THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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A CALL FOR A CONFERENCE.

In our advertising columns will be found a notice asking advocates of the single tax who are in favor of holding a national conference to send their addresses to Samuel W. Williams of Vincennes, Indiana.

In the letter inclosing this advertisment, Mr. Williams says:

No matter whether we are to support Cleveland or Blaine, or a ticket of our own, we can certainly benefit ourselves and the cause of reform by holding a great national conference.

In the west we are taking steps to have a grand meeting on July 4. Bailey is to issue the call. It is not to be a convention. It is not a meeting of the united labor party or any other party, but is a meeting of all individuals who desire to come, and who believe that the public revenues should be raised by a single tax on relative land values. We have given ourselves ample time to do the necessary preliminary work, and there is no good reason that I can see why this meeting should not be a grand success.

The circular which Mr. Williams proposes to send to those who respond to his notice is as follows:

"The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fullness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal."

VINCENNES, Ind., Feb. 20, 1888.

Dear Sir:—It is deemed expedient that a national conference of those who believe in the single tax idea should be held on the 4th day of July, 1888.

This shall be a conference and not a convention. It should not have power to nominate candidates. It will be a mass meeting of all those who desire to attend who believe that the public revenues should be raised by a single and direct tax upon relative land values.

The call will be limited to the advocates of this idea.

The meeting will be held in the west or south.

It is suggested that one hundred or more of us join in a request to Warren Worth Bailey, of 281 South Hoyne avenue, Chicago, Ill., authorizing him to select the place, appoint committee on arrangements and prepare and issue the call. The time has arrived when we should meet, clasp hands, consult and organize. The Cincinnati conference (July 4, 1887) ordered a national conference. Please write to Mr. Bailey immediately on the subject and name to him your choice of place of meeting.

Truly yours, SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS.

Two or three of our friends who have already received copies of this circular send them to me, asking what I think of the proposition.

What I think is, that Mr. Williams has no more authority than anybody else to take preliminary steps for calling a national conference of single tax men; but that in the absence of anything like a national organization, he has just as much authority as anybody else. And there is something essentially democratic in this straightforward individual action that I like. Mr. Williams, it will be remembered, was the author of the resolution adopted at the little gathering of advocates of the single tax held in Cincinnati last Fourth of July, which requested John McMackin to call a national conference before October of last year. Seeing that Mr. McMackin has not acted, and that the Cincinnati resolution is likely to be made the pretext for a very different kind of a call than it originally contemplated, Mr. Williams now steps forward himself, and virtually suggests to those who believe in the single tax that they, by individual action, appoint Mr. Warren Worth Bailey, now of Chicago, a committee to select a place, make arrangements, and call a conference on the Fourth of July next. Mr. Bailey will, I think, make just as good a committee for that purpose as Mr. McMackin would have made, or as a larger one selected in any other way. He is a stanch and conscientious believer in the single tax, and has the honor of having published the first newspaper in the United States which unqualifiedly advocated it—the Vincennes *News*—from which he was finally compelled to retire by the loss of patronage consequent upon his open devotion to the single tax principle. He is active and reliable, and will, I am convinced, promptly and fairly discharge the duties which Mr. Williams suggests should be devolved upon him by the individual request of a hundred or more.

The date suggested for this conference, the Fourth of July, seems also to me to be a good one. By that time both the old parties will have adopted their platforms and made their nominations, and the popular issue in the presidential struggle will have been clearly made. If it should then appear expedient that single tax men should take any organized part in the national contest, there will be ample time to do so. If, on the contrary, it should then be clear that the time has not yet come for us to independently enter the field of national politics, a national conference will at least give such of us as can attend an opportunity of making one another's acquaintance, of comparing views, and of suggesting plans for future action. It also seems to me well that the call for this conference should emanate from the west and that the conference should be held at some point in the Mississippi valley that should as nearly as possible equalize the cost of attendance.

In short, I can see nothing to object to, and much to approve, in the proposed conference and in the manner of call which Mr. Williams advises, and I would suggest to those who favor the idea that they communicate with Mr. Williams as he asks.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE BROTHERHOOD STRIKE.

Quick on the heels of the Reading strikes with all their large consequences and pregnant lessons, comes another strike which promises to be still more important, and which, indeed, may prove to be the opening of the most momentous industrial war that has ever yet been waged in the United States—that of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad system. It might seem as if, irritated and alarmed at the defeat of one powerful champion after another, the strongest and most conservative of the great trades unions had leaped into the arena, or, what is doubtless much nearer the truth, as if organized capital, flushed with recent victories, had challenged to a decisive struggle what from the nature of the occupation, and the vital relation it bears to other industries and social functions, is of all labor organizations that which can fight with the greatest advantage and can inflict the greatest damage.

Both special and general qualifications are requisite for the man competent to stand at the lever in the cab of a locomotive. He must possess sufficient knowledge of the complicated mechanism of an engine to be able not only to keep it in gear, but in case of accident to make promptly such slight repairs to it as may be possible with the tools carried in the engine chest. To perform his daily work with the best results he must intimately know his own engine, which is likely to have characteristics as distinct from those of other engines as one man has from another. After his engine he must give attention to the train it draws, observing whether, for example, it be light or heavy, short or long, made up of cars built for fast runs or of those calculated only for the moderate speed of freight. He must know the tracks of his run well enough to keep up to a time schedule on the darkest and stormiest night of winter, when he cannot see his way feeling it, so to speak, by the swing of the curves and the jar of side track frogs. An engineer may save fuel or waste it, preserve a boiler or burn it out, adjust his speed at sinuous and straight places, so as to reduce wear and tear to a minimum, or he may wrench or even wreck a train at a curve. And the nature of the business of railroading renders it a matter of time and difficulty to judge of his efficiency or incompetency in these respects.

Sobriety and steady nerve are qualities indispensable to an engineer. A reputation for unreliability through intemperance would drive a man out of the occupation, and no one can enter fully upon its duties without having shown that he possesses more than ordinary promptitude in emergencies.

In view of these considerations it is not difficult to see why engineers command more than average wages. Their vocation stands out from those of all other mechanics as an illustration that wages are higher in a difficult than in more easily learned occupations; in one requiring unusual mental and physical qualities than in those not subject to such requirements; in one dangerous than in those not dangerous; in one incurring grave responsibilities for life and property than in those in which there is little or no responsibility. The responsibility with which the locomotive engineer is charged is of the very highest. Any incapacity, any unreadiness, any carelessness or drunkenness on his part, may at any time cause not merely the loss of thousands of dollars to his employers, but the loss of hundreds of human lives. His mind is the mind of the rushing train. On his hand at the throttle depends the safety, not only of all that his locomotive pulls, but very often of other trains as well.

Yet there have been other important factors in determining the wages of locomotive engineers in this country. In twenty-five years the number of miles of railroad track have been trebled, creating a demand for engineers that has constantly kept pace with the supply. While eastern railroad companies have mercilessly cut wages in other departments they have been careful to retain the services of the captains and pilots of their land ships, the engineers to whom they intrust the care of millions in property and the reputation of their roads for safe passenger traffic. To keep these employes, they have in some measure been obliged to bid against the great railroads of the west.

It was under conditions such as these that the brotherhood of locomotive engineers obtained its growth. In its earlier stages it cleared its way to intelligent action through a series of costly and occasionally disastrous strikes. When experience had taught its members that for them there were safer methods of operation, it dropped the strike as a weapon, or rather consigned it temporarily to the background. It adopted as its leading feature the mutual benefit side of trades unionism, vigorously pushed its organization throughout the country, and put restricted but yet great authority as an arbitrator into the hands of its executive head. "Let us reason together," their chief would say, when waiting upon the officers of a road the engineers of which desired to make known any grounds for complaint, and he was heard, for he represented men who could cut away dividends. So the guild waxed fat and quite content.

In time, as the huge mass of the country's labor writhed and groaned in angry discontent, the brotherhood was widely advertised as a praiseworthy example to good workingmen. The order seems to have shrewdly permitted the employing class to do most of the trumpeting and the making of comparisons odious to the other unionists. But they could hardly have done it themselves. They had ample opportunity, in the usual treatment of their fellow workers, to see the sham in the talk of railroad officials at their annual reunions, in which the good engineer who was too intelligent to strike was contrasted with the bad common hand who, in his ignorance, struck so often. The engineers knew how many unions of switchmen, trackmen and brakemen had in vain remonstrated against overwork and reduction of wages. "Let us reason together!" They well knew that language like this from unskilled laborers, who could easily be replaced in case of strike, would be regarded as audacious.

And in fact they have seemed to care little for unskilled labor, or any labor other than their own. The brotherhood has been managed, and up to this time successfully managed, upon the principle that the rise or fall, the success or failure, of other labor organizations mattered nothing to members of the brotherhood. It has not only refused its aid in great strikes when its action would have been decisive, and earned among other trades unions a character for selfishness, but, as Mr. Powderly charges even while counseling Knights of Labor to refrain from retaliation, brotherhood men have on some occasions been permitted to take the places of the striking members of other organizations of engineers. In this strike at least there is nothing sentimental. It springs from no notion of "the solidarity of labor," from no conception that the principle, "an injury to one is the concern of all," has application beyond the lines of a single organization, and from no desire to help those beyond those lines.

On the other side, the officers of a great railroad, experienced and calculating business men, have decided that the market for engineers is not monopolized by men who will not sell their labor for less than the brotherhood scale, and they are risking serious immediate losses to the road, for the greater gains to come if they succeed in manning their engines with engineers who will work at rates fixed by the company. The dispatches tell us that the officers of the other great lines centered in Chicago are watching the fight with deep interest. There can be no question as to which side they desire shall win. The bonds of amity uniting the aristocracy of trades unionism with its late admirers of the great corporations have been severed, and all the value of the example of its much lauded moderation is lost.

Whichever side may be beaten, this strike, in its occurrence, has definitely settled some facts of large import. The brotherhood of locomotive engineers, like every other labor organization maintained to uphold wages, does strike when other means for accomplishing its purposes fail. A labor organization that will not strike cannot long breast the current that is ever carrying wages down.

From the very nature of their occupation the engineers constitute the strongest of all trades unions. Against them, however, is that general pressure for employment which, beginning with the laborer destitute of special skill, who is denied access to the primary means of all employment, spreads upward through all trades and occupations; and against them also is a certain jealousy, whatever it may practically amount to, which their exclusive policy, hitherto so successful, has aroused. As affecting this contest of endurance, and as of the utmost importance to the general public, it must also be remembered that under our essentially vicious system of permitting our great iron highways to become the property of private corporations, whose shares are often the counters of the gambling of the stock market, the interests of the managers of a railroad and the interests of the road itself are not merely separable, but are often diverse. It is in the power of the brotherhood engineers so long as they stand together to inflict tremendous losses upon any road against which they strike. But what if the managers of the road have sold its stock short? What if they represent some great speculator or clique of speculators who desire to get hold of its stock cheaply?

Though it has been the policy of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers never to strike in aid of any other organization, they must, if they are to stand, strike when necessary on other roads in support of their members where a strike has begun. Thus, if it be not quickly settled, the strike which has commenced on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy system is likely to spread. What would be the result of anything like a general and protracted strike of railroad engineers can only be imagined when it is considered that the regular operation of railroads has become not merely essential to great and diverse branches of industry, but also to the supply of our great centers of population with the very necessaries of life.

Faster and more sharply is the logic of events forcing the consideration of the great social problem of modern civilization upon the people of the United States. Happy will it be for them if they shall ere long see that the whole system of protection and special privilege is false and dangerous, and that justice and freedom can alone prevent the productive forces which our civilization has evolved from becoming the means of its destruction.

THE TRUSTS RUN TO COVER.

Every effort has been made by those immediately concerned to prevent the state senate committee to investigate trusts from getting at the bottom facts concerning the great sugar combination. The secretary of the organization has been absent from the state. Witnesses summoned by the committee have been reported sick or absent, and others when placed on the stand have flatly refused to answer questions. Mr. Parsons, one of the directors of the trust, persists in his refusal to produce the agreement between the refiners, basing his refusal on his rights as counsel, and in that capacity he also coaches witnesses and advises them not to answer. If a legislative committee has no more authority than this one has in the opinion of Mr. Parsons, it is difficult to see why any such committee should be appointed.

The tactics of the sugar conspirators have been closely imitated by those interested in other trusts. The secretary of the milk combination is accidentally in Florida, where he has taken all the books and papers that might throw light on the process by which farmers are compelled to sell milk cheap and the people of New York are made to buy it dear. William Rockefeller of the Standard oil trust is in Florida when wanted to testify concerning the cotton seed oil trust, with which, of course, the Standard trust has nothing to do. The agreement on which the cotton seed oil trust is based is conveniently absent in Cincinnati, and no one can think of any way in which it could be produced in this city. A witness who acknowledges his interest in the trust, professed utter inability to answer some simple questions and under advice of counsel flatly refused to answer other questions.

All of this seems to indicate that the investigation will fail to elicit the information most desired by the public, but such a failure will not prove that the proceeding has been of no public benefit. Agreements to control vast industries, all details of which are thus sedulously concealed, must be of such a character that those concerned in them dare not allow the facts to pass into the possession of the public and its grand jurors and prosecuting officers. The written agreement which forms the constitution of the sugar trust is kept so secret that Mr. Parsons has intimated that he would go to jail rather than produce it, and Mr. Havemeyer has sworn that he is not sure that even the individuals signing it have the right to see it. No criminal secret involving the lives of a band of political conspirators was ever more closely guarded.

We doubt if any possible exposure of the operations of the trusts could do so much to influence the public mind against these new devices of monopoly as this policy of concealment. The inevitable inference is that there must be something behind all this even worse than the public had suspected. This appears to have occurred to the more astute members of the Standard oil trust, for when John D. Rockefeller was called to the stand he, after a mere formal protest, gave the committee a copy of the famous deed of trust that serves as the constitution of the Standard oil trust, and assumed an attitude of great frankness toward the committee. Either this attitude or something else had such an effect on George Bliss, one of the committee's counsel, that he handled Mr. Rockefeller with great tenderness, and even protested against pushing the investigation too far. General Pryor was less considerate, and brought out some facts that did not entirely accord with Mr. Rockefeller's claim that the greatest of all the trusts had none of the characteristics of a monopoly.

Already the hurrying of witnesses to other states and the implied threat of Mr. Havemeyer that they will move their refineries beyond the limits of this state if the legislature does not cease to "persecute" them, point to the necessity of a congressional investigation. It is clear that no state jurisdiction extends far enough to enable it to cope with these conspiracies that aim to control the trade of a continent, and the house committee on manufactures is preparing to begin such an investigation.

Even if this investigation, covering a wider range, only serves to emphasize the facts elicited by the present investigation in this city, it will be of great use. It is of less importance that a legislative remedy shall be devised than that public opinion against the growth of monopoly and the constant tendency of enormous power to concentrate in an ever lessening number of hands shall be aroused. We are entering on a presidential campaign in which the tariff will be the main issue. Nearly all of those engaged in these conspiracies to enhance prices, limit production and control the wages and opportunities for employment of labor, are protectionists. Into the testimony showing that they close factories while guaranteeing profits to their owners but nothing to the men thrown out of work, they inject the familiar cant about the need of a tariff to protect American labor against the pauper labor of Europe. The hypocrisy of such a pretense is so bold that it must excite the derision of even those workingmen who have hitherto been deluded into a belief that the protective system is maintained for their benefit. The fullest possible exposure of the tactics of these high tariff trusts will be most effective in opening the eyes of the masses to the fact that what our "protective" tariff really protects is monopolistic robbery, and not the wages of labor. Now is the time for such an exposure, and the closer the rebellion against "protection" can be linked with a general attack on all monopolies built up by legislation or conspiracy, the better will be the chance for securing a popular verdict in support of that movement. Tariff reformers in congress cannot afford to ignore the subject of trusts.

THE TREATY AGAIN.

The proposed fisheries treaty with the British government has become a subject of sharp controversy in and out of congress. The attacks on it are as silly as was the jubilation of the negotiators over its completion. The real contention of the Americans who regard themselves as chiefly interested is for the privilege of using Canadian ports for convenience in conducting deep sea fishing, while refusing to Canadian vessels the full privilege in our own ports that is enjoyed by American vessels. The aggressive acts of the Canadians are undoubtedly designed to force the American government to come to an understanding more satisfactory to the Canadian fishermen. Canada undoubtedly inflicts considerable injury on her own people by this course, and her truculent attitude enables demagogues on this side of the line to appeal to that puerile pride and stubbornness which in international affairs is regarded as an exhibition of a proper patriotic spirit, and is formulated in such immoral cries as "our country, right or wrong." The highest patriotism is that which insists that one's country shall be right at whatever cost; and as the public conscience becomes educated, men will see that the general praise which greets such a declaration as "I would rather be right than be president" is as much greater in the mouth of a nation as a whole people is greater than an individual citizen.

The United States is unquestionably wrong in this contention, and the claim it sets up is in the interest of a few greedy citizens in one corner of the country, and in derogation of the rights and interests of the whole body of the people. This century old quarrel could be settled by one stroke of the pen eliminating the duties on fish and fish oil from our tariff. The demand of a handful of New England fishermen for the retention of those clauses is simply an extreme illustration of the brazen effrontery and essential immorality of the whole protective system. There are from sixty to seventy millions of people in these United States and not more than four or five thousand of them have even the most remote interest in preserving the duties on the products of the Atlantic fisheries. The interest of every man, woman and child among the vast remainder is to have the fish supply cheap and abundant. These few thousands not only demand that the price of fish shall be artificially kept up for their own immediate personal benefit, but when under such circumstances a neighboring people, whose fishermen are practically excluded from our ports, retaliate by denying our fishermen certain privileges in their ports, these New England fishermen actually have the criminal audacity to insist on their claims, even to the extent of going to war if need be.

There is no other possible interpretation of the eager desire of certain congressmen and newspapers to keep open this dispute and to aggravate its bitterness. In order that a few thousand American fishermen on the New England coast may be protected in their privilege of making millions of their fellow citizens pay for salted fish more than they are worth, these very victimized millions are asked to subject our seaboard cities to destruction, sacrifice their lives in a brutal fight and impose new burdens of debt on generations yet unborn. Did greed ever inspire a more wicked proposal or selfish craft ever build so openly on a faith that what Carlyle said of England's millions is true of ours—that they are "mostly fools?"

For ourselves we are glad that the proposed treaty is unsatisfactory. It could not, in the long run, prove otherwise, since it is based on false principles, and is at best a compromise with wrong and folly. Professor Goldwin Smith of Toronto openly rejoices that the mere discussion of the subject forces forward the movement for commercial union, as the only solution of the fishery and other disputes between this country and Canada. That free trade between the two countries would benefit both is manifest, since neither will sell the other its products without obtaining in return products still more desirable to it. The protectionists themselves admit that free trade between the various parts of our own country is the source of whatever prosperity we enjoy, and human ingenuity cannot formulate a single respectable argument against the extension of the same beneficent system to this whole continent. They must see this themselves, but they fear to admit the truth, since the logic of the argument would carry us to free trade with all the world.

VEXATIOUS LITIGATION.

It is said that no less than three thousand suits against the elevated railroad companies for damages to property along their lines are now pending. It is the policy of the managers of these roads to fight every suit of this kind step by step and take an appeal from every decision adverse to their interests. The object is to make such litigation as costly as possible to all who engage in it, and to cause such delay in the final settlement of suits that any damages won by a plaintiff will be more than eaten up by lawyers' fees and court charges. It does not matter in the least that all of the points of law raised have been passed upon by the court of appeals; a new appeal is taken in each case for the undisguised purpose of delaying the suit.

Such tactics, which are the ordinary tactics of rich men and corporations, ought to be impossible. Justice which is not prompt is not justice at all, and these legal delays give to the long purse an advantage in our courts that practically could hardly be greater if rich defendants could openly bribe judges and buy juries. In the case of the elevated railroads one of two things is true, either the companies are or they are not liable for any proven damage they have done to property along their lines. This is a sample legal question that ought to be settled as completely in a single case before the court of appeals as in a hundred cases. Once settled in favor of the companies, other suits of the kind should be speedily disposed of by the court in which they were instituted. If, on the other hand, this question has been decided against the companies, as is claimed, then all appeals made for the express purpose of delay ought to be instantly dismissed. If the existing practice renders this impossible then the existing practice is bad, and if lawyers only wished to expedite legal proceedings they could easily suggest a way in which it could be reformed. But lawyers can no more be trusted to reform legal procedure than party managers can be trusted to reform politics. What is needed is a popular demand such as that expressed in the Syracuse platform, "We desire also to so simplify the procedure of our courts and diminish the expense of legal proceedings that the poor may be placed on an equality with the rich and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented." This is one of the many reforms proposed in that platform that should be forced on the attention of all political parties by popular demand.

But there is another aspect of these suits against the elevated railroad companies of New York which deserves most serious attention. Whether these demanders of damages from the elevated railroad companies have or have not any legal claim, they certainly have no claim in justice. Their suits, if they have any legal color, ought not to be defeated by delays. But our laws ought to be such as would make it impossible to bring them. However much the stockholders of these elevated roads may have possessed themselves of what really belongs to the whole people, no matter how much they have watered their stock, and how badly they treat the public by overcrowding and inefficiently lighting their cars, we ought not to permit another set of public beneficiaries to blackmail them. The suits for damage of property which have been brought against the elevated roads, and which amount in the aggregate of the claims to some twenty million dollars, are not suits for damage done to property which justly belongs to individuals, but for the lessening of land values in particular places. Now, these land values, as to which so many individuals claim to have been damaged by the erection and maintenance of those great public conveniences, the elevated railroads, are in no case the result of individual industry, but are due to the growth and improvement of the whole community and rightfully belong to the whole people of New York. The elevated companies have not profited by the great increase in land values due to the building of their roads, and they ought not to be compelled to make up what lowering in relative values the same improvements in transportation may have caused in other places. If the individuals whose lots have been reduced in value by the building of the elevated roads have any just claim for compensation, it ought to be against those whose lots have been increased in value.

The single tax on land values would remove all such difficulties. Under it the owner of any lot which was diminished in value by a public improvement would be compensated by the lessening of the taxes he was called on to pay, and the public itself, which would thus be the real loser, would get compensating benefits for this loss in the larger income from the lots which were rendered more valuable. Under this equitable system the costs for damages in making public improvements, whether in building railroads, in opening public squares or in

erecting public buildings, would only be for the damage actually done to buildings or other improvements made by individual industry and outlay.

Had the elevated railroads been built as they should have been, by the city, from a tax levied on land values, the question of damages could never have arisen. Viaducts could then have been run between the streets and the advantages and disadvantages arising from their building would have been almost automatically adjusted by the assessment of the land. Injury to houses and other personal property would have been paid for of course out of the public fund.

THE FIRST VICTORY FOR TARIFF REFORM.

The fixing of St. Louis as the place and June 5 as the time for holding the democratic national convention has much significance. The democratic national committee is largely made up of men who have no real sympathy with anything that Mr. Cleveland represents in politics. Barnum, its chairman, and Prince, its seemingly perpetual secretary, are men of a past era who look to intrigue and compromise as the best of all possible political agencies. They are men who desire that the democratic party shall have and hold power, in order that democrats may hold office, and professions of principle are to them only a part, and a very minor part of political tactics. There are a good many other "experienced politicians" of the same kind on the national committee. It was not remarkable then that those who seek to defeat Mr. Cleveland's nomination because of his partial adherence to civil service reform ideas, and because of his utterance on the tariff question, should look to the national committee to do something that might help them.

The dispute was undoubtedly a mixed one and no single ballot can be accepted as a test vote, since preference of locality affected every ballot taken. The first vote in favor of July 3 was cast by the advocates of Chicago and San Francisco because St. Louis is notoriously a hot place in midsummer. Eastern support of the San Francisco project was influenced by a belief that local sentiment there favors a high tariff, and also by the hope that the numerous proxies to be found in a convention so far away would be more easily manipulated than the delegates direct from the people and responsible to the constituents to whom they must return. There was also a distinct prejudice against St. Louis because it is a democratic city where the local sentiment favors tariff reduction.

But the date was even more important than the place to these schemers. They desired to hold the democratic convention after the republican convention had adjourned in order that they might straddle, in some fashion, the declaration concerning the tariff that the latter is expected to make. They felt sure that under existing circumstances a democratic convention taking the initiative on this question would make a much more positive declaration than the cowards and trimmers in that party desire. Added to all this was a general wish to inspire hope among all the little coteries who are eager to defeat Mr. Cleveland's renomination but afraid to try unless success is certain.

Under all the circumstances it is a very significant fact that the national committee finally felt compelled to unanimously choose St. Louis as the meeting place and to name a date in advance of that fixed for the meeting of the republican convention. It was not merely a deference to public sentiment, but a confession, after fully looking over the field, that the Hill boom and other petty schemes for defeating Mr. Cleveland's nomination are impracticable, and that, under the circumstances, the wishes of the president's real friends had better be respected. The only men of influence in the democratic party who desire Mr. Cleveland's defeat thus confess that his nomination is a foregone conclusion, and they see that his tariff message must be taken along with him.

What the democrats in congress will do this year toward tariff reduction remains to be seen. They certainly appear to be in no hurry to begin. They ought now to bring in a measure that represents the real opinion of a large majority of the democratic congressmen, and resolutely put aside all temptations to accept any tinkering compromise with a view to securing the support of the so-called high tariff democrats. It will be better for them to have a good bill defeated through treachery and desertion than to secure the passage of an unsatisfactory bill. No measure short of that outlined in the president's message will meet the case either in congress or convention. No matter what bill is proposed in Washington or what plank is adopted at St. Louis, the fight is going to turn on the message, and the democrats must defend the principles therein enunciated or submit to ignominious defeat. The time for dodging tariff planks, capable of two or three different interpretations, has gone by, and the great issue must now be squarely met, be the immediate consequences what they may. Going forward offers the democrats their only chance of success. To turn back or falter now would make their defeat certain and disastrous.

NEXT—THE GLASS BLOWERS.

