contributed more than ten dollars to this organization. All the rest of the funds has come from voluntary contributions. But in spite of that we have addressed in four weeks more than ten thousand people, and we have met with a response that is simply amazing. The people have understood the single tax. We have proved one thing beyond any question, and that is that this matter of political economy is not the mysterious thing which the teachers of political economy try to make it. Political economy is a thing which any people, even in the humblest circumstances, can understand, and we are getting to them in exactly that spirit. We call upon a man who is a plasterer, a carpenter, a bricklayer, or a machinist to state his idea of the single tax from his own standpoint. We do not deal in highfalutin language, but are satisfied in going straight to the very fundamental principles of the whole matter.

And I say this, gentlemen, that it won't take much money for a concerted movement of this kind throughout this country. That is the remarkable thing about it. It costs us six dollars a night for each truck we send out. We address every night not less than two thousand people, and we are met with cheers and enthusiasm. People follow us from station to station. It simply shows that there is a responsive feeling in the minds of the masses. It only needs an intelligent appeal to their intelligences to awaken it. Then we will have the peaceful revolution that we want. (Applause.)

The Chairman—I would like to call upon our good friend from whom we have not heard for a long time—Antonio M. Molina.

Antonio M. Molina.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—In the name of the Spanish Americans, I thank you for calling upon me to-night. Sixteen so-called representatives of Spanish America have come to this country to devise, if they can, a plan to fit in with that humbug, protectionism. I tell you, gentlemen, the Spanish Americans are absolutely free traders. They are not protectionists because they like North Americans, and they want to have free intercourse with them. They are not protectionists. Why should they be protectionists? You have goods that they want in exchange for goods they have and you want. They have commenced to exchange goods which you do not produce for those they do not produce, and they do not want any custom houses at all. Spanish Americans are also for the single tax, because the land of Spanish America is in the hands of a few individuals, and they are only beggars by reason of that iniquity. They want to be free. (Applause.)

The Chairman: About sixteen years ago I first met Judge Maguire, when, not long from the blacksmith's forge, he was taking his seat for the first time in the California legislature. His course since then has been onward and upward until there is no man on the Pacific coast to-day who stands firmer in public respect. One of the first of single tax men, he has always been a firm one, and has always been ready to go to the front and to do what he could for the cause.

I know the pleasantest thing we can do for our friend to-night is to tell him how the ball is moving with us. For my part I am free to say that every day, as it passes, gives me stronger hope that our triumph is not far off. (Applause.)

When Judge Maguire came east before, and at the Academy of Music made that magnificent speech in which he brought out the cat that has become so well known, we were engaged in an independent political movement. We resolved shortly after that to do what we could to help the national party that, even in a wavering, timid way, was beginning to raise the banner of freedom. In that campaign we stood as he stood—for Grover Cleveland. (Cheers.) We stood as he stood, avowed free traders, among men who were a little bit afraid to utter the word free trade. I think we can say to him that the result of that action has been good; that

our cause has been progressing faster than ever before; that on every hand we can see that our ideas are permeating the minds of men. I think we can say that for New York. And I want you men around this table to speak as far as you can of your own experience, in your own localities, and through Judge Maguire, to send to our brethren on the Pacific a message of greeting and cheer. (Applause.)

James G. Maguire.

I had no idea that cat story would make me world famous. (Laughter and applause.) Nor am I the father of that cat. I am only the boy who tied that cat's tail to the land monopoly's cat's tail and threw them both over the line (laughter and applause), and they started to clawing in terrible shape, and the way the fur has been flying ever since is a caution. (Laughter.)

I have been asked to say something specially about the work in which we are engaged upon the Pacific coast, and I am pleased to report progress there—steady, constant, gratifying progress all over the Pacific coast, not alone in San Francisco, to which my work is principally confined, but in the north and in the south; indeed in the city of Portland they boast of a club and of a movement that rivals, if it does not excel, the San Francisco club, which is the oldest single tax club in the world. (Applause.) I helped Mr. George to organize it in 1877. We hold public meetings every Sunday evening in a hall that accommodates about three hundred visitors. About three evenings out of four we are obliged to turn people away, after the seats in the hall have all been filled and as many as public ordinances will permit are allowed to stand in the aisles and passages. Mr. Thomas G. Shearman of New York (applause) favored us, a few weeks ago, with a visit and with a magnificent address upon the single tax. His presence, his national reputation as a lawyer and a speaker, brought to us a great number of persons who are not in the habit of attending single tax meetings, a large number of lawyers especially, and among them I am pleased to say he made a most profound impression, and that we expect soon to have some of the prominent lawyers of San Francisco, who were previously against us, to unite with us in active labor for the cause. (Applause.)

The chairman has stated that a couple of town lots in San Francisco were forced upon me as a fee. I would much have preferred to have received the \$400.

I positively declare, so long as the people of the United States maintain a public revenue system which puts a premium upon the purchase of and speculation in land, which compels men to purchase their birthright for a market price, and to secure for their children by purchase their natural share of God's bounty, it is the privilege, it is the duty, of every man, in obedience to that public policy, to proceed to protect himself as best he may. (Applause.)

I do not believe in the system which makes it necessary, but so long as the people, as a matter of public policy, uphold that system and give no alternative, I say to every single tax man: "Get your share of the bounty of nature as best you may, and whenever you can make anything within the law which evidences the policy adopted by the public, do it." At the same time, working for the natural rights, for the cause of natural justice, I am free to say I would prefer that to anything that I can lay up under the present system for myself or children. (Applause.) I am prepared to surrender every foot of land which I hold which is not in actual and profitable use by me the moment that the people determine to adopt a system which will place my children securely upon a basis of absolute equality with respect to natural opportunities with every other man and woman. I would rather leave them that assurance, that chance in the world, so secure that it could never be taken from them, than to leave them an inheritance of millions, the possession of which would be an inducement to dissipation and squandering and idleness and worthlessness.

Before his death Charles Mackay, observing the conditions of society in his time and country (England), wrote:

Great thoughts are heaving in the world's wide breast;
The time is laboring with a mighty birth;
The old idols fall;
Men wander up and down in wild unrest,
And signs of change preparing for the world brood over all.

Do not existing conditions verify the words and predictions of Mackay at that time? Do not all thinking men contemplate some very radical change in social conditions within the near future? Do not all the social symptoms of the present time indicate it; the social discontent so universal, the organization of extensive trusts and combinations in business affairs, the organization of labor unions and societies with their strikes, boycotts, lockouts, blacklists; society dividing into classes, and the classes at war with each other, each depending largely upon superior organization to maintain its position against the other? Do not these things indicate a widespread disaffection and widespread desire on the part of the masses at least for something which they regard as substantial justice? If discontent be so widespread as these symptoms would indicate, is it not morally certain that a social upheaval of some kind is sure to come within the near

future? What change shall be accepted by the people can hardly be predicted by any man of any school at this time. The desire with me and with you would naturally be father to the belief that our own remedy for the injustice which we recognize as so universal should be adopted, but there can be no certainty of that, although I believe that the times are auspicious for the adoption of the single tax as a fiscal measure of all civilized governments soon enough to avert the awful calamity to which civilization is tending with giant's strides. (Applause.)

That tendency towards centralization and combination, the elimination of the individual and the substitution of the organization in every branch and department of social and industrial life is leading with rapid strides to state socialism. I want to be understood as not cavilling at the state socialists; but I am in principle and in sentiment deeply and earnestly opposed to the whole scheme of state socialism. (Applause.)

These things are all tending towards a crisis which is much closer than most people are willing to believe, toward a time when we must determine whether individuality shall continue to be preserved or whether individuals shall sink to the standard of mere automata or machines, guided and controlled as bodies by rulers selected and not by themselves acting individually and independently in the most ordinary affairs of life. Society cannot go on as it is now constituted. It must either remove the injustice which has created all of these heart burnings and dissensions among the different classes of men, or it must be resolved entirely into the automaton system which the socialists advocate. (Applause.)

There is but one movement in the civilized world to-day that deals with these social questions rationally, and proposes by a simple method of legislation to preserve all that is good in modern civilization and eliminate all that is bad. (Applause.) That movement is the single tax movement now so happily and so rapidly growing throughout the world. And after all, what are the evils in the system? Simply that some men complain because they are not getting their fair share of the wealth which their labor applied to natural resources produces; that in a world which possesses ample resources to support in comfort a hundred times its present population, in countries with natural resources undeveloped and untouched, men are excluded from the lands and from the opportunities for self employment which would make them self sustaining. They are driven into the market place to seek employment in competition with their fellows, helplessly bidding against them and offering to take their places for smaller and smaller shares of the products of their labor. That this condition of helplessness, that this condition of industrial slavery is unjust and wrong and destructive, is universally appreciated, but the remedy has been pointed out only by the advocates of this particular measure. We say the present system of society is good enough if natural resources are held open to all men upon exactly the same terms at all times (applause); that the land of this world, is different from any other form of property in the world, or recognized in the world in that it is the source from which all life is drawn. That it was given equally for all men, not of any one generation, but of all generations from the beginning to the end; and that it is not equality of wealth, as the socialists demand, which is required to make our conditions perfect or satisfactory. It is simply an equality of opportunities that is wanted. (Applause.) We propose to accomplish that equality in precisely the same way the courts of equity have, from the dawn of equity jurisprudence down to the present time, been accomplishing it, upon a smaller scale, between persons equally interested in landed estates.

If an estate of ten thousand acres of land were left to ten children, and if after they had all attained their majority they should all decide to hold it in common and not to segregate, some of them desiring to use it and some of them desiring to follow occupations that would call them away from the land, justice and equity would decree that each of those co-owners occupy the land should pay the rental value of it for use, and that, after paying the expenses incident to the administration of the estate, each member of the family, having an equal right in the land, should have precisely his share of the value of its use, and among them the users would get back their share. We propose simply to take the entire rental of land by taxation, and then no man shall live without performing his share of the service necessary to maintain him in the world, simply sitting down and collecting tribute from his brother for allowing that brother the privilege of exercising his natural right of making a living from the soil. (Applause.)

The founders of this republic believed that the very conditions existing in this country, the inexhaustibility of lands, the means of independent employment would rear, as it did rear for the first three-quarters of a century, the most magnificent and independent race of human beings on the face of the earth. They thought we might all stand forth and be called free men, with free tongues and free hands, firm feet planted firmly on the soil; but, alas! our country is now rearing a class of men who regard themselves as natural serfs, and that condi-

tion can only be changed by re-establishing the natural opportunities which land monopoly, encouraged as it is by the laws of our own making and of their making, has destroyed, and which is so rapidly degrading, the institutions of our country.

The measure of justice proposed by the single tax advocates will, I believe, remedy every just complaint. It is the only thing which will produce peaceable transformation and absolute restoration of all individual rights, and which will prevent these deep and terrible contests known as strikes, which had some manifestations of violence here in 1877, and elsewhere on many other occasions; the only thing that will prevent the enactment on a broader scale of all the horrors of that carnival of fire and blood known in history as the French revolution. Although there had been symptoms manifested, they came in France suddenly, with terrible and shocking effect. Suddenly the free booters of Paris were started, they arose, they dragged the degraded purple through the town, rolled it in the dust and taught the nations near and far a mighty lesson.

But I believe that the change we expect will come peacefully. I believe that the proofs which we are calmly presenting to the world will be accepted; that there will be a disposition to reorganization of all our social institutions, to maintain the good and to cast out the bad. That Not on swords or spears will be the reliance of the coming years;

Not by the cannon's mouth shall truth proclaim her mighty mission;

Not in blood and flame inscribe her lessons on the book of time;

Her strongest lessons shall be words sublime; Her arms thoughts, her banners printed sheets;

Her captains voices crying in the streets, "The earth is good and bountiful and fair;

Her bounties are the equal share of all her children."

This will define the new era.

The Chairman—Thomas G. Shearman will be the next speaker.

Thomas G. Shearman.

Mr. Robert P. Porter, when he was still editor of the New York Press, and on the Sunday following the late presidential election, did me the honor to ask for predictions for the future. And one of the predictions that I made was that the new administration was so heavily committed that it could not stop the pension leak until it had bankrupted the treasury, but that it would take two years. Tanner has done it in two months, and before four months have passed over the president has had to choose between the secretary of the interior and the forced resignation of the commissioner of pensions. (Applause.)

And we have since made progress. Did not New England, except little Connecticut, go solid against Cleveland and clamor against a provision in a treaty which would let in a few Canadian fish free? What is New England clamoring for now? New England is just solid in favor, first, of free reciprocity in every thing on earth, Canadian fish included; and, second, against any interference with the Canadian Pacific railroad, and declaring that it must have free Canadian railroads or it will know the reason why. And that crank of cranks, Henry W. Blair—that prince of cranks has absolutely had the audacity to come out and say that New England manufacturers cannot get on without a reduction of the duty on pig iron and a reduction of the duty on coal, and that have got to get it. Gentlemen, does not the world move?

