

THE STANDARD

NO. 132---VOL. VI, NO. 2.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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

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

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

"A MERE FISCAL REFORM."

Mr. Pentecost, in the Twentieth Century, while expressing his general approval of the work which some of us are doing, who advocate the single tax mainly on the lines of tax reform, without saying much in public about the evils of private ownership of land, nevertheless asserts that we are taking all the religious and moral force out of the movement, turning it into "a mere fiscal reform," and making it "a soulless, sympathyless, principleless, fiscal, political campaign, carried on by the usual political method of evasion and compromise."

Mr. Pentecost is mistaken in his entire conception of the motives, methods and efforts of those who have deemed it wise to advocate the single tax as a cure for unjust taxation. His instinct is correct on one point. We can never work in harmony with socialists or anarchists; not because we do not recognize the honesty and good intentions of many such men, but because we consider the single tax as the surest guarantee that neither socialism nor anarchy will ever become the law of human society, and because this is one of its great merits in our eyes. We are quite able to perceive and admit that socialists, like William Morris, and anarchists, like some Russian philosophers, have excellent intentions and agree with us upon many points, just as all good men agree in desiring the welfare of the human race. But we do not even *desire* to see all competition abolished, as the typical socialist does, nor all government abolished, as the philosophic anarchist does.

Every true doctrine has at least two sides, and can be as well proved from one side as from the other. A schoolboy, who complains that a column of figures will add correctly from the bottom, but not from the top, is soon taught that the defect is in himself, not in the figures. If, then, it is really true that the application of economic rent to private use is unjust and oppressive, and if it is also true that this injustice can be remedied by the concentration of all taxes on rent, even with the qualification that the amount of taxation must be increased to equal the amount of rent, we may be sure that the injustice can be proved as well from the side of taxation as from the side of rent. Mr. George has devoted all his energy to proving the truth of the proposition from one side. I have devoted my efforts to proving the truth of the same proposition from the other side. Starting from opposite points, we both agree in the general result, namely, that all taxes ought to be concentrated on rent, and that no other reform can relieve the mass of mankind from poverty until this has been achieved. The injustice of the present methods of taxation, their inevitable tendency to impoverish the poor and to aggrandize the

rich, the certainty with which they will concentrate the wealth of the community into a few hands, are all proved quite as clearly by my method as by that of Mr. George. Indeed, my method has this advantage: it affords a mathematical demonstration of the general proposition so conclusive and convincing that it never yet has been denied by any one, and never can be denied by any honest man who understands simple arithmetic. On the contrary, the principle upon which my argument and calculations rest has been affirmed by many of the most distinguished supporters of the present system of taxation as well as by all economists. Mr. George's argument, although convincing to my mind and sustained by the highest economic authorities, is nevertheless honestly disputed by men of ability and learning.

It is true that Mr. George's theory carries him, apparently, somewhat further than mine. His theory seems to demand that eighty-five to ninety per cent of ground rent should be absorbed by taxation, whether the state has any immediate need for the revenue or not. My theory demands only so much of the ground rent as is needed by the state for public purposes. Statistics indicate that this would, at the present time, amount to about sixty-five per cent. But most opponents of the single tax assert that it would absorb ninety per cent of ground rent at once. If that is true, then there is no difference between Mr. George and myself. Nor have I the least objection to such a result. All that I object to in Mr. George's most radical demand (if indeed he really makes such a demand) is the artificial increase of state expenditures for the mere purpose of absorbing rent. It seems to me that such a system would involve extravagance and wasteful corruption, which would be more injurious to the people generally than would the mere appropriation of a few millions to private use through untaxed rent. But, as the natural increase of taxation is always far more rapid than the increase of either population or wealth, it also seems to me that this natural increase will settle the whole question; so that it will never become a practical one.

Mr. Pentecost denies that Mr. George's theory contemplates anything short of the absorption by the state of the last cent of economic rent. But he is mistaken. It is one of the admirable features of Mr. George's work that he has so clearly discerned the practical difficulties of his proposed reform. He has not laid stress upon the ten per cent to be left to landlords; but he has none the less seen that it is essential to the success of the reform. If the state should attempt to collect the whole rent, through its own officials, the expense of such collection would certainly amount to five per cent and then the collection would be exceedingly imperfect and unequal. If tax collectors were honest and watchful, there could be no market value for land or its use; and therefore they would have no standard by which to guide their assessments. Assessments being reduced to guess work, most landholders would pay less than the real value. Thus they would secretly appropriate rent. The minority, who were assessed for the full rental value of their land, would of course pay more than their just share of taxation. The state would thus lose probably twenty per cent of the rent, besides failing to make the burden of taxation equal, as it ought to be.

By always leaving ten to fifteen per cent of the annual value to landowners, the state would keep in existence a class of men who would have every motive of self-interest to ascertain the true annual value of land and to collect it from their

tenants. The tax assessor would then easily ascertain from tenants what rent they paid, and would apportion taxes on that basis. Landlords would have to be active, busy men, in order to live upon their margin of rent, after paying taxes. They would be men of business, just like the real estate and house renting agents of the present day. Practically, they would be tax collectors for the state, receiving a commission upon their collections, but having a motive to efficiency which no ordinary public officer could ever have.

Some will say that no landlords ought to be allowed at all. But such persons forget that neither rent nor landlords can ever be abolished, without establishing absolute communism. Rent is produced by natural laws, which cannot be repealed. Every one who gets a share of it is a landlord. Every tenant who has "a good natured landlord," is himself a landlord, because he puts into his own pocket some portion of the natural rent, which an ill-natured landlord would extract from him. If the state tries to be the sole landlord, it will fail; because state officers have not omniscient wisdom; and individuals will keep in their pockets a large share of the real rent. But the state can leave the collection of rent to private landlords and can then extract a regular proportion of that rent from them. The wisest of men cannot extract a drop of milk from hay. But a very simple man can let his cows extract milk from hay; and then he can milk them easily enough. The farmer must leave some milk for the calves, or he will soon have no cows. And the state must leave some rent for its servants, the landlords, or it will have no efficient tax collectors. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider it's ways and be wise." Ants keep their cows—the tiny aphides. The aphid sucks milk from leaves; and the ant stands by, patiently, until it sees that the aphid is full; and then it quietly sucks most of the milk from the aphid. But the ant is wise enough to leave to the aphid enough milk to live upon.

Contrary to the opinion of some distinguished writers on economic subjects, I believe that there is a science of taxation, and that nature has provided a perpetual fountain of revenue for the state; which is only another form of stating that she has provided natural taxes. Rent is simply a method of taxation; and it is the only method provided by nature. When rent is appropriated by private persons, they are allowed to exercise the power of taxation for their own benefit; and they keep in their own pockets that which nature intended for the support of the state. This is one of the fundamental doctrines of "Progress and Poverty," only somewhat differently stated. Mr. Pentecost, of course, believes in this. But some inferences follow from this, which have not occurred to him. If rent is merely natural taxation, then the whole land question is merely a question of taxation; and the abolition of private property in land, which means simply the abolition of the present diversion of rent to private use, is a "mere fiscal reform"—a mere "question of a new system of taxation." And this is precisely what he thinks that he despises.

The truth is that taxation, being the only means by which human society can be kept alive, is one of the most important questions in the world. It is just as important an element in social problems as the question, "How can I make a living?" is to each individual man. If a man makes an entire mistake in his choice of an occupation, he starves to death. If society does the same thing, in selecting a method of taxation, it perishes. If a man chooses an unjust or immoral method

of gaining a living, he sinks into a degraded life, and, as a general rule, wastes away. So does society, when it chooses immoral methods of taxation. When we seek to reclaim and recreate a fallen man, the first thing to be done, without which all other influences are utterly useless, is to put him in the way of earning an honest living. This may not be all which he needs; but if this is omitted, nothing else will do him the slightest good. And, in exactly the same way, nothing effectual can be done for "humanity," which is only another name for "society," until the system of taxation, by which the life of society is maintained, is made honest, just and natural.

The land question and the tax question are, therefore, one and the same; and nothing can be true about the right of the people to the land which cannot be proved by a course of reasoning, founded upon purely fiscal considerations. I am far from asserting that nothing can be true which has not been *already* proved in this way. Wisdom will not die with any of us. We have only begun to scratch the surface of these problems of taxation. Almost every month, some new light is thrown upon them. But we have no right to assert anything concerning the single tax, as a settled principle, which cannot be proved in both ways: first, by reasoning from the right of the people to the land, and next, by reasoning from some demonstrated necessity in just taxation. Truth matches all around.

The identity of the land reform with the tax reform would, of course, be conclusively proved, if it could be shown that the injury done by the one was exactly equal to the injury done by the other. For Mr. Pentecost is not so sentimental as to burn with indignation over the mere abstract wrong of private property in land, if it did not actually rob the masses of men of wealth which they have honestly earned, and this to a vast amount. If the private ownership of land only robbed the landless to the extent of one cent each, he would not join a crusade against it. The importance of the land question is to be measured in dollars and cents, whenever correct statistics can be obtained. And if a "mere fiscal reform"—"a merely new method of taxation"—can be proved to take from the precise persons who have appropriated land the precise amount of which they have deprived the community thereby, it is evident that this "mere fiscal reform" must be as beneficial to the human race as the most perfect land reform could be. Such proof cannot yet be given; but it is constantly becoming apparent that complete statistics will give it.

I have said, in another place, that the ground rent of every country exceeds the whole cost of maintaining government in that country; but I have not said that it would exceed the whole burden which the people of that country have to bear in consequence of both the direct and indirect effects of taxation. There are many indications that the two burdens are equal. The lowest and highest estimates of ground rent in America agree almost exactly with the lowest and the highest estimates of the burdens caused by taxation. Under our present systems of taxation, the people pay not only the public taxes, say \$750,000,000 a year, but also commissions, interest, etc., to the middlemen who pay our taxes for us, besides the increased prices caused by protective taxes and internal revenue restrictions. With these additions, the real burden of taxation can never amount to less than \$900,000,000 per annum, and often exceeds \$1,250,000,000. Surely the relief of those who own no land or the least valuable land from this load, of which they

now carry at least seven-eighths, and probably nine-tenths, would confer a benefit upon the poor which may well arouse a little enthusiasm; and no one has yet made any reasonable estimate of American ground rents which promises any greater benefit to the landless by any kind of land reform than would be given by such a fiscal reform.

Mr. George has shown that all the evils of land monopoly can be remedied by simple change in our methods of taxation. By a different line of reasoning it is proved that, whether land monopoly is right or wrong, or not, the existing methods of taxation are unjust; that they produce substantially the same evils which flow from land monopoly, and that all those evils can be remedied by the adoption of a just method of taxation; this being precisely that which is proposed by Mr. George. Upon either theory, the wrong done is the same in nature, the same in amount, and the same as to the persons who suffer from it. Upon either theory, the remedy is the same and the benefit conferred is the same. Why should one theory arouse enthusiasm and the other destroy it? Why should the teaching of one theory be a great religious movement, while the teaching of the other is without soul, sympathy or principle?

Mr. Pentecost is misled by the almost universal feeling that reforms which seem small and commonplace cannot be far-reaching and fundamental. He cannot conceive it possible, apparently, that any one should feel real enthusiasm on behalf of "a mere fiscal reform" or a "new method of taxation." But he is mistaken. Some of us have maintained an enthusiasm fully as deep and strong as his for many years; and this enthusiasm has been aroused by the very keenness of our perception that the changes which we advocated were, superficially speaking, so small, while their effects were so far-reaching. Some men cannot appreciate the force of lightning without the thunderbolt, or the power of steam without an explosion. But others appreciate the tremendous value and power of both lightning and steam, when they work quietly in harness, transforming the face of the world by their silent yet irresistible energy. The greatest reforms in human history have been produced by apparently insignificant causes; and this will continue true in the future.

In undertaking to carry through any serious reform, it is indispensable to test its value and soundness, by every possible means, before committing ourselves to it. If we make a mistake, we not only waste our own lives in an effort which is worse than useless, but we may do incalculable injury to humanity. It is positively wrong, therefore, to devote our energies to the service of an apparent reform, without having put it to every reasonable test. Now, although it is mean, and unworthy of a true man, to obey the laws of morality, simply on account of the substantial results which reward such obedience, it is, nevertheless, true that every moral quality is attended with its rewards and has a positive commercial value. Truth, honesty, fidelity, diligence, purity, temperance and all other social virtues have a value which can be represented in dollars and cents. This is so well known that, under slavery, a slave having any of these qualities actually sold for more money on account of each. Now, while the man who is only honest because honesty is the best policy, is not honest at all, yet the honesty of even the most ideally honest man is strengthened and the dishonesty of rascals is restricted, by the universal testimony of experience upon this point. So, however strongly any one may be convinced that the single tax is just, yet, if he is a reasonable man, he cannot fail to add strength to his faith, when he learns that statistics demonstrate its commercial value and practicability. Neither can the enthusiasm of any of its sensible advocates be dampened by listening to a demonstration that all other forms of taxation are failures, considered as prac-

tical measures, and frauds, considered from the standpoint of morals and equity. Meanwhile, multitudes of men, who have little capacity for enthusiasm, may be convinced by such cold reasoning, and brought to act in unison with the enthusiasts. This is the branch of work to which I have set myself; and while it may have repelled a few who object to the respectability of sound reason and common sense, its results have surpassed my own expectations; and it has developed a great amount of enthusiasm as well as of calm and philosophic support.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

FELLOWSHIP OF PURPOSE.

In a small city or town the alarm of fire calls forth not merely the antiquated hand engine but almost the whole population. A hasty glance will convince the observer that everybody is doing his best to get the apparatus to the neighborhood of the fire, but close observation will show that some forty men have hold of the rope and are pulling the machine, while four hundred are running alongside yelling "fire." After the machine is in place a further examination will probably show that the forty who did the pulling are also doing the pumping. These forty men and a small sprinkling of outsiders willing to take a hand at the ropes or the pumps constitute for the time the effective anti-fire party in that town, even though it numbers among its inhabitants able men with pronounced views as to better methods for extinguishing fires and noble men and women whose hearts are filled with anguish at the thought of the sufferings of those who may be burned out of house and home.