Not very long ago Mr. Powderly publicly declared that it was his habit when he bought ginger ale to break the bottles after using the beverage. His object in doing this was to make work for glass blowers. It is by no means probable that glass blowers like to work any more than other people, and at first one might be tempted to ask why Mr. Powderly, whose fame is that of a friend of workingmen, should wish to burden any class of workingmen, even glass blowers, with unnecessary work. But Mr. Powderly is not a fool. He had a reason, and a reason growing out of the best of motives, for the habit of which he boasted. His real purpose was not to make unnecessary work for glass blowers for the sake of the work, but for the sake of the wages they would get. The distribution of labor products is so unnatural and unjust that the destruction of any kind of product tends to maintain or improve the wages of its producer. Hence, if ginger ale bottles are used but once there will be work for glass blowers with every output of ginger ale; whereas, if the bottles are used over and over again the falling off of demand for bottles may menace the wages of glass blowers. It was this that led Mr. Powderly to adopt and recommend the breaking of ginger ale bottles. It is true that in doing so he allowed the interests of bottle blowers to obscure the interests of ginger ale producers, whose products are restricted to a narrower market in consequence of the enhanced expense of the ginger ale habit, and of bottle junkmen, whose raw material is thereby diminished, to say nothing of the interests of the much larger class to which he himself belongs—the consumer of ginger ale and other temperance drinks. But there can be no doubt that the tendency of his plan was to benefit glass blowers.

It is not by the re-use of ginger ale bottles alone, however, that the wages of glass blowers are threatened. Any invention which will produce bottles with less labor will have the same effect. And just such an invention is now in operation in England, and will soon be in use here. By this invention one man and two boys can make ten times as many bottles as under present methods can be made by two men and three boys. Mr. Powderly's capacity for ginger ale must be extraordinary indeed if he can by breaking his ginger ale bottles stem this tide of bottles that threatens to overwhelm the trade of the bottle makers.

Bottles are now produced by hand—that is to say, by mouth. The workman gathers the glass out of the furnace on the end of a blow pipe. Another workman takes the pipe, and after blowing a bubble in the glass, rolls it for the purpose of drawing it out to the required length. All this is better done with the new machine by the automatic action of a lever or crank. The next step is to put the partly blown bottle into a mold and blow into it through the pipe. This, too, is done with the machine by an automatic movement, the mold being fed continuously from the furnace and the blowing being done by machinery. The third step is now performed by a boy, who cuts the bottle from the blow pipe, a step that is not necessary in the machine manufacture, since the glass is never welded to any part of it. The fourth step is the shaping of the ring around the mouth of the bottle, a difficult operation requiring great skill. But with the machine the ring is formed in the mold. Thus, while two men and three boys now make in England about eight gross of bottles a day, the machine enables one man and two boys to make eighty gross.

This invention ought to be a good thing for everybody—even for Mr. Powderly, since it would enable him to drink more ginger ale and break more bottles at the same expense, or to indulge in the same amount of ginger ale drinking and bottle breaking, at a less expense. By it bottles are made cheaper, and the contents of bottles are to be bought cheaper. But instead of being a good thing for bottle blowers it menaces their livelihood and the very existence of their art.

Even if the demand for bottles should multiply ten times, one of every two skilled craftsmen who make bottles would be thrown out of employment and the other would have the alternative of accepting unskilled wages or abandoning his job to an unskilled workman, and it is doubtful if it is possible to destroy enough ginger ale bottles to counteract this effect. Nor will the injury end with the glass blowers' trade. With one glass blower out of every two hunting for a job, spurred on by the shadow of the wolf, and the second of the two working at less than his accustomed pay and ready to take the first better job that offers, the effect on other occupations will be like that of an invasion of laborers.

Following the logic of the protective tariff, after which Mr. Powderly's bottle breaking scheme was planned, the only way of avoiding this catastrophe is to break the bottle making machines as rapidly as they are made. This would kill two birds with one stone. It would not only keep up the supply of work for glass blowers, which could be augmented by breaking every bottle as soon as it had been once used, but it would also make work for machinists in repairing or rebuilding the bottle making machines as rapidly as they were destroyed. Of course this destructive process should be carried on according to law. Destruction by the mob could not be tolerated. There should be surveyors, appraisers, inspectors and detectives selected from the more active partisans of the dominant party, whose duty it should be to ferret out second hand bottles and contraband bottle making machines, and after appraising their value, and condemning them by due process of law in a regularly constituted court of justice, to turn them over to the marshal or sheriff for destruction, the owner to be repaid his loss out of the public treasury. This suggestion, which would afford an efficient means of reducing the surplus without reducing taxation, is submitted to the candid consideration of Mr. Andrew Carnegie and other captains of industry, who so desire protection for the sake of the workingman.

The principle is capable of indefinite extension. By breaking buggies after the first ride, sinking ships after the first voyage, killing cows after the birth of the first calf, burning houses after the first year's occupancy, felling trees after the first season's bearing, pulling down churches after the preaching of the first sermon, and encouraging the heathen to eat missionaries when they had made their first convert, we should at once create a great demand for American labor on sound Pennsylvania principles, and enable congress to levy the highest taxes without any danger of a surplus.

But the evils which Mr. Powderly sought to modify and which sincere protectionists deplore, can neither be cured nor lessened by destroying products or by discouraging invention, or, what is in principle the same thing, by making protective tariffs. Their cause is rooted in our social system. Though manifested in the displacement of labor, it is not displacement, but displacement without the opportunity for replacement, that makes invention seem a curse, and suggests protective tariffs and the breaking of ginger ale bottles by way of remedy.

The affection of most glass blowers for their trade is not strong enough to hold them when better opportunities in other employments offer; nor is it strong enough to worry them if invention or bottle saving diminishes demand for their work, provided they can readily obtain other work just as profitable. In the natural order of things they could do this, but our laws have disturbed the natural order of things. By taxing houses, furniture, cattle, machinery and other products of labor we so increase the price as to narrow the market. This limits demand for labor in every industry on which the tax is levied. By imposing protective tariffs on foreign goods, we add to the price of both the foreign and the domestic article, so that labor in handling, transporting and dealing in both is in less demand than it would be. Finally, and fundamentally, we tax land values so moderately, such a large part of our public revenues being derived from taxes on labor, that most of our land is kept out of use. Whoever would have a house must first pay a land owner for the privilege of building. Whoever would go into business of any kind must first solicit the privilege of a land owner, whose price he must pay or abandon his enterprise. And of what the landlord gets a very small part goes to the people. The inevitable result of such a system is to contract, and contract, and again contract, opportunities for business and opportunities for employment. To expect labor to flourish on such conditions is to expect lilies to bloom in potato cellars.

LANDLORDS' RIGHTS DEFINED.

Upward of four hundred crofters on the island of Lewis recently presented to their landlord, Lady Matheson, a most humble petition declaring that they can hardly eke out a bare existence on their little plots of land, much less pay rent, and asking that their ancient and hereditary township lands now lying waste be restored to them. The men presented their petition in person, and were, according to the London *Standard*, "very orderly and well behaved." They were willing to have the land court fix the rent, and all that they asked was enough space on the island on which they were born to enable them to earn a living.

The petitioners received no satisfaction. Lady Matheson bluntly refused their request, and suggested that her tenants should sell their cattle or engage in fishing to enable them to pay her rent on their present holdings. If they could not do that she hinted to them that they had better emigrate. The spokesman of the crofters replied that so long as lands on the island suitable for cultivation were occupied by sheep and deer the natives did not feel inclined to emigrate. This appears to have irritated Lady Matheson, and she declared, "These lands are my property and you have nothing to do with them."

This is simply a bold assertion of the legal rights of landlords. If Lady Matheson has the absolute ownership in the island of Lewis that she thus asserts, then she is the absolute monarch of her domain; she has the right to compel these cotters to emigrate from the place where they and their fathers were born, and should they refuse she may, if all other means fail, drive the intruders on her property off of the island and into the sea. If that be true of Lewis, it must be equally true of the larger island of Great Britain. If it be true of Great Britain, it applies to each continent separately and to the earth as a whole. There is no escape from this conclusion. If ownership in land is absolute, a combination of the landlords of the world would have the right, even though they lacked the power, to drive the vast majority of the human race off the face of the earth.

Such a theory is obviously absurd. It is an offensive assertion of despotic power inconsistent with peaceful civilized government. Put aside the fear of England's interference, and Lady Matheson's tenants would doubtless have made the natural and logical answer to her denial of their right to live on the island on which they were born, by declaring that if any one must leave the island it must be she rather than they; and any general assertion of such a right by the combined owners of the earth would lead to a prompt denial, and if pushed, to a war of extermination against landlords. A higher law than any ever written on parchment warrants men in refusing to starve in the sight of opportunities to earn a living from which they are shut out by the greed, pride or caprice of a minority. Landlordism as defined by Lady Matheson is inconsistent with free government or civilization. It is simple brutal assertion of the right of force, the last answer to which is a physical test of strength.

Lady Matheson probably did not understand the full extent of the power she claimed over the people of Lewis by her assertion that the island was hers and the other inhabitants had nothing to do with it. A picture of her printed in the London *Democrat* does not suggest that she is a consciously bad woman. On the contrary, it indicates that she is an amiable though somewhat stupid person. We can hardly imagine her in the act of driving a large number of helpless men, women and children into the sea, or of complacently seeing them starve. Yet she boldly asserts the right to do the former and actually assists in doing the latter. This she does, not because she is cruel and vicious, but because she is a part of a cruel and vicious system, and has been educated to believe that duty to her own class demands that she shall religiously stand up for landlords' rights. It is the curse of so unjust a system that it not only degrades its victims but destroys humanity and moral sense in its beneficiaries.

There is no essential difference between private ownership of land in Great Britain and the private ownership of land in the United States. In the former country, however, both the origin and ultimate results of the system are more obvious. The law of primogeniture itself is a direct outgrowth of the system that preceded private ownership in land. Every baron who held land was bound to render service to the crown and every knight holding under the baron was bound to join in rendering such service, and always at his own cost. Dividing estates would have given many instances in which knights, and even barons, might not have been able to thus equip themselves at their own cost and serve without pay, and hence the obligation to serve, and the land necessary to enable its possessor to meet that obligation, passed to the elder son alone.

So clearly was this condition of tenure recognized that there are instances where the elder son was ousted in favor of a younger son because the latter was "the better knight." Again, when a landlord died leaving a son under age the crown "resumed" the land until the heir was of age to render the service by virtue of which he was entitled to claim it. If a landlord left a daughter and no son possession of the land was "resumed" and held until she married some one approved by the crown, because she, as a woman, could not put on armor and render the state the service which alone gave the right to hold land. All these customs which have in a modified form come down to our own day show that British land was originally the property of the crown, or, in other words, of the whole people, while the smaller area and denser population bring into clearer relief 'that landlords' right is other people's wrong. In our own country the advocates of landlordism seem to be possessed by the delusion that the people through whom they trace their title actually made the land and held it by natural right, and they make the monstrous claim asserted by Lady Matheson without realizing to what it logically leads.

A CHANCE FOR MISSIONARY WORK.

The Reverend Edward Ferguson's appearance at Zanzibar, after his friends had for more than a year mourned him as dead, is a striking illustration of the uncertainty of African travel, and the untrustworthiness of the information that filters to the outside world from the interior of the dark continent. In December, 1886, the noted Arab slave dealer, Sadi ben Ali, brought to Stanley Pool a circumstantial account of Mr. Ferguson's death at the hands of the Lambat tribe. The lost explorer was fittingly mourned by his family and friends; a tablet to his memory was erected by the geographical society in the Episcopal church of his native Massachusetts village; and even his life insurance was paid to his heirs without a question. And lo! in January, 1888, the reverend gentleman walks calmly into Zanzibar, ragged, dirty, hungry, but in good health and spirits, and with a journal of his wanderings, which, when given to the world, will probably solve some of the most vexed problems of central African geography. Meantime a letter to a friend in New York narrates some of the most striking episodes of his wanderings, one of which is of special interest to sociologists, as it illustrates how strangely men can be blinded, not only to their moral obligations, but even to their own interests, when unenlightened by Christian civilization.

Nearly the whole of the year 1885 was spent by Mr. Ferguson in the exploration of the great Mbo Mbo lake, whose shore line of over eight hundred miles he carefully surveyed, and whose outlet he traced sufficiently to make certain that this hitherto mysterious mediterranean sea is in reality one of the chief feeders of the Congo. Settled on the shores of the lake, Mr. Ferguson found two branches of the great Miam Miam tribe—the Sguni and Nyootas, between whom a state of smothered war has existed for generations. The nature of this feud, and his almost futile efforts for its termination, are detailed in Mr. Ferguson's letter.

The Sguni are settled around the northern shores of the Mbo Mbo, and the Nyootas at the southern end, their chief village, Inyoodi, commanding the outlet. Now the waters of the lake are vastly deeper at the northern end than at the southern, and in these deep, cool waters fish of an exquisite quality—Mr. Ferguson compares them to our Otsego bass—are found in enormous numbers. It is these fish that have caused all the trouble between two peoples who, but for this kindly provision of nature, would probably be living in peace and harmony. The Sguni claimed the exclusive ownership of the fish and forcibly prevented the Nyootas from catching them, sinking and destroying their boats and imprisoning their fishermen; and the Nyootas, by way of retaliation, refused to buy any fish from the Sguni except on condition that out of every three fish brought to their market two should be thrown away. Thus not only were the bounties of nature wasted and left unused by those who should have enjoyed them, but a fatal spirit of enmity and jealousy was fostered between two kindred people. The country of the Sguni is densely wooded, while that of the Nyootas has been largely cleared; but the Nyootas persist in felling their remaining stock of trees, and obstinately refuse to buy from the Sguni. The Sguni, on the other hand, are large consumers of cotton and woolen cloth, which the Nyootas weave themselves, and buy from the Arab traders who visit Inyoodi; yet a Nyoota merchant, bringing cloth into the Sguni country, is treated as a public enemy, and subjected to vexatious fines, and often to imprisonment.

Against these queer ideas, so opposed to self-interest and to the principles of Christianity, Mr. Ferguson for many months battled in vain. The Sguni could not be brought to admit that on every principle of human brotherhood the Nyootas had an equal right to the fish in the lake. The Nyootas obstinately declined to understand that by refusing to buy fish from the Sguni they were chiefly injuring themselves, or to see the folly of cutting down their own few trees when they could just as well get an unlimited supply of lumber from the Sguni at less cost. In short, each tribe seemed chiefly anxious to hinder the prosperity of the other, without realizing that in doing so they were necessarily making life more difficult for themselves. To preach the gospel of the golden rule to people of such unconquerably barbarous instincts was a manifest absurdity.

However, the good missionary's efforts were not absolutely fruitless. Before his departure from the Mbo Mbo, Mr. Ferguson succeeded in introducing at least the thin end of the wedge of Christian teaching. At a grand pow-wow held in November, 1885, the Sguni agreed to a considerable enlargement of the limits within which the Nyootas might do their fishing, with the understanding that the whole lake should be thrown open to them if at any future time they should decide to let the Sgunis come to their towns to exchange fish for cloth. There was, however, very little prospect that the Nyootas would soon enlarge their market for cloth in this way; and, indeed, the Rev. Mr. Ferguson naively confesses the opinion that even this trifling concession was made chiefly to induce him to betake himself and his Christian teachings out of the country.

Of course these poor central African savages will not be left in their darkness. The matter will be brought before the various missionary societies of America and England, and it cannot be long before a band of devoted men and women shall be on the way to the shores of the Mbo Mbo, intent on carrying to the Sguni and Nyootas that gospel of fellowship and brotherly love that has made our western civilization the glorious thing it is.

Indeed, Mr. George W. Childs, the well known philanthropist of Philadelphia; Mr. John Wanamaker, the famous Sunday school superintendent of the same city; Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, and other large-hearted and large-minded Christians have already indicated their willingness to contribute largely toward putting an end to this stupid warfare of ignorant savages, by spreading among them the light of that gospel which teaches us Christians that the true interest of tribes and nations lies in promoting each other's prosperity and not in retarding it.

The march of events brings the tariff question more and more to the front. Mr. Blaine, interviewed by a *World* reporter in Florence, declares explictly that he will not be a candidate for the presidency, but resents the imputation that his refusal is based on a fear of defeat. He insists that the republican party is sure of success because the president's message has forced the tariff question into politics and there is now no escape from the issue by the democratic party. On that issue Mr. Blaine evidently thinks that the republicans are sure to win.

Mr. Blaine is not alone in this opinion. Chauncey M. Depew in a speech made before the Union league club at Chicago on February 22 celebrated that anniversary by revealing his own ambition to occupy the chair once filled by Washington. Mr. Depew gave more attention to dead issues and war memories than could have been reasonably expected from so live a man; but he came out strongly for the everlasting maintenance of a war tariff—the higher the better—surplus or no surplus. The Albany Blaine men account this the bugle blast of a born leader of men, and already the cry with them is "The king is dead; long live the king!" One of them declared to a reporter that "Depew is sound on the tariff, and that will be the issue."

Nothing could be better than the nomination of Depew. For years he was the attorney who managed the Albany lobby of the New York Central railroad. Since the management of that great corporation fell from the hands of William H. Vanderbilt to the hands of his sons, these young men have not only saved their minds from much worry but their consciences from much stain by calling Mr. Depew to the presidency of their road. For years he has been the attorney of monopoly, and now he is the head of one of those great corporations that do not hesitate to control legislation for their own benefit and against the public interests. Such a man would be an ideal candidate for a party that proposed to fight a great national campaign on the issue that the few have a right to use the whole power of the federal government to assist them in their private business by aiding them to levy a tax on all the other people of the country for their own private, pecuniary advantage. Mr. Depew would make a particularly charming leader for a high tariff, monopoly-perpetuating party with a "workingman's" anti-monopoly annex.

But while there come from all quarters evidences that the republicans do not intend to let the democrats make any cowardly retreat from the position in which Mr. Cleveland has placed them, there are corresponding evidences that the democratic papers and leaders begin to comprehend that they must defend tariff reduction and attack the absurd protective delusion. The *World* is actually able to refer to the republican accusation that the democrats are free traders, without manifesting any signs of dangerous rage, and in answer to the *Sun's* declaration that New York and New Jersey will go with the republicans on the tariff reduction issue, it reminds its hated contemporary that Tilden carried both states "on a platform far more pronounced against a high tariff than the president's late message was, and containing no recognition whatever of the principle of protection." Just so; and therein the platform of 1876 was greatly superior to the message of 1888. If the democrats do not muster up enough courage to attack and demolish that delusion, the delusion will demolish them.

In this, their hour of tribulation, timid democratic papers ought to refresh their souls now and then by reading that platform of 1876, in which the existing tariff was denounced as "a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretense." Here are a few of the counts in the indictment it brought against the sacred protective tariff:

It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few.

It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor.

It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas.

It has cut down the sales of American manufacturers at home and abroad and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production and wastes the fruits of labor.

It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials and bankrupts honest merchants.

We demand that the custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Where is the dalliance with the protective delusion in that platform? Let the shaking cowards who are scared about New York and New Jersey read it. On that platform in 1876 Mr. Tilden carried New York by over 32,000, New Jersey by over 12,000 and Connecticut by 1,712. No democratic candidate on a tariff straddling platform has done as well since.

An amusing illustration of the absurdity of the attempt to commit wage workers to the maintenance of the existing tariff is found in the organization of manufacturers recently formed in Philadelphia. This is no association of a social nature, but proposes to devote itself strictly to business. It has two objects, and two only. The first is to assure concerted action by all protected manufacturers for the preservation of the existing tariff, and the second is to combine them, as one man, in resisting strikes for higher wages against any individual member of the association. Is it possible that any workingman can be found, even in Philadelphia, who is capable of believing that these men want a tariff to protect American labor and maintain high wages?

The New York *Times* prints reports of interviews with a number of leading republicans in Minnesota, which give further evidence of the lack of sympathy there with the apparent disposition of the party to insist on the maintenance of the existing war tariff. There is the usual talk about "protection," but the governor, state treasurer, secretary of state and numerous other officials and party leaders declare emphatically in favor of a material reduction in the present tariff. It may become necessary to exclude Minnesota in order to assure harmony in the next republican national convention. Such talk as that quoted is not regarded as republicanism here and hereabout.

It is a curious fact, and one of special interest to the numerous free traders in the united labor party, that the Tammany machine has recently been committed to high tariff views, and that it now bases its secret opposition to the renomination of Mr. Cleveland on his message in favor of tariff reduction. In private conversation Tammany leaders say that this wide departure by their organization from the views it professed in the days of John Kelly is based on a conviction that the workingmen of New York are at heart protectionists. Considering the events of the past few years, it is somewhat amusing to see Tammany step forward as the rep-

resentative of working men possessed of views on any great question of national policy. Unless grave injustice has been done, it was by something vastly different from arguments on protection that Tammany won the favor of those workingmen who voted with it last fall. Any members of the united labor party who comprehend the full meaning of the proposal to put all taxes on land values and to abolish all other taxes, would find that politics had indeed given them strange bed fellows, if they should find themselves next fall using the same pretense that Tammany now puts forth to justify them in seeking by indirection to defeat a ticket that Tammany was treacherously knifing under the counsel and direction of the New York Sun. It would be difficult for the imagination to conceive of a more incongruous combination.

The house committee on territories has agreed to report to congress a bill for admitting the territories of Dakota, Washington, Montana and New Mexico as states. The committee suggests that the name of Washington be changed to Tecomah, and that of New Mexico to Montezuma. The measure is one dictated by partisan considerations, as Dakota is really the only territory that has a population demanding its early admission as a state, though the propriety of admitting it as a single state is very questionable. One argument in favor of its admission, as now organized, is that otherwise another comparatively small population will secure a representation equal to that of the greatest state in the senate, but this argument is equally strong against the admission of the other territories named. The result of their admission would probably be a considerable accession to the body of United States senators who already practically hold their seats by purchase. Such considerations are, however, likely to weigh but little with modern politicians, and it is due to justice to say that they have had just about as little weight with politicians in the past. Territorial admissions have generally been accomplished through bargain and compromise. No bill will be passed admitting the territories named to the Union in time to participate in the next presidential election. The democrats have never yet recovered from the disgust inspired by the recollection that it was their own act in admitting Colorado in 1876 that made possible the inauguration of Mr. Hayes. They will take no more such risks. This is the reason that Dakota will not be admitted alone, and it is but just to say that it is the certainty that Dakota will be a republican state that makes the republicans in congress so eager for its immediate admission.

One interesting fact about the report of the committee on territories is the deliberate refusal to make use of the customary phrase "all male citizens" in describing the voters entitled to participate in the formation of the proposed new state. In Washington territory women now vote, and objection was made to the use of the phrase quoted on the ground that it would deprive these women of their existing rights. After a lively debate there was a tie vote on the motion to limit the voters to males, and Chairman Springer gave his casting vote against such restriction. It is difficult to imagine any theory of self-governing democracy that would warrant congress in depriving women of the right to vote where by common consent of the community they already have that right. The truth is that all arguments against woman suffrage are based on sentimental considerations or on ideas of expediency or convenience. Now that the ability to bear arms has ceased to be a prerequisite to citizenship, no logical argument can be advanced justifying men in refusing to women the right to vote. Our theory is that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and if any woman wishes to take part in making the laws by which she must abide, it is difficult to conceive of any right that all the other men and women of a state have to deny her the opportunity she demands. They have the power, of course, but power and right are very different things.

Charles Francis Adams proposes that the government shall grant to the Union Pacific railroad company still easier terms than are proposed by the majority of the Pacific railroad commission, and offers as further security a mortgage on the terminal grounds of the company at Omaha, Kansas City and Denver. Mr. Adams admits that these lands are already mortgaged nearly up to their present value, but thinks that the government mortgage would become valuable as these lands advanced in selling price through the growth of population in the cities named. What would become of this purely speculative value if during the fifty years during which it is proposed that the mortgage shall run the people of Omaha, Kansas and Denver should become wise enough to appropriate to their own use, by means of taxation, these now uncreated values that Mr. Adams so confidently offers as the property of his company as the basis for a mortgage? If congress really wishes to do justice to the American people it will take possession of both these Pacific roads, their terminal grounds and a good deal more, and even then it will not recoup itself for what the companies have stolen from it.

Corporation Counsel Beekman has given to Mayor Hewitt an official opinion that there is no constitutional obstacle to the passage by the legislature of an act granting to the corporation of New York the right to build elevated railroads. Mr. Beekman is preparing such a bill, and his assistant, Francis M. Scott, says that he shall soon go to Albany to advocate its passage.

At the dinner of the Commonwealth club on Monday evening the mayor's proposal was the topic for consideration. W. J. Coombe delivered a carefully prepared speech advocating the proposal that the city shall build and operate rapid transit roads, but opposing the suggestion that any such road when built shall be leased to the New York Central or any other corporation. Simon Sterne followed in support of Mr. Coombe's speech, and said that he took occasion to recant some of his views and to confess that governmental assistance and management are good things in some cases. He said that if the city had retained the franchises it has given away its taxes would be much lower, and declared his belief that all the robberies of the Tweed ring were small in comparison with our losses through the giving away of rapid transit franchises.

The applause indicated that this conservative body of men were in full sympathy with the speakers. The incident as a whole is one that affords much reasonable gratification to all who seek to bring about the maintenance of public rights. It indicates that the day is not far distant when such men will see the fundamental error that underlies the received political economy. For those who have come to see the wrong and impolicy of granting to individuals such franchises as those of the elevated roads, the day is not far distant when they will acknowledge the wickedness of granting to individuals that far more important and valuable franchise—the right to control the use of the earth, and to profit by those values arising from the growth and improvement of the whole community.

Justice Dykman of the supreme court has recently decided that the law does not permit a person to make any provision by contract for the management or disposition of his property after death. It is highly satisfactory to find that there is some check on the tendency to permit the dead to manage and control this earth after they have left it. The more closely we approach to conformity with Jefferson's declaration that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living and that the dead have no rights over it, the better it will be for the living.

William Saunders is doing excellent work in Scotland in exposing the error into which Alfred Russell Wallace fell in asserting that vacant lands in this country are taxed at their selling value. The London *Democrat* republishes Mr. Saunders's letter with comments that show that it fully understands the blunder of Mr. Wallace. If its editor would have some definite information on the subject we advise him to read the article entitled "The Tax on Buildings" in this issue of THE STANDARD. Mr. Wallace's error has now been so thoroughly refuted that he owes it to the public that he shall confess it and retract the assertions that he has based upon it.

Justice is the name of the weekly paper recently started by the friends of the single tax in Philadelphia, and justice is its aim and policy. It is filled with good things, and keeps up with the news of the movement, and has a large field before it in the work of converting Pennsylvania to the sound economic view that what labor needs is not protection, but justice.

The Prince of Wales as an Advocate of "Confiscation."

Hamilton (Ont.) Times.

In 1878 a royal commission in England, among whose members were the prince of Wales, Professor Caird, Cardinal Manning, Lord Salisbury, George J. Goschen, Lord Cross, E. Dwyer Gray, Henry Broadhurst, Jesse Collings, Samuel Morley, Charles W. Dilke and others, presented a report, from which the following extract is taken:

> At present land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centers, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated, not in relation to the real value, but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market and to part with only small quantities so as to raise the price beyond the natural monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say four per cent on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the ratable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or prices paid for land which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent land holders, a tax be it remembered which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the towns people themselves. Your majesty's commissioners would recommend that these matters should be included in legislation when the law of rating comes to be dealt with by parliament.