One of the great arguments advanced by grave men against the single tax is that the economic rent is so large that if you adopted the single tax unlimited you will be obliged to dispose of the surplus by distributing pensions. Now, gentlemen, who is teaching in actual practice the masses of the people to depend upon the payment of unearned pensions? Who is putting a premium on lying and on perjury in order that pensions may be distributed? Who is withdrawing the barriers in order to get one man to swear that he hurt his big toe when his grandmother was a little baby, and cast him into a pan of oil, or before he had time to get to the war that he was hit by a rebel bullet near Canada as he was running away from the draft? Why, it is this present administration; it is this party that is in power; it is this party which is offering enormous bribes to corrupt and demoralize the poor men who either went to the war, or thought they went to the war, or who started to the war and were dishonorably discharged because they would not fight when they got there. This administration is offering to every such man a pension.

Gentlemen, if we have got one million pensioners on the roll—and we are rapidly getting to it, for there are over four hundred thousand now on the roll, and there are three hundred and fifty thousand applicants waiting for pensions and seven hundred thousand more that are ready to apply as soon as you can get a bill that will fit the case—I should like to know what sort of a country we shall have! Tannerism, not Tanner, is poisoning the morals of the people all through the north.

What we want to do in this pension system, or bribery system, is what we want to do in the tariff system—run the thing to the ground. If we could only get a general pension law

giving to every skulker and every deserter a thousand a year, do you know what would happen? Why, we would have the whole business repealed at the next congress and cut down to where it ought to be, and those who got pensions would get them because they earned them through gallantry and proper service. (Applause.)

Have we not reason to congratulate ourselves on the existence of Tanner and Tannerism? Has it not brought about a wonderful effect in a very short time? It may seem to those who look superficially, those who see only the surface of things, that this country is full of discouraging portents and full of dark clouds. But how are the heavens ever to clear if the clouds do not concentrate into a thunder storm? And so, Mr. Chairman, I see the best portents to progress for our cause. Suppose last fall instead of meeting with defeat we had achieved victory, what would have happened? The senate would have been against Grover Cleveland. New England would have been clamoring for war as she did then, and we should have made no progress in tariff reform. I tell you the Lord ordered things very well that time if He never did any other time. (Applause.) And although my heart was very much set on a different result this election, it didn't deter me one moment from believing in a special Providence, and it has been easier to believe in one ever since. Our cause never was brighter, because we are getting the people to think, and that is all that we want. The difficulty always has been to get the people to think, to stir up their minds, and they are beginning to do a good deal of thinking. Like the famous parrot, if they don't do so much talking, it is because they do a good deal of thinking. (Laughter and applause.)

The Chairman—I will now call upon Mr. John DeWitt Warner.

John DeWitt Warner.

So far as I can find out there is only one thing left for me to speak on, and that is free trade. (Applause.) As there isn't anything left to talk about but principles, I might as well own up I have got one, and that is free trade. (Applause.) I conceive that this is a free government, and when I attend to my business and other citizens attend to their business, and then I see still other gentlemen not attending to their business, but at congress, or before the senate, or by some commission, in order to get special legislation passed by which gentlemen attending to their business shall be taxed to support them, it seems to me it does not leave a question for argument; it is my money they are taking, and it is their pockets they are putting it into. (Laughter and applause.) I do not have to stop to reason that out. When a man has my property and insists on keeping it, it is war between him and me; and if the government assists him it is not so big a war, and I have to give it up, because I cannot carry it on. But if I were big enough and stout enough I would do all I could to smash all the custom houses and lick the government (laughter); and if I failed in doing that and I could get the taxes out of the custom house, I would do it. If I found a man that had them in his pocket I would take him by the throat and choke him until he voluntarily gave them up to me. (Laughter and applause.) Now, gentlemen, those are my principles. I cannot carry them out just yet, and that casts a gloom over me.

Chairman—We have present this evening a single tax man from Illinois, who will say something for the farmers of that state—Mr. Boone of Warren.

Charles W. Boone.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am an Illinois farmer, and I wish I was not almost alone in my county as a single taxer among the farmers. I cannot account to you why there are not more single taxers among the farmers; I can not understand why all farmers are not single tax men. Although for a dozen years or more I was the only single taxer in my county, I am glad to say that lately our number has been increased a hundred per cent, at least (laughter), for I have induced a friend, a business man in the nearest town to where I live, to become one of us, and now there are two. (Laughter and applause.) And if I am to judge from the increase in popularity and increased ability (for my friend is very popular and very clever), I should think the gain has been more than a hundred per cent. We have not yet quite organized a single tax club, but I think I may say we have organized a single tax committee. My friend, who constitutes the other half of the party being the capable and popular secretary, and I the president. (Laughter and applause.) I want to say that there is perfect harmony between the officers of our organization. (Laughter.) I have received a letter within a few days from the secretary, in which he furnishes this item of information: That he has succeeded in selling and disposing of seventeen copies of "Progress and Poverty" since we commenced our campaign (laughter and applause), and that he had just sent an order for more.

I am no public speaker—no more than a farmer should be; I feel, however, that I should declare myself, and I thought merely as a curiosity you should like to see a single taxer among the western farmers—and I am that sort of a "critter." (Laughter.) If I

could be a sort of lieutenant under the leadership of the last speaker, in smashing protectionism I should like the opportunity and fight under him against a common foe. (Applause.)

When Judge Maguire made the remark that the prevailing idea of the working class was that there was an overproduction of wealth from which they suffered, I had to say, "Hear, hear." That is the prevailing idea of the western farmers, and let me give one instance by way of illustration. Before I left my village near the Mississippi river, knew of a neighbor who took two wagon loads of potatoes to market, for which he received the magnificent sum of twelve and a half cents per bushel. He sold the two wagon loads at twelve and a half cents a bushel, because of what? Because of this "overproduction." I had the curiosity whittled on my visit here, to make some inquiry as to the price of potatoes, and last evening in the city of Brooklyn, I asked a retail storekeeper at what price he sold his potatoes, and he told me I could get some for seven cents a quart! Now between twelve and a half cents a bushel where I had just come from and the seven cents a quart which most poor people here have to pay, there is a vast difference, and there is a cause for that difference and as single taxers we are bound to discover that cause and make it plain to the victimized. (Applause.)

If you workers here in the east—if you could understand the situation of the western farmer, how he begins to feel the pressure—why, he cannot even work his farm and hire men by paying the current wages. If he were to do that he would be bankrupted. I have been a farmer for thirty years in the state of Illinois, and I know that the business is reduced to this: that you must own the farm and you must work long hours, and your wife and your children must work, too, if you would secure a fair proportion of the comforts of living; and a man who is a mere renter and who has a mortgage on his homestead, is virtually now no better than a slave. (Applause.) And you may expect if these causes continue to operate, and I do not see why they should not, these evil results will continue to grow stronger, and what we regard as hard times now will become harder and harder. There will be spasms of improvement, but these will be followed by greater and greater depression. Property will steadily depreciate. Why, even now, if we but consider, we farmers in the west would be surprised at the small prices our property would bring if forced to immediate sale. In fact, farming property cannot be sold on the basis of present values; the only real estate sold in the west now is sold under the influence of some local booms. (Applause.)

Mr. Croasdale—Gentlemen, we have sometimes been accused of having given ourselves over to the democratic party. We single tax men are free traders, and being free traders, we are tariff reformers, because tariff reform tends toward free trade, and so far as the democratic party represents a tendency in that direction, we have been and still are willing to support it, but nevertheless we are not among those people that are mere mouthers of names, and who are led by a man who holds up his hand and says: "I am a democrat." (Applause.)

I give this toast, "The party of Jefferson; may the democratic party become such, and may it be defeated whenever it departs from the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I call upon Mr. Henry George to respond to that toast. (Applause.)

Mr. George—I respond briefly, but with all my heart. Because I am a democrat in principle I will do whatever I can to defeat the so-called democratic party under such circumstances. For instance, in this state this year I will give the preference to the republican every time. (Applause.) I will do so because the democratic party here is in the control of a machine, I will do so because I believe that the democratic party will best advocate democratic principles when it frees itself from machine rule in its own ranks. (Applause.) The democratic principle goes deep. The doctrine of Thomas Jefferson is more than a mere party creed—it is a philosophy. It is that philosophy that it is ours to revive. The time for the true division between political parties has hardly come yet, but it is coming; the party of democratic principles, the party of equal rights, the party not of any class, but of the whole people on the one side and the party of special privileges on the other.

We have had a very pleasant evening. There are many others here whom I wish could say a few words, but the hour grows late. In the name of those present and of many others, I wish you, Judge Maguire, God speed on your homeward journey. Carry to our friends on your side of the continent our earnest greetings. Between all who are imbued with these sentiments of ours, there is a bond of union. "Single tax men" means far more to-day than does "republican" or "democrat"; it means the bond of a common faith, the bond of a common hope, and that hope is brightening. All over the world to-day I believe the heaven is working. Come what may, the future is ours. (Prolonged applause.)

A Meeting at Staten Island.

NEW BRUNTON, S. I., Oct. 7.—The next meeting of the single tax club will be held at my residence, No. 2 Carroll place, New Brighton, on Saturday evening, October 13, and all of the faithful are requested to attend.

JOHN S. COGAN,

NOTES HERE AND THERE.

Judge Maruire told a good story the other day, one which shows that even millionaires understand the disadvantage of improving property. A few years ago James G. Flood, the late bonanza king owned several valuable lots on the corner of Fourth and Market streets, San Francisco. There were some old buildings on them, which dated almost back to the days when that vicinity was a mass of sand dunes. But the city had grown out there and these buildings became an eyesore to all who lived in that neighborhood or had to pass that way. One day a number of the residents called on Mr. Flood, and after calling his attention to the dilapidated condition of his property, suggested that, as the location was so desirable, it would be a profitable investment for him, beside adding the appearance of the neighborhood, if he would tear down the old structures and put up a handsome block of buildings. He said he would look into the matter, and wanted them to call again, which they did. He had looked into the matter, and his conclusions can be best expressed in his own words, as quoted by the judge: "I find you gentlemen are all property holders in the neighborhood of my lots. If I build the value of your property will be increased thereby. But I also find that if I do build such a block of buildings as you recommend that my taxes on that property will be increased \$30,000 a year. You want me to build, do you? Well, I won't."

Salt Lake City is being visited by a land boom, and prices are rising like an inflated balloon. Some of the land owners have been expressing fears that the prices have reached the top limit, and are thinking about letting go; but the Salt Lake Herald has hurled itself into the breach, and tells its readers to hold on. "The top," it says, "has not yet been reached by a good deal. When keen-witted, far-seeing men are buying acreage in the vicinity at from \$600 to \$1,500 an acre, the land being regarded as high-priced at \$75 an acre two or three years ago, we may be confident that one of these days really astonishing prices will be asked and paid for Salt Lake dirt." This state of things must make the deceased Brigham Young turn in his granite bound grave. During his life time he discouraged all attempts at speculation in lands or food. He didn't want his people to be led off by the golden calf. But the Mormons have other teachers now.

One evening last week there were four men sitting at a table in Holland's. One was the proprietor, another a member of Tammany, the third a visitor from Philadelphia and the fourth a single tax man. They talked of various things, and finally began discussing the world's fair. The single tax man ventured the opinion that the recognized world's fair would be held in Chicago. The others expressed their surprise, the Tammany man saying that he could not see what stood in the way of New York city getting it. "Well, no money has been raised here, while the Chicago people have already raised ten million dollars," said the single tax man. "That's nothing," replied the Tammany man, "we can raise three hundred millions in three hours, when we go to work." "I think there is a good deal in what our friend says," said the visitor from Philadelphia; "but raising money will not settle the question. Don't you see what the papers are saying about the disgraceful way in which the owners of property in the proposed site are acting? Why, if they keep lifting their prices it will cost over three hundred millions to buy the ground on which to erect the buildings for the fair." "There's a good deal in that," said the Tammany man. "I believe that if we don't get the fair it will be the fault of these land owners. The legislature ought to meet and make a law taking the land from them, if they won't listen to reason." "But if that land belongs to them, how can the legislature take it from them or say what they shall ask for it?" asked the single tax man. "By declaring that their action is opposed to good public policy," answered the Tammany man. "What has good public policy got to do with the question?" asked the single tax man. "If the property is theirs, they have a right to do with it as they please." "See here," said the Tammany man, "I have as much regard for property rights as any man; but if the men who own the property where the fair is to be located stand in the way of the interests of the city of New York, I believe we should put the screws on them. I don't believe any man, because he happens to hold property, has a right to stand in the way of the interests of the public." "Well, don't all property holders—especially the land holders—stand in the way of the public interests when they charge such prices for their land as prevail here on this island?" asked the single tax man. "Ah!" said the Tammany man, "you are giving us that George stuff. That's got nothing to do with the fair question at all."

The Trade Assembly Record of Chicago is the official organ of the Trade and labor assembly of that city, and it says that it is the only publication in Chicago directly endorsed and supported by trade and labor unions, "and these represent the interests of one hundred thousand people;" and yet, in spite of all the powerful bodies of men at its back, and their trade organizations, the editor, J. H. Randall, plaintively says in a column article in its issue of October 5, that

the Record has not received such a support as will warrant him in continuing its publication; that unless the working people rally to its support the Record will die.

