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RAPID TRANSIT.

A bill embodying Mayor Hewitt's suggestions for providing the city of New York with rapid transit facilities has been presented to the legislature, and will popularly be known as the mayor's bill. It provides for a board of rapid transit, to consist of the mayor, comptroller and commissioner of public works. This board, after adopting plans as to construction, equipment, motive power, rates of fare, etc., and receiving the concurrence of the common council, is to advertise for proposals to build, equip and run the road for a term of years. The contract is to include all these things, and the board is given power to accept such bid as it thinks best, irrespective of its amount. The necessary funds are to be provided by the issue of city bonds, the contractor to give security for fulfillment of contract, and to pay an annual rental to the city equal to the annual interest on the bonds and two per cent in addition, the rental to be applied first, to the payment of the interest, and secondly to the sinking fund.

Practically this bill might as well provide that the mayor, comptroller and commissioner of public works should be authorized to make a contract with the New York Central railroad company for the extension to the lower part of the island of the sunken road which now gives their trains access to Forty-second street, and the running upon it and its branches of rapid transit trains, the city, by the use of its credit, to furnish the company all the capital needed, and the company to have all the profits upon the road for a stipulated term of probably thirty-five years, in return for the payment of five per cent interest upon the capital furnished by the city.

The determining feature of Mayor Hewitt's plan is the utilization of the already existing sunken track of the New York Central from Forty-second street to Harlem river, an economy which would save both work and time. He proposes something of a compromise between the old idea that it is best to leave the building and running of railways to private corporations, and the new and rapidly growing idea that railways ought to be built and owned by the public—a compromise which has the merit of giving some recognition to the new idea without seriously threatening the old. The city of New York is to furnish the money for the building of the road in its newer parts, and after some thirty-five years may enter into the possession of these parts. But it is to employ a private corporation to do the building, and is for some thirty-five years to give up the running of the road to this private corporation under certain restrictions as to fares—which, however, would equally be made if the corporation built with capital furnished by itself.

The pressing need for rapid transit facilities for the steadily growing metropolis is becoming more pressing every day. New York has already far outgrown existing means of transportation, and every morning and evening the cars of the elevated roads are packed with human masses to a degree not only destructive of comfort but exceedingly dangerous; while, as the blizzard and the recent fire in Coogan Brothers' furniture warerooms have demonstrated, these already inadequate means of communication are liable to be partially or wholy paralyzed by unpreventable accidents.

It is probable that the mayor's bill offers the quickest means for giving some immediate relief to the pressure upon existing transit facilities. But it is worthy of grave consideration whether it would not be better, if necessary, to even suffer presents discomforts for a little while longer, rather than make a false step in beginning such an enormous system of public improvements as the supplying of what is destined to be the greatest city in the world with adequate means of transit. Certainly the mayor's bill is but a proposition to put a patch, and that a very small patch, of new cloth upon an old garment. Would it not be better, and in the end far cheaper, to begin a perfectly new garment, since whatever we do now will require great extensions with future growth?

The difference between the operating of the railways which have become of such vital importance to our great cities, and the functions that can safely be left to private individuals or corporations, is that the former are in their nature monopolies, and that in regard to them the principle of competition, which where free can be relied upon to give the public fair service at a reasonable price, cannot act. If one baker bakes poor bread, and charges too high a price for it, the citizen can readily get his bread of another baker. But the man who would ride on an elevated road must pay the price and accept the accommodation which the elevated road offers. He has not and cannot have his choice of roads that will suit his purpose equally well. The very building of one prevents the building of another.

The interest of the public, whenever it comes in conflict with the interest of the corporation enjoying such monopoly, can only be guarded by limitations of the franchise or exertion of legislative power. Experience has shown the inadequacy of such means. Our elevated roads do all, and probably more, than has been required of them in the matter of running trains. Yet they not only pack these trains almost to suffocation during the hours when there is the greatest travel, and it is perhaps a physical impossibility, with the existing tracks, to furnish larger accomodation; but they deliberately lay off cars and uncomfortably crowd their passengers during other hours, when the only excuse is that of saving money. In such matters as light they are niggardly in the extreme, and hundreds of thousands of the people of New York who are compelled to pass from an hour to three hours of each day in these cars are bringing on premature failure of sight by attempting to utilize this time in reading. The fares that they charge are, for part of the day, less than those to which they are legally limited. Yet so high has the growth of travel made this rate as compared with the expenditure necessary for the performance of the service, that after all the enormous watering to which their stock has been subjected, the difficulty is not to pay dividends, but to so further water the stock as to make these dividends seem reasonable. On the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, our existing rapid transit lines could be made, at least during certain hours of the day, to afford greater facilities to long distance travel, by reducing the number of stations at which trains stop. But the management prefers to run them in competition with the horse cars, as there is a profit in crowding cars with human beings to the extreme of possible compression.

The great evil of putting the arteries of travel and transportation under the control of private corporations is that the public service and convenience, which should be the prime motives in their management, become entirely subordinate to the consideration of profit. Mayor Hewitt's plan does not avoid this evil. The road which it proposes, though built with the means of the people of New York, will be no more under the control of the people of New York than the present elevated roads. It will be, for thirty-five years at least, virtually the property of the New York Central railroad company, or of some annex corporation formed to co-operate with it. And it will be to the interest of this private corporation to make all the profit they possibly can out of the volume of travel. Not only this, but (another great evil inseparable from private control of public throughfares) it will be their interest to prevent the construction of other improved means of transit which would interfere with their monopoly.

After thirty-five years—that is to say, after we of the present generation are all in our graves—there is a prospect that such parts of the road as are built under Mayor Hewitt's plan may come into the possession of the city. But in the light of experience, it is not a very bright prospect. Where state, nation or municipality has gone into partnership with a private corporation, the usual ending has been, not that the public interest has swallowed up the private interest, but that the private interest has swallowed up the public interest. By the time the thirty-five years of lease contemplated in this plan have expired, what the city will have power to take possession of will not be a complete system of rapid transit, but merely some parts of such a system, other essential parts of which will be the property of the private corporation. This, added to the power which possession gives, and which such an enormous pecuniary interest as the Central railroad and its allied corporations will then be able to exert, will practically make it as difficult and as costly for the city of New York in 1925 or 1930 to assume control of rapid transit facilities as if those facilities had been provided by private capital without the use of the credit of the city.

The main reason why Mayor Hewitt proposes to call in the great Vanderbilt corporation to build and to run roads that are to be paid for by the city, is that this corporation already owns important transit facilities. "We must," says Mayor Hewitt, "recognize the fact that access by rail to the city of New York is practically controlled by the New York Central and Hudson river railroad company, and that the city has expended the sum of three million dollars in furnishing this company with depressed tracks so that rapid transit might be secured north of the Grand Central depot." After this same company shall have built, even though at public expense, **the extensions of the local system that Mayor Hewitt now proposes; after they shall have run these extensions as part of their own system for thirty-five years, and after, as it will be their interest to do, they shall have built necessary links at their own expense, which they can hold as their own property, is it likely that it will seem less obvious to whomever shall be mayor of New York in 1925 or 1930 that the Vanderbilt corporation ought to continue to operate the rapid transit system, than it now is to Mayor Hewitt that they ought to operate it in its beginning?**

What inclines Mayor Hewitt to this patchwork scheme is not merely that the existing sunken roadway between Forty-second street and the Harlem (as well as the track of the Central railroad on the west side) could thus be utilized, but that to the construction of this sunken roadway the city has already contributed three millions of the public money and has already rights of use. But these rights have never yet been utilized. The city has gained nothing by this public expenditure, unless—what is extremely doubtful—it hastened the providing by the Central road of terminal facilities demanded by its own business. These are not facts which should incline New York to further partnerships with private corporations in public works. Would it not, in the light of the present, have been far wiser for the city to have added to the expenditure of the three millions whatever might have been necessary to complete for herself this sunken road, to lay rails upon it and to run cars over them, or to let out to private corporations the privilege of running cars over the city's rails, just as the New York Central now lets out to other railroads that make use of its terminal facilities the privilege of running their cars to Forty-second street?

And, profiting by previous experience, why should not the city, instead of going into any further partnerships with private corporations, go to work now to provide herself with transit facilities upon such a bold and comprehensive plan as will not only give to the present generation all the benefit of rapid transit roads owned by the city, and run for the public benefit and convenience, but will furnish a ground work which future generations could extend as needed. The two cities of New York and Brooklyn have built the great East river bridge, and there is no regret that its building was not left to a private corporation. Why should they not build their own underground roads without calling in any private corporation to act as intermediary and take the profits? The two cities run the cars over that bridge, and there is no demand that their running should be turned over to a private corporation. Why should not either of them run their own railroads?

There is no question of money. With a credit that enables her to borrow money at three per cent, the city of New York can afford to spend whatever tens of millions or hundreds of millions may be needed to enable her to provide her people with the very best, the very cheapest and the very quickest rapid transit facilities—for the facilities for rapid transit are the practical limits of her growth, and how soon the great city which under various names is growing up around New York harbor shall pass London in population is only a question of rapid transit facilities. And the increase in population and in wealth thus brought about by the improvement of transit facilities will bring about in its turn a growth of value which will far more than suffice to pay the cost of such public improvements.

In his message to the board of aldermen the mayor states that the additions this year to the assessed values of real estate as the result of the growth of the unoccupied portion of the city, particularly north of the Harlem river, have been so great "that the rates of taxation have not been materially increased, although the appropriations are nearly $4,000,000 greater than the year before." He continues:

> This increase in value cannot go on unless the upper part of the island is provided with increased facilities of transport. Otherwise the result will be an increase in the rate of taxation. It therefore concerns the citizens as a whole to see that these increased facilities are provided, and it will be proper for the city itself to undertake to make the provision, because the citizens as a body will thus get the benefit of the increase in the value of property which these facilities will create.

The mayor in this, though perhaps unconsciously, recognizes the importance of the fact that the increase in land values caused by such public improvements as he urges will far more than pay for them. The general government gave to the projectors of the Pacific railroads lands estimates the cost of the very extensive road he proposes from Forty-second street to the city hall, including rights of way, etc., at $10,000,000. But the increase of land values, which would somewhere if anything is to be done, and give to the city an increased net revenue, would thus permit the payment of interest, at three per cent, on $133,000,000! Practically there is no limit to the amount of money that New York can afford to spend in public improvements that will make the city more desirable place to live in, a better place to do business in. The return will be come quickly in increased power of raising the revenue; in the growth of that fund which belongs of right to the whole community.

And in the fact that the city of New York can thus get back whatever it may be necessary to spend for the most improved facilities is a sufficient reason why in taking the first steps in the new departure necessary to meet the pressing demands for rapid transit, we should not only discard the notion that private corporations must build and run our roads, but that we should also discard the toll-road notion that those who wish to travel on these roads must pay fare. Mayor Hewitt states that "according to the best authority" the value of property (meaning, of course, land) "increases as the square of the velocity of the travel." Whatever objection may be made to the form of this proposition, there is no doubt of the underlying truth that Mr. Hewitt had in mind, that the quicker any particular piece of land can be reached from the center of a great city the larger will be its value. And so is the cheapness with which it can be reached a similar element of value. Five cent fares will give greater value to land than ten cent fares; and free transportation will give still greater value than five cent fares. Why, therefore, should not the city's iron roads be made as absolutely free to all who choose to journey over them as her pavements or her streets are now to those who choose to drive or walk through them. If Mayor Hewitt were contemplating the erection of a great building, he would not propose to get back the cost of putting in and running the elevators by a charge on every one who rode up or down. He would, on the contrary, make the use of them perfectly free, knowing that he would be more than compensated for the cost of constructing and running the elevators by the increased values of the rooms of the building. Does not this same principle apply as fully and as clearly to those appliances which are needed to carry people to and fro in a great city as to those needed to carry them up and down in a great building? When the city can so easily, so cheaply and so justly get back the cost of running free rapid transit roads, why should she turn over the power of levying a toll on their use to any one else, or contemplate levying such toll herself? There is no objection to free city railroads that would not equally apply to free city streets. There is no objection that would not apply with much greater force to the abolition of tolls upon the Erie canal. Yet no one proposes to restore the tolls on the Erie canal; while the man who should now propose to set up toll gates on our streets would be regarded as a lunatic.

It costs our well traveled street car lines from a cent and a quarter to a cent and a half to collect a five-cent fare. Why should the proposed rapid transit system be saddled with such a needless expense?

The question whether the proposed rapid transit facilities which are to be provided by public funds are to be run upon the toll road principle or upon the public highway principle, ought to be considered now, and decided before any rapid transit bill is passed. For if, as I am confident will be the case, consideration leads to the conclusion that it would be wasteful and unwise to collect fares, then the rapid transit problem would be considerably simplified. If a bargain must be made with the Vanderbilt corporation it would involve fewer elements of uncertainty if no fares were to be collected. So, to settle that there should be no fares would diminish in many minds a serious objection to the running of railways by public authority, since it would greatly decrease the opportunities for peculation and corruption. The accounts of rapid transit roads run on the same plan as the elevators in all our large public and private buildings, like accounts of our public schools, or of our fire department, would be merely accounts of expenditure—accounts much more readily examined and clearly understood than are accounts of receipt; and the degrading necessity for bell punches, ticket pumps and other patent contrivances to prevent peculation preventers, with that for spies, detectives, etc., would be gone.

Mayor Hewitt proposes to give the board of aldermen powers. The contract which he proposes to make on the part of the city is in reality probably the most liberal donation ever made to a railroad company since the general government gave to the Pacific railroads lands enough, not only to build the road, but to make many great fortunes on Forty-second street and the sides. This lodgment of power is not to be objected to, for power must be lodged somewhere if anything is to be done, and experience shows that there is less danger of corruption where the concentration of power brings clear responsibility that it rests than where the division of power divides responsibility that it rests no-where clearly. But when they are to have to make contracts for the construction of railways with an intermediary corporation, which is in its turn to contract with other contractors? And though it is doubtless best that contracts should be made for the supplying of material, why should not the necessary labor of all kinds—engineers, superintendents, mechanics, laborers and the whole force needed for operation and maintenance—be employed directly? The contract system is generally preferred on public works from the idea that individual vigilance and energy are thus secured. But I am inclined to think that public experience shows that the contract system of performing public work is liable to more abuses, both political and pecuniary, than it avoids. This, at least, is a matter worthy of discussion.

One thing is, however, certain—that if the city of New York is ever to own and run her own railways we might as well make a beginning now as at any future time. It will, in fact, be easier to make a beginning now, when public necessity is forcing the adoption of some permanent means of rapid transit, than after private corporations shall have, in some measure at least, provided rapid transit facilities. What with horse cars and ferry companies and elevated roads, the majority of the people of New York are thoroughly tired of the control of the means of transit by private corporations, and public opinion seems to be ripe for a bold and comprehensive measure which would give the city her own rapid transit facilities—and those of the very best. Is there in reality any need of bothering about the New York Central's depressed road, and after virtually giving that corporation three millions to get rapid transit north of Forty-second street, which, as Mayor Hewitt says, has only nominally been obtained, to repeat on a larger scale the same sort of an experiment?

If we must go beneath the surface, and that seems to be generally assumed, why not go at once one hundred feet, or, if better, two hundred feet? Diamond drills, compressed air, electricity and improved methods of handling excavated materials, have made tunneling comparativly cheap. And it is not only as easy and as cheap to tunnel one or two hundred feet beneath the surface as ten or twenty, but in a great city it would be much easier and cheaper, for gas pipes, water pipes, sewers, cellars and vaults would thus be avoided. And surely the owners of this rock-bottomed Manhattan island, albeit they are the legal owners of all that lies below it, down to the very central fires, would hardly think of charging the people of New York for the right of way at such a depth. If they did, perhaps it would be all the better, as it would bring home to popular thought and popular imagination what is really involved in giving to holders of land the same rights of property as justly attach to things produced by human exertion.

Tunnels one hundred or even two hundred feet under ground could, by means of rapidly running elevators at every station, be made easier of access than are the present elevated stations. The air in them could be kept perfectly fresh and pure by means of up-cast and down-cast shafts, compressed air or fans. They could be brilliantly lit by electricity and would be free from dust and noise. In summer they would seem delightfully cool, and in winter pleasantly warm. The rails could be laid closer, and rattle and jar avoided from the diminished liability to expansion and contraction. From the main tunnels others could branch off—under the East river, under the North river, under the waters of the bay to Staten island. Not merely the New York Central and Harlem River, but all the railroads that have their termini around New York could thus be given opportunity to connect with the great underground arteries of metropolitan transportation. The main lines should, of course, consist of four tracks—perhaps in four separate tunnels connected at stations, two for express trains running a mile a minute and making few stops, and two for way trains that should stop at stations not more than four blocks apart and carry passengers to and from stations where the express trains stopped.

Some such a system or such improvement on it as competent engineers might determine would be best would be a good and substantial beginning for a system of transit worthy of what it would ere long make—the greatest city the world has ever seen. And such a system, operated at public expense, for public convenience and comfort, could not be carried very far before a demand would arise for running the surface lines in the same way.

In concluding the message to the board of aldermen in which he broached his rapid transit scheme, Mayor Hewitt touched upon the tenement house problem, declaring that it could only be solved by cheap rapid transit. "Nothing so effective for the relief of those who live by their daily labor can be devised as the creation of cheap rapid transit to those portions of the city where land is plenty and the surroundings healthful and attractive. The system of separate dwellings for each family alone realizes the true ideal of home life."

But if the value of land increases, as the mayor says it does, with the rapidity of the transit, and also, as he certainly will concede, with the cheapness of the transit, how is cheap, rapid transit to those portions of the city where land is plenty to help the laboring man or substitute separate homes for the overcrowded tenement house? What will it avail the laboring man though vacant land be plenty if the price he must pay for it be high? Nor does the overcrowding of houses come from the dearness of houses. It comes from the dearness of land. Cheap rapid transit will increase the population and wealth of the city, but so long as every public improvement and even every prospective improvement but stimulates speculation in the primary essential of human life, but adds to the price that the man who lives by his daily labor must pay for the right to live and to labor, cheap rapid transit can neither permanently benefit the laborer nor substitute the home for the tenement.

In a few vivid lines the mayor thus suggests to the board of aldermen the possibilities of the New York of the future:

> With its noble harbor protected from injury, and the channels of approach straightened and deepened; with its wharves and docks made adequate for the easy transfer of the vast commerce of the country; with its streets properly paved and cleaned and protected from destructive upheavals; with cheap, easy and rapid transit throughout its length and breadth; with salubrious and attractive parks in the centers of dense population; with an ample supply of pure water now nearly provided; with a system of taxation so modified that the capital of the world may be as free to come and go as the air of heaven, the imagination can place no bounds to the future growth of this city in business, wealth and the blessings of civilization. Its imperial destiny as the greatest city in the world is assured by natural causes, which cannot be thwarted except by the folly and neglect of its inhabitants.

It is pleasant and encouraging to find a man of Mayor Hewitt's position and political influence thus expressing hope for the abolition of all taxes on personal property and for the abolition of the tariff. But much as would be gained by the abolition of taxes on personal property, and much as would be gained by the abolition of the tariff, these measures are but steps toward what must be done to assure to this nation and its metropolis the far more than imperial destiny which is possible for them. The supreme reform, which will make all other reforms and improvements easier and secure all their good effects, lies simply in the securing to all of equal rights to natural opportunities by taking for the use of all that value which social growth and improvement attach to land.

See how this would make easier the great improvement of rapid transit and secure its advantages to the whole people. Consider the great cost under the existing system, of buying or condemning the land necessary for any such improvement. Were the single tax in operation we would have to pay nothing for land—all that would have to be paid for would be the value of the buildings or "betterments" destroyed or damaged, with a little something to compensate people who were obliged to move. Consider how every such improvement alters relative land values, raising them enormously in some places and diminishing them in others, even though adding largely to aggregate values, and how this leads to all sorts of "pulling and hauling" as to the location of such an improvement, and frequently, if not indeed usually, deflects it from that location which would be best for the whole. This change in relative land values would, under the single tax system, be a matter of indifference, since where land values were raised taxes would be higher; and were they even reduced, taxes would be diminished. Consider how all the various taxes, internal and external, which now fall on capital in all its various forms—lumber, iron, tools, machinery, etc., increase its cost and diminish its amount, and how the cost of such roads is now increased. The single tax would permit and involve the abolition of all of these. Consider how the appropriation of land values to public uses would in a community such as this not only provide for all administrative purposes, but provide also an enormous and constantly increasing fund, which could be used for improvements; and how such improvements would in turn increase this fund, which could be used for common benefit, thus diffusing their advantages among all. Consider how our leaving to individuals, as at present, the increased land values that result from such improvements now leads to speculation and forestalling, and, where vacant lots are still abundant, prevents men from getting homes. Under the single tax land speculation and the mere holding of land would become unprofitable, and no one would want a piece of land unless he wished to use it.

Speculative value would not keep ahead of the growth of real value, and that worst and most injurious form of gambling—the "real estate boom"—would become impossible. The increase in the utility of land, still less the prospective increase in its utility, would not mean increase in its value. Even when land became valuable by reason of the demand not to *own*, but to *use* it, the man who wanted to use a piece would not have to diminish his capital by paying for its value in a purchasing price, but would simply have to pay an annual tax. Even in a place where such

an improvement as rapid transit had given land greater utility, so long as vacant lots yet abounded, the man who wanted to build a house would have nothing, or but a nominal price to pay for his lot, and nothing or but a nominal tax to pay upon it. As for the house, not only would all its materials be free from tax, but the erection of a house, no matter how good, would bring upon builder or user no fine in increased taxation. Under these conditions not only would it be easy for thousands and thousands of men who now cannot dream of such a thing, to build themselves homes; but capitalists, though they could no longer find profitable investment in buying land and holding it for a rise, could find profitable investment in building houses and selling them outright or by installments at a reasonable profit on the mere cost of the building.

And then, not only would the abolition of all the taxes that provoke to perjury, put a premium upon fraud and teach men to rob, lie and cheat, improve the public morals; but the general comfort and the cessation of the fear of poverty that would come with the opening of natural opportunities to labor, and the consequent larger production and fairer distribution of wealth, would render men less greedy and grasping, and indispose them to measure success in life by what a man can *leave* when life ends. Thus we should come to admire character more than riches, and to wish rather to be thought honest and true than to be thought wealthy. And then we should begin to trust in each other, and not to fear that every great public work must involve great stealing, but to believe that we could readily find men who would manage great public trusts as faithfully as a private business. We should find them in plenty; for there are far more such men even now than many people and many newspapers seem to think. And thus should we get rid of not the least of the difficulties which now lie in the way of the undertaking by the community of things that would be for the benefit of the whole community.

I do not for a moment imagine that a beginning in the work of providing rapid transit facilities for New York ought to be delayed till the single tax is adopted. But neither ought it be begun until well thought out and discussed. It seems probable that Mayor Hewitt has proposed this patchwork scheme, not as what he would wish, but as the best that public opinion is ripe for. If this be so, and he will withdraw this scheme and propose instead a plan by which the city shall build a road to be owned and operated by the city for the free use of the people, the necessary expenses of building and maintenance to be defrayed by a special tax levied on land values alone, he will be surprised by the manner in which public opinion will rally to his support.

And through the future he will stand to the world's metropolis that is arising here the loftier successor of that DeWitt Clinton, to whose far sighted statesmanship New York owes the first great impulse to her growth.

The single tax idea is progressing every day with accelerating rapidity, and it is progressing not merely directly, but, as the history of all such movements should lead us to expect, by diffusion. Our thought is leavening the lump where it is not recognized as ours, and our principles are being adopted by thousands who knowing us only by misrepresentation believe us "cranks" and "anarchists." On the fourth page of THE STANDARD will be found a letter from August Lewis, mailed just before he sailed for Europe last Saturday in the Etruria, and inclosing a note which is both instructive and amusing. But Mr. Lewis's teacher-friend's pupils are not the only ones who are astonished to find that they are "single tax cranks." A companion letter comes from the west.

The following most excellent single tax article is clipped from the Brule *Index*, published at Kimball, Dakota, in that very part of the country where, according to the Chicago *Tribune* and papers of that sort, the working farmers will fight before they will permit the taxation of land values irrespective of improvements to rob them of their all, and hurl them from their present most prosperous and contented condition to one in which they will have to work hard for a bare living. There is not a reader of THE STANDARD that will not hail in Mr. Thorndyke and Major Edwards able and efficient friends of our cause:

Major Edwards, that well known editor of Fargo, makes the statement that taxing the improvements upon a quarter section is simply offering a premium upon laziness and non-progressiveness, and suggests, as a betterment to the assessors' laws, that every quarter section be taxed the same. If the major means—and of course he does—that the location only of the land shall cause a variation in assessing, then this suggestion is one that should take root in the next session of the Dakota legislature and flourish and bear good fruit. The moment an energetic farmer takes hold of an unimproved quarter section and begins to make improvements, just so quickly does the amount of his taxes increase. The quarters adjoining his—totally unimproved, remember—begin to be more valuable as property, but the taxes increase not. They are the more easily disposed of from their proximity to the farm of the energetic man who is carrying a load of taxes upon his shoulders, and carrying the load just because he is smart—yet the owners of these properties can lean back and congratulate themselves upon the combination of circumstances that makes them better off and costs them nothing. The present system of taxation is like offering a premium for the sluggard and crushing go-aheadativeness! Suppose a man gets hold of a quarter-section whose adjoining quarters are owned by some investment company who have secured them during or closely following a poor crop year. Possessed of a little means and a large amount of grit, push, pluck, whatever term you may give it, he works hard and by steady work and careful engineering he, in a couple of years, succeeds in putting on a couple of thousand dollars' worth of improvements. The "company land," meantime, lies idle, and the diminutive amount of taxes each year are forthcoming because "the company is rich and its faith in the country unlimited." The go-ahead farmer's taxes have now trebled, or perhaps the assessor may advance them even more and the owner remonstrates. But there is no "balm in Gilead." If he desires to sell there is the drawback that "the other farms in the locality are poor— no improvements—no nothing" and he must depreciate his selling figures. On the other hand should the "company" desire to dispose of a quarter section it will be shown that it "lies next to one of the best and most extensively improved farms in the country," and can be made to realize a very large percentage more than if the improved farm was elsewhere. All this shows what? That certainly our laws in regard to assessing valuation are crude, or that it is desired that the main portion of the taxes shall be paid by that class of men described by "Josh Billings," as,

> He who bi farmin wood git rich
> Must so ar, plo an dig an ditch;
> Work hard awl da—sleep hard awl nite,
> Save every sent—an not git tite!