Where Protection Reigns and Strikes Flourish.

Indianapolis News.

Labor strikes flourish in a small group of states—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio. Seventy-three per cent of the 340,854 persons engaged in strikes last year were in those states. In Pennsylvania were the largest number—111,317. New York comes next with 62,655, the two states furnishing more than one-half of all. New Jersey is third with 27,508, Ohio fourth with 22,825, Massachusetts fifth with 23,659. More than two-thirds of the $13,500,000 in wages sacrificed by strikes during the year were lost to the workers of these five states. You will note that the greater part of strikes is in the "protected" industries. There the rates of wages are lower too than in other industries that owe nothing to protection; there too the unrest, demoralization and distress, the struggle to keep the rate above the starvation level are greatest.

STATISTICS THAT INSTRUCT.

The Financial Reform Almanac and What It Tells—The People Who Own Great Britain and Ireland.

THE STANDARD has received from the Financial reform association, 18 Hackins Hey, Liverpool, the "Financial Reform Almanac" for 1888. It is a pamphlet of 200 pages, packed with statistical information relating to the the public receipts and expenditures of Great Britain and cognate subjects. The association, which was established in 1848, advocates economical government, just taxation and perfect freedom of trade. It demands a single and equitable system of direct taxation "in lieu of the present unequal complicated and expensively collected duties upon commodities," and the continuation of tariff reforms, "until the last chain laid upon human industry and skill be broken and the last duty abolished," and insists upon a revision of the land laws and a readjustment of the land tax. In order to throw light on the way to proceed in these reforms, the association has had compiled from the best available sources, mainly official, statements of fact in respect to every question of import to the taxpayer. The index embraces several hundred subjects.

Social questions in Great Britain are so closely related to those of America that a citizen of our country will find this "Almanac" quite as instructive in parts as if it were an American publication. Especially is this true in regard to the chapter on the land question. The landed interest of Great Britain has for many generations been doing what every interest subject to combined effort will do—employing governmental agencies for its benefit and vigorously pushing its own fortunes to the detriment of all other interests. The Almanac points out that Mr. Samuel Laing, M. P., has ably demonstrated that the landlords of Great Britain have received fifty million pounds over market value from the people through railway companies' purchases. Their landed estates have been thereby increased one hundred and fifty million pounds in value, not to speak of the relief afforded by the large share of local taxation borne by these railways, which Mr. Laing estimates at one-half:

Taxes.	In 1814.	1843.	1868.	1878.	1884.
Land paid, per cent....	69	49	33	27	23
Houses, per cent.....	28	42	48	50	53
Railways, per cent.....	(nil)	3	8	13	14
Other property, per cent	3	6	11	10	10

As an instance of the way in which the last generation of peers dealt with railways the fact is recalled that in 1818 the house of lords threw out the first Stockton railway bill for fear of disturbing the duke of Cleveland's fox covers. These very rails have since made his successor a Crœsus. The mode of opposition by some peers of the present generation is illustrated in these two typical cases. In 1873 Lord Beaumont claimed £20,000 for one and one-eighth acres of ground at Fulham, wanted for the Metropolitan district railway. A jury awarded him £7,250. In 1884 Lord Derby demanded £200 an acre for common agricultural land in the vicinity of Bury, for which a jury gave £107 as the fair value.

The Almanac compiles from the Domesday returns of 1874, which it says greatly understated the facts as to the size of the large landed estates, the following statement:

In England and Wales—

12 persons own 1,033,333 acres.
66 persons own 1,917,076 acres.
100 persons own 3,917,641 acres.
389 persons own 5,425,761 acres, or about one-sixth of the inclosed land.
523 persons own one-fifth of all England and Wales.
710 persons own one-fourth of all England and Wales.
874 persons own 9,367,031 acres.
10,207 persons own two-thirds of all England and Wales.

One man owns over 186,397 acres in England; another, 102,785 acres; 4,500 own 17,498,200 acres, or more than half of England and Wales.

In Scotland, where the total area is 18,946,694 acres:

One man owns 1,836,000 acres, and has, besides, 82,095 acres in England; total, 1,355,095 acres.
Another has 431,000 acres.
Another has 454,000 acres.
Another has 806,500 acres.
12 owners have 4,839,722 acres, about a quarter of Scotland, and more than the entire area of Wales.
20 owners hold more than 120,000 each.
24 owners hold more than 4,931,888 (a fourth of Scotland).
70 owners hold about 9,400,000 (a half of Scotland).
171 owners hold about 11,029,228.
330 owners hold two-thirds of Scotland.
1,700 owners hold nine-tenths of Scotland.

In Ireland, where the total area is 20,159,677 acres—

1 person owns 170,119 acres.
12 persons own 1,297,883 acres.
8 persons own over 100,000 acres each.
14 persons own over 50,000 acres each.
90 persons own over 20,000 acres each.
135 persons own over 10,000 acres each.
452 persons own over 5,000 acres each.
292 persons own 6,453,100 acres (nearly one-third of the island.)
744 persons own 9,612,728 acres (nearly one-half of the island).
1,942 persons own two-thirds of Ireland.

In Scotland more than 2,000,000 acres have been depopulated and cleared of thousands of sheep to make room for deer forests. Of four highland counties of Scotland, having an area of 8,050,190 acres, the extent of land under cultivation is only 419,385 acres, the rest being left for deer and other wild animals.

With reference to land tax reform the Almanac says that the tax on land now yields an annual revenue of a little over a million sterling and holds a comparatively humble position in the fiscal system of the country, but its importance is by no means adequately estimated if regarded solely from this point of view. It holds a place of primary importance in the history of British taxes, and the means are suggested by which "this ghost" of a once substantial tax may be restored to its ancient position in the national fiscal system. During the reigns of the Norman and Plantagenet kings the national charges were almost wholly drawn from the land, but from about the year 1334 onward, personal property was laid under contribution, and customs duties were from 1353 regularly levied on certain descriptions of imported articles. In the reigns of William III and Anne one-third of the total revenues were supplied by the land tax, the crown lands having been granted away and the feudal payments abolished. The average revenue in those reigns amounted to four and a half millions.

The Almanac contains much useful and interesting information concerning the appropriation of common lands by the large land holders, the absentee landlords of Ireland, the ancient land tenures, the statistics of agriculture, with other facts and figures bearing on the land question. In all, the pamphlet is highly valuable as, what it is announced to be, "a vade mecum for fiscal reformers, free traders, politicans, public speakers and writers." The price is one shilling.

The Canton, O., Anti-Poverty Society.

CANTON, O.—At the last meeting of our anti-poverty society we adopted a constitution, under which the following officers were elected: President, A. E. Knisely; vice-president, Joshua Hunt; secretary, Charles Raedel; treasurer, A. U. Knisely; chorister, A. Waltz; executive committee, W. D. Meridith, A. J. Kintz, S. Harmont, M. D. The executive committee organized immediately by electing W. D. Meridith chairman, who, by virtue of his office, becomes our corresponding secretary.

The Henry George land and labor club of this city and this society are on the most intimate and friendly relations. Some of our active members and officers are members of the Henry George club. We have been moving very cautiously and slowly, but now we think we will be able to report active work from this city and county (Stark).

A. E. KNISLEY, Pres.
CHARLES RAEDEL, Sec.
W. D. MERIDITH, Cor. Sec.

ANTI-POVERTY IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 27.—The usual weekly meeting of the anti-poverty society was held on Sunday evening, Feb. 26, Professor William Findlay occupying the chair.

John F. Halbach was the first speaker. He spoke of the necessity of avoiding ambiguity in the use of words and illustrated his proposition by the recent utterance of John Wanamaker denying the equality of men. What Mr. Wanamaker meant was that men are not equal in ability, stature, wealth or honor. But the equality asserted by the Declaration of Independence was an equality of right to opportunity; and this sort of equality he was sure Mr. Wanamaker would not deny.

"There is," said Mr. Halbach, "a true and a false conservatism and a true and a false radicalism. The true conservative is always radical and the true radical is only so because he is so conservative. The false conservative seeks only to preserve the forms of liberty, but the true radical would secure the substance and advance civilization to a still higher plane. This so-called conservatism is only a phase of conventionalism. It is not lightly or needlessly to be abandoned, but when it is opposed to justice and stands in the way of progress it is a crime, it is slavery, it is a selfish love of ease. All our blessed institutions were bought for us by the heart's blood of radicals."

Mr. Chambers then gave an appropriate recitation, which was ably rendered and very enthusiastically received.

Mr. Hoar, who had suffered imprisonment for twelve months in Ireland for the cause of the land league there, was the next speaker. He was suffering from a severe cold, and in consequence was obliged to speak in a very low tone, so that his eloquent words were not heard at a distance from the stage. He said that there was really very little known concerning America in foreign countries. The political parties he had found were no better here than in other countries, and until lately he had refrained from taking out his papers as a citizen because he could see no use in voting. One party was just like the other and both deeply steeped in corruption. He said the press was wrong when it said the united labor party had met its Waterloo last fall. That had really been the first campaign on our great platform. And a start with 75,000 voters was a far more magnificent beginning than any other reform or party ever had before.

He had often wondered why it was that some people's whole life was one continual night of martyrdom while to others existence was a continual holiday. They all came into the world equal and all left it equal. The poverty of to-day was the deadliest enemy of Christianity. "Progress and Poverty," he said, was the grandest book of the nineteenth century. Bradlaugh and Ingersoll find their strongest support in the teachings of current political economy.

Mr. Atkinson, the president of the society, then addressed the audience, but had scarcely begun his remarks when Henry George entered the hall and was greeted with an enthusiastic burst of applause and repeated calls. Mr. Atkinson courteously gave way to Mr. George, who spoke very briefly, drawing attention to the unexampled rapidity with which the anti-poverty doctrine is spreading, and urging the young men before him to accustom themselves to public speaking, that they might be able to aid the movement more efficiently. Mr. George invited questions from the audience, and was asked for some particulars of his recent western trip, which he gave, describing the advance of thought which he had noticed everywhere in his travels.

The meeting was then adjourned.

The Tenth Ward United Labor Party.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Please announce that a special meeting of the Tenth ward association united labor party will be held at 358 Sackett street, near Smith street, on Thursday evening, March 1, at 8 p. m. sharp, to take action in regard to the refusal of the county committee to submit certain resolutions passed at the last meeting to the various ward associations for their consideration. As a full meeting is very desirable, members of the association are urged to attend.

ROBERT C. UTESS, Secretary.

The Manistee Reform Club.

A club has been formed in Manistee, Michigan, for the purpose of discussing social questions. It is called the Manistee Reform Club, and it held its first, meeting on the 21st inst. Mr. George Hilliker was elected president, Mr. T. B. Collins secretary, and Henry Brownrigg treasurer. The tariff and land questions were both vigorously discussed, and it was decided that the land question be the subject for debate at the next meeting.

If More Capital Were Employed in New York Land Values Would Rise.

Boston Globe.

"Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore are competing most seriously with New York, and if we persist in the same course as heretofore we may discover too late that we have lost our crown and our treasure."

So said Charles Coudert to the New York real estate exchange a day or two ago. He was speaking in favor of Mayor Hewitt's proposition to place all taxes upon real estate and exempt personal property. Other real estate owners spoke forcibly in favor of the change. They believe that if personal property is exempted from taxation in New York capital will flow there in such quantities as to cause a rise of land values which will far more than offset the $2,000,000 or so which would have to be added to the taxes on real estate.

Well, if the expectations of Mr. Coudert and the real estate men are realized, and New York begins to gain on Boston as a business center by reason of this change, Boston can, if she chooses, retain her present relative position by adopting the same course. If the exemption of personal property from taxation is a good thing for New York it is a good thing for Boston, and New York has no patent on it.

This is worth consideration from our real estate owners and business men. Let us have the largest possible prosperity for Boston, and not be behind New York in the adoption of modern improvements which may attract capital and business hither.

Ears Have They, but They Hear Not, Neither Will They Understand.

Sedalia Industrialist.

In speaking of pauperism, which drives men and women to be tramps and to become insane Mr. George says, "Seek the reason and you will find it in this land question." He further says that nothing "goes up in value" but land. This kind of talk would do very well if he had established his theory on a sound principle; but it is on an assumption, namely, that land has intrinsic value, or even that anything has intrinsic value.

A QUEER CASE.

Pre-empting Land in the Middle of Salt Lake City—A Practical Illustration of the Stealing of the Unearned Increment.

SALT LAKE CITY, Feb. 20.—Once in a while a community is so circumstanced that it clearly sees the injustice of the individual appropriation of land, even when such appropriation is effected in accordance with the law. There lies in the outskirts of this city a large tract of commons known as Arsenal hill, valued at about a quarter of a million dollars, and which has for many years been regarded as the common property of the people. On Tuesday morning last a number of men were found busy setting posts on the land preparatory to inclosing it with a barbed wire fence. It was soon discovered that one John H. Linck proposed to "jump" the land, as the people called it; and unmeasured indignation was aroused.

Marshal Solomon was soon on the ground, but the men paid no attention to his orders. Later in the day he returned with eight policemen, and, the men refusing to quit work, the officers began to take up the posts while the men continued to plant them. The policemen not being over fond of work, thought it cheaper to arrest the men, which they did. In return Linck had the officers arrested on the charge of arresting without lawful process. The next morning several tents and a board shanty were found on the land. Near one of the tents a lady was busy cooking breakfast, and elsewhere a man had begun to improve the field with a plow, while a half dozen men were digging more post holes.

By this time the indignation of the people had reached a white heat, and in response to the public ire the mayor summoned Marshal Solomon, Night Watchman Dobson, Recorder Wells and nearly the entire police force, with forty or fifty specials, and proceeded to the hill to oust the jumpers. They soon cleared the field of jumpers, tents and shanties, and continued to forcibly occupy it in the name of the people. The jumpers claim that the city had failed to comply with the law upon the authority of which alone any title must rest, and that therefore the land is open to settlement. And if their position can be sustained they have merely accepted the general invitation of the government of the United States, of which the people of Salt Lake are a component part, to "jump" any lands in its possession which are not reserved from settlement.

It is worthy of note that, while smarting under the fresh sting of the moral injustice of the individual appropriation of that particular piece of valuable land, the people of Salt Lake City are directing their indignation exclusively against the land jumpers, never once suspecting that the fault may be in the law and not in the human nature which prompts men to take advantage of any special privileges extended by the law.

The reason that the moral injustice of the jumping of this particular piece of land so sensibly prods the sleepy perceptions of our citizens is not to be found in the analysis of principles involved, but in the circumstances of time and value. Had this same land been "jumped" twenty or thirty years ago, the same value would have attached to it which it has now acquired without any one "owning" it, and from the same causes. But under those circumstances none of the present protestors would have dreamed of questioning the title or right of the jumper to the great unearned value of that land. The moral deductions would be something like these: "The settler obtained lawful ownership of the land at about the price which it was worth at that time; and the land being absolutely his property, any value which might subsequently attach to his land would be his also, for how could he "own" the land and some one else claim its accruing value? He bought or settled the land and took his chances, and it happened that Salt Lake City grew in population so as to give it a value of a quarter of a million dollars. He was a lucky dog, a shrewd fellow." Under these circumstances he would not be denounced as a land "jumper" but honored as a land "lord" and would be accorded especial consideration at the hands of the community, whom he had as effectually robbed as could be done by the most extreme case of land jumping imaginable. But the idea of an individual seizing that enormous unearned value at a single grab after it had accumulated is extremely repulsive to the sense of justice of the Salt Lakers.

Unquestionably the individual appropriation of Arsenal hill would be an unmitigated robbery of the people. But there is a much better way to right that wrong than by getting indignant and hiring special policemen to hold the fort. If the community were to levy a tax on all lands exclusive of improvements equal to its rental value, how much interest would the jumper of Arsenal hill have left? Only the value of the fence, tents and shanties. And since it was the land value they were after, and not the use of the land, they would drop the latter without the former like a hot potato. Or, at the worst, the city could resume possession of the hill by condemning it and compensating the "owners" for all the interest they have in it, viz: the fence and shanties. And the people would thus not only gain the undisputed possession of the full unearned value of that land, but also of the enormous aggregate unearned value of all the lands within the city limits. They would be reveling in the enjoyment of an ample revenue to provide schools, public buildings, parks, libraries, good streets, electric lights, free public conveyances and many other desirable things, without depriving a single citizen of the fruits of his labor to the extent of a single penny.

JOHN SMITH.

The Agitation in Toronto is Making People Think.

Phillips Thompson in Toronto Week.

Whatever may be the opinion of social conservatives as to the justice or the practicability of the land nationalization theory, it cannot be denied that the persistent and active propagandism of its advocates has done much to enlighten the public mind as to the fact which underlies it, of the enormous increase in land values, caused by the growth of population. As to this point at least there can be no room for controversy. Irrespective altogether of any opinions which may be held as to the effect of this increase upon the condition of the landless class, or the possibility of remedying social inequalities arising from this source, the discussion has emphasized and brought into prominence an important economic truth, the significance of which was formerly only appreciated by the learned few; to-day every intelligent newspaper reader is familiar with the doctrine of "unearned increment" and—attention having been directed to the subject—finds it confirmed by the every day transactions of the real estate market.

Now, putting completely aside for the time what is distinctively known as the Henry George theory, and having regard only to the bare, universally admitted fact which the enunciation of that theory has brought out into strong relief, let us consider what bearing this fact ought to have, as viewed from an ordinary, common sense, business standpoint, on the course of governments and other bodies holding valuable areas of land in trust for the public. This question has just now a practical interest for the people of Ontario, owing to the change of site, either in contemplation or actually determined upon, of several important public institutions, including the parliament buildings, Upper Canada college and the lunatic asylum. Owing to the phenomenal growth of Toronto, their present locations have become at the same time enormously valuable and in some respects less suited to the purpose of the buildings. Their removal to suburban or less central sites will leave the provincial government in possession of several large blocks of land of great value, which are no longer required for public use. It is proposed in accordance with the policy hitherto followed in such cases to sell this land and thereby increase the funds at the disposal of the government.

Years ago, before the rapid growth of cities had impressed the public with the advantage of the ownership of building land over every other form of investment, there might have been some excuse for such a course. While the future of Toronto was doubtful—so long as this city had rivals, which it was possible might outstrip us in the race, the wisdom of holding, in the hope of a large future increase in value, real estate not required for public purposes might have been debatable. But that time has long passed. It is as certain as any thing human can be that Toronto will continue to expand, and that consequently the value of all land in central localities will advance by leaps and bounds. Should the provincial government now dispose of the sites of the present parliament buildings, Upper Canada college and lunatic asylum they will give private individuals the opportunity of making fortunes out of the increase in value sure to increase within a few years. They will be deliberately throwing away an advantage which, even on the ground of the orthodox doctrines of political economy, ought to belong to the public as present possessors by valid title. They will be acting as a prudent, far seeing man would act in conducting his personal affairs. The most urgent want of ready money could alone excuse the folly either of the private investor or the holder of such property in trust for the public who would be guilty of allowing considerations of slight temporary advantage to outweigh the duty of jealouly conserving it as the source of a large future revenue. But if we may believe the repeated statements of successive provincial treasurers, the government is in no immediate need of money. Even if they were their credit is good, and as unearned increment on Toronto real estate augments more rapidly than interest at a moderate rate, it would be sound economy to borrow rather than to alienate these valuable sites.

How the Tariff Works in Michigan.

Detroit News.

The movement started at Grand Rapids among the furniture manufacturers for free raw materials is spreading among other manufacturers in Michigan. Even the lumber mill men are beginning to wake up, as shown by a letter from L. L. Hotchkiss, of Bay City, to Congressman Fisher, urging the removal of the duty from lumber and of the export duty from logs. The truth is that there is scarcely a manufacturer of any sort in the state of Michigan who does not pay out much more in tariff on his materials and machinery than he gets back in the tariff on his finished product. This would not seem to be the case in the lumber mills, as the pine land owners are fond of boasting that there is no tariff on logs; but the fact is, nevertheless, that there is no class of raw material off which so much is secured by tariff for its producers as logs. The pine lands are in so few hands that each mill is practically dependent on one man, or a combination of a few men, who own all the timber on the stream upon which it is located. Logs cannot be brought from Canada on account of the Canadian export tax, which is a retaliation for our tariff. Thus the timber land owners have the millers at their mercy, and do what they will to economize in manufacture, the millers find that the timber owners can make them pay for logs all but barely enough to keep their mills going. If the price of lumber goes up, the price of logs goes up to meet it. If a new saw is invented which saves ten per cent or more in the cost of manufacture, the timber owner puts up his prices and absorbs that ten per cent. It is the same with the metals. The owners of the mines absorb the whole benefit of the tariff. Aside from the owners of mining lands and timber lands, and a few special manufactures which have been organized into trusts to protect themselves against the owners of the raw materials, manufacturers derive no benefit from the tariff. If the tariff was taken off lumber, the Canadian export duty off logs, wool, iron ore and pig put upon the free list, with the chemicals needed in manufacture, our manufacturers would immediately find themselves, in all but a very few instances able to compete with foreign producers, and the whole fabric of tariff protection would quickly collapse, as it did in England when corn was made free.

How Are the Mighty Fallen!

Cork. (Ireland) Eagle.

"Once the landlord was the owner of a landed estate; now he is merely a partner in an agricultural firm, with no control or voice in its management." So spoke a Mr. Staples, one of the deputation of Irish landlords to Lord Salisbury on Friday last, the 3d inst. It would be hard to hit upon a more apt epitome of the present position of the landlords than this. It is candid; it is clear; it is unmistakably true. In a word, it is the whole state of the question in a nutshell. For the landlords it is a confession of defeat; a melancholy termination of their once great power in the land. Once they were owners; now they are only sleeping partners in the "agricultural firm." They are not too anxious to retain the, for them, anomalous position; they are rather desirous, as a speaker said at the landlords' convention, held in Dublin last summer, to run their sinking bark to some safe harbor of refuge to save the cargo. To save the vessel they have no hopes. The majority of them probably never thought that matters would come to this pass, that their power in the land would have vanished almost entirely away. They who once were all important; who controlled parliamentary representation, grand juries, town councilors and boards of guardians; who held the fortunes and the very lives of their tenants in their hands; who, in fact, possessed the patronage for all important posts in the country, from the highest in Dublin castle down to the workhouse schoolmaster. And with their power more than a third of their net rental is taken from them by the very government whose sway over Ireland the landlords have been the main props in maintaining. What wonder is it that they are dispirited and downhearted to the verge of despair.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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ANTI-POVERTY.

DR. GOTTHEIL PRESIDES AT THE FORTY-FOURTH PUBLIC MEETING.

A Powerful Oration by Dr. McGlynn—The Anti-Poverty Society Should Copy the Methods of the Anti-Slavery Society and Work with the Tools that will Do Most for the Advancement of their Principles—Better Work with Unthinking Instruments than Not to Work at all—An Appeal for Maintaining the United Labor Party.

At the forty-fourth public meeting of the anti-poverty society, held in the Academy of Music last Sunday evening, Dr. Gottheil, the son of the well-known rabbi, presided. He said that when the anti-poverty society was first founded he was afraid that its platform would be no place for him, but he was glad to find that its foundations were laid so deeply that Jew and gentile, religionist and agnostic were equally admissible. Based on no creed, it appeals to all creeds. It was for the cause of humanity, and its members must go straight on, no matter who might falter or fall by the wayside. Compromise might be well for political associations, but it had no place in the anti-poverty society. Not until justice had been established would its work be done. Dr. Gottheil introduced Dr. McGlynn as the orator of the evening.

Dr. McGlynn in beginning his address disclaimed any special power of oratory and said that he always felt diffident on rising to address any audience. He felt more than usually diffident on this occasion because he was more than usually unprepared. It was a meeting of the anti-poverty society, and therefore the doctrines of that society should be expounded at every meeting. A newspaper man had spoken of the "old fad or gag of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." In doing this he had been guilty of a blasphemy and an outrage against his own manhood and should ask pardon of the almighty Father for his unfilial utterance.

Dr. McGlynn went on to expound the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the consequent equal rights of all men to work out their destiny, which involved their equal rights to maintain life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness by their own labor. From this he deduced the equal rights of all to the common, general bounties of nature; that is, their equal right of access to them, so that their diverse talents and industry would not be hampered and all men reduced to a dead level. The idea that all men should be brought to such a level was no part of the teachings of the anti-poverty society, although it was frequently so misrepresented, even by men who spoke in the name of religion. He gave some of them credit for sincerity in such misrepresentation, however, saying that they denounced the society because they wanted to make good the teaching of God's commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." But they were wrong. So far from wishing to promote stealing, the anti-poverty society wanted to stop the stealing.

This stealing occurred through the appropriation by individuals of the unearned increment or increasing value of land which accrued from the growth of the community. This value belonged to the community and should be taken by the community by a rental value tax. This system would unlock opportunities now monopolized by the few and would make possible a civilization grander than any of which the world had yet dreamed. This was the mission of the anti-poverty society and its twin sister, the united labor party. Dr. McGlynn continued:

This wrong must be undone by political action. We contemplate only a peaceful change of law. There is almost precisely the same relation between the anti-poverty society and the united labor party as between the anti-slavery society and the republican party. (Applause.) The anti-slavery society gave the thought and impulse that helped to make the republican party that, hating slavery, while acknowledging its inability to interfere with it where it was entrenched in the institutions of sovereign states, was determined to do everything to make that horrid institution odious, to restrict it as much as possible, to forbid it wherever by the constitution of the United States it could be forbidden by congress. And so they waged war against slavery in the territories and in the District of Columbia; and that party, by the providence of God and through the folly of the slave owners themselves, was able to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in a few years' time, when even the most sanguine of the founders of the party and of the anti-slavery society could hardly have dared to hope for any such thing in a century.

It is only by imitating the magnificent bravery of the anti-slavery men and of the founders of the republican party that we can hope for a victory at all. (Applause.) A most magnificent means of preaching our doctrine is the availing ourselves of every political campaign whether in the city or the state or the nation, by the holding of conventions, by the adoption of a platform, by the nomination of a ticket, to give excuse and occasion to our speakers to go through the city, through the state, or through the country, getting a hearing that under other circumstances it would be idle for us to hope for. (Great applause.)

Now if I, as a friendly member of the united labor party, may be permitted to give a word of advice to that party, it is that it should go straight ahead, doing its appointed work, never discarding, never intermitting its labors, until having fought every campaign in city, state and nation, it shall have accomplished a perfect victory by writing its doctrines in every statute book, whether of the state or of the nation, and seating its congressmen and its legislators, and its president in the chair of Washington. (Applause.)