The Dalles, Oregon, Mountaineer lately printed a rumor that Henry George contemplated visiting Oregon for the purpose of forming a single tax party in that state, and remarked sneeringly that this year would be a very auspicious time for him to make his visit, as "our farmers would duly appreciate a tax on their lands, while the aggregate wealth of the cities would go scot free." C. S. Jackson, of the Pendleton East Oregonian, who is a personal friend of the editor of the Mountaineer, and a single tax man withal, did not care to allow such an error to go by unchallenged, and so he wrote a personal letter to his friend, which is printed in the Mountaineer in full:

Dear Michell—For your personal perusal I will state that you have a very erroneous idea concerning the "single tax," and one which I possessed myself. It may startle you, but the "single tax," means less taxation on farm lands and more on the "aggregate wealth of the cities." I am sure if you will examine into the "theory" you will see this truth. The "single tax" is a panacea for the centralization of wealth, because its aim is to give to the producer all he earns. If it brings about this result the monopolizer, the speculator, the usurer and that ilk will have to go. The producer cannot be damaged by a "theory" that proposes to give him what he earns and all he earns. I would respectfully request you to give the "theory" the attention it deserves, and your bitterness against it, your prejudice rather, will be removed as mine was removed. The "single tax" is a too narrow name for the idea when once its broadness and comprehensiveness is seen and felt. I am an earnest worker in the new crusade, because I feel that the principles at stake are those for the best protection and development of mankind. They mean freedom. If you deem it necessary and worth the space you can use this letter in your columns.

At a meeting held in Loches, Scotland, which was addressed by Mr. Leng, the liberal candidate for Dundee in place of the late Mr. Firth, a socialist named Robertson took advantage of the "heckling," or question and answer part of the meeting to mount the platform and put a number of questions in what he termed "his own way." This was a most insolent and objectionable way, and the meeting loudly resented. A long but highly diverting wrangle ensued. On the condition that he would only put questions, and add no remarks of his own, Robertson was allowed to put his first query, which was in regard to an alleged infringement of the truck act at Midmill Bleachfield. Mr. Leng having answered the question satisfactorily, Mr. Robertson proceeded to put a number of questions as to the new machinery to be introduced into the Advertiser office, the using of the old Howff during the alterations, and the ability of Mr. Leng to build a mansion in Fife. But the socialist orator had gone too far. The patience of his auditory was exhausted. The meeting unmistakably showed that they were entirely opposed to this style of doing things, and the socialist having refused to leave the platform at the order of the chairman, half a dozen of the audience quietly lifted him up, carried him along the hall, and carefully deposited him outside, like a crate of perishable goods marked "This side up." The firing out process was cheered to the echo. This little episode finished, the meeting resumed the even tenor of its way.

Australian papers report the formation of a land value tax society in Melbourne. The platform of the society advocates the placing of a tax of 1½ per cent per annum on the selling value of the bare land, apart from improvements, and the gradual increase of the tax until the whole of the ground rent is taken by the state. As many of the colonists have bought the land from the government, the scheme provides that the purchase money so paid shall be exempt for fifty years from the date of the crown grant. "We have no figures at hand just now as to the value of land in Victoria," says the London Christian Commonwealth, "but an illustration from South Australia will show how the exemption is likely to work. In the county of Adelaide alone some 600,000 acres of land, which were sold originally for less than half a million of money, are now worth 20,500,000 pounds. Allowing the half million of purchase money to go untaxed, there would remain a sum of 20,000,000, upon which a tax of 1½ per cent per annum (after the Melbourne plan) would produce £250,000. The tax is to be paid by the occupier, who shall have power to deduct it from his rent, all contracts to the contrary to be void. Mineral lands to be subject to a further payment of a percentage on net profits. The payment of the annual land value tax is to constitute right to exclusive possession, and to give the right to sell, bequeath or transfer, without any governmental interference whatever."

There is trouble in Elgin and Nairn, says the London Echo. Mr. Seymour Keay holds the agrarian doctrines of Mr. Henry George, which have no attractions for rural liberals who have a practical acquaintance with the land. An important section of the liberals are in a state of incipient revolt, and want Mr. Seymour Keay to retire so as to give them a chance of running a more moderate parliamentary candidate. Mr. Seymour

Keay, however, is not a man of a retiring disposition. The situation is extremely awkward. As President Lincoln used to say, it is dangerous to swap horses when crossing a stream; but what is to be done when your candidate insists upon putting his extreme views to the forefront, and is backed up by Mr. Morrison Davison, who leads the electors to believe that he may go a little further still? The situation is serious, especially for the liberals of Fulham, who thought that they had now a chance of selecting a candidate with favorable chances of success. The platform subscribed to by Mr. Keay has the following plan: "The Land.—The land has been well described as 'God's common gift to all.' It ought not, therefore, to be owned by private persons. Our present land laws are most injurious to the state, preventing the proper cultivation of the soil, and forcing the agricultural population into the cities, whereby legitimate urban industry is paralyzed by ruinous competition."

The Financial reform association, which has arranged for an active campaign in London against the breakfast table duties, the duties on tea, on coffee, spices, etc., has appointed Mr. W. M. I. Williams their London representative. Clubs and associations that require lectures on real live issues which affect the pocket, will find their wants provided for on communicating with Mr. Williams.

The results of almsgiving and poor relief even when directed under strict supervision is shown in the case of the Whitechapel union of London. Up to 1870 the relief system had been that of dispensing small doles of outdoor relief, the indoor establishment being reserved for the destitute poor, who voluntarily sought refuge in them, able-bodied men out of employment being set to work in the labor yard, and relieved in money and kind. Under this system the administration was periodically subjected to great pressure, the aid of the police being frequently invoked to restrain disorder and to protect the persons and property of the guardians. The experience of the winter of 1869-70, however, was such as to lead the guardians to review their position, and earnestly to aim at reforming a system which was felt to be fostering pauperism and encouraging idleness, improvidence, and imposture; while the relief in no true sense helped the poor. The gradual abolition of outdoor relief has since been attended with advantageous results.

The proposed tax on bicycles and tricycles in England is not a new idea. Such a tax has been proposed to Mr. Goschen over and over again and has been considered by him. In his last budget he was invited to place a tax on cycles in order to relieve some of the burden he was prepared to impose by means of the wheel and van tax. It is roughly estimated that there are about 500,000 cycles on the road, and a tax of 2s. 6d. on each of these would add £62,500 to the resources of the exchequer.

Here are some of the big landowners in western Australia: Mr. W. H. Barber has 620,000 acres, Mr. J. Bateman upwards of 1,200,000, Mr. A. J. Cunningham has upwards of 3,600,000, or an area equal to about a tenth of that of England. Mr. W. Mackinnon has upwards of 4,000,000, and the Union bank of Australia has upwards of 7,800,000.

Max O'Rell has been traveling in Germany. We may expect shortly a "Haus and his Vaterland," to put with "John Bull and his Island," and "Jonathan and his Continent."

Here is a story which, if not true, is well invented. It is told by Mr. Smalley apropos of Mr. George Russell's recent articles in the magazines. Mr. George Russell, as everyone knows, is a nephew of the duke of Bedford, and by inheritance and heredity he ought to be a whig; but in fact he is a radical—which when the duke discovered from the pages of a magazine, he wrote to his nephew as follows: "My Dear George—I have read your article with great interest and with much admiration for the ability it displays. Your talent for literature is marked, and as the possessor of such brilliant powers as these has a sure and profitable career opened to him, you will, I am sure, agree with me that there is no longer any reason why I should continue the allowance I have hitherto been glad to make you, and I have accordingly given directions to my solicitor that the usual quarterly payments to you should be discontinued. Yours affectionately, BEDFORD."

Ten years is the average life of the London dock laborer who sticks to it, says the Boston Globe, and the wages never reach above thirty cents an hour. The worst English prisons do not succeed in using up an average man in less than fifteen years, a margin of five years thus standing in their favor. Why wonder at crime in London?

Take Your Choice.

Kansas Jeffersonian.
The crop of this year will lift all the mortgage in Kansas and leave lots of spending money.—[Republican Press.]

On the average 100 farms, each day, pass from the ownership of Kansas farmers to that of eastern and foreign capitalists. One Scotch mortgage company closed on 720 farms in Kansas in one year.—[The Official Records.]
Take your choice. Which you will believe—the apologists for the republican policy which is making us a nation of landlords and tenants, or the records of our own courts.

PASTE AND SCISSORS.

A queer phase of railway industry is a railway tie nursery near the town of Earlington, Kan., in the southern part of the state. It is the largest artificial plantation of forest trees in North America and is owned by the Southern Pacific. The different sections have been planted, respectively, two, four and six years. One-fourth is planted with the alianthus, the rest with catalpas and a few white ash. Those first planted are about twenty-five feet in height, the last about twelve. Some of the taller are about seven inches through the stem. There are in all about 8,000,000 trees in full vigor on these plantations. Out of these trees will come the railway ties of the future.

Professor Lexis, of the University of Goettingen, has published a work in which he proves by statistics that the German universities have twice as many students as can possibly hope to make a living by the respective professions for which they are preparing. The consequence is, he argues, a large annual increase of the learned and most dangerous proletarian class.

A cast steel gun weighing 235 tons has just been shipped by Messrs. Krupp from Hamburg for Cronstadt. The caliber of the gun is thirteen and one fourth inches, the barrel is forty feet in length. The range of the gun is over eleven miles, and it will fire two shots per minute, each shot costing between \$1,250 and \$1,500. At the trials of the gun held in the presence of Russian officers at Meppen, the range of the Essen firm, the projectile, four feet long and weighing 1,800 pounds, and propelled by a charge of 700 pounds of powder, penetrated nineteen and one-half inches of armor, and went 1,312 yards beyond the target. The gun is the largest in existence.

The United States government has perfected measures for the preservation of the Casa Grande ruins in Arizona. For miles around the Casa Grande many great mounds, now hardly distinguishable from the desert sands, bear indisputable evidence of having been, at some far remote period, the abode of busy industries. The most ancient of the traditions of the Pimas and Papagoes, who yet live where their fathers have lived for centuries, allude to them as "The Ruins."

Following is the device which the proprietor of a hotel in a seashore resort on the coast of Maine employs to cover up his sale of an article which the law prohibits him from serving to his guests. A Boston gentleman who recently left this hostelry, on calling for his bill, was surprised to see a charge for "deep sea baths." As the guest had not indulged in this luxury and could not understand why it should be charged in the bill if he had, he inquired of the clerk what this item meant. He was told that it covered wines and liquors, and in his case it referred to a number of bottles of claret which he had taken with his meals. This way of masking his sales of prohibited drinks was an ingenious one on the part of the landlord, as it left no evidence against him on the bill, which might get into the hands of persons who would be tempted to make use of it to his disadvantage.

"Wilkie Collins, to those who met him on his visit to this country, was a very curious personality," said a veteran theatrical agent in the Philadelphia Inquirer. "I shall never forget the first and the only time that I came into communication with him. It was in December, 1873. I had gone after midnight into the bar of what was then Tommy Ryan's hotel, at the corner of Broadway and Union square, New York, and is now the Morton house. Perched on a high stool before the eating counter, with his knees drawn nearly up to his chin, was a little man in solemn black clothes. The position in which he sat, his small body, his large head, his strong features, his gold spectacles, and his bushy hair and beard, then showing more silver than black threads, would have attracted anybody's attention. He was eating an enormous mess of roast oysters and drinking Dublin porter. Presently Mr. Dolby, who was first known in this country as the man who brought Charles Dickens over here for his reading tour in 1868, came in, and the little gray man hopped off his stool to join him in a drink at the bar. I knew Dolby, and Dolby's friend was introduced to me as Wilkie Collins."

English noblemen are beginning to invest largely in real estate in Australia. The duke of Manchester, who had paid many visits to the antipodes, first set the example, which has been promptly followed by Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey. Lord Carnarvon, too, owns city property in Melbourne, and has an estate in western Australia. But long ago Lord Sherbrooke, then Mr. Robert Lowe, barrister-at-law at Sydney, had purchased landed property in New South Wales, some of which he still holds. When the gold fever broke out, however, his agent, thinking it presaged the ruin of the colony, put the larger portion on the market, when it was sold at a sacrifice. Had Lord Sherbrooke retained it he would now be numbered among the Australian millionaires.

A Practical Illustration.

Boston Globe.
A practical illustration of the high tariff may be had by changing your coin from one pocket to another pocket.—[Lowell Sun.]
This illustration does not go far enough. A better illustration would be to change your coin from your own pocket to some protected monopolist's pocket.

THE WARNING OF THE ENGLISH STRIKES.