It is unjust—unfair—and partial. Let location, quality of soil, whatever you will, determine the value of the farm, but don't burden a pushing farmer who desires to build up his neighborhood. Lighten his taxes, proportionately, if you desire, or let them remain, as we suggest, the same; but don't increase them.

Here is the letter in which this editorial from the Brule *Index* comes to me. It is from James Brown, who, as I see by the letter head, is of the firm of Moyer & Brown, attorneys-at-law:

KIMBALL, Dakota, March 17.—Mr. Henry George, New York City: I inclose you a clipping from one of our local papers—*The Brule Index*. The editor of the *Index*, like many more in the world, has a very positive notion that Henry George is a "crank," who wants to abolish all taxation on real estate and turn society in general upside down. For myself I cannot say but that until recently I had not much better information as to your teachings. But lately an acquaintance has handed me occasionally a copy of THE STANDARD with the request that I read it.

I have read and got new light as to both Henry Georgeism and also as to the land and labor question. I have just got your book, "Progress and Poverty," but have not yet begun to read it. Last night, on reading the inclosed editorial, it struck me that there was considerable "Georgeism" in it. I went and told the editor so and he was astonished and shocked to think that he had in any degree approached your ideas. He could not believe it possible. I told him I would send his editorial to you and ask you to make a brief comment on it in THE STANDARD, pointing out wherein, if at all, it approaches or embraces the principles you teach in regard to land and taxation.

I have also bought your "Protection or Free Trade?" and will begin studing that in my reading hours. If you will make a brief comment as requested in the first number of THE STANDARD in which you can spare space for such a trifle, you will confer a favor on me.

Yours respectfully, JAMES BROWN.

Mr. Thorndike is for all practical purposes a good enough single tax man for us.

HENRY GEORGE.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TARIFF.

Mr. Teller, in addressing the United States senate on the president's message last week, declared that Mr. Cleveland and his friends have not engaged in an attack on a defective tariff with a view to remedying inconsistencies and defects, but that they have sought to destroy the protective system as "vicious, inequitable and illogical." Mr. Teller quoted Senator Colquitt's declaration that the democratic party has always been a free trade party, and then, strangely enough, undertook to combat the statement, though, as a republican, it would seem to be to his interest to prove it true.

Mr. Teller traveled over the beaten ground in his speech, which was based on the usual protectionist assumption that protection is synonymous with patriotism, and that any attack on it is treasonable, or, as William D. Kelley puts it, "revolutionary." He offered no proof that free trade would be injurious, and made no real argument in favor of his own theory, and the only thing of interest in his speech is his attempt to present Grover Cleveland to congress as the first democratic free trader, and one who in this respect differs widely, and to his great discredit, from all of his democratic predecessors in the presidential chair. A young Philadelphia woman once started out to lecture on the future destiny of our republic, and began her address with the declaration that with all that had occurred in American history before 1861 we have nothing to do. Senator Teller appears to belong to the same school of historical research.

The most cursory study of our political history would have taught Senator Teller that many former presidents have uttered more radical free trade opinions than can be found in Mr. Cleveland's message, and that the Tilden platform of 1876 was by no means the first democratic declaration in favor of a tariff for revenue only. In the earlier days of the republic the custom of making formal declarations of principle at the beginning of each campaign did not exist, and the nearest approach to a modern platform to be found is the declaration of principles made by the congressional caucus that nominated Thomas Jefferson before his first election. That caucus declared for *"free commerce with all nations,* political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment." Thenceforward there was no further formal enunciation of principles until 1836, the declarations made by the presidents in their messages being usually accepted as the utterances of the party. When Martin Van Buren was nominated in 1836 a platform was adopted, but the tariff was not then an issue, and the platform was chiefly devoted to denouncing the legislative creation of monopolies and vested rights, and it declared the sound doctrine that "every law or act of incorporation passed by the preceding legislatures can be rightfully altered or repealed by their successors."

Thenceforward it became the custom to make platforms, and that of 1840 declared that *"no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government."* In 1844 this platform was reaffirmed. The convention of 1848 repeated in its platform the exact words of that of 1840, but added after the word "government," "and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war." In 1852 the tariff plank as amended in 1848 was adopted without change, and it was reaffirmed in the elaborate platform of 1856, on which stood the last democratic candidate elected before the civil war. The party split in 1860, but both conventions reaffirmed that portion of the platform of 1856, which included the tariff plank as amended in 1844, so that it is a historical fact that the unbroken policy of the democratic party from 1840 to 1860 was that of a tariff for revenue only.

The convention of 1864, which made its famous declaration about the "four years of failure to restore the union by the experiment of war," confined itself exclusively to the war issues, as did also the republican convention held the same year. In the platform of 1868 there is a confused declaration in favor of "a tariff for revenue" and such internal revenue laws "as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures;" while the convention of 1872, which nominated Horace Greeley, remitted the question to the people of the several congressional districts. In 1876 the party came back to its ancient faith, and after severely denouncing the existing tariff, demanded "that all custom house taxation shall be for revenue only," and the convention of 1880 reaffirmed the declaration of 1876. Thus it will be seen that, except during the period of its demoralization during and after the civil war, the democratic party has maintained unbroken its affirmation that "no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government," and has never repudiated the declaration made in the Jefferson campaign for free commerce with all nations. Senator Teller is therefore greatly mistaken in saying that Mr. Cleveland is the first free trade democratic president and that the doctrine of a tariff for revenue only was never heard of in a democratic platform until 1876.

The truth is that the party's professions in this matter have for a long time been far better than its performance, and the present effort in congress to really reduce the tariff is the least that honest democrats could assent to, even in view of the platform of 1884, the tariff plank in which is one of the poorest the party has ever adopted. If we could have any assurance that the party would live up to its past professions we might readily trust it to make much more rapid progress toward free trade than now seems probable. Mr. Teller is right, however, in declaring that it now faces in that direction, but he will discover before many months that instead of shouting with assumed horror over this as a frightful discovery, he will have to try to show his own constituents some good reason why they too should not set their faces in the direction of free trade.

We regret that the president's message is not quite as good a free trade document as Mr. Teller declares it to be, but such speeches as that of the senator from Colorado and such declarations as that of Senator Colquitt, that the democratic party has always been a free trade party, are enough to satisfy us that we were right in assuming that the message would force the issue of protection or free trade into such a position that neither party can drop it or run away from it. Instead of assuming that protection is something too sacred to be questioned, the republicans must now offer evidence that it is of any benefit at all, and the democrats must join issue with them and show that protection is a burden and a humbug, or go the wall. The battle has begun on these lines in congress, and when transferred, a few months hence, to the arena of public debate, it will have to be fought out on the same lines there.

A SPEECH THAT OUGHT TO BE MADE.

Mr. William Whitman, the president of the wool growers' association and of the commercial club, made a speech before the Young men's Christian union of Boston on March 13, in which he demonstrated in the most satisfactory manner the efficiency of protection as a developer of national prosperity. Mr. Whitman didn't confine himself, as do many protectionist authorities, to vague and glittering generalities. He cited facts. He gave figures—the things that proverbially cannot lie. He took the last yearly statement of the Pennsylvania railroad company and gave a pretty full synopsis of it. He told his hearers that the income of the road was $115,000,000, "an amount twice as large as the whole revenue of the United States in 1860, and more than one-half the customs revenue of last year." He showed that the road in a single year carried 68,000,000 passengers and 106,000,000 tons of freight. And he boldly challenged a denial of the fact that the growth of this marvelously prosperous corporation "had taken place under what was called a protective tariff."

It must be confessed that Mr. Whitman's argument is a strong one. In fact, the more one looks at it the stronger it seems. The Pennsylvania railroad *is* a great corporation. There can't be any question about that. Its business is to carry goods and passengers. It goes, for example, to a place where peculiarities of soil, or climate, or population, or location, are such as to make it profitable for men to devote themselves to some special industry or collection of industries, and it takes the things produced at that place and carries them to some other place where different circumstances have developed other industries, and there exchanges one class of goods for the other, bringing back the products of the second place to enrich the first, and vice versa. Thus it transports the coal of Pennsylvania to New York, and takes back the silks, satins, furniture, and bric-a-brac wherewith the beneficently protected coal miners adorn their persons and their homes. It carries the steel of Andrew Carnegie westward, and the beef and pork of Phil Armour eastward in exchange. The Standard oil trust sends kerosene southward in its cars, and another trust loads the same cars with cotton seed oil, and sends them rolling north again. And back and forth over its humming rails fly the passenger trains, bearing men intent on business, whose travel has for object the negotiation and adjustment of exchanges between ten thousand different producing points. How easy it is, in all this, to trace the beneficent effect of the protective system, whose avowed purpose—whose *avowed* purpose—that is, whose avowed *purpose*—oh! what's the use of talking?—there's the railroad, isn't it? and there's the tariff, isn't it? Well, then, what more do you want?

And yet, telling as is Mr. Whitman's citation of the Pennsylvania railroad company's report, we cannot help thinking that there are facts and statistics which might be quoted to more advantage. An audience has to think before it appreciates the full force of the Pennsylvania illustration, and even then the application is somewhat elusive; whereas downright statements about the condition of workingmen and the rate of wages strike with a sledge hammer force of logic that obviates the necessity of any but the most unconscious cerebration on the part of the listener. Here, for example, is a specimen of the sort of thing we would advise Mr. Whitman to offer to his hearers next time he makes a speech on behalf of protection:

> The advocates of the great principle of protection to American industry need resort to no labored arguments to demonstrate the truth they preach. As clearly as the child can see that two things and two things make four things, so clearly can the most ordinary intelligence appreciate the wonderful prosperity of our country, and trace the connection between that prosperity and the wise laws that prevent less happy nations from deluging us with their products.
>
> Consider the condition of the United States. While other lands are cursed with aristocracies of birth and wealth, here labor is the only patent of nobility. The man who works the hardest makes the most, and the drone who seeks to live by others' toil is crushed beneath the weight of public scorn. Other nations have their industrial wars and armies, their strikes and lockouts, their boycotts and black lists, their trades unions and their trusts. Here labor is ever at a premium; wages are rising steadily, and employer bids against employer to secure the workman's service. Alms houses, tenement houses, dime lodging houses, soup charities—all these are known only by tradition. The poorest man can occupy a house of his own and maintain a family in ease and comfort. England and Germany have their tramps, wandering from place to place, at first in search of work, but ally as mere pariahs of civilization, but who ever heard of a tramp in the United States? Why, it is actually difficult to make the school children understand that there ever was a time when men begged for the privilege of work, and women and their little ones were forced to toil for bread. Such is the glorious condition in which we find ourselves after only a quarter of a century of protection. And shall we risk the loss of these advantages? Forbid it, heaven!

And so on, and so on. The rest of the speech can be adapted to the audience, the pastor ringing in allusions to local industries and advantages as may be necessary. Such a speech couldn't fail to be effective. It would not only gratefully tickle the ears of those who are already protectionists, but it might even have a very considerable effect in converting free traders from the error of their ways. In short, it's the sort of speech that ought to be made. As for the fact that it's a mere string of nonsensical untruths—why, if Mr. Whitman is going to make *that* objection, we greatly fear that he will have to give up the making of protectionist speeches altogether.

FALSE LABELS ON TWADDLE.

Mrs. John Sherwood discusses in a widely published article the important question "How to properly conduct a fashionable dinner party nowadays." This is a subject which many who ardently wish to give fashionable dinner parties probably greatly need competent instructions; but if their education demands minute direction in details we fear that they will find little but disappointment in Mrs. Sherwood's article. She insists that the art of entertaining is a gift that may be cultivated, but can not be acquired. What hope is there in this for the woman who most keenly longs to achieve social distinction in this line, but who lacks the inspiration that Mrs. Sherwood insists must accompany the aspirant? From a somewhat cursory examination of this lady's treatment of what she properly calls "a social problem," we are led to fear that she writes for the sake of writing, rather than from the consciousness of the possession of an important truth to which she must give form and expression. If this surmise is well founded, Mrs. Sherwood does not differ greatly from the other writers who attempt to discuss in more ambitious fashion the far greater social problem—how are people to get dinners of any kind? Bishop J. L. Spalding, for instance, in the current number of the *Forum*, attempts to answer the query, "Is Our Social Life Threatened?" The good bishop rambles over the whole field, gently insinuating that prohibition will not accomplish all that its advocates hope for, mildly protesting that the wrath of capital against the organization of labor is not well founded, and indicating a bias for free trade, though he suggests that the existence of manufacturing centers is inimical to the success of popular government, which is by no means a logical deduction from a thorough understanding of the effects of free trade.

He glances hastily at the doctrine that the land is the natural heritage of the people, but declares that "the evils which Henry George and others ascribe to our system of land tenure are in fact the results of modern industrialism, and hitherto human wisdom and ingenuity have failed to discover a remedy for what seems to be a vice of constitution." Capital, steam and electricity, organized and controlled by men whose one object is gain, act, he says, "upon a population of operatives like a malarial poison." To this he attributes the fact that "in a country whose immeasurable resources we have hardly begun to explore, pauperism has become a chronic disease," while in our great cities and manufacturing centers there has arisen an ominous irrepressible conflict between the rich and the poor. No attempt is made to really consider the only solution now proposed for this dismal dilemma, and the bishop concludes his article with the declaration that "meanwhile, whatever fault we may find with our political or social life, there is no other actually existing and discernible which a wise man ought to choose in preference." Now it may not be necessary that a bishop should really think about mere mundane affairs, but unless he does propose to think about them why should he write about them?

Professor Julius H. Seelye has an article in the same magazine on "Our Political Prospects" which is largely an essay on the characteristics of the American people by a studious man who has evolved his opinions on the subject from his own inner consciousness instead of forming them from observation. For instance, he credits us with a sedulous concern for the maintenance of the rights of minorities, and thinks that civil service reform is likely to become the settled policy of our government, because to give political office as a reward for party service "is the affirmation of a class domination utterly intolerable." Now the cold, uncomfortable truth is that the American people are not much concerned about the rights of minorities, while such advance as has been made in the way of civil service reform has not been due to any such exalted public opinion as the professor describes, but to the fact that an active and persistent minority were determined to have it, and that parties were so evenly balanced in power that they had to bid for the vote of that minority in order to win. The majority of the men who really manage and control political parties hate the competitive system, and the great body of their followers sympathize with them. There has never been a democratic or republican convention that would not declare that to the victors belongs the spoils if it dared do so. It is not high principle, but hard-headed consideration of political expediency that causes the majority of each party to defer in this matter to a minority in its own ranks.

Professor Seelye does manage in his article to refer to the tariff question, but merely for the purpose of saying that the wide sympathy for all mankind which he discovers in the American people, and which causes our thoughts and feelings to go out to all the world, "forbids any permanent attempt on our part to secure our independence by isolation." All this is printed, not in some book designed to be a permanent addition to the literature of all ages, but in a New York magazine for the month of March, 1888, when a tariff reduction bill is pending in congress, when preparations are already making for two opposing presidential conventions, and the great fight for or against making permanent the policy of isolation has already begun.

Are these platitudes of bishops and inconsequential speculations of college professors all that our most pretentious periodicals have to contribute to the great debate now about to begin, and which will inevitably go beyond tariff reform and free trade to the vast question of why it is that the application of capital, labor and natural forces to the immeasurable resources of our country produces hatred and pauperism instead of peace and plenty? If so, the editors of these publications had better confine their writers to the class of social topics discussed by Mrs. Sherwood, and not create false hopes among virile readers, who hunger for meat fit for men, by printing the veriest twaddle over high sounding names and under such titles as "Our Political Prospects" and "Is Our Social Life Threatened?"

THE WHISKY TRUST.

The various investigations do not appear to have checked the tendency to combine. Last summer the whisky manufacturers, whose headquarters are at Peoria, Ill., began the formation of a trust. One of its principal organizers when asked by a reporter if it would create a monopoly in whisky exultingly answered, "Yes; and of such proportions that it will compare with the Standard oil company and the American cotton oil trust in point of far reaching power." When this gentleman goes before the congressional committee he will doubtless declare that nothing is further from the intentions of the combination than the formation of a monopoly, and that the trust is a benevolent institution designed primarily to provide for the widows and orphans of distillers and to cultivate a taste among drinking men for "blended" whisky, the distillers of "straight" whisky for some reason not being in the combination.

The trust promptly assumed large proportions, and perhaps prohibitionists will be gratified to learn that on the 18th of last month it was announced that of seventy distilleries belonging to the combination fifty-seven had been closed, though their owners were making large profits out of the remaining thirteen, the product of which had been enormously increased. At the end of January but two large distillers north of Kentucky still remained out of the combination, and these were Schufeldt of Chicago and Doddsworth of Cincinnati, and a desperate effort was making to force the latter to succumb. He had similarly stood out against the preceding combination, the whisky pool, by appealing to his customers to stand by him and not let him be forced inside the monopoly. He is pursuing a similar course now, and the members of the trust say he must be compelled to come in or be broken down. A recent Cincinnati dispatch to the Chicago *Tribune* said:

> A member of the trust said to-day that a policy had been determined upon with reference to Doddsworth which he felt sure would dispose of him. The plan is to seek out Doddsworth's trade and represent that all customers of his who uphold him in his fight against the trust will be refused goods by the trust after Doddsworth has been compelled to close his distillery. If they remain with him and he succumbs, as in the opinion of members of the trust he must do, they will go down with him. This will be a very potent argument with his customers, and it is thought he may recognize it as such and surrender before such a fight is made on him.

Here is a conspiracy to boycott that exceeds in proportions any yet tried in the courts, and the Kentucky distillers who have an "association" instead of a trust are asking merchants to refuse to purchase of those among them who have broken the association's agreement to stop production in order to increase the price.

This is a monopoly that owes its existence to the internal revenue laws, which, like the tariff and, in fact, all indirect taxes, promote monopoly. Many good people want these laws maintained, under the supposition that they curtail the consumption of whisky. This is at least doubtful, while it is certain that the monopoly facilitates the production of "blended" or "doctored" whisky. Putting these incidental effects aside, however, it is clear that similar laws affecting any product of universally acknowledged utility would facilitate a monopoly in its manufacture. It would be impossible for a combination to control the price of any thing so easily produced as whisky were it not for the internal revenue laws.

There are at present good and sufficient reasons why a tax that increases the price of whisky and at the same time yields a large income to the government should be permitted to remain while there are taxes that enhance the price of clothing and other necessaries of life that can be reduced or abolished; but the lesson taught by the internal taxes ought not to be forgotten. That lesson is that every tax on the products of industry checks industrial enterprise, promotes the growth of monopoly and costs the people vastly more than it yields to the government. There is but one reasonable and equitable tax, and that is the single tax on land values. That prevents monopoly and encourages individual enterprise without resort to arbitrary measures to defeat attempts at combination.

CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC.

The return of Speaker Carlisle to Washington is said to have resulted in a general effort to hurry up legislation. The house committees certainly needed some spur to action. Not a single appropriation bill has been passed, though the fourth month of the session is rapidly drawing to a close. Congress has fallen into a bad habit in this respect, and unless public opinion is aroused to a demand for greater promptitude in the dispatch of necessary business there is little hope of amendment. The worst effect of such delay is not the great public expense involved in the needless prolongation of a session, but the opportunity offered for useless and worse than useless legislation.

If the house of representatives were to adopt rules requiring the committees concerned to bring in appropriation bills early in each session, and would then dispose of them before transacting any other business, the public could give intelligent attention to the proposed legislation causing further prolongation of the sessions of congress and protest against it. At present many bills are passed while the body is nominally "doing nothing," and when therefore but little if any intelligent attention is given by the public to affairs at Washington. In fact it is only measures of great importance, like the proposed tariff bill, that really do arouse public interest, and neither the newspapers nor the people attempt to follow legislation closely.

The change that has come about in journalism of late years is largely responsible for this. Most of us can remember when every prominent newspaper printed daily a complete, though condensed, account of all the proceedings of congress, and in order to facilitate the performance of this duty the press associations were given special privileges on the floor in both houses. To-day few, if any, daily newspapers make any pretense of using these reports. They are still received, and any portions of them that appear interesting to a news editor are culled out and printed, preference being given to a debate in which members have lost their temper and indulged in personalties. In this, as in all other matters, the sensational is preferred to the important, and the report of the proceedings of con-

gress is ruthlessly cut down to make room for full details of a "spicy" divorce suit, the story of a crime or a prize fight or the report of a royal wedding or funeral. There is no first-class daily paper now published which recognizes as a duty it owes to its readers the furnishing of a complete record of all that congress does from day to day.

So long as this condition of affairs continues public opinion cannot be brought to bear effectively on congressional legislation. Not merely will needless delays prolong the sessions, but the few active men interested in special legislation will continue to exercise greater influence at Washington than the whole body of the people. Fortunately in the tariff bill we have a measure that does excite general interest, and it may be possible that the attention given to it will awaken a wider interest in legislation in general. If such should be the case those newspapers that pretend to appeal to thoughtful people will be compelled to give at least as much attention to national legislation as they now give to a scrapping match or a dog fight, and to turn over the editing of their congressional reports to men who will not regard everything that is serious as therefore dull.

NEWPORT'S MISTAKE.

A correspondent of the *World*, writing from Newport, R. I., informs New Yorkers who have cottages at Newport that the tax assessors of that watering place have opened up the usual spring campaign and are entering upon the tax list the record of improvements made during the past year. The assessors told the correspondent that more money had been expended upon Newport property by New Yorkers since last summer than during any similar period in the history of the town. With the assesors' books as his source of information, the correspondent proceeds to enumerate the many New Yorkers who will find their assessments for the present year increased in consequence of their having added to the wealth and beauty of Newport and given employment to Newport's people. Apparently there has been no increase in the assessments made upon those whose houses or grounds have not been improved, and perhaps the owners of such property might by the assessors be deemed justified in petitioning for a decrease in their taxes, since their houses are older. The owners of property having no improvements whatever upon it also seem to have been saved from the raids of the assessors.

Of course the meaning of all this is that the people of Newport are tired of having their city used as a fashionable summer resort by rich New Yorkers. They want to restore the old time simplicity of Providence Plantations, and keep the godless *jeunesse doree* of New York at a safe and uncorrupting distance. And so they punish everybody who presumes to erect a villa, or lay out a pleasant lawn, by imposing a fine on him, proportioned to the amount of his offense.

They mean well, these Newport people, but their eastern simplicity has a good deal to learn about the persistence of New York people in wickedness. The aboriginal Newporter, when threatened with a fine if he dares to build a carriage house, or a new wing to his mansion, will generally restrain his evil impulses, content himself with the old fashioned shed for his carryall, and crowd his family into a limited number of rooms. But the fashionable New Yorker is different. When *he* has set his heart on the commission of a crime, such as the erection of a cottage, or the laying out of a park, or the making of a road, it is hard to turn him. Certainly the infliction of a fine will rarely do it. He may use strong language or try to escape the penalty by lying, but he'll go on sinning and improving just the same. He is one of those hardened sinners against whom sterner measures must be adopted.

If instead of a tax fine the people of Rhode Island will substitute imprisonment at hard labor as a punishment for improving and beautifying their cities, they will produce an effect upon the summer visitors to Newport which will at once astonish and delight them. Punishment, to be effectual, must be adapted not only to the crime but to the criminal as well.

CLAMORING FOR HIGH FREIGHT RATES.

The *Sun* is engaged in a unique warfare. It is endeavoring to excite popular feeling against the Canadian Pacific railroad for carrying freight between the Pacific coast states and the Atlantic coast states at a lower rate than our own Pacific roads will consent to. It charges that the Canadian Pacific road is built through a howling wilderness, where there is not population, agriculture or trade enough to justify the construction of such a highway of commerce; where, in fact, there is not business sufficient to pay the cost of the most parsimonious train service, and that hence it has been arranged by the foreign owners of the road that Americans must support it. This coercive policy has been carried out by the fixing of piratically cheap rates, and the "corporate devil fish" in 1887 perpetrated "a successful robbery of twelve million dollars" of freight traffic from the American Pacific railroads. The *Sun* foresees bankruptcy for these roads and weeps thereat copiously.

But the American people do not appear to be giving way to grief and rage at the disappointment of their own Pacific roads over the result of their refusal to carry freight as cheaply as a competitor. When the Canadian Pacific railroad receives at its western terminus very large amounts of merchandise shipped coastwise from San Francisco and other American Pacific ports, transports it east over its great length of line and distributes it by various American connecting lines to commercial centers in the United States, the American consumers are not injured. Their goods have been moved a distance perhaps a third more than they would have been if shipped over one of their own Pacific roads, by a railroad having a non-remunerative local traffic along its length, yet which is expected to pay dividends on a capitalization of $65,000,000. If the American transcontinental roads refuse to compete with such a rival, the American citizen has no occasion to mourn, and his sense of proprietorship in our own American railroads is not lively enough to prompt him to pay more for so short an American haul than for so long a Canadian haul. And by the way, the *Sun* is in a funny muddle over the long and short haul clause of the interstate commerce law. It speaks of the provisions of the act forbidding the railroads "to charge less proportionally for a short than a long haul." The act in reality prescribes that no more shall be charged for a shorter than a longer haul, under substantially the same conditions. Besides reversing the hauls, the *Sun* has erred to the matter of proportion. It is not touched upon in the clause. But this is a slight matter as compared with the blunder of supposing that the American people are bent on paying heavy dividends to their own Pacific railroads.

ALARMED PINE MEN.

The Whatcom, W. T., *Reveille*, speaking of the lumper interests of Washington territory, says this:

> The pine men are alarmed over the proposed action of congress to remove the duty on lumber, and can scarcely talk of anything else. They represent that the crown lands of British Columbia are leased for a mere song, and if lumber is admitted free from that country, interests in Oregon, Washington territory and California, reaching many millions of dollars, would be seriously crippled, if not destroyed. They have united in a general wail to congress, and are organizing to resist the reduction.