In most movements that aim at practical reform we have a somewhat similar spectacle, and as a rule it will be found in the long run that the men who take hold of the rope and pull are those who in military phrase are ranked as "the effective force," not because they are wiser or better, but simply because, first, they do take hold, and, secondly, because, having taken hold, they keep hold and pull together. If we were to apply this simile to what is frequently called "the George movement" we should first have to inquire what it is that Mr. George has proposed and then see who are pulling together to make his proposal effective.

Mr. Henry George was not the first to discover or even the first to proclaim the great truth embodied in Thomas Jefferson's terse declaration that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living." That truth was clearly set forth in the Hebrew scriptures; it animated the struggle of the Gracchi, and, on the assumption, then common, that the king was the father of his people, it guided the Norman conqueror in his allotment of the land of England. The Irish have no tradition more sacred than that which asserts their right, as a people, to the soil of Ireland. Mr. George would be pained to find that any one had attributed to him the discovery of a truth, the antiquity of which he has always declared.

Again, Mr. George has done more than perhaps all other men combined to make the American people understand that he is not the first to suggest the idea of laying all taxes on land values, as a fiscal policy. Though he arrived at this opinion through independent thought and investigation, he gives the chief credit for originating it to the French economists of the school of Quesnay and Turgot. It is unquestionably true that Mr. George has presented the advantages of such a system of taxation more clearly than any of his predecessors, and has done more than all other men combined to bring the whole world to a consideration of such advantages; but nevertheless Mr. George was not the first to suggest the idea of the single tax.

Has Mr. George then done no great or original thing? He has indeed, and in my opinion he has not only done a great and noble thing, but has rendered to humanity the greatest service for which it has to thank any living man.

The doctrine of the common ownership of land, though old as civilization, and

frequently practically applied by primitive peoples, has ceased to find practical application in proportion to the advance of such peoples toward a higher civilization. So uniform has this been that it had become an accepted idea that civilization could only exist under some system of private ownership of land. The various attempts made to assert the right to the common ownership of land through common occupancy had failed to give that permanency of tenure essential to any extensive improvement of natural opportunities, and people concluded that individual ownership could alone assure the fixity of tenure necessary to the development of high civilization. Many men saw the justice of common ownership, but, as some of the tariff defenders say to-day of free trade, they said it was all very well as a theory, but it would not work in practice.

Now, the great service that Mr. George has rendered to the world is the discovery of a system by which this once insuperable obstacle can be removed and the people be enabled to enjoy their own, not only without injury to civilization, but to its great and rapid advancement. All of Mr. George's humane instincts were shocked and wounded by the spectacle of the persistence of abject poverty in the midst of advancing wealth. All his powers were devoted to the inquiry as to the cause of this. He brought to that inquiry as much emotional fervor and high moral purpose as has distinguished any other champion of the suffering masses so long shut out from their heritage. Such a man could not fail to find that this shutting out is the root of the evil. Had Mr. George stopped here, however, his would simply have been another name added to the long list of writers who have denounced the great wrong of landlordism in books from which very good men and women from time to time take sips of eloquence very much as the man about town takes his morning cocktail.

But fortunately for the world Mr. George did not stop here. He is not one of those who take a pride in the abnormal enlargement of certain faculties at the expense of all others, and hence boast that they are "all heart." Henry George has a head. He has a brain that is normal, healthy and as effectively responsive to the call of his will as are John L. Sullivan's muscles. He put that brain to work on the problem of the ages and he solved it. He saw the giant wrong of private ownership in land, but he also saw why that wrong had been so long tolerated on a seemingly valid plea of necessity. He did not satisfy himself with denouncing the wrong, but he determined to see how it could be righted. He sought the remedy—not a remedy that would in the end prove a mere palliative; not the neutralization of the evil effects of one unnatural system through the establishment of another unnatural condition, but the one possible permanent cure for disease—the restoration of the conditions of health; the one possible remedy for injustice—the re-establishment of justice.

What was that remedy? Mr. George saw the truth of Ricardo's law of rent, and that it was through their use of that law that the landlord class was taking from the producers an ever increasing proportion of their products. He did not propose to repeal the law of rent, nor to hang those who, under conditions sanctioned by law, profit by it. He simply showed that the people's ownership would be as thoroughly asserted by taking the rent as by taking the land, and that common ownership enforced in this fashion would not interfere in the least with that permanency of tenure which is essential to civilization.

Having made this plain, and asserted the basic truth of common ownership as strongly as it can be asserted, Mr. George turned to the consideration of a practical means for applying the remedy, and he found in the single tax the ideal system for the purpose. As a mere fiscal scheme, it is unquestionably the most just and perfect system for raising governmental revenue. As a convenient means for en-

abling the community to acquire its own it is equally effective; and Mr. George demonstrates this and offers to the world as his contribution to the discussion of ages the single tax, a fiscal scheme, as the practical method of asserting and making effective the great principle of the common ownership of land.

The men who propose to bring about the establishment of the single tax may or may not be "George men," but they are the only men who are seeking to apply the one remedy, which carried to its ultimate, will solve the problem stated in "Progress and Poverty." They are the only men who, to return to my simile, now have hold of the rope; and whether they expect to stay to the end or not, they are at present our friends and allies. The mere fact that one acknowledges the common ownership of land no more makes him a "George man" than it makes him a Moses man, a Gracchus man, or a Jefferson man. That truth is acknowledged by many who never heard of Henry George, and is apparent to others who bitterly oppose him. Neither does the mere acceptance of the single tax as a fiscal policy make one a "George man." Many men who see this clearly are indifferent or hostile to our ultimate aims, though working with us for the present.

The "George men" are those who, accepting the philosophy of "Progress and Poverty," propose to work for the establishment of the single tax as the practical method of remedying the wrongs inflicted on society through the existing system of private ownership in land. That is a pretty big job, and those who comprehend its magnitude are neither seeking new contracts nor rejecting any one who proposes to take hold and pull. This is, however, a free country, in the old sense of the term. No believer in the common ownership of land can be forced to accept Mr. George's method of asserting that right. No man is under any compulsion to be a "George man," but all those who do propose to stand together in carrying out the plan proposed by Mr. George have the right to define their own position, and the term "George men," and I have no doubt that their definition of "a George man" will be "one who proposes to work for the single tax as the one road to the reassertion of the right of the American people to the rental value of the whole land of the United States," and that they will account all who help them toward the achievement of the single tax as their allies and all who retard such efforts as their opponents.

In saying this they will not exhibit either "narrowness" or "illiberality." They will simply display sound common sense, and show that they instinctively apprehend the natural law of association. In social life the bond of closest association is fellowship of taste, in religious life it is usually fellowship of faith, but in practical political efforts in behalf of reform it is *fellowship of purpose* and of immediate purpose, and the test of such fellowship is willingness to do the thing next to be done, or, to return to my simile once more, to take hold of the rope, to keep hold of it and to pull with the rest at least until we put out the fire, instead of letting go, jumping the fence and calling on all who are willing to yell "Fire!" to cease bothering with that petty fire engine while there is on hand a proposal to organize an expedition to extinguish the aurora borealis.

WM. T. CROSDALE

The Kansas Occupation Tax.

Topeka Jeffersonian.

An ordinance has been introduced in our city council levying an occupation tax on a great number and variety of useful pursuits. The money will be used in public improvements, which will enhance the value of real estate and advance rents, thus enriching the landlords from taxes laid upon industry, and increasing the rents paid by the persons who pay the taxes. The injustice of taxing business and labor to raise the value of real estate—of taxing A to make B richer—is so self evident that it only needs to be stated, yet it is constantly being done and will continue until public sentiment is aroused against it. Everything in the nature of public improvements should be levied on real estate regardless of improvements, for the reason that real estate owners derive all the benefit.

THE PARISIAN PRESS AND THE SINGLE TAX.

PARIS, June 25.—The Paris press is so wanting in that journalistic spirit that keeps the Americans abreast of all the great questions of the day that any review of the single tax idea from a logical standpoint, no matter how absurd the conclusions may be, is interesting. The most thoughtful article that has resulted from the recent congress appeared yesterday in the *Journal des Debats*, one of the most solid of the Paris papers. It is from the pen of the well-known writer, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, who uses nearly all of the front page to give his ideas on Henry George. He commences with a fine tribute to "Progress and Poverty," to which, he says, current rumor gives a larger circulation than to any of the novels of Scott or Dumas. The writer wonders a little at this popularity because there is nothing in the idea of the "nationalization of the soil, that is to say, the re-taking by the state of all that which constitutes ground rent—the renting of land directly to the farmer and to the occupant—the abolition of all taxes, thanks to the enormous revenues which this system, it is claimed, would give to public powers." It had been a thousand times presented and discussed before Henry George took hold of the idea and made it his by his "enchaining vigor, his brilliant mind, and the apparent force of his style."

Then some of the thinkers who have contributed to make "Progress and Poverty" a chestnut are passed in a hurried review. Huer, a thinker to-day forgotten, demanded "that at each death the free parts of the general patrimony should return to all the young workmen equally."

Colins of Belgium, whose school figured in the congress, also had a plan for the nationalization and even Joseph Chamberlain is made to do duty in the ranks of land nationalizers by this French writer who sees in the "three acres and a cow" scheme a plan of land nationalization.

But he lays the greatest stress on the formation at Melbourne, Australia, in 1872, under the name of the Land tenure reform league of Victoria of an association which had for its object the cessation of the sale of public lands and the leasing of them by the state. That this league had all the ideas to which "the celebrated American publicist was later to give so much impulse," is sufficiently clear to this Frenchman who quotes two paragraphs of the declaration of the league:

The advantages of a soil not hampered by payments and the suppression of every tax would assure exceptional conditions of continuous progress and general prosperity.

The absence of all taxes and the absolute liberty of all industries would cause every inhabitant of the country to enjoy his ideal part of the public domain whether he should occupy a part of it or not.

Among the resolutions of this league the Fifth is mentioned, providing for "the gradual suppression of all indirect taxes as the revenue of the state ought to come only from the rent of ground."

The endorsement of the league by the almost expiring John Stuart Mill is also spoken of. M. Emile de Laveleye's plan is mentioned and at last one is cautioned not to forget M. Menier, "whose ideas though at once systematic and confused," were directed toward the same end. These ideas were in favor of placing all taxes upon "fixed" capital, that is, upon the ground, the buildings and the "immeubles par destination."

"There," says the *Journal des Debats*, "are many of the predecessors of Henry George; but the American writer has appeared, he has written his book, and there is no longer a question but of him. The three acres and a cow of Mr. Chamberlain (*sic*), the limitation to five hectares of hereditary land, even the land reform league of Australia, all these had disappeared in the dazzling brilliance which has surrounded the Yankee reformer."

But after all, Henry George did right to compose the book, for, says the article, "in the midst of so many people who have since long ago sung the same air,

he alone has had the voice loud enough to be heard by the entire world."

Mr. George's occasional title of prophet is not misplaced, says the writer, for "prophecy consists not in the first intuition, but in the enormous propagation assured to a system."

After a slight sneer to the effect that in the Exposition which the congress left not even an echo, the article warns against treating lightly the doctrines of the man who has gained for a book almost scientific more readers than the most popular novelist has been able to secure.

To this French journalist land nationalization is connected with the theory of Ricardo, that land value increases in proportion as capital accumulates and population grows. But this theory has no place nowadays. "Woe to the state," he cries, "that would have no other resource than the ground rent, even were it to be confiscated outright! I defy the French state, the departments and the communes to make headway against their four milliards of annual expenses, with the product of the grounds and the houses."

There is no difference, except a superficial one, between the nationalization of land and the ancient and brutal communism.

The natural rise in the value of land by the increase of population and of capital may be experienced in the new countries, "but our old Europe suffers from the opposite phenomenon!" exclaims the Frenchman.

This new and wonderful idea that the marvelous progress of the century has increased man's wants for everything but land is thus expanded:

"Except in cities which prosper, and even then only in the flourishing quarters of these cities, the natural and spontaneous increase of land value without work and the incorporation of capital, is a simple hypothesis. It is realized sometimes in certain districts, but in others, by way of compensation, a contrary result is produced. There is no natural law which makes land gain without work in net revenue or in value. . . . Neither direct observation nor statistics testify to a tendency in the old countries, beyond even the present crisis, to a spontaneous rise of ground revenue or of the value of lands."

The author thinks some figures ought to be used to brace up such a wonderful point and so he takes a peep at the official reports. Studies of rural lands sold in England during a hundred years, he says, show that an acre was worth on an average:

£18 sterling from 1781 to 1785.
£24 sterling from 1811 to 1815.
£28 sterling from 1831 to 1835.
£26 sterling from 1840 to 1850.
£32 sterling from 1871 to 1875.
£28 sterling from 1876 to 1880.

After this table he cries triumphantly: "Where does one see in these figures the proof of a natural increase of the value of land? Let it be noted that the monetary unit lost in purchasing power from 1871 to 1880, that in the interval salaries have largely gone up. Consider especially that since 1780 and notably since 1815, English land, like the soil of all old civilized countries, has been the object of enormous incorporations of capital—drainage, irrigation, buildings, etc. These reflections made, one does not see how the proprietor since 1780 has enriched himself at the expense of the community; one perceives on the contrary that since 1875 the proprietor has seen his fortune and his revenues diminish, although the sum of the revenues and of the riches of the surrounding society has grown larger. It is just the same thing in France as in England. The statistics officially published in December, 1888, show that the average selling value of land per hectare was 1,276 francs in 1851, that it rose to 1,830 francs in 1879 and fell again to 1,785 francs in 1884. If we admit that the land is worth 26 per cent more now than in 1851, the millions of capital expended on the soil during the thirty-eight years must be taken account of. During these thirty-eight years it is not an exaggeration to say that twenty billions have been incor-

porated into the ground. This soil, then, which is worth 25 per cent more than in 1851, is no longer the same soil. It is the ground changed and transformed. And besides haven't wages since 1851 in the whole of France increased by more than 25 per cent? Our opinion is that the generality of land owners are the dupes of the universal illusion that attaches to land. They bestow on this seducing mistress large sums of capital the interest of which even at the ordinary rate is not returned to them."