The leading article in the current number of the North American Review is a long review of the recent London strikes by Henry George. Pointing out that strikes like this are but the passive form of the most destructive of all warfare, reviewing the features which make these strikes so peculiarly significant, and setting forth the great agencies that are steadily working in England to foster social discontent, Mr. George says:

Each year as it passes is making English thought and English conscience more restive under existing social conditions; is making more certain either peaceful readjustment or blind and forcible revolt. Between these two every one of any influence must take his choice. If he will not aid the one, he is helping on the other.

As I write, pulsing flashes in the cable mirror have told the western world that the strike is ended, and London breathes free again. After a month's strife the cardinal, whom men know only to reverence and love, and whose strength in meekness has been abated neither by years nor by Rome's purple, has effected a compromise.

Think of it. So has our civilization soared that what happened in London when the sun was sinking is told in New York ere the shadows have more than begun to lengthen. Think of what advances in the arts of production this suggests. Then think of what this London strike so forcibly brings out—that in the distribution of wealth we are in reality no further advanced than when barbarian fought barbarian.

We girdle the earth; we weigh the stars; we rule scales to the hundred-thousandth of an inch; we make instruments so delicate that they record and give back again the finest inflections of human speech. Yet when it comes to dividing the product of their joint exertion between labor and capital, we have nothing better than

"The good old plan,
That they should get who have the power,
and they should keep who can."

The London strike is over. There was war. There is a truce. And with the next quarrel war will begin again.

The lesson of this London strike! What is it but the lesson of the strikes and lock-outs in the Illinois coal fields; of the New York freight handlers' strike; of the Chicago strike, out of which grew the explosion of the Haymarket bomb and the hanging of the anarchists; of the southwestern railroad strike; of the Pittsburgh riots—the lesson of all strikes, coming sharper and clearer as the years go on? It is the lesson 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. A civilization in which the arts of production advance by leaps and bounds, and distribution is left to war, though but passive war, is like an Eiffel Tower standing on one leg. The higher we carry it the more certain the final crash. That is what we are doing here in the United States, as there in Great Britain. And every year it becomes more dangerous.

For every year society becomes more integrated, industry more complex and interdependent, and the stoppage of one function more likely to involve and paralyze others. You may cut a worm in two, and both pieces will live. But a bodkin's touch in a vital place, and your man is dead.

As it is, the strike has cost from ten to fifteen millions of our money, to speak of no more than money cost. What has it settled? There is a gain in some ways, but nothing is settled. The dock companies will hesitate before refusing the next demand that involves a strike, and other employers will be warned by their loss. But on the other hand, the substantial success of this strike will prompt to others. The question of division between employer and employed is still left to force: the labor question, the question of questions for our civilization, is untouched. . . . So far from any vent being opened for the mass of unskilled unemployed labor constantly congregating in London, such poor vent as the docks afforded will be narrowed, perhaps closed, for some of the dock companies do not employ casuals.

This is the hopelessness of trades unions and strikes, so far as any settlement of the labor question is concerned. It is like leveeing a river subject to flood. Every levee that is raised requires constant watching, and every new levee increases the pressure on all. Nay, the illustration is hardly strong enough. For the rise of the water also increases the swiftness of the current that carries it off. But the restrictions with which trades unions keep each their own little territory from inundation by unemployed labor do not add to the facility with which that labor finds employment.

Mr. George goes on to declare that trades unions can accomplish nothing large and permanent, and that strikes as a method of raising wages are the method of main strength and stupidity, but that they may raise the spirit of down-trodden classes and temporarily improve their condition. He points out that the Glasgow and Belfast strikes of dock laborers owed their initiative and support to single tax men who had this in view, and that the socialists do not look to isolated strikes, but to "such a general and universal organization of labor as will enable labor to appropriate all the tools and means of production, to control all industry, and do away with competition by putting every one on the pay roll." He asks

what the well-to-do classes are doing, and contends that their influence, directly or indirectly, is exerted in favor of strikes, that the arbitrationists and profit sharers are but rose water socialists, that those who denounce strikes without pointing out any other remedy have no influence with workingmen, and that the influence of the main body of the well-to-do classes, is not only exerted "to prevent the spread of ideas that aim at something better, but it acquiesces in and fosters ideas that look to restriction, regulation and interference as the only way of doing anything for workingmen."

I have not space to point out how in England the real strength of socialism comes from the upper rather than from the lower classes, but in some respects this is obvious. A committee of peers, the chairman being Lord Dunraven, has been for some time taking testimony in regard to the sweating system. The character of the measures they will propose is clear in advance. To cure evils caused by restriction they propose more restrictions; the enforcement by law of such prohibitions and regulations as trades unions try to enforce by combinations and strikes. Michael Davitt raised in Ireland the cry of the land for the people. How have the ruling class striven to head off the agitation thus begun? By gross interferences with what they declare to be the rights of property, by stepping in between man and man and fixing prices. And that not sufficing, by furnishing one particular class with capital to buy farms at the cost and risk of the whole body of tax payers. What is the difference in principle between supplying Irish tenants with money to buy farms and supplying English operatives with money to buy factories, or London costermongers with money to buy donkeys? And since the purse of government is only the purse of tax payers, since governments produce nothing, but can merely give with one hand what they take with the other, what is the difference, save as a matter of adjustment, between furnishing money to buy these things and the simpler plan of taking them from one set of men and handing them over to another? The difference between thorough-going state socialists like Mr. Hyndman and the majority of parliament is not of direction, but of degree. And in this country the same tendency may be seen. What is our protectionism but a form of socialism?

Here are some extracts from Mr. George's conclusions:

What is the real justification of the strike, both in the minds of the men who engage in it and in the minds of those who support it? Is it not that the men who thus try to force their employers have no power to employ themselves?

Go up in imagination, as it were, in a balloon, above London or New York, or any city in which unemployed men are struggling for work, or preventing others from working in order to compel some poor little advance in wages. Look down, as it were, from a height.

What is man, the animal who builds cities, and excavates docks, and lays wires under the ocean, and drives ships over it? Is he not a land animal, whose very body is composed of land? What is his production but the bringing forth on land of materials drawn from land, by moving, combining, separating them so as to satisfy his desires? Look, and in every direction see land half used or not used at all. Why should there be any scarcity of work; why should men willing to work suffer and strain for want of the things that work produces, while land, the natural source and means of all production, is so abundant? There is no reason in the nature of things. The reason is simply that the natural element on which all men must live and work, if they are to live and work at all, is by human law made the exclusive property of some men, who thus can and do prevent other men from working, and rob them of the produce of their work.

Here is the root of the social problem, of all the paradoxes of our modern civilization.

The lesson of the London strike—it seems to me to be that modern society has but the choice between the single tax and socialism, between justice and war.

The Value of Individual Work.

NEW YORK, Oct. 2.—The suggestion of Mr. B. F. De Costa in THE STANDARD of Sept. 28 is commented upon in your last issue by one signing himself "Uncle Tom," and giving other good methods of working. One must notice how eager now converts are to spread the light.

From my own experience I am of the opinion that no influences or circumstances can prevent any man from working to the full extent of his ability after once fully beholding "the cat."

I have read THE STANDARD since its first issue appeared, and have always used it as a means of work when politics come up in conversation. I quickly find an opportunity to ask parties if they have ever read THE STANDARD. Some claim never to have heard of it; some that they have often heard of it, but never saw it. I gain their promise to read marked articles, and then mail it to them regularly for a while, and I have proof sufficient of excellent results. Now, as it happens, I have not the personal acquaintance of one single tax man except such as I have myself made through THE STANDARD, thus showing that no incentive is necessary in this glorious work except to have once fully "seen the cat."

PHILO ORANGE SOPER,
26 Prince street.

THE GREAT LONDON STRIKE.

Comments of Cardinal Manning and John Burns on the Conduct and Outcome of the Struggle.

Commenting on the great London strike, Cardinal Manning says that since the cotton famine of the north there has been no nobler example of self-command than was shown by the dockers and other workers who struck with them; but among the facts that forced themselves upon him were "the unknown dangers which in a moment might, by the act of a fool, or a madman, or a malefactor, be let loose upon us. Once begun no one could foresee the end;" and he speaks of the thousands of laborers flowing into London from the country districts every year, where "they become a floating population of disappointed men; indolent because unemployed, living from hand to mouth, and dangerous because they have nothing to lose; starving in the midst of wealth and prosperity from which they are excluded." He expresses satisfaction at the result of the strike, and expects to see a wider organization and registration of laborers result from it.

John Burns, the leader of the strikers, denies that the strike was the result of any secret, organized conspiracy, fostered and supported by continental socialists, as intimated by some English newspapers. He says that for six years he and others have been talking to the dock workers, openly not secretly.

A crusade of the dawn, I may call it, for we did our haranguing among the men in the hours of the morning, before their work and ours had commenced. I myself, with my wife, have frequently left home at 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning, winter and summer, tramped to the docks, made speeches at three different gates, and returned to begin my day's work in the west end at 7 or 8 o'clock. I have done this for weeks and months together; I was doing it at intervals through the years 1884, 1885 and 1886.

At length, shortly after the gas workers had won their recent strike, one of the dockers appealed to Burns to form a permanent dock hands' union. He consented and at a meeting of some 2,000 of the men the union was formed. This new union stirred up the one that already existed to renewed activity and the result was the strike of 300 men at the South dock, whose example was followed immediately by 4,000 stevedores. Mr. Burns looks on the action of the stevedores as the beginning of the strike. The spread was rapid and soon 100,000 men had quit work, including lightermen, coal porters and others.

As to the conduct of the strike he says:

The strain that was thus put upon the leaders is scarcely to be conceived. The economic questions of the strike seemed for a moment to sink into nothingness in comparison with the question of the commissariat. We had to find food for 250,000 stomachs every day of the week. We formed committees, and the committees and the relief committees had to sit through the day and the night. There was not an hour out of the twenty-four at which two or more representatives of the Central strike committee were not to be found at their posts. When I went into the street hunger made its mute appeal to me at every turn. It is this that is so sad in every strike. But the very willingness of the men and their women to make nothing of the nip of hunger (perhaps the final test of endurance) pricked us to use our best to keep them in daily bread. We sent out our appeals, none too confidently at the first, but with increasing confidence as the days went on. I myself was astonished at the pouring of public money. No appeal of strikers ever drew such continuous solid help before. Literally, we asked and we received. It seemed that we had only to say in the bald terms that we were the dockers' treasurers, and the moneys that we asked for were forthcoming.

The strike being well forward, we had to face the difficult task of the organization of relief. We had a population to find food for every day. On what principle should our commissariat be established? We took the east end shopkeepers into our confidence and issued tickets presentable to them. This ticket system put an immediate check upon many possible abuses of our general plan of relief. Refusing to give money, we insured ourselves against drunkenness and all the troubles arising out of it; troubles which have been the ruin of more strikes than one. This has been the soberest strike that I remember. From first to last no man has asked me for money for beer.

In this strike the shopkeepers have been among our most generous supporters. When I talk of east end shopkeepers I am thinking chiefly of the pawnbrokers. Five pawnbrokers out of six in the east end issued notices to the effect that they would charge no interest on articles pledged with them during the strike; and lodging house keepers remitted their rent during the same period. The whole east end rose and stood up alongside of us. I remember the letters (with checks enclosed) of noblemen, clergymen, and I remember the half sovereign which an officer of the Guards gave me in the park, with a half uttered suggestion that if he were called upon to act against the strikers he would give them "blank cartridge." I remember that out of the thousand letters I received from every part of the kingdom there were two abusive ones, and two only.

The results he summarizes thus:

What is the net result of the strike? I can answer in a word. The strikers have gained 1d. per hour on ordinary time 3d. per hour from 6 to 8 p. m.; 3d. per hour after 8; while the four hours' call for 2s. pay gives a permanency that has only now been secured. Contract has been abolished. By the abolition of contract the men cease to be sweated by the gangers, as they have been hitherto.

The contract system has been a material injury to the men throughout. We have given that system its quietus, and by so doing have removed a hundred causes of discontent and anxiety from the dock laborers.

Carmen employed by the post office have secured rises of from one shilling to four shillings per week; and almost every carman employed throughout the whole East End of London has gained somewhat. The workers in the chemical manufactories along the banks of the Thames, the engineering laborers, and in all some two hundred trades in London, have gained a full ten per cent on their old wages, and shorter hours, by the dockers' strike. Shunters, porters, and a host of laborers not directly connected with the docks, have secured their benefit.

Like Cardinal Manning, Mr. Burns looks for a wider and closer organization of labor as the chief outcome of the strike. He says that "all sections of labor must organize themselves into trades unions; after that all trades must federate themselves, and that in the future prompt and concerted action must take the place of the spasmodic and isolated action of the past."

THE BROOKLYN CLUB.

Edwin A. Carley Delivers an Address on the "Vacant Land" Theory.

Edwin A. Carley lectured before the Brooklyn central single tax club, 56 Livingston street, last Sunday evening. He devoted his time mainly to a careful consideration of what has come to be known as the "vacant land" theory. The exponents of this theory claim to demonstrate the similarity in principle of a tax on land values and a tax on importations; and to show the fallacy of the Ricardian law of rent. They argue that the only thing necessary to equalize opportunities and raise wages to the point where each will get all he produces, is to demand the immediate abolition of property in vacant land.