We have heard the sentiment expressed somewhere that it doesn't matter how people vote but it does matter how they think. (Applause.) Now suppose we all think that it would be well to make a tunnel through the Palisades over there in New Jersey, and let us all keep thinking and get all the people of New Jersey and all the people of New York to devote the undivided attention of their intellects to thinking that there ought to be a tunnel right through a certain point in the Palisades; I want to know how much of that combined intelligent thinking of all the people of New Jersey and New York will bore that tunnel through the Palisades! (Laughter and applause.) But if somehow or other you can get a gang of men there with machines and get them to work on that spot of the the Palisades, although they do not think at all, although they don't know what a hole through that mountain is dug for, that hole will be dug. (Applause.)

So I cheerfully admit, my friends, that thinking is a good thing, and that thinking leads to doing. But in a matter of political reform I cannot for the life of me see what good the thinking is going to do unless that thought shall be carried into practice. And on the other hand I do believe that the vote of a man who does not think at all, who takes his opinion on faith because he knows you are a wise man and you advise him to vote so for the best interests of his country, if he does vote taking his principles on faith, his vote is just as effectual in that direction as the vote of the greatest philosopher the world has ever seen. (Applause.) And if the philosopher should happen to stay at home that day because the weather was rainy, the man, not being a philosopher, not doing much thinking, but who would go and vote, would help the cause more so far as voting goes, than the philosopher. And practical reform never would be helped at all except by voting.

Now, then, I would advise the united labor party not to disband their party after a campaign or two to take a rest for a year or two. (Applause). It would have been a funny kind of a way to put down the rebellion if, when our armies were in the face of the enemy after a reverse or two, President Lincoln had said "You had better go home and take a rest. This putting down the rebellion does not seem to be very successful so far. In a year or two we will call you together again and we will have another whack at putting down the rebellion." (Great applause and laughter.) You could never have got those men together again; never, never.

The party should go straight on. Such was the unanimous feeling of all those men who started to establish this party. Such was the plan of those who adopted the Syracuse platform. It was their clear intent that a conference should be called for the purpose of forming a national party to take active part in the presidential contest. Some have since taken the view that we had better not go into the national campaign, except by making prominent some other issue, that the fundamental doctrine of the platform was really no national issue at all. But the Syracuse platform was composed largely in view of a national campaign. It was full of national issues.

There is a demand for a postal telegraph. Who was to establish this postal telegraph? The same power that owns and controls the post office. There was a demand concerning the currency (applause) and one aimed at the abolition of the national banks. If that is not a national issue I don't know what a national issue is. We want government ownership and control of railroads. The United States ought to own and control certain railroads that it has actually built—(applause)—the great Pacific railroads and others.

To come to our fundamental principle, the doctrine of the land for the people. (Applause.) Has that doctrine nothing to do with national politics? Let us look a moment. See how large a portion of the United States is still occupied by the so-called territories. These territories are subject to the congress of the United States, our servant. We the people have a right to demand that congress shall enact such laws for the government of these territories as they know to be just. There is the District of Columbia, subject to the despotic power of congress. We have a right to demand that those wards of the nation shall not be robbed by land grabbers. (Applause.)

Congress should to-morrow make laws that all taxes in those territories and in the District of Columbia should be levied upon land, that the full rental value of the land should be appropriated in the shape of a rental tax and paid into the local treasuries. (Applause.) I said on another platform that such rental tax should be paid either into the United States treasury, or, better still, into the local treasuries. Through the unfortunate inaccuracy of reporters the latter portion of my remark was not reported. And so some wiseacre writes a letter to say that Dr. McGlynn wants to make the United States the universal landlord. It does occur to me that between our own government, or an English syndicate, or private individuals in New York city, I would cast my vote for the government as landlord every time. (Applause.) But the latter part of my phrase is what I would adhere to and insist upon. I would only accept the landlordship of the United States government as the lesser of two evils. But the proper thing, in keeping with this platform, would be to appropriate by law of congress to the local treasuries of these territories the full rental value of those lands. Is not that a national question?

That is not all. Does not our government now hold as trustee for the whole people an immense national domain in all the states and territories? There are still hundreds of millions of acres actually the property of the United States government. Could we not with perfect propriety demand that our government shall never again violate that law of God, "The land shall not be sold forever," and demand that congress shall never again sell or give away a single square foot of land, but that it shall under wise regulations, precisely similar to the existing homestead laws, permit the occupation for use of these lands in proper quantities, say 160 acres, with the understanding that the occupants shall enjoy, if they use them, perpetual, undisturbed possession, and that they shall never be taxed upon any of their improvements, on the simple condition that when with the growth of the community a rental value shall accrue to those lands they shall pay such rental value in the shape of a tax into their respective local treasuries?

In that way we could through our national government actually introduce this great reform in a short time into all the territories of the United States, that with the rapid increase of population will in a few years be mighty states of this union. And that is not all. By the force of example we can accelerate enormously the bringing about of this platform in all of our states because of the potency of the example of what is done on national land. We have a most comforting example in the republican party, the abolition movement, the anti-slavery society, who while acknowledging that they could not interfere with slavery in the states were determined to give the institution no rest, by constantly petitioning congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and its prohibition in the territories of the United States (applause). In order to preach our doctrine effectually we must practice it as well as preach. Let us preach as much as we can, but let us do all we can to encourage our brethren of the united labor party in carrying out their magnificent campaign whenever opportunity offers.

The Way to Bore a Tunnel is to Bore It.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—I attended the meeting of the anti-poverty society at the Academy of Music last Sunday and listened carefully to Dr. McGlynn's address. One point he made struck me very forcibly. It was that the way to bore a tunnel through the palisades would be to go to work and bore it; and that it wouldn't make much difference whether the men who did the digging knew the object of their work or not, so long as they dug in the right direction.

This was a very strong illustration, but it seems to me that Dr. McGlynn hardly saw its full meaning. We are trying to dig a tunnel through the palisades of moral and economic ignorance to the pleasant country of emancipation beyond. Now, if there are several millions of democratic laborers standing ready, pick, shovel and drill in hand, ready to go to work tunneling in our direction, why in the name of common sense should we try to prevent them? If the democrats will drive our tunnel through the hard rock of protection, we may find easier boring farther on. At all events we shall be better off than we are now. J. LOEFFNER.

THE NEW CRUSADE IN ULSTER.

BELLAGHY, County Derry, Ireland.—You will be glad to hear that the gospel of the new crusade is making progress in Ireland, and is finding ardent advocates among the men of Ulster. John Ferguson of Glasgow, the sturdy son of a sturdy Antrim Presbyterian, has been preaching the crusade in the northern counties during the past few weeks with marked eloquence and success. He addressed a meeting of rank Orangemen in Portadown, and carried his audience so thoroughly with him that he received a vote of thanks for his address—the warmest and most enthusiastic, he affirms, he ever received in his life. On February 10 he addressed a meeting in the Temple of Liberty at Toome, at which the following resolution was proposed and seconded by two farmers, and adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That we emphatically protest against the tendency of late land legislation to barter away the unalienable birthright of the people, and we unanimously assert that no settlement of the question can be satisfactory or final that admits the unjust principle of private property in land.

Mr. Ferguson's address was a masterpiece of logic and eloquence, and he succeeded admirably in demonstrating the inherent injustice of private property in land. Mr. Richard McGhee of Glasgow also addressed the meeting, and pointed out the way labor was robbed by rents and royalties. He quoted statistics to show how much the landlord receives from a trans-Atlantic steam ship company as royalty for coal in one voyage of the Umbria or Etruria, as also statistics showing how much the landlord mulcts the workers in an iron foundry per week for royalties on coal and iron ore. Mr. McGhee's figures produced a powerful effect. Mr. John Dudley (Belfast), in a practical address, exposed the utter fallacy of the belief that land nationalization is impracticable. The Belfast *Morning News* gave a five-column report of the meeting and the *Freeman* gave part of Mr. Ferguson's address, but suppressed the resolution.

The new crusade is undoubtedly making much progress in Ulster, and it only requires education for the people to grasp its full significance. If any of your readers who do not preserve THE STANDARD would mail it to the undersigned I shall take much pleasure in "spreading the light" by circulating it in this district. JOSEPH DAVISON.

The Henry George Assembly of Detroit.

The second public meeting of the Henry George assembly of Detroit was held Feb. 20, with James Phelan in the chair. Mr. Henry A. Robinson was the chief speaker. Among other good things he said that the Malthusian theory of population as the cause of poverty had been exploded. Capitalism and landlordism watch labor's life line, and wages are doled out accordingly. That class living the cheapest—economizing the most—regulates the wages of all others; for all must come down to that rate or starve. It is not overproduction, or extravagance, or intemperance or over-population, then, that causes the galling poverty visible on every hand. "The cause of poverty is landlordism," thundered the speaker, and this climax to his argument brought a storm of applause.

After scoring Statistician Atkinson on his soup bones and rinds and his corn and hog and "protein," Mr. Robinson showed that if the people got the entire proceeds of their labor there would be no general poverty. For poverty is the result of robbery under forms of the law, which uphold and perpetuate a monopoly that makes the land owner the master and the tenant the slave. "Such a thing as exclusive proprietorship in the earth, any more than in the air or the water, was never contemplated by the Divine Being who gave us life."

The next public meeting will be held March 6.

Anti-Poverty in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 27.—Our anti-poverty society held its regular weekly meeting in Ranie's hall, on Sunday, Feb. 26. A good audience was present.

Mr. W. T. Gorsuch of New York, was the first speaker. He gave a clear demonstration of the principle upon which the society is founded, and spoke approvingly of the recent utterances of President Cleveland on the tariff, and of Mayor Hewitt on taxation.

Mr. W. J. Ogden of Baltimore also spoke, showing the progress our doctrines are making among people who adopt them consciously and unconsciously. He referred to a local question now agitating Baltimore—the annexation of the lands surrounding the city, a measure which is opposed by speculating land owners, whose taxes would be increased if the "belt" were taken into the city. He showed how the value of the land in the "belt" has been created by the people of Baltimore, and justly belongs to those who brought it into being.

Mrs. Margaret Moore, of New York, is expected to address the society at its next meeting.

We have received a circular signed by Mr. S. W. Williams of Vincennes, Ind., asking opinions with reference to calling a national conference (not convention), to be held in the west or south. The matter will be discussed at our weekly meeting on Wednesday.

W. N. HILL, M. D.

Good Reading for Jeffersonian Democrats.

Jefferson's Writings, vol. 7, p. 310.

That our Creator made the earth for the use of the living and not of the dead; that those who exist not can have no use nor right in it, no authority or power over it; that one generation of men cannot foreclose or burthen its use to another, which comes to it in its own right and by the same divine beneficence; that a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts; these deriving their obligation from the will of the existing majority, and that majority being removed by death another comes in its place with a will equally free to make its own laws and contracts; these are axioms so self-evident that no explanation can make them plainer; for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence, or that nothing can move something. They are axioms also pregnant with salutary consequences.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Monticello, Sept. 24, 1823.

Farmers Who Demand the Right to Buy in the Cheapest Market.

At a recent meeting of the Minnesota state farmers' alliance in St. Paul the following resolution was adopted:

We demand the revision of the present iniquitous tariff, and ask our Minnesota delegates in Washington to use their utmost endeavors to have placed upon the free list lumber, iron, salt, wool, coal, and all articles for which "trusts" have been or may hereafter be formed, as the producers of the northwest are forced to sell their products in competion with the producers of the Old World. They ask also to be allowed to purchase in the cheapest markets without paying this no longer necessary tribute to our own government.

UNITY CONGREGATION.

CHRISTIANITY AS OPPOSED TO MODERN CIVILIZATION.

A Discourse by Hugh O. Pentecost on The Golden Rule—The Obstacles Which Our Civilization Presents to its Observance.

Hugh O. Pentecost's sermon of last Sunday was devoted to the consideration of the direct teachings of Christ in their applicability to modern human society, and the pointing out of the artifical obstacles which our civilization interposes to any complete obedience to the golden rule.

It is my obinion, said Mr. Pentecost, that even as things are, the teachings of Jesus are far more easily followed than we commonly suppose.

In my opinion, to set a young boy or girl free, or rather never to arrest them at all, after the commission of a crime, but to habitually treat them with kindness—to make this the habit of the community just as it is now our habit to be especially considerate toward the blind, the lame or the deformed—would be far better and safer than to send them, as we do, to the house of correction, where they are immediately thrown with more hardened offenders and confined in a moral atmosphere in which the highest virtue is to become skillful in crimes, bitterness being all the time engendered in their hearts toward the society which incarcerates them.

Not long ago a burglar was brought before a New Jersey judge and sentenced to prison for the second time. "Now," said the judge, "my advice to you is to go to prison and serve out this sentence, and during it make up your mind that when you come forth into the world again you will be an honest man."

"Yes, judge," said the prisoner, "that is very good advice; but when I was in the prison before, I was taught to make shoes, a large portion of the soles of which were pasteboard, and the contractor who is getting rich out of this business of selling pasteboard for leather is a prominent Christian. I don't think you'll ever make me an honest man in that prison."

Now which would be better—to imprison that man under the circumstances related or to send him away with the assurance that society loves him rather than hates him?

A few years ago in New York a young man was discovered in petty thefts from his employer. He was thrown into prison. Before he was brought to trial his Christian employer was induced to withdraw the charge against him, but only after such long and persistent persuasion that all the moral effect of the pardon was lost. The young man came forth from jail disgraced and went west to begin life anew, his family being heartbroken and sharers in his shame. They were among the best of people. Here was punishment tempered with what would ordinarily be called mercy.

At about the same time a young man of whom I know stole money from his employer and absconded. The employer alone knew of the theft and told no one, making a plausible excuse for the absence of his clerk, meantime searching for him until he discovered his whereabouts. He then wrote to him, making no reference whatever to his crime, but saying that when his vacation was over he would be glad to see him back at his desk. The young man understood his employer, went back to work, was greeted as usual, no allusion whatever being made to what had happened, and to-day is in a place of trust and responsibility from which he has risen on account of his superior talents and fidelity.

Both these instance are facts. Which illustrates the highest principle and the best policy?

I know it will be said such an instance as the last would only be true if the thief was of a comparatively fine nature. This, however, is pure assumption. I think that the secret of success in such cases lies in the genuine goodness and tact displayed by the thief's employer.

Who will say that the bishop in "Les Miserables" who, instead of punishing the thief whom he had kindly entertained and who rewarded his hospitality by stealing his silver candlestick, calmly said to him, when arrested and brought before him: "You forgot to take the plates which I also gave you," was not right in the highest sense of the term? I think the effect of that action in making Jean Valjean one of the best of men would be the result ordinarily in actual life as it was in the story.

Whenever we do, as if by accident, put the teachings of Jesus into practice we find that they work quite as well as our policy of selfishness and vengeance.

It is commonly said, and by great and good men, that progress depends upon the exact reverse of these maxims; that our present glorious civilization has been built up by force; that we should not be as far advanced in all that is called Christianity but that we have forced men to do right. If that is true, then the British officer who calmly proposed as a measure economical, expeditious, and, in the end, calculated to permit the loss of the fewest souls, the subjugation of India to Christianity at the cannon's mouth, was right. Then Mahommed was wrong in nothing except that he forced men to believe in the wrong religion. Then the inquisition was right in torturing men for the good of their own souls and killing them for the good of others. Then we have made a mistake in abolishing capital punishment for nineteen of the twenty crimes for which it was once inflicted.

Now, I deny this common assertion that it is necessary to do wrong that good may come; that true civilization is built upon force: that the only way we can make men truly the imitators of the high life of Jesus and Buddha and Socrates is to begin by violating their teaching.

And I assert that the only characteristics of our civilization which are truly beneficent have been evolved by the teaching and effort of men who hate this damnable doctrine of salvation by gun powder, steel and blood.

I assert that the monstrous curses of the human race to-day, land monopoly at the foundation, and upon that as a superstructure every other heinous monopoly of wealth and opportunity; national debts and burdensome systems of taxation, are the direct results of the use of force in establishing and maintaining society.

And these fruits of force are the causes of poorhouses and prisons, poverty and crime.

There are those who point to Germany as in the van of civilization. And in scholarship she is. But in so far as Germany reflects the thinking and purposing of that devout Christian and man of iron and blood, Bismarck, she is a scandal upon the name of civilization. A nation that turns women and old men and children into producers for the support of its army, and turns itself into a military camp is, in that particular, barbarous, not civilized.

There are those who speak of English civilization, but except in the realm of letters, science and art there is no such thing. A nation that never hesitated to do wrong if she could accomplish it by force and never was known to do right except at the mandate of force; a nation that forced opium upon China to build up her trade, and forces degradation and death upon Ireland to increase her rent roll, represents a barbarism far more terrible in its effects than that of the jungles of Africa.

We might not have built up precisely the same sort of civilization that we have if we had always followed the precepts of Jesus Christ. We undoubtedly should not. We should have built with the idea that men are more important than property; at present we are proceeding entirely upon the supposition that property is a more sacred possession than life.

At present a cow that can be bought for $30 is more valuable in the sight of the law and in the sentiment of Christian people than a man, as is shown by the fact that he who kills another in the act of stealing his cow will go by common consent unpunished; and that a horse is more valuable than a man is shown conclusively wherever you find horses and men employed by the same concern. More valuable? Why not? A horse costs $150; when one drops in his tracks it costs that much to replace him. But if a man drops in his tracks another is ready to take his place at no cost, though he knows that he, too, will soon drop in his tracks.

You were troubled with draft riots in New York in '63, and all the "solid men" in the community were with the government against the rioters. What produced these riots? The people saw that when the government was in need of men it did not hesitate to go into the poor man's home and take out the bread winner; but when the government was in need of money it very considerately agreed that the poor people who were left after the war should pay to the rich a dollar and a half for the present use of half a dollar, beside interest *ad infinitum*. Supposing the government had drafted money when it needed it as freely as it drafted men, would all the "solid men" have been as patriotic as they were? And yet why did the government not do so? Because the glorious civilization we have reared by violating the precepts of him after whom we have named it, is one which makes money more sacred than men.

It is strange how long it takes us to see what evil results always follow this false practice of government by force and how good the results of the right conduct are.

I never heard parents beside the dead form of a child repent of all their patience and wise forbearance; but I have heard them express shame and regret for using the rod.

Some years ago the murderer of Jim Fisk was tried for the crime and sent to prison for a year or two. Now he is a prominent man in society in some respects. Would it have been better to have hanged him? Would it not have been better to have done nothing to him since what we did has sent him forth, what would be called in theology, "justified." His crime is "atoned" for. . . . There is, however, a real difficulty in putting into practice the *charitable* precepts of Christ. "If a man takes your overcoat give him your undercoat." "Give to him that asketh thee and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." "Lend hoping not to receive again." These precepts are difficult to follow because nothing is more certain than that he who puts them into practice is a kind of criminal, since the certain effect of indiscriminate charity is to pauperize the community and reduce wages. It is absolutely certain that the hundreds of thousands of dollars which are poured into New York through her two hundred charitable societies does more harm than good.

Here is the point at which we run against a snag in the teaching of Christ, and it brings us face to face with the question: Is he wrong, or are we wrong?

I do not hesitate to say we are wrong. Any social system which makes it desirable for a man to become a criminal is wrong. And this our system does. We are rapidly approaching the time when it will be desirable either to be very rich or to be in prison—that is to say, to be a criminal; for it will soon be true that a man can neither be very rich or get into prison without becoming a rascal. The road to wealth is already practically closed against conscientious men, and it is repeatedly found necessary nowadays to refuse entrance to prisons to honest workingmen who apply for the privilege of going.

Only a short time ago a man in Danbury, Conn., was forcibly ejected from a police court because he insisted upon going to jail, whereupon he went into the street and threw a stone through a show window, and so succeeded in his quest after being forced to become a criminal.

This is because, as the *Christian Union* says, it is now demonstrable that society provides more bountifully for its criminals and treats them better in every way than if they were honest mechanics.

The spectacle of Austin Corbin giving $20,000 in charity to the families of the suffering miners, after having refused to arbitrate with them for the purpose of deciding upon a fair scale of wages, is an instructive picture of society in relation to the workableness of the golden rule. This is not doing as you would be done by. No man wishes to be deprived of the opportunity of earning a living and then pauperized by charity for the glorification of pharisees.

The golden rule is not workable now in the industrial world and never will be so long as we keep on in our present "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy. But when we become wise and just enough to see how much better it is to use our land for the sustenance of human life than to feed financial greed; to use our railroads and telegraphs and coal mines and oil wells to minister to the needs of all the people rather than to the superfluities of the few; when we become wise enough to arrange society upon a just basis, it will be no longer necessary for Christian ministers to tell us that we should worship Jesus but pay no attention to his vagaries; it will be possible for us then to read the sermon on the mount and find some practical sense in it; we may then largely abate our punishments, for when men can easily earn a living they do not care to steal; and when they are debauched by neither poverty nor riches they are not so fond of murder and other crimes. We can then declare to men a beneficent God and hope that they will believe us; we can then point to the sayings of Jesus and say: "Behold, how true they are!"

From the United Labor Party of Dunkirk.

DUNKIRK, N. Y.—At a meeting of the members of the united labor party of this city, held this day, the following resolution was adopted, the same having been drafted by Messrs. F. Lake and M. J. Smith, who were appointed at a previous meeting for that purpose:

Whereas, Certain members of the executive committee of the united labor party have declared their intention to call a convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president in the approaching national campaign; and this course being in the judgment of our teacher, Henry George, and others of our trusted leaders detrimental to the best interests of the party, and a stumbling block in the way of the advancement of our principles and the accomplishment of our purposes, which are the abolition of our present system of national and state taxation and the substitution therefor of a single tax on land values; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the united labor party of Dunkirk, deem the action of those members of the executive committee worthy of censure, and demand the calling of a conference as provided for by the Syracuse convention; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the editor of THE STANDARD and the secretary of the executive committee of the united labor party.

GEORGE H. SIMMONS, Chairman.
JOHN J. LIPPUT, Secretary.

THE COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

They Advise the County General Committee to Condemn any Attempt to Commit the Party in Advance.

The county executive committee, united labor party, at a meeting held Feb. 27, voted to recommend to the county general committee the passage of the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, Certain individuals in advance of the coming of a national conference have endeavored to commit the party to certain policies and privileges; therefore be it

Resolved, That the county general committee of the united labor party, believing firmly in the principles enunciated in the Syracuse platform and their logical deductions to be embodied in a national platform, do most emphatically condemn any premature decision as to candidates, principles or policies in advance of the meeting of the only body that can authoritatively deal with them—a national conference; and be it further

Resolved, That we most emphatically condemn, no matter by whom made, any attempt to sidetrack the united labor party, or make it the mere catspaw of either the democratic or republican party, as we believe them both to be wholly corrupt and incapable of effecting any reformation in existing social and political evils, until, through defeat, they are compelled to adopt the only principles that by removing the burden of taxation from the products of labor will secure to all their unalienable rights to the soil, and the full enjoyment of the products of their labor.

A Vote Explained.

NEW YORK, Feb. 27.—It may not be inopportune at this time for one who voted in favor of "exclusive and unswerving support of the fundamental reforms set forth in the Syracuse platform" at the first meeting of the county general committee of this city, to define what I understood the above to mean. The sinister purpose of those who introduced the resolution can not detract in my mind from the excellent effect it may be made to serve. As I understand it, all the "fundamental reforms" are summed up in the abolition of all taxes but one, and I regarded the resolution as a timely notice to the democratic *machine* that tinkering in place of reform could not deceive nor divert us. I also read in the resolution an assurance to those who, without thinking, might conclude that a small installment of reform would pacify the party's clamor for the full measure, that nothing short of the whole earth in this respect would satisfy us, and that no matter what the measure of their sincerity the tinkers could not reckon upon their usual arts in staying the progress of our movement.

Those who see the worse than uselessness of entering a national campaign on state issues need not fear that their vote in the county committee committed them on that occasion to the ideas of those who care more for party than principle. In my devotion to the latter I trust I may, without egotism, claim to be as sincere as any member of the committee, while as to the former it can only command my adherence by eschewing the machine and fulfilling the purpose for which it was called into existence. ROBERT IRELAND.
1906 Third avenue.

A Friend's Word of Cheer.

NEW YORK.—As one who has followed the single tax movement with the keenest interest ever since its commencement in 1886, I feel impelled, on the present occasion, to send you a few words of good cheer and to thank you for your steadfast adherence to principle. In doing this, I am sure that I express the feelings of that large portion of your readers, on whom your writings are exercising so powerful an influence and who, like myself, must have a feeling of gratitude and pride to find that you do not waver when a stand has to taken for principle as against policy.

It was well to avoid the disgraceful spectacle of rival anti-poverty societies. As regards yourself, you can well afford to withdraw from politics. As a recent letter in THE STANDARD from Mr. Garrison very well expressed it, your work is that of the reformer, and its seems to me that you have reason to be satisfied with the influence which you are exercising upon the thoughts of your times.

To emphasize my feelings, I enclose $100 for the recruiting fund. A. B. C.

The Single Tax Club of Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—At the last meeting of the Henry George land reform club of South Brooklyn it was decided to change the name of the organization to the Single Tax club. The intention of this change is simply to make the object for which the club exists more manifest. The club was organized in January and has already made such progress in membership as to warrant its removal at an early date to larger and more attractive quarters. Meetings are held every Tuesday and Friday evenings at the club rooms, at 358 Sackett street, and visitors of every party and of every shade of economic opinion are heartily welcome. The present membership is about fifty. HOUSE COMMITTEE.

From the Canton, Ohio, Club.

CANTON, Obio.—The following resolutions were adopted at the last meeting of the Henry George club of this place:

Resolved, That, for what seems to us good and sufficient reasons, we, at present, deem the nomination of a candidate for president on on the "single tax" platform, impolitic and inexpedient.

Resolved, That, regarding principles as of more importance than party and believing free trade a great advance toward the attainment of our ultimate aim, we indorse the consistent, rational, and firm stand taken by Mr. George in THE STANDARD of Feb. 18.

S. J. HARMOUNT, M. D., President,
W. D. MEREDITH, Secretary.

Dr. McGlynn at Bradford, Pa.

BRADFORD, Pa.—Dr. McGlynn addressed a large and appreciative audience here on Friday, Feb 24. His lecture has effected a thorough change in public sentiment on the subject of the single tax, one of our papers that was formerly bitter in its denunciation of Henry George's ideas now practically conceding about all we ask. The lecture was for the benefit of our land and labor club, and was very successful. B. J. BIRNEY.