The value of the lands in France is thus explained: "There are in France 40,000,000 hectares of usable land, at the rate of 1,750 francs per hectare—this represents nearly 70,000,000,000. The interest at three per cent would be 2,100,000,000. But if account is taken of the taxes, of the reparative work, the advances made to the farmers, it is doubtful if the land proprietors receive regularly 1,600,000,000 or 1,700,000,000 net. And it is with that that they wish to pay the expenses of the state, of the communes and of the departments, which are twice and a half greater than that sum."

After this little game with figures the writer is prepared to say: "The artisans of the nationalization of land neglect to enter into details. Suppose all the lands rented by the state for fifty or one hundred years. Thirty or forty years before the expiration of the lease the tenant would plant no more forest trees; fifteen or twenty years before the end of his lease he would quit planting fruit trees; he would suspend at the same time all new building; ten or twelve years before the wind-up he would give up the culture of vines, he would make no more meadows."

The conclusion of the article, which has been triumphantly quoted by some English papers published at Paris, is thus stated:

The nationalization of the soil means its permanent deterioration. Thanks to this love of land which pays them in illusions always springing up afresh, the proprietors for a large part receive no return for the capital which they employ, for the cares which they bestow, and for the service which they render to society.

As for the ultimate success of the single tax, the writer says there is no danger of it ever being applied to any country; and that certainly in France, where the most of men know what landed property is, the theory will make scarcely an echo.

Such is the heaviest, most lauded criticism of the single tax that the late congress has called out. Comment is unnecessary. But such expositions of ignorance no longer pass by without being exposed. The congress has done this, that there are several people here able and ready to attack any criticism of the single tax. This *Journal des Debats* article had hardly got cold in type before the editor received a red-hot reply from one of the members of the congress. More than this, the editor of one of the leading reviews last week was surprised to find on his table a short concise criticism of his leading article on Henry George.

Some weeks ago THE STANDARD made reference to the publication of a book against the large stores of Paris, containing an appeal to the women of France to assist the little merchants. The league putting out this book held a great reunion at Paris yesterday. The league's name is "League for the defense of the interests of labor, of industry and of commerce." The organizers of this league have undertaken a veritable crusade against the "grands magasins" of novelties. They accuse the immense houses of monopolizing the public favor by actions that are hostile to commercial liberty, and thus ruin the smaller dealers who cannot enter the competitive battle.

The leaguers wish to obtain a complete reform of the patent law. This may be all well enough, but no person who has thought much on the relations of capital and labor will see much sense in the second plan, which is to strike every merchant with a tax proportional to the number of his employees, the number of businesses which he engages in, the number of wagons he employs, etc. This tax will be not only proportional, but also progressive. For example: Such a mer-

chant has one employee. He would pay one franc. Another has two employees; would pay two francs for each one of them. If he have a thousand employees, whack! he is hit with a tax of a thousand times a thousand, or a million francs. This wild idea of relieving the ever-growing pressure upon the monopolized means of subsistence is not simply a blind plunge of the ignorant masses. It counts in its ranks several members of parliament and three of the city councilors of Paris.

W. E. HICKS.

The George-Hyndman Debate.

New York World, June 3.

LOXBOX, July 2.—Henry George had to face an audience to-night fully as hostile and almost as stormy as that which Henry Ward Beecher met here in the old slavery days, when he rose to-night in St. James's hall to combat Hyndman, the great English socialist. Several hundred London socialists turned out to shout for Hyndman, while the single tax men were comparatively few in number.

Never did Mr. George appear in better form than last night, even in the days when he was making speeches against Mr. Hewitt in New York during the mayoralty contest. He proved himself a superior debater, lighting step by step all Hyndman's socialistic arguments—arguments in favor of the use of force to get possession of property and thus ameliorate the condition of the workmen. He was greeted with loud cheers when he said that all the results aimed at by socialism could be achieved more speedily by the single tax doctrine.

At the conclusion of the debate George was cheered by the socialists, who went from the hall roaring the "Marseillaise."

Not Land, but Improvements.

PITTSBURG, Pa., June 26.—The above is the title of an article in *Parm and Home* of June 15, 1889, and glancing down to the foot I saw the name of Edwin Willets, assistant secretary of agriculture. Ah! ah! thanks I, so the army of the followers of the single tax is growing; but I had better waited until I had read the article, for after that I changed my exclamation to Oh! ho!

Well, he starts out just as a single tax man would, and uses our arguments pretty much; but, my, what a wind up! The gist of the argument is that we sell our improvements "not the land." So fair, so good; and then he claims that "this element (improvements) is largely ignored by all that class of publicists who insist that society should wipe out all titles to land."

Just here is where Mr. Willets jumps out of the doctrine taught and accepted by all well informed single tax men, and jumps into the doctrines as so often represented by newspapers and men ignorant (willingly or otherwise) of the true position. It is the improvements that belong to the ones furnishing them; and so long as A is willing and does pay the same tax for a certain lot of land in an equally desirable and useful location as that of B, so long can he hold that land and hand it down to his posterity, but when he can and will no longer pay said equal tax, then said land shall be open for the use of C, D, or who ever may be able to use said land and pay the tax. That doctrine is so clear that "he who runs may read."

Again, the assistant secretary of agriculture says: "The fact is, as a rule, in the markets of the world there is no price set on land," whereas the fact is that, as a rule, a price is set on land almost irrespective of improvements. Within my present range of vision I can see hundreds of acres of land without as much as a post for improvement (unless it be a sign: these lots for sale, etc.), the persons holding them pay only nominal taxes, though the price asked is high. The land is bare; the owners have not improved it; they do not put improvements on when they make a sale, so that if they sell improvements, they sell something in which they have never held an interest; they sell something they never owned.

If land at present has no market value, as a rule, would Mr. Willets please inform us how it comes that lots in cities will sell for several hundred dollars per foot front! and how it comes that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, within easy access to railroads, a good farm can hardly be got by a man without paying some one for it—good land that a citizen of this country cannot cultivate even without paying a heavy fine for the privilege to use the gifts of nature!

No doubt he will say in the case of city lots, on account of paved streets, county bridges, churches, court houses, etc.; but by what right does the so-called owner of said lots claim thousands of dollars from a person willing to get the lot and use it?

JOS. E. BLACKSHAW.

As Land Goes Up Labor Goes Down.

Topeka, Kansas, Jeffersonian.

There is no disguising the fact that the great increase of land values here has already produced the results which ever do and ever must be produced by dear land under our present land tenure system. Land and labor are opposite ends of the beam, and as the land end goes up the labor end must go down as the share of the total product of labor taken by rent grows larger the share left for labor must grow smaller.

HENRY GEORGE AND SAMUEL SMITH, M. P.

They meet in Debate Before the National Liberal Club in London—The Hall Crowded and the Liveliest Enthusiasm Prevailed—Long and Loud Cheers at the End.

London Star, June 17.

Henry George and Samuel Smith, M. P., did not quite manage to settle the land question between them last night, but they made to its consideration a contribution of the first importance. The conference room at the National Liberal Club was filled with clear-headed radicals—among them a sprinkling of ladies—and the volleys of applause which wavered now one way now the other, showed that a close and impartial hearing was being given to the two champions. Mr. Halley Stewart, M. P., who presided, had to exercise his authority more than once to restrain some of the more enthusiastic listeners, who wanted to go in and help the debate along. Of the two hours' solid speaking it is obviously impossible to give more than the bare outline of the arguments on each side. Under this treatment which involves the omission of much descriptive and illustrative matter, Mr. George's speeches are especially sure to suffer. But Mr. George has this advantage—that the omissions may be filled in from his own works, which are now at least superficially known to every one who pretends to be instructed in political affairs.

Mr. George opened the debate with some definitions. By a single tax he meant a tax levied on land values only, a single basis, in fact, of taxation. By land values he meant the value attaching to land irrespective of improvement or use made of it, the value which grows by the increase of population and general improvement. He founded his contentions first on the ground of justice, arguing that that which man provides by his exertions belongs to him entirely, and the community ought not to take any part of it except under pressing necessity. It was, he contended, inexpedient to tax wealth—using the term in the strict sense—in any form. "It is stupid to tax the things which we all want. Tax capital in any of its forms, and you tend to drive it out of the country." But that could not be so with land values. In the next place the single tax would enormously diminish the complexity of government and reduce the number of officials and the temptations to fraud and evasion. It would be a tax only in form. It would take from no individual that which was due to his exertions or his savings, but simply what belongs to the community.

Mr. Smith has a very weak voice, which puts out of the question any attempt to rival Mr. George oratorically. But he is a man of business, and he marshaled his arguments in business-like fashion. He dissented from his opponent's scheme firstly because he believed it would not accomplish what was desired, and secondly because he could only regard the project as immoral. Appropriation of rent by taxation really meant confiscation of rent. Now, the rent of agricultural lands in the United Kingdom amounted to about £60,000,000. He was informed by one of the largest land agents in the country that of the total rentals an average of one-third was spent in improvements and keeping up the estate, one-third in interest on mortgages, jointures and fixed charges, and only one-third was spendable personally by the landlords. But Mr. George proposed to confiscate the whole. Further consols and lending on land were the chief directions in which trust moneys were invested. So they were asked to confiscate the provisions that have been made for hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans. "The fact is," quoth the honorable member, "land is the platform built tier after tier on the credit of the country; and to pull out the lower story and say that you hurt no one but the owners is lunacy." Who knew but that another Mr. George, going a little further—that is, Mr. Hyndman—would propose to confiscate all capital. State ownership of land, he further contended, always meant poor cultivation.

Mr. George pooh-poohed the terrible forecast of the destruction of banks and commercial concerns generally. That was, he said, much what was prophesied as to the Channel tunnel, what the Tories said would follow the abolition of the Corn laws, and what in the United States was predicted would follow the abolition of chattel slavery. He agreed with Mr. Smith that there had been progress in an age which saw the introduction of the steam engine, the electric telegraph, the abolition of the protective system, and so on. But had the advance been commensurate, and had the gains been fairly shared? "Only some hundreds starved," said Mr. Smith. "But there are hundreds and thousands who die of diseases really caused by starvation." Mr. George hammered this nail well home amid the cheers of his audience.

Mr. Smith failed to see that the proposed remedy would give them more access to the land. He also contended that to the working classes relief from other taxation by the adoption of a single tax would be trivial. The burden of revenue was at present borne by taxes on alcohol, tobacco and tea. "Does anyone think that to remit these taxes would turn the poor into rich, the drunken into sober, and give work to the workless?" Real property—that is, land and houses—was taxed for imperial purposes to the extent of about forty per cent, but personal property was only taxed to about two per cent of its

capital value. There was no form of property that was more properly subject to taxation than personal property, such as that of the great moneyed capitalists. But Mr. George would exempt these, and would come down on peasant owners of land. Of all property owners the landowner had the smallest income for his own use.

Mr. George said that the only way of taxing the capitalist was to go for the property—which was ultimately the land. In taxing capital they did not tax the capitalist, for the tax ultimately rested on the consumer. Of course the land owner would object to the new proposals, for everywhere he would have to give room for the land user. That was the great advantage. Emigration was indeed, not to get land merely, but to get the reward of labor. It would only be where a community had arisen and given value to land that the tax would operate. It was not a question of agricultural land values alone, but of town and mineral bearing districts.

Mr. Smith, in closing the debate, returned to his muttons. He was sure that the single tax spell confiscation. But further he contended that the difficulties over the assessment of what he called state rents would cause to grow up a great bureaucracy. If there were not a government valuation and land were put up to competition, rents would be much higher, and hundreds of farmers would be evicted. Finally, he argued that his opponent was upsetting the first principle of finance—that taxation and representation should go together—by removing all taxes from the greater part of the people.

There were loud cheers as the debate came to a close, and votes of thanks were accorded to the two principals.

SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

Here is what two of the big British papers have to say about the George-Smith debate.

Liverpool Daily Courier: A duel has been fought at a leading Gladstonian political club in London. The principals were a well-known politician and philanthropist of this country and an advanced theorist of America. The seconds and referee were familiar public men, and a distinguished company of over a hundred witnessed the encounter. The distance was rather less than ten paces, and the weapons—mutually selected and used with great skill and dexterity by both combatants—were words! Mr. Henry George thought he could beat creation with his single tax theory, and Mr. Samuel Smith felt certain he could demolish that theory like a castle of cards; hence the conflict. Slightly to vary the metaphor "four rounds were fought." The first lasted twenty minutes, the second ten minutes, and the third and fourth shorter periods, both adversaries, presumably, falling gradually short of wind. It is not so stand, but we imagine the result must have been "a draw," for both parties, hot and fast as the fighting had been—calling for repeated interventions on the part of the referee, Mr. Halley Stewart—in the long run appeared to "come up smiling."

The Scottish Leader, Edinburgh: I dropped in this evening for a minute or two to hear the single tax debate at the National Liberal Club between Mr. Henry George and Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., and I was surprised to find a large gathering uncomfortably packed in one of the smaller rooms, and listening intently to the old familiar theme. Mr. George was strong as usual in catching phrases, and oratorically he had the advantage of his opponent, but Mr. Smith put his case forcibly, and overwhelmed his audience with an endless array of statistics. Mr. George pleaded with all his wonted vigor for a restoration of the proprietary rights of the people to all land, while Mr. Smith, on the other hand, argued that the land had practically no commercial value apart from its fertility, which was due to human labor.

The London Star says that some of the notable foreigners who have been made temporary members of the National Liberal Club are the Duc de la Chartres, Mr. Henry George, the Hon. Thomas Capper of Kingston, Jamaica, and Messrs. G. H. Putnam and Charles Scribner, the great New York publishers. This is probably the best known and most powerful political club in the world.

And here is an item and a comment from the World: A Paris journal nominates Henry George for "next president of the United States." The wild waves of the Atlantic will be likely to swallow this exotic boom before it gets out of sight of land.

"Of his writings, it may be said, *le style, c'est l'homme*." So says the Paris correspondent of London Truth in speaking of Henry George. "Whatever he may be," the correspondent continues, he looks unsophisticated and as good as gold. This contrasts curiously with his faculty for getting into other men's brains, becoming in touch, and flad out where to take them. He has propagandist zeal, but is free from the wild fire of fanaticism. While his heart beats, his head keeps cool. The cranial mold is high and nobly arched. To judge from the inquiring and watchful eye of this agitator or apostle, he combines the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. He must have considered closely the way of lobbyists, appropriators and land grabbers. I have met him several times in private, and heard him speak in public, and think him superior to his reputation. Never did I come across any one who has a greater talent for putting things in a nutshell. Henry George is below the middle height, and of a square figure. There are not many Americanisms in his vocabulary, and his diction is good."