As to the first contention, that a land value tax would operate like a tariff tax, Mr. Carley showed that the effects of the two taxes on wages were directly opposite; for to raise wages we must levy a land tax, and so equalize opportunities, and we must remove the tariff.

This brought him to a discussion of the Ricardian law of rent which, the "vacant land" people acknowledge, will be operative as long as land is allowed to be monopolized and held idle, but which, they claim, would not operate if no land were held out of use; their theory being that if all vacant land were open to whoever would use it, there would be such an abundance of opportunity that no location would have any rental value over another location, rent would cease to exist, Ricardo's law would cease to be a law and a land tax would be an unnecessary evil. Of this Mr. Carley said:

In the days of the California gulch diggings all vacant land was free, and no man was allowed to occupy, even for immediate use, more than one, two, or three hundred feet of the gulch. Some claims would turn out one hundred dollars a day per man, and some only fifteen dollars, and it was never known that the fact that all men were free to find other gulches brought up the yield of the poor claims or lowered the yield of the rich ones, or in any way equalized the natural opportunities presented for the use of man.

We wish to abolish the condition of increasing poverty in the midst of advancing wealth, and to inaugurate conditions of plenty for all who will honestly toil, and we can accomplish all this, not by dreams and fancies and loosely strung theories, but by laboriously learning the mistakes of our fathers and ourselves, and undoing them as fast as we can; especially by removing the lines and penalties, the restrictive tariffs and other taxes, that hinder the legitimate gratification of human desire, and by collecting and using our public revenues in the way best to promote the public good.

Judge Maguire in Philadelphia.

Judge Maguire addressed a crowded meeting in Industrial hall, Philadelphia, on Friday evening last under the auspices of the Henry George club. His address was a forcible argument in favor of free trade and its delivery was marked by frequent bursts of eloquence.

At its conclusion a joint meeting of committees from the United Labor League and from the Henry George club was held and arrangements made for the holding of a public meeting on Wednesday evening, Oct. 3, for the purpose of protesting against the unequal assessment of taxes.

Taxes That Burden.

Macon Telegraph.

An organ of a tariff which enriches the rich and makes poorer the poor has the impudence to say that the government is now collecting \$30,000,000 a year from the tobacco tax "which it does not need." Yea, verily. But what about the tax on coal, wool, iron, lumber, jute, salt, and other articles of prime necessity? Does the government need the revenue raised from these taxes? The doctrine of the republican party is to give free whiskey and free tobacco, while these articles of necessity are taxed. This is what is called protection. It is the last resort of a party which is willing to twist the functions of the government to suit a clique of bounty-fat manufacturers, and to find its beneficiaries in every campaign to pay for past and expected favors.

HENRY GEORGE AT THE SINGLE TAX CLUB.

He Opens the Second Course of Lectures to a Crowded House—Preparing to Celebrate the First Anniversary.

The audience that was jammed into the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club last Sunday evening, on the occasion of the resumption of the Sunday night lectures, was composed almost entirely of strangers. The club members gave way to them, and satisfied themselves by listening to the lecture from the edges of the crowd, in the back rooms and in the adjoining hallway. Henry George was the lecturer. He was most cordially greeted as he edged his way to the platform. He began his address by saying that he understood that the audience was composed of strangers, and that under the circumstances he thought he could not do better than give an explanation of what the single tax was. Having done that, he went on to show what effect its adoption would have on labor—opening the way to a prosperity as yet undreamed of. Mr. George then invited questions, which invitation was accepted; and he devoted over half an hour to clearing away doubts which lingered in the minds of his questioners.

A. M. Molina will deliver the address this Sunday evening. Subject, "Looking Backward."

The committee appointed to make the arrangements for the first anniversary celebration of the formation of the Manhattan single tax club have decided that it shall take the form of a dinner to be held at 8 o'clock next Wednesday, October 16, in the club rooms. After the dinner short addresses will be made, and the balance of the evening will be given up to rational enjoyment. The tickets will cost fifty cents, and the number is limited to eighty—the capacity of the rooms. Those of our friends who intend to be present can secure tickets by applying or writing to George W. Everett, Manhattan single tax club rooms, 36 Clinton place.

The School House Campaign Near Parkersburg.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va., Sept. 30.—We have held our second meeting at the Cothurn school house. Only those who have tried school house campaigning will appreciate what that means. The first audience was cold, suspicious and chestnutty with the usual forty thousand dollar house and the poor man's hovel along side bobbing up serenely, but this one was warm and cordial and the questions fairly and intelligently put, showing that the problem had been discussed in the meantime.

The school house is four and a half miles from Parkersburg and we, four of us, footed it, joking and warming up our courage to meet the enemy.

We all had been republicans, one a rank old abolitionist and fond of telling how he used to get the Tribune smuggled into the state. As we went into the school house an old man remarked that the single tax was all right, but it would cause a bloody revolution to put in operation. And when we got the meeting it was interesting to observe the curious expression on the faces of the people watching us out of the corners of their eyes. They all knew us and yet they could not help wondering why we were doing this campaign work when there was no campaign on. "Boys, it's a crusade," said somebody.

We talked for an hour and a half and answered questions, and then, after arranging for a meeting in the neighborhood, we struck out for home, feeling well satisfied with the night's work.

If there had been light enough, we might have seen the motto, "The single tax is the only just tax," which our motto men had painted at short intervals along the fences. People who never read the papers have been reached by this painting on the fences. It is the best thing we have ever done, and if every court house town were surrounded with this kind of advertising the cause would boom. It would be a splendid idea to take one state at a time, and go all over it painting mottoes.

W. I. BOREMAN.

The Single Tax in Reading.

READING, Pa.—We have added an M. D. to our single tax society and have another in view. Our membership is growing rapidly, and we are doing all we can to spread the cause. There are plenty of single tax men in this city, if we could only get them to come in with us. Mr. McKinney, president of the Trade and Labor Council, visited us last evening and addressed the society on the growth of the movement in Reading. Afterward a chapter of "Progress and Poverty" was read and discussed. The law of rent was illustrated in a very satisfactory manner by Dr. S. R. Rittenhouse. We expect to see a great advance on the line of the single tax this winter.

CHAS. CORKHILL.

A Reception to James A. Herne in Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Oct. 4.—The Cincinnati single tax club last evening held a reception at Musik Verein hall in honor of Mr. James A. Herne, at which Mr. F. M. Garland and Mr. Charles E. Bourdman, also of the "Drifting Apart" company, were present.

The club attended the performance, after which they celebrated the event with some

of the good things of this life. Toasts were given by every one present. David DeBeck, M. D., toast of welcome. E. T. Fries read, in his able manner, a poem of the land. William C. Wulff spoke of the progress and wonderful ways of the gospel of single tax, and in behalf of the single tax club, presented to Mr. Herne a gold cat button emblematic of the single tax and a memento of the Cincinnati club. It is the wish of our club that more of these inspirational meetings be partaken of, and we advise single tax clubs to avail themselves of such an opportunity when Mr. Herne may be in their locality. Long life to Mr. Herne and his company, and success to his efforts is the wish of our club.

WILLIAM C. WULFF,
Sec. Cincinnati S. T. C.

THE CART-TAIL CAMPAIGN IN BROOKLYN.

The second cart-tail expedition in Brooklyn started out on Saturday night in good condition. It consisted of a brilliantly decorated chariot and a strong body of infantry armed with tracts. Arriving upon the scene of action a lump of flesh and brass buttons informed the warriors that his orders were to "keep the square clear and he was going to do it, do you see?" Moving on, the chariot came in contact with a lamppost which carried away its colors. After permission had been obtained to speak in the square the chariot returned, the banner was again raised, the lights set blazing and the battle commenced.

Mr. J. T. Ortill, chairman of the agitation committee, opened the meeting, stating its object, and making a plea for the freedom of speech. He then introduced M. F. Scrimshaw, who spoke energetically, portraying the evils of the tramp and monopolists, poverty and unbounded wealth, slaves and idlers, and showing that all these were the result of a denial of man's natural right—the right to employ his labor to the God-given resources of nature. How was this right to be restored? By simply rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's. Why should one man pay to another that which he himself produces? Every man is a factor in the production of land values and therefore they belong to all—to the community. In this way only could justice be done.

Mr. F. W. Deverall was the next speaker and out and out free trade was his subject. During the course of his remarks he denounced protection as a hypocritical lie, showing that the great man J. G. Blaine himself was in truth a free trader in that he is president of the All America congress and that congress has for its principal object the inauguration of free trade or reciprocity between all the American nations. He wanted to know why, if free trade between the Americas is good, is it not good between all nations?

Mr. K. C. Utess followed, speaking principally on ballot reform and while he was urging his points a Y. M. C. A. meeting opposite adjourned, at which prohibition versus high license had been discussed. The crowds from this meeting surrounded the truck and some one proposing three cheers for Henry George they joined in with good will.

The meeting then adjourned leaving many little knots of disputants. The place of meeting next week will probably be the same. Mr. William McCabe of New York has promised to help us out.

56 Livingston St. G. W. THOMPSON.

To Organize in Mascoutah.

MASCOUHAH Ill., Oct. 5.—A few friends of the cause are perfecting arrangements to organize a single tax club, or at least a committee, for propagating our doctrines, at Belleville, our county seat—a most inviting field for missionary work. Our friends, H. Martin Williams and John Z. White, of the St. Louis single tax league, have promised to come over and help us. One will deliver an address in the afternoon, the other in the evening, and will answer questions put from the audience. The date has not been fixed, but will be either Monday the 14th, or Saturday the 19th of October. All friends are requested to attend and invite their friends. Judge N. Niles of Belleville will serve as a committee of one to make all arrangements. He confidently believes the ball to be started, will keep on rolling, and increase in volume and momentum as it rolls.

BOYD CORMICK, M. D.

Wait till the Town Gets Anchored. Then Buy Lots and Mortgages.

"The officers in control of the investment companies do not discriminate between good and bad security," said a Philadelphia banker to a newspaper man. "When a western town has reached a population of 10,000 mortgaging is safe within its limits, for it is likely to continue to grow. But the risk is far greater with the smaller towns. In western Kansas the county towns are the only places of any size, but oftentimes there is a war to the knife between rival towns, and the county seat is changed. I know of a case in which a whole village was moved bodily. The houses were carried away, and land values on the old site shriveled up in an instant. Such are the dangers of this form of investment, except when the fullest safeguards are insisted on. If iron-bound conservatism is ever a virtue it shines out tenfold when displayed in the management of western investment companies."

A NIGHT SCENE ON THE EAST SIDE.

A Typical Cart-Tail Campaign Meeting in the Heart of the Tenement District.

Avenue A was alive with people on Saturday night when one of the vehicles engaged in the Manhattan single tax club's cart-tail campaign turned into it at Tompkins square and drove down into the heart of the tenement region. People stopped and gazed in undisguised wonderment at the truck full of men, the flaming torches and at the legends—"The Single Tax Will Raise Wages." "The Single Tax Will Lower Rents." "The Single Tax Will Increase Profits."—displayed on white banners on the truck's sides and on a transparency carried overhead. A few blocks down the truck plunged into the darkness of a side street, lighting up the dingy, dilapidated tenements that towered skyward, with the red flare of the torches. The shouting and laughter of a rabble of ragged youngsters running ahead heralding the way brought heads to windows and throngs to the curbs.

When it had reached the corner of Fourth street and Avenue C, opposite Farther Huntington's big, five storied school, the truck came to a standstill. While one man in the vehicle burned a red light to gather the crowd, another stripped off his overcoat preparatory to speaking.

"Git on ter der sign," bawled out a bright eyed ragamuffin. "Sing—sing, sing; no, single tax—what's der matter wid carpet tacks?" A roar of laughter greeted this sally.

Just as the man in the cart commenced to speak, a little, nervous, round shouldered, sharp faced, keen eyed man came up with a large, stolid looking, heavily built man.

"Be heavens, look!" he exclaimed, "what's that about raisin' wages? Let listen," and with that he grasped the big man with both hands and excitedly pushed him into the middle of the crowd.

"Fellow citizens," began the man in the cart.

"That's us," said somebody in the crowd and a laugh followed.

"We come here to-night to explain how you can raise your wages, reduce your rents and get cheaper all the necessities and good things of life."

"Was iss does propagandoes?" said a short, stout, round headed, jolly looking German who had just come upon the scene, with a market basket on one arm and an equally short, stout, round headed and jolly looking wife on the other. "Was iss does propagandoes?" he repeated, nudging an Irishman who was listening as though his life depended on his catching every word.

"Ah, devil take yer," was the impatient reply. "Ivery intelligen' man knows it's the single tax they're prachin'. Why didn't yer come early and git a front sate?"

German, wife and basket fell back a step or two at this savage rebuke, and lapsed into silence.

"We are not politicians," cried the man from the truck. "We don't belong to either the republican or democratic party. We do not ask you for your votes. We simply ask you to think of these matters that govern your own welfare and the welfare of your wives and children—in short, the welfare of mankind."