Dear! dear! How dreadful! And yet it seems, in a manner, a little strange, too. Because if it really be the hard fisted laborer that our protective tariff protects, a "pine man" must mean a man who makes a living by cutting or manufacturing pine lumber, and it isn't altogether clear why even a "pine man" should feel called upon to wail over the prospect of getting the raw material of his business cheaper. One would suppose that if the duty on lumber were removed, the "pine men" of Washington territory would fold up their tents like the Arabs, and silently steal away to British Columbia, where crown lands "are leased for a mere song." Getting the privilege of cutting on those tuneful terms, they could furnish their product to the American consumer more cheaply, and at the same time make better wages for themselves.

But it is evident that it is not of "pine men" of this sort that the *Reveille* is talking. When it speaks of "pine men" it does not mean the hard-fisted laborers who cut down the trees, or those who saw the logs into lumber, or those who convert that lumber into its ten thousand uses. By "pine men" it really means land men. The people whose interests, "reaching many millions of dollars," are so inhumanly menaced, are really the millionaire monopolists who, by virtue of our land and tariff laws, are now enabled to thrust their hands into the pockets not only of the real "pine men," but of the rest of our people who make any use of pine wood, and take out two dollars or thereabouts for every thousand feet of lumber cut. *Their* interests are menaced, sure enough, and the more they are menaced the better for the people of the United States. The dog probably felt that he was in danger of being "seriously crippled, if not destroyed," when the cow asked him to get out of the manger, but there is reason to believe that he got out just the same.

OPPOSING THE TELEGRAPH BILL.

There is no pretense to regard for public opinion among those who display a determined hostility to the passage of a postal telegraph bill. There has been no opposition worth considering to such a measure shown outside of congress. Here and there a newspaper has served the existing monopoly by expressing a fear that governmental control of the telegraph would unduly increase the patronage of the appointing power; but aside from this there has been absolutely no expression of public opinion adverse to the measure. Considering the magnitude of the interests involved, this is rather remarkable and suggests a suspicion that Jay Gould and his associates prefer to work in secret.

In favor of the bill, however, there has been a strong manifestation of public sentiment. The Knights of Labor and the telegraphers have petitioned for the establishment of a governmental telegraph, and numerous petitions for it have been sent in by less important bodies. The general expression of newspaper opinion is in favor of the bill, and individual merchants and other business men when interviewed have declared a similar opinion. Occasions have been rare when any measure pending before congress has been backed by so many indications of public favor or publicly opposed by so few people.

Why then this tender solicitude among congressmen who have never failed themselves to grab at every possibility of patronage lest the patronage of the executive shall be unduly extended? Telegraphy being an art requiring skill and training, there is less danger of improper influences governing the appointment of telegraphers than of almost any other class of public servants. Again, if this be the real objection, it is easily obviated by the addition of a specially stringent competitive examination clause to the bill.

The unpleasant thing about this opposition to a postal telegraph is that it has no known public support and is in the interest of a vast and grasping monopoly that is fiercely fighting the bill in private while doing nothing openly. Has the Western Union telegraph company more influence than the people with congress?

THEY BEGIN TO SEE.

The effect of land speculation on the welfare of a community begins to be appreciated. Hitherto the newspapers of growing towns and cities have hailed with extravagant enthusiasm every rise in land values as an indication of increasing prosperity, and the successful land speculator has been regarded as one of the most valuable members of a community. The agitation of the land question has thrown light into dark places, and newspapers that are bitterly, though ignorantly, hostile to the single tax are at least learning that land speculation does not benefit anybody but the speculators.

The Toledo, Ohio, *Commercial* recently congratulated its readers on the fact that "Toledo appears to have ample security against real estate speculation." It says the people of that city are opposed to a "boom," and even the real estate dealers are against selling property on a supposed future valuation. Furthermore, no material limitations prevent the growth of the city in any direction. All of these circumstances the *Commercial* regards as safeguards "against the calamity of inflation," and they appear to it "to afford ample security against the manipulation of prices based upon speculative values."

Unless the system of taxation in Toledo differs widely from that in vogue elsewhere, we fear that the *Commercial's* sense of security is ill founded; but it is, nevertheless, a matter to be noted with satisfaction that an influential paper in a growing city should see so clearly that land speculation is a curse instead of a blessing to a community.

If public sentiment in Toledo is fairly reflected by the *Commercial* the people there must be nearly ripe for the consideration of the one system that can entirely prevent land speculation and at the same time permit a rise in land values to become a great public benefit.

THE TELEPHONE DECISION.

The supreme court of the United States has by a vote of four to three, two members not participating, upheld the Bell telephone patent, and thereby confirmed the existing monopoly. The members concurring in the decision are Chief Justice Waite and Justices Miller, Matthews and Blatchford. Justices Bradley, Field and Harlan join in the dissenting opinion, and Justice Lamar, appointed since the argument took place, and Justice Gray did not sit. Two reasons are assigned for the failure of the latter to take part in the proceedings. One is the fact made public long ago that numerous members of his family are large holders of Bell stock, and the other is that he had previously sat on trials of the cases appealed. If the latter is a sufficient reason for his failure to sit, it is difficult to find justification for Justice Blatchford sitting, since he had also in a lower court delivered an opinion sustaining the claims of the Bell company.

There does not appear to be any difference of opinion on any of the points in dispute except as to the claim of Drawbaugh to priority of invention. The dissenting opinion says that conclusive evidence was given by numerous witnesses that Drawbaugh had perfected an electric telephone that transmitted spoken words as early as 1871, five years before the patent was issued to Mr. Bell, but suggests that Drawbaugh failed to appreciate the importance of his invention. The dissenting opinion also broadly intimates that the prominence of Mr. Bell in scientific and social circles has all along given him a great advantage in this dispute with a comparatively unknown mechanic like Mr. Drawbaugh. "We have nothing to say depreciatory of Mr. Bell," it continues, "for he has real merits; but we think that this obscure mechanic did do the thing, and that he is entitled to the merit of being the first inventor."

The majority sets aside Drawbaugh's claims on the ground that his conduct after hearing that some one else had invented a telephone in 1876 was "entirely inconsistent with the idea even then of a complete discovery or invention by himself which could be put to any practical use." Here we find the majority of the court resting a tremendous decision on a mere inference, in defiance of the fact proven, the dissenting justices say, by a cloud of uncontradicted witnesses, that Drawbaugh had actually invented a telephone that transmitted speech several years before a patent was issued to Bell. What does it matter whether or not Drawbaugh appreciated the importance of his invention? The only question was, did he then invent a telephone? and even according to the opinion delivered by the majority, this vital question of fact has been decided against the weight of evidence.

The decision is one that will have the effect of prolonging an odious monopoly which has already exacted millions from the public, and it is doubly exasperating because of the close division of opinion among the judges and the apparent bias of the majority that led them to prefer their own inference to positive testimony which they do not pretend has been impeached. The outcome is not one that is likely to increase public respect for and confidence in our court of last resort. It is beyond remedy, however, at present, but indicates the urgent necessity of some revision of our patent laws that will provide for the protection of inventors without establishing dangerous monopolies.

THE POOR IRISH LANDLORD.

The starving Irish tenant has had his day, and the impoverished Irish landlord is now the special object of sympathy in English tory circles. A deputation representing these gentry waited on Lord Salisbury at the foreign office a few weeks ago and poured their tale of woe into the sympathetic ears of his lordship and Mr. Balfour. They said they regretted the necessity, but "the time had come when the impoverished Irish landlords were compelled to lay their case before the government and the country." They objected to the methods of fixing fair rents, demanded compensation for the losses inflicted upon them by recent legislation, and declared that upon the response to their appeal "would in all probability depend the very existence of the class that the deputation represented."

Lord Salisbury's reply was full of sympathy for what he called "the extreme and very undeserved sufferings which the mass of Irish landlords had undergone," but he was shy of committing himself to compensation, their claim to which he very properly declared to be by no means such an ordinary case of compensation as is provided for by existing law. He advised them to depend on parliament to mitigate or improve the laws complained of. He further informed them that their losses were not entirely due to legislation, but were partly owing to the great economic changes, from which another impoverished and oppressed class, the English landlords, were also suffering. Whether the Irish landlords obtained any satisfaction from the interview is not stated.

The London *Star* denounces the document they presented to Lord Salisbury as "about as sublime a specimen of the begging letter imposture as ever entered into the brain of mendicant impudence," and compares their claim for compensation to a similar demand by Bill Sikes because of damage done to his business by burglar proof safes and locks. The *Star* contrasts Lord Salisbury's sympathetic answer to his fellow land grabbers with the sneers and gibes in which he indulged when an application was made to him by Cardinal Manning and his friends in behalf of the London poor.

Though the incident justly excites the anger of the *Star* and the criticism of the *Christian Commonwealth*, it is, nevertheless, full of cheer. Lord Salisbury clearly told the sturdy beggars that they could only look to parliament for future relief, and hinted that compensation for the past is out of the question, and this, too, after the deputation had told him that the very existence of the landlord class in Ireland depended on a more favorable reply. If this be true, then such existence is only a question of time and cannot be greatly prolonged. If their salvation depends upon the willingness of the British parliament to tax Englishmen to pay Irish landlords for loss of rents, the latter had better prepare for the worst and look about for some honest occupation at which they can earn a living. Even English tories would not dare make such a proposal, and when their term of reactionary rule ends, any suggestion of the kind would be laughed out of the house by a liberal parliament.

We hope the deputation spoke truly, and that the existence of the class it represented is drawing to a close as rapidly as is indicated by the address.

A HINT TO STANFORD.

Senator Stanford is now posing as one of the martyrs to the rapacity shown by the United States government in its dealings with the Pacific railroad. He does not deny that the government issued its bonds to the Central Pacific road, but he complains that the company had to sell them at a discount, and thinks that the least the government can now do is to repay the company's losses caused through the low credit of the United States. He also insists that as the companies completed the roads seven years before the time named in the contract the government ought to pay over to them the gross amount of the difference of cost between wagon and railway transportation during those seven years.

Mr. Huntington also insists that the government is bound to reward the perfervid patriotism that led the Central Pacific company to rush operations so that its road met the Union Pacific at Ogden instead of waiting for the Union Pacific to meet it at Reno. This costly patriotism was rewarded only by so many acres of land and so many depreciated bonds per mile, and, it appears from Senator Stanford's complaint, has never received any other recognition.

A rich and generous nation cannot afford to add a new instance to the ingratitude of republics; and we suggest that the patriots, Stanford, Huntington and Crocker, as a fitting reward for their patriotic fervor in the darkest hours of our country's history, be each given the rank of lieutenant general and placed on the retired list of the army and that a proper pension be voted to the widow of Hopkins. Under such circumstances the survivors may consent to compromise their vast claim against the country on the liberal basis of the payment of the Central Pacific bonds by the government and the cancellation of the mortgage it holds against that company.

Mr. Huntington might gain some credit for modesty by submitting such a proposal to his fellow millionaires in the United States senate as a substitute for the greater demands made in his behalf by his attorney.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* recently asked M. D. Shaw, a member of the Ohio legislature, about the "wool growers' association," whose hostility to the president's message has been so loudly heralded by the protectionist papers. Mr. Shaw replied:

> Well, as shown by a recent meeting of that organization held by permission in the hall used by our state house of representatives, it consisted of thirteen members, ten of whom are republicans. One of these republicans is a former controller of the treasury (Lawrence), who is a lawyer by profession. Another, Columbus Delano, is several times a millionaire, and was secretary of the interior under Grant's administration. I looked carefully over the members present at this meeting, and found that nearly every one of them had been an office holder under republican administrations.

Mr. Shaw insists that, despite the attitude of the congressmen of the state, the great mass of Ohio democrats approve the president's message, and that a very considerable number of republicans favor tariff reduction.

The ways and means committee is beginning to make some appreciable progress in preparing to report its tariff bill. It is steadily going over the measure paragraph by paragraph and putting it into its final shape. A number of changes have been made, generally in the direction of still further lowering duties. The republican members of the committee complain bitterly of their treatment by the majority. The minority, of course, attack each clause proposed, and some of them make speeches denouncing it. The majority listen in silence and then fix the clause to suit themselves and pass on to the next. Such tactics would not, under ordinary circumstances, be justifiable, but as the majority of the committee is really determined to introduce a bill that will reduce the tariff, and the minority desires to prevent any reduction, the latter are not entitled to much consideration. They will oppose the measure as a whole in any event, and their proper course, if they were honest in desiring a less drastic measure, would be to prepare a bill of their own and support it as a substitute for the majority bill. Under the circumstances the attitude of the majority merely affords gratifying evidence of a determination to prevent the success of the dilatory tactics of the republicans. The bill ought to be completed and reported as soon as possible.

Senator Brown of Georgia says that the south ought to support "the tariff policy that has enriched the north." The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* pertinently replies:

> Mr. Brown should have explained what he means by "the north." Does he mean the mass of the people or a small millionaire class? Now, why does not the north adopt the penitentiary lease system which has proved so effective in enriching Senator Brown?

There need be no doubt as to which north the Georgia senator has in his eye. He is thus far probably the only southern senator who owes his place directly to the possession of millions and his sympathies and associations are with the small class that has benefited by "protection." If he were to look at the question from the standpoint of the masses he would find that the "poor" unprotected south is much more free from pauperism than the "rich" protected north.

Carpenters and builders will find interesting reading in an article from the New York *Times* printed in another column, telling anew the story of the way in which the protected manufacturers of wood screws in this country hired a member of the British parliament to keep his hands off while they picked the pockets of all who build or own houses in the United States.

Three assessors at Livonia, Livingston county, N. Y., have been indicted by the grand jury for perjury in swearing to an erroneous assessment roll. Assessors throughout Livingston and adjacent counties are filled with alarm and all are busily engaged in revising their own work. Down here in the city Mayor Hewitt condones such offenses, and all assessors, habitually and without concealment, grossly undervalue land that they are sworn to assess at its true value. The indictment of one or more of the number might have an excellent effect, even if the prospects of punishment were no greater than they appear to be in Livingston county, where the indicted men are looked upon as martyrs, one of them having been nominated by the republicans for re-election.

Dispatches from Canton, Ohio, announce the arrest in that city of a certain Jerome Markle, who, at the time of his capture, was peaceably attending his aunt's funeral. The telegraphic dispatch announcing the arrest makes no mention of the charge against Markle, but says that he is forty years old and "has amassed a small fortune without ever having been known to do any work." If that alone be deemed a sufficient cause for arrest, good society in New York will begin to tremble for many of its favorites. The most earnest land reformer has never demanded such harsh treatment of those who made fortunes without doing any work.

The combined Chicago gas companies have informed the city council that they will not furnish gas to private consumers throughout that city for $1 a thousand feet. The Chicago *Herald* declares that "it is now the duty of the city and the state to bring all the resources of the people to bear against the illegal combination of speculators who have sought to fasten a huge fictitious charge on the householders of that city." Very well. Let the city of Chicago furnish its people with gas at $1, or less, per thousand and charge these private parties, who are now occupying its public streets with their pipes, a sufficient rent to cause them to move. The "resources of the people" certainly ought to be equal to a little thing like that.

Our money kings are taking on royal style, and our press and people seem disposed to accord them royal honors. Jay Gould recently arrived at St. Augustine, Fla., in his yacht, and his son George went south to meet him. The princely progress of George was interrupted by a railway accident, and the papers have ever since been full of his sayings and doings, while it has required columns of their space to announce the arrival of King Jay, which was evidently regarded as a great event by the wealthy loungers from the north who have adopted the fashion of wintering in Florida. All that was needed to complete the reception was a royal salute from the guns in the harbor. After present tendencies have gone a little further the Pinkerton private army will doubtless be on hand on such occasions to attend to the matter of salutes.

The hereditary legislators of Great Britain were horrified on Monday by the audacity of the earl of Roseberry, who moved the appointment of a committee to inquire into the constitution of the house of lords with a view to amending it. Lord Roseberry declared that the time has come when a large infusion of elected peers is necessary if the influence of the house is to be restored. The audacious proposal was rejected by a vote of 97 to 50, as was to be expected. Nevertheless it is a sign of the times worth noting that such a proposal should not merely have been made, but that it received the votes of fifty peers in its favor.

THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

Former Members of the Executive Committee Withdraw From the Society.

The following card is the result of the action taken at the last meeting of the withdrawing members of the executive committee of the anti-poverty society:

NEW YORK, March 21, 1888.

In order that there may no longer be any dispute as to the status of those now claiming to be the executive committee of the anti-poverty society, and that there shall be no unseemly struggle for the control of the organization at the ensuing annual meeting, the undersigned, hitherto members of the executive committe have resigned from such committee and withdrawn from the society:

J. O. S. HUNTINGTON, HUGH O. PENTECOST,
EVERETT GLACKIN, EDWARD J. SHRIVER,
WALTER CARR, A. J. STEERS,
TOM L. JOHNSON, JEROME O'NEILL,
BENJ. URNER, HENRY GEORGE,
LOUIS F. POST, T. L. MCCREADY.
W. T. CROASDALE, WILLIAM MCCABE,
J. W. SULLIVAN.

In addition to those named above, the following gentlemen, who were members of the executive committee on Feb. 13, have resigned:

Charles F. Wingate, James P. Archibald,
Rev. J. Anketell, John W. Waters.
Edward Johnson,

Of the remaining members, James Redpath, J. C. Fleming and J. V. George, have not for months attended meetings or taken part in the recent controversy, thus leaving of the thirty-one persons who were recognized as members of the committee on Feb. 13 but nine who are still acting as members. These are:

Dr. Edw. McGlynn, Gaybert Barnes,
Dr. J. Coughlin, Wm. B. Clarke,
John McMackin, Michael Clarke,
James O'Flaherty, Hugh Whorisky,
Dr. Wm. S. Gottheil.

As Mr. E. J. Shriver, late treasurer of the anti-poverty society, deems that an injustice would be done by letting the speech of Dr. McGlynn, reported in THE STANDARD of last week, pass uncontradicted, we give place to the following communication, trusting that this will be the last of an unpleasant and unprofitable subject. The many correspondents who have written to THE STANDARD in commendation of the course of the majority of the committee and in criticism of the acts which compelled their withdrawal, and whose communications have not been published, will understand the reasons which make an exception in this case proper:

NEW YORK CITY.—In his address at the Academy of Music on March 11, as published by you, Dr. McGlynn made a statement of the occurrences at the anti-poverty committee meeting, during which I moved his suspension, in which he presented me in the light of an instrument selected by a conspiracy to humiliate him. While I do not wish to embarrass you in carrying out the policy of dignified silence which you seem to have assumed, I trust you will allow me the opportunity to contradict certain of the doctor's assertions, as a matter due to myself.

The course of action agreed upon by the majority of the committee for that evening did not include Dr. McGlynn's suspension. He may have dreaded such action as a just rebuke to him for arrogating the power to dictate a policy for the united labor party at an anti-poverty society meeting, but the motion when made was made on my individual responsibility, without consultation with any one, because it seemed to me personally the best way to stop further illegitimate exercise by him of the appointing power. It is morally impossible that Dr. McGlynn should not have known this when he delivered the address to which I allude, as a full description of our programme had been given to several of his intimate friends.

Dr. McGlynn further stated that "seven or eight" of the withdrawing committee men were employes of THE STANDARD, and infers in various ways that all of us were acting, not of our own motion, but in obedience to STANDARD policy. Both the statement and the inference are untrue.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

Let the Trouble Come.

Cedar Rapids New Era.

The Marion *Free Press* declares that "the trouble with the single land tax is that no speculator would pay the rental value of land which they could not use."

If this is what the *Free Press* calls "the trouble" with the single tax, we verily believe that the working people of this country would like to be troubled in just that way. So give us the single tax and "the trouble" along with it.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Australian Gold.

NORWICH, N. Y.—The strong point you make against protection is that shutting out imports cuts off exports, thus destroying the commerce of the nation to a certain extent. This seems evident, as a nation cannot take our products unless we want and are willing to take products of that nation in payment. Now, I wish to raise this point for you to comment upon: Suppose that our tariff constitutes such an embargo that Australia, which wants our manufactured articles, can pay us only in gold (gold not being prohibited), and that we continue to draw on Australia for gold for a period of years, receiving nothing else in return for our products. I am aware that gold is a commodity—not money—when used in the exchange of nations, and we receive it from Australia as bullion. Possibly such bullion would be of but little value to us, even when coined over and made into our money. Could we put that gold to use, and in what way? Of course we could put it to some use, but what would it be and what would be the extent of the loss on such trade? ELMORE SHARPE.

In the case you put, if Australia made large demands for our products and her gold held out, it would involve less work for us to make the things that Australia wanted and let Australia dig gold for us than to dig our own gold. The tendency would be to reduce the value of gold and to make our gold mines less valuable than they are. On such trade we would lose nothing—we would gain. The only losers would be our gold mine owners.

We would put the gold to such uses as we do now—dentistry, jewelry, and so forth; and we would use it to a greater extent than before, for more of our people could afford to use it, first, because they would get better pay for their work, and second, because gold would be cheaper. We would also ship Australian gold to other countries in exchange for their goods.

The Inducement to Keep Land Out of Use.

PHILADELPHIA.—In the unpublished portion of the letter to which you reply in your issue of February 18, I asked "why you contend that those holding unused agricultural land will not rent it to the highest bidder?" I am therefore justified in assuming that in the example of mines which you have given you consider that the same conditions obtain as in the case of agricultural land, each class of opportunities being owned by thousands of persons, each competing with the others to secure the largest return from his possessions. I have asked you to show me the inducement which the competitive owners of opportunities located within the margin of cultivation have for keeping them out of use?

I can see such an inducement in the case of city lots, which may become available for business purposes, and which cannot be used temporarily without erecting a comparatively costly structure in the form of a residence, which would have to be destroyed later in order to put the lot to the best possible use. Your remark on that subject in the issue of March 3 is therefore hardly pertinent to my question.

You say that only fifty would be mined in the first and fifty in the second mine. Would it not be to the interest of each owner to mine 100? and since the demand is for only 100, would not competition between them cause the rent of the second mine to fall to zero, and that of the first to a trifle below two-tenths?

(1) I now repeat my original question: Assuming that the land owners are not all members of one syndicate, what inducement has any one holding land on speculation to keep his land out of use, if its temporary use does not involve an expenditure equal to or exceeding the rent obtainable in the interim during which he contemplates holding it?

(2) Does Ricardo's doctrine admit that the land outside of the margin of cultivation is appropriated, or are the margins of appropriation and cultivation identical? I ask this question to settle a disputed point with several students of "Progress and Poverty."

A STUDIOUS INQUIRER.

(1) He has no inducement to keep it out of use; but, on the other hand, he has no sufficient inducement to put it to use. The land is worth in the market a certain price; he will not sell it for less than that price, and if he rents it, he expects a rental based on that price. Both the price and the rent are for the time being more than a user can afford to pay. Therefore, having no customers, he allows the land to lie idle, or, what is the same thing, except in degree, he does not use it to its capacity.

There are in upper New York acres of city lots; the owners will not sell, and while they would be willing to rent for building purposes, no one will hire for such purposes at the rent demanded. So the owners rent to gardeners who pay all the land is worth for gardening purposes, but not so much as it is worth for building purposes. I have in mind a tract of woodland in an agricultural district which belongs to a farm. If the trees were cut and the stumps removed this woodland would make excellent truck land. The owner is not able to bear the expense of clearing, and the land is unused. He will not sell it because he expects a rise in land values in his neighborhood. He might rent it to workingmen in parcels, but his terms are too onerous to tempt them. And yet if that land were taxed at its actual value as land, the owner could not afford to keep it idle, and there are plenty of workingmen who would clear it for their own use if they were assured of undisputed enjoyment so long as they paid the land value tax. In the Pennsylvania oil district there is a tract of land which belongs to an English family. It is taxed low as mountain land; but if any one wants to open a well he must agree to the terms of the English family; and when his well is bored his land is taxed high while that around him is taxed as low as before. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania there are thousands of acres of unopened coal mines which no one is permitted to open, which have a high value as coal lands, and which pay a small tax as agricultural lands.

It seems to me you are giving yourself a good deal of trouble about an abstraction, when you have only to open your eyes to see, respecting all kinds of land, that though the owners are not all members of one syndicate, valuable land *is* held out of use. From this fact it follows that the margin of production falls below its natural limit, and that is all there is to the question.

(2) The margin of appropriation and the margin of production are not necessarily identical. Robinson Crusoe appropriated his island, but the land of the island remained below the margin of production nevertheless. So long as any appropriated land is no better, all things considered, than land that is not appropriated, the appropriated land will be below the margin of production; but appropriated land which, all things considered, is better than any land that is not appropriated, is above the margin of cultivation.

Protection and Strikes.

NEW YORK.—Will you kindly inform me: (1) Where can I find authorities and proofs for the statements concerning the increase in duty on cheap grades of bottles in the year 1883, and (2) the strikes or lockouts following this measure, spoken of in the first column, second page of THE STANDARD of March 10? EDWARD FRIDENBERG.

(1) In the federal statutes of that year.

(2) At the Astor library, in the newspapers of the time.

Money.

NEW YORK.—I note in your last issue, in answering "A Reader," you state that "money is merely a counter of exchange." Having always supposed true money to be gold and silver coin and actual wealth or merchandise, and paper money only a representative thereof, I find difficulty in understanding Mr. George's references to our coinage and storage of silver as "the folly of digging silver out of one hole in the ground and burying it in another." Will you kindly refer me to a clear exposition of the position taken? GEORGE A. HOLLIS.

Read chapter 8 of "Protection or Free Trade?" being the chapter entitled "Confusions Arising from the Use of Money."

Effect of Tariffs.

ALDEN, N. Y.—Do I see the tariff cat aright? Goods represent labor; consequently when goods are low compared with gold, labor is low compared with gold. If I buy a pair of boots at $2.50 gold and pay the bootblack five cents gold for a shine, when I can get the same boots at 50 cents gold I may pay the bootblack only one cent gold, and it will be the same with the bootblack as it was before.

If I am correct, then the tariff does not affect the price of goods any further than to denominate the price of labor in that country.