The Bunley Gazette makes a comparison

of "two remarkable speeches"—that of Lord Salisbury before the Primrose League in London, and that of Henry George before the Financial reform association in Manchester—in this way: "According to Lord Salisbury, the golden age, the true millennium, lies behind us in the far past, when the rich and the poor all lived together in a sort of impromptu socialistic paradise, and all that we have to do is to get back to that state of things as fast as we can. In that case we shall expect his lordship and some of the Primrose duchesses taking mansions in the East End slums, and even a better thing still would be for all the absentee landlords to go back to Ireland and live among their starving tenantry. Another remarkable speech delivered this week is that of Mr. Henry George in the Free trade hall, under the auspices of the Financial reform association. It is a speech well worth reading by all thoughtful politicians. Of course, Tories and political old fogies will say that Mr. George's scheme for doing away with all taxation, with the exception of a tax on land values, is Utopian. Mr. George says that it will have to come, and that if England does not do it first America will. We are inclined to believe that, if the golden age of perfect justice and freedom is to come, it will be in some such way as that pointed out by the American reformer rather than in that pointed out by Lord Salisbury. But however this may be, the speech is well worth the careful perusal and study of all land reformers. To us the New York radical does not seem to be so Utopian as he has been represented to be. We do not suppose he dreams of doing away with poverty altogether, but only with those terrible extremes of poverty and riches which broaden and deepen as civilization advances, and which seem to accuse the very providence of God."

In parliament recently Mr. Pictou was defeated by the Tories and ex-liberals in an attempt to reduce or abolish the duty of 6d. in the pound or 1/2d. a pint upon the tea of the working classes. Mr. Dilyn's motion for the disestablishment and disendowment of the so-called Church of England in Wales was defeated by a similar combination of whigs and Tories. Mr. Bradlaugh's motion for the abolition, at a low rate of commutation, of the perpetual pensions enjoyed by the duke of Richmond, the duke of Grafton, the duke of St. Albans, three descendants of mistresses of Charles II, and other perpetual pensions was defeated by a combination of whigs and Tories. Among those who voted against Mr. Pictou's motion for the abolition of the taxes on poverty were Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in addition to nearly all the London Tory members, including Hamilton, Isaacs, J. R. Kelly, Lafone, Maple, Webster, Whitmore, Charrington, Fulton, Goldsworthy, Kimber and Bartley.

Even the poor Italian peasantry are beginning to rise against oppression. The crisis among the agricultural class, which up to the present has chiefly affected the southern provinces of Italy, is now extending to large portions of northern Italy, and especially to Lombardy, and is giving rise to serious disturbances, which were the subject of discussion in the chamber. At Gallarate, near Milan, there was a riot among the peasantry. It became so serious that the troops had to be called out to re-establish order, but only after several houses had been ransacked. These disorders (says a correspondent) are not caused by misery alone; but are due to the same anarchists who have fostered discontent in Rome, among the masons at Terni, among the workmen of the factories, and are now busy in Lombardy among the peasants.

The Leeds, Eng., Mercury, announces that Mr. John Lloyd, formerly secretary of the Municipal reform league, is making a map of the ground landlords of London. "This work when completed," it says, "will show the owner of every piece of land in the metropolis, and will be of immense value in legislation of a financial and social character. The map will show some remarkable results. It will be found, for example, that nearly one-third of the land in London is held in mortmain, and therefore never pays anything in the nature of succession duty. A curious light will also be thrown on some of the owners of London property. Mr. Lloyd's researches have brought out the fact that part of Holywell street belongs to Magdalen college, Oxford."

The Belfast Morning News makes the announcement that in addition to the £2,000 contributed to the single tax movement in Great Britain by D'Arcy W. Reeve, the secretary of the Scottish land restoration league, "it is understood, has also been favored with unsolicited offers of large financial support from prominent liberals and radicals throughout the country."

Speaking of the tendency of the rich to grow richer, the Newcastle Daily Leader says: "It is estimated that there are now more than 700 millionaires in existence. Of these, 200 belong to our own country. Most of them have done great things for the world. For instance, Sir Henry Bessemer, Sir John Brown of Sheffield, the Darlington Quakers, and the Crossleys of Halifax. But as leases fall in there are some English landowners who will become the richest among men. The imagination can fix no limit to the possible accumulations of the future dukes of Westminster and of Bedford. Unless Mr. Henry George's single tax proposal should be adopted some fine day, their wealth will outstrip the wildest dreams of avarice."

A. C. Morant, correspondent of the Isle of Wight Express (liberal newspaper) wrote of the annual meeting of the English land restoration league: The great apostle of land reform in America, Henry George, author of "Progress and Poverty," though to most of the audience the main attraction of the meeting, was not and would not admit himself to be the lecturer of the evening. He was set

in a background of vigorous and earnest, always interesting, and in some cases highly cultivated, speakers, notably John Ferguson, of Glasgow, one of the original six founders of the Irish land league, and a worker, as Mr. George said, who "has always been at it." He told us, with constraining and impassioned earnestness, that while £40 per man, woman, and child, are produced yearly in this wealthy land of ours, 45 per cent of our people who reach the age of 60 are, or have been paupers; the average lifetime of the working classes is 25 years, and 82 per cent of their children die under five years of age; 37 years is the average lifetime of the artisan or skilled workman; while among the idlers of society the average is 55 years. Shall, he asked, in concluding a speech so admirable that it seemed only too short, shall a system continue that shelters the noble and crushes the poor? One very telling speaker from South Australia, Mr. Singer, editor of an Adelaide paper called Our Commonwealth, even ventured to grapple with the restless and somewhat combustible element of the audience, the social democrats at the back of the hall. He pressed home upon them the lesson that land must be dealt with before capital, with characteristic colonial pluck. A German representative, Herr Michael Flursheim, of Baden-Baden, a well-known writer on the land question, made an impressive and finished speech, in which he likened the land question to the sleeping beauty of his native country's fairy tale, and Henry George to the prince who came through thorns and briars to waken her with his kiss. But Henry George, as one of the speakers reminded us, is no prince but a son of the people, and "the people's greatest benefactors have sprung from the ranks of the people." "By accident of birth," said another, "he is an American, but by the right of his noble work he belongs to the whole world." At last Henry George addressed us, and every word he spoke rang clearly out through the large and crowded hall. He addressed us as "men and brethren, fellow-citizens in the great Anglo-Saxon republic that is to be," and he told of steady progress in America, of the two sections of land reformers there—the single tax men, and the single tax men, limited—all alike working for the single tax on land values, though divided on further details. He belongs to the first of these, the most thoroughgoing section. He reiterated the burden of his well-known cry, "wherever you find the land in the hands of few, there you will find poverty." "Go straight to the mark," he said, "strike for the land." Give the workman the land, and he will get the capital. He spoke of the grand mission of the Anglo-Saxon race to initiate the peaceful revolution of the nineteenth century. And to us he said, "if you can, go forward and leave the van; but if you do not solve this question we of the United States of America will do it."

In the Black Hills.

TIFFORD, Dak., June 30.—As per notice, the first meeting of single tax men in the Black hills was held at Rapid City yesterday. Although the weather was very warm and Saturday the busiest day of the week, our friends will never regret the time spent in effecting the first permanent single tax organization in southwest Dakota. Our organization is called the Black Hills single tax league. Judge Levi McGhee, president; Francis Clarke, secretary; W. L. Gardner, treasurer. A committee on finance was appointed for the ensuing year, consisting of one member from each county in the hills. We start in with forty members, and each is a worker, amply able to take good care of our side under any circumstances and against any odds. Fred Zipp of Deadwood, recently elected a'derman from the Second ward of that city, is an able, intelligent, enthusiastic German. C. H. Muller of Sturgis is one of the most active and zealous advocates in the country. Freeman Knowles, editor of the Meade County Times, is the only publisher in the hills who has the courage of his convictions and dares to champion the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed. Judge Thornton will take care of our interests in his county. These are the more influential men throughout the hills, outside of Rapid City, who are willing to be known as single tax men. Mr. Clarke, our secretary, is one of the few lawyers upon whom nature has bestowed her most valuable gifts. He is a deep thinker, a logical speaker, and so thoroughly impregnated with the love of justice that we can safely regard him a most valuable acquisition to our cause. Judge McGhee needs no introduction to you or the readers of THE STANDARD. The above named gentlemen represent the executive character of our organization, which of itself is a guarantee that the movement will succeed.

About 200 citizens of Rapid City attended our evening meeting and heard for the first time the object, aim and purpose of the theory of Henry George set forth. Speeches were made by Judge McGhee, Lawyer Clarke, Freeman Knowles and myself. The effect was most gratifying to all concerned.

Our next meeting will be at the same place the last Saturday in July. A communication from State Secretary W. E. Brakaw, relative to the leasing of school lands, was referred to the financial committee, with a view to having the same printed in pamphlet form for general distribution. Our work here now is fully under way and you may expect good results, as all of us are in dead earnest and propose to hold the balance of power inside of the next year. FRANK GREENE.

To Passaic Men and Women.

PASSAIC, N. J., July 7.—Passaic readers of the STANDARD are reminded of the meeting to consider Mr. Crossdale's circular, on Monday evening, 15th inst., at 183 Washington Place, for 8 o'clock. J. J. BARNARD.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, July 8.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 59,778
Received during week ending July 9. 591

Total 60,372

Contributions received during the past week, have been as follows:

H. N. Scott, Miamisburgh, Ohio. 30
C. A. Carlson, Escanaba, Mich. 1 00
Wm. Gornall, Taunton, Mass. 1 00
John F. Winter, New York. 10 00
A. T. Orange, N. J. 2 00
Single tax men, Passaic, N. J. 1 00
Anonymous, Cle Elum, Wash. 3 00
C. A. Pratt, Birmingham, Conn. 1 00
Geo. W. Wood, Poplar, Mont. 1 00
Sundry stamps. 1 10

£Total \$21 40

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD \$1,516 19

Total \$1,537 59

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

The following are some extracts from letters received by the committee.

Anonymous, Pittsford, N. Y.—I begin to see that very few appreciate the importance of the petition as a means of introducing our views. When I think of it, the most discouraging thing about the propaganda seems to be, not the resistance we meet from the ignorant and selfish, but the apathy of those who feel most keenly the crushing weight of gigantic wrongs and the indifference of the slaves who have some conception of what true liberty should be. I almost wonder at times what keeps alive the courage of our leaders when our salvation seems a matter of indifference to ourselves. I begin to realize the base ingratitude of such conduct and my wish is most sincere that we all try to do our duty to the utmost of our respective abilities. Inclosed find \$1 for the fund.

Victor Burnett, Massillon, Ohio.—At the late democratic convention in Canton, Ohio, our county seat, Rev. E. E. Gresbach was nominated for representative in the state legislature. Mr. Gresbach is able advocate of the single tax and a ballot reformer. He is young, ambitious, of unusual ability, and an orator of great force, as was proven last fall by the crowds who flocked to hear him when he spoke in behalf of ballot reform. I think he will be elected. Billy Radcliff tells me he is coming to this city to wake the natives up on single tax and free trade.

William Mahoney, Kansas City, Mo.—The condition of the movement in this state is very hopeful—more so than ever before. Our club has three or four plans under consideration as to the best method for organized propaganda work.

John E. Turner, Dayton, I Ohio.— have secured space in one of our afternoon papers every Saturday for such matter as our friends here see fit to contribute, and so far have every reason to be encouraged by the result. This makes four weeks that we have had access to their columns, and I am promised that it will continue.

J. R. Hall, McGregor, Texas.—A little more than a month ago I began to circulate petitions and solicit signatures. At that time people here were not informed concerning this question, and the discussion of the subject in the streets created considerable comment, and caused a great many to begin to investigate for themselves. Several who opposed me at the start have signed the petition since, and quite a number of our citizens are outspoken on the subject. The present prospects are very encouraging. What we need is a good speaker to open the eyes of the blind so that they can see the cat.

John S. Flanagan, Cincinnati, Ohio.—It affords great pleasure to talk to men and have them sign the petition.

T. W. Nederick, Coon Valley, Wis.—I find much difficulty in making my fellow farmers understand our principles. They seem to think of nothing but food and money to pay interest and rent. There are, however, plenty of blockheads in town also who constantly talk of the injustice of allowing rich people to escape paying taxes. Our state seems very backward in the movement, and as I am 63 years old I hardly hope to see the beginning here.

John Lavis, Neponset, Boston.—I am a member of Typographical union No. 13, and hope it will be able to make arrangements to have General Willey and Edwin M. White debate the question of "Protection or Free Trade." Mr. White of course taking the free trade side. It is hard work to make some trade unionists see the cat, but perseverance will do it.

Mr. Charles Gabriel, Quincy, Ill., is a new worker to whom fifty blanks were sent recently, and they have all come back with signatures. The movement in Quincy, started by Mr. Perry, has gone forward with rapid strides, and Mr. Gabriel is one of the most efficient workers in bringing about this result.

W. E. Brokaw, Bristol, S. Dak.—I wish to express my thanks through THE STANDARD for literature furnished by Dr. Chase of St. Louis, Mr. Bowker of Minneapolis and Mr. R. Hill of Pittsford, N. Y. Though they are not

rich men they are giving all their substance to the cause. If there are any others who have STANDARDS or tracts that they do not know what to do with they may feel assured that we can make good use of them in South Dakota. No one should neglect his home field, but there are those who have a special interest in the new states, and they can show it in no better way than by sending us literature. Straight free trade literature argument rather than statistics, such as George's "To Workingmen," Shearman's "Common Sense of the Tariff Question" is what we need to drive the protection superstition out of the minds of the farmers. We especially need all the assistance possible on the question of school lands. All who can give us information regarding the method of treating school lands in their own states that will assist our fight should hasten to do so.

Pat. Kane, Portsmouth, Va.—In the early part of last January I received my first knowledge of the single tax from Samuel D. T. Manning of this city, who is also a member of the Alpha club of Norfolk. Since my first insight into the subject I cannot rest without devoting every spare moment to the propagation of our ideas. I am not in a position to assist the work financially, but I will certainly do everything in my power to spread the light. I am a Knight of Labor and am thoroughly convinced that the single tax is the only solution of the labor problem. Six months ago I could not hear the name of single tax mentioned hereabouts, but now in all parts of the city and even in its suburbs you will find both white and colored men talking of the subject.