"I tell you what it is," said a man with a silk hat, a carefully trimmed chin whisker and a flashing diamond in his shirt bosom. "I tell you what it is," said he, addressing a sharp, crafty-visaged individual, wearing a supercilious smirk on his countenance and a silk hat tilted forward over his eyes. "Maybe they ain't republicans or democrats; mark me, I say maybe. But there's one thing certain. It's dust they're after," and he tapped the fingers of one hand significantly in the palm of the other, blandly smiling the while with the air of a man very well satisfied with his knowledge of the ways of the world.

"Why are you crowded here so fearfully in this tenement region?" came from the truck.

"Is it because there is not enough room to spread out? Then what about the quantities of land lying bare and idle in the northern part of this island? Would you not prefer to get out of these dens of misery if you could find comfortable houses there? Why then are there no houses on that valuable vacant land? Builders would build upon it if they could use it—build enough houses to make you all comfortable; but they are prevented from doing so. They would first have to pay a large sum of money for the privilege of building—pay the value of this land to men who are now holding the land vacant—a value caused by the presence of this population, for if you take all but the landlords away from Manhattan Island what would the land be worth? What our purpose, then, is to tax these dogs in the manger, to make them use their land or give it up to men who will use it. This will give employment to a great many workmen, and check competition in the labor market, which grinds wages down. More wages in the pockets of the workers means more sales by storekeepers and stimulated business; and more land being in use—the supply of houses, dwellings, stores, warehouses, being increased—rents will fall, and the price you are now paying for quarters, many of them not fit for human beings to live in, will, under the new order of things, procure you roomy, comfortable and healthy homes."

The speaker's words flowed as if spontaneously. His face shone with enthusiasm. His eyes sparkled, his cheeks burned, his arms

swung loosely, his whole body swayed to and fro as if possessed by the ecstasy of his vision. And his enthusiasm was infectious. It hushed and enthralled the crowd, fixing the attention of the upturned faces.

"And so, my friends, it should be outside of the city," continued the speaker. "There is plenty of vacant farming, mineral and timber land. Sixty-five millions of us are scattered over an area that could comfortably support five hundred millions, and afford every man who sought it plenty of opportunity to work. Yet such is our treatment of land to-day that men are forced into the cities, there to compete with their brothers for employment, or are driven out into the highways to tramp from place to place in quest of work. If we would but tax the men who are withholding quantities and quantities of land, here, there and everywhere, from production, they would be compelled to use it, thereby giving employment to laborers now bitterly competing against each other in the cities, and taking tramps off the road, or at any rate, prevent any more men from being forced out on the road.

"My grandfather and his boys, my father and my uncle, escaped the despotism of Europe long years ago, and came to this free republic to start life anew. When they got to Castle Garden people laughed at the antiquated and old fashioned tools they carried, so that my grandfather laid them down and started west without anything. He found plenty of opportunities waiting for him just as all who came over in those times did, and from the first he was happy and prosperous. Suppose he had come to Castle Garden to-day; do you suppose he would have met with like success? Emphatically no. There are millions and millions of acres of land—farming land, mineral land, timber land, pasture land—just as good as that which lay open to my grandfather these many years back, but the difference is that then land was practically free to anybody and everybody who would come and use it, while to-day between it and the user stands an individual demanding heavy blackmail for the privilege of going to work. Tax this blackmailer out, we say; destroy this curse of land monopoly; give labor access to the raw materials of nature, and this thing of involuntary poverty will cease, suffering for common necessities of life on the part of men who are willing to work will be a thing of the past, and our republic will rise to a grandeur and power that will cause every crowned head to topple, and a reign of peace and plenty will be ushered in the world over."

When the cart orator ceased speaking he was loudly applauded, and a buzz of conversation at once arose all through the crowd. Several men got down from the truck and distributed single tax literature, after which the truck started off for the next meeting place, followed by a large number of persons anxious to hear more of the speeches, and cheered by the crowd remaining.

Speakers and Funds Needed.

A. J. Wolf, chairman of the Cart-tail campaign committee, has issued the following circular letter to single tax men:

Brothers: In this cesspool of poverty and degradation, where the worst evils of our prevailing social system are seen on a scale of great and growing magnitude, the Manhattan single tax club, moved to action by misery and injustice on every hand, has entered upon a campaign of enlightenment. On several succeeding Saturday nights, when the workers are abroad with wife and children, commodious trucks, lighted with flaming torches, decorated with banners and striking mottoes, and filled with single tax men, have gone into the densely populated tenement house district of this city in order to appeal directly to the intelligence of the people, to awaken them to their peril and to point out the remedy for the ever-increasing evils which are pressing upon them. The audiences have aggregated many thousands. Despite their squalid surroundings, these people have displayed an unexpected and gratifying appreciation of the truth of the new gospel. Indeed, the movement is a magnificent success, and the inaugurators would like to see their action followed in every city where there is a single tax club. The expenses for each truck (one horse is sufficient) do not exceed \$6, and the cost has thus far been met by voluntary contributions of our members and friends. We are accomplishing a great work, and desire to extend it to the utmost during the continuance of pleasant weather. With plenty of speakers and sufficient funds, we will undertake to get the public mind in a ferment on the subject of taxation, and you all know the goal to which that leads.

We need, first and foremost, ready talkers. No oratory or declamation is required or expected. Indeed, they would be wasted. A plain statement of facts as they strike each man, and such a simple exhibition of the advantages of our reform as any man fully imbued with our ideas would address to an individual, will suffice.

We must have money. Any contribution will be welcome from ten cents upwards. Success, such as we have reason to anticipate in this community, will give the single tax a tremendous impetus throughout the country. We have taken off our coats and struck the first blow. The times are auspicious. There is no political destruction, and the minds of men of every class are in a receptive condition for our doctrines. Will you not prove your faith by your works and send us men and money?

Address Morris Van Veen, secretary cart-tail campaign committee, Manhattan single tax club, No. 36 Clinton place, New York.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
New York, October 8, 1889.

In the report of this committee's work published in last week's STANDARD a list of the single tax organizations that have thus far reported was given. The blanks on which these reports were made contain much other information of interest, but it is impossible in the space at my command to attempt to describe the work and methods of each of these clubs. Most of them report that their propaganda work is confined to individual efforts and the circulation of tracts, STANDARDS and other single tax literature. In some cases the clubs report that their members as individuals take an active part in helping the free traders in the democratic party in their efforts to compel that party to take advanced steps toward tariff reduction.

In a few instances, all noticed in the corrected list republished elsewhere, clubs report the establishment of permanent headquarters and reading rooms; but in very many instances the reports read "no reading room yet." In one case a club discontinued its meetings but kept up its dues during the summer in order that it might thus raise a fund to start a reading room in the fall. It is clear that there is not only a general desire, but a general expectation that these reading rooms will be opened nearly everywhere. This ought not to be difficult of accomplishment even in villages, for rent is low there and almost the only expense will be for fuel. No one familiar with the village store gatherings can doubt that a comfortable room where men can talk and smoke will be certain to have plenty of visitors on winter evenings. Where there is only one single tax man in a village he may, if discreet and in earnest, turn the village store itself into a club house for the discussion of single tax, tariff and other economic topics. A man who is not a ready talker can hold his own if he will arm himself with the documents and read extracts from them to his opponents.

In Kansas city there has been an animated discussion of a plan urged by Mr. Charles E. Reid, which contemplates a single large club for the whole city, which shall divide itself into sections for local work. Mr. Reid insists that these small sections will talk less and do more work than the main body and he believes that thus only can effective work be done. Mr. Reid does not insist, as I understand him, that the branches shall conform closely to political district lines. Taking New York as an instance, he would have, say the Manhattan club and others join in one large club. Then, if it were desired, that club could establish a branch in each of the twenty-four assembly districts, or appoint a committee for each district. If this were inconvenient it could start two or three or more branches, or appoint committees for a larger area than an assembly district.

I think there can be no question that if sufficient vigor were put into the work Mr. Reid's plan would be found practicable. Here, in New York, for instance, it could be used to bring up New York's proportion of signatures to the petition. There is no doubt that the petition could be made as effective here as it has proven to be elsewhere as a means for provoking debate on our doctrine. The difficulty is that people here do not get acquainted with their neighbors as they do elsewhere and hence have more hesitation about approaching them with a petition or other document. A local canvassing committee would feel more at liberty to approach strangers, since its members would compete with and encourage one another. Again, when work begins on the assessments local committees to report on the character of the buildings will be very desirable.

Another effect of such a sub-division, which would give numerous men something to do, would be the strengthening of each club by bringing in new members, and thereby adding to its force and its available funds. A mere social club, the members of which talk one with another about the single tax, though highly useful, can be vastly more useful if it will make itself a thorough working organization, not merely by cart-tail campaigns and public meetings, but by gathering information, circulating the petition and doing whatever else it can find to do. The principal clubs in this city and Brooklyn ought each to have over a thousand members, making the clubs powerful factors politically, and if Mr. Reid's plan would

thus develop them it would prove of enormous value.

There is another consideration in favor of Mr. Reid's plan that has weight. It is a fact too obvious to require comment that our progress has been at times delayed by the maladroit activity of cranks. Wherever a single tax organization has grown up there is sure to be a body of level headed men who clearly understand that common sense is as requisite as zeal for the permanent advancement of our work. The number of such people is sure to be large enough to take good care of any central organization, and it is very desirable that single tax organizations everywhere shall be able to repose confidence in all other organizations. This will not be easy if there are two, three or a dozen clubs, each independent of the other, in some towns. One of the most delicate and difficult duties that has fallen to me as chairman of this committee is the avoidance of any assumption of authority. This committee is a purely voluntary organization that wishes to maintain helpful and friendly relations with all clubs, but this very desire is likely to get it into an embarrassing position when difficulty occurs in some locality. A body of seceders usually claims to be more earnest in our cause than its parent body, and yet if its proffers of work are accepted, the committee's letters are sometimes used as evidence of some sort of "recognition" of the men with whom the principal and practically only local organization can no longer work. Of course men in the movement understand that this committee sends blanks and petitions to all who ask for them, and that its "recognition" is therefore of no value in determining the standing of any man or organization in the movement, yet it would unquestionably save trouble all around if there was one local organization in each place possessing the confidence of single tax men and from whose decisions no one would think of appealing to this committee or to any individual in New York.

Whether the clubs adopt this or some other plan to increase their vigor and efficiency, it is certain that when once in working order, it will be well for them to seriously consider the plan of operation adopted by the Buffalo single tax reform club. This organization, though it has not yet a very large membership, has been actively at work in a practical way. It managed to have inquiries made by people elsewhere concerning the rental value of lands in all parts of Buffalo. These estimates were made by the most prominent real estate agents of the city, and are to be depended on. This data, thus given, has enabled our friends to form a real estate map of Buffalo, showing the varying value of land from the business center of the city to its outer limits. They have also ascertained the assessed value of these lands, and are now able to go before the public with an array of facts that cannot fail to impress every intelligent man with the folly and injustice of the existing system.

While this work has been in progress the club has been engaged in acting more directly on the people. It has issued a circular calling the attention of the people to the indisputable facts that business is dull, wages are low, and thousands of workmen idle, while building improvements are checked. If the people of Buffalo want work, the circular asks them, why they line a man for building factories in which they might obtain employment, and why they fine citizens for building houses and stores, when such improvements create work and a demand for all kinds of labor. They then propose to give Buffalo a business boom by exempting all these enterprises from taxation, giving the obvious arguments to prove that this will be the effect of such exemption. The circular then concludes: "Is our claim valid? Think it out, and if you find that we are wrong, let us hear from you by letter or through the press." Attached to the circular, so that they may readily be torn off, are a couple of blanks, and each of those favoring the proposal is asked to sign a declaration that, "I am in favor of the exemption of buildings and improvements from taxation."

The expense of organizing the enrollment committee's machinery for work was of course very considerable. Not only were thousands of circulars printed and sent out, but the cost of postage was very great. Matters have since been arranged so that the committee can obtain all necessary documents from THE STANDARD's single tax library and the regular expenses of the

committee for rent, stationery, clerk hire, etc., have been reduced to about \$50 per week, though they would of course increase somewhat, in the matter of postage, if the work was pushed as actively as it was at first. All such expenses as this and a very considerable proportion of the expenses of distributing literature have been met by a small number of people who agreed to pay at stated periods fixed amounts toward the support of the committee's work. In addition to this, contributions from all over the country have been received ranging in amount from a single two cent stamp to \$50. All of the money thus received has been applied to the circulation of tracts among the signers. The total sum thus received up to September 17, was \$1,678.38 and the report to the committee as given below shows the sum total to date. A large number of tracts has been sent out to people making special calls for them. In some instances where the need was urgent, the committee has been able to arrange for a special contribution for sending tracts to a designated place, but it has never been able to meet all the calls upon it. Every signer of the petition receives shortly afterwards three tracts, and in this way nearly 200,000 have been sent to all parts of the country since the organization of the committee. In this and other ways the committee has circulated about half a million documents and it will be clear to any one familiar with the cost of printing and postage, that the less than \$2,000 received from outside contributions has not met the cost of this distribution. It had been the hope of the committee to follow up the first set of tracts with others and also to send copies of THE STANDARD over the whole list from time to time, in order that those who had become sufficiently interested to sign the petition should have their interest kept up and become more familiar with our principles. It has, however, taken all of the outside contributions and a very considerable proportion of the committee's regular fund to meet the cost of the distribution described above.