J. C. CLARK.

You are right in your statement, and if the tariff were an equal ad valorem tax on everything you would be right in your conclusion also. But as the tariff bears unequally, some things being heavily taxed, others lightly and others not at all, money wages generally are governed by money wages in the production of the untaxed article, which puts the workman at a disadvantage when he buys an article on which the tax is imposed.

How to Get Rid of the Surplus.

CHICAGO.—I have been a deeply interested reader of THE STANDARD for several weeks, and the following questions have occurred to me as the result:

If the rental value of the land on which a city is built is the creation of the people of such city, and therefore justly belongs to the community as a whole; and if such value ought to be and should be collected for the benefit of all the people, and the total amount so collected should exceed the sum required to pay the debts and current necessary (and only necessary) expenses of the city government economically administered, how under the workings of the single tax theory as advocated by you, if exercised to the extent of levying a tax to the full amount of the land or rental value, would you dispose of the excess alluded to, be such excess much or little? J. H. WALRATH.

It is refreshing to hear from a correspondent who fears that the single tax will raise too much revenue. It reminds one of old times, just after "Progress and Poverty" appeared, and before the Harrises and the *Suns* and the rest of them who, when one objection proves shaky invent another equally untenable, had discovered "statistically" that the tax would not raise revenue enough. You are behind in the literature of the discussion

The proposition is to tax land values and land values alone. If such a tax does not raise as much revenue as we raise now, we must reduce our expenses. But it cannot raise more than we need. Fixed sums, according to public necessity, would be called for as now, and these sums could be, and when the benefits of taxing land values for public use were appreciated, no doubt would be, increased until practically no land value would be left to the owner. But the sums would not be increased arbitrarily; they would be increased in response to public demand for public improvements.

Silencing the Single Tax Theory.

BROOKLYN.—Will you be pleased to republish the article in THE STANDARD of this week, entitled "The Tenant Farmer of the West," in connection with answers to the following questions:

(1) Knowing from experience that the article referred to is substantially true, and that the landlords in the country are in the condition set forth, I desire to know how it is possible for such a mighty "land monopoly" to exist as is claimed by THE STANDARD?

(2) With this state of facts how is it possible to so increase the tax on land as to raise $800,000,000 of taxes on land alone annually to run the general and state governments?

(3) If the landlord farmer makes but eighty cents per day for his labor and capital with which to support his family, employ labor, pay taxes, buy seeds, tools, blacksmith work, clothing and food with absolute free trade, whence will come the enormous increase of taxes to defray the whole expense of government?

(4) Please explain the rental value of these farming lands aside from labor and improvements.

(5) Would any man, syndicate or trust take the farming lands of the United States and pay for the labor and improvements?

(6) To my mind this simple showing ought to be sufficient to forever silence the absurd single tax theory. I. V. P.

(1) THE STANDARD is not so short of material as to find it necessary to reproduce its articles; but to make your questions intelligible I will state the substance of the article to which you refer. It was quoted from the New York *Times* and showed that one-half of the farms of Michigan are mortgaged; that the assessed value of Michigan's farms is $700,000,000; that this is one-third of the actual value; that the amount of mortgages is about $350,000,000; that the ten agricultural states of the Mississippi valley are in about the same condition, and are consequently mortgaged for about $3,422,000,000, their actual value being about $13,931,000,000; and that the produce of the farms of these states will not, after paying interest on the mortgages, leave enough for the farmers to live on. These are the facts which you say from your experience are substantially true, and how, in face of such facts you can ask the question you do is puzzling? When the owners of land (called mortgagees in this article) are able to rack rent their tenants to such an extent as to leave too little for the tenants to live on, the average man would infer the existence of a pretty "mighty land monopoly." Perhaps you are not an average man.

(2) A tax on land values alone would lessen the taxes of farmers and increase those of mine owners, forest owners and owners of valuable city lots. These farms are assessed at one-third of their actual value. That is in all probability about the value of the naked land. Therefore, Michigan farmers are now paying as high taxes on their farms as they would be called on to pay under the single tax. They are now paying taxes on what they buy as well. The single tax, therefore, would reduce their contributions to the public revenue without any change in the value of land. But as that tax would make it unprofitable to keep land out of use, a great deal of unused land would be thrown upon the market, with the effect of reducing land values generally and making the tax burden of the farmers lighter still.

Since the farmers are taxed on a valuation of one-third, other real estate is probably taxed on the same basis, or less. Thus, a man who owns a mine worth $100,000, in which there are improvements worth $10,000, now pays on a valuation of one-third of $110,000, or on $37,000 in round numbers. Under the single tax he would pay on a valuation of $100,000. I have no doubt that a great deal of valuable lumber land pays taxes on less than one-third of its value; under the single tax such land would pay on its full value. And in cities there are vacant lots the tax on which is based upon a low valuation; under the single tax it would be based on a full valuation. Your experience in the west will enable you to see from these suggestions that a single tax on land values would increase the taxes of men who monopolize natural opportunities and diminish the taxes of men who earn their living by work. Whether the single tax would raise eight hundred millions or not, I do not know, nor do I care. It is enough to know that it will raise all that the land on which it falls is worth, and that the tax so raised would go into the public treasury instead of going, as it does now—into the pockets of land owners. Land is now taxed to its full value, the tax, less what goes to the state, going to landlords; and the value is artificially increased by cornering land. If all land not in use were free, as it would be under the single tax, no land would have an artificial value, and no one would pay a higher tax for his land than the superior advantages that land gave him would enable him to pay. But under our present system, land being made scarce by speculation, land in use is abnormally valuable and consequently is excessively taxed.

(3) The farmer, under absolute free trade, would make more than eighty cents a day.

The farmer is not the only man who uses land.

There would not be an "enormous increase of taxes to defray the whole expense of government," but an enormus decrease.

All taxes would be the annual price of superior natural opportunities.

If one man worked a mine that produced ten annually with given labor and capital, and another worked a mine that produced five annually with the same labor and capital, the first man would pay five more in taxes than the second. This difference now goes to a mine owner; it would then go to the people. If the value of all such advantages in the country was not enough to meet public expenses—public expenses would have to be cut down.

(4) How can I explain the rental value of these farming lands without knowing the value of the improvements? John's coat and trousers are worth $15; how much is his coat worth? Answer me that riddle and I will answer you yours.

(5) I think so, and I am sure they would take *all* the lands of the United States on those conditions.

(6) If your mind is to be judged by your questions, your confession of opinion need occasion no surprise.

Mat Making and Free Trade.

NORTH NEW YORK.—I have twice voted the united labor ticket, from top to bottom the last time, and am a believer in the efficacy of the single tax, and hence a free trader, understanding that, while a few interests in trade may be crippled, the vast majority of the people will be benefited. But for the enlightenment of others as well as myself I want to put a question, which, as a reader of THE STANDARD, I am sure will receive a frank, if not to us a satisfactory, answer, or at least an agreeable one.

They and I are mat weavers—all kinds—door mats, ordinary floor matting, etc. Now the raw material is spun in the East Indies, comes to England, where the best of the stock is bought up, manufactured and sent to the New York market, and sold cheaper than we can manufacture it. Now, how would absolute free trade operate in this particular trade? GEO. W. RODEN.

Assuming that mat weavers in England could make up the material and ship it to this country for sale at a less price than you could make it up and sell it for, absolute free trade would make it more profitable for you, both with reference to your present condition and your condition then, to do some other kind of work. The more mats and carpets England sent to this country the more products of this country would it require in return. This would increase the demand for work in this country in a way that would make it very easy and more profitable for you to find employment in some other direction.

But are you sure that England could undersell you in our market if we had free trade? As I am not sufficiently familiar with your trade to know what your raw material is I cannot make any comparison of the duty of twenty per cent on mats and matting, which is imposed for your "protection," with the duty on your raw material, which, if there is a duty, is certainly imposed to your injury; but you can readily ascertain what the duty on your raw material is and make the comparison yourself.

Of this, however, you may be sure, that the "few interests in trade," which, as you say, "may be crippled" by free trade, will not be the interests of people who work, but the interests of those who profit by the unrequited labor of others.

Notes.

GEORGE F. LEWIS, Victor, Iowa.—Your difficulties with the farmers are appreciated. With their ignorance of the incidence of taxation, it is to be expected that they will at first imagine that the single tax will increase their burdens and lighten those of the "capitalist." Get them to read tracts relating to farmers, and ask them to explain why "capitalists" are so bitterly opposed to the single tax and so suddenly anxious for the welfare of the poor farmer.

LOUIS F. POST.

AN UNCONSCIOUS APOSTLE.

The Saginaw *Evening News* gives a very full account of a lecture by the Rev. Rowland Connor, delivered on Feb. 26, in the Unitarian church of that city, on "Henry George's theory of nationalization of land." The *News* says of the lecture that it consisted "in the main of a clear, succinct line of argument, disproving many of George's assertions, showing how careless he must have been in compiling his statistics, and the erroneous conclusions arrived at as to our present social position." The following extracts from the *News*'s report are good illustrations of the clearness, succinctness, and logic of the reverend gentleman's discourse:

Now look at our present condition, our modern civilization, into which George says a wedge has entered, thrusting one class of people down and another up. Look at the vast middle classes, which constitute the great bulk and weight of the nation, of whom only a thin stratum at the bottom are very poor and a thin stratum at the top very rich. We all know this by ordinary observation, reading of newspapers, etc., and see that George is in error when he asserts to the contrary and indulges in his peculiar pessimistic views. . . .

Now what George says does not agree with the facts. According to him, in a progressive community, land owners only can get rich, capital and labor remain just where they were. He never refers in his books to the bloated bond holder, of whose existence he must be aware. I know lots of them. Yes, reiterates George, land owners only get rich, and all increased production will be swallowed up by rent, while wages remain as before. Will it be too harsh if I simply say, nonsense? We can enumerate plenty of brokers, bankers, merchants, railroad magnates and speculators of all kinds who are immensely wealthy. George never specifies such rich men who are so well known in this country. Only a few families have made their money out of the increase in the value of real estate, while on the other hand large numbers have made vast fortunes in the other businesses I have specified. . . .

There are three classes that derive profits from industry—land owners, laborers and capitalists. George says that what goes to landlords must lessen what goes to the other two; undoubtedly that is true, and living, if there were no rents to pay, would be cheaper for most persons for a time. But look at the enormous surplus the government would have, for remember all land must be taxed up to its full rental value. Now, how would that help the poor people? What would the government do with it? . . .

The speaker showed by a natural chain of reasoning that the metals, wool and numberless articles that are used in our industries are as much nature's bounty as land itself and subject to the same rulings if George is correct. He showed the folly of George's reasoning from such a standpoint. George says, continued Mr. Connor, that when a man digs a lump of gold out of the ground and utilizes it, don't tax it, but tax the hole it came from. George's theories go to pieces when closely examined. . . .

The speaker discoursed of the evil that has been done in allowing foreign syndicates to purchase thousands of acres of land in this country. He urged the workingmen to insist on action being taken on the bill that has been presented to prevent it, closing in an eloquent manner on the bright future of this country that impressed his hearers with his oratorical abilities and earnest sincerity.

The single tax cause will gain plenty of adherents in Saginaw if the Rev. Rowland Connor can only be induced to keep on lecturing against it.

Crime Detected After Many Years.

Calais, Me., Advertiser.

In the fall of 1881 the American schooner E. L. Higgins, then owned by E. A. Barnard & Son and others of Calais, in the passage from Philadelphia for Calais with coal, struck on the rocks near Le Tete passage, N. B., and the master, after consultation with the managing owner, had the vessel sold at auction. The current is swift where the vessel lay, and if strong winds had occurred the vessel would have gone to pieces. The vessel and cargo were sold to a man who proved to be a citizen of New Brunswick. The weather being favorable the vessel floated off the rocks, and after temporary repairs, was taken to Calais, and delivered to the former owners upon payment of an amount agreed upon. The vessel's papers had not been surrendered, and she had not been registered as a British vessel. By disaster she had for a time passed from her former ownership, but had again come into their possession. From that time until now she has sailed under American papers and been recognized by custom house officials as an American vessel. But now the charge is made that by the sale at auction she ceased to be an American vessel, and it is proposed to have her seized and libeled. On Thursday H. H. Barnard, of the firm of E. A. Barnard & Son, and George M. Hanson, esq., the attorney, were here to consult with Collector Leavitt.

THE PROPOSED JULY CONFERENCE.

SHARON, Conn., March 19.—In your issue of March 3 you publish a circular from Mr. Samuel W. Williams, urging those interested in the idea of the single tax to write to Mr. Warren Worth Bailey of Chicago, authorizing him to issue a call for a conference to be held on the Fourth of July.

It seemed to us that the idea embodied in that circular was a very good one and we are very much disappointed not to find such a call in the last number of THE STANDARD.

Our movement is just now at a very critical point, and it is necessary for all of us who have accpted this idea, to get together and have a very free and frank discussion as to ways and means of bringing this great principle before the people.

There is really very little organization among our friends, many of them being scattered and comparatively isolated. These men could have no representation in a delegate conference, and, apart from this fact, what we want is a really general consensus of individual opinion and that can best be secured in a mass meeting of our friends.

The call for a conference-convention on May 15, issued by the committees at Cooper union, does not, it seems to us, deserve the attention of earnest men. Because from the fact of its being called at the same time and place as the convention of the union labor party, and in view of the utterances of a majority of those who signed the call, it is clearly an attempt to gather all the dissatisfied elements in the country for the purpose of forming a party, and not a bona fide effort to bring together the advocates of the single tax as such, for the purpose of a free discussion as to the most effective method of enlightening our fellow citizens on this great subject, and especially as to whether it would be better for us to nominate a national ticket or not. This we think can be most satisfactorily accomplished through such a conference as that proposed by Mr. Williams, and we sincerely hope that Mr. Bailey will as quickly as possible issue a call for a general conference on the Fourth of July, and we would suggest Chicago as probably the most convenient place for all concerned.

J. L. DUNHAM,
GEO. ST. J. LEAVENS.

THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

A Place in Which the Doctrine of Private Land Ownership is Scarce a Generation Old.

London Christian Commonwealth.

Few men know the highlands better, or are better known and respected by the highlanders, than Mr. John Murdoch. The following account of some of the historical and religious aspects of the great movement among the Scotch crofters, specially written by Mr. Murdoch for the "Anti-Poverty" columns of the *Christian Commonwealth*, will, therefore, be read with interest at this time. Mr. Murdoch speaks of that which he knows, and testifies of that which he has seen, for he has recently visited the very districts in which the "raids" are now taking place.

In the first place, the island of Lewis, which, by the way, is the nativity of William Black's "Princess of Thule," is in a more than ordinarily favorable position for holding forth the idea that the land belongs, not to a landlord, but to the people. The Morrison chiefs, the MacLeod leaders, and the Mackenzie "Seaforths," whatever they may have asserted in Edinburgh or London when among the representatives of the grantees of Charles II, would not have dared to assert that the lands of Lewis or of Kintail belonged to any one man in particular. The land belonged to the clansmen, and the great men at their head held sway by virtue of their chiefship. It is not worth while going further into this part of the question than to say that for a long time there was a struggle going on between this clan or patriarchal system and the feudo-commercial system of landholding, which has been fully established in the highlands since the battle of Culloden. The possession of a bit of land is a moral force; it is more than even Arthur Young thought of when he lauded the "magic of property," and that moral force is all the greater when the possession is held to be a matter of natural right, and in no degree dependent upon purchase.

We have thus dawning on us one of the forces now at work in the highlands. The Lewis people have this force strengthened by the historic fact that their island never was a marketable commodity until some forty or forty-four years ago, when the trustees of the late "Seaforth" Mackenzie sold the island to Mr. (afterward Sir James) Matheson. To this hour this mercantile transaction has not lost its bad odor, although, no doubt, Seaforth did some things which were as fraudulent as any perpetrated since, although they were not so audacious. One of the aspects of the conjuncture thus presented has often come before the present generation of Lewismen in the claim of the Mathesons to exact rent. From a commercial point of view it seems very reasonable that the man who lays out money, as the buyers of estates have done, should recover sufficient interest on the money invested; but the question arises at once, What right had the Seaforth trustees to sell the people's land? And what right had the Mathesons to look to a third party to implement a bargain between a first and a second? The believer in usury has been staggered when the crofters have said to him, "A sells to B, and B comes to C for the interest on the investment." This, of course, is only one way out of many in which the validity of landlord claims can be set aside. The next matter which comes before the mind is the development of the moral courage, the sense of duty and the religious enthusiasm to carry out the convictions formed.

This, much more than mere intelligence, is the great desideratum all over the three kingdoms; and it is not too much to say that when something of the kind shows itself even far away in Lewis, the real leaders of English thought will, I am sure, hail it with all their hearts. Now, while the misleading papers do their utmost to associate the doings in Lewis with mere selfish, barbarous lawlessness, the fact is that the whole of the present movement is traceable to well reasoned religious convictions and pious sentiments. The lever of social reform has been laid on the fulcrum of religious thought and feeling. This movement is one of the first examples in modern times of men laying hold of the apostolic teaching that "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is as well as that which is to come," and making a direct application of the principle underlying it. These people are not "political economists" in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but they reach much more directly what the economists aim at. Then there is another noteworthy circumstance, viz., that at the very outset of the social and economic movement there is beyond all question an elevation of character made manifest. The movement is no mere groveling scramble for personal advantage.

Besides having the traditions which I have mentioned, they are remarkably devout and bible reading men. They have laid firm hold of the teachings of God in regard to the land. The land was given to the children of men with the injunction that they were to support themselves and their families by tilling it. They caught firm hold of this as a divine command. It was true, they might possibly suffer much themselves individually from want of land, and all that land yields; but they were confronted with the leading element in true religion—the visiting of the fatherless and the widow. So far from their religion requiring them to stand by while their dependents were perishing, it impelled them to go where God ordered them—to the land, and from it, by the sweat of their brows, take that with which they were to visit the widow and fatherless in the affliction of poverty. But then there was a lion in the way. If they did this they would be confronted with the law of the estate. Well, what then? "Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather than God, judge ye." There was a still deeper thought to which they gave heed. Their profession as Christian men implied that love had cast out fear. They were not to allow the fear of man to check them in the true carrying out of their love of God—loving God by doing good to men.

And without going any further in this groove, it is to be noticed that when they came into contact with the force of the law they did not avenge themselves, they did not resist evil; they went remarkably near to turning the other cheek when they actually showed their willingness to go to prison. It is evident that in doing this they had an eye to making the system with which they were at issue odious in the public estimation. In other words, they went as directly at "the land" as they possibly could in the circumstances, and they took care not to sully their hands or their cause by resorting to any kind of rowdyism or lawlessness.

THE RESULT OF A RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION.

NEW YORK.—Among my friends is an exceedingly bright and intelligent lady, the teacher of a girl's school. I have several times in the course of conversation found her strongly opposed to the single tax doctrine, and finding her apparently impervious to such arguments as I had time to advance, I told her I would have a copy of THE STANDARD sent her. She protested that she did not want such a paper; had no time to read it, etc., etc., but I nevertheless sent in her name for a recruit subscription. How well this recruit subscription seems to have done its work, and how through her many other minds are likely to be set thinking, may be judged from the note I have recently received from her:

NEW YORK CITY—My Dear Friend: Knowing how much you are interested in Henry George and the principles he advocates, you will enjoy hearing of a conversation which took place in my class room a few days ago. We were reading about the earth as a planet and the ancient theory regarding it, and when we read how the Prussian astronomer, Copernicus, after a labor of years succeeded in proving the ancient theory a mistake, I wanted to impress the pupils with the man's daring and courage, and said, "Suppose some one to-day should come forward trying to prove our knowledge of the moon a mistake, would you be ready or willing to believe him?"

From the distant corner came the answer "No; we would call him a crank." When the laughter that this aroused had died away, I asked "Do you know of any one who is called a crank?" Immediately a chorus of voices answered, "Henry George!"

I was much amused, and allowed the children to give their opinion of the man, with the following result: One said, "he doesn't want any one to be rich;" another, "he wants the people to give up all they own;" while a third declared "he was an anarchist."

I could not allow the last remark to go unexplained, but after I had shown the meaning of that word I tried the still more difficult task of explaining the meaning of "unearned increment." I attempted it by using the following illustration: "Fifty years ago a certain Mr. B. died leaving a farm situated in that part of New York city which to-day includes all property between Thirty-fourth and Forty-second streets, the North and East rivers. To his eldest son he gave the portion between the North river and Seventh avenue, to the second between Seventh and Third avenues, and to the youngest from Third avenue to the East river. The sons allowed the land to remain idle until to-day, and now wishing to sell, each divides his portion into building lots. "Which son would receive the highest price for his land, and why?" The answer came quickly. "The second. Because his property is in the most valuable part of the city."

"Did any work of either father or sons make these portions more or less valuable?" I asked.

"No," was the prompt answer.

"From whom did the value come?" I asked again, and without a dissenting voice the answer was, "The people."

After a little longer conversation the girls all agreed that as neither father nor sons had made the present value of these lots, it did not belong to them, but to the masses who had created it.

When they had unanimously expressed this opinion I quietly said: "Why, girls, you are all cranks, for you have the same ideas about this land question that Henry George has." Then bedlam followed! And order was not restored until the bell rang for dismissal. Even then the girls clustered around in eager discussion. Very truly yours, X.

As the receipt of this little note has encouraged me, so I think it will encourage others. There is much against us—custom, power, false teaching and misrepresentation. But we have truth on our side, and all that it is necessary for us to do is to get people to think. We cannot always see what we do; but we may always be certain that when we have aroused one mind, we have set at work a living and growing force. Even if the usefulness of my friend were to end here—and she is not that kind of a woman—her questions have given an impulse to young minds that is certain to tell in ever widening circles. So much for our recruit subscription to THE STANDARD. Let us be patient and active. As it was in the time of Copernicus, so is it now. Another great truth—and to human welfare a far greater truth than that this earth revolves around the sun has entered the world. And it is here to stay. As Charles Mackay sings:

Keep, Galileo, to thy thought,
And nerve thyself to bear;
They may gloat o'er the senseless words they wring
From the pangs of thy despair.
They vail their eyes, but cannot hide
The sun's meridian glow;
The heel of a priest may tread thee down,
And a tyrant work thee woe.
But never a truth has been destroyed;
They may curse it and call it a crime;
Pervert and betray or slander and slay
Its teachers for a time:
But the sunshine aye shall light the sky,
As round and round we run,
And the truth shall ever come uppermost,
And justice shall be done.

AUGUST LEWIS.

The rate of taxation for the current year will unquestionably be increased, and it may be over $20 per thousand. Such an increase is to be deplored in more ways than one. In the first place it will bear very heavily upon visible property and existing enterprise; and in the second place, it serves to deter outside capital from investing within our limits.—[Manchester, Mass., Budget.

ALL ALONG THE LINE.

HOW THE MOVEMENT FOR INDUSTRIAL EMANCIPATION IS PROGRESSING.

There was a fair attendance at the regular meeting of the tax reform club at Everett hall, in Brooklyn, on March 14. A. L. Voorhees Frank P. Rand, D. S. Baker, D. White and Theodore Atworth briefly addressed the meeting, showing good reasons why personal property should be exempted from taxation. The Williams-Bailey call for a national conference came up for consideration and the majority of those present favored fixing a date later than the old party conventions. A resolution was passed advising every member to request the assemblyman of his district to aid the passage of the Hamilton bill for electoral reform.

The following officers were elected: Theodore Atworth, vice-president; F. W. Shepard, financial secretary; George White, treasurer; J. L. Tollett, Frank P. Rand and D. S. Baker, executive committee. The question, "Has an Employer a Right to Take Advantage of the Present Competition Among Laborers?" will be discussed at the next meeting.

A New York Club Wants Correspondents.

NEW YORK.—The West end labor club of Harlem is desirous of establishing a correspondence with other Henry George clubs; also with land and labor, free soil, free trade clubs and associations of similar proclivities. It is our belief that an interchange of thought in regard to principles and methods of propagation will be mutually beneficial. Will you kindly insert this in your paper and thus advertise our purpose. T. C. WILLIS, Cor. Sec.

Anti-Poverty in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, March 11.—Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather the Baltimore anti-poverty society held its usual weekly meeting this evening in Ramis hall. Mr. J. H. Ralston of Hyattsville, Md., delivered an interesting address on the future of the single tax movement. He related an incident which recently occurred in Hyattsville, which illustrates one method of introducing the single tax. In that town, which is a suburb of Washington, there has been a project started to issue bonds for improving roads, etc. In Maryland such issues cannot be made by municipalities without an enabling act granted by the legislature, and the consent of the citizens must be given. The committee which investigated the needs of the village reported in favor of the bonds provided the taxes to pay the same were levied on land values alone. The land speculators of course objected; but the land tax people still "hold the fort" with the motto, "No land tax, no bonds." Mr. Ralston stated that much interest had been aroused by the controversy and the people were rapidly waking up to the advantages of the single tax. W. N. HILL, M.D.

Anti-Poverty in Washington.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The anti-poverty society of this city at its last meeting perfected its organization by the adoption of a constitution. This declares the name of the society to be "the Washington anti-poverty society." Its objects are set forth as follows: "The abolition of poverty by appropriate means; but particularly by securing to all persons an equal right to the use of the earth, and an equal interest in those social creations and utilities commonly known as franchises." The methods by which the society proposes to attain its objects are set forth as follows: "The education of ourselves and of the general public in our principles by discussions, lectures, the circulation of literature and other appropriate means, and the exertion of our influence on congress to secure the enactment of laws removing taxes from all forms of industry and its products and placing them on land values, and establishing as public industries tramways, water works, gas and electric light works, and all other public utilities whose existence rests on legislative consent and which are monopolistic in their natures."

The constitution provides a novel way of choosing officers, which, it is claimed, secures a more perfect representation of the sentiments of the members of the board of officers. The only officer chosen by the direct vote of the society is a clerk, who keeps a book. Then each member has a right to vote for one member of an executive committee, to comprise not more than seven members. He makes known his choice to the proxy clerk, who keeps a record of votes. Votes have to be renewed once in three months, and may be changed at any time. The seven persons at any time having the highest number of votes constitute the executive committee. This executive committee, each of whom has as many votes as are credited to his favor in the proxy book, elect the president and other officers of the society from among their own number.