From the United Labor Party of Rochester.

ROCHESTER, New York.—At the last regular meeting of our organization the following resolution was unanimously passed:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the united labor party of Rochester that a national conference be held early in July, at which it shall be decided whether a national ticket be put in the field or not. JOHN J. HAYES,
Sec. Rochester United Labor Club.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Who Pays the Single Tax?

LONDON, Ontario, Can.—(1) Granted that your single tax law is enforced, the rent being appropriated by the state, would not every commodity produced directly or indirectly from the land carry a portion of the tax with it? Where, then, is the reason in saying that all commodities which are the product of human effort should be exempt from taxation?

(2) Or, putting the question in another shape, a criticism of the following statements would shed light on the darkness: Justice to each and all only demands two conditions, viz. (*a*), that the tax should be constant—that is, levied without any possibility of change, and (*b*) that it cannot be evaded by any portion of the community. These conditions being fulfilled, it does not matter whether or not the tax is imposed on land or on the products of human exertion, speculation and monopoly in land not being considered.

INQUIRER.

(1) No. A commodity produced from valuable land is worth no more in the same market than a commodity produced from land having no value. Here, let us say, is a piece of land, the best to be had for nothing, which with a given expenditure of labor and capital will produce 20 of any given commodity; and here is another piece which with the same expenditure of capital and labor will produce 50. Eliminating, for simplicity, the cost of exchange, the rent of the latter piece of land will be 30 and one commodity will be of the same value in the same market as the other. If, now, you take the rent (30) by taxation, how can the value of the commodity carry a portion of the tax with it? If a higher price is asked for the commodity produced on the valuable land which has paid a tax, than for that produced on the non-valuable land, there will be no sale for it. A tax on rent cannot be added to the price of the product.

(2) A tax on products of human exertion will not fulfil the conditions. (*a*) A tax on a product is not constant; by adding to the cost of production it increases the price and is shifted to the consumer. (*b*) It may be evaded as such taxes constantly are, e. g., by smuggling. But justice demands more. Taxes on products diminish consumption by increasing price; diminished consumption checks production; a check in production contracts consumption; that still further checks production; and so on, by action and reaction, men are prevented from meeting one another's wants. This in itself tends to impoverish the laborer, a tendency which is intensified by the monopoly of land, which low taxes on land values encourages.

He Fails to See.

PHILADELPHIA.—In reply to my letter in the issue of Feb. 18, you give as an example three mines, and claim that the rent of the first will be raised by closing the second. I concede that your position is correct if both classes of opportunities, which the first and second mines typify, are in the same hands, or held by owners whose interests are identified. But if that were the case the law of rent, expounded by Ricardo, would not be applicable, as that assumes a competition among the different owners of opportunities, within the margin, to secure tenants.

Presuming, therefore, that you refer to existing conditions where opportunities of the first as well as the second class are held by different owners acting for their individual interests, I fail to see why the owners of the second class would "lock up" their opportunities if they could rent them. For the increase of rent which would result to the owners of the first class does not benefit them unless they also hold first class opportunities, which is not generally the case.

A STUDIOUS INQUIRER.

You may also fail to see why owners of vacant lots in cities lock them up; but they do lock them up all the same.

You said it was an unfounded assumption that the private ownership of land produces a speculative rent line lower than the actual rent line, and I replied as follows:

Let us suppose three gold mines; the first of which will with a given amount of labor yield $10, the second $8 and the third $6. If only the first is appropriated its rent will not exceed $2, for nobody will work them for less than $8 when he can make $8 in the second mine. But if the second mine be appropriated and locked up, the rent of the first mine will be $4 instead of $2, for the most that labor can then make will be the product of the third mine, which is only $6. Now it is the system of private land ownership that permits the locking up of the second mine, and as you may see from this illustration, the fact that the second mine is locked up lowers the rent line so as to raise rent from one-fifth to two-fifths of the p. .duct. In this case the normal rent line leaves four-fifths to labor while the speculative rent line leaves to it but three-fifths.

You now say you do not understand why the owners of the second class would lock up their opportunities if they could rent them. They might not in the strict sense of the term "lock up." But there is a "lock up" in effect. The illustration presupposes an unchanged demand for gold and an unchanged supply of labor. An increased demand for the one or supply of the other would tend to lower the normal rent line. Now, as these are unchanged, both the first and second mines would be only partly worked. Suppose that the demand were $190, the whole of it being produced from the first mine before the second was appropriated. Then $20 would go to rent and $80 to wages. But when the second mine is appropriated half of the product, say, comes from each mine. Then of the $50 from the best mine $20 would be rent and $30 wages, and of the $50 from the second mine $10 would be rent and $40 wages, showing a total of $30 rent as against $20 before, and $70 wages as against $80 before. There is a fall in wages due to the speculative rent line, for if it were not for private ownership of land, which encourages speculation, the second mine would not be appropriated until the first was worked to its full capacity.

The same result may be and is produced by an actual "lock up," mines, farming land, city lots and so forth being held out of use for the purpose of making a profit by selling rather than by renting.

In the Coal Regions.

EASTON, Pa.—(1) A buys a lot for $1,000, all the money he has. B buys alongside and builds a house for $30,000, would A not be obliged to pay as much tax as B?

(2) The coal monopolies sell lots to their miners, but only to a certain depth. How would the tax affect the monopoly?

H. L. BACHMAN.

(1) The tax would be the same in each case. It is right that it should be. If A does not want to build or cannot afford to build, he has no right to prevent others from building. And if B livens up the building trade by erecting a $30,000 house, there is no reason why he should be punished for it by a heavy tax.

A appropriates the same amount of common values that B does; why should B pay a higher tax because he benefits the community by putting his land values to use while A plays dog in the manger with his?

If the As were all compelled to let go of the land they are keeping out of use, work would be so plentiful and wages so high that $1,000 would be much easier earned, and when earned could be put into an untaxed house instead of being sunk in the purchase of a piece of the earth on which to put a taxed house.

(2) If there was a value below the surface the coal monopolies would be taxed for it. As a fact building sites in the coal regions are of very little value compared with the value of mining rights; therefore miners would pay little or no tax for the land on which they live, but coal companies would pay a heavy tax for their right to mine beneath the miners' cottages.

The Chief Benefit.

(1) I have long seen the fallacy of our protective laws, still I am unable to discover any relation between the land value tax and free trade. I had thought that a tax on land values to the full rental value thereof would be full restitution to the people of rights of which they have been robbed from time immemorial; that the adoption of this system would do away forever with poverty, would do away with the necessity of one man being dependent on another for employment, that it would, in short, strike away the very foundation upon which the protected capitalist bases his profit. It is because of its immense sweep in this and many other directions that the land question becomes so soul stirring and fills its disciples with such enthusiastic endeavors. If this be so, can the mixing it up with any other question do otherwise than belittle it? Let us pride ourselves on having but one principle, and that so broad as to include all others, and so plain and simple that a child may understand it.

(2) Your correspondents seem all to agree that this system should be brought about by state action. If each state were to collect its own land value tax, will your system then have reached its ultimatum in justice? Are the land values of the several states so nearly proportionate to the inhabitants of those states as to work absolute justice by each state absorbing its own? For instance, the population of New York is eight times that of Colorado. Are not her land values more than eight times as great? And if so, did not we of Colorado do as much as you of New York to create those excessive values? Render unto Cæsar, etc.

(3) This, however, is based upon the assumption that there are excessive land values in the greater commercial and manufacturing states. Is such the case or not?

(4) Have you any means of knowing approximately the land values of the several states, or some of them? And if so, will you kindly publish a list?

RODNEY FORD.

(1) No good can come from mixing up the single tax question with other questions. But free trade is not another question. It is one of the steps that must precede the single tax. We cannot have the single tax *and* the protective tariff tax, nor can we have the single tax until we get rid of the protective tariff tax. The single tax principle cannot enter into national legislation except through the free trade controversy, for the bulk of national taxation is collected through custom houses, and it would be just as absurd to try to influence congress in favor of the single tax without asking it to abolish the protective tariff as it would be to ask a state legislature to adopt the single tax by abolishing the protective tariff. The single tax question and the free trade question are distinct as, and only as, the states are distinct from the nation.

I think your confusion is attributable, like that of most people who write or talk as you do, to your idea that the chief object of the single tax is to collect land values into a common fund for common use. That is not its chief object nor will that be its chief benefit. Ideal exactness in the collection of this fund can never probably be accomplished. But individual freedom can be accomplished, and that is the great desideratum. If you and I do equal work with equal results, it makes little real difference whether or not you get somewhat more than I; but it makes a vast difference whether or not you are able to command me on pain of starvation. If the single tax were imposed to the extent of ninety per cent of land values some owners would amply earn the other ten per cent in collecting rent while to others the ten per cent would be more than their work was worth. But that would harm no one, because no one would be dependent. Every one would be free. But to get to this point the abolition of the tariff is just as necessary a step as is the abolition of taxes on personal property or the abolition of taxes on improvements. Each of these taxes hampers trade and consequently burdens industry, and it is as they are removed, that the burden grows lighter and the end of our journey is nearer.

In state affairs the easiest point of attack at present is taxes on personal property. When they are abolished we have made a long stride in the direction of the single tax. In national affairs the only prominent point of attack is the tariff, and when that is abolished we have also made a long stride in the direction of the single tax. To refuse to aid in the abolition of either of these taxes because it is not all we desire is like a man refusing to take off his overcoat because it is not his overcoat but his undershirt that he wants to remove.

We *do* "pride ourselves on having but one principle;" it is the principle that all taxation should be abolished save that on land values. And that principle *is* "so broad as to include all others." It includes the abolition of the tariff, the abolition of personal property taxation; and the abolition of taxes on improvements, and though it does not in terms include the principle that land should be taxed to its full value, it does in effect, for the benefits of the single tax once realized by the people they would never stop demanding public improvements until the only fund from which they recognized the right to draw—land values—was exhausted. Moreover this principle *is* "so plain and simple that a child may understand it." It must be a very young child who does not understand that the simplest way to eat an apple is one mouthful at a time.

(2) In abstract justice, possibly not; but individual freedom will be secured. Abstract justice might require that all the land values of the world should be used for common purposes; but substantial justice does not. Substantial justice is attained when all barriers to traffic are removed, and all unused land is open to the first comer. This question, like your first, is dictated by your idea that the single tax is only a scheme to return to the people what landlords take from them in rent. This is its least important object.

(3) I do not know, but I am inclined to think that there is a tendency in all communities to an equilibrium between communal needs and land values.

(4) Nothing but Mr. Croasdale's calculations in his tract on "Sailors' Snug Harbor."

Cheap English Farms.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A writer in the January number of the London *Quarterly Review* states that many farms in England are lying idle and that the owners are willing to rent these farms for sums which would pay but a small per cent on the value of the improvements. He makes mention of a spot not far from London from which can be seen nineteen unoccupied farms. Will THE STANDARD kindly help at least two of its readers to account for these facts, if facts they be?

J. H. D.

I cannot verify the statement; but there is no reason to doubt it. England's farming is being done in other countries, and it is not at all strange that her farm lands should, as farm lands, depreciate in value. If it be true that farms can be rented in England or elsewhere for a small percentage on the value of the improvements, it is because farming in that location does not pay. It is essentially the same thing that happened in Oil City when that place was in its decline. Houses could be rented for less than their value, because nobody wanted houses *there*. If more than the ordinary rate of interest on capital, and more than the ordinary rate of wages could be made by working those English farms they would not go begging for tenants at a small percentage on the value of the improvements. They could not be had except for a premium.

Land in England is in a transition state. Agriculture is declining because the people of England can raise wheat easier by digging coal or weaving carpets than by plowing and sowing. Consequently agricultural land is declining in value. But as it goes out of use for agriculture, it comes into use for something else. Particular agricultural land may lie out of use for a long time, and for that reason be at a low value for a long time; but that is because it is not immediately adaptable to changed conditions. Other agricultural land, however, is so adaptable, and immediately acquires greater value than ever before.

The true test of the rise or fall in land values is not whether the value of particular land has risen or fallen, but whether land values generally have risen or fallen. If the London *Quarterly Review* really wishes to make a point let it show that the average land value of all England—mines, towns and cities included—has fallen. When it can show that to the extent to which it claims to show it respecting the farms it mentions it will be offering life portraits of Macaulay's New Zealander as premiums to keep up its circulation.

An Agricultural Minister.

I have no doubt but the next decade will witness a great change in favor of the poor as against the rich, but I haven't the least idea that it will come in the line you are at present working. Having lived on a farm for years, and being brought into close contact with agricultural people all my ministerial life, I am satisfied that your single tax theory were it applied would ruin the agricultural interests in every state in the Union, and to the army of unemployed at the present would be added the agricultural laborers of the land.

The problem to be solved is a difficult one and the highest wisdom of the nation will be necessary for its solution. I don't know what opportunity you have had for acquaintance with a farmer's life, but it seems to me that a year of the life of the farmer would lead you and Rev. Mr. Pentecost to see the impracticability of your theory. A.

You appear to have made a genuine discovery. High taxation has always been looked upon as very injurious to the farmer, and now you come along with the assurance that a method of taxation which would reduce the farmers' taxes, and in many instances abolish them entirely, "would ruin the agricultural interests in every state in the Union." And you speak by the book, too, for you "have lived on a farm for years," and have been "brought into close contact with agricultural people" all your ministerial life! I confess, speaking for myself, that it is discouraging, after having thought and written and spoken for years under the impression that taxation is destructive to agricultural interests, to be told authoritatively that taxation is really what the farmers need to save them from ruin. Are you sure you are right? At any rate will you not think it over again? And to be certain that there is no mistake, will you not ask some of the farmers of your acquaintance for their opinion?

Of course you know that farmers pay taxes, and very high taxes, on nearly everything they buy when they go to the store. These taxes we propose to abolish so that farmers may purchase goods for the bare cost of production and exchange. To what extent will this ruin agricultural interests? Will it injure them at all? Don't answer hastily, but think it over, and if you are in doubt inquire among your neighbors.

You know, also, that farmers pay taxes on their houses, fences, out buildings, cattle, machinery, money in bank (when they have any), and on whatever value they have added to their farms by drainage, clearing and so forth. These taxes, too, we would abolish. In what way will that be injurious to agricultural interests? It may be that taxes on the goods they buy are a good thing for farmers, because such taxes promote economical habits. I do not say these taxes are a good thing, but may be they are. They may make farmers' wives wear calico instead of silk and use molasses rather than sugar, and otherwise abstain from the vanities and superfluities of life; but conceding all that as to the taxes the farmer pays at the store, how can taxes on his improvements be a good thing for the farmer? I don't know, and if you do I wish you would tell me, for I am always glad to make a note of curious information. Then there are poll taxes and dog taxes and things like that which we would abolish. I can understand that farmers might experience a mournful sense of loneliness, as when an old and faithful dog dies, were these taxes abolished, but really I do not see how it would bring ruin upon agricultural interests.

But probably it is not the abolition of taxes at all that gives you concern about the farmer, but the tax on land values which it is proposed to substitute for all other taxes. Ah! Well, let us see.

You understand, of course, that it is not land, but land values, that we propose to tax. That is important to begin with. Now, as a farmer and a friend of farmers, you must also know that there are very few farms of which the land is worth more than a quarter or a third of the whole of the farmer's property. Then, you see, that at the worst we propose to tax the farmer on a basis of only about a quarter or a third of the values on which he is now taxed. Oh, yes, perhaps you will exclaim under your breath, but the single tax is to be so increased that it will take the whole annual value of the land, which is much more than present taxes amount to! Is it, though? Is it as much, considering that he pays taxes whenever he goes to the store as well as when he goes to the tax office? I doubt it. I am sure the real value of his land is not so much. Owing to light taxes on land values a great deal of land is put to poor use or no use at all, though it is appropriated. If nothing but land values were taxed, this land would come into market and reduce land values generally. And as land values fell the farmers' taxes would fall. I have no doubt that a large proportion of our agricultural land has only a nominal value, and that if taxes were put on land values alone, buildings and other improvements and personal property being exempt, great numbers of our farmers, instead of being ruined and turned into tramps, would find themselves untaxed either by the store keeper or the assessor.

I have replied to your criticism only with reference to its bearing on the selfish interests of a class of the community. It is a class that is hard pressed and whose selfish interests are entitled to consideration as are those of every other plundered class. But there is a loftier element in the problem. You are evidently a minister. What have you, as such, to say of the system that undertakes to deny to any man the right so obviously natural to a place on the earth? Do you believe the being whose minister you profess to be, intended that the earth should belong to a few and that all others should be dependent on them for the privilege of living on it? Do you believe he intended that some of his creatures should make a living by selling privileges to the others to use the earth? If you do, what kind of a being, and I intend no irreverence, is this whom you represent?

You have taken enough interest in this subject to read THE STANDARD and to send your views to it; now will you not pursue your inquiries a little further by reading "Progress and Poverty" so as to understand the subject of land value taxation in all its bearings? LOUIS F. POST.

What Would This Family Gain by Emigrating to the Tariff Protected United States?

The commissioner of labor, Washington, D. C., in his first annual report gives the following particulars of the mode of life of a spinner at Halifax, England.

Condition.—Family numbers three—parents and child. Occupy tenement house containing parlor and one bedroom, each about 15 by 12 feet, one small bedroom and one kitchen or wash room, parlor is also used for dining room, has window opening on street, is carpeted and looks clean and comfortable. The grate is adapted for baking bread and simple cooking, saving expense of extra fires. Father reads and writes and is generally intelligent. Wife was formerly weaver, but does not work now. She has a brother in the army, and sister emigrated to New Zealand. Family are saving; have small account in savings bank. The father belongs to a social and reading club. On Saturdays work stops at 1 p. m.; afternoon spent at football, cricket or other outdoor sport. Family dress well, look contented and cheerful.

Diet.—Breakfast: Tea or coffee, bread and butter, sometimes bacon or eggs. Dinner: Piece of beef or chop, bread, butter and potatoes, sometimes other vegetables and cheese, and several times a week pudding. Supper: Bread and butter, tea or coffee, occasionally dried fruit.

Earnings of father, $411.32.

Cost of living—

Rent	$15.76
Bread	32.95
Meat	43.80
Coffee and tea	14.56
Milk	21.90
Vegetables	25.55
Fruit	7.30
Groceries	149.65
Clothing	37.60
Gas, or other light	5.51
Fuel	14.25
Club dues	1.44
Incidentals	11 96
Expenditures	$412 23
Earnings	411.32
Deficit	91

Common Sense.

Cedar Rapids New Era.

If the legislature, instead of fooling away their time over such absurd proposals as the Hutchinson bill to increase taxes on capital and labor, would turn their attention to some measures for relieving labor and capital of taxation, then they would be doing the state some real service. Any attempt to increase the taxes on capital only so much more increases the burdens of labor; for capital is like a man on horseback and labor is like the horse. You may put more weight on the man and thus inconvenience him somewhat but that only makes the horse's load heavier.

It is utter folly to try (as the Hutchinson bill proposes) to help the farmer or laboring man or business man by taxing mortgages, notes, money or capital in any of its forms, for capital is only the name of the tools that all these men must use, and if we tax their tools we but check the production of wealth and make it harder for them to earn a living. There is only one kind of tax that falls justly and fairly on all classes of people and that is a tax on land values.

TAXING LONDON GROUND RENTS.

J. Morrison Davidson, in London Star.

The paragraph in the *Star's* magnificent "Confession of Faith" dealing with the subject of ground rent taxation has already been the fruitful mother of much wholesome controversy.

The *Star's* correspondence columns have teemed with letters on the question. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, ever among the earliest of journalistic birds to pick up the worm of democratic progress, has at great length "interviewed" Lord Hobhouse, who, it says, "is probably the most distinguished authority whose opinion could be obtained on the subject." At three influential public meetings, including that held at St. James's hall to denounce the unprincipled conduct of the metropolitan board of works, ground rents and their all but complete immunity from taxation have been seriously and more or less intelligently discussed.

Among the oratorical disputants we have had such divers personalities as Mr. R. T. Reid, Q.C., M.P., Mr. J. T. Dodd, the Rev. T. M. Thorne, vicar of Holy Trinity, the bishop of Emmaus, coadjutor to Cardinal Manning, and last, not least, Mr. William Saunders, late M.P. for East Hull, who was the first to bring this all important subject under the consideration of Parliament.

To those who have studied the land question, and, like myself, hold that the whole planet is the common God-given inheritance of mankind, the mere ground rent phase of the subject is without difficulty or complexity of any kind.

For what are the broad facts of the case? The annual value of the land or site of London is estimated at £16,728,830 (capitalized value £418,220,750), while the annual value of the buildings amounts only to £13,271,170 (capitalized value £212,338,720).

On the £418,220,750 less than half a million (£500,000) is levied in taxation; whereas the £212,338,720 are taxed seven million (£7,000,000). But for the operation of the national income tax the extractors of ground rents would positively escape taxation of any kind. As it is they do not contribute a single brass farthing to the rates which are squeezing the very life blood out of the people, and by the "people" I mean all those who, unlike the idle rent mongers, are honestly striving to earn their own livelihoods by useful toil of brain or hand.

In his lecture at the Holborn radical club, where Mr. Reid, Q.C., presided, Mr. Dodd mentioned three facts which cast a lurid light on the whole question. First, the workers as a whole spend one-third of their poor earnings on rent. Secondly, the rates in poverty-stricken St. Luke's are 6s. 3d. in the pound, whereas in the region of Dives, St. George's, Hanover square, they are only 3s. 11d. and coming down. Thirdly, in St. George's, Bloomsbury, the death rate is 15 per 1,000; in Shelton street, Drury lane area, the mortality is 53½ per 1,000.

These are all correlated evils, which it is amply within the power of wise and bold statesmanship to eradicate. The *Saturday Reviler* may mock at the *Star's* laudable ambition to "enable the charwoman to put two pieces of sugar in her cup of tea instead of one," but before we democrats are done with the *Reviler* and his tribe, I make bold to prophesy that the charwoman shall not merely have two lumps of sugar to her tea, but ten if she wants them. For her benefit, and that of all those who both toil and spin, it has been resolved, by a macedonian phalanx of the best heads and hearts in Great Britain and the United States, that the incessant robbery of the poor by the rich, of the toilers by idlers, shall cease and determine, and the first batch of depredators to be dealt with is unquestionably the ground landlords.

In London, as has been seen, industry or the products of industry (houses) are depressed by a mulct of £7,000,000 per annum. That frightful impost on the hearths of the people we mean entirely to lift, because we know it signifies overcrowding, squalor, disease and vice and shame unmentionable. Mr. Bright once promised us a "free breakfast table." Will he or any of his liberal unionist set now help us to a free roof tree by taking all rates and taxes off the houses and placing them on the ground rents and values.

These, as has been said, amount in the metropolis to £16,728,830, and of that vast sum the Westminsters, Portlands, Bedfords, and other urban land monopolists, great and small, have no claim on economic equity to a single penny. The presence of the people of London alone gives value to the site of London. Sweep them away and the "prairie value" that would remain would be the merest bagatelle. The people as a whole created these land values, and to them in future, in their corporate capacity, must rent be paid, not to the extent merely of £7,000,000, or any fractional part of the whole itself.

The aforesaid £16,728,830 are the fund out of which the *Star's* charwoman is to get her two pieces of sugar and many other good things besides. The people of London demand free light, free heat, free water, free transit by tram and rail, free education, free libraries, free medicine, free sepulture, etc., and they mean to have them. They know the source from which these things can righteously be provided, and to that source they are instinctively turning with ever increasing hope and resolution.

The elder Mirabeau is said to have declared that Quesnay's proposition: "All taxation should be abolished save a single tax (l'impot unique) upon the net produce or rent of land," is "equal in utility to the invention of writing or the substitution of money for barter," and, if he did say so, he said well. "The profit (produce) of the land," we are told in holy writ, "is for all." "The earth he hath given to the sons of men"—to all the sons and not to a few pampered favorites called "dukes," "earls," and "*noble* lords" because they are privileged by laws of their own making to rob our charwoman of her second lump of sugar.

I confess I read the remarks attributed to Lord Hobhouse by the *Pall Mall Gazette* interviewer with astonishment. His lordship is made to talk about the "owners" of land and "reversionary interests" in a style which would indicate that he uses juridicial nomenclature in a sense unknown to English lawyers.

There are, legally, no *owners* of land in England. Even his grace of Westminster can only *hold an estate in land*, which the grantor, the crown or state, can resume whenever it is deemed for the benefit of the realm. That resumption should take place.

"Sometimes the property," said, or did not say, his lordship, "is let and re-let and sub-let, until there are as many as six or seven persons having reversionary interests in it between the occupier and the original freeholder," and about these singular *reversionary* interests Lord Hobhouse is deeply exercised. But the re-letting and sub-letting fraternity can surely have no better claim to consideration than "the original freeholder" from whom they derive their title to share in the plunder of the community; and of the utter iniquity (inequity) of the freeholders' position I will undertake in a subsequent paper to prove a demonstration to the satisfaction of every candid mind among the 200,000 subscribers to the *Star*. The existence of Lord Hobhouse's novel reversionaries instead of being an argument against doing justice to our charwoman is the reverse. It merely proves that where the carrion is there the vultures will be gathered together.

"Remember (ah! my lord) how many persons there are in all ranks of life who have sunk the savings of their lifetime in such property, relying upon its safety as an investment and looking forward to a bonus falling in sooner or later." Yea, a *bonus* squeezed out of the sweat and blood and tears of the toiling inarticulate multitude, who have had no advocate, and whose "bitter cry" has for weary generations gone up to heaven seemingly in vain. "Thou shalt not steal" is indeed a commandment of universal obligation; but, in a society like ours, based on the theft by the few of God's good gifts to all men alive, it should always be inculcated in the form: *Thou shalt not be stolen from.*

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

There can remain no doubt that some of the western states will revolt against the high tariff which they have so long and so erringly supported. The fall in the Liverpool price of wheat was the arousing fact. No tariff can uphold the value of farm products. The *Herald* has printed many interviews with leading farmers of Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota, and each succeeding conversation discovers the spread of disaffection.—[Chicago Herald.

As soon as the eyes of the landlords are open to the fact that the failures in Birmingham are in a great measure attributable to the exorbitant rents extorted from their tenants, we may expect better times; but until rents have been reduced to something like reasonable figures, failures will continue to occur, till the signs of "For Rent" will be placarded on the door of almost every other business house in the city.—[Birmingham, Ala., Chronicle.

The time when the convention is to be held is of the first importance in starting the campaign properly, and the change in the date may be taken as indicating that the nominations and the platform will be made with a regard for the principles on which the canvass is to be conducted rather than with reference to what the opposition may do. The supporters of the Cleveland administration can afford to be bold and outspoken and the first in the field.—[Boston Post.