Dr. Henry S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—I commenced my work with the "School of social science" alone. There are now six active workers and about twelve persons present every Sunday. Benton is a suburb of St. Louis, containing 100 houses and every house has had tracts several times. Plenty of people believe in the single tax but they won't leave their families to go. I have given out 9,000 tracts in six months, many of them being printed here. I have a single tax lunch for ladies about twice a week. Five or six are generally present and they get a half hour's talk. Many of them are school teachers. I belong to the St. Louis Single tax club, but its meeting place is six miles from my house and so I teach school on Sundays in this suburb. There are about 600 people here and they have all been vaccinated in the single tax. I have printed and distributed 5,000 tracts of my own and I will have another printed as soon as I can save \$23. I am 70 years old and if I can live 11 years more I will see the single tax in operation in many states.

[Dr. Chase is known as "Pa Chase" and he advertises his school as follows: The second term of the Benton school of social science will begin on Sunday, 23d of June, 1889. Time from 3.15 to 5 p. m. The relations of land, capital, and labor will be studied from the Christian standpoint of justice. The remedy for their present unjust relations will be shown, whereby hope, happiness and comfort will come to the poor and the masses with no injustice to classes. "Pa Chase," Comfort cottage, Waldemar avenue, Benton, St. Louis, Mo. Ladies and gentlemen invited to attend with the commencement of the term.]

Edward Hyneman, Columbus, Ohio.—Our organization here is composed of a few trustworthy workers, most of them being business or professional men. No other single tax organization exists in this city yet. I am urged by members of workingmen's organizations to form a workingmen's single tax club. There is material here for a very strong club. We have been preaching the crusade in nearly all labor organizations during the past year, and the result is becoming apparent. I will not undertake this work, however, until the cooler days of September give opportunity for better success than would now be possible. Meantime, the active work will go on as heretofore. The newspapers have been liberal with their space and our letter writing has been a phenomenal success. We have probably averaged since February 1 three letters a week in the various papers of the city, the letters covering the single tax unlimited and limited, and the moral and fiscal sides of the question.

Fred. S. Arnold, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Our club has been holding meetings (as has from time to time been reported in THE STANDARD) since the latter part of January at 226 Union street. Our audiences have not been very large, running from sixteen to thirty, but they have been intelligent and enthusiastic, and as the audiences change from week to week we have managed to reach quite a large number of persons. These meetings are talked of by the workingmen in factories and shops everywhere, and are beginning to be felt as an educating power. The newspapers have given quite long reports of our proceedings, and we occasionally get in a letter on some of the questions at issue. Our society has lately adopted the practice of reading and discussing a chapter of "Progress and Poverty" at each of the meetings, and this has so far been attended with very good results. We have not yet established permanent headquarters, but will do so as soon as we see our way clear.

Benjamin E. Bloom, St. Louis.—The single tax is making good progress in this locality. Men of talent are beginning to appear in our midst from time to time, and we are looking forward with great expectation to the single

tax campaign we propose to inaugurate during the coming fall.

Melvin H. Palmer, St. Louis, Mo.—Our league is in a prosperous condition, and for the future promises to make its usefulness appear in many directions. We are contemplating making the dead walls speak by engaging a magic lantern with which we will throw mottoes and illustrations on them. We are also endeavoring to interest the members of the league in procuring signatures to the petition by requiring each member to secure at least six signers each week to be handed to the secretary of our league and by him transmitted to the enrollment committee. Each member, upon failure to secure the requisite number of signatures, is to forfeit one cent for each name lacking, the money thus collected to be forwarded to the committee. By this course we expect to stimulate activity among our members, and we would like to see the leagues throughout the country take action in the same direction. The single tax men of St. Louis have reason to congratulate themselves on the addition to their ranks of so able a worker as Mr. John Z. White, late of Chicago, who has connected himself with our league. We invite all readers of THE STANDARD in St. Louis and its vicinity to visit our club rooms at 1109 Washington avenue.

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Mr. Hennessy, Editor of "The Home Seeker," Shows the Benefits They Would Derive From the Single Tax.

Charles O'C. Hennessy, editor of the Home Seeker, and secretary of the metropolitan league of building associations, delivered an admirable address on the subject of "Building associations and the single tax," before the Brooklyn single tax club, at its club house, 56 Livingston street, last Sunday evening.

He traced the phenomenal growth of the co-operative savings and loan idea in the United States from its inception fifty years ago, in a suburb of Philadelphia, to its present stupendous proportions. Mr. Hennessy commented on the fact of the absence of official statistical information with regard to so great a movement, but said that experts estimated the number of associations in the country as five thousand, with over a million members, depositing one hundred millions a year and building fifty thousand homes in the same period. Building associations were getting to be now conducted with a considerable degree of scientific precision, failures were extremely few and far between, and the movement was established on a basis of assured permanency and success. The growth of the co-operative idea had been steady and rapid, and most especially marked in the western states, where it was comparatively a new institution. In Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio and New York the greatest development had been shown, the Keystone state alone boasting 900 associations, and these five states having 2,500 associations, with a half-million members between them.

In New York and Brooklyn, where the movement was but a few years old, astounding progress has been made, there being now over seventy-five associations in the two cities, having nearly 30,000 members, saving \$300,000 a year and building a thousand homes in the suburbs annually. They are still growing at the rate of nearly one a week.

Considering the effect of the present taxation system upon building associations, Mr. Hennessy declared that it operated with especial hardship against the poor and industrious home seeker. The immediate effect of the spread of the building association investment in a great city was to immensely enhance the value of suburban properties. The demand created by the building associations for accessible home sites in the suburbs had done more to increase real estate values and encourage speculation than all the other agencies for suburban development that could be thought of. Then the home seeker, after he had bought a home site at a price greatly enhanced by the co-operation of himself and his fellows, finds himself immediately fined for his industry when he attempts to put a house upon it. The community, instead of encouraging habits of thrift which tended to increase the stability of the citizen and the state, adopts a policy naturally tending to discourage thrift and industry.

The great benefits accruing to the citizen and the state by these co-operative institutions would be universally enhanced by the application of the single tax on land values, exclusive of improvements. Its immediate effect would be to force into active use immense tracts of land around our cities now held by speculators at fancy prices in anticipation of the demand of this and future generations.

The average cost at present of homes bought through building associations Mr. Hennessy showed by statistics to be about \$3,000. Of this cost, \$2,500, or five eighths of the whole value, was the value of improvements, which would not be taxed under the single tax. The selling value of the lot, which at present would average \$500, would be the basis of taxation, and the net cost of taxation to the house owner, basing it upon the annual rental value of his lot, would be about one-half of what it now is. So that it might

be seen that the small house owner as well as the community would be immensely benefited by the single tax.

After tendering a vote of thanks to the lecturer, a general discussion ensued.

A GOOD STROKE IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Henry George Club Induces the Fairmount Park Commissioners to Acknowledge the Principle of Public Ownership of Railroads and to Act Upon It in the Case of the New Gravity Road.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8.—A sub-committee of the commissioners of Fairmount park, Philadelphia, had favorably reported a proposition to grant to a capitalist of Philadelphia the franchise for a gravity railway in the park. The franchise provided that at the expiration of twenty-five years the city should have the right to buy the improvement at fifty per cent in excess of the cost thereof, or at the expiration of fifty years to buy at cost.

An article condemning the system of granting perpetual or long time franchises, and calling upon the city to build the road, was published in Justice, the local single tax paper, and marked copies sent to the members of the commission.

The Henry George club of Philadelphia considered the subject and concluded that the city was receiving inadequate return for the privilege to be granted. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the proposed franchise, as well as the system that has always existed in Philadelphia of granting perpetual franchises, and calling upon the city to build the road or to sell the right to the highest bidder. Copies of the resolutions were sent to the city newspapers, some of which noticed it at more or less length.

During the week succeeding the publication of these resolutions, some of the newspapers supported this point with much vehemence. All indications, however, pointed to a determination on the part of the commission to grant the franchise on the terms suggested by the applicant and favorably reported by the sub-committee.

To compel the commission to, in some degree, recognize the position taken by the Henry George club, those members of that club, who were financially able to undertake the construction of the railway, entered an application for the franchise for a term of twenty-five years, at the expiration of which time the city should have the right to buy the improvement at cost price. The proposition was effective and the point gained. The franchise was granted on those terms although it was granted to the original applicant, who expressed himself as perfectly satisfied.

There is no doubt that the railway will be a source of great profit. The cost of construction is stated at \$300,000. At the end of twenty-five years the additional improvements and betterments (which are allowed) will probably bring the cost to nearly half a million dollars. If, at that time the city desires to buy the railway the citizens may thank the Henry George club for its intercession in behalf of the citizens.

The club promises that it will be heard from at an early day on other important matters pertaining to municipal government. C.

The Open-Air Meetings of the Jersey City Club a Growing Success.

Under the boughs of the maple and the birch, in the center of Currier's Woods beyond the Pamunoy beach of Newark bay, the Standard single tax club of Jersey City on Sunday afternoon held the fifth camp meeting of the summer series. It was a complete success, fully five hundred persons gathering to listen. These meetings are now being talked about all over Hudson county, and people seem anxious to have the subject explained to them. They have not only brought forward men whom the members of the Standard club were not acquainted with, but have already produced quite a number of converts.

The single tax petition to congress is circulated every Sunday, and at this last meeting over fifty signatures were secured. Considerable propaganda work is being done by the circulating of tracts.

Mr. F. C. Dubois of Bayonne presided, and in a few introductory remarks introduced Mr. Edwin A. Curley of Brooklyn, who spoke upon the "Justice of the single tax." Mr. John W. Jakeway, the president of the club, addressed the meeting on "The rights of man." Mr. C. A. Abbott, a tariff reformer, asked a number of questions of the speakers and received pretty conclusive answers. He is almost persuaded.

At the meeting on Sunday, July 14, the leading speaker will be Mr. Herbert Boggs of Newark, and in commemoration of the fall of the Bastille he will address himself to the French revolution and the political and social changes of the future. There will be additions and special features in the programme.

The Effect of Mr. Shearman's Visit to Portland.

PORTLAND, Ore., July 2.—Thomas G. Shearman's visit to us lingers about the single men like a pleasant dream, for we not only enjoyed his able lectures at the time, but we can see the fruits cropping out everywhere. Many have called upon us since hearing him, and announced their conversion to the single tax. The Mascine hall lecture was published in full, covering a whole page in the Oregonian. S. B. ROGERS.

NOTEBOOK JOTTINGS.

In the Fourth of July number, the Mail and Express printed several columns of letters from prominent people containing sentiments appropriate to the anniversary. None was more fitting than that written by William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin college, Brunswick, Me., who said: "Freedom from taxation by a foreign parliament and from the domination of a foreign king is the achievement of the past. Freedom from taxation for the benefit of favored classes and the subordination of national to partisan and private interests is the duty of the present. Freedom to pay taxes solely for the support of an honest and economical government, and to exert the power of the citizen directly and effectively for the public good, is the ideal of the future."

In the same series of letters is one from Frances E. Willard, who speaks prophetically of the time when poverty shall have been abolished.

The Century, in its "Topics of the Time," has some interesting comments on the summer exodus from the cities, in contemplating which the editor is led to a passing view of the labor problem. After saying why he thinks wage statistics are in general untrustworthy, he says the summer exodus may contain indications of more real weight than any mere figures can have. "If the summer exodus has grown only as the country has grown; if it is confined to the same social classes to which it was confined in 1839; if the numbers who take part in it have increased only in proportion to the increase of those classes; still more, if there has been any relative falling off in number—then we may as well admit that there is the strongest of indications that our progress has not done much for poverty." This argument is so ingenious, so much of a departure from census statistics, that one must needs pause before attempting to reply.

I was talking lately with a young English doctor who had queer notions of vested rights. He said that men of the medical profession in his country were subject to too much competition. "Why," he declared, "it comes even from the sons of mechanics and servants, who somehow manage to get diplomas and try to practice medicine to the detriment of those who belong in the professional classes by right of birth."

The Quincy, Mo., Herald of Sunday, June 29, contained an interview of a column and a half with C. F. Perry on the single tax. The editor introduced it with display headings, the leading one being "The Tale of the Cat." After calling the cat the "emblem of the single tax theory," he allows Mr. Perry to explain away some of the usual objections to the "theory" and ends with the publication of the petition. Good for Mr. Perry and the editor of the Quincy Herald.

One feature of the sights in Paris that may be depended upon to interest the visitor when the others have been pretty well exhausted is the retail shop windows. The most attractive are those in which the display is of jewelry and work in the precious metals. The Palais Royal is famed throughout the world because of its scores of such shops. Visitors from every country buy at least a few specimens of Paris *bijouterie* as souvenirs of their sojourn in the modern capital of art. Yet for all this the exhibits of several American jewelry and silverware companies at the exposition is convincing the Paris fabricants of such goods that they are behind America in at least this form of art. The correspondent of the Times names a good many things in this part of the American section that the Paris artificers have not yet learned to make and that are surprising and delighting the visitors to the exposition.

The cheapness of the American goods, we are told, is not the least astonishing thing to the Paris buyers of fine articles of table decoration and similar wares. In fact, it looks as if American high priced labor were sending a kind of goods directly to the heart of a country suffering from "over production" in them, and establishing a market there in spite of the pauper labor it must compete with.

Something like this occurred at the time of the Philadelphia exposition. A commission was sent here from Switzerland

to examine into the methods of American watch making. On the publication of its report, the Swiss watch makers were amazed. The cheapness and excellence of the American watch threatened to deprive them of markets which they had long controlled. The Swiss, however, pulled themselves together, so to speak, imitated the American machinery, and saved a good part of their trade. But the number of workmen in the business in Switzerland has been greatly reduced of late years, and American watch makers are competing with the Swiss almost everywhere in Europe.

The Cincinnati Christian Standard disagrees with Andrew Carnegie. It does not believe that "the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth" is the administration of their riches for the public good during their lives by men of great wealth. It says: "To say that it is better to make working people dependent pensioners upon the rich, and perpetuate this in lieu of adequate wages (which may be wasted in the indulgence of appetite) is to talk nonsense, if not selfish sophistry." By the way, it is now some little time since the publication of Mr. Carnegie's "remedy." How many millionaires have set down their names as being in support of it?