If the work is to be pushed with renewed vigor this fall and winter, it is absolutely essential that the popular subscription shall be greatly enlarged, and it will also be necessary that a fund shall be raised by larger subscriptions to meet the regular expenses of the committee during the coming year. If such a fund can be raised the numerous incidental advantages attending the circulation of the petition will warrant a delay in its presentation, and a new and vigorous effort to double the number of signatures. The work unquestionably should go on until in every state and territory a sufficient number of clubs has been organized to pave the way for the formation of a representative committee to carry on the work of organization after this committee has fulfilled its mission by presenting the petition to congress.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 66,190
Received during week ending Oct. 8 238

Total 66,428
Contributions received during the past two weeks have been as follows:

Hans Erickson, Marshalltown, Iowa. \$1 00
James Cox, Milwaukee, Wis. 50
R. S. Cameron, Colfax, La. 2 00
C. P. Cooper, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2 00
B. H. Nadal, New York 25 00
P. J. McLean, Burke, Idaho 1 00
Sundry stamps 80

Total \$32 30
Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,674 03

Total \$1,706 33
WM. T. CHOASDALE, Chairman.

The following are some extracts from letters received by the committee during the week:

O. H. Purefoy, Bazette, Texas.—There is plenty of timber here for a large single tax organization, but prejudice runs high.

William Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.—I obtained a number of signatures in the composing room of the Philadelphia Press. Protectionists refused to sign, but they did not seem to be happy as one of them told me he thought that the tariff would be repealed as soon as the national debt was paid off, after which many manufacturers would go to the wall. I tried to show him that he was mistaken, but could not obtain his signature.

T. Gilmer, Greeley, Col.—A few days ago I gave a copy of THE STANDARD to the Congregational minister here, a young man of far more than ordinary intelligence, and, by the way, from Brooklyn. On last Sunday morning he gave notice that he would begin that night a series of sermons on "The Principles That Underlie Social Reform." I was

very hopeful that he would come out for the single tax. In the course of his remarks he said that Henry George had written a brilliant book, "Progress and Poverty," but refused to accept its teachings because he did not think reform could be accomplished on the works of any one man. I hope to have a talk with him soon and knock the props from under his foolish assertion.

Melvin H. Palmer, St. Louis, Mo.—The enclosed forty-five signatures to the petition are the result of my efforts at an open meeting of the carriage makers of this city. The meeting was ably addressed by Messrs. White and Fellows, two well known single tax men. Evidences of their convincing arguments could be plainly noted. At the close of the meeting here and there could be seen and heard little groups discussing the points made by the speakers. Thus the good work goes on. Our league is doing excellent work.

The Tomahawk club, recently organized in Chicago, is composed largely of representative trade unionists, including Robert Nelson, Robert Swallow, Mark Crawford and others equally prominent and reputable. It declares as the purpose of its organization the bringing about of the following reforms: The adoption of the Australian system of voting. The abolition of all special privilege legislation. Government control of monopolies. Opening natural opportunities to labor by taxing land value only. Perfect freedom to exchange and a just system of finance. Applications for membership should be sent to W. S. Weeks, room 14, 163 East Washington street. Mr. Warren Worth Bailey writes that a year ago these men would not have adopted such principles as they have now organized to promote, and he says: "The fact is Chicago is swinging into line with amazing rapidity. I do not believe that the most observant and sanguine among us realized the extent of the growth of which the Tomahawk club is an outward and visible sign. Our ideas are permeating all classes, and are daily exercising a stronger influence on public thought. The future is surely ours."

H. V. Place, Memphis, Tenn.—One of these signers started in to convert me to protectionism, but he ended up with a "cat" in each of his eyes.

Charles Miller, Berwyn, Chester County, Pa.—This is a section in which the full effects of our present land system are plainly seen. Though but sixteen miles from Philadelphia, we can see thousands of acres of good land held out of use and covered with rank crops of noxious weeds, yet no one can buy or rent it for farming as it is held at from \$1,000 to \$3,000 per acre. Though the majority of our people are republicans and protectionists, many of them admit the injustice of allowing speculators to hold this land out of use.

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—The enclosed petitions bring my total up to 1,706. We have been enabled to start work here in an entirely new field. Last night I read a paper by invitation of the pastor of one of the Episcopal churches before the guild of his parish, after which I answered questions. The audience was small but appreciative—much more so than I expected. The questions indicated considerable previous thought, while the answers seemed to clear away all doubts or prejudice. Our club has formed a "Progress and Poverty" class and intend to read a chapter from the book as our first business. We have stretched across the street a banner twenty-four feet long which has on it the name of the club and appropriate mottoes. All our STANDARDS after perusal by the members will be distributed by a committee charged with that duty. We intend taking hold of the local assessments. If we have had two or three good speakers here we would make Rome howl.

H. C. Ratcliff, Alamo Camp, L. C.—There are six or seven hundred Americans here in camp. It is a good place to talk single tax and tariff reform, as one company owns several million acres of land here and they run everything their own way. Republicans as well as democrats see and realize that the foreigner does not pay the tariff duty, as they were told last fall by republican speakers. Everything is very high here, except labor, and that is very low. Mexico has a high tariff, but low wages. Flour here is worth \$14 per hundred pounds, bacon 50 cents per pound, sugar 30 cents, onions 20 cents. Labor ranges from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day in Mexican money, which is at a discount of 28 to 30 per cent on the dollar. Here, as in the States, some cannot get work at any price. Owing to the tariff, clothing is also very high. A pair of common overalls sells for \$2.50 and \$3; brogan shoes, \$5. A shoe manufacturer at Eusemada sells shoes for just a fraction less than the imported can be bought for, and consequently he sells one hundred pairs to the importers' one. Therefore the consumer pays the Mexican government the tariff duty on one pair of shoes and pays the Eusemada manufacturer duty on ninety-nine pairs. I talk with men every day who say that that they can see and understand the evils of a tariff plainer than they ever did before. We pay seven cents per pound for Mexican potatoes half eaten up by worms, and just across the line in San Diego county they have a large crop of potatoes they are anxious to sell, while we are anxious to buy. Thus we have both the supply and the demand, yet the tariff steps in and prevents the trade.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and any 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 county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, box 1088.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 1448 Lawrence st. Pres., Andrew W. Elder; sec., E. McAuley, 206 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, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

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

DAKOTA.

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

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

GEORGIA.

AUGUSTA.—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of 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. Wittler, 426 Milwaukee ave.

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

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

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

INDIANA.

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.

IOWA.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., L. J. Kasson; sec., J. W. King, 1903 Woodland ave.

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

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

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

LOUISIANA.

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

MAINE.

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

MARYLAND.

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

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROXBURY.—Roxbury single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 450 Ruggles st.

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

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac assembly. Sat-

urday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac st.

WHITMAN.—Whitman single tax club. Pres., Thos. Douglas; sec., John Finn, South Abington Station, Mass.

MICHIGAN.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thos. 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. Every Tuesday evening, 1109 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2224 Walnut st.

"Benton School of Social Science." Sunday, 3:30 p. m., 6339 Waldemar ave., Benton. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. 3 p. m., 2d Sunday of each month, Beacon Lodge hall, s. w. cor. of Walnut and 12th sts. Pres., F. G. Johnson; sec., B. A. Birmingham, 2637 E. 11th st.

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., W. A. Phelps; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 27th and Blondo sts.

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. Pres., John W. Jakeway; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 86 Ege ave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Thursday, 8 p. m., business meeting; Saturday, 8 p. m., Cart-tail campaign; Sunday, 8 p. m., lecture. Club rooms, 36 Clinton pl.; open every day from 2:30 p. m. to 12 p. m.

The West Side single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 490 Eighth ave. Pres., Wm. J. Browne; sec., C. Orlo Allen, 335 8th ave.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Geo. White; cor. sec., C. A. Durfee, 109 E. 9th st., New York.

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

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, 8 p. m., 824 Clinton st. Pres., H. B. Buddenburgh; sec., C. D. Blackhall, box 340.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax club. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. M. Campbell; sec., Chas. April, 7 Morrill 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., J. M. Boland; sec., J. K. McGuire, 309 Greene st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COHOS.—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurant; sec., J. S. Crane, 138 Ontario st.

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

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

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, 33 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 10. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., C. H. Nau, room 25, Standard block.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Tuesday evening, Ortiz building, s. e. cor. 4th and Sycamore sts. Pres., A. W. Hartman; sec., Wm. C. Wulf, 272 Vine st.

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, 33 E. 5th st.

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

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

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

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivories 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. Riggen, 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 Thursday evening, 8 p. m., 2031 Frankford ave., Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p. m., Union veteran legion hall, 77 Sixth ave. Pres., Edmond Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley, S. S.

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

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

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.

SHERMANSBURGH.—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.

PORTTOWN.—Single tax committee. Pres., Marshall F. Peoples; sec., D. L. Haws.

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. H. Liddell, 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.

TEXAS.

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA.

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

What They Say.

Binghamton Leader.

Say the eastern protectionists: We oppose tariff reform on grounds of general party policy, but we need a little for private consumption, and we must have it or bust.

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. STEERS, 39 Nassau St., N. Y.

THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO. Main Office in Co.'s own building, 604 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

What did this wreck cost?

Above is an exact copy of a photograph of a Railroad wreck. Had the engineer carried a Keystone Dust-Proof Watch, which is not subject to variations arising from dust and dampness, the wreck would probably never have occurred.

A KEYSTONE DUST-PROOF RAILROAD WATCH costs \$43.00—the WRECK COST MANY THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS.

These watches are for sale either for ALL CASH or in our Co-operative Clubs for ONE DOLLAR A WEEK. If we have no selling agent in your town, better write us at once for terms, &c.

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

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Brownness, Cold Chills, Flushing of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Nervous, Blanches on the skin, Disturbed Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations, &c. THE FIRST BOX WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES.

This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a Wonderful Medicine. "Worth a guinea a box."

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

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

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

Prepared only by THOMAS BECHAM, St. Helens, Lancashire, England. Sold by Druggists generally. S. F. ALLEN & CO., 345 and 367 Canal St., New York Agents for the United States, who, if your druggist does not keep them, will MAIL BECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX. But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention THE STANDARD.

Scott's Emulsion

OF PURE
Cod-Liver Oil
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ALMOST AS PALATABLE
AS MILK.

So disguised that the most delicate stomach can take it.

Remarkable as a
FLESH PRODUCER.
Persons gain rapidly
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Is acknowledged by Physicians to be the FINEST
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**CONSUMPTION, SCROFULA, GENERAL
DEBILITY, WASTING DISEASES OF
CHILDREN, and CHRONIC COUGHS.**

ALL DRUGGISTS. Scott & Bowne, New York.

ELY'S CATARRH CREAM BALM

WILL
CURE
COLD
IN
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QUICKLY.

EASY TO USE. HAY-FEVER

A particle is applied into each nostril and is agreeable. Price 50 cents at Druggists; by mail, registered, 60 cents. ELY BROTHERS, 56 Warren St., New York.

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We want to know exactly the value of this advertising medium, and will pay you to tell us, as it may save us thousands. Mail a postal or letter giving name of this paper and we will send you absolutely free, a receipt for One Dollar on account of one of our \$13 Keystone Dust-proof Railroad Watches, and a handsome charm case-opener. You know our Keystone Dust-proof Watches are the best, and we have selling agents almost everywhere. We want one in your city. We sell watches in our Co-operative clubs at the lowest cash prices for One Dollar a Week.

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SOCIETY NOTES.

Mrs. Leland Stanford has the finest and most valuable collection of diamonds in the world, excepting, of course, the crown jewels of Russia and England. She wears the choicest gems from the caskets of Queen Isabella of Spain, and the Empress Eugenie. One of her necklaces is worth \$600,000 alone, and the entire collection is valued at more than \$2,000,000. She has one set of blue diamonds which emit violet rays, another of pink tints, a third as yellow as topazes, and a fourth of flawless white stones. Each necklace has a pendant, brooch, earrings and from four to six bracelets, and several finger rings, all set in the same style, and of stones to match. Mrs. Stanford has over sixty diamond finger rings, each worth from \$50 to \$5,000, which she keeps on a strip of black tape. To accommodate her jewels Mrs. Stanford has a safe of black steel with burglar proof time locks. It has a separate drawer for each set of diamonds, and is usually kept in a bank, for she seldom wears her gems.—[William Eleroy Curtis in the Cosmopolitan.