When railway managers admit that in regulating the amount of coal to be mined neither the consumers nor the miners are considered; when it is known that coal which costs the company $1.50 a ton at Schuylkill Haven is sold to the consumer at $6 or $6.50 in Philadelphia, it becomes apparent that there is something radically wrong. Whether it is in the power of congress to apply the remedy is another matter, but the public will profit by a thorough ventilation of the facts.—[Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

The workers—the vast majority of this nation—have asked that congress take the first step to free them from the curse of monopoly. They have petitioned for the postal telegraph. Many politicians stood around on platforms previous to the last elections, saying with all their voices: "Just tell us what you want, beloved workingmen, and we'll give it to you much quicker than a new party." Very well, ye congressional windmills, we want the postal telegraph; and we are about to spot every mother's son who votes against it.—[Cincinnati United Labor Age.

The Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics, without troubling itself with the question how its figures affect the favorite protectionist argument, presents to the legislature a report which sheds no little light upon the subject. From this report we learn that there are 816,470 wage earners who average 1.22 months of idleness every year, and 341,589 whose average period of idleness during the year is 4.11 months. That is to say, a little more than 70 per cent of the labor of Massachusetts finds steady employment all the year round, while nearly 30 per cent of it is unemployed for more than four months in the year.—[Brooklyn Citizen.

The New York *Times* examines the policy of non-taxing personal property as advised by Mayor Hewitt. That subject has been considered on divers occasions in this city, and the opinions of so many thoughtful men accord with those of New York's mayor, that it is wise to put the whole tax of commercial communities on real estate. Seventeen years ago a New York commission, appointed to revise tax laws, recommended the exemption of personal property without avail. Mayor Hewitt has been reinforced by a report from the Maryland tax commission, in which Professor Ely of Johns Hopkins university shows the futility of trying to collect an equitable tax from personal property.—[Boston Transcript.

Mexico is about to borrow $50,000,000 from Berlin bankers. Mexico is one of the richest countries in the world, both in soil and in the so-called precious metals. If Dias, who is called a great statesman, would instead of calling upon Berlin for capital, tap some of the exhaustless resources of the Aztec hills he would soon be master of fifty times fifty millions in capital, and his people would be free from the tax of the bond holders. The blindness of this ruler and this nation is only equaled by our own. With mountains lined with solid silver we gave the whole thing away to a few monopolists and are now buying it back by the pound and storing it up in the treasury, while we continue to pay millions in usury every year on an enormous debt.—[Cincinnati United Labor Age.

Professor Stuart touched very happily in his Shoreditch speech on the grievances from which Londoners suffer. The four million of untaxed ground rents to which he referred represent a great unused fund for the happiness of the people. Now they mean so many palaces, horses, servants, yachts, pictures, so much wine, so many comforts and delights reserved for the enjoyment of men who are toiled and spun for by the workers. They might mean so much light and warmth, so much cheap food, so many cheerful and decent homes, so many art galleries, so many museums, so many theaters, libraries, so much refinement and comfort for the hopeless poor, so much less prostitution, and so much less crime. Think of London—miserable, neglected, ungoverned, oppressed London—dowered, like a bride, with this magnificent treasure!—[London Star.

Russia wants to borrow money, and monetary writers are discussing her ability to pay. The *Financial Examiner*, in casting up the situation, pronounces against the Russian loan, as the taxation "already amounts to fully $2.50 per capita per annum, which is a heavier burden," says the critic, "than is borne by the people of any civilized government in the world." This statement may exclude America, owing to its protective tariff, which is, perhaps, held to be barbarous; but if America be permitted to enter the lists, it is to be seen that if 60,000,000 people be assessed $400,000,000, as in 1888, they pay $6.66 per capita of federal tax. The owner of a home in Chicago worth $4,000 pays also $42 for real and $7.05 for personal tax. In addition he pays about twenty-eight per cent. average tax on everything he uses. On a pair of woolen blankets, worth $10, he pays $6.13 of tax. A tax of $2.50 per capita is a bagatelle contrasted with the average burden the American inhabitant bears.—[Chicago Herald.

It is the duty of the general government in all elections for congress or president to protect, at every cost, the voter and the ballot-box. It is the duty of every state to reduce to a minimum the opportunities for fraud upon the citizen or the improper influencing of his choice. It is a general and local scandal that the expenses of the candidate have grown beyond the means of the poor and honest man. No system can be right or safe under which the treasuries of the opposing parties must be filled with sums so vast that they equal the great accumulations of prosperous corporations. The ballots should be printed by the state and distributed at the public cost, under conditions which would enable the most ignorant voter to select his ticket without help, and deposit it with no one knowing its contents but himself. Then, as the republic grows in power and population, its safety and perpetuity will be assured by keeping pure the channels through which the ever increasing millions of freeman with more majestic and impressive force express their will.—[Chauncey Depew's Union league speech, Chicago.

A Social Benefactor.

Dennis Daly,
In an elegant house on a broad avenue,
Respected by all who his character knew—
An elderly gentleman lived, who'd made
His most little pile by the burglary trade.

His genuine kindness and goodness of heart
Made him very much liked by the folks of that part;
To the poor he dispensed, with a liberal hand,
From the ample resources which he could command.

Many years he had worked to provide for old age,
When no longer in burgling could he engage;
Assiduous toil he was ne'er known to shirk,
And in fact took a laudable pride in his work.

Some burglars are botches, and bungle a job,
And others with so little caution will rob
That arrest and detection are apt to ensue,
And they get into trouble whatever they do.

There are those who "blow in" all the boodle they get,
An improvident, drunken, extravagant set;
Take no thought for the morrow, but spend money free,
And consume every penny they make in a spree.

Not so with our friend; he was thrifty and wise;
By steady hard work he determined to rise;
To provide for the future he held it a duty,
And always with prudence invested his booty.

So by "toil, thrift and temperance"—as any one can,
At length he took rank as a real "self-made man;"
Retired from business, at ease he lived then,
A shining example to rising young men.

When at length the good burglar departed this life,
As he left no relations, no children, or wife,
He bequeathed all his funds to benevolent ends,
And was mourned by a very large circle of friends.

Some hair-brained people—more foolish than bad,
Have started a very ridiculous fad—
They tell us that burgling houses by night,
Tends to injure society, and cannot be right!

They say that it robs the industrious man,
To enrich those who live on a different plan;
They call the poor hard-working burglar a spoiler,
Who appropriates wealth that is wrung from the toiler.

In this little sketch I've endeavored to show,
From the facts of the case, that this cannot be so
To prove that the burglar is far from a curse,
As without him the social condition were worse.

If men did not often get rich in this way,
Could they give and spend money so lavishly, say?
Were the practiced abolished, will some one tell how,
They could charities, churches and missions endow?

Till the people who talk anti-burglary cant,
Can show who'd supply such a recognized want,
And furnish the wealth which the burglars now make,
The world little stock in their nonsense will take.

THE TAX ON BUILDINGS.

The recent message of Mayor Hewitt to the New York board of aldermen urging the abrogation of taxes on personal property deserves a consideration not likely to be given to it by the body to which it was addressed. The proposition runs counter to the prejudices of many, but no one can deny the practical failure of all attempts to levy a proportionate tax on personal property. Governor Hill in his latest message urges the legislature to make further provision for a large increase in the assessed value of such property, but he prudently refrains from attempting to point out a practicable method for securing the object sought. The truth is that all human experience is against such a system, and common sense demands that it shall be abandoned. The declaration that a failure to tax personal property permits those claiming the largest measure of protection from the state to escape their just share of the public burden is not justified by experience, for it has been found that a fairly assessed tax on real estate reaches every citizen of a community and falls as a rule most heavily on those who have most. So far as this is not true, the failure of equitable adjustment of public burdens through a tax on real estate is due to the neglect to carry to its logical conclusion the proposal to exempt the products of industry from taxation. The argument in the mayor's message that the abolition of taxes on personal property will stimulate the concentration of wealth in New York and, by making the city richer, enable its people to bear more easily the taxation on real estate is a sound one, but it is not pushed by Mr. Hewitt to its logical conclusion.

The annual valuation of taxable property in the city for the year 1887 was $1,507,640,633, of which $1,254,491,849 was assessed on lands and buildings and $253,148,814 on personal property. The increase on real estate was $50,550,784 and on personal property $36,121,593, giving a total increase of $86,672,377. The percentage of increase on personal property is much greater than that on real estate, yet it is evident at a glance that the valuation of personal property is still ridiculously inadequate. In commenting on this in his message the mayor said that his attention had been called to specific under valuations by certain commissioners, but on careful examination of the facts he had concluded that no good results could be had by removing the officers complained of, since new officers would find themselves compelled to pursue the same course. As a matter of fact, the ways in which personal property can be removed beyond the jurisdiction of local tax officers are so numerous that the latter are practically compelled to make just about such valuations of the property as its owner will consent to have made. The inevitable effect of such an arrangement is to pave the way for falsehoods among tax payers and corruption on the part of tax officers.

The annual report of the commissioners of taxes and assessments, made July 1, 1887, shows that the increase of $50,550,784 in the real estate assessment over that of the previous year was distributed irregularly throughout the whole city, ranging from $130,702 in the Fourth ward to $24,081,575 in the Twelfth ward. The principal increase was in the last named ward, which includes the whole northern part of Manhattan island from Eighty-sixth street to Spuyten Duyvel creek, and embraces all Harlem. The next largest increase was in the Nineteenth ward, which embraces all that part of the city east of Eighth avenue and Central park between Fortieth and Eighty-sixth streets, and the next was in the Twenty-second ward, which includes the corresponding territory west of Eighth avenue and Central park. The Fourth ward, where there was the least increase in value, is bounded by Ferry and Catherine streets, Park row (formerly Chatham street) and the East river. It will thus be seen that the great increase in value was in that portion of the island north of Fortieth street. The report says that the increase in valuations was "chiefly attributable to the erection and completion of new buildings and the appreciation of real estate." To what other causes it could have been attributed it would be difficult to say. The total number of new buildings, given in the report by wards, was 3,568, and this figure, the commissioners say, is incomplete because it "does not embrace many new buildings where old ones have been demolished and where new ones are in progress."

The report thus continues:

In the Twenty-second ward 668 new buildings and an increase in the assessed valuations of about $10,000,000 indicates that there has been only a small increase in the assessment of the land, while in the Twelfth ward 1,500 new buildings and an increase in the assessed values of over $24,000,000 would indicate that a very large increase has been made in the land; and in the Nineteenth ward an increase of nearly $7,000,000 with only 371 new buildings would indicate a still greater increase in the old valuation, which is probably not the case, as the buildings are of a more costly character. Out of the 113 new buildings in the Twenty-fourth ward only one was brick and cost about $4,500, the others being frame and having an average assessment of $1,000 each. In the Twenty-third ward there are 288 new buildings, about one-half of which are brick, having an average assessment of $3,000 each, the other half being frame with an average assessment of $800 each.

We have here but two instances, both in the annexed district north of the Harlem river, in which any attempt is made to indicate how far the increased assessment is due to the erection of new buildings. The matter is one deserving more careful consideration and investigation. The commissioners attempt to guess at the connection between building operations and increased assessments in the Twelfth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards, but their conjectures have no value since they do not agree with the figures. The building bureau puts the number of new buildings erected during the year 1886 at 4,097 and values them at $58,750,733, and the number for 1887 at 4,374, valued at $67,068,020. It also reports alterations and improvements costing nearly $14,000,000 during the two years. As these figures are based on the estimates of architects and builders submitted at the time the application for a permit is made, they cannot be depended on as an accurate statement of the cost of buildings, but they certainly indicate that the value of new buildings erected between July 1, 1886, and July 1, 1887, must have formed a very important element in the increased assessment of real estate. If in considering the report of the tax commissioners we were to assume that the whole increase is due to the erection of new buildings, and estimate on that basis the cost of each structure, we should find that in the Twelfth ward it would be $16,054, in the Nineteenth $18,107, and in the Twenty-second $14,756. There is little if anything in these figures to indicate that a greater increase was made in the valuation of bare land in the Twelfth than in the Nineteenth ward. In fact the specific statements by the commissioners as to the value of new buildings in the annexed district afford the only evidence given in the report that the whole increase in the assessment is not due to the erection of new buildings.

The tax commissioners give the number of new buildings by assessment districts, which districts, in some instances, embrace several wards, and in others only one. Assuming that the whole increase in the assessment is due to the erection of new buildings, the average cost of each new building in the several districts would be as follows:

Wards.	Increased assessment.	Number of new buildings.	Cost of each building.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	$2,060,522	37	$36,194
7, 10, 11, 13, 17	1,857,584	330	5,629
8, 9, 14, 15	1,486,474	76	19,546
12	24,081,575	1,500	16,054
16	335,402	65	5,413
18	617,243	47	13,133
19	6,717,485	371	18,107
20, 21	1,538,800	53	29,034
22	9,856,997	668	14,756
23	1,410,832	293	4,899
24	567,870	113	5,025
Whole city	$50,550,784	3,568	$14,168

These variations in value are not remarkable, since the first district includes the whole city south of Canal street, where none but costly business buildings are erected, the third district the territory between Canal and Fourteenth streets from the Bowery to the North river, the Twentieth and Twenty-first wards the whole area between the East and North rivers from Twenty-sixth to Fortieth streets, and the Twelfth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards, the whole island north of Fortieth street. The four districts showing a low average value of new buildings lie, one on the east side between the Bowery and the East river and Catharine and Fourteenth streets, another on the west side between Fourteenth and Twenty-sixth streets and the other two north of the Harlem. The first of them is notably the region of tenement houses and rookeries. The variation in the value of land in the several districts also corresponds with the variations in the value of buildings erected there. For instance, in the first district the total assessment is $234,903,478 while in the second district, with a larger area, it is but $95,908,449. Costly buildings only are as a rule erected on high priced land. Taking all the facts together it can be safely assumed that, whatever the increase here and there in the valuation of unimproved property, the increased assessment in the city fell short of the actual value of the new buildings erected, and a comparison of the figures of the building bureau with those of the tax commissioners show that this is always the case. During the fifteen years from 1873 to 1887, inclusive, the aggregate increase in assessment was $477,885,264, while during the same period the building bureau reported the value of new buildings at $491,145,251, and the value of betterments and repairs at $63,781,508, making a total of $554,926,759. Unfortunately these figure do not truly represent the actual cost of buildings and improvements, since, as has been said, they are based on the applications of builders and the estimates of the architects, and the officers of the bureau say that owing to failures, abandonment of plans and delay in work, the total number of new buildings as reportrd by the bureau is usually about twenty-two per cent more than the number actually erected. If this deduction were made from the reported cost of new buildings for the past fifteen years it would leave a valuation of $432,207,820, which is but little short of the total increase in the assessment for that period, while the fact is that the deduction for uncompleted buildings ought not to be so great for the longer period, and the additions to taxable values included in the items of betterments and repairs would bring the total value of buildings up to a sum considerably in excess of the aggregate increase in assessments. It seems to me unquestionable that the value of buildings erected during the past fifteen years exceeded the total increase in the assessed value of real estate during that period, and that the increase in the valuation of bare ground that has been made during that time has been compensated by a lowering of the assessment on dilapidated and decaying improved property.

This demonstrates that the enormous increase in taxation during the past fifteen years has fallen almost exclusively on those who have had the enterprise and public spirit to erect needed structures, and that the system of taxation which thus imposes a heavy fine on the erection of new buildings encourages the holding vacant of building lots for speculative purposes while it puts a premium on the preservation of those dilapidated and decaying structures that are the special curse of the tenement house districts. Further examination into the workings of this strange and deplorable system shows that this result is deliberately brought about, the assessors invariably discriminating against improved property and in favor of the holding of vacant land. Last April eighteen lots belonging to the estate of the late President Arthur, and situated on 147th street, between Tenth and St. Nicholas avenues, were sold at auction for $95,475, an average price of $5,300 per lot. They were assessed at $1,500 each—that is twenty-eight per cent of their auction value. An examination made at that time to see if this was a fair test of the proportion borne by assessed values showed that vacant lots sold at auction at the real estate exchange were assessed at from 31 to 48 per cent of their auction price while improved property was assessed at from 54 to 75 per cent of its auction value. It is generally understood that it is the aim of the assessors to value improved property at two-thirds of its true worth and vacant lots at one-half their actual worth. An even greater discrimination is made in favor of those who hold tracts of land that they have not yet divided into building lots.

The result of this discrimination can be seen by tracing its operation on two adjoining vacant lots worth, say, $20,000 each. They would be assessed at $10,000 each, and at the tax rate for 1887, .0216, each would pay $216. Let us suppose that the owner of one of these lots determines to build a house on it costing $10,000. The assessor will promptly take note of the improvement and apply the system already described to the new valuation. The two properties will thenceforth be taxed as follows:

Unimproved property.		Improved property.	
Land	$20,000	Land	$20,000
		House	10,000
		Total	$30,000
Assessment at one-half its value	$10,000	Assessment at two-thirds its value	$20,000
Tax at .0216	$216	Tax at .0216	$432

Though the enterprising builder has increased the value of his property but one-third, he will find that his tax has been doubled, because in the new assessment the land as well as the house will be valued at two-thirds of its probable selling price. He is thus subjected to a fine for adding to the wealth of the community. Now and then, perhaps, the owner of the vacant lot may be subjected to a slight increase in assessment on the ground that his neighbor's activity has added something to the value of his own lot, but the proportion remains about as stated in the illustration. Such a system is against public policy, and tends to restrict building operations, thus forcing up rents and promoting overcrowding.

The assumption in this illustration that the building is worth but half the price of the land is not made merely for purposes of convenience, but is a moderate estimate of the relative value of buildings and land in the built up portion of the city. It is quite common to assume that these values are nearly equal, but there is no warrant for such an assumption. Only high priced buildings, except for some temporary purpose, are erected on costly ground. Even the most valuable of down-town business buildings are worth as a rule less than the ground on which they are built. Some of the finest business structures in the world have been erected on the tract of sixteen acres formerly known as "the Shoemaker's field," and extending eastward from Broadway half a block beyond William street and southerly from Ann street to Maiden lane. The new building of the Mutual life insurance company is situated on this tract and it is one of the few buildings that exceed in value the land on which they are built. While Wall street was the northern boundary of New York city, the shoemakers, who then tanned their own leather, were driven out into the country to do their tanning, and these sixteen acres were given to five of them for a tan yard. In 1696 the lands were divided into five parts, one of which became the property of John Harberdinck, "merchant and cordwainer." This property was bequeathed by Harberdinck to the Protestant Dutch church of the city of New York, which still retains it. The church draws at least $120,000 a year in ground rents from this fifth part of the old field, and the whole property must now be yielding easily $600,000 in ground rents to its various owners. The bare ground is therefore worth $12,000,000. No one examining the property will estimate that the buildings taken altogether are worth half of that sum. The *Evening Post* building stands on ground leased from the Dutch church at an annual ground rent of $31,000 for twenty-one years, to be increased at the renewal of the lease to $35,000, an average of $33,000 a year for forty-two years. This indicates that the land is valued at $660,000 and the building is probably not worth more than half that sum. A much smaller lot on the corner of Broadway and John street was recently leased by the same estate to Austin Corbin for a ground rent of $18,000, the lessee contracting to erect thereon a building to cost $200,000. This is, of course, only a little more than half the value of the lot, which is $360,000. These buildings, when the second is completed, will be much more costly structures than any of those between them facing on Broadway, and, keeping these facts in mind, a look at those two blocks will convince any observer that even on lower Broadway the land must be worth more than twice as much as the buildings erected on it. Taking the tract as a whole this is even more apparent, and it is therefore a safe assumption that in the business portion of the city the land is worth twice as much as the buildings. The illustration given as to the results of the existing system of taxation hold good, therefore, as to the whole city. Where the building is worth more than half the value of the land the injustice is, however, even greater.

There is one simple but sufficient remedy that will put an end to this injustice, and that remedy is to *take the tax off buildings*. In order to do this a new assessment must be made under a law that will compel the assessors to value every inch of land within the city limits at its actual selling price. Until this is done these values cannot be accurately ascertained, but even from the insufficient data at hand it is possible to arrive at an approximation of land values that is sufficiently accurate to serve as a basis for calculating the rate of taxation under such a system and showing its results. It would, of course, be obviously unfair to base any estimate of the value of the 26,500 acres of land within the city limits on the revenues derived from the sixteen acres once constituting "the Shoemaker's field." There is, however, another corporate estate that does offer a singularly fair basis for a reasonable estimate. The Randall farm of twenty-one acres was bequeathed in 1801 by Robert Richard Randall to trustees to provide for the establishment and maintenance of Sailors' Snug Harbor. The estate lies in the heart of the city, and extends from a point on Fourth avenue above Tenth street by an irregular line to a point on Fifth avenue below Ninth street, thence down Fifth avenue to Waverly place, along that place one block and thence back, by another irregular line, to Fourth avenue above Eighth street and up Fourth avenue to the place of beginning. The northern line crosses Broadway at Tenth street and the southern line crosses it at Astor place. On the property stand Stewart's up town store, the Sinclair house, the large clothing house at Broadway and Astor place, Dodd, Mead & Co.'s bookstore, Daniels's dry goods store, the Brevoort house, a row of handsome residences on North Washington square and a few other notable buildings, but the greater part of the twenty-one acres is covered with three and four story private dwellings and boarding houses and a number of retail shops. The Broadway property is less valuable than similar property south of Grand street or north of Union square. The private residences on Washington square and Fifth avenue are less valuable then similar residences further up the last named avenue, while the remaining property in the tract stands as to value midway between that in the districts inhabited by the poor and those occupied by the well-to-do people who live on the numbered streets from Twenty-third to Forty-second streets. The property is acknowledged by all whose attention has been directed to the subject as fairly representing the average value of the whole body of real estate lying below Forty-second street.

As this is a ground rent estate held by trustees for a public purpose, we have some definite facts on which to base an estimate, the law requiring a public report of revenues and expenditures. The revenues of the estate increased from $4,243 in 1806 to $325,092.50 in 1886, of which last sum $298,127 was derived from rents. This was increased by the falling in of leases, and the ground rents derived from the tract in 1887 were more than $300,000, showing the actual value of the land to be over $6,000,000, on which the tenants paid not only a ground rent of five per cent, but also city taxes at .0216 on two-thirds of the total value of both houses and lands, which, as has been shown, would make the assessment about equal to the value of the land alone. Thus these people after paying ground rents to the amount of $300,000 a year pay city taxes amounting to $129,600. Under a system of taxation that exempted buildings from assessment their taxes would not be increased, and would probably be lowered, and those of them holding long leases would be encouraged to build.

The whole area included within the city limits of New York is 26,500 acres, of which 14,000 acres are on Manhattan island, and 3,905 of these lie south of Forty-second street. The 21 acres of the Randall farm constitute therefore the one one hundred and eighty-sixth part of the area below Forty-second street. As this part is worth $6,000,000, the bare land below Forty-second street is worth 186 times $6,000,000, or $1,116,000,000. The assessment shows that about forty per cent of the total value of real estate lies above Forty-second street, which would indicate that the value of all bare land in the city is about $1,860,000,000. This shows that, taking the city as a whole, the bare land is actually worth more than the present assessed value of land and buildings, and a simple calculation will show that if it were assessed at its selling value a tax rate of .0174 would yield a sum larger than that now obtained by a tax rate of .0216 on an assessment of $1,254,491,849.

Apply this rate to the two lots already cited by way of illustration and we shall see the results of the change. At present the vacant lot worth $20,000 is assessed at $10,000, and pays a tax of $216, and the house and lot together, worth $30,000, pay a tax of $432, the total tax on both properties being $648. Under the system proposed each lot would be assessed at its true value—$20,000, and the tax on each would be $348, yielding $696 on both properties. There would be a saving in taxes to the owner of the improved property of $84 a year, while the tax on the vacant lot would be advanced $132 a year. The increase in revenue thus shown would not be general throughout the city, for, in the instance supposed, the vacant lot is in the improved portion of the city and above the general average value of vacant lots. In this case the property taken for the purpose of illustration consists of two lots of land worth together four times as much as the building erected on one of them, whereas the fact probably is that in the city as a whole the land is worth between two and three times as much as the aggregate value of the buildings. Hence, though the increase of taxation on vacant lots would be general, it would not be so notable in the districts where buildings are scarce as it would be in the instance cited, and the total of taxes would not be increased. Such instances as that used in illustration are by no means rare, however, in the built up portion of the city and they serve as well as any to show the results of exempting buildings from taxation. The two properties would now pay the same tax, that on the improved property being lessened and that on the vacant lot being sensibly increased. Holding land idle for a rise would at once become less profitable, and the advance in selling value would have to be very rapid indeed to make good the interest on the investment and the largely increased taxes. In the instance cited the owner of the house and lot worth $30,000 could at a very moderate estimate readily rent the property for $2,500 a year. But of this he must at present pay $432 a year in taxes, and, allowing $268 for maintenance and insurance, he would still have left $1,800, or six per cent interest on his total investment. The reduction of $84 in his taxes under the new system would doubtless be added to his profits until competition compelled him to remit it to the tenant.

On the other hand the addition of $132 to the tax on the vacant lot would be so sensibly felt by the speculator who was holding it idle that it would bring a pressure on him to build or to sell to some one who would do so. He would be under an annual expense of $1,200 for interest and $348 for taxes, or $1,548, all out-go, while his neighbor would be enjoying whatever advantage the speculator was receiving from the increase in land values while receiving interest on his investment and something more. The result would be that even those who wished to invest in lands for the sake of securing the increase in values due to the growth of population would find that they could not profitably do so unless they put the land to use during the period of waiting. The effect on those speculators who make a business of buying and selling land without any thought of holding it for any great length of time, might and probably would be embarrassing, but that is a matter that only concerns such persons. I am not aware of any real service that they have rendered to the public that would justify them in asking that we should forego the advantage of a great and beneficent reform for their sake.