Commenting on "the wild rush to Oklahoma," and the "clamor for the opening of the Sioux reservation," the Christian Standard says these and other signs point to the fact that our public domain is about to be exhausted. It asks what is to happen next. Shall we have the revolution and ruin that Macaulay prophesied? Is a military despotism the only refuge from anarchy? The Standard pins its faith to a republic. It says the republican form of government is better adapted to a solution of "the tough economic problem" than any other. But, really, oughtn't its editor come just a little closer to the practical means involved in the problem?

This editor, an earnest man and an interesting writer, thinks that before "we"—the American people—should come either to anarchy or despotism we could, and no doubt would, resort to conquest, which could go on for several generations before the continent was exhausted. "Yes," remarks a single tax friend, "but that plan looks to me exactly like one for an extension of slave territory."

GRUFFE.

A New Iowa Club.

Dubuque Daily Telegraph, June 21.

A single tax club was organized in this city Saturday night last. Although it has as yet issued no manifesto of its purposes, its chief aim is doubtless the popularization of the theory so beautifully and logically elaborated in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." According to this theory land alone should be taxed, to the end that monopoly of it may be averted, that capital may be encouraged to seek investment in labor-giving industries, and that workmen may find steady employment at good wages. The club will be an educational organization, and a source of intellectual benefit to its members and eventually perhaps of material profit to the community. George's idea has been much derided, especially by those who have given little thought to it; yet there is substantial reason to believe that its practical application to Dubuque, as Mr. Graham declared in a recent communication in these columns, would within a short time greatly promote the prosperity of the city and increase its population. A short distance from this office is a vacant lot which is not assessed for one-fourth the amount its owners ask for it.

A few years since a gentleman who wished to build a manufactory offered for it three times its assessed value. Five thousand dollars more was demanded, and as the manufacturer was unwilling to give it the transfer was not made and the property is still idle. Now, this lot ought to be assessed at its full value. It is worth \$20,000, a value, by the way, chiefly given to it by the community, and it should be taxed for that. If it were its owner would not hold it for speculative purposes. He would be obliged to improve it himself or sell it to somebody who would, and in either event the public would be the gainer. The improvement, by whomsoever made, would involve the employment of labor and the distribution of money, and this would be an advantage to all. The application of the same rule to idle land in every part of the town would be followed by a similar result. An impetus would be given to building, capital freed from the burden of local taxation would find investment in manufacturing and other enterprises, and Dubuque would flourish. The George plan may not be perfect—no human work is—but it is rational and embodies very much that commands it.

A Good Idea.

Bedford, S. Dak., Journal.

Up in North Dakota there are some single tax theorists. Why wouldn't it be a good idea to try the theory in that proposed new state? If the experiment should work satisfactorily the rest of us could fall into line, and North Dakota would have the distinction to which the experiment would entitle her.

A PROSPEROUS TOWN.

How Business Went All to Pieces and Men Were Turned to Tramps While Land Speculation Boomed.

DECATUR, Ala., July 1.—I reached Decatur last Wednesday noon after a very instructive three days' ride. I had a good chance to learn much of the country along the route, and also to examine somewhat Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Nashville, but the most interesting study has been Decatur. It is entirely different from anything I have been accustomed to in the hue of cities. Its history throws some light upon the "booms" of which we hear so much; for Decatur has had a "boom." There is a bank and a land company and streets laid out for a city of thirty thousand, and an average of four families to the block, "so as to give the rest of the land town value."

Two years ago this was a village of fifteen hundred inhabitants. Now it has about seven thousand. The land company came and bought up the land and laid out the streets and advertised the place. They induced several large industries to locate here rather than in better climates, and they placed these industries a mile and a half or two miles apart in opposite parts of the town, or rather "city," "in order to enhance the value of their lots by making sure that they should be in the center of population."

Then the advertisements began to work. People began to flock in here hoping to get for themselves a home in the growing city. Mechanics came, lured by "cheap homes for the people" and "plenty of work at good wages." Tradesmen came and put their wealth into stores and stock, or started in a tent until they could save enough to build a store. Laborers came hoping to find better wages where work was plenty; ministers, to look after the spiritual welfare of the people; professional men, to seek here an open field for their work. And everybody rubbed his hands and said: "Didn't I tell you it would grow?"

All this increased the price of building lots. The more the man in the tent saved toward his store the more he found he must save in order to buy the lot for it, and the harder he found it to save anything on account of the ever-increasing rents for his tent site. The more the mechanic saved his wages in order to get him a home the more he needed in order to get a site for it. The ever-increasing "prosperity" of the city made his prospects of getting a home more and more gloomy. Not only that, but the sudden growth of the place made house rents and board fabulously high, and thus laid another obstacle in the way of "cheap homes for the people."

This, however, was only temporary, as there was plenty of capital seeking investment in houses so soon as it was evident that it would pay reasonable interest. But with the price of lots it was different. They went up not alone with the growth of the place, but in anticipation of its future growth, and they remained at nearly their highest figure. The land company can afford to wait.

"How much would you buy those five grass lots?" I asked an intelligent business man.

"Not less than \$10,000."

"How are the taxes levied here?"

"All property is assessed at two-thirds its actual value whether it is lot or house or factory."

"That man cannot afford to hold those lots idle a great while then," I remarked.

"Oh, well, when the lots are idle like that the owners generally hand in their own valuation and they get it down pretty low."

So it is that the lot owners can afford to wait until the growth of the town doubles the price of the lots.

Well, yellow fever and "some other causes" checked the boom after a while. Some of the induced industries failed, many tradesmen found that taxes were no lighter and business no greater here than elsewhere, and they were obliged to fail; mechanics found themselves working for no better wages in a climate which makes work irksome and in a region which makes them spend their year's savings on a forced summer vacation during yellow fever time. Somehow or other the "prosperity" and "growth of the city" does not seem to agree with them. And yet these people do not seem to realize that the "prosperity" they hear about is not the prosperity of the people of Decatur, but of the land company of Decatur.

In all this "booming" it is hard to see how anyone has benefited except the men who owned the "city lots." Hence you would naturally think that the lot owners would support the local government and the schools, but they do not. I asked a man with a horse and wagon to take my trunk over for me and he said he could not because he had not paid the license. So draymen and peddlers and so on pay licenses like saloons and gambling houses and other things that need to be discouraged. Also, let your frugal mechanic build him a house and he is assessed about two-thirds of all house and lot are worth, while his more speculative neighbor raises corn on his lot and is assessed about as farm land. You see, houses, like saloons, are a bad thing, and if people were not fined for making them, the community would soon be full of them.

The result of this system is that people have been driven to build around the outskirts of the town, and the best way to see Decatur is to walk around it. The center, in

place of the old New England common, is composed of "gilt edge lots" with only here and there a house where a lot has been sold in order to add value to the rest.

Now there are several things that seem clear to me. The land company did not make the value of these lots, therefore the land company is not entitled to that value. The people of Decatur, by their presence and working and saving, did create that value, and therefore they ought to have it. Instead of lining men for carrying trunks and for keeping store and for building houses, it would be better to take this value, which is created by all, and use it for the support of the government, lining men only for keeping saloons or committing crime.

This can be easily done by simply raising all taxes on the value of the land, exclusive of improvements. J. M. S.

The Simplicity of Justice.

GALLOWAY, Ill.—I thought, in reading Bellamy's book, "Looking Backward," it would be well to refresh the memory with the writings of such as have lately treated socialism in the negative; and I have found it profitable, for the more I weigh Bellamy and his opponents, notably Herbert Spencer, the more imposing becomes the grand simplicity of Henry George and his teachings. I doubt not but that every intelligent reader of Bellamy's book will wish that this dream of his could be realized, while harboring gravest doubt whether any possible change of environment can so alter human beings as to make its realization likely. Herbert Spencer admits that environment and laws serve to alter men's modes of action, and that, in course of time, their natures adjust themselves to these; that average character is constantly being remolded into either a desirable or an undesirable kind, but, when he deals of what he is pleased to term "the goodforthings" of society, he utterly ignores all laws of causation. I search in vain for one suggestion of a remedy. Nowhere is it pointed out that we might at least relieve the struggle for existence by placing all of the strugglers on a basis of equality as to opportunities, though frequently the very argument seems to make an avoidance, other than intentional, impossible.

Governments may never lose their aggressive character and Bellamy's dream may forever, on that account, remain a dream, but why does Spencer here lose sight of that law of causation whose study he insists on as of the first importance in dealing with social phenomena?

How imposing, in comparison with all these views, are Henry George's!

He violates no human instincts; opposes no natural laws; builds no systems which depend on a human character as yet to be formed; seeks to overthrow no essential condition of society as now existing; finds for all active factors their beneficent and legitimate sphere; recognizes in competition, instead of the bug bear the socialists make of it, a most valuable factor of human endeavor and progress, only that he would place all competitors on an absolute equality as to opportunity.

He does not believe that human nature is innately bad and perverse, but cherishes a grand faith that when justice shall regulate the affairs of men and each one has free play and equal opportunity, it will surely rise to better and nobler conditions.

He does not desire to encumber the statute book with laws that might be ill digested and work remote mischief; he would merely repeal such laws as give privilege to some and deny them to others; laws that bear unequally on men.

Was ever a nobler, a simpler remedy for social evils conceived? It interferes with no rights; can work no harm to anyone or in any direction; is full of the promise of peace, good-will and prosperity for all men, and is self-acting and self-corrective. He holds out no promise beyond that of justice, pure and simple, willing to trust the destiny of mankind entirely to this one agent, under whose benign sway human nature may so modify as to make Bellamy's dream possible of realization, and consequently governments so devoid of aggressive and despotic tendencies that those in power will not use it for the enslavement of their fellow men.

GEO. G. GUENTHER.

A Meeting Every Wednesday Evening in Brooklyn, E. D.

BROOKLYN, July 5.—The E. D. single tax club of Brooklyn will hereafter meet at Oriental hall, 316 Bedford avenue. The meetings will continue to be held on Wednesday nights. At the next meeting, Wednesday, 10th instant, the subject for debate will be: "Resolved, That immigration should be restricted." Some strangers are expected to attend and take part in the exercises, and it is urged that all single tax men in the vicinity endeavor to be present.

JOSEPH M. MCGUINNESS, Cor. Sec.

Yes, Find the Answer; Then Freedom Will be in Sight.

Chicago News.

If the Illinois and Indiana miners do not want to work for the coal companies with which they are quarreling, why don't they go to work for themselves? An answer to this question might lead to the solution of the whole problem.

INDIVIDUALISM.

William Lloyd Garrison's Address Before the Free Religious Association of America, Boston, May 30.

Boston New Ideal.

It would be impossible not to admire the spirit and sympathize with the noble aims of Mr. Bellamy, and any criticism of his methods must concern itself with their practical adaptation to the end in view—that ideal state of society for which thinkers in all ages have sought in vain “and died without the sight.” Yet our ideas of that desired state must differ as do our ideas of heaven, and we picture it as variously as we do our gods. So I confess with diffidence that the Boston which seems so fascinating to a multitude, in the pages of “Looking Backward,” did not allure me. I am not sorry to escape its imprisonment. In some respects but little progress seemed to have been made. The wine cup and the cigar still filled the social foreground, as in the times of Howells and James, and woman, obedient to bad custom, still retired from the table because the decanter and the Havanas were reached. But generally life seemed to me there to lack the flavor which makes it tolerable. It recalled the marionette exhibitions which charmed my youth, where the figures dressed and acted with propriety, but obedient to the hand and strings behind the scenes.

As Sydney Smith affirmed that the two women disputing across the fence which separated their back yards would never come to an agreement, because they argued from different premises, so here we must consider the ground each stands on.

Mr. Bellamy starts with the assumption that competition is the root of social evil. My premise is that the denial of free competition is the source of social wrong. How then shall we begin to argue? As man existed before society, we must reason from the unit, which is the individual, up to human government, which, in its highest type, is the voluntary association of individuals for the protection of the rights of all. DeFoe has given us, in Robinson Crusoe, the picture of the isolated man. He is the monarch of the realm, subject only to the laws of nature. No statute is necessary to him. He would have no use for Mr. Bellamy's scheme. Now when Friday becomes an inhabitant of the island, and brings his kinsmen later, conditions are modified. In equity, Crusoe's personal liberty is limited at the point which intrenches on Friday's rights; but if, following the action of mankind in nation building hitherto, he had said, “This island is mine, and my will is law,” Friday would have been only a slave. And thereafter, any accession of population would have added subjects to the despotic sway of Crusoe and his lineal successors. Thus unconsciously all despotisms have been founded, based on might or advantage of possession, and justified by the assumption that the individual is incompetent to care for himself and that some external and paternal direction is essential. With this belief excellent men have filled the role of tyrant and inquisitor, using the medicine of the prison cell, the ax, and the scaffold, for the patient's good. Repression has been the law and made the laws. The statute books of the most civilized governments are but the heirlooms of the Dark Ages, and legislation is to-day chiefly concerned with modifying and repealing ancient edicts. By these women is still restrained from her God-given rights, and begs for equality at the hands of her selfish brothers. By these the natural right of man to exchange freely the product of his labor where he can benefit most, is denied him, and the United States, which claims to set an example of justice to the world, elects a president on the sole issue that the wrong shall be perpetuated. By these edicts the earth, which is the bounty of the Creator and the necessity of man, is seized and monopolized by force and cunning, the wrong buttressed by legal forms at war with natural justice. The world is too much governed. The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but to the crafty, and statutes adroitly devised hedge in monopolies as if they were divinities. The resultant misery and inequality that curse mankind through loss of freedom, are adduced by the state socialist as a reason for more government. The patient must be cured by a hair of the dog that bit him.

To this has paternalism led us. It paralyzes the desire to excel, it hangs out no prizes of life to stimulate energy and righteous ambition, it exalts mediocrity, it tends not “to lift mortals to the skies” but “to drag angels down.”

Do not understand me to assert that Mr. Bellamy or his disciples desire anything of the kind. Far from it. But it seems to me that the governmental assumption of business enterprises which they encourage, and the arbitrary regulation of individual life, are a return to that despotism from which humanity has been struggling to free itself since civilization began.