Messrs. Bowen, Brown, Monohan, Geddes, Boyd and Davis were elected members of the executive committee. Before the meeting closed Mr. Bowen, in answer to inquiries from visitors present, made an address setting out what the Henry George theory was and how it was proposed to better the condition of the world at large by applying the single tax scheme.

A Landlord Missionary in Evansville.

EVANSVILLE, Ind.—Please send me by return mail six copies "Protection or Free Trade?" and one of "Social Problems." This makes the third order for books I have received from a man who is a large land owner, and who one year ago was opposed to our doctrines. He buys the books for gratuitous distribution, and has already given away twenty copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" Of course he doesn't want any notoriety just yet, but he is making converts.

C— ——.

Anti-Poverty in Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, O.—The twelfth consecutive weekly meeting of the anti-poverty society of Cincinnati was held at Elks hall March 11. The principal addresses were by Rev. E. P. Foster on "Some words of heaven about the earth," and Mr. E. T. Fries on "The Protective Idea." Both were admirable. One of the strong points made by Mr. Foster was a quotation from the great commentary of Matthew Henry, giving as a reason for the land restorations of the jubilee year "that no family should be sunk and ruined and condemned to perpetual poverty." Mr. Fries's essay was by no means narrowed to the tariff question, but took a wide ethical scope, involving the noblest considerations of love and brotherhood. C. H. FITCH, Secretary.

The Free Land Club of Dayton, Ohio.

DAYTON, O.—At no time since its organization nearly a year ago, has any meeting of the Free land club been so well attended as that of yesterday.

The address was made by Rev. J. K. Lewis. In a speech of an hour he gave an outline of our proposed tax and land reform, and closed by reading a paper on the justice of the single tax on land values and its sufficiency for legitimate governmental expenses.

A new impulse was given the movement here by Mr. George at the opera house on Feb. 20. Several persons joined the club at the next meeting after the lecture and a good many others are talking land reform who had given it no thought before hearing Mr. George. One thing particularly noticeable and gratifying is the daily increasing sentiment in favor of free trade. W. W. KILE,

Cor. Secretary Free Land Club.

Standing Up to be Counted in Cedar Rapids.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa.—Out of 1,800 votes polled at our recent city election, the united labor candidate, Sam H. Wolf, received 500, while 1,300 were cast for the combination nominee of the two old parties. Though this result is somewhat of a disappointment to single tax men here, it yet shows our strength to be greater than our adversaries had supposed.

Concentrating Forces in Washington Territory.

SEATTLE, W. T.—Will you be kind enough to have the following note inserted in THE STANDARD:

To single tax men of Seattle, and other parts of Washington territory—You are requested to correspond with F. P. Morrow, 111 Union street, Seattle, Washington territory. The object of the request is that we may concentrate our forces to promote the single tax system; also that we may become better known to each other.

F. P. MORROW, Printer.

In a Maryland Town Meeting.

HYATTSVILLE, Md., March 17.—We have commenced injecting the single tax doctrine into our local politics here. For some time past a proposal has been before our citizens for the issue of $8,000 worth of improvement bonds, and on March 15 the matter was finally brought up for settlement in town meeting. We single tax men told the town commissioners that we must decline to vote for the issuance of the bonds unless they contained a proviso that the taxes to pay them should be levied exclusively upon land values. The commissioners assured us that if our town should adopt such a method a committee would seek the defeat of the bill before the legislature. That such a committee would succeed, for various reasons, we had no doubt. We therefore said we should resist bonding to the last, and at the town meeting the motion for bonding was defeated, the negative vote being cast for the greater part by those who stood with us. We have thus in a measure put what is called the "George" idea to its first practical issue in Maryland, and our friends in Washington—six miles away—feel satisfied with the result.

J. ——.

A Study of Taxation in New Zealand.

George W. Cole, esq., of Wellington, New Zealand, last year wrote a series of articles for the *Evening Post* of that city exposing the iniquities of the system under which the colony is taxed. The articles have been republished in pamphlet form. Mr. Cole's conclusions, after a review of the facts and figures pertaining to taxation in New Zealand, are (1) that the customs duties should be gradually decreased instead of increased; (2) that some machinery should be devised whereby it should be rendered impossible for exorbitant rents to be charged either in town or country; (3) that the present bona fide cultivators of the soil should be liberated from the grip of the money lender; and (4) that land should be treated altogether apart from other property, and dealt with upon its merits, the value of its unearned increment being made a basis for its taxation—all land being meant, whether of town or country.

A Chicago Lecturer in Canada.

Mr. K. H. Maloney of Chicago has been visiting the old city of Kingston, Canada, on his way from Montreal, where he has spent three months in lecturing and working in the "anti-poverty" cause. He gave a lecture in Kingston on "Anti-poverty and the Rights of Labor," in which he replied to some objections which had recently been advanced to the George theory concerning land—by an able thinker and lecturer, Professor Watson of Queen's university. He also forcibly impressed on his audience—principally composed of workingmen—the great truth, that in order to its true success, the labor movement must be essentially a religious one; that the principle of love—love to God our father and our brother man—is the "very core and essence of Christianity," and must be the core and essence of all true reform. He pointed out the evils of the long hours of labor as tending to keep men away from Sunday services as well as to send them to the saloons after their day of exhausting toil, and showed that only with shortening hours of labor could they be prepared for the more elevating pursuits and recreations which would add so much to the happiness and dignity of their lives. He strongly enforced the need for justice in the hearts of all—that the working man might be freed from many of the influences that now drag him down, freed from the evil in himself, as well as the evil in others—and he pictured in glowing terms the happy state of society when the reign of justice or righteousness shall be general on earth. His audience was evidently a little restive under the enforcement of the religious element, as men are apt to be with anything that goes beyond the material and outward. But truth is truth, and its scattered seeds have a living and germinating power.

Mr. Maloney spent several days in Kingston, and had pleasant intercourse with some of its Christian citizens, including one or two clergymen, in whom he found kind friends, sympathizing with his ardent belief in love as the heart of Christianity, and the motive power of the regeneration of humanity and human society in all its aspects. Only as this principle asserts itself in the hearts of the wealthy and influential, as well as in the hearts of the poor to whom the gospel was first preached, will the perplexing problems of the day find a peaceful and satisfying solution. In Canada, as elsewhere, the professedly Christian conscience needs to be awakened to this truth, and they who can effectually arouse it will do a noble work.

A. M. MEACHAN.

ANTI-POVERTY IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Record of Two Meetings—J. P. Kohler Discusses the Causes of Commercial Depressions—Henry George on "Why I am a Free Trader."

PHILADELPHIA.—The meeting of the anti-poverty society on Sunday, March 11, was presided over by J. C. Frost, one of the most noble, whole-souled, sincere, earnest and energetic men in the city, a man who spares himself no effort and considers no sacrifice too great to make for the sake of his fellow man's welfare. In a few well chosen words he introduced the society's favorite speaker, H. V. Hetzei, who, in his usual straight-forward, forcible way, explained the object of the society and the duties of its members. He said he did not care much about differences in men's creeds so long as they were truly religious and desired to live up to the doctrine inculcated by all creeds, namely, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is impossible to live up to this doctrine under present conditions. It is customary to appeal to sentiment and ask people to obey the golden rule "for God's sake;" but, though "man cannot live by bread alone," yet it is impossible to live without bread, and the struggle for bread is so intense that man is compelled to disregard the brotherhood and will do very little for God's sake. It would be good policy to "love our enemies" and change them into friends, but we cannot.

And why is the struggle for bread so intense? Is there *not* plenty? By the term bread we include food, clothing, houses and everything we need and desire. The only way to get bread is to go to nature. We get everything from land and there is plenty of land. The veriest savage would tell us that land being the gift of nature and not made by anybody, belongs equally to all. We would not go into any society that did not give equal rights and opportunities to all, and yet this is just what our present social system does. It commits the great iniquity of allowing greater rights to land to some people than to others. The theory that upholds equal rights to human products is exploded by merely looking at it. We cannot contribute equally to the aggregate of human products. But nobody contributes to the aggregate of land, so nobody has a greater right to it than anybody else. We don't need to, and we could not, secure this equality by dividing up the land into little strips. We only want to enact a law which will by a tax turn the value of the land into a fund to be used for common purposes. And to this end it is each one's duty to work and act in every way he knows how.

The chairman then made an application of one of Mr. Hetzel's ideas that had a very gratifying effect upon the size of the collection which was then taken.

J. P. Kohler, president of the Brooklyn land and labor club, was introduced as the next speaker. He made a highly interesting address, and one which was very cordially received by the audience. He showed very clearly how rent causes the regularly recurring paroxysms of industrial depression. When business is good rent gradually goes up and up until the crash comes. Rent is something we pay for the mere privilege of working. If a man gets $60 a month wages, and $15 goes for rent, he has $45 left to buy what he needs with. But when rent goes up to $20 he can buy only $40 worth. And so the higher rent goes the less becomes our purchasing capacity.

What does commerce, trade, business and all this great system of the industrial world mean? Only that people want to buy hats and shoes and clothing and houses and many other necessaries and comforts and luxuries. The business man experiences a brisk demand and he turns all his capital into his stock in trade; he borrows on sixty and ninety days, expecting to have sold all his stock before his notes become due. But in the meantime rent has been gradually, but constantly, lessening the community's purchasing power and his notes come due long before he has sold his stock. The bank had discounted his notes, but it could not carry them, and in turn had them discounted in the banks of some commercial center, and there is where the first crash comes. We experience what is called a period of over production, but it is really an under consumption. The markets are glutted, but it is only because the purchasing power of the community has been enormously diminished by rent. Shoes are plenty, but many children run barefoot. Houses are plenty, but many families are huddled into one room.

The consumer is the real employer, and the so-called employer is only an agent. So when consumption is lessened, employment is lessened. And, on the other hand, we are shut out from opportunities by rent.

Nature is one vast store house. Everything is made of earth, and the tendency of everything is to return to earth. A few people appropriate this store house and compel others to deliver a large portion of what they produce before they will allow them access to this store house.

There is no real fight between capital and labor. The real fight is between capital and labor on the one side and the owners of this store house on the other. The latter take everything and give nothing in return.

Temperance will never benefit the laborer. If you should be brought to go naked, you would gain nothing. You might as individuals, but not as a class. Inventions have never benefited labor. If the philosophers of the last century could have foreseen the stupendous increase in the capacity of labor to produce, through inventions and applications of steam and electricity, they would have exclaimed, "O blessed people who shall live in that generation! They will not have to work. They will need only to start their machines and look after them, and can spend all their time in improving the mind and enjoying themselves!" But is it so? The reduction of fares on the New York elevated roads did not benefit the people, for immediately rents in Harlem rose so as to more than swallow up all they saved by the reduction in fares.

And so it is and will be always and everywhere so long as individuals are allowed to take the rent of land. We must stop that. We must learn to know our friends and vote for them and send them to the halls of legislation to change those laws that allow a few to gather in the rents. Vote for your own interests. Don't sell out at any price. When it was proposed in the constitutional convention which sat here one hundred years ago to affix a property qualification of $50 to the elective franchise, Benjamin Franklin said, "Suppose a man should be allowed to vote because he had a donkey worth $50, but when he again came to vote the donkey had died, and the man in consequence would not be allowed to vote, which would have voted on the former occasion, the man or the donkey?" So to-day, when a man sells his vote, it is not he that votes. It is the $2 or the drink of whisky, or whatever he sells his vote for. The speaker urged his hearers to be faithful and not to be discouraged because they were few in number and would be ridiculed by the populace. Christ was hooted, and no doubt would be now, and our end might be achieved in a way we little think of.

The meeting of Sunday, March 18 was a crowded one. President W. J. Atkinson presided and Henry George of New York spoke upon the subject, "Why I am a free trader." He made a ringing free trade speech, leading up to the doctrine of the single tax, which was listened to with close attention and elicited great enthusiasm. After the lecture Mr. George answered questions. Mr. Chambers also entertained the audience with a fine recitation. An anti-poverty choir is now in process of organization.

Steady Work in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal. — Our anti-poverty society shows no abatement in its enthusiasm and is doing good and steady work. Its Sunday evening meetings at Grand Central hall, corner Market and Sixth streets, are attended by intelligent and appreciative audiences, and the hall is generally crowded. At our last meeting Mr. Joseph Leggett delivered an interesting address.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

Henry Robertshaw, Lowell, Mass.—In renewing my subscription to THE STANDARD I wish to express my approval of your course in opposing the running of a presidential candidate. I feel the time will come when Dr. McGlynn will acknowledge it to be another "stroke of genius."

J. B. Northrop, Parkersburg, W. Va.—Believe me a sincere worker in the cause, and in full accord with you regarding the folly of a party ticket unless the democrats take water.

F. J. Smalley, Caledonia, Minn.—I am heartily in accord with your position on the best course to pursue in the coming campaign. It is the stolidity of bigotry which refuses to use a force making in our direction, because it does not seem to be going as far as we wish to. In the education of a tariff campaign the lessons will outrun the teachers, and the popular thought will be prepared to accept the logic of the reasoning which has carried them along, and follow it to its end. Ultimately it will be necessary to organize and "go it alone" for free trade, but this is not "the accepted time."

Land and labor club No. 6, Chicago, Ill.—Resolved, That the manly stand taken by Mr. Henry George meets with our unqualified approval; that we continue to regard him as the leading champion and apostle of the crusade of the land for the people, and desire to express our entire confidence in his patriotism, personal and political purity and ability. M. J. Rowan, president; Edw. Effling, secretary.

Rev. W. P. George, Allendale, N. J.—I need hardly tell you that I am heartily with Henry George in the position he has assumed in respect to not running a separate ticket this fall. If the democratic party decide to go in for free trade and thus adopt our principles, it would surely not be right for us to endeavor to aid those who are squarely opposed to those principles, as the running a third ticket would do. I think Mr. George has assumed a manly Christian attitude in this controversy.

H. B. Brown, Bayshore, L. I.—I am quite of your opinion that the best thing to be done now is to go into the tariff controversy "for all we are worth." In my opinion that is the John the Baptist of the single tax movement, as far as regards national politics.

Lewis Hart, sr., Linn Creek, Mo.—I send remittance for renewal of my subscription to THE STANDARD. We can't get along without it. If it were not for it I don't see how we could carry on our young anti-poverty society at all. Last Sunday my two daughters, Sidney and Idele, recited "Citicus and Rusticus" to an appreciative audience, and this, together with the reading of different articles from THE STANDARD, and extracts from "Progress and Poverty," constituted the chief and most interesting portion of our programme. We are getting the protectionists well stirred up in this vicinity. The single tax theory is gaining ground every day. We fully indorse the stand taken by you on the national campaign question. We consider half a loaf better than no bread at all, and will thankfully accept it if we can do no better. Please accept my best wishes for the success of that most fearless and uncompromising advocate of justice, THE STANDARD.

John Rogers, Perry, Ia.—Reading the various letters in THE STANDARD regarding a presidential nomination I was at first inclined to favor an independent candidate, but I have changed my opinion since.

John J. Cogan, Stapleton, S. I.—The united labor party here will send a delegate to the Cincinnati conference. With a few exceptions we are in favor of standing by the Syracuse platform, which we think contains national issues enough for a national canvass, among which are, governmental control of railroads, telegraph and the issuing of money exclusively by the government. While we do not question the sincerity of the motives by which the writers on your paper are actuated, we feel sorry to see the position they have taken. If the prohibition party had taken the same stand they would never have entered the national canvass.

Anti-Povertyite No. 248, New York City.—There are a great many of the rank and file who would like to know what in the name of common sense the anti-poverty society—as a society—has got to do with the question of nominating a presidential candidate? I became a member of that society in the belief that its principles were ethical and not political; that it had raised the banner of a new crusade for the sole purpose of enlightening the people by word of mouth and the publication of its literature as to the real cause of poverty in their midst, leaving them to take political action, when they see fit, to abolish it. But it now seems to me as if I must have been mistaken, hence the question I desire to ask is: Has the anti-poverty society been side tracked, or has it become a political propaganda?

BLEEDING THE BUILDERS.

How Patent and Tariff Laws Built Up the Wood Screw Monopoly.

New York Times.

For some years the manufacture of wood screws (such screws as are used in wood) in this country was monopolized by the American screw company of Providence, which controlled the industry and the home market by means of patented machinery and a high tariff on foreign screws. The profits of the company were very great. The value of its shares rose to extraordinary figures. The patented machinery was also used by a manufacturing firm in England, and when the monopolists here had raised their prices to the top of the tariff barrier and desired to raise them still higher without suffering from foreign competition, they hired this English firm to keep its goods out of the American market. The firm's factories were in Birmingham, and the most prominent member of it was the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who recently visited this country as a commissioner empowered to negotiate a fisheries treaty. Concerning this subsidy we have his testimony. On Nov. 12, 1885, Mr. Chamberlain made a speech at Birmingham, in the course of which he undertook to show from his own experience in business how a high protective tariff may enable rings of monopolists to extort burdensome taxes from consumers. His remarks were reported by the London *Standard* as follows:

At that time the Americans put a duty of one hundred per cent on screws, and in spite of that his firm sent these articles to America in large quantities. The result was that the American manufacturers came over here and said: "We are making one hundred per cent on capital; if you continue to send screws to America we shall, of course, be obliged to reduce our prices. That will shut you out, but it will reduce our profits, which will not be good for either of us. Let us therefore make a bargain; we will pay you so much a year to sit still and not send a screw to America." Well, they did it, and his firm received a handsome income for years from the American manufacturers, protected, as they were, by the folly and stupidity of protectionist legislation, to sit still and not send screws to America.

Mr. Chamberlain did not say how much had been paid to his firm, but the subsidy was afterward reported to have been £35,000 a year. When the patents ran out one of the monopoly's supports was removed, and prices fell. The manufacturers continued to enjoy, however, the advantages of a high tariff. The reports of the treasury department are misleading as to the ad valorem rates, which are the equivalents of the specific rates on wood screws. The ad valorem rate as published is calculated upon the very small quantities of some one size which are imported. The duties are practically prohibitory. The rate on screws 2 inches or more in length is 6 cents a pound, and last year the value of such screws imported was only $9.40. On screws from 1 inch to 2 inches in length it is 8 cents a pound, and the value of importations was only $107.40. Ten cents is the rate on screws from ¼ inch to 1 inch long, and the value of such screws imported was $2,173. The equivalent ad valorem rates are very high. Two years ago there was published a carefully prepared tabulated statement showing that the rates, as applied to the current price lists of English screws from 1 to 2 inches long, ranged from 104 to 174 per cent.

Mr. Randall's bill would raise these rates. The Mills bill would reduce them by substituting for the pound rates an ad valorem rate of thirty-five per cent.

We do not know that the competition in the manufacture and sale of wood screws is prevented at present in this country by a monopoly or a ring of producers. Since the patents expired conditions have changed. But any review of attempts to kill competition and exact extraordinary prices by rings in the United States would be incomplete if it should contain no reference to this wood screw job by which for years the building trade and all consumers were subjected to a heavy and unjust tax. The greed and ingratitude of manufacturers protected twice by the favor of the people—once by patents and again by very high tariff rates—were never more clearly shown, for, not satisfied with the great profits gained by keeping prices as high as exceptionally high duties would permit them to be carried, they virtually raised the tariff and obtained room for further exactions by subsidizing the only foreign producer who could compete with them after the tariff barrier had been passed.

Preaching the Gospel Unconsciously.

WHEELING, W. Va., Feb. 29.—A convention composed of the land owning classes of the state has organized what is to be known as the "West Virginia state development association." And their object, as stated in the resolutions adopted by the convention is the encouragement of immigation to the state, and of course boom up land values.

Among the leading speakers at the convention were Stephen B. Elkins and Henry G. Davis, who as usual delivered long addresses of statistical gush showing the many natural advantages of the state, and explaining in their characteristic way the great increase in value of the land that would result from its development. And the speaker dwelt at some length on the prosperous condition of the working classes.

At the conclusion of Mr. Davis' address, ex-Governor Pierpoint, a leading republican of the state, addressed the convention, and unconsciously advocated the principles embodied in the Syracuse platform. In the course of his remarks in answering Mr. Davis, Mr. Pierpoint said: "I do not wish to be understood as doubting the wisdom of developing our state. . . . But it seems to me that in view of the great rise in land values of this state to result from its development, that it should be the duty of the state to adopt a system of taxation by which all this unearned increment could be used for public purposes." It is hardly necessary to state that the governor's remarks created quite a sensation, as coming from a source entirely unexpected, and it is very evident that the governor himself didn't know where the logic of his remarks would lead him to. And so the cause moves on. Davis, Elkins & Co. are known as the "lords" of Mineral county, and are the owners of several thousand acres of land in the state. Operators of coal mines pay their men off in checks payable at their bank at Piedmont, a distance of forty miles from the mines, and in order for a miner to get his check cashed he must pay Davis, Elkins & Co. $2.80 to travel to Piedmont over their railroad.

JOHN L. FRANK.

A Little Mixed.

New York Sanitary Era.

"The principal legislative measure proposed by the united labor party is the shifting of all taxes from products of labor to land values. Products of labor, being produced by the individual, it is confiscation to take them away from him; land values, being produced by the community as a whole, it is confiscation to take them away from the community." So says Henry George; as if any kind of property, in general, owed more of its value to individual labor than does land, or as if the value of every other "product of labor" were not equally dependent on "the community" and its growth, with that of land. Land, minerals, woods and the whole creation are alike raw materials, dependent on the reciprocal action of individual labor and community demand for their development to marketable value as property. Even where unimproved real estate is most valuable from its situation in business centers, its extra value depends on potential and anticipated improvement, which is entirely a "product of labor." City values are simply a grand condensation of labor of all kinds, from all the world. Mr. George's talk reminds us of a bright, shallow, babbling stream—only there is no health or refreshment in it. It is contaminated with but too lucid and soluble poison.

If Two Hundred Millionaires Prove a City's Prosperity, What Will Two Hundred Paupers Do?

Chicago Herald Interview with a Real Estate Dealer.

More lots have been sold in Chicago during February than any four winter weeks since 1868. There are millions to be invested; Chicago does not contain a congregation of paupers as it did in 1873, the time of the panic. The thousand big business houses now in the center of the city, bringing in millions of money, are mostly free from debt. The enormous rental from the buildings they occupy does not go east any longer; it stays here; it is being used in enriching and improving Chicago, not New York, Boston, Philadelphia or Hartford. Real estate will not depreciate in value here, for the best reason in the world—there is too much wealth here. In 1874 there were not a dozen men in this city that could truthfully write the word "millionaire" over their names. To-day there are 200 who can do it, and many who can prefix the numerals five, ten and even twenty. In 1874 many of them were respectable paupers; the city was, financially, a ruin; to-day evidence of the vast wealth of our citizens is to be seen on every side. Now, as to the business of our firm, I will say that we are buying all the acres we can get. The more the better, for if a boom does strike us we want to be in the path and catch it.

Beginning to See It.

Brooklyn Weekly Press.

We are blessed with a dog-in-the-manger property owner, who recently has held his corner lot at a valuation that no one could pay. A short time ago this man was offered the price he set on the lot when he refused to let it go for less than an additional thousand. The other day the same would-be purchaser approached, intent on buying the corner even at the thousand advance, but was told the price to him had gone still further—another thousand. What a fraud! Here comes a builder desirous of improving the corner, and who would put to work probably thirty or forty mechanics, at the same time circulating capital that is now lying idle, but is forced to desist on account of the hog who will neither build himself nor allow another to do so. The owner is a carbuncle on progress.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

Mrs. John H. Sherwood, in the New York *Sun*, gives some advice to young men, prefacing it by the following bit of kindly encouragement:

The young men of our free country, no matter how humble their station, should study manner, and proper dress, and proper courtesy, for there is no knowing where they will land as they climb the hill of life.

Here is some of Mrs. Sherwood's advice:

A young man should lose no opportunity, no matter how busy he is, to improve himself. There is a fine education in pictures and works of art. He should read and study in his leisure hours and frequent the museums and picture galleries. He will thus have pleasant topics of conversation for his evening call or at the dinner table.

If he has some accomplishment, if he can sing a good song, has a pleasant faculty for private theatricals, a neat trick at elocution, and especially if he be a good dancer, he is very much helped along. However, if he be intelligent and well mannered he gets on without any of these helps. But they are, undoubtedly, an assistance. This is a working age that we live in, and we are all expected to do our part of the work. It is even urged that it is a feature of the nineteenth century that a young man of fashion must have a specialty. It is said to be not enough in America that he is a gentleman. "He must be a hunting man, a dancing man, a private theatrical man, a reading man, an artistic man, a dog man or a musical man." That is a fixed idea on which society is said to be impaled. He must not be a colorless receptive individual, under $50,000 a year; that is the lowest figure at which a man can confess himself without a taste.

In an evening visit he should always be in full evening dress—black dress coat, vest, and trousers, faultless linen, and a white cravat. A black cravat is permissible, except at dinner. He may carry his hat and gloves in his hand. As giving him something to hold, a cane also is a great help to a shy man. His feet should be in low shoes and silk stockings if he wishes to be very nice. This is not indispensable except for dancing, but it is very becoming. A white cravat is indispensable for dinner or ball. No jewelry of any kind excepting shirt studs and rings. The hand should be especially cared for. No matter how big and red and masculine it is, if it is clean; the nails beautifully cut and trimmed. Like Lord Byron's, if possible, "a rose leaf, with half a moon in it," such should be his nails. If he is asked to form a theater party, he must be punctual, in full dress, taking any place his hostess may offer him. He must not ask to be allowed to send a carriage or to pay for his ticket; his hostess does all that. In this eastern and western etiquette are at variance. We are speaking of New York city and the east.

But if he wishes to give a theater party he must furnish everything, and ask some well known lady to chaperone his party. He must ask her permission that his party may rendezvous at her house; he must send a chartered omnibus or carriages for the whole party, he having previously bought the tickets. He must then invite the party to sup with him at Delmonico's or the Brunswick. This is a favorite and proper manner in which a young man can return the civilities offered to him.

If a young man can afford to keep a tilbury or a dog cart and fine horses, so much the better for him. He is then fitted to ask a young woman to drive, if her mamma consents. But a servant should always sit behind. That is indispensable, and the whole establishment should be quietly elegant.