The effect of the change in the case cited would doubtless be to cause the erection of another $10,000 house on the vacant lot. One result of this would probably be that the owner of the house already built would remit to his tenant the yearly $100 saved on his tax bill, thus making the rent $2,400 a year, there now being two houses where before there was but one, and after this concession the owner would still retain six per cent on his investment. But money safely invested cannot now command six per cent interest. Capital is eager to invest in good mortgages at four per cent and in government bonds at three per cent. The forcing into use of land now held vacant would greatly promote building operations and capital would tend toward investment in that form of industry so long as the assurance of a clear income of four per cent from such investment continued. Enterprising builders could easily borrow money for building operations and land owners would be less ready than they now are to raise their price with each successive inquiry by a possible purchaser. On the contrary, they would be forced to devise schemes to induce people to build on even such land as they still desired to hold for a rise. Capitalists seeking investments would also be tempted to enter so promising a field for themselves. All these things would tend to force down the allowance of six per cent on the investment to four per cent, and in the case cited, instead of $1,800 on a $30,000 property, the interest would be $1,200, a decrease of $600, or one-fourth on the $2,400 rent paid by the tenant after the new system had first begun to make itself felt. What a reduction of twenty-five per cent in rents to the people of New York would mean it is difficult to state without appearing to indulge in wild exaggeration. The ground rents alone, over and above taxes, must be at least $78,120,000 at current rates, and the hire of houses in addition would easily bring the total paid by New York tenants up to $100,000,000 a year. A reduction of one-fourth in this would amount to $25,000,000 annual saving, a sum but about $10,000,000 short of the total estimated expense of conducting the city government during the year 1888.

Of course, practical experience might fall short of a result so wonderful, but there can be no question that the tendency would be toward the multiplication of houses and cheaper rents. The suggestion that the increased taxes on land would cause a reduction in its selling price and a corresponding increase in the tax rate, in order that the necessary amount might be collected, does not in the least militate against the theory advanced in this article. Such a result would only increase the desire to bring the land into use, and there is no reason to suppose that if the whole island of Manhattan were built upon tenants could not be found who would gladly pay the ground tax and a good interest on the cost of the buildings. The exemption of buildings from taxation cannot fail to lower rents, since it would not merely remove one of the present obstacles to building operations, but it would greatly stimulate the multiplication of stores and dwellings. An increase in the tax on the land could not be shifted to the tenants, because, as we have seen, the effect of such increase would be to compel the use of any land still held idle at the time of its imposition. A tax on houses, on the other hand, like any other tax on the products of industry, clearly tends to limit production until the price rises to a figure that will cover both cost and tax. Furthermore, the removal of the tax on buildings will encourage improvement in a portion of the city now, in spite of its proximity to great business thoroughfares, given over to crowded tenement houses and unsightly rookeries. That portion of the city lying between Fourteenth and Catherine streets, and east of Broadway, is as well situated for wholesale business as any other, yet it is very largely given up to the meanest kinds of tenements, such as are found on Mott and Mulberry streets, and even on Crosby street within a short block of Broadway. Assessments remain low and improvements meager in the greater part of the district simply because overcrowding has been made profitable there; and the erection of a better class of buildings would largely increase assessments and taxes. The transfer of taxes to land in this district would facilitate the widening of Elm street, lead, possibly, to the opening of other thoroughfares, and encourage the erection of business buildings. Such a change would do much toward improving the health and morals of the city.

The effect of the simple change that I propose will be to cause the land in all parts of the city to be put to the best and most profitable use. It will cause buildings to spring up all over the island, and tend to substitute business houses for tenements in all the lower parts of the city; and when the whole island is once covered with buildings and necessary public parks the movement toward the annexed district will be natural and uniform, and it, too, will be regularly built up and it will at once pay to give it as good facilities for communication with the other parts of the city as are now enjoyed by Harlem.

The system is one demanding no revolutionary change in our methods of taxation. It is the settled policy of the state and city to throw the chief burden of taxation for local purposes on real estate. The attempt to include personal property in the assessment has practically failed. Mayor Hewitt's argument that the abandonment of this attempt will so add to the concentration of wealth in New York that real estate values will rise, applies with much greater force to the proposition to relieve buildings from taxation. I have shown that there seems to be a studied design under the existing system to discourage building operations, but that, notwithstanding this, the numerous buildings erected during the past fifteen years have had to bear the whole increase in taxation. Is it not, therefore, clear that a reversal of this policy would, by stimulating building, make the land easily able to bear largely increased taxation if such became necessary? When the whole area within the city limits shall have been built up it cannot matter to real estate owners whether the taxes are levied on lands and houses or on land alone. Meanwhile, during the period of the city's growth, it is a matter of serious concern to the community that nearly the whole burden of increased taxation is thrown on those who have the enterprise to engage in building operations. Such a system is unequal and unjust. It puts a fine on enterprise and encourages sloth and inaction. It promotes no good end, and, in the interest of a very few, militates against the obvious interests of the business men and the working people. All these things can be remedied by the simple expedient of exempting buildings from taxation. The change thus brought about would have the most important and far reaching results. It would open new opportunities for the safe and beneficent investment of capital. It would give active employment to a numerous body of mechanics and laborers. It would lower the taxes of the man who lives in his own house and reduce the rents of all who hire houses, flats or stores. It would tend to the destruction of rookeries, and, by scattering population over a wider area, it would relieve overcrowding. At a time when public attention is directed to the incidental results of taxation it ought not to be difficult to secure consideration of the effect of exempting houses from the taxes now levied upon them.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

The "Wood Yard Charity" in Another Shape.

Georgia Correspondent Home Journal.

The jail at Thomasville was not near large enough until a new plan of punishment was adopted. The colored roughs committed small offenses for the very purpose of getting into prison, and in that way obtaining food and shelter, and at the same time "doin' nuffin." Not so now. The town council met and adopted the resolution that prisoners should be made to work, and that is how the "chain gang" came into existence. You will see gangs of colored men repairing the roads and engaged in other public works on the highway. They wear a striped uniform after the prevailing fashion at our Sing Sing. The two legs of each man are held close enough together by iron chains to prevent the action of running but yet afford him sufficient freedom to move about and make himself useful with pick and shovel. It is a novel sight for a stranger to meet one of these gangs on the road, and the clank of the locked iron links has a strange and weird sound. To their credit be it said, the men are ashamed of their public disgrace, and the Thomasville prison is now large enough to hold the applicants for admission. Making the negro work and making of him a public show have had good effect. Such a plan is of course not feasible for cities, but it might be adopted with a degree of success in thinly populated districts of northern states. Tramps give Thomasville a wide berth. If one of the genus unwittingly wanders that way he is given his choice; he must leave or join the chain gang and work for thirty days.

THE FIRST STEP.

Houston, Tex., Labor Echo.

The proposition to be discussed in this article is that the first step toward the adoption of the Henry George theory—which here in Texas is the passage of a constitutional amendment, exempting personal property and improvements on land from taxation and requiring all direct taxes to be levied on land values only—would result in reducing taxes on farms and homesteads from twenty to eighty per cent annually without in any way increasing the burdens of indirect taxation, while the relief afforded by exempting all produots of industry from taxation would wonderfully stimulate every enterprise giving employment to labor.

By the exemption of improvements on land from taxation is meant the exemption from taxation of all values placed upon land by the application to it of human industry, such as values resulting from breaking up the wild sod, clearing land and reducing it to cultivation, as well as such improvements as fences and buildings. It means the collection of no more tax on farms and homesteads than is collected from unimproved vacant lots and lands adjoining of equal value, exclusive of improvements.

The first step is the practical matter to be discussed at present, and in considering it one need not inquire into any of the succeeding steps, nor inquire as to whether it would be just or expedient to raise the tax on land values to the point at which the community would appropriate for the good of all the entire unearned increment produced by all.

It is urged as an objection to the first step that if personal property and improvements on land were exempt from taxation, and if speculators were made to pay as much in taxes for the privilege of excluding capital and labor from the use of land, as farmers, merchants and manufacturers are required to pay for the privilege of employing labor on lands of equal value, the owners of improved real estate would in the end have a greater tax bill to settle than before, because, it is urged, no one could then afford to hold land in idleness and pay the increased tax on it, and hence, that all vacant land would at once revert to the state for non-payment of taxes, thereby compelling the owners of improved lands to bear, in addition to present taxes, all that portion of the burden now borne by land speculators and land monopolists.

In other words it is urged as an objection that the first step, even, toward the realization of the George theory would so effectually destroy every species of land monopoly that every unoccupied tract of land, business or residence lot, every unused coal bed, mineral deposit, water privilege or wharf frontage in the state, would at once become free to the first comer who wanted to use it badly enough to be willing to pay a little higher tax on it than is now required of its present owner.

Let us see if this would really be true.

It is an accepted fact in political economy that in any extended community about half of the property valuation is in personal property and in improvements on land; that is to say, in values attaching to products of human industry, while the other half is in the land itself, exclusive of anything done to it by the hand of man; the values last referred to, which are defined as "land values," being placed upon land by the common energy and enterprise of the entire community, the same resulting from the presence of population and increasing with the increase of population. It therefore follows that if we were to exempt personal property and improvements on land from taxation, it would simply be necessary, in order to raise the present revenue derived from direct taxation, to double the amount of taxes now collected from land values. In other words we would have to increase the percentage of the tax until a point was reached at which the revenue derived from the tax on a tract of vacant land would be about twice as great as under the present system.

This would double the taxes to be paid on every tract of unused land, but it would reduce the taxes to be paid on every tract of improved land. If this were done, is it reasonable to suppose that land speculators would immediately abandon their vacant lots and lands to the state, as is urged by some, and at once go to producing wealth themselves instead of stealing it, by a system of legalized theft, from merchants, mechanics, manufacturers and farmers, as they are now encouraged in doing? It is to be feared they would not.

The writer will suppose the reader to be the owner of a thousand-acre tract of wild land, in the neighborhood of which a number of industrious farmers have already settled. While they are toiling and sweating to pay for their farms and improve them, it is to be hoped you are taking your ease on a cool gallery. You may not think of it, and they may not know of it, yet all these farmers are putting a considerable sum of money into your pocket for every day's work in the hot sun done by them in improving their own lands.

Ten years ago perhaps you paid a dollar an acre for that thousand acre tract. You are now holding it at five dollars per acre. Whose labor has put this additional four thousand dollars of value upon that vacant land? Was it your labor or the labor of any one employed by you? You now refuse offers of two and three dollars per acre, because you say you do not need the money and can afford to hold the land. You demand five dollars an acre and are stiff at that price, since you know that some of those farmers around there will soon want to enlarge their farms or settle their children in the neighborhood, and meanwhile the population of the country is steadily increasing. You are well satisfied that the necessities of these people, or those of other people, with the natural growth of population alone, will compel some one to give five dollars an acre for that land, and more, too, in a few years.

Meanwhile you expect the tax assessor will continue to deal very gently with you, on account of the plea that your land is "unproductive real estate," as though you were a public benefactor in keeping your land idle, and in refusing to accept two or three dollars an acre for it, from those who wish to make it useful to mankind.

Your plan is to squeeze the farmer who must buy your land sooner or later, up to the highest notch; and you do not doubt but that the tax assessor will let you carry out this programme with the least possible expense to yourself. You expect to pay in taxes, for the privilege of excluding capital and labor from the use of a free gift of nature, about one fourth or one-fifth as much as farmers around your tract of land have to pay in taxes for the privilege of employing labor on land of equal value.

You have done nothing with your land except to drive labor off from it, and thereby to retard the prosperity of the community, and it is therefore thought proper to encourage you for it by assessing your land for taxes at only two dollars an acre. These farmers, however, have done something with their land—they have improved it, and in so doing, have given employment to labor, and thereby enhanced the prosperity of the community, and it is therefore thought proper to fine them for it by assessing their land at ten dollars an acre, so as to make them pay five times as much in taxes for benefiting the community as you are required to pay for injuring it.

But now suppose the first step to have been taken, and the deficiency in the public revenues, resulting from exempting personal property and improvements on land from taxation, is made up by doubling, or, if need be, by trebling the percentage of the tax. Your thousand-acre tract, being vacant land, the tax on it is, of course, doubled: before it was twenty dollars a year, now it is forty. It now costs you annually twice as much to prevent farmers' sons from opening up homes on that land as it did before. It will seem right hard on you, won't it?

But because your tax is forty dollars a year instead of twenty, will you abandon the land to the state? No, indeed; you will freeze to it, and you and every other owner of vacant land will walk up to the tax collector's office and settle the same as before. But I will tell you how it will affect you. You will not be so top lofty when a farmer boy comes around to inquire on what terms he can buy fifty or a hundred acres of that land. You will find that this doubling the expense of holding land in idleness will cause a good many land grabbers to turn it loose on more moderate terms, even if you yourself are rich enough to stand it. You will not find brother speculators, either, quite so willing to take it off your hands at a profit to you, to be made good to them out of plodding farmers.

As a result, while you would hold on to that land and pay your taxes on it as before, you would moderate your price perceptibly and be content with a little less blackmail paid you for the privilege of access to a natural element. Under the present system you pay in taxes, for the privilege of preventing labor from being employed on a hundred acres, $2 a year, while the farmer pays in taxes for the privilege of employing labor on a hundred acres of land of the same value $10 a year. Under the new system the tax on land values is doubled, while the products of industry are exempt from taxation. Your tax on a hundred acres of that land would be $4 a year, and the farmer's tax on his hundred acres would be the same. Your tax is increased one hundred per cent; the farmer's tax is reduced sixty per cent.

Why would not this be just and right? Why should other men be taxed five times as heavily as you for the privilege of improving land adjoining yours of the same value and thereby at the same time making your land more valuable?

Why should farmers, merchants and manufacturers be taxed more for using land and giving employment to labor on it, and thus increasing the prosperity of a community, than the speculators are taxed for holding it in idleness, preventing labor from being employed on it, and so retarding the prosperity of a community? Is it not absurd to so adjust our system of taxation as to discourage the former way of using land, and to encourage the latter way of withholding it from use?

Land is not really property, because it is not the product of human industry. It is the gift of nature, intended by a kind heavenly Father for the equal use and enjoyment of all his children. The child of a pauper born in a garret is by natural and inalienable right as much entitled to free access to a portion of the surface of the earth as a child of the proudest duke that ever lived. Since land, exclusive of all improvements on it, by natural right belongs in common to all, a tax on land values alone is simply something paid for the good of all for the privilege of the exclusive possession of a portion of that which by natural right belongs equally to all. This is the proper theory on which to base the right of taxation, to the exclusion of the notion that taxes should be paid as an equivalent for the protection received from the government. And this theory is all the more logical because of the fact that land values are the result of the presence of population. They are produced in common by all, and a tax on these values simply enables the government to appropriate for the good of all a portion of the values produced by the common enterprise of all.

What is the great obstacle which stands in the way of the working people becoming the owners of homes in the cities and of farms in the country? Is it because of the scarcity of vacant lots in the cities and towns, or of vacant lands in the country? Even in the city of New York half the residence lots are absolutely vacant, and it is much the same in all our towns, while scarcely one acre of land in ten in this state is in cultivation. The great obstacle preventing poor people from becoming the owners of homes in towns and farms in the country is the high price of land. Why is it so high? Because our laws encourage men to invest their means in vacant lots and lands for the purpose of forestalling labor, instead of investing it in buildings, in mills and factories, and other channels for the purpose of employing labor.

How do our laws encourage men to bury their money in dirt instead of investing it in productive enterprises? By an absurd system of taxation, which encourages people to hold land in idleness, by taxing it on a low valuation so long as it is held idle, and discourages people from improving land, by taxing it on a high valuation the moment it is improved. If taxes on vacant land in the country and vacant lots in towns were doubled would not people be a little more shy about investing their money in such vacant lands? Would not people having vacant land be a little anxious to get rid of it? Would not this tend to keep the price of land down, to make it cheaper and make it easier for working people to get hold of it for homes and farms; and for capitalists to get hold of it for business houses, mills and factory sites, and mining operations, all of which give employment to labor and make times better? And furthermore, if people having money to invest were discouraged from investing in lots and lands, and vacant coal beds and mineral deposits, on account of this tax on land values, or in other words, were discouraged from trying to invest their money so as to forestall their fellow men, would they not be much more inclined to invest it in buildings, dwelling houses, factories and mills, particularly if such investments were exempt from taxation except as to the value of the land occupied? And if more of the capital now going into land—into the raw element—went into productive enterprises, would not more labor be employed and times be livelier, to the benefit of the merchant as well as the farmer and mechanic?

A capitalist can increase his wealth in two ways. One way by which he may increase it is by investing it directly or indirectly in the products of human industry—as in buildings, factories, machinery—anything in the production of which human labor has been employed. The capitalist whose wealth is invested in this channel is himself a wealth producer. While he is increasing his individual wealth he is at the same time adding to the sum total of the wealth of the world—and in this channel he can only increase his wealth by calling on labor to assist him—in other words, by giving employment to labor.

The other way by which a capitalist may increase his individual wealth is simply by investing it in land—with increase of population his investment increases in value, but his capital is not used so as to assist in the production of wealth, nor is he himself in any sense a wealth producer. By investing in a free bounty of nature, to which all are by natural right equally entitled, for the purpose of forestalling his fellow men and taking advantage of their necessities he is enabled to draw to himself wealth which others have produced; and he does it without calling in labor to assist him—in other words, without giving employment to labor.

Can there be any possible doubt but that it is to the advantage of the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant and the manufacturer that capital should be invested in the former channel rather than in the latter? Can there be any possible doubt but that exempting the products of industry from taxation and taxing land values only, will tend to discourage the investment of capital in the latter channel and encourage its investment in the former?

By taxing improvements, buildings, tenement houses and factories we discourage the investment of capital in a direction where it stimulates business and increases the prosperity of all. By taxing land values alone, however, by increasing the burden of taxation on land values, we do not lessen the amount of land, but we cheapen its price; we make the speculator a little more anxious to unload; we make the land owner a little more anxious to improve.

A tax on land values alone, therefore, instead of retarding enterprise, stimulates enterprise.

H. F. RING.

The World is Moving.

Reynolds's Newspaper.

Municipal bodies are looking to parliament to give them the power to rate real property, or in other words to tax landlords for the relief of industry. The prospective loss of the coal duty, which has hitherto been spent upon improvements in the city of London and outside the city within the metropolitan area, has rendered it necessary to think how the half million sterling hitherto levied upon coal is to be replaced. The loss of that income means the imposition of a 3d. rate in the pound, and that, too, without reference to any future improvements. To the city corporation the loss represents an additional rate of something like 6d. in the pound. Hitherto the metropolitan board of works has taken 9d. and the city 4d. out of the 1s. 1d. per ton levied upon coal. We have not been surprised, therefore, to see a notice of motion in the court of common council in favor of seeking the authority of parliament to levy a tax not exceeding 6d. in the pound upon the owners of property in the city. It is impossible to conceive of a more equitable source of taxation. The present annual gross value of the real property of the city may be said to be the result of the expenditure of the people's money, collected in the form of a tax upon coal from the people within the metropolitan police area. In other words, about £150.000 per annum has been spent upon the improvement of the city of London, every shilling of which, except the small proportion collected upon coals consumed in the city, has been paid by people who have no interest whatever in city properties. Within the last thirty years the rents in the city have been increased until they have been quadrupled and quintupled, at the cost of industry but to the profit of the landlords. The ground landlords have done nothing except let their lands at enhanced ground rents. Limited owners who have built have only speculated on their own account, and the industrious people who occupy the offices, warehouses and manufactories of the city have had to pay the increased rents which practically constitute a charge upon profits, and therefore upon wages. The time has come when we are bound to investigate how far the enhanced values created by the people in the increase of population and industry should contribute to the maintenance of the state and the municipality. We must not be afraid to undertake the task of investigation because we are met with cries of confiscation, spoliation and robbery. The fortunate people who are in possession of the parchments will, of course, object very much to the imposition of any tax or rate upon real property. They calculate upon the ignorance of the people; but the people are now too intelligent not to be able to quote chapter and verse in proof of the claim to tax real property, which was once the source of all taxation, and was only released by a series of frauds thinly disguised by processes of legislation.

Seeing the Paws of the Cat.

Cincinnati Christian Standard.

A wealthy American has purchased two hundred and thirty thousand acres of land in Scotland, which he has converted into an immense game preserve or hunting park. Here is a tract of country capable of supporting ten thousand people, which has been depopulated and stocked with wild animals, simply for the cruel and barbarous sport of one man. This aristocratic American is but an imitator of many titled British landlords, and Scotland is in danger—as well as many parts of England—of being turned back to a state of nature. This may help to explain why London is overcrowded with some five millions of people, half of whom are mad and miserable. Agricultural landlordism is bad enough, but this barbarous fashion of driving the people out of a land not only crowds them into the cities, but dries up the sources of food. No wonder there are millions half famished when millions of acres of land are devoted to the maintenance of wild animals for the cruel pastime of a few hundred "gentlemen." There is but one end to such folly if it is not stopped, and that is revolution—awful, fierce, cruel revolution.

Nor is this simply a matter of European interest. The same thing is being introduced into this country by wealthy Anglomaniacs, Scullyism, as seen in Illinois, where a foreign landlord has introduced the odious agricultural serfdom of Ireland, is humane in comparison with this return to a barbarism which destroys houses and barns, and fields and orchards, and people, to make room for game. How any civilized government can permit such suicidal folly is a mystery. There must be a law limiting, and that narrowly, the amount of land which may be owned or controlled by any individual family, association or corporation, and at the same time forbidding any lands being used for purposes inconsistent with civilization and economy.

Viewing a Great Question Through Socialistic Spectacles.

Christian Union.

We are often asked to state definitely what grievance the workingmen have. One grievance, which not only the workingmen but the entire community have, is found in the fact that our industries are so often organized on monarchical principles. A striking illustration of this has been afforded during the pending strike in the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania.

The mountains of Pennsylvania are filled with coal which God put there, but which can be gotten out only by a combination of labor and capital. On the getting out of this coal depends many great industries and the comfort of thousands of homes. The laborers, represented by a few leaders, and the capitalists, represented by a single man, have gotten into a controversy, and the coal mining has come to a standstill. Iron furnaces and iron mills are closing for the want of coal; hundreds of employés outside the mining district, and having no share in the strike, are thrown out of employment, and thousands of homes are suffering inconvenience, and some of them positive distress, for want of coal. The number of persons injured by the cessation of the mining operations is vastly greater than the number of both laborers and capitalists directly concerned in the mining. Under these circumstances several delegations of citizens have presented petitions to Mr. Corbin asking him to arbitrate the question at issue between himself and the miners. The fact recalls episodes in the history of France under the Bourbons, in which the people, suffering great injury, if not great wrong, petitioned to the Bourbon king, who alone had power to issue the edict necessary for their relief. It reminds one of experiences in Russia, in which the people petitioned the czar, who alone has power to rectify abuses by his edict. As in France, as in Russia, so now in the great state of Pennsylvania, all that the wholly innocent sufferers from the coal famine can do is to petition Mr. Corbin and await his reply. Whether they can get any coal or not, and on what terms they can get it, depends upon his degree. He is monarch of the Schuylkill region. He may be a very good monarch; we are not finding any fault with him. We find fault with the system which gives him the power, not with his use of the power which it gives him. The morality and piety of St. Louis the Just was far superior to the morality and piety of the average congressman, but no American would be willing to go back from the rule of congress to the rule of even a St. Louis the Just. It is a very serious grievance that in a free state thousands of citizens who are suffering from a coal famine should have no recourse but to petition one man, who possesses absolute power over the coal field, for permission to get out the coal which is needed for homes and for industries.

Some of our contemporaries want to know definitely what legal labor reform we would institute. Here is one: We would have the people of the great state of Pennsylvania say to Mr. Corbin and the men whom he represents, you shall submit the questions at issue between yourself and your employes concerning the rate of wages to an impartial tribunal; you shall do, not what you think is just, but what we think is just. We would have them say to the miners, you, too, shall submit to what we think is just. We would have the people put an end to petitioning an industrial king to submit such a question to arbitration, and take the kingly power into their own hands and compel arbitration. In other words, we would take a first step in the transition from industrial monarchy to industrial democracy.

If not, why not?

Not Charity, But Justice, Wanted.

Topeka Post.

Not a single city, town or village in this broad land but what is to-day doling out charity—charity which in ninety nine per cent of the cases means to the recipient pauperism. It is not the aged and infirm, nor is it the young or helpless, sick and afflicted that receives a major portion of this charity—the situation would be bad enough if it was—but men able and willing to work are forced to accept alms or starve, and as they listen to the cries of their little ones and see their destitution, and turn to the wan features and scantily clad form of the wife and realize their inability to help themselves, they would not be human to refuse the only alternative they possess—that of receiving "charity." Those who supply this charity are entitled to credit for their generosity—and from that credit we would not detract, but desire to rather call attention to the hopeless outlook if charity alone is depended upon. Laziness, want of thrift, or a supply of the needful commodities of life cannot be said to be the cause for all this needed charity. Facts are against each one of these theories. Kansas has within her bountiful storehouse the wherewithal to make every man, woman and child comfortable; she has brain and muscle enough to produce and make useful every necessary of life. Yet the labor commissioner of Kansas tells us that our paupers are increasing faster than our population, and those whose benevolence prompts them to seek out the poor and needy are well aware that each year brings a larger number. In the face of these facts, then, it behooves the people to seek the true cause of this need of charity. If our civilization and progress only brings this result, better that it cease.

From whence comes all the material that makes life possible? From the land. Just in proportion as men are deprived of the use of this original free gift, in that proportion do you find poverty increasing on the one hand among the many, and riches increasing on the other hand among the few. Take the history of any nation and the same result will be found. The primal cause the same, the final effect similar. Take this general proposition, subdivide it as you will, the end is the same. To remove the necessity for charity you must remove the cause that produces it, and it is to this we would invite the attention of all interested. The single tax on land values is the process to open the storehouse of nature, as has previously been shown by the *Post*, because the single tax on land values gives all an equal opportunity to the land. Until this right is granted every person, so long will charity be needed, so long will it be inadequate and so long will we have want and the gaunt wolf of hunger abroad in a land of plenty. Justice, not charity, is the crying need of the hour. Our perceptions tell us that a state of affairs in which human beings can only live by charity, and able-bodied men beg for work which they cannot get, is unnatural and wrong. Not only do we encounter utter failure when we try by benevolence to remedy this state of affairs, but we can see, if we choose to look, that benevolence only intensifies the evil it cannot cure. Why, then, should we not turn to justice? It is not in establishing charitable associations, free soup houses, or allowing men to sleep at the police station that will abolish charity and its recipients, but it is in giving all a chance, for there is enough for all if they are only permitted to get it.

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THINKING IT OUT.