The individualist looks back to Robinson Crusoe's island, and pictures a government born under the instincts of true liberty. He recognizes the necessity for human government or association for protection, but to what end? That man may be guaranteed the natural right to the use of the bounties of creation, to the selection of the occupation that his instinct may designate, and that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happi-

ness be not interfered with. Only one proviso is necessary—that in his pursuit of these desirable things he shall in no way infringe upon the right of his fellows engaged in the same pursuit. The greater the simplicity of government, the larger the liberty of the individual; and under the development of freedom came the most bountiful results. A true government does not contemplate compassing what the Creator himself found impossible—an equality of individual gifts. Its function is to furnish simply an equality of opportunity, leaving each the result of his energy, skill, self-denial, foresight and industry. It seeks not equality of condition, but conditions that shall give labor its just rewards, be they much or little. People who need the most government are the ignorant and depraved. Who need the least? The people of enlightenment and conscience. Given a community of Edward Bellamys, and each man would be a law unto himself, and the costly and oppressive paraphernalia of government would be reduced to a minimum. And now, with growing wisdom and conscience, we are asked to increase the powers of government! The idealist has always looked forward to that time when, instead of the iron hand of authority, government would be typified by the silken cord of brotherly association.

“Exactly what we aim at,” says the Nationalist. But how does he propose to reach it? You will agree that no ideal government exists to-day. It is of the earth, earthy. Its methods are sinuous, its principles false; it is ingeniously fashioned to thwart the will of the majority. The few govern, the many are misgoverned and witless enough to suppose they make the laws. Therefore veracity is respectable, selfishness is the guiding policy, high mindedness and sensitive public honor in politics are food for public mirth. Jobbery lurks in legislatures and aldermanic boards, and wealth which results from public plunder is all abounding. This is no exaggerated description of existing government. What think you, therefore, of the wisdom of putting into the hands of such an organization its opportunities of appropriating for private use the people's earnings? It opens opportunities for wealth to the self-seeker “beyond the dreams of avarice.”

When I read the Nationalist's programme I am obliged to infer a supreme and perfect government upon which these immense duties are to devolve. Omnipotence only can fill the necessary conditions. For, let the wisest man try for a single day to regulate the provisions of a single city, and either a famine or a glut must follow. But, left simply to the individual, guided by self-interest, which is as divine an instinct as that of the desire to live, and the unhindered law supply and demand measures to a pound the necessary supply of meat and vegetables and groceries demanded by the vast city of New York, with its population suddenly doubled in centennial days. The natural laws, made by the only omnipotence possible, may always be trusted to do their perfect work; but let man undertake to put his hand upon the machinery, to alter this law and amend that, and there follow the confusion, disaster, misery and death, which afflict society on its present basis.

“But,” says the nationalist, “you individualists are inconsistent. You occupy part of our ground, but lack the logic and the courage of your convictions. If you are agreed that the land should be nationalized, that railroad franchises should not be alienated to individual ownership, that water and light may be supplied by municipal governments, why pause there? Why not allow woolen and cotton mills, and dry goods stores, to be under public management?”

Yet a clearly defined line separates the first from the last, and in both cases the protection of individual right is the sole purpose to be attained. The object of land nationalization is to prevent comparatively few people from monopolizing a natural gift of the Creator to the exclusion of human beings who have an equal right to its opportunities. And railways, water and gas supplies, and cognate industries, are dependent for existence on the occupying of common possessions, the use of which should bring a recompense not to individuals but to the community. At present all citizens are taxed to build and maintain streets and highways, one of the largest items of municipal expenditure. They are the public property; but great corporations find no difficulty in getting for nothing the franchise whose value is created by the people's money. The same reasoning applies to the supply of light and water and sewerage, because the use of the streets is essential to their operation. This is simply upholding the law of equal freedom, which is the chief function of government.

But regarding the manufacture of woollens and cottons, and the vending of goods, how different is the case? As far as any of these are dependent on common property for existence, like land and water power, it is just that they should pay the community for use; but beyond that, the product of industry (not injurious to public health and morals) is something that is the sacred property of the individual, as much as the right of personal liberty, out of which it logically grows. It is the liberty to enjoy and dispose of the fruits of one's toil unhindered by the interference of governments, which, truly admin-

istered, are but for the very purpose of protecting this liberty.

I deny the right of legislation to arbitrarily take the earnings of the industrious to supply the needs of the idle; to rob the thrifty for the sake of the spendthrift, and, under the guise of benefiting the country, grant licenses to one set of men to prey upon the community through tariff taxes. The proposal to limit individual wealth, provided it is accumulated without injustice to others, is no more reasonable than to propose the limitation of the human voice or the inventive genius that gives us Edison and the electric light. Is wealth an evil? Nay, it is a good. We cannot have too much of it. When not dammed up by special laws but allowed to flow by the beneficent law of gravitation over the broad meadows of humanity, it fertilizes and blesses all. It brightens toil, increases leisure, permits the cultivation of the higher faculties, and differentiates civilization from barbarism. It was considered extravagant in Henry George to say that the liberation of land would tend toward furnishing women with pianos and a trip to Europe; but it is certainly more in the line of progress and aspiration than Mr. Atkinson's cooker and ten cents a day.

Through liberty only can humanity find hope and courage, and upon this line alone it moves to the idealist's goal. How many crimes are perpetrated in its name! And it is murder in the house of its friends that may be rightly feared from state socialism. And we are begged to reverse the current. We are asked to magnify the tool of government at the expense of the governed, although ostensibly for their sake—its only a temporary scaffolding for the building of the temple of God.

Attractive as the pen of fiction may paint the picture, it leads to bewilder and dazzles to blind. Be not misled, but join with those who have not to transform human nature to succeed, but are busy clearing the obstructed track of progress upon which society shall roll triumphant towards that divine goal, which the individualist and the nationalist alike

SAYING SO DOESN'T MAKE IT SO.

Springfield Union.

The American Economist shows that the cost of living in this country has declined fifty per cent and the rate of wages has increased fifty per cent within this century. These facts are worth a book full of free trade maxims.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas. R. Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Rosier, 22 Third avenue, or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Cal.—Mrs. Josephine Seahr.
Altoona, Pa.—C. L. Ishler, pres; D. L. Munro, recording secretary single tax club.
Amherst, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Antioch, N. M.—Lewis T. Gramsman.
Ashabula, Ohio.—A. D. Strong.
Athens, Ga.—Arthur L. Pifer.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1/2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Schmidt, 32 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Salton.
Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Ferguson, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 143 E. Baltimore street.
Baltimore, Md.—Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Mitha.
Beechville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Pa.—W. E. Hawk.
Birmingham, N. Y.—E. W. Dutton, 33 Maiden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 248 Main street; Charles J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain; John Lavis, 13 Leonard st., Harrison square.
Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
Buffalo, N. Y.—H. B. Baddenburg, pres. Tax reform club, 824 Clinton st.; C. C. Whittemore, sec., 383 Washington street.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.
Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harman, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May City.—Wm. Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Winter, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee ave.; Warren Worth Bailey, pres. S. T. club, 125 5th ave.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 273 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 614 1/2 building, 8 1/2 cor Fourth and Sycamore.
Clinton, Ark.—O. M. Mastin or Alex. G. Dake.
Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclyd avenue; Frank L. Carter, 133 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—I. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
Cobleskill, N. Y.—J. S. Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyneman, 345 1/2 South High street.
Black Diamond, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas. P. Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Main, 31 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—V. W. Ellis, 31 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 264 Samuel street.
Denver, Col.—Andrew W. Elder.
Des Moines, Iowa.—L. J. Kesson, president Single tax club; John W. King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—J. E. Finchard, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Landon, 79 Third street; secretary Tax reform as sociation; H. Howe, 64 14th ave.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Landon.
Dighton, Mass.—A. Cross.
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, 31 John's Lane.
East Orange, N. J.—E. C. Ambrose, 333 Main st.
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.
East Ridge, N. J.—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Gruner.
Elmira, N. Y.—William Berghman, 712 East Market street.
Elmhurst, Ill.—W. H. Rogers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 47 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—H. T. Ferry.
Farmington, Iowa.—F. W. Rockwell.
Foxcroft, Me.—E. Libby.
Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cumming.

Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.
Glendale, Mont.—A. R. Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H. Guilman.
Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm. C. Wood, M. D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J. J. McCollum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Feiler.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.
Helen, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Herkessville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Holton, Kan.—J. J. Avery.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.
Hosick Falls, N. Y.—P. S. Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H. F. Bing, corporation attorney.
Jatichinson, Kas.—J. G. Makiem, M. D.
Elon, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 302.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. F. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel. Co.; Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, Von meger's hardware store, E. Washington street.
Illiana, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janesville, W. Va.—S. P. Walsh.
Jewett City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county single tax league, 56 Ege avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 2124 Highland avenue.
Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quirley.
Kethsburg, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Frederic M. Ramey.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James M. Mann, 21 Elymouth at Lonsdale, R. I.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.
Lexington, Ky.—James Erwin.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Victoria street.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Douge, 30 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Viuetto, P. O. Station 9.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Moleat block, Kidder street.
Lytle, Minn.—C. F. Wendham.
Lyndeborg, Va.—Thos. Williams, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—E. H. Evenson.
Madison, N. Y.—Chas. J. N. Becker, president Free trade club; Herbert Richardson, secretary.
Mandoc, Mich.—Albert Walkley, or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo. A. P. Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Baldwin.
Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman North congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Raiston, Jr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Maunus, Indian Ocean—Robert A. Robins, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 25 Alabama street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 581.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas. H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
Minneapolis, Wash.—Peter Medill, 157 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Bach, president Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E. G. Norton, 33 South Royal street.
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Pletcher, M. D.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—J. H. Lathrop.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N. High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Roy Hugh O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm. R. Whitmore, secretary Mor new association; Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John S. Waters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex. Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. drawer 3.
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; B. S. Myers, P. O. box 37.
North Smithfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.
Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw. H. Hask, II.
Ocala, N. Y.—George Hall, pres. Single tax association.
Olympia, Wash.—Ter. Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embien, 823 Virginia avenue; Percy Pepon, pres. single tax club, 1312 S. 5th street; C. F. Beckett, sec., n. w. cor 5th and Blondo streets.
Orleans, Dak.—H. H. Gair, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex. Skiff, n. w. cor West First street.
Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, 181 Washington place.
Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nelson, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. L. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 21 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm. J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street, or A. H. Stevenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles R. Hood, P. O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Higgs, n. w. cor Stark street, R. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Greive, 32 Sutton street.
Dr. Wm. Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. H. on Onum.
Reading, Pa.—Charles P. Pitzer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Kirkhill, 15 N. 6th street.
Reynolds's Bridge, Conn.—John Carrother, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—M. Ritchie, 913 South A street; J. E. Huff, 156 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Avill, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Read Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Diego, Cal.—A. H. Harvey, 139 10th street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs. Frances M. Milne.
Seattle, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Wall.
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm. H. Atkinson, P. O. box 56.
Sharon, Conn.—A. M. Morris, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos. Folsie, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
South Gaston, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, sec. tary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCrea, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 623 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Jamman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—H. Hamilton Russell, president Single tax league, 2765 Barton street; Benj. E. Huum, secretary, room 3, 919 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Leonard.
Stonham, Mass.—Dr. W. Symington Brown.
Streator, Ill.—George G. Guntner.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street.
H. H. Perry, 119 South Clinton street, or F. A. Pugh, 4 Walton street, or James K. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Sudbeck, Wash. Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
Tahoe, O.—J. H. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No. 1, 112 Summit street.
Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—P. C. Clarke, 1308 K st.
Trenton, N. J.—H. H. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. B. Mathis.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McLaughlin.
Union, N. Y.—Thomas Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, P. O. box R. C. Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon. Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and Opera block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Walden, R. I.—David Hartower.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, I. W. secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. H. Stoddard.
Westport, N. Y.—John L. Frank, 637 6th street.
Whittemore, Long Island, N. Y.—George Haywell.
Whitman, Mass.—C. P. John, cigar store; Thos. Douglas, president single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Cumins.
Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.
Yankers, N. Y.—Joseph Subbards.
Youngstown, O.—J. H. Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Loughmiller, 27 Van Buren street.
O. A. Polwin, pres. single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50, six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.

A CLUB of three or more yearly subscriptions, sent in at one time, will be received at \$2.00 each.

ADVERTISING rate thirty cents per agate no ad insertion.

COMMUNICATIONS and contributions invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

CONTRIBUTIONS and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD, and not at any time to individuals.

REMITTANCES should be made payable to THE PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

SIGNATURES should be in full, with full address on every communication, to prevent errors.

RECEIPTS.—The correct filling of orders is evidence of receipt of remittance.

ERRORS.—Notice should be promptly given of undue delay or incorrect filling of orders.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.—When changing address send old as well as new address.

Sample copies sent free on application.

A cable message has been received from Henry George stating that he will sail on the Cunard line steamship Umbria, which leaves Liverpool on the 20th of this month. Miss George, whose illness seemed likely to detain him, has recovered, so that there will be no delay, and he will arrive on July 28, instead of the 4th of August, as the committee having the reception matter in charge expected. It is now too late to charter a steamer for July 28 to carry a party down the bay to meet Mr. George, and there has been so much disapproval of the plan for an excursion on August 4, on account of its being Sunday, that it is probable that the committee will abandon the idea. In this case the conference will doubtless be postponed until September, when the weather shall have moderated and when Judge Maguire of San Francisco shall have opportunity to attend.

Among the propositions to come before the constitutional convention of the new state of Washington some are very important and desirable. Others are worthy of prompt rejection. To the latter class belongs the plan of making all officials elective. In small communities this is well enough, but in larger ones it is impossible for voters to discriminate. All legislative officers should be elected; but executive officers, responsible chief officials excepted, should be appointed. To the former class belong the propositions for secret voting, minority representation, the submission of important laws to popular vote, the taxation of unused land the same as that of equal value which is in use, the reservation of school lands for the benefit of the school fund, the prohibition of private detective agencies, a guarantee of peaceable assemblage, and an expeditious method of amending the constitution. All constitutions ought to be subject to easy amendment; but better even than that would be a clause requiring a constitutional convention to meet every twenty-one years, in obedience to Jefferson's idea that every generation should legislate for itself. The most important of the propositions however are those which aim to hold the school lands as common property, and to tax land according to its value irrespective of its use. The first reserves to the state the growing rent of the lands it already owns, while the second lays a firm foundation for the ultimate adoption of the single tax, and in the meantime discourages the cornering of land.