You See, the Mortgagee Gets the Profit on the Building, But Mr. Potter Takes the Profit on the Land.

New York Cor. Chicago Herald.

Several excessively rich men in New York are getting richer by going tremendously into debt. Next to Grace church, on Broadway, a handsome building of pressed yellow brick is nearly done. It is owned by Orlando B. Potter. Its cost, with the ground, will be something like $1,500,000. I was watching the workmen as they were hoisting a tile into place when a prominent real estate man approached me.

"Do you know that that building is mortgaged for about half its value?" he asked me.

I replied that I had not any information upon the subject.

"Well, it is," he said, "and what is more striking is that the most of Potter's property is in the same condition. He owns a large amount of real estate in this city. In fact, if all the property that stands in his name was entirely free and unincumbered his wealth would be colossal. Nevertheless, his head is very level, and you may be sure he would not be putting up new buildings and then putting mortgages on them unless it paid to do it."

"Do you mean that the mortgages pay him?" I inquired, astonished.

"That is just exactly what I mean," replied the real estate man, smiling. "I thought that my assertion would surprise you, but, to tell the truth, there is nothing remarkable about it at all. Business men in this city do it right along. Their plan is very simple, and requires only one thing. That is good credit. Take the Potter building at Park row and Beekman streets as an example. The ground there cost $1,000,000, and the structure cost as much more. Potter found the opportunity to put up an office building in one of the best locations down town. He could have gone ahead without any difficulty and have paid the entire cost, but he saw a scheme worth two like that. He borrowed what money he could on first mortgages. In that instance it was $600,000. He borrowed it as a small interest, because he was financially solid himself and because the security, being a fire proof building, was the very best. Now all he has to do is to pay that small interest. His income from the building is very large, something like ten per cent net, and so he is not only making a handsome return on the money he has personally invested, but also on the money he has borrowed. In fact, the less of his own money he has invested in the building the more profit he will make, for he can keep on starting buildings with his own capital and use other people's money to keep them running. By having his own money free he can at the same time be secure at all times if anything unforeseen should occur. Mr. Potter is engaged in this business probably to a greater extent than any other man, for he has buildings throughout the busy parts of New York; but there are many others who imitate him. It requires shrewdness and a keen insight into the value of a location. The same thing applies, of course, to private residences, and many builders who are now prominent have made their money on the same plan that Potter is now pursuing.

Why This Distinction Between Pensioners?

Philadelphia Record.

The soldiers who have dearly earned the pensions they ask for are not solicited to go to Washington and help congress to fix upon the amount they shall receive. But a great outcry has been raised by protectionist congressmen at Washington because the committee on ways and means does not ask the advice of bounty fed interests as to the amount of bounty which shall be paid to them. If legislation is to be determined by the lobby, and what is for the public interest ascertained by consulting the people who get money from the government rather than the tax payers who furnish the money to the government, it would be a thousand times better to let the soldiers fix the amount of their own pensions than to let the "trusts" and other tariff nourished monopolies fix the amount of their bounties. The soldiers are not insensible to the burdens of taxation, and know when they have enough. The tariff infant is as greedy after a hundred years of nursing at the public teat as on the first day he took hold of it.

If.

Philadelphia Times.

This beginning of an investigation has therefore resulted in a practical demonstration that the sugar trust exists, that it is levying a tribute of twice its real capital yearly upon the sugar consumers, and that it defies law, legislatures, courts and public sentiment to prevent its exactions. If congress would abolish the duty on refined sugar, the sugar trust would be a little less defiant and Tweedlike.

LOOSE LAND TENURE.

James Love of Burlington, Iowa, sends to THE STANDARD the prospectus of a real estate title insurance company recently established in a northwestern city, together with a pamphlet issued by the society designed to illustrate the insecurity of land tenure under existing laws. This insecurity is dwelt upon in the prospectus, which declares that "few titles are absolutely perfect," and that these imperfections "jeopardize the peaceable possession and ready transfer of real estate." The insurance company offers to guarantee the title to any property, subject to the conditions set forth in the deeds, but does not insure against the tenancy of personal occupants, rights of the public in streets not recorded or taxes and assessments not payable at the time the policy is issued. These are wise and prudent reservations, since, morally, actual occupants and the public are the only persons having any right to land.

Insurance companies of this kind are rapidly springing up in all parts of the country, and their existence offers a significant commentary on the questionable source of such titles, and the lack of any moral standard for determining the rightfulness of claims to the ownership of land. Such moral standards are easily found for determining disputes as to the ownership of all property created by human effort, and the offer of a corporation to insure to men their title to their coats or hats would be met with derision. The very reason for the existence of land title insurance companies is found in the fact that land titles are entirely arbitrary and technical, having their origin solely in law and not in natural right, and that therefore no man can be sure whether he owns land or not, even the sense of security given by the law of adverse possession often proving fallacious.

Under the single tax system land tenure would be much more secure than it now is. "Actual possession," which the prospectus quoted declares "is often a valuable feature in the protection of a title," would soon become the only title so long as the taxes due to the community were paid; and the contingency of non-payment of taxes now exists and is one against which even the title insurance companies refuse to insure. Musty title deeds would lose their value, and the records of centuries would not have to be ransacked to ascertain the right of a man to continue to occupy a home acquired by the proceeds of his own labor. Furthermore, considerations of justice would prevail in the settlement of all disputes, and we should see nothing of that ruthless sacrifice of the rights of "innocent third parties," so common in the decision of suits about land titles, but about which we hear such an outcry whenever any proposal is made for the recovery of property stolen from the public and transferred to others by the original thieves. Under the single tax system, carried to its legitimate conclusion, there could not arise any such game of chance as is described in the pamphlet sent out by the insurance company under consideration. The story was briefly told in an early issue of THE STANDARD, but those who remember it will not object to having it given more fully. It is as follows:

THE HISTORY OF A TITLE.

Of the locality of the parcel of real estate, the history of the title of which it is proposed to relate, it may be sufficient to say that it lies in Boston within the limits of the territory ravaged by the great fire of November 9 and 10, 1872. In 1859 this parcel of land was in the undisturbed possession of Mr. William Ingalls, who referred his title to it to the will of his father, Mr. Thomas Ingalls, who died in 1830. Mr. Ingalls, the elder, had been a very wealthy citizen of Boston; and when he made his will, a few years before his death, he owned this one parcel of real estate worth about $50,000, and possessed, in addition, personal property to the amount of between $200,000 and $300,000. By his will he specifically devised this parcel of land to his wife for life, and upon her death to his only child, the William Ingalls before mentioned, in fee, to whom, after directing his executor to pay to two nephews, William and Arthur Jones, the sum of $25,000 each, he gave also the large residue of his property. After the date of his will, however, Mr. Thomas Ingalls engaged in some unfortunate speculations, and upon the settlement of his estate the personal property proved to be barely sufficient for the payment of his debts, and the nephews got no portion of their legacies. The real estate, however, afforded to the widow a comfortable income, which enabled her during her life to support herself in a respectable manner. Upon her death, in 1845, the son entered into possession of the estate, which had gradually increased in value; and he had been enjoying for fifteen years a handsome income derived therefrom, when he was one day surprised to hear that the two cousins whom his father had benevolently remembered in his will had advanced a claim that this real estate should be sold by his father's executor and the proceeds applied to the payment of their legacies. This claim, now first made thirty years after the death of his father, was of course a great surprise to Mr. Ingalls. He had entertained the popular idea that twenty years' possession effectually cut off all claims. Here, however, were parties, after thirty years' undisputed possession by his mother and himself, setting up in 1860 a claim arising out of the will of his father, that will having been proved in 1830. Nor had Mr. Ingalls ever dreamed that the legacies given to his cousins could in any way have precedence over the specific devise of the parcel of real estate to himself. It was, as a matter of common sense, so clear that his father had intended by his will, first to provide for his wife and son, and then to make a generous gift out of the residue of his estate to his nephews, that during the thirty years that had elapsed since his death it had never occurred to any one to suggest any other disposal of the property than that which had been actually made. Upon consulting with counsel, however, Mr. Ingalls learned that although the time within which most actions might be brought was limited to a specified number of years, there was no such limitation affecting the bringing of an action to recover a legacy. See Mass. Gen. St., c. 97, sec. 22; Kent v. Dunham, 106 Mass., 586, 591; Brooks v. Lynde, 7 Allen, 64, 66. He also learned that as his father's will gave him, after his mother's death, the same estate that he would have taken by inheritance had there been no will, the law looked upon the devise to him as void, and deemed him to have taken the estate by descent. What he had supposed to be a specific devise of the estate to him was then a void devise, or no devise at all; and his parcel of real estate, being in the eye of the law simply a part of an undevised residue, was of course liable to be sold for the payment of the legacies contained in his father's will. It was assets which the executor was bound to apply to that purpose. This exact point had been determined in the then recent case of Ellis v. Page, 7 Cush., 161; and Mr. Ingalls was finally compelled to see the estate, the undisputed possession of which he had enjoyed for so many years, sold at auction by the executor of his father's will for $135,000, not quite enough to pay the legacies to his cousins, which legacies, with interest from the expiration of one year after the testator's death, amounted at the time of the sale in 1862 to $143,000. The Messrs. Jones themselves purchased the estate at the sale, deeming the purchase a good investment of the amount of their legacies, and Mr. Ingalls instituted a system of stricter economy in his domestic expenses, and pondered much on the uncertainty of the law and the mutability of human affairs.

By one of those curious coincidences which so often occur, Messrs. William and Arthur Jones had scarcely begun to enjoy the increased supply of pocket money afforded them by the rents of their newly acquired property when they each received one morning a summons to appear before the justices of the superior court, "to answer unto John Rogers in a writ of entry," the premises described in the writ being their newly acquired estate.

The Messrs. Jones were at first rather startled by this unexpected proceeding; but as they had, when they received their deed from Mr. Ingalls's executor, taken the precaution to have the title to their estate examined by a conveyancer, who had reported that he had carried his examination as far back as the beginning of the century, and had found the title perfectly clear and correct, they took courage and waited for further developments. It was not long, however, before the facts upon which the writ of entry had been founded were made known. It appeared that for some time prior to 1750 the estate had belonged to one John Buttolph, who died in that year, leaving a will in which he devised the estate "to my brother Thomas, and if he should die without issue, then I give the same to my brother William." Thomas Buttolph had held the estate until 1775, when he died, leaving an only daughter, Mary, at that time the wife of Timothy Rogers. Mrs. Rogers held the estate until 1790, when she died, leaving two sons and a daughter. This estate she devised to her daughter, who subsequently, in 1800, conveyed it to Mr. Thomas Ingalls, before mentioned. Peter Rogers, the oldest son of Mrs. Rogers, was a non-compos, but lived until the year 1854, when he died at the age of 75. He left no children, having never been married. John Rogers, the demandant in the writ of entry, was the eldest son of John Rogers, the second son of Mrs. Mary Rogers, and the title set up by him was substantially as follows: He claimed that under the decision in Hayward v. Howe, 12 Gray, 49, the will of John Buttolph had given to Thomas Buttolph an estate tail, the law construing the intention of the testator to have been that the estate should belong to Thomas Buttolph and to his issue as long as such issue should exist, but that upon the failure of such issue, whenever such failure might occur, whether at the death of Thomas or at any subsequent time, the estate should go to William Buttolph. It had also been decided in Corbin v. Healy, 20 Pick., 514, 516, that an estate tail does not descend in Massachusetts, like other real estate, to all the children of the deceased owner, in equal shares, but according to the old English rule, exclusively to the oldest son, if any, and to the daughters only in default of any son; and it had been further decided in Hall v. Priest, 6 Gray, 18, 24, that an estate tail cannot be devised or in any way affected by the will of a tenant in tail. Mr. John Rogers claimed then that the estate tail given by the will of John Buttolph to Thomas Buttolph had descended at the death of Thomas to his only child, Mary Rogers; that at her death, instead of passing, as had been supposed at the time, by virtue of her will, to her daughter, that will had been wholly without effect upon the estate, which had, in fact, descended to her oldest son, Peter Rogers. Peter Rogers had indeed been disseized in 1800, if not before, by the acts of his sister in taking possession of and conveying away the estate; but as he was a non compos during the whole of his long life, the statute of limitations did not begin to run against him, and his heir in tail, namely, John Rogers, the oldest son of his then deceased brother, John, was allowed by Mass. Gen. Stat., chap. 154, sec. 5, ten years after his uncle Peter's death, within which to bring his action. As these ten years did not expire until 1854, this action, brought in 1863, was seasonably commenced; and it was prosecuted with success, judgment in his favor having been recovered by John Rogers in 1865.

The case of Rogers v. Jones was naturally a subject of remark among the legal profession; and it happened to occur to one of the younger members of that profession that it would be well to improve some of his idle moments by studying up the facts of this case in the Suffolk registries of deeds and of probate. Curiosity prompted this gentleman to extend the investigation beyond the facts directly involved in the case, and to trace the title of Mr. John Buttolph back to an earlier date. He found that Mr. Buttolph had purchased the estate in 1720 of one Hosea Johnson, to whom it had been conveyed in 1710 by Benjamin Parsons. The deed from Parsons to Johnson, however, conveyed the land to Johnson simply, without any mention of his "heirs;" and the young lawyer having recently read the case of Buffum v. Hutchinson, 1 Allen, 58, perceived that Johnson took under this deed only a life estate in the granted premises, and that at his death the premises reverted to Parsons or his heirs. The young lawyer, being of an enterprising spirit, thought it would be well to follow out the investigation suggested by his discovery. He found, to his surprise, that Hosea Johnson did not die until 1785, the estate having, in fact, been purchased by him for a residence when he was twenty-one years of age and about to be married. He had lived upon it for twenty years, but had then moved his residence to another part of the city, and sold the estate, as we have seen, to Mr. Buttolph. When Mr. Johnson died, in 1786, at the age of ninety-seven, it chanced that the sole party entitled to the reversion, as heir of Benjamin Parsons, was a young woman, his granddaughter, aged eighteen, and just married. This young lady and her husband lived, as sometimes happens, to celebrate their diamond wedding, in 1861, but died during that year. As she had been under the legal disability of coverture from the time when her right of entry upon the estate, as heir of Benjamin Parsons, first accrued, at the termination of Johnson's life estate, the provisions of the statutes of limitations, before cited, gave her heirs ten years after her death within which to bring their action. These heirs proved to be three or four people of small means residing in remote parts of the United States. What arrangements the young lawyer made with these parties and also with a Mr. John Smith, a speculating moneyed man of Boston, who was supposed to have furnished certain necessary funds, he was wise enough to keep carefully to himself. Suffice it to say that in 1869 an action was brought by the heirs of Benjamin Parsons to recover from Rogers the land which he had just recovered from William and Arthur Jones. In this action the plaintiffs were successful, and they had no sooner been put in formal possession of the estate than they conveyed it, now worth a couple of hundred thousand dollars, to the aforesaid John Smith, who was popularly supposed to have obtained in this case, as he usually did in all financial operations in which he was concerned, the lion's share of the plunder. The Parsons heirs probably realized very little from the results of the suit, but the young lawyer obtained sufficient to establish him as a brilliant speculator in suburban lands, second mortgages and patent rights. Mr. Smith had been but a short time in possession of his new estate when the great fire of November, 1872, swept over it. He was, however, a most energetic citizen, and the ruins were not cold before he was at work rebuilding. He bought an adjoining lot in order to increase the size of his estate, the whole of which was soon covered by an elegant block, conspicuous on the front of which may now be seen his initials, "J. S.," cut in the stone.

While the estate which had once belonged to Mr. William Ingalls was passing from one person to another in the bewildering manner we have endeavored to describe, Mr. Ingalls had himself, for a time, looked on in amazement. It finally occurred to him, however, that he would go to the root of this matter of title. He employed a skillful conveyancer to trace the title back, if possible, to the book of possessions. The result of this investigation was that it appeared that the parcel which he had himself owned, together with the additional parcel bought and added to it by Smith, had in 1643 or 1644, when the book of possessions was compiled, constituted one parcel, which was then the "possession" of one "Madid Engle," who subsequently, in 1660, under the name of "Mauditt Engles," conveyed it to John Vergoose, on the express condition that no building should ever be erected on a certain portion of the rear of the premises conveyed. Now it had so happened that this portion of these premises had never been built upon before the great fire, but Mr. Smith's new buildings had covered the whole of the forbidden ground. It was evident, then, that the condition had been broken; that the breach had occurred so recently that the right to enforce a forfeiture was not barred by the statute, and could not be deemed to have been waived by any neglect or delay; and that consequently, under the decision in Grey v. Blanchard, 8 Pick., 284, a forfeiture of the estate for breach of condition could now be enforced if the true parties entitled by descent and by residuary devises under the original "Engle" or "Engles" could only be found. It occurred to Mr. Ingalls, however, that the name, "Engles," bore a certain similarity in sound to his own; and as he had heard that during the early years after the settlement of this country great changes in the spelling of names had been brought about, he instituted an inquiry into his own genealogy, the result of which was, in brief, that he found he could prove himself to be the identical person entitled, as heir of Madid Engle, to enforce, for breach of the condition in the old deed of 1660, the forfeiture of the estate now in the possession of John Smith.

When Mr. Smith heard of these facts he felt that a retributive Nemesis was pursuing him. He lost the usual pluck and bulldog determination with which he had been accustomed to fight at the law all claims against him, whether just or unjust. He consulted the spirits, and they rapped out the answer that he must make the best settlement he could with Mr. Ingalls, or he would infallibly lose all his fine estate—not only that part which Mr. Ingalls had originally held, and which he had obtained for almost nothing from the heirs of Benjamin Parsons—but also the adjoining parcel, for which he had paid its full value, together with the elegant building which he had erected at a cost exceeding the whole value of the land. Mr. Smith believed in the spirits; they had made a lucky guess once in answering an inquiry from him; he was getting old; he had worked like a steam engine during a long and busy life, but now his health and his digestion were giving out; and when the news of Mr. Ingalls's claim reached his ears he became, in a word, demoralized. He instructed his lawyer to make the best settlement of the matter that he could, and a settlement was soon effected by which the whole of Mr. Smith's parcel of land in the burnt district was conveyed to Mr. Ingalls, who gave back to Mr. Smith a mortgage for the whole amount which the latter had expended in the erection of his building, together with what he had paid for the parcel added by him to the original lot. Mr. Smith, not liking to have anything to remind him of his one unfortunate speculation, soon sold and assigned this mortgage to the Massachusetts hospital life insurance company; and as the well-known counsel of that institution has now examined and passed the title, we may presume that there are in it no more flaws remaining to be discovered.

In conclusion, we may say that Mr. William Ingalls, after having been for some ten years a reviler of the law, especially of that portion of it which relates to the title to real estate, is now inclined to look more complacently upon it, being again in undisturbed and undisputed possession of his old estate, now worth much more than before, and in the receipt therefrom of an ample income which will enable him to pass the remainder of his days in comfort, if not in luxury. But, though Mr. Ingalls is content with the final result of the history of his title, those lawyers who are known as "conveyancers" are by no means happy when they contemplate that history, for it has tended to impress upon them how full of pitfalls is the ground upon which they are accustomed to tread, and how extensive is the knowledge and how great the care required of all who travel over it; and they now look more disgusted than ever when, as so often happens, they are requested to "just step over" to the registry and "look down" a title; and are informed that the title is a very simple one, and will only take a few minutes; and that So-and so, "a very careful man," did it in less than half an hour last year and found it all right, and that his charge was $5.

Our Father Sees.

Untended and unseen,
Within a rock's rough crack a flower grew;
No life was in the rock-dust poor and mean,
It withered—why it sprouted no one knew.

Neglected and bereft
Of tender care, a little child was left;
The crowd of love was bare—the wee one fell,
Why it came here to suffer, none could tell.

The small green leaf
Cheered one poor bird in its long, lonely flight;
The child life brief
Touched one brave heart ere twilight changed to night;
The bird took wing and flew to endless light,
And Greatheart gained new strength to war for right.

A. SKLIBA.

Yes, But It Doesn't Affect the Same Million.

Amsterdam, N. Y., Labor Stage.

Mr. Halstead is said to be "dead against the scheme of government telegraphy," whose leading proposition, he says, is to tax 59,000,000 of the people of the United States for the benefit of the sixtieth million. On the same ground Mr. Halstead ought to be dead against the scheme of protection, whose only proposition is to the same effect.

Every obstruction to a free exchange of commodities is born of the same narrow and despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce. Every obstruction to commerce is a tax on consumption. Every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and protection and promotes civilization.—SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN.

THE ADEQUACY OF THE SINGLE TAX ON LAND VALUES.

Thoughts Evoked by a Purely Abstract Consideration of Some of the Conditions Growing Out of the Application of the "Single Tax on Land Values" Proposed by Henry George.

NEW YORK.—A careful reader of THE STANDARD, and in constant communication with many co-believers in the "remedy" proposed by Mr. George, I have, however, noticed that while its justice is unquestioned, the adequacy of the tax to meet social wants is a matter of grave concern to many minds, some holding that the revenue therefrom will fall far short of, while others claim it will vastly exceed, the actual amount needed for public wants.

I have often fancied that the discussion of this question has proceeded along the line of concrete consideration to the almost entire ignoring of the fact that this is a proposition capable of abstract proof.

The attempt to handle a demonstrable abstract truth by adjusting and explaining the perturbing influences that enter into its practical application will always produce a degree of mental confusion and incertitude from which extrication is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible, no matter how brightly the discerning, co-ordinating and eliminating processes of the mind may irradiate the subject, and irrespective of the fact that the individual may bring to his aid the principles of social ethics, philanthropy, religious and political precedent, the doubt will still remain as to whether it may not be "better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of."

Louis F. Post's reply to an inquirer who desired certain information without giving adequate data, "Why don't you ask me the length of a clothes line, and I will answer it as easily?" is suggestive of the turgid condition of men's minds while trying to satisfy themselves by a concrete consideration of social phenomena.

Every circumstance or event is but the effect of antecedent causation, and the environment in which we find ourselves now is merely the resultant condition of the operation of causative processes through long ages, and which are, except in general principles, to-day unrecognizable.

If, then, it is possible to consider a supposed truth in the light of a pure abstraction, as we would geometrical propositions or algebraic problems, the logical mind obtains a relief and composure that gives it the courage of its convictions, and arms it with an irresistible power against its adversaries.

Pure, as distinguished from applied mathematics, deals with qualities and quantities in the abstract. It treats of magnitudes and numbers that are continually undenominational. It is speaks of points, lines, surfaces and solids, and their relations to numbers, its truths are applicable in practice, whether fields or houses, coal mines or ships, lunar eclipses or tramways, are to be considered.

In this light let us advance to a contemplation of one of the resultant conditions of the application of the single tax on land values, viz.: the qualitative amount of revenue to be derived therefrom. This question has provoked much discussion, and varying opinions are entertained by George's followers, with the preponderance in favor of the belief that the revenue will be largely in excess of public wants.

Theorem: The single tax on land values as proposed by Henry George will be neither more nor less than absolutely adequate to provide for social wants.

As in all sciences, so in social economy, the necessity exists for an exhaustive and never varying definition of terms. We must, therefore, explain what we mean by the terms land values and social wants and adhere strictly to our meaning.

Land values are certain values which land acquires as a result of the progression of society from the indefinite, incoherent condition of primitive homogeneity to the increasingly definite and coherent heterogeneity that marks each successive step of the progress, and which may be lessened or lost by a retrogression. (Land being understood to mean the whole available material universe, as well as natural forces external to man himself.)

Social wants are to be considered as dual in their nature; and comprising requirements (based on common necessities) and conveniences (based on common desires), and are the result of the same progress of society as stated in preceding paragraphs, and may be lessened or lost in the same manner. (Note that requirements must, while conveniences may, arise.)

These definitions *may* be considered as basic axioms of the economic science, but *must* be accepted as necessary postulates. The correlation, therefore, of land values and social wants is at once apparent, as both are the effects of the same causes acting in parallel lines, or at least in the same general direction, and the measure of their growth of necessity relative (if not proportional), although the adequacy of the first to meet the second may not at once be patent to the mind not trained to think in principles and make intuitive leaps. It will, therefore be necessary to bridge the chasm and perfect a syllogism.

The extremes of mathematical parallelism are the tangent lines at diametrically opposite points to a circle whose radius is infinity, and the coincidence of the tangents when the radius is reduced to zero. If, therefore, we can reduce the distance between the two lines on which land values and social wants progress to zero, fix their beginning at the same point, and equalize the ratio of advances, we will have the quod erat demonstrandum.

To fully accomplish this we must enunciate other axioms or postulates, the first of which is that the standard of measure of land values is the same as that of social wants. In other words, the value of the opportunity is paid for (no matter who pays it or who receives it, the ethics of the subject having no place in this discussion) in the same currency in which the community pays for the satisfaction of its social wants. Human labor is the medium, and the unit of value in exchange the standard.

The next axioms or postulates that must be brought forward are the facts that increase of land values produces an increment of social wealth (without any respect to the increase or decrease of individual wealth which may be affected by disturbing influences of arbitrary social adjustments) and that a measurable decrement of social wealth is effected by the dissipation of the same to satisfy social wants.

The question, then, is to prove the equivalence of this increment and decrement in an hypothetical condition of society where progression is normal, *i. e.*, unaffected by arbitrary social or individual interference, and the coincidence of the lines becomes apparent.

Force acts on the line of the least resistance. Man strives to gratify his desires by the least exertion. The dynamic and economic laws are the same.

Without society there are no social wants or land values. The initial point in the progress of formation of men into society is common therefore to the growth of both, the opportunities at once becoming of value, and the need of social adjustments arising.

As man will not consent to pay (to meet social requirements) more for the opportunity than the excess of what he can produce over and above his self-employment at a valueless opportunity, but being gregarious in his nature will consent to do that much, with a strong probability of his willingness to pay an extra amount for social conveniences, the value of the opportunity is measured by the degree of social advantages it can afford his gregarious demands, and the increment of land values (measured by the same standard) will be identical as far as requirements are concerned (if not slightly in excess of in regard to conveniences) with the decrement of social wealth to maintain these advantages.