Late Saturday night Annie Kessler, a domestic, took paris green with the intention of committing suicide at the residence of her parents, 1716 South Eleventh street. Dr. Hahn was called, and by the use of a stomach pump saved her life. According to the statements of neighbors she was mistreated by her step-father, who is said to be a hard drinker. She recently lost her position, and was despondent. Her stepfather is said to have blamed her for losing work, and to have ordered her to leave the house Friday night. She took refuge in the cellar, where she remained all night. She tried to find employment, but failed. Then she secured the poison which she took later. She will recover.—[St. Louis Republic, Sept. 30.

Mrs. Charles B. Alexander, wife of the son of the senior member of the well known law firm of Alexander & Green, who lives in New York, is worth about \$6,000,000. She was the only daughter of the late Charles Crocker, who assisted in the construction of the Central and Southern Pacific railroads, and at the time of his death was one of the vice-presidents of those corporations. When Mr. Crocker died, in 1888, his estate scheduled \$25,266,000. One third of it went to his wife, one-third to his daughter, and the remaining third was divided between his two sons, both of whom had previously received large sums from him.—[William Eleroy Curtis in the Cosmopolitan.

A sick and despondent woman named Johanna Mann, fifty-one years of age, of No. 257 Delancey street, who had been a widow for seven years and was childless, became disheartened at the prospect of becoming a burden upon her friends, with the alternative of the almshouse. On Wednesday of last week she poured some paris green into her coffee, and before medical assistance had arrived she was beyond recovery.

Mrs. Astor owns from six to seven million dollars' worth of real estate in own right, and Commodore Vanderbilt's widow was worth ten or twelve millions. Mrs. Robert Goelet has several millions, and Mrs. Clarkson Potter more than one. Miss Mary Callender, of Fifth avenue, is said to have an income of over one hundred thousand dollars a year, while the Misses Leary and the Misses Furness have quite as much. Miss Grace Dodge has a fortune of a million and a half, and Mayor Hewitt's two daughters received large legacies from their grandfather, the late Peter Cooper.—[William Eleroy Curtis in the Cosmopolitan.

Isadore Cohen, sixty years of age, a Hebrew peddler of 1,485 Avenue A, was found by his eight-year-old son Julius hanging from the transom of his bed room window last week. The body was already cold. Cohen committed suicide during a fit of despondency. He had been unable to obtain work some time past, and could earn little or nothing at his calling. In addition to this he was heavily in debt and was besieged by his creditors.

Dr. Dovey of this city, whose specialty is the treatment of pet dogs, was interviewed by a Star man the other day. Of the ailments of dogs in this city the doctor said: "The great trouble is overfeeding and lack of exercise. Half of the pets about the city are actually killed by overfeeding. Let us take the house dog, the pet of some fine lady. How much exercise does he get in comparison with what he actually needs? If he's a big fellow, too large for the carriage, all his exercise is an occasional slow walk, held in bounds by a chain. The little dogs often get the carriage ride instead, and then they are continually stuffed with rich and heavy food. No wonder if they get dyspepsia and such troubles."

"Nelly Bly" of the World bought a baby last week in New York for \$10, of a regular baby dealer. She could have bought a prettier one for \$25.

The Old and The New Phenology.

By Professor M. Allen Starr, M. D., Ph. D.

It is pretty well agreed among scientists, at present, that the old system of phenology has no actual basis of fact, and the elevations upon the skull do not indicate masses of brain beneath them. But to this old system of Gall modern science really owes a great deal; for, like every false idea, it had within it a little kernel of truth, and the interest excited by the claims of its supporters awakened a discussion which has led to a discovery of the greatest importance in the saving of human life.

The claims of Gall that each part of the brain presided over some mental faculty stimulated Flourens, the leading French physiologist of forty years ago, to a series of experiments which seemed to show the falsity of Gall's hypothesis. These experiments in turn were disputed and led to others, and thus interest in the brain and its action was

stimulated, until in 1870 the subject was taken up in Germany, and facts were discovered which form the basis of our present knowledge of brain action.

For in Germany a method of testing the action of the brain was invented by Fritsch and Hitzig in 1870. These men noticed that when they applied an electric shock to the brain of an anesthetized dog, the result was a movement of the limbs. To cause this movement a certain part of the brain had to be irritated by the electricity, other parts being irresponsive; and it was even possible to distinguish the part which moved the foreleg from that which moved the hind leg, while, queerly enough, the irritation of one side of the brain always caused movements in the other side of the body. This was an important discovery, for it showed that one part of the brain governed motions while the other parts had nothing to do with motion.

The German investigators went a step further. They said, "If this part of the brain really governs motion, then when it is removed the dog will lose the power of movement," and this reasoning was found in fact to be correct; for when this part, which they named "the motor area," was taken away, the animal was found to be paralyzed, while removal of other parts had no such effect. These experiments, since that time repeated in every laboratory of Europe and America, and tried upon various animals, have established the fact that there is in the brain a certain part which directs voluntary movements.

The second step toward the new phenology was taken in England in 1873 by David Ferrier. Reasoning from the fact that our movements are usually the result of some preceding sensation, he concluded that sensation as well as motion must be governed by the brain. If motion is governed by one part, sensation may be received in another part. This reasoning led him to undertake a series of experiments to settle the question. He soon succeeded in showing that sensations, which are received by the various sense organs of our bodies—by the eye, ear, nose, mouth, or by the skin—are all sent inward to the brain, and that each of these organs sends its impressions to a distinct region of the brain; sensation of light going in one direction, those of sound in another, and so forth.

The work of Munk, of Berlin, in 1881, confirmed and added to the discoveries of Ferrier, and finally established the conclusion that sensations as well as motion can be located. So that to-day it is possible to lay out a sort of map on the brain of animals, and to say that each of the regions put down on the map has a particular sense with which it is related. On such a map there are here and there empty spaces, such as there are on our geographical maps of Africa—for no one knows what is there. But that, of course, does not invalidate our knowledge of regions which are known, and only shows that further discovery is possible.

Platform of the Massachusetts Democrats.

The platform of the democratic state convention of Massachusetts contains the following tariff planks:

The democratic party of Massachusetts, in convention assembled, renews its allegiance to the historic and ever-living principles of democracy and to the platform adopted by the last democratic national convention. Meeting for the first time since the defeat of last year, we declare our continued and hearty support of the cause of tariff reform, for which we then contended, and our firm conviction of its success in the near future.

We reaffirm our demands for free raw materials and lower duties upon the necessities of life. We believe that free wool, as provided for in the bill passed by the democratic majority of the last house of representatives, is essential to the prosperity of the woolen industry, upon which that of the wool grower is dependent, while it will afford relief to all consumers of woolen goods. We call the particular attention of the farmers of this state who have borne the heavy burden of high tariff taxation, without any of the prosperity promised them, to the relief they will receive through the reduction of customs taxes upon articles which they use or consume.

We give our hearty support to the petition of the present republican governor of this state, and other leading iron and steel manufacturers of both political parties, addressed to the New England members of congress asking for free coal and iron ore and lower duties upon pig-iron, and we commend their efforts to save this important industry, threatened with extinction in our section of the country through failure to adapt tariff duties to the changed conditions of the iron market. We believe that New England railroads should be restrained by law if necessary from entering into any traffic arrangements which secure to the manufacturers of other states arbitrary and unfair advantages over our own manufacturers in transportation rates.

We demand that all materials for ship building, whether of metal or wood, be relieved from the heavy taxation now imposed upon most of them and made free of duty, to the end that American ship builders may be placed in a better position to construct ships capable of competing upon the ocean with those of foreign countries.

We give our earnest support to the demand of our Massachusetts business interests for such removal of trade restrictions as will bring about closer commercial relations between the United States and Canada, a measure that was favored by the democratic party of this state in its platform of twelve years ago, and we express our conviction that the practicable and immediate method of securing such closer relations is through a treaty of partial or entire reciprocity of trade between the two countries, the machinery for the negotiation of which is now in republican hands. We also favor close commercial relations with Mexico and condemn the arbitrary action of the treasury department in respect to the importation of Mexican ores, which has already led to retaliatory measures disastrous to important American interests in Mexico.

PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

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Where man by man is not oppress;
No, not the east, where life begun,
Nor this, the triumph of the west.

The same sad picture greets the eye,
The same sad wail besets the ear;
Nor can we from the tyrant fly,
Since land is doomed to disappear.

A favored few possess it all,
And poverty must be our lot—
A slavery that will befall,
Now freedom's holy name's forgot.

The Russian serf is not alone,
Like us, he yearns whereon to stand—
From Britain's shores are heard the moan:
"Yes, aliens in our native land."

O, God, stand up, defend the right.
The masses must and shall be heard;
Bare thou thy arm, make good the fight,
Be freedom's forces fully stirred!

EDWARD JENNINGS.

Yonkers, N. Y., Oct. 3, 1889.

TARIFF NOTES.

The Manchester, England, Textile Mercury says: A stay-at-home man have only a very vague idea of the position of England as compared with foreign countries. Especially he can have little idea how much leveling up has to be done with the wages of most continental workers. If we say that from a half to one-third of our wages is the rate over vast regions of the continent, we should not be far wrong. They are excessively low in some districts of southern Italy, as on the plains below Vesuvius, where five shillings a week for a man is not uncommon, and the agricultural laborer of Bohemia is not much better off. The normal condition, almost everywhere, is so far below ours that it constitutes a danger to us and a cause for the migration of trades, which are always seeking the easiest and most profitable lines. A traveler, who during the last three years has traveled over 30,000 miles of various European countries, declares that he has not once seen wages equal to those at Nottingham, England.

Just why American manufacturers will sell machinery and other goods from ten to thirty per cent cheaper in Europe than they will sell them to be used at home is rather puzzling; but anyone curious in the matter can easily enough find out that many of them do this. It may be necessary to cut prices in order to secure trade from abroad, but it is likely to strike the American purchaser as being a little rough on him.—[American Machinery.]

Tariff reform, like measles, is constantly breaking out in new and unexpected places. Instead of preaching the faith to-day ourselves, we turn over the use of our columns to one of the high priests of protection. The argument in favor of free carpet wool, copied from Mr. Wharton Barker's American, is not intended to cover any other raw material of which our manufacturers stand in need. Sensible of the difficulty of its position, the American goes carefully, as if stepping upon eggs. But it reaches the correct conclusion that it is a mistake to tax carpet wools, and we make haste to put it before the eyes of our readers as a witness of the advance of the truth.—[Philadelphia Record.]

Protection to American industries—tariff reform. Even protectionists are demanding it for their own private use.—[Binghamton Leader.]

The children of the poor, miners in Illinois are reported to be actually dying from hunger and want. This is but another instance of how the policy which fatten a few monopolists is protecting our "infant industries." The "fostering hand" in Pennsylvania and Illinois is largely engaged in digging graves for the children of the poor.—[Boston Globe.]

Tariff reform, reasserted and emphasized, will again be the absorbing issue. We can not escape if we would, and I do not believe any thoughtful man within the party desires to do so.—[St. Louis Republic.]

Governor Ames of Massachusetts demands raw materials free from import duty, and Chauncey M. Depew, speaking as president of the New York state republican convention, declares that the United States treasury surplus represents just so much unnecessary taxation, and that will be reduced by removing unnecessary burdens. The republican policy of war tariff is breaking of its own weight.—[Cleveland Plain Dealer.]

While the manufacturers of New England are praying for relief from a form of protection that is crushing the life out of their industries, a republican convention out in Kansas has addressed a memorial to the president and congress complaining that grain growers suffer hardship from the duty on the fibres of which binding twine is made, and demanding the abolition of this "oppressive tax."—[Providence Journal.]

After this country has ceased to tax her shipping out of existence it will be time enough to quote England as occasionally subsidizing commerce. To destroy shipping at one end and subsidize it at the other is a little dodge by which high protection seeks to cover its tracks. It is too stale to deceive anybody.—[Boston Globe.]

Joe Howard Sees the Claw."

Howard's Column New York Press.

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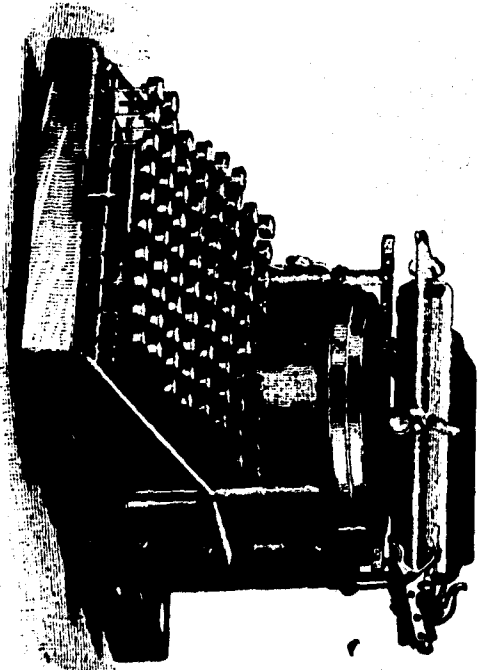
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