Bolton Smith Analyzes the Arguments for and Against a Nomination—The Tariff Question is the Door of the Land Question.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., February 20.—I have followed the controversy between the two wings of our party with growing interest, and, I must confess, with changing opinion. Immediately after our defeat—for such it was if compared with what we confidently expected—I felt that our course was plain; that we should place presidential candidates in the field. This had been my opinion before the election and it remained my opinion immediately thereafter, simply because no other view had presented itself to my mind, and Mr. Cleveland's message had not been written, it must be remembered. And so, when Messrs. Croasdale and Post opposed presidential nominations on grounds of policy, I inwardly exclaimed: "What have we to do with policy?" and I confess that I was troubled when Mr. George did not take a firm stand in opposition to these gentlemen, though I never thought him a backslider, because I still bore in mind how radically I had once differed from him on the land question and how completely he had won me to his views. Having decided to read both sides and to reserve judgment, I soon found that those opposing presidential nominations were the only ones who argued, the other side confining itself to the declaration that "we must stick to principle," without once proving that their course was more agreeable to principle than the one insisted upon by their opponents; while their failure to answer the arguments urged by the latter touching the inexpediency of making presidential nominations seemed a confession of their soundness.

In the meantime as president of our local land and labor club I had gained some useful experience of an eminently practical and convincing nature. I, who have been an ardent free trader for years, found myself apologizing for protection on the ground that "after all, free trade would do no permanent good," refraining from answering the arguments of our protectionist members as vigorously as I could have done and "suggesting" when I longed to speak positively, and all for fear of doing the club harm. I was making a sacrifice for principle and yet there came to me none of that feeling of inward satisfaction which such a sacrifice should bring. On the contrary, I felt like a whipped cur, and why should I not feel so? Had I not attempted to set party above conviction and so descended to the arts of the "practical politician" Had I not given proof of that party spirit, which in the members of the old parties is our chief foe? I had acted and spoken as if it were immaterial to me whether protection continued or free trade prevailed, and I had, for all practical purposes, lied. I did and do care. Next to the restoration of the land to the people, free trade both as an end and as a means, seems the most noble cause in which one can do battle. To deny this was surely not to follow principle.

Whether a stream shall obey the law that governs it by flowing to the ocean through or around an obstruction, is a question of force and resistance, of mechanics, or, if you will, of policy; but while carrying out that policy which surrounding conditions led it to adopt, the stream would not, for one moment, disobey the law, for it ever flows downward.

Our object is neither to hold conventions, to nominate candidates, to conduct elections, to secure prominence, nor even to have a grateful world some day say, "See what these men, what this party has done for us and for mankind." No: these things are all very pleasant; but the mother purpose of our party was the dissemination of the truth that the land of every country belongs to the people, and to secure the incorporation of this truth in the laws of the land. How this may best be done is a question neither of principle, nor yet of policy, in the odious sense of the word. It is a question of force and resistance, of thought mechanics—a question of human nature.

A great deal has been said as to what we should do, a matter most proper to be considered in its place, only that place is second. The first question is: "What can we do?" and it is within the territory mapped out by the answer to the latter question that the true answer to the former should be sought and will be found. If men felt that the approaching tariff contest were unimportant, and especially if we had any guarantee that they would continue in this humor until after the election, then protectionists and free trade members of our party might well agree to take no part in it, and by running presidential candidates we should poll our full vote, whatever that may be, and so obtain consideration of our principles to a certain degree. But even now our men do not feel indifferent, and it is most idle to "play" that they do; and unless we can isolate them from the influences of the coming campaign well nigh all of them (many of those now most clamorous for presidential nominations among the number) will have been swept into one of the two contending camps by the heat of a contest in which great masses of men wage battle in the name of fundamental principles. To me such defection would indicate that their hearts were wiser than their heads.

This above all—to thine own self be true;
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

If men will but perform each duty as it is presented to them, and trust to God for the rest, will they not be obeying the highest principle and the truest policy? Is not this the moral of the above quotation, approved by all who read it?

Let us not forget that we are not the only men in these United States who are pure in purpose. There are in every part of this dear land of ours thousands of men and women whose souls turn upward in fervent prayer for right guidance, and who would give their very heart's blood to serve God and their fellow men, could they but see the right road and feel sure they were doing his will. The many movements, of which prohibition and charitable organizations may be considered types, bear witness to this fact. Yet such movements are of too little promise to rouse and engage the truest and soundest of these noble men and women, who, born crusaders as they are, still search for a crusade worthy the effort. The coming contest, if conducted on a plane high enough, is sure to attract the attention and enlist the support of this class as no movement in this nation has done for a quarter of a century. Beside the fact that any appeal to principle clears the moral and political atmosphere, and paves the way for true reform, the tariff contest is par excellence the door through which we can best introduce the land question as a practical subject of consideration to the entire nation. The tariff question simply involves a discussion of the effect of indirect national taxation on the distribution of wealth, and more particularly on wages, and is sure to lead beyond its present and apparent destination. That the anti-corn law agitation did not result in free land no more proves that this agitation will not so result than the fact that caravans perish from thirst proves that there is no water to be had beneath deserts. Notwithstanding the fact that England was far from having universal suffrage at that time, will any believer in the single tax dare affirm that the publication of "Progress and Poverty" ten years before would not have materially altered the scope of the movement?

Let us go into this movement as individuals following our own opinions. Let us see to it that the battle is fought on the plane of an appeal to justice and to right. And if we do our full duty among our temporary comrades shall we not, when the struggle is over, carry with us the soul of both parties? Mr. Wilder will ever be whispering to his comrades that the tariff raises ultimately nothing but mining royalties, stumpage, etc., while our noble priest, McGlynn, will remind free traders that their reform, however excellent in its way, will, in the long run, but raise the rentals of agricultural land and of seaport town lots. Will not such a course be better than independent action, which to earnest men in the older parties will seem but an evidence of that unfeeling indifference to the actual needs and woes of the present of which reformers are so often accused—so often guilty! Will such an introduction gain us converts? And how would our free traders feel if President Cleveland should be defeated through their inactivity? And how far would the election of Blaine or Sherman advance our cause? These are a few contingencies it were well to ponder.

The winds of thought blow, the currents of opinion move, destroying, retarding, advancing. We can no more alter them than we can recall yesterday or hasten to-morrow. But by rendering to ourselves an account of their force and direction we may ride the currents and use the winds to fill our sails. That we may prove skillful mariners is my prayer, for our bark is indeed freighted with much of the world's hope. BOLTON SMITH.

DRIVING BUSINESS AWAY.

What the Building Trades in Paterson are Demanding—Driving Business Away and Why it is Possible.

PATERSON, N. J.—Last season the masons' union of this city demanded and obtained a nine hour work day with ten hours' pay. This season they demanded in addition that eight hours shall constitute a day on Saturday and that they shall receive ten hours' pay for it. Not to be too far behind, the carpenters' union demand this season nine hours for every day but Saturday, which shall have but eight, and ten hours' pay for every day including Saturday. This means of course a demand for an increase in wages equal to seven hours each week or a raise all around of something more than eleven and one-half per cent.

In view of these facts many prospective builders have decided to wait awhile before building, in the confident expectation that wages will come down again. There are barrels full of suggestions in this for any one who will take the trouble to tap them.

First, by this waiting the demand for labor will be checked. Second, the checking of demand will produce a surplus of labor. Third, a surplus of labor will bring wages down. And all the labor combinations under the sun can't put them up again until the demand revives.

This is the situation. It is as old as private ownership in land, and will be the same until the single tax draws the teeth and nails of that great monopoly, and prevents it from denying to labor the right to produce.

There are many here who declare that the unions will kill business by their exorbitant demands; who assert that the business of Paterson will be transferred to places where workingmen are contented with "fair" wages for a "fair" day's work; who say that the prospective building boom will be knocked flat by an increase of eleven and one-half per cent in wages. And the facts in the case will undoubtedly lend force to their opinions, just as the fact that wages are better here than in the old world gives force to the argument for a protective tariff. These talkers remind one of the savage chief who made a tour of the world and was struck by the fact that civilization is marked by plug hats and suspenders. The more civilized a people were, he noticed, the more plug hats and suspenders were worn, and *vice versa;* so, reasoning as do those who maintain that a protective tariff makes high wages, and a combination for higher wages will kill business in a place, he bought a ship load of plug hats and suspenders, and sent them home in order that his people also might be civilized.

Because the natural opportunities have been better in this than in the old country, wages have been better here than there. Yet, since we have gloried in taxing ourselves for the benefit of those who own these opportunities, they have been lost sight of and the tax is credited with the better wages which naturally follow better chances of work. At the prospect of good times land values are first to appreciate. Land owners demand and receive from fifteen to one hundred per cent, and as much more as men can possibly give and keep enough to do business with. In case of a boom they will demand more than business can afford to give, and the result is that business falls flat and moves on to do the same thing over again in the next place. Now, at the prospect of good times, labor naturally wants "some of it;" but by the time workmen are prepared to make a demand, land owners have so reduced the margin of business that a demand for twelve per cent more wages becomes a serious matter, and business is checked because it cannot satisfy both land owner and worker. Either the worker is sacrificed for the land owner, or, in case the workers are well enough organized to resist immediate sacrifice, business "moves on" and every one is punished! The people who lay the blame on labor unions lose sight entirely of the enormous advance in land values, and attribute the disaster to the much smaller demand for labor.

As a matter of fact, the unions are themselves at fault in allowing this state of things to continue. If they put in half as much time seeking to make work steady as they do in making spasmodic efforts to increase wages, it would soon come to an end. The light is so plainly between the land owners and the workers that one must be unwilling to look not to see it. But as the savage thought plug hats and suspenders made civilization, and the protectionist thinks high taxes make high wages, so very probably many will continue to think that a demand for more wages will spoil business. Meanwhile the workers will try to get more wages without disturbing land owners and will continue to get left.

E. W. NELLIS.

Gathering Strength in Glasgow.

GLASGOW, Scotland.—It is pleasant to see that the movement here, notwithstanding the opposition of ignorance, indifferenee and self interest, is gathering strength year by year. The land question is now, like Aaron's rod, absorbing all minor questions. The Glasgow town council, composed as it is of middle class men, more intent in the pursuit of pelf than on the study of social questions concerning the good of the people, is now obliged to discuss the incidence of taxation and how ground values would be affected thereby. It is true, the result of the last discussion was so far ludicrous to a degree, because the nearly blind were trying to lead the totally blind, or, what is more difficult, those determined not to see. Both property owners and occupiers have expressed their grievances as they understand them under the present system, so both classes are at work searching for a remedy. JAMES M. CHERRIE.

CHARITY AND ALMS.

ELIZABETH, N. J.—Charity is love to the neighbor. Alms giving, the relieving of the neighbors' necessities, would seem to be its most practical application; that application at least which, because of the sacrifice of self required in the alms giver, most accords with Christian ethics. This is probably the reason why the two words have acquired a synonymous meaning.

Modern thought on this subject has been colored by the philosophy of later English writers, which applies to man the conclusions reached as to the law of progress in the animal kingdom; that in the struggle for existence the strongest, the best fitted to the environment, survive and stamp their strength by heredity upon succeeding generations. From this view it would seem that any efforts to sustain those who in the struggle for existence have been unable to keep up with their neighbors, are in opposition to the natural law of progress. The weak are continued to propagate their kind while the strength of the strong is sapped and their efficiency lowered. This philosophy predicates man as a product of nature, his mental or spiritual qualities and powers being derived from nature through his physical organization by evolution. Attempts have been made to carry the operation of the law into the human or social environment which man exclusively enjoys. But here it fails because antagonistic to a spiritual law by virtue of which the mental, moral and spiritual attributes which sustain man as a social being are not coincident with those which sustain and improve him in competition with the merely animal creation of which he is a part. It is evident from this higher standpoint that the best animal qualities do not produce the best men for the social environment. Jesus, Gautama, Socrates, Plato will continue to impart influences to the development of mankind after that of John L. Sullivan is lost, and after Jay Gould, with his self-sustaining, fox-like cunning, has ceased to be known and his millions are dissipated. The qualities which would be conserved in the animal kingdom, therefore, by the survival of the fittest in a struggle for existence, would not be those best worth preserving in man in view of his higher destiny, and aid to those least able to sustain themselves physically may be necessary to conserve the highest and most useful qualities of manhood.

God is the great almoner of the universe. Did he not continually impart his life to us we would have no existence. And we compensate him not at all. We are free to spend the life he gives us in the most unworthy manner, to the extent of denying the almoner and the cultivation of the false pride of belief that we can and do live apart from him, and earn by our own efforts the good which we receive. And God's method of curing the ills which result from our way of receiving his bounty, is not to cut off the supplies, to close himself to us because of our misuse of his gifts, but to give to us still more largely; to seek us out and excite in us that compassion, like his own, by which we may imitate him in conferring benefits upon our fellows, and so become ourselves consciously and gratefully recipient of his life, to the end that we shall be entirely saved from our evils and infirmities.

The doctrine of charity and alms has been taught by all religions worthy of the name. Jesus taught it, exemplified it and enjoined it upon his disciples, and our Christianity has always been truly measured, and, to a large extent recognized, by the extent to which we have practiced this virtue in our lives. The Christian church has also taught, enjoined, and, in a measure, practiced the virtue. With all its externality, its impure mingling of truth and error by alliances with mythologies and idolatries, it has preserved for transmission to a more receptive age to be fully realized on earth, these essential truths: The doctrines of our fatherhood in one creator, our brotherhood in a common divine sonship and our spiritual existence sustained continually by reception of the divine life: and these rules of life: Love to God and our brother man as leading to the realization of the true order of the descent of the divine through our spiritual into our external forms and the coming of heaven upon earth.

In the order and life of human society, charity and alms seem to be not only potent but indispensable. The abnegation of self and devotion of powers by one to another are the promise and the good of marriage. They are the rule of life in the family; the weak and helpless children are dependent for everything pertaining to the natural state and for the development and cultivation of their mental powers upon the love and self sacrifice of their parents. Thus it is in the family relation that we find the type of heavenly association in which the ruling principle is not egoistic but altruistic. Parents are not made vain and proud by their sacrifice of themselves to their children, but are thereby enlarged in heart and made more loving to all humanity. Children, receiving everything from their parents at the time when their characters are most plastic, are not thereby cultivated into a selfish manhood of indolence and servility; they are taught by the example of self-sacrifice the highest duties of life and stimulated to reciprocate, to occupy themselves the noble position of being the almoners of God's bounty to others.

In all our social relations with our fellows we are, consciously or unconsciously, mutually dependent upon each other, and the farther we advance in knowledge and power over our material conditions the more dependent upon each other we become. Whether we will it or not, we cannot be independent of each other; consciously or unconsciously we must accept one another's giving. In association is power, and its strength is proportionate to the giving by each to all. Separation into weakness is in proportion to the selfishness which prompts us to lock ourselves in ourselves and refuse to give and receive, to bestow and partake.

If we look at the subject from the standpoint of justice, how evident it seems to be that those who profit by the maladjustment of social relations to obtain benefits at the cost of others should make restitution as they can by personally giving to those who have suffered for their good. It is true, as Count Tolstoi and Henry George claim, that for a man to be a weight on another's back and not get off him, but only to ease his steps by pouring a few drops of oil into his boots, is the height of inconsistency. But the inconsistency is not in the little charity done, but in the not doing the greater charity of relieving him of his load. Pending instruction in the method by which those under the load may be fully relieved, men must be enlightened and their conscience awakened. Will we enlighten and awaken them the sooner by inducing them to close their soup houses, their wood splitting shops, their alms houses, their hospitals and orphan asylums; by inducing men to stop giving to beggars and cease to seek out the poor and needy to supply their wants? On the contrary, progress will be according to the increase and not the decrease of charity; for to be in a state of charity is to be receptive of the divine, the only real power there is to heal our diseases, whether they be social, moral or physical. It is well to show a greater charity, a better way; those will see the greater who have practiced the lesser charity; those who do not practice the lesser will not do the greater, for "charity begins at home;" that is in the first thing the hands find to do, and it grows by its exercise.

To the view that by receiving charity or alms men are made indolent and willing to live without efforts of their own upon the labor of others, it may be said farther that if man is created with appetencies to be satisfied by the application of his labor to the resources of nature, which labor is irksome and he inclines to avoid, he is also created with powers the exercise of which in satisfying those appetencies is pleasurable; that idleness is not happiness, and that if all our physical wants were satisfied without labor on our part, we would still seek, in some way, gratification by the exercise of our powers. An ideal state of society, based upon man's nature, is not inconceivable in which the motive would be changed from that by which each one works to satisfy his own desires to that in which he would work to satisfy the desires of others, and in which in satisfying his wants by accepting the products of the labor of others he would be giving them happiness. Even under existing conditions of production in this world, if the labors of the human family were equitably shared, its products equitably distributed and waste abolished, less necessary work would fall to the lot of each than he would take pleasure in doing, especially so if he was cultivated to labor in the field for which his genius fitted him. In truth, unless this state of society is in the nature of man possible, it is useless to pray for the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth, for delight in living for others and not for self is the kingdom of heaven.

"The quality of mercy is not strained;
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed;
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown.
His scepter shows the force of temporal
power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings;
But mercy is above this sceptered sway!
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings;
It is an attribute to God himself;
And earthly power doth then show likest
God's,
When mercy seasons justice."

BENJAMIN URNER.

ANTI-POVERTY IN BOSTON.

A Big Meeting on Washington's Birthday—Speeches by Professor Hamlin Garland and Dr. McGlynn.

BOSTON, Mass.—The anti-poverty society celebrated Washington's birthday by a public meeting at Tremont temple. The hall was completely filled, and the audience included a large representation from the various labor organizations of Boston.

The first speaker was Professor Hamlin Garland of Boston university, who was introduced by the president of the society, Mr. J. R. Roche. Professor Garland spoke in brief as follows: "There are two great forces in social progress always at war—innovation and conservatism. The present state of affairs is always the resultant of these two forces. The rich and great institutions are mainly conservative, and the innovator is often a martyr. The great innovator eighteen centuries ago wore a crown of thorns, and this explains why Henry George is vilified and Dr. McGlynn cast out. (Cheers.) The opponents to reform, and to this great reform in particular, are the ignorant; those who are satisfied with the present order of things; the great institutions and their paid workers, and last, those who are reforming, but are moving so slowly that the friction between them and the new movement amounts to opposition."

Dr. McGlynn was then introduced and received with enthusiastic cheering and waving of handkerchiefs. He thanked the audience for his reception, and spoke of his diffidence, which would restrain him from speaking in public, in spite of a long experience, if he did not feel a duty impelling him. He said: "It has been brought to your minds that I am a priest, and the implication was seemingly that I am now suffering the penalty for doing something unworthy of this office; but it is because of a continuance of the zeal with which I dedicated my young life to the service of God that I occupy my present position. It has been my lot to say strong words for the downtrodden and oppressed, and I have been impelled thereto because it is fully consonant with priestly duties. I have seen and deplored the fact that the church and the people are getting further apart, and I have tried to remedy this. I must continue to pursue my solitary path, feeling that I am doing God's will. I stand upon this platform because I believe it to be a religious platform. The movement is called an 'anti-poverty' movement. Is not poverty as necessary in the general social scheme, must it not haunt the footsteps of progress as its necessary shadow? asks the world. It now becomes necessary to show that we are in earnest and not visionary. So far are we from trying to interfere with God's law that it is because of our love of God and his law that we are doing as we are. The doctrine of this platform can only be logically deduced from the equality of all men as the sons of God. If men are not equal, human life is but a brutal scramble in which the weak are trampled upon. Is the true type of society a family sitting at a well filled board, or brutes at a trough trampling others underfoot in their eagerness and wasting in their haste more than they consume? Our platform, therefore, is not quixotic and strange, and not subversive of law and order. The abolition of poverty is in the closest touch with the labor problem. Labor means life, and life means labor. Life is a gift of the creator, and it is a sacred trust for which we shall be held religiously accountable. Without labor the trust cannot be fulfilled. The human family could not live if men did not labor and labor diligently. The naked man and nature have produced all things, and, better still, if the man gets a fair show, he is capable of producing things hitherto unheard of. In spite of what we have in common with the brutes, there is much that we have above and beyond them. It is the sublime philosophy of Christ's apostle that we rise by material things to the knowledge of God himself. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' This stamps him as tending toward all in the universe that is good and true. He alone is conscious of a moral law which teaches him that God is a father and a brother. This is natural law, and is as well known in China as in Christian Rome. When Christ came to the world, it was not so much to teach a new law, but to give a grace and sanction to the natural law. Equality and justice are the same things; and the Bible is full of their praises. If there are not great religious principles at the bottom of all this, it had better not be; if it were not for the spiritual significance, then were life vanity. It is the religion of Christ that we serve the Father by the succoring of our brethren. We love God for his own dear sake, and mankind for his. All the dogmas of the church and all the sacraments to which I give the fullest allegiance are in themselves good, but it is folly to exalt them above charity, and it is an accursed thing to use them for upholding of the wrong-doer. The whole scheme of the world is that in the Father's own good time he will call home from school to enjoyment the child who has been learning his tasks here upon earth. Labor is good, it is noble, it is holy—we do not restrict this to mere bodily work, but everything to make the world better. The artist, the architect, the orator, and (to say a word for my own shop) the preacher, if he speak the truth, is a laborer. There exists an inalienable right of man to life and to the equal enjoyment of all the providential bounties of life. The right of property comes from making, producing; in some sense we make it. The inducement to labor is that we shall be allowed to enjoy the products of our work. Anything produced by human industry is properly considered property. It is a putrid calumny to say that this platform is against the rights of property; we do not want to steal; we want to stop the stealing. We are warring against the order of things in which one cannot get a chance to labor for life, and in which men are compelled to bid against each other and not get a fair amount of the result of the labor for his reward."

Dr. McGlynn spoke for nearly two hours, and was eagerly listened to by his audience.

From the Treasurer of the Anti-Poverty Society.

NEW YORK, Feb. 27.—Agreeably to the instructions of the executive committee—that I should publish a monthly financial statement—I inclose the treasurer's account for February up to the time when the duties of my office were usurped by an irregularly constituted committee. Since that date there have been receipts of $3 and no disbursements made.

Balance on hand Feb. 1, 1888		$327 24
Receipts during February.		
Ticket sales at meetings	$242 90	
Collection at meetings	71 54	
		314 44
Less rent of Academy one Sunday	$175 00	
Less musical services	89 00	
Less advertising	85 50	
Less printing tickets	13 00	
Less help at Academy	16 25	
		278 75
Net receipts from meetings		35 69
Tickets sold for miners' benefit (so far as reported to treasurer)	$522 10	
Collection at miners' benefit	172 46	
		694 56
Less rent of Academy	$175 00	
Less rent of Steinway hall	35 00	
Less tickets and posters	35 00	
Less ushers, janitors, etc	26 25	
Less musical services	15 00	
Less advertising	32 40	
		317 65
Net receipts to treasurer from miners' benefit		376 91
Initiation fees		9 00
Regular subscriptions		80 00
Occasional donations		2 50
Miscellaneous (charters, etc.)		10 60
Additional receipts Miss Munier's benefit		2 00
		$793 94
Disbursements.		
Printing and stationery	$6 00	
Publishing and issuing tracts	27 75	
Office rent, salaries, etc	139 44	
Rent and postage, Riverside branch	7 80	
Paid James E. Quinn for coal miners	360 49	
		530 98
Balance in Commercial nat. bank	$203 47	
Balance in East River nat. bank	4 98	
Balance in secretary's hands account society	38 09	
Balance in secretary's hands account miners' benefit	16 42	
		262 96
		793 94

E. J. SHRIVER, Treasurer.

Competing With Pauper Labor.

Kansas Paper.

We found years ago our cotton manufacturers contesting with England for Chinese and Japanese markets, and with success; as long ago as 1879 our poor cotton barons exported into China no less than 11,290,411 pieces of thirty yards each, or 338,882,230 yards of cotton goods in one year, and not a very good year either for the Yankee; we find the women and men working in the cotton manufacturing industry of China for six to twenty cents per day and board themselves. Yet, our manufacturer must be protected at home against the serf labor of Europe and Asia.

In a Nutshell.

Honesty, Australia.

Protection is a tariff on our exports; land monopoly is a tariff on our production; and money monopoly is a tariff on our exchanges. They are simply one thing under different names, and may all be summed up as a tax on industry.

MISCELLANEOUS.

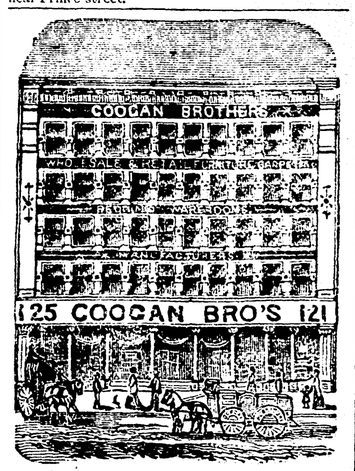
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UNITED LABOR PARTY.

UNITED LABOR PARTY—Citizens of the following named states who indorse the principles of the United Labor Party and desire to lend active aid in the movement, are requested to communicate with the State Organizers of their respective states, as follows:

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco.
Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 284 Asylum st., Hartford.
Pennsylvania—Henry George club, box 190, Philadelphia.
Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes.
Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 99, Cincinnati.
Louisiana—Jere. J. Sullivan, 705 Fulton street, New Orleans.
Massachusetts (Berkshire county)—F. Harvey Lincoln, box 115, Zylonite.
Maryland—T. H. Garside, 1597 West Lexington street, Baltimore.
Minnesota—Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis.
New York—John McMackin, 28 Cooper Union, New York city.
Ohio—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 99, Cincinnati.
South Carolina—Benjamin Adams, Charleston.
West Tennessee, Eastern Arkansas and Northern Mississippi—Land and Labor Club No. 2. Rooms, 9 and 10, Cotton Exchange, Memphis, Tenn.

ILLINOIS.—Readers of the "Standard" in the state of Illinois, and all others interested in the great principles it advocates, are requested to send names and addresses to W. H. Van Ornum, president of land and labor club No. 1, Room 68, 170 Madison street, Chicago, with a view to effecting some plan of organization for the state. Persons in Chicago not already members of land and labor clubs, as well as secretaries of such organizations, are especially requested to write.

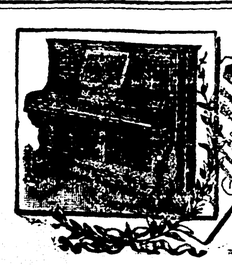
ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD IN favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district, composing the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifteenth wards, also the counties and towns included in the district will please send their names and addresses to the undersigned, for the purpose of organizing the district thoroughly. JOS. H. ROSHIRT, President First assembly district, united labor party 22 Third avenue, Albany, N. Y.

23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETS every Monday evening, German speaking members every Tuesday evening at Vincent hall, 1597 Third avenue, corner 105th street. Open every evening for enrollment of members. Thursday and Saturday evenings free debates of the Progress and Poverty club

VOTERS OF MARYLAND WHO ARE desirous to aid in propagating the principles of the united labor party, as set forth in the New York platform, adopted at Syracuse, Aug. 19 are requested to send their names and addresses to JOHN SALMON, 415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

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