As men may consent to a further levy on their industry to supply social conveniences, land values will advance to meet the same, and it is even possible that, quantitatively considered, the increment of social wealth may at times be either greater or less than the expenditure for social wants; but the tendency must be practically to an equality, which in theory is absolute.

The initial points the direction of the movement, and the ratio of progress being identical the lines will coincide.

Note.—By social wealth must be understood not aggregate wealth, but that wealth which does not inhere in an individual, but is the common property of all.

Illustration of the Progressions.

A——B
C——D

Let A represent the point at which land values begin, and that their progression is along the line A B. Let C represent the point at which social wants begin and that their progression is along the line C D.

As land values and social wants are produced by the progression from and to similar conditions of society, the direction of the lines must be parallel or approximately so, if not coincident, and will assume this relation.

A——B
C——D

the lines merely indicating the direction and not the ratio of progress or equivalence.

The initial point in both must coincide, as land values and social wants begin to be produced only at the point where common desires spring into existence. The lines beginning then at the same point and having same direction must coincide or one be lost in the other and will assume this appearance, if the equivalence is not immediately patent:

A——B
C——D

As men will not pay more for social requirements (based on necessities) than the excess of their returns from the opportunity over what they can make at a valueless opportunity, the points B and D must have the same location and the lines will coincide thus:

A——B
C——D

As men may consent to pay more for the opportunity to obtain conveniences (based on desires) the effect would be to extend the point B of the L V line:

A——D——B
C

But as the decrement of social wants to gratify the convenience must keep place with the desire, the tendency is for B and D to again approach each other and the lines to coincide. Thus:

A——B
C——D

READ GORDON.

Basting the Goose With the Gander's Sauce.

Manistee, Mich., Broadaxe.

We understand that the salt makers who recently met at Saginaw to consider what they would do about the tariff on salt, decided that if the tariff was taken off salt they also wanted it taken off other things which they had to use in making salt. Oh, ah, yes, let us see—what is this for, any way? How is this thing, gentlemen? Why do you want it taken off things that you have to use? Is it possible that you have all gone stark mad and turned cranks, by assuming the cranky doctrine that the tariff makes things high? Tut, tut, that will never do. Congressman Cutcheon and the other orthodox protective tariff fellows will put you down on their list of cranks right away. You all must certainly know better. Don't you know you have been claiming all along that the tariff on salt reduced salt from five dollars per barrel down to seventy cents? Don't you know that you have constantly dingdonged it into the ears of your laboring men, and proclaimed it from the house tops? Now, if the tariff has reduced salt, which you have to sell, to such an extent, why will it not also reduce the price of things you have to buy? And then, why should you object to taking the tariff off salt if you believe it will go up again to $5 per barrel? Are you not now organized in a trades union salt association? Are you not now on a protracted strike as it were to compel your bosses—your employers, the people—to pay you more than the market price for salt? Have you not forced them by your trades union conspiracy to pay you seventy cents per barrel when the open market price would be only about fifty cents? Now if you want to make salt real high, if you want to raise it away up to $5 per barrel (and you assume that free trade in salt will do that), for heaven's sake why don't you all go in for free trade in salt?

But come now, tell us the real truth just for once. Is it not a fact that you want tariff on what you have to sell (salt and lumber) because it makes those articles higher, and no tariff on what you have to buy (labor and other things) because it makes them cheaper? Of course you do. And if so, why complain if the laborer wants a tariff on what he has to sell (his labor), and no tariff on what he has to buy (your salt and lumber). Now you have had what you want for one hundred years. Now suppose you give the laborer the same chance against you for only ten years that you have had against him for one hundred years. He'd make paupers of you all inside of five years, and then he, just like you do now, would turn around and swear that he accomplished it because of superior brains and business capacity.

But labor does not ask the advantage of you as you do of it, gentlemen. All it asks is to be allowed to stand up, fair and square, and look you in the face on a brotherhood plane of free trade and free opportunities. The God of justice will yield unto each one the honors and emoluments that merit entitles him to possess.

Think This Out.

Toronto Labor Reformer.

When a big fire occurs and many buildings are destroyed we often hear the expression, "Well it's hard on the owners and the insurance companies, but it will be good for the building trade." That is, it is a good thing for the workingmen to get employment. Certainly no one will dispute this. Then if, after the buildings are all rebuilt they are burned down again, it will be again a good thing for the building trade. And if in the fire large quantities of cotton and woolen goods and hardware are destroyed, that will be a good thing for the carders, spinners, weavers and hardware makers. Certainly it will be. There can be no doubt of that. And every time property is destroyed and goods are destroyed, it will be a good thing for the workers. This seems all clear enough, for it is an accepted notion that if only workers can get plenty of work and good pay, there can be nothing else for them to wish for. Yet somehow we can't help suspecting that there is a dropped stitch somewhere in the reasoning; a cracked link somewhere in the chain of argument. Put on your thinking caps, friends, and try if you can think it out. We have an idea by the time a man thinks down to the bottom and gets at the nub of this, he will have a truer and better knowledge and understanding of political economy than have some of the professors who teach it in the colleges.

FROM THE LEHIGH COAL REGION.

Master Workman Hugh McGarvey Describes the Situation—More Money Paid for Royalties Than is Paid Altogether to Miners—The Knowledge of the Remedy Spreading.

Mr. Hugh McGarvey of the Lehigh coal region, master workman of district assembly 87, K. of L., visited New York several days since to solicit aid for the sufferers from the late strike. In an interview with him a representative of THE STANDARD elicited some information which ought to give courage to single tax men all over the country. Mr. McGarvey said that the collieries were starting up as fast as possible, but that 700 of the men who had gone back to work had been blacklisted and discharged for having taken too active a part in the strike. "Not many new men had come into the region," said Mr. McGarvey, "because it was well known that public opinion was very strong against the interference of outsiders."

"What will become of the 700 men who have been discharged?" asked THE STANDARD man.

"They will go elsewhere to seek work."

"Where will they go?"

"To the Schuylkill or Wyoming regions."

"Have not the Schuylkill and Wyoming collieries already a full quota of hands?"

"Yes, but men are always getting dissatisfied or discharged, and the idlers take their chances."

"What per cent of the whole number of miners does this shifting element constitute?"

"About one-third."

"Then for every two men who are at work there is practically always one idler standing by bidding for their places?"

"That is just it."

"Then the upshot of the whole business is that a miner can now dig coal in Pennsylvania only on the terms fixed by the owners of the coal mines."

"That is exactly it, and the mine owners are making the terms worse every year."

"What, then, do the miners or their organizations propose to do about it?"

"Well, that is the question. The more intelligent knights are beginning to see the dog in the coal pit. They are beginning to see that, while labor organizations and strikes may and do check the encroachments of the mine owners on the mine workers, the miners will never be able to get all that they earn until the dog in the coal pit is routed out—that is, until any miner can dig coal, without asking the leave of any one, on the same terms as can Mr. Austin Corbin or Mr. Anybody else. There is no place in this world," continued Mr. McGarvey, "which so plainly points to the necessity of the common appropriation of land values by the single tax as the anthracite coal regions.

"Here are some facts which will show what I mean. The anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, which practically contain the entire supply of anthracite in the world, cover about 2,500 square miles. There are employed in mining this coal only something over one hundred thousand men and boys. The royalty paid to the men who claim to own the mines amounts to more than the aggregate wages of all the mine workers. That is enough in itself to set the people thinking. Why, here is one firm, Coxe Bros. & Co., who own thousands of acres of coal lands and lease thousands of acres more, who are now getting all the miners they want at about forty per cent of the current wages in other collieries. Men who have nothing to eat, who live in company houses, on company land, who haven't the means to take them away if they wanted to go, and wouldn't know where to go if they could get them, and who can't work a lick without the permission of the owner of everything above and beneath the surface of the ground, will work, temporarily at least, for almost any price. There are so many miners in that state of abject poverty that Messrs. Coxe Bros. & Co. have little trouble in getting the services of some 4,000 mine workers on their own terms, and of course the effect is to more or less demoralize wages in all the collieries. The situation is very bad, but these strikes are educating the workers to see more plainly where the real trouble is."

The coal miners of the Lehigh region have made an appeal to the working people of the United States for relief of the victims of the late strike, and they request that all remittances be made to Mr. John J. Meighan, treasurer, Freeland, Pa.

Self-Evident Facts.

Philadelphia Record.

No argument can break down the fact that manufacturers could make cheaper goods and pay better wages if they could buy

Cheaper wool,
Cheaper dyestuffs,
Cheaper lumber,
Cheaper jute, hemp and flax,
Cheaper chemicals and other crude materials.

And no argument will avail to convince the laboring man that he will be injured by

Cheaper food,
Cheaper clothing,
Cheaper shelter,
Cheaper earthenware,
Cheaper glass and
Cheaper utensils.

If the taxes can be reduced $100,000,000 by conferring these general advantages upon the industry of the country, and by the same stroke gathering into the pockets of consumers another $100,000,000 of unearned money from the inordinate prices of materials which are necessaries of life, is it not worth while? This is the aim of the new tariff bill. This it will accomplish if it shall become a law. For every dollar of tax it may intercept on its way to the treasury it will save to the people two other dollars on the way to the maw of monopoly. Of course the lobby will howl and the subsidized press will rage, and the "protected interests" will protest; but tax reduction and tariff reform are near at hand.

A Colorado Man Between Two Fires.

Denver Col. Union Pacific Employes' Magazine.

Like many other poor devils throughout the world, I am a merchant. I sell labor daily, and from that business I am compelled to supply the necessities of life for myself and family. The state of the market is a matter of importance to me, as it should be to every other man in like or worse circumstances. Any inclination to "bear" the market, while it may not at the time affect me, I know full well if the market keeps on the down grade will reach me in time unless it can be offset by a strong "bull" movement. Having seen indications of the "bears" at work the past month I have felt correspondingly ugly, and as my landlord has said that in consequence of the increased demand for houses he will have to raise the rent, this being the third time he has done so within a year, it has not helped matters any. Besides the farmer has been complaining of the low price of his products, and has managed to raise the price on potatoes, butter and eggs, so I stand between two fires; consequently I must either live on less or raise the price of my labor. But only the other day they paid off quite a number of car repairers here at the rate of $1.65 per day, and a young man nineteen years of age, a helper in the boiler shop, was paid only sixty-five cents per day; in fact, he was worse off than when he commenced to work, having had to pay at the rate of $20 per month for board.

Pro and Con.

Chicago Herald.

The "trusts" are all against the tariff bill, and the tax payers will like it for the enemies it has made.

TENANT'S HOUSE AND LANDLORD'S HOME.

On a winter's evening, some fifteen months ago, the members of Widow McTabb's household were sitting in the comfortable little parlor of a modest house in an entirely respectable though not fashionable part of Toronto, namely, in Lake street.

Mrs. McTabb's family consists of herself, two sons and three daughters. The elder son, Jack, earns good wages in a piano factory. The younger, Tom, a lad as yet, is an amateur carpenter, with a reputation of putting the house in disorder daily. The daughters are young women of good education, good manners and good looks, reflecting credit on the great middle class in which they move, and quite capable and fully prepared to adorn any circle of the upper class to which matrimonial fate may lead them.

Jack and his mother were seated by themselves near the open grate, talking of business matters, and the perennial business topic with them was the landlord and his intentions.

"Miller is going to raise the rents in May," said Mrs. McTabb, her tone indicative of spirits somewhat depressed. "He's hinted as much to the McDonalds next door—and its such a bother and expense moving."

"Yes," said Jack reflectively, "and where can we move to and do better? All the talk in our shop is that rents are going up ten per cent in the spring, and living in the suburbs means paying your money to the car companies instead of the landlord and losing your time besides."

"I declare," rejoined Mrs. McTabb wrathily, "landlords are the meanest set on the face of the earth. Miller is charging us just twice what the house brought when it was new, sixteen years ago, when the Rosses lived here. Mrs. Munro told me this morning that Miller thinks of making a feed store next door. A nice thing to have bales of hay on the sidewalk and a big bunch of straw hanging out on a stick right against our front door for a sign. We'll have to pay double insurance and be burnt in our beds besides, may be. That old miser of a Miller has never done a thing to this house since we came into it four years ago; not a latch nor a lock will he fix; we've had plastering to repair, and we've had doors and window sashes to ease over and over again, just because they were miserable green stuff to begin with. When he raised the rent two years ago—the week after he saw that nice new lilac paper on the parlor walls—I made up my mind he would never raise it on us again. Why should he? He's getting four profits on his investment now. And me a widow, too."

Mrs. McTabb's eyes moistened.

"Well, well, mother, that is all very fine, but what can we do if property is going up all the time? We can't live in a smaller house."

"No, we can *not* live in a smaller house. I would like to have a larger house, with a room in it for Tom that wouldn't be so small and dark as that closet up stairs where he sleeps now."

Just then the door bell rang loudly, with an unmistakable tone of the post office about it. The energetic officialism of one conscious of wearing her majesty's cloth was announced in the opening clang, and continued to assert itself as the vibrations gradually died away. Mrs. McTabb went to the door herself, and brought in a large blue tinted legal envelope. Brushing from it the snowflakes that told that the weather was no respecter of government officials, she opened it, and drew from it a sheet of legal cap, on which were printed in the character of the type writer a dozen of very business like lines.

Mrs. McTabb read aloud the contents of the letter, including the formalisms of heading and signature. They were to the effect that Hawk & Factum, solicitors and counselors at law, begged to say that Mrs. McTabb's loan on mortgage, for $8,000, on property owned by their clients, Willis & Son, bearing 5½ per cent interest, would not be renewed after maturity, 1st May proxime, except at the reduced rate of 5 per cent, money being abundant at 5 per cent, and in round amounts could be obtained on terms even lower.

"Jack, look at that!" she cried, as she finished reading, handing the formidably legal looking document to her son, who read it himself to make sure there was no mistake, while Mrs. McTabb's already troubled face took on a shade of deeper anxiety. She didn't like curt business communications from hard hearted lawyers, and what she disliked much more was a loss of the half of one per cent on the bulk of her little competence, which was what the $8,000 represented. Her husband's life had been insured for that amount, and after his death, five or six years previously, the insurance agent had recommended that she seek an investment through his legal friends, Hawk & Factum; and now, she thought, they took the earliest occasion to cut down her interest. While Jack was reading the lawyer's note she calculated on what her income would now be, with her diminished interest on the mortgage, and the little something coming from a few gas shares and a few hundreds in a savings bank, and before she was half finished had convinced herself that she was a very poor widow indeed, besides being oppressed as a tenant. She looked at Jack while he thoughtfully gazed at the letter, and remembered his large contributions from his wages to meet the household expenses, and, though these were already her main reliance, she sincerely hoped they would not be made heavier.

Jack seemed to be reading and re-reading the lines of type writing. At length he broke out—

"Mother, let me tell you what you might do. Property is going up all the time, and now we're told by these lawyers that it is cheaper than ever to borrow money on mortgage. Why not buy fifteen or sixteen thousand dollars' worth of property, paying half cash, and getting Hawk & Factum to borrow the other half for you at five per cent? What's the use in paying rent all our lives and having nothing to show for it?"

"I wouldn't like to owe anything on property, Jack. Why wouldn't it be best to buy no more than I can pay cash for?"

"Because you will make a profit on the money you borrow. You see you pay only five per cent for it, but you lease your houses so as to pay you seven or eight after the outlay for repairs."

"But suppose any of the houses couldn't be let?"

"Small fear of that, mother, if you buy in a good locality not too far out from Main street. And then you have always the chance of your property rising in value, which puts money in your pocket you don't have to earn."

As they pursued this vein of conversation, the troubled expression left Mrs. McTabb's honest face, and the world, including Hawk & Factum, did not seem so bad, after all. And Jack, as he unfolded his scheme for increasing the family income, grew excited.

. . . . . .

Landlord Miller fulfilled Widow McTabb's expectations. On the legal date he gave her formal notice of a rise of three dollars a month in the rent of her house. She had her reply ready; she told him she intended to quit.

Mrs. McTabb had always lived in a rented house. Incited by Jack, she was now determined to gratify the longing she had entertained for many years to own a home. Sometimes with one daughter and again with another, she talked over her project and planned as to what they would have if they once found themselves in their own house. With one of them accompanying her, she frequently went to the business district of the city and climbed up many pairs of stairs that led to real estate agencies situated high up in tall houses. Fortunately her caution and her energy in investigating many of the properties held on sale led her to a knowledge of the hollowness of the average real estate agents' description of his prospective sources of commissions. "A central location" proved to be an alley—but, be it admitted, near the post office. "Constructed with special care" was a phrase employed in describing bulging brick walls, restrained by iron rods and conspicuous bolts. "Modern in all its appointments" brought the weary widow to a row that, while built but a few years, was tumbling to pieces because of cheap bricklaying and plastering. But after much inspection of structures rat-eaten and ramshackle, of houses in neighborhoods which had been rendered undesirable with the appearance of livery stables, markets and railway tracks—property rarely retained by buyers of residences, and hence the staple of the business of real estate agents—Mrs. McTabb was attracted by a row of four medium size brick houses. She called a convention of Jack and Tom and the daughters, and after due and weighty deliberation the brick row was adjudged to be about what was wanted. The houses were not new, but they were well built. They stood in Elm street, a locality where it was likely they would always be let. One house would answer well for the family mansion, and it would be a good thing to have their tenants close at hand. The one they picked out was larger than the house they were leaving—large enough to give Tom not only a sunny bedroom, but a garret where he could set up a lathe and make as much mess as he liked with it and his planes and chisels. The price of the row, $16,000, suited exactly the calculations Jack had made. The houses, of course, would need some repairs at once.

With the kind offices of Hawk & Factum and a real estate agent and the obliging seller of the houses, Mrs. McTabb's eight-thousand mortgage passed away among the things that had had their uses, and the brick row, passing into her ownership, became the object of her hourly thoughts.

Long before it was time to move to their new home, Mrs. McTabb had formed the habit of putting on her bonnet and going with Susannah, or Lucy, or Mary, over to Elm street, and looking at the houses of which she was to take formal possession. They gained steadily on her affections. She felt an increasing satisfaction in contemplating them. She admired the fine, deep back yards, the trim brick sheds, the tree shaded sidewalks. She observed again and again how near they were to the two leading lines of street cars. She liked to think how she could say to any one who might wish to rent one of her houses that close by, and yet not too close by, were good markets and large grocery stores, and that if a housekeeper ran short of a yard of calico or a spool of silk she could buy it in the next block. Mrs. McTabb already felt the tickle of landlord's pride.

The leases of two of the houses ran out in May. As the family would then move into one of them, it left only the other for them to let. Mrs. McTabb felt sure that the other two were let too cheap—far too cheap. However, she decided to do the best she could with the one that was to be vacated. She inquired as to what other house owners in the locality were going to do in re-leasing property. She ascertained that in at least one or two cases $30 a month was being asked for houses that had been bringing only $25. The information aroused mingled feelings—joy at her bargain in those houses; deep, heartfelt regret that two of her tenants had leases for two years longer at the old rates. She made a mental note that she would never give long leases.

When Jack, at his mother's request, brought home from the printers a "House to let" placard, there was a long, earnest discussion as to what rent should be asked for the house soon to fall vacant.

"Mother," said Jack, "don't you think five dollars a month too much of a jump? Isn't it taking advantage of people to make them pay sixty dollars more a year than the house has ever brought before?"

"Jack, don't be silly like your poor, dear father before you. Take what you can get. People wouldn't pay thirty if they could get such a nice, handy house anywhere else for less. Property is going up; they say it is going up wonderfully; and why shouldn't the rents of our tenants go up, too?"

The girls giggled. They hardly knew whom to side with. They had been tenants so long that the feeling against high rents had not yet entirely left them. But they were reconciled at thinking how nice it was to own houses and be getting more for them every year.

Next morning Jack tacked up the placard, "House to let; $30 a month. Apply at No. — Lake street."

Within three days Mrs. McTabb had so many applicants that her views with respect to tenancy underwent still further development. She almost regretted her moderation in fixing her rent at the low figure of $30. As it was, she felt she could take the choice of her applicants.

Two of the persons who called on her were the wives of officials of the Canadian Pacific road. Their visit served to remind Mrs. McTabb that that railroad was doing a great deal for the prosperity of Toronto—an additional reason why stiff rents should be charged generally, and surely houses in such a good street as Elm street would be more in demand than ever. Both the ladies, however, had children, and Mrs. McTabb consequently declined to lease her house to them. She could not have youngsters breaking the plaster and pulling the blinds and banisters to pieces. To be sure, Jack and Tom and the girls had been little once, but they had been such well behaved children, and had been so well looked after, that they had never damaged any landlord's walls, or banisters, or blinds.

Another caller was a refined, neatly dressed widow, who came to see Mrs. McTabb one morning about the house. She impressed Mrs. McTabb with the elegance and cultivation of her manners, but when Mrs. McTabb learned that she was dependent on two sons employed in Quebec in a bank, and that she had an invalid daughter, Mrs. McTabb said that other parties were applying for the house, that she had partly promised it to them, that she would see about it and let the lady know in a day or two.

When the lady had bowed herself out with old time French grace, Mrs. McTabb said, meditatingly, to Susannah:

"I don't want a widow in my house that hasn't good private means. Suppose her sons die or lose their positions, what'll become of her? I might have the house thrown on my hands in the fall, or the winter may be, just when I can't afford it. No, the best people for the house would be a newly married couple. They'd fix it up nicely, put new furniture in, and wouldn't have any children to knock things about—not for two or three years anyway."

As a matter of fact, Mrs. McTabb's house was rented by just such a couple as she lay in wait for—well to do young people, not too exacting.

In due time Mrs. McTabb moved into her own house. Tom hugely enjoyed his attic work shop, and was not insensible to the superiority of the sunny front bed room over the little closet in the house where they had been tenants. Jack was as much delighted as his mother with the new home—their own property. He consulted with some of his shop mates about improving the house. After protracted and often excited conferences, he concluded he would make certain repairs that seemed to him and his mother essential to what they would regard as a home. He calculated on putting $400 into fixing up the place in pretty fair style.

Jack remembers now how one piece of fixing up gave rise to the necessity for another. The first story floors had sagged somewhat, and he decided to run a brick wall across the basement to remedy that. When the bricklayer came and tore up the basement floor to begin his work, there was such a hideous revelation of damp, rotten wood that Jack was reluctantly obliged to take the bricklayer's advice and keep both damp and rats out by having a concrete floor put down. To lay this properly not only took a good while, to the affliction of Mrs. McTabb and the derangement of her culinary arrangements—it took money. Then nearly every bit of the basement wall and ceiling had to be replastered. While all this was going on, the boss plasterer pointed out to Jack that the basement windows ought to be enlarged, they were so much smaller than those of new houses.

"Better make one job of it while you are at it," he said.

So, after some little hesitation, Jack called in a stone mason and the stone courses which rose above the basement lintels were knocked out to make windows a foot higher than the old ones. The new windows themselves looked well, and Jack thought that they ought to, considering the new frames and the glazing cost nearly twenty dollars. But viewed from the street they caused the house front to appear patchy. A coat of paint for the exterior of the house was recommended as a remedy for that imperfection. So next week the painters came and set to work renewing the cream colored paint on the brick front. Jack, with a sense of proprietorship and for the purpose of overseeing things, one morning mounted up one of the long ladders of the painters until he was on a level with the eaves of the roof. The rain water leader he noticed was half full of dust and dirt. In cleaning this out he brought to light a number of holes in the leader, and in digging about on the roof close by he found that it was none too new.

On making these discoveries Jack grew a trifle nervous. When he had promised his mother that he would put her house in nice order for her he had no idea that anything more than "slight repairs" would be needed. He had not been aware of the state of thorough unwholesomeness and neglect into which the average dwelling is allowed to lapse, nor of the fact that houses built to lease are often run up regardless of the health or comfort of their occupants.

However, Jack had courage. Seeing that he was in for it, he had the leader well soldered and the roof repaired, and he determined to make a thorough job of it in all parts of the house. In restoring the parlor floors to a level the carpenter's jackscrew had brought down square yards of plastering. Jack looked at this trouble square in the face and told the girls he had a job for them. If they would wash the paper off the parlor walls he would have them repaired and tinted and a pretty fresco pattern painted on the ceiling. This proposal was received with enthusiasm, and acted upon in a very few days. Jack went right along, effecting other and more important improvements. He had the plumbing inspected. It was found grossly defective. He had it put in good order, with the drain pipes left uncovered and accessible throughout their whole course. Winter in Canada is both long and cold. Jack, knowing that a hot water furnace was much better for heating a house than stoves, had a furnace and the necessary piping put in.

"There won't be any carrying coals up stairs nor bringing ashes down stairs. The saving on coals will more than pay interest on the expense," Jack said.

Tom, handy with his carpenter's tools, built a coal bin under the basement staircase, just opposite the furnace door. When it was finished, it held six tons of good anthracite, with six more piled up out in the shed, bought in time to escape the usual advance of price in early winter.

Tom not only built the coal bin, but made ironing boards, clothes horses and dough trays. He made wardrobe fronts for the wall recesses in the bed rooms. He framed a lot of pictures that had been accumulating for years and that the family had never cared to use to adorn a rented house.

All done, Jack, although he had spent a little more than three times the $400 he had originally estimated as the cost of "fixing up" the house, did not grudge the money, for all that it had nearly exhausted his account in the savings bank. He never was tired of admiring the size and handsomeness of the old-fashioned rooms. He ceased to talk about going to the states in search of better wages. The girls were as much pleased with the new house as were their brothers. They clubbed their small savings and bought a pretty portiere to hang between the front and back parlors. Their employments with needle and thread were soon chiefly directed to making mantel draperies, curtain bands and the other ornamental things for a house in which the feminine mind delights. The girls and their brothers are attached to "home" now as they never were before.

And their mother, good Mrs. McTabb, what of her? In her little back room off the parlor, her "office" as she calls it, she keeps her books. The item for repairs to her tenants' houses is not a large one. Her views as to what a landlord ought to do for a tenant have undergone some modification since the old days in Lake street. She feels that she can't afford to pay away every dollar of rent for repairs. Tenants are always asking that money be spent on a house. It is only the other day that she and Mr. Miller, owner of the Lake street house, had a sympathetic talk about the aggressions and unwarrantable expectations of selfish tenants. In a small book kept on her desk are a few figures showing her forecast for next year's account in connection with her real estate:

1889, three houses at $33 a month, year		$1,188
" Interest on mortgage of $8,000, five per cent	$400	
Taxes	180	
Slight repairs	20	
		600
		$588

The Widow McTabb softly murmurs when she looks at this entry:

"That's better—than five—per cent—on mortgages! I've this—house besides. Thirty-three dollars for—Elm street next year—will be little enough. Slight—repairs will do." W. H. RAE.

A Plan for Protection.

Chicago Times.

The low prices realized for the animals in a menagerie sold out at auction in St. Louis indicate the claims of another infant industry for protection against pauper competition in the jungles of Africa. When a hyena can be bought for $12, a zebra for $195 and monkeys rattled off at $12.50 apiece, what encouragement is there for farmers of the northwest to engage in raising live stock? It is a matter which Mr. Randall and Mr. Blaine should look to.

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An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

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CERTAIN REASONS FOR PROTECTION.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

Chapter XV of Protection or Free Trade?

We have seen (in the preceding chapter) that low wages do not mean low cost of production, and that a high standard of wages, instead of putting a country at a disadvantage in production, is really an advantage. This disposes of the claim that protection is rendered necessary by high wages, by showing the invalidity of the first assumption upon which it is based, viz., that low wages mean low cost of production. But it is worth while to examine the second assumption in this claim—that production is determined by cost, so that a country of less advantages cannot produce if the free competition of a country of greater advantages be permitted. For while we are sometimes told that a country needs protection because of great natural advantages that ought to be developed, we are at other times told that protection is needed because of the sparseness of population, the want of capital, or machinery, or skill, or because of high taxes or a high rate of interest, (1) or other conditions which, it may be, involve real disadvantage.

But without reference to the reality of the alleged advanta,, or disadvantage, all these special pleas for protection are met when it is shown, as it can be shown, that whatever be its advantages or disadvantages for production, a country can always increase its wealth by foreign trade.

If we suppose two countries, each of which is, for any reason, at a decided disadvantage in some branch of production in which the other has a decided advantage, it is evident that the free exchange of commodities between them will be mutually beneficial, by enabling each to make up for its own disadvantage by availing itself of the advantage of the other, just as the blind man and the lame man did in the familiar story. Trade between them will give to each country a greater amount of all things than it could otherwise obtain with the same quantity of labor. Such a case resembles that of two workmen, each having, as to some things, skill superior to the other, and who, by working together, each devoting himself to that part for which he is the better fitted, can accomplish more than twice as much as if each worked separately.

But let us suppose two countries, one of which has advantages superior to the other for all the productions of which both are capable. Trade between them being free, would one country do all the exporting and the other all the importing? That, of course, would be preposterous. Would trade, then, be impossible? Certainly not. Unless the people of the country of less advantages transferred themselves bodily to the country of greater advantages, trade would go on with mutual benefit. The people of the country of greater advantages would import from the country of less advantages those products as to which the difference of advantage between the two countries was least, and would export in return those products as to which the difference was greatest. By this exchange both peoples would gain. The people of the country of poorest advantages would gain by it some part of the advantages of the other country, and the people of the country of greatest advantages would also gain, since, by being saved the necessity of producing the things as to which their advantage was least, they could concentrate their energies upon the production of things in which their advantage was greatest. This case would resemble that of two workmen of different degrees of skill in all parts of their trade, or that of a skilled workman and an unskilled helper. Though the workman might be able to perform all parts of the work in less time than the helper, yet there would be some parts in which the advantage of his superior skill would be less than in others; and as by leaving these to the helper he could devote more time to those parts in which superior skill would be most effective, there would be, as in the former case, a mutual gain in their working together.

Thus it is that neither advantages nor disadvantages afford any reason for restraining trade.(2) Trade is always to the benefit of both parties. If it were not there would be no disposition to carry it on.

And thus we see again the fallacy of the protectionist contention that if it takes no more labor to produce a thing in our country than elsewhere, we shall lose nothing by shutting out the foreign product, even though we have to pay a higher price for the home product. The interchange of the products of labor does not depend upon differences of absolute cost, but of comparative cost. Goods may profitably be sent from places where they cost more labor to places where they cost less labor, provided (and this is the only case in which they ever will be so sent) that a still greater difference in labor cost exists as to other things which the first country desires to obtain. Thus tea, which Horace Greeley was fond of referring to as a production that might advantageously be naturalized in the United States by a heavy duty, could undoubtedly be produced in the United States at a less cost of labor than in China, for in transportation to the seaboard, packing, etc., we could save upon Chinese methods. But there are other things, such as the mining of silver, the refining of oil, the weaving of cloth, the making of clocks and watches, as to which our advantage over the Chinese is enormously greater than in the growing of tea. Hence, by producing these things and exchanging them directly or indirectly for Chinese tea, we obtain, in spite of the long carriage, more tea for the same labor than we could get by growing our own tea.

(1) The higher rate of interest in the United States than in Great Britain has until recently been one of the stock reasons of American protectionists for demanding a high tariff. We do not hear so much of this now that the rate in New York is as low as in London, if not lower, but we hear no less of the need for protection. It is hardly necessary in this discussion to treat of the nature and law of interest, a subject which I have gone over in "Progress and Poverty." It may, however, be worth while to say that a high rate of interest where it does not proceed from insecurity, is not to be regarded as a disadvantage, but rather as evidence of the large returns to the active factors of production, labor and capital—returns which diminish as rent rises and the land owner gets a larger share of their produce for permitting labor and capital to work.

(2) In point of fact there is no country which as to all branches of production can be said to have superior advantages. The conditions which make one part of the habitable globe better fitted for some productions unfit it for others, and what is disadvantage for some kinds of production is generally advantage for other kinds. Even the lack of rain which makes some parts of the globe useless to man may, if invention ever succeeds in directly utilizing the power of the sun's rays, be found to be especially advantageous for certain parts of production. The advantages and disadvantages that come from the varying density of population, the special development of certain forms of industry, etc., are also largely relative. The most positive of all advantages in production—that which most certainly gives superiority in all branches, is that which arises from that general intelligence which increases with the increase of the comfort and leisure of the masses of the people; that is to say, with the increase of wages.

Consider how this principle, that the interchange of commodities is governed by the comparative, not the absolute, cost of production, applies to the plea that protective duties are required on account of home taxation. It is, of course, true that a special tax placed upon any branch of production puts it at a disadvantage unless a like tax is placed upon the importation of similar productions. But this is not true of such general taxation as falls on all branches of industry alike. As such taxation does not alter the comparative profitableness of industries, it does not diminish the relative inducement to carry any of them on, and to protect any particular industry from foreign competition on account of such general taxation is simply to enable those engaged in it to throw off their share of a general burden.

A favorite assumption of American protectionists is, or rather has been (for we once heard much more of it than now), that free trade is a good thing for rich countries but a bad thing for poor countries—that it enables a country of better developed industries to prevent the development of industry in other countries, and to make such countries tributary to itself. But it follows from the principle which, as we have seen, causes and governs international exchanges, that for any country to impose restrictions on its foreign commerce on account of its own disadvantages in production is to prevent such amelioration of those disadvantages as foreign trade would bring. Free trade is voluntary trade. It cannot go on unless to the advantage of both parties, and, as between the two, free trade is relatively more advantageous to the poor and undeveloped country than to the rich and prosperous country. The opening up of trade between a Robinson Crusoe and the rest of the world would be to the advantage of both parties. But relatively the advantage would be far greater to Robinson Crusoe than to the rest of the world.

There is a certain class of American protectionists who concede that free trade is good in itself, but who say that we cannot safely adopt it until all other nations have adopted it, or until all other nations have come up to our standard of civilization; or, as it is sometimes phrased, until the millennium has come, and men have ceased to struggle for their own interests as opposed to the interests of others. And so British protectionists have now assumed the name of "Fair Traders." They have ceased to deny the essential goodness of free trade, but contend that so long as other countries maintain protective tariffs Great Britain, in self-defense, should maintain a protective tariff too, at least against countries that refuse to admit British productions free.

The fallacy underlying most of these American excuses for protection is that considered in the previous chapter—the fallacy that the country of low wages can undersell the country of high wages; but there is also mixed with this the notion to which the British fair traders appeal—the notion that the abolition of duties by any country is to the advantage, not of the people of that country, but of the people of the other countries that are thus given free access to its markets. "Is not the fact that British manufacturers desire the abolition of our protective tariff a proof that we ought to continue it?" ask American protectionists. "Is it not a suicidal policy to give foreigners free access to our markets while they refuse us access to theirs?" cry British fair traders.

All these notions are forms of the delusion that to export is more profitable than to import, but so widespread and influential are they that it may be well to devote a few words to them. The direct effect of a tariff is to restrain the people of the country that imposes it. It curtails the freedom of foreigners to trade, only through its operation in curtailing the freedom of citizens to trade. So far as foreigners are concerned, it only indirectly affects their freedom to trade with that particular country, while to citizens of that country it is a direct curtailment of the freedom to trade with all the world. Since trade involves mutual benefit, it is true that any restriction that prevents one party from trading must operate in some degree to the injury of another party. But the indirect injury which a protective tariff inflicts upon other countries is diffused and slight as compared with the injury it inflicts directly upon the nation that imposes it.

To illustrate: The tariff which we have so long maintained upon iron, to prevent our people from exchanging their products for British iron, has unquestionably lessened our trade with Great Britain. But the effect upon the United States has been very much more injurious than the effect upon Great Britain. While it has lessened our trade absolutely, it has lessened the trade of Great Britain only with us. What Great Britain has lost in this curtailment of her trade with us she has largely made up in the consequent extension of her trade elsewhere. For the effect of duties on iron and iron ore, and of the system of which they are part, has been so to increase the cost of American productions as to give to Great Britain the greater part of the carrying trade of the world, for which we were her principal competitor, and to hand over to her the trade of South America and of other countries, of which, but for this, we should have had the largest share.

And in the same way for any nation to restrict the freedom of its own citizens to trade, because other nations so restrict the freedom of their citizens, is a policy of the "biting off one's nose to spite one's face" order. Other nations may injure us by the imposition of taxes which tend to impoverish their own citizens, for as denizens of the world, it is to our real interest that all other denizens of the world should be prosperous. But no other nation can thus injure us so much as we shall injure ourselves if we impose similar taxes upon our own citizens by way of retaliation.

Suppose that a farmer who has an improved variety of potatoes learns that a neighbor has wheat of such superior kind that it will yield many more bushels to the acre than that he has been sowing. He might naturally go to his neighbor and offer to exchange seed potatoes for seed wheat. But if the neighbor, while willing to sell the wheat, should refuse to buy the potatoes, would not our farmer be a fool to declare, "Since you will not buy my superior potatoes I will not buy your superior wheat?" Would it not be very stupid retaliation for him to go on planting poorer seed and getting poorer crops?

Or, suppose, isolated from the rest of mankind, half a dozen men so situated and so engaged that mutual convenience constantly prompts them to exchange productions with one another. Suppose five of these six to be under the dominion of some curious superstition which leads them when they receive anything in exchange to burn one-half of it up before carrying home the other half. This would indirectly be to the injury of the sixth man, because by thus lessening their own wealth his five neighbors would lessen their ability to exchange with him. But, would he better himself if he were to say: "Since these fools will insist upon burning half of all they get in exchange I must, in self-defense, follow their example and burn half of all I get?"

The constitution and scheme of things in this world in which we find ourselves for a few years is such that no one can do either good or evil for himself alone. No one can release himself from the influence of his surroundings, and say, "What others do is nothing to me;" nor yet can any one say, "What I do is nothing to others." Nevertheless it is in the tendency of things that he who does good most profits by it, and he who does evil injures, most of all, himself. And those who say that a nation should adopt a policy essentially bad because other nations have embraced it are as unwise as those who say, Lie, because others are false; Be idle, because others are lazy; Refuse knowledge, because others are ignorant.

HOW I FELT THE CAT.

BAY SHORE, L. I.—Seeing the cat with me is not a recent discovery. My first glimpse of it was obtained many years ago from the writers of the Hebrew scriptures, wherein the selling of land is forbidden and its usufruct tenure clearly inculcated. The animal was still more distinctly revealed to me when, as a student of law, Blackstone's "Commentaries on English Law" was put into my hands with admonition to make myself thoroughly conversant with it as the highest authority on the fundamental principles of English law. In this book I read as follows: "There is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the domain of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow creatures from a determinate spot of ground because his father had done so before him, or why the occupier of a particular field, when lying upon his death bed and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world what of them should enjoy it after him."

In confirmation of the ancient lawgiver and of the more recent law expounder came the testimony of the most profound philosopher of our age—Herbert Spencer. His "Social Statics" placed the feline in so bright a light that no part of its anatomy now remains in shadow. It only remained for the author of "Progress and Poverty" to show the world how easily and peacefully the hateful thing can be got rid of.

But what I commenced to say was, not how I saw the cat, but how I felt it. It happened in this way: Having occasion to use a very small piece of that land that religion, philosophy, and reason unite in saying is, like the air and sunshine, the right of every person born into existence, I found, as all find who seek to utilize their natural right, that statute law contravenes natural law, and that barring the way to unused land there stood a person called a landlord. This lord of land replied to my inquiry—on what terms he would permit me to use what natural law says belongs to me in common with other men—"I don't wish to sell this piece of land or any of my land, because it will in a few years be worth a great deal more than it now is; but as I don't want to use it myself I will lease it to you for five years, and at the expiration of that term you can have the privilege of releasing it at the increased value which it may then have." That is to say, after my improvements and those of my neighbors should have added to the value of this piece of land I should have the privilege of paying my landlord for what I and they have done.

Such a proposition would be considered decidedly cool if made in reference to any other species of property, but from a lord of land it is regarded as all right, and not to have made it would have shown him to be not alive to his opportunities.

Well, the result was that for the use only of less than one-tenth of an acre of ground which no one was using or wanted to use I was forced to pay annually three times the sum for which a whole acre could have been bought in fee simple less than thirty years ago. This is how I felt the cat and how I will continue to feel him more and more as time goes on. Is it any wonder then that I don't love the cat and that I have determined never to rest satisfied until his claws are cut and his teeth drawn, that the coming generations of men shall not suffer from his rapacity as the present and past generations have?

HUGH B. BROWN.

A Worker in the Cause.

Mr. C. Hardin of Contoocook, N. H., is doing efficient work for the cause of industrial emancipation. In a series of letters to the *Kearsarge Independent and Times* of Warner, N. H., he is telling some home truths about tariff plunder and land monopoly, and has succeeded in compelling the advocates of the protective idea to rush into print and aid the cause of freedom by illustrating the weakness of the arguments against it. The extracts which we print below will give an idea of Mr. Hardin's work. He is making the *Independent and Times* a mighty interesting paper:

Americans should not forget that free trade is *free* trade. Freedom in our commercial relations is just as important as freedom in other things, and should be guaranteed by our government as much as our freedom in other things. A trade is an exchange of something which is of less value to us for that which is of greater value. This is true of both parties to the trade. It is a part of a man's liberty to be permitted to make such a transaction, and the more frequently and freely the better. So-called "protection" is an interference with this principle. It adds to the gains of one class, but it compels other classes to pay the difference. It is a wedge driven horizontally through society which, while it elevates some, pushes others down just as much and separates the individuals and interests of a country whose welfare and strength depend upon their being united.

We hear it said that practice, not theory, should decide the question. Well it is already decided before our eyes. The different states of the United States have no "protection" from each other and there is no tariff on goods brought from one state into another, yet New England farmers need just as much protection from the rich grain fields of the west as New England manufacturers do from the "pauper labor of Europe."

. . . Of all things, land lies at the bottom. The essence of slavery lies in the monopolization of the land by private ownership. Chattel slavery could never have existed without private ownership of land as a basis. The name has been given to ownership of persons, but the real thing belongs to private ownership of land. We have pretty well learned in this country the iniquity of the one; to learn the still greater iniquity of the other is our next lesson.

The Speculator's Prayer.

NEW YORK.—I wish to call attention to a remark which I heard at last Saturday's prayer meeting in John street. When opportunity was afforded for general remarks at the close of the services, a gentleman arose hurriedly saying that he had come to the meeting to thank God for helping him out of his business troubles. He had speculated and had succeeded beyond all expectations. He cared not what might be said of this, as he believed, after prayerful meditation, that it was just as legitimate to hold grain in bulk in Chicago as it was to hold land on the prairies, and he wanted the prayers of all present that he might make a proper use of this blessing of God. At this there seemed to flash through the audience a sensation of pious admiration and prayerfulness, but there was no criticism of the logic of his remarks, though more than one minister of the gospel was present. SAMUEL TEMPLETON.

JOHN AND HIS MASTER.

Canadian "Tracts of the Times."

John was an employe in a Canadian factory. His fortune was about the same as that of most factory operatives, which is not saying much, for by the time he paid for his food, fuel, shelter, clothing and the maintenance of his wife and three children, the margin for savings against a rainy day was narrow enough. His employer, whom we will call Thomas Jenks, esq., enjoyed a fortune fat and flourishing. He owned not only the Lowdale mills, but was director in a bank, director also on a railroad board and member of the Canadian parliament. His fortune had for some years stood among the sixes, and some people hinted that it was rapidly approaching the sevens.

Now the Canadian government has assumed the paternity of all the citizens, with the promise that prosperity would be guaranteed if only the politicians were allowed to adjust the mechanism of society. I want you, therefore, to note how this benignant parliament looked after the affairs of John and also those of Thomas Jenks, esq.

Jenks bought cotton, and so did John, only with this difference; Jenks bought it by the bale, before it had been woven into cloth; while John bought it by the yard, after it had been woven into cloth. When Jenks bought his cotton the government of paternity allowed him to buy wherever he pleased, and no duty was imposed when he imported. He was allowed to purchase wherever he could get it the cheapest. But, besides buying cotton, Thomas Jenks, esq., bought labor, and this also he was allowed to obtain wherever he could buy it at the lowest rate. Further than that, the paternal government assisted him to get that labor at the lowest possible figure; for it sent emigrant agents to get laborers where they were in greatest abundance. Hence the rule adopted by this paternity for Thomas Jenks, esq., was freedom, abundance and cheapness. It not only allowed him to buy in the cheapest market, it actually assisted him so to do. If there was any advantage in free trade the parliament took good care that Thomas Jenks, esq., should enjoy that advantage to the full.

Now let us see how this same parliament exercised its paternal functions toward John. When with his scanty wages he went to purchase, the cotton manufacturers at Manchester offered him for his dollar so many yards, and the manufacturers at Lowell so many yards, and the manufacturers at Canada so many yards. Now here were three groups of manufacturers bidding against each other for that dollar. Was John allowed to accept the highest bid—to accept the greatest number of yards—to buy where he could buy the cheapest? Not by any means. No. John had to undergo a course of education on the "where" of spending money. A line of pickets was thrown round him to watch that he did not let that dollar slip out of the country, and if he had attempted so to do, at once a large portion of that dollar would have been confiscated to teach him better manners than to think of buying where he pleased. Freedom for John was dangerous, cheapness was destructive, and the abundant market was a delusion to beguile the simple. The kind and paternal parliament then undertakes the task of educating John in the art of buying, and woe be to him if he does not heed the lesson and ventures beyond the prescribed precincts. No more carefully is a drove of sheep guarded by the faithful collie than John is guarded by the customs picket to protect him from—what? Abundance, cheapness and freedom!

So much for the buying. Let us examine the selling, for both John and his rich master Thomas Jenks, esq., sells. John sells his labor, while Mr. Jenks sells goods, and in doing so both have to submit to the laws of supply and demand, and the laws of competition. But I want you to notice how this government of paternity acts toward John and toward Jenks. When John sells, he must submit to sell in competition with the whole world. The buyers of labor can draw their supply from any quarter of the globe, without let or hindrance. Should John demand wages higher than are paid in New Hampshire or Massachusetts, in a day or two Jenks can draw a supply from that country. Hence John must submit to the full blast of unrestricted competition. Should a fresh batch of immigrants come seeking employment, and offer to work for lower wages, John may grumble as he pleases, but paternity does nothing for him. If there is any disadvantage in free trade, John must suffer all that disadvantage. No picket line of guardian officers protects his income in the slightest degree.

But, worse than that, the paternity actually taxes John to bring over more workmen to compete with him. Competition is intensified, supply is actually increased by the interference of this would be foster father. Some time ago John and some of his companions struck for higher wages, and for a time fought valiantly; but the odds were against them. Supplies soon ran short, while their appetites lost none of their keenness. And, worst of all, after a short contest, John found himself completely "frozen out" by the arrival of a ship load of immigrants. Unconditional surrender was, of course, inevitable, and from that day to this John has had to chew the cud of his discontent, and to thank a kind paternal government for coming to the assistance of his master in a contest already utterly unequal.

Well, what about Thomas Jenks, esq., when he goes to sell? Does he suffer full competition from all quarters of the globe? Not by a good deal. The picket line has been strengthened year by year, penalties heavier and heavier have been imposed to cut off foreign competition, until at last they have become largely prohibitive. Jenks has advanced his prices in many cases fully thirty per cent above the price ruling just across the border, and he has been able to keep them at that for a length of time. Let John attempt the same game, and at once he would fail. Paternity sits by and lets the full tide of supply come to depress wages, nay, even augments the supply; but when foreign goods come to cut down prices, "No," says paternity, and sets on his bull dogs to despoil any vender of cheap wares intruding into these sacred precincts. When John sells, the flood gates are opened, supply of labor increased, and cheapness and lowness of wages result. When Jenks sells, the gates are closed, supply cut off, scarcity and dearness result, and prices are kept up.

I have often looked at John and wondered at the manner in which Christian men who profess to follow the law of brotherhood can stand by and applaud or uphold laws of such terrible iniquity. Labor oppressed, capital supported.

Free trade in flesh and blood,
Protection to the capital that manufacturers,
Competition in labor,
Monopoly in calico and blankets.

In the western territories, when the red man had undisputed sway, and herds of buffalo multiplied in the luxuriance of the virgin prairies, the wild men used to erect an inclosure of pickets, into which they drove the buffalo. These animals would run round and round in the manner of horses in a circus, while the Indians would shoot them through the openings.

Is there any difference in this method and the plan of paternity respecting John and Jenks? When John wants to buy, a stockade is thrown up, and by fines, penalties and confiscation he is driven round within the inclosure to certain factories, and there most effectually bled out of a considerable portion of his wages. The decree has gone forth, "Woe be to the workman that ventures to buy outside this inclosure, any attempt so to do will be punished with confiscation of a portion of the goods." And unflinchingly is the confiscation imposed. But the claw that scratches and draws the blood so terribly is concealed behind a cushion soft as velvet. It is disguised under soft words and fair promises. It borrows the livery of philanthropy, and calls itself "protection."

John, when you next talk of striking, just take the advice of one who once worked like yourself, and strike at that system that makes you sell cheap and buy dear, while it aids Jenks to buy cheap and sell dear.

And when next you go to record your vote and exercise the noble act of sovereignty, vote only for that man who will pledge himself to maintain valiantly the following principles:

1. The principle of freedom. It is the inalienable right of every citizen to buy and sell wheresoever he pleases without any interference of government. No truck system under the counterfeit of protection should be tolerated by Canadians.

2. The principle of equality. To frame a tariff so as to shield certain rich capitalists from foreign competition, while the wage earner is subjected to the full competition of the whole world, is most outrageously unjust.

3. The principle of justice. A tariff should never be so imposed as to tend to raise the price of home made goods; for this increase never reaches the public treasury, nor does it raise wages; but it makes the citizen pay a double tax, one part going to the public treasury and the balance to certain rich capitalists—thus robbing the poor to enrich the rich.

What is the Trust?

For some time I have been thinking over a definition for the new thing which has entered the economic world, namely, the Trust. It has come so suddenly to the front and has taken the throne so abruptly that it staggers one. But one peculiarity about it is that though it is an all powerful ruler, yet when one wishes to present an humble petition to his majesty one finds the throne vacant, while the power of the monarch is constantly and severely felt. For some time I tried to aptly describe this new power. To help myself I defined a corporation as that which in the world of industry exists with as little body as is compatible with existence in any fixed place. But what is a trust? It is something which has taken to itself all the powers of the old corporations, leaving behind, however, whatever little mite of body localized them. It is nowhere, yet it is almost everywhere. It is in the coal by which I am warming myself, in the oil that now lights me, in the sugar with which I sweeten my coffee and in the pencil with which I write. It is now here, now there, but if need be it is not here, not there. It is seemingly like a geometric point, a most real thing, yet without length or breadth or thickness. It is force unlocalized and which cannot be localized—sheer energy, the most ethereal thing in the world of industry. It is like Ariel in the tempest, its voice is heard while it is unseen—an unseen power doing a wonderful amount of mischief. It is something between being and non-being, just on the border, while its language is that of Hamlet in his memorable soliloquy, "To be or not to be, that is the question," and it is or is not, just as occasion demands. It laughs at boycotts and strikes, defies even free trade, and demands for its destruction that most just and radical means, the taking of the full rental value of the lands and resources which it unjustly claims as its dominion. Thus and thus only can it be reached, and the land freed of the new and most soulless and conscienceless of all tyrants.

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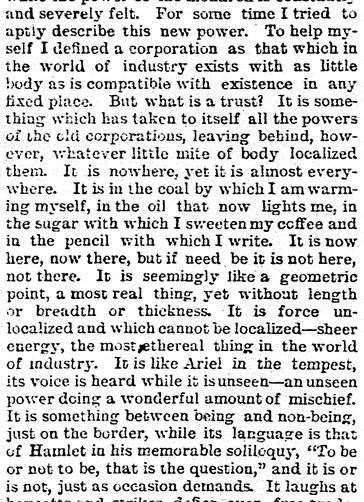

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UNITED LABOR PARTY.

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, 231 Asylum st., Hartford.
Pennsylvania—Henry George club, box 199, 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, 1507 West Lexington street, Baltimore.
Minnesota—Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis.
New York—John McMackin, 23 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 52, 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, 1397 Third avenue, corner 86th 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. 13 are requested to send their names and addresses to JOHN SALMON, 415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.