The Press is hard pressed when it argues that inasmuch as our cotton manufactures do not command the markets of the world, though cotton is free, therefore free raw material does not benefit industry. Here the simple fact that about everything is protected that enters into the manufacture of cottons, except cotton, is deliberately suppressed. Let the raw materials of cotton manufacture—dyes, machinery, etcetera, be freed from the devilish power of protection, and no peo-

ple could compete with ours in that industry.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American federation of labor, in arguing at Pittsburg for the eight hour day, said that the "true opposite conditions in labor are the striving of capital to get most work for least wages, and of labor to get the largest wages for the least work," and that "an eight hour system would regulate the law of supply and demand." That employers (not capital, for capital does not employ labor) are striving to get most work for least wages (that is for least share of product), is true. It is also true that labor is striving to get the largest wages for the least work. To this effort of labor we owe all the labor saving machinery we have or ever will have. But that an eight hour system will regulate supply and demand is an exceedingly superficial notion. The only truth in it is that a reduction of hours to eight will for a time increase opportunities to work and thereby increase wages, though without increasing product. But the true way of regulating supply and demand is by allowing natural laws to operate in the natural way, which will increase wages by making demand limitless and production infinite. This can be done by removing all obstructions between labor and natural materials. A tax on labor products is such an obstruction. It is a penalty for producing, which operates in much the same way that twenty lashes on the bare back of the producer for every certain quantity of product would operate. Abolish such taxes and demand for labor will increase. A price on land, is to labor as a fence around a rich pasture is to cattle. Tax the price until it melts away and labor will be free. The difference between such methods of benefiting labor as Mr. Gompers advocates and the method of the single tax, is that he tries to ameliorate the condition of hired men by temporary expedients, while the single tax would make it possible for all hired men to be free men.

The miners of Streator, Illinois, who, with other dupes, were commended last fall for studying markets instead of theories, are now ready to give a little attention to theories. Their two months' strike afforded them a series of "commencement exercises" in the college of markets, which fell short of the glittering promises of the prospectus of that institution. In justice to Mr. Harrison, however, it must be admitted that a term in the college of markets is admirable preparation for an advanced course in the college of theory. But the expense is a little heavier than coal miners can bear. The Chicago Herald gives the following vivid account of the experience of Mr. Harrison's students in the department of coal mining, in his college of markets at Streator:

Three thousand miners and their families are debating the question of whether it is better to lie idle and starve at once or go to work and starve by degrees. There seems to be no escape. The men are determined and even desperate in their resistance to a reduction in wages, but it requires more than desperation to resist the wail of a hungry child. The mine owners realize this and are confident. They know that the reduction which is being forced on the men is an outrage and disgrace to civilization, but it is money in their pockets. They do not care if a few women and children die of hunger and neglect. During the early days of the strike the good people of Streator—which is not entirely dependent on the mining industry—gave freely to the families of the workmen. Day by day the destitution has increased until local aid is far from sufficient to alleviate the distress. The mines were closed May 1, and there is no prospect of a resumption of work. The mines are owned and operated by the Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company, of which A. L. Sweet is president. From the time the great shaft was sunk early in the seventies, this company has practically governed the coal trade of this portion of the state, fixing both the price of coal in the market and of labor at the mines. For the first few years high wages were paid, the town boomed, and a thrifty and intelligent class of English, Scotch and Irish miners was attracted here. Many purchased building lots from the company and erected little homes, the price of the lots being deducted from the wages of the miners in monthly installments. The truck store was then established. No man has been com-

pelled to trade a single dollar's worth in the "company store," but for some strange reason the man who did not trade with the company could seldom if ever clean his coal sufficiently well to please the boss. He could not keep his "room" in proper condition, and sooner or later he would be discharged for "incompetency." The Hungarian miner next appeared on the scene, and wages began to grow beautifully less.

For the past year they have been paying 80 cents per ton for screened coal, which means that for every three cars of coal the miner furnished the operator a car of nut coal free of expense. Deducting the selling price of this nut coal the miner in reality received only 55 or 60 cents per ton. The deductions made for powder, oil and other supplies reduce it still further. On May 1, the miners were informed that they must submit to a still further reduction of 10 cents per ton. The man who had toiled in subterranean darkness, under a treacherous soapstone roof, in mud and water, breathing foul air laden with poisonous gases and powder smoke—and all for the paltry pittance of from \$20 to \$30 per month—was foolish enough to think that he was being imposed upon and decided upon a suspension of work in hope that some sort of a compromise might be agreed upon. The operators "had nothing to arbitrate," refused to meet with the men, and changed the suspension for a "lockout" by closing their mines for the summer. For two months the men have thus been idle. The greater portion of them are without money or credit. The writer made a house to house canvass among the homes of a number of the strikers and everywhere it was the same sad story. Before the suspension of work many were eking out a scanty existence, and these are now face to face with starvation. When the strike was ordered there was less than \$100 in the treasury of the miners' organization. A relief committee was appointed and solicitors set to work to secure contributions of money and supplies. The returns, however, have been very meager so far. Over eight hundred applications for relief have been made to the committee most of which they have been compelled to deny, having neither money nor provisions to distribute. Mothers are daily going about among the farmers on the outskirts of the city, begging for anything with which to feed their families.

The Streator miners will probably be forced to surrender. They are engaged in a hopeless fight against a remorseless foe.

The magic wand that gives to a few men all this power over the prosperity and even the lives of thousands should be seen by any one who will honestly try to see it. Make a commodity of the air, and women and children would gasp for breath as the wives and babes of these miners hunger for food. It is the absolute ownership of the mining rights of Streator that makes autocrats of a few owners and helpless slaves of an entire community. But not satisfied with thus hampering the natural right to dig, a vast conspiracy has been formed to interfere with the natural right to trade, and in furtherance of that conspiracy these very miners were deceived into voting for a continuance of a system of laws that have no other excuse for being than to augment the profit and buttress the power of the conspirators. Take the tax off of coal and every other commodity, and put the tax upon the value of coal fields and every other privilege, and all men may work without begging for an opportunity, while no man will be vested with dictatorial power over any other.

One of the gratifying signs of the times is the accuracy with which the press in general is beginning to describe the single tax idea. Take this from the Philadelphia Record for example:

The idea of the "single tax" theorists is that all taxes upon industry and the products of industry should be abolished, and that the government should be supported by taxing land values solely, irrespective of improvements, to the extent of the annual rental value. It is contended that such a tax would compel the owners of unused land either to abandon it or to put it to use; and that upon such compulsion everybody that wanted work would have work to do.

It could not be more accurately stated, nor, in so few words, more completely.

But the Record does not agree with the idea. The principle reason for disagreement appears to be the editor's pardonable ignorance of one of the simplest laws of political economy. He supposes that the "product of the land would thereafter be made dearer to the extent of the burden imposed especially upon it." It is hardly worth while to discuss this question in editorial paragraphs. Passing by the

arguments of all other students of political economy, it is sufficient to refer to John Stuart Mill's full discussion of the subject in his "Principles of Political Economy," in which he shows that rent (and the single tax is really rent) does not affect the price of products, but their price is regulated by cost of production at the rent line. The same law is recognized by all political economists except the middle age school, which the protection plutocrats have resurrected for campaign purposes.

The Record goes far enough, however, to satisfy us at the present. It wants to abolish all taxation except that upon real estate. The only difference between us, then, is on the question of taxing improvements. The Record would exempt weather boards, shingles, bricks, etc., while in stock, and we would exempt as well when in houses as when in stock. But that need make no difference. Let the Record make its agitation for a single tax on real estate and we will aid it all in our power, confident that as taxes are thrown off from industry the people will see clearer and clearer the justice and benefits of relieving industry entirely.

The Record has opened its columns to correspondence on the single tax, and repeatedly expresses its astonishment at the proof this correspondence affords of "the hold the single tax idea of Mr. Henry George has obtained upon the public attention."

In its first issue after the flood the Johnstown Democrat speaks of Arthur J. Moxham, the single tax leader of Johnstown and vicinity, as a man "with a well balanced brain, a clear insight into the miseries of those who survived the terrible shock of the angry wave, a full comprehension of what should be done and how to do it, and the nerve of a general in the crisis of a battle involving the life of a nation," who "restored municipal regulations and organized forces for efficient work in recovering bodies, protecting property and collecting and distributing food, clothing and other necessities of life."

Volume V of THE STANDARD, dated from January 5 to June 29, inclusive, neatly bound in cloth, with stiff covers, is now ready. See advertisement in another column.

SOCIETY NOTES.

WASHINGTON, June 22.—The wedding gift of Mrs. M. V. Dahlgren to Miss Drexel, who will become her daughter-in-law June 29, will be a vellum bound prayer book, beautifully illuminated. Tiffany has made the cover a work of art. From the family jewels a lot of gems were taken, and a cross, a crown and anchor of diamonds, rubies and sapphires set into the covers. The clasps are similarly enriched.

Joseph Piel, fifty-seven years old, an upholsterer, living on the top floor of No. 232 East Eighty-first street, with two married daughters, ascended to the roof of the house immediately after breakfast yesterday morning. He was out of work and despondent. He seated himself against a chimney and sent a bullet through a revolver through his head. The report attracted his daughters' attention, and they were horrified when they found him dead.—[World, June 28.]

The rapid advance in the value of land at Seattle, Washington territory, has been good fortune to Miss Rhea, the charming actress. Some time since, at the instance of a friend she bought a number of lots at Seattle for \$5,000, which now she will not sell for \$10,000, expecting even a further advance. Miss Rhea, in this case, is a veritable real estate "boomer."—[Brooklyn Times.]

Two half-grown boys were found sleeping in a wagon on Riverdale avenue last Friday by a mounted policeman. He took them to the Kingsbridge station, where they gave their names as Charles and Edward Spence, sixteen and fourteen years old. They said that they had come from Buffalo in a freight car. Their father and mother were dead, and they started out together to battle with the world. The children's society will take charge of them.

It's the Only Thing that is Really Cheap. Clinton, Ind., Argus.

Although the Cambria iron company lost 2,000 employees in the Johnstown flood, they had no difficulty at all in filling every place with new men at the old price. The most abundant and cheapest thing in this country to-day is human labor.

MEN AND THINGS.

The Baltimore and Ohio railway has reduced its rates for grain transportation from Chicago to the three principal Atlantic shipping ports. To New York the rate will henceforth be twenty cents, instead of twenty-five; to Philadelphia eighteen, instead of twenty-three; and to Baltimore seventeen, instead of twenty-two.

The reason given for this move is that without such a reduction the Baltimore and Ohio is placed at a disadvantage in competing for grain freights with its rival roads. It has no lake connections, and is therefore handicapped in competition with the other lines. At equal rates, the other roads command the business. Yet eastern bound traffic, at some rate or other, the Baltimore and Ohio road must have, if it would find a profit in its west bound business. There is no money in hauling cars full in one direction if they must be hauled empty in the other. Moreover, the cost of operating a road does not increase in anything like direct proportion with increasing business. An increase of traffic is always possible, without seriously increasing expenses.

It is by friction such as this that economy of production is secured. If the Baltimore and Ohio succeeds in withdrawing any considerable amount of grain freights from competing roads, the other roads will be compelled, in self defense, to reduce their rates as well. But that will by no means end the competition. It is just when competition reaches the point where any further reduction is impossible without loss that its most really beneficial effects begin to be produced. For then invention is stimulated to exertion, and the mind of man springs forward to assist his hands. Economies are introduced, labor is more efficiently co-ordinated, improved machinery is adopted, the whole system of production is amended. It would not, I think, be very hard to demonstrate that the Atlantic greyhounds are largely the result of the competition of our railways.

It is true, that among the economies thus compelled is the reduction of wages. But competition, beneficent in so much else, must not be called upon to bear the blame for that. Employers reduce wages on account of competition—that is often true enough. But they only do it because our social system is so horribly maladjusted that to reduce wages is almost always easier than to do anything else. The employer pushes back expenses at the point of least resistance. He is not to blame, above other men, because unnatural social conditions have misplaced that point. Wages ought to be the one factor of the expense of production absolutely impossible to reduce. They ought to rise with every improvement in the co-ordination of industry, with every labor saving invention. That they do not hold this position of advantage is due altogether to the fact that the men who earn wages allow themselves to be denied their birthright of access to nature's opportunities. Were labor free to apply itself to land, employers would never dream of such a thing as reducing wages. Their constant effort, on the contrary, would be to co-ordinate industry and stimulate invention as to be able to offer higher wages. For higher wages would command more efficient labor, and in labor, as in other things, the best is always the cheapest in the end.

What might not man's inventive genius accomplish, if it could but feel the full stimulus of competition? The mind fairly reels before the thought of the mastery over nature that would be achieved, if men were really free to work as they wished, when they wished, and where they wished—if the only ways for one producer to undersell another were by more skillfully co-ordinating the labor he employed, or by compelling, in some better manner than before, the forces of nature to lend themselves to the task of producing wealth for man.

The Sun of July 4 gives a list of various propositions pending before the people of Washington Territory for incorporation into their state constitution. Among these are the following:

An absolutely secret ballot.
Minority representation.
Submission of a proposed law to popular vote by a one-third vote of the legislature.

Enabling municipal governments to own and control industries.
Taxation of land held from use as high as land used.

Reservation of tide and school lands for benefit of state and school funds.
No private detective agencies to be allowed.

No infringement upon the right of the people to peaceably assemble together for discussion.

An expeditious method of amending the constitution so as to conform to changing conditions.

On this the Sun remarks that "this shows that specimens of the glorious race of political cranks are already to be found even on the distant shores of Puget sound; but it is a safe bet that very little stuff of this sort can get itself imbedded in the constitution of any American state."

And on the self-same page the Sun presents a two-column list of notable extracts from the writings of Thomas Jefferson, which it styles its Fourth of July oration, "the greatest and best possible, we think." These sentences are among them:

Laws and institutions must go hand and hand with the progress of the human mind.

Bigotry is the disease of ignorance, of morbid minds; enthusiasm of the free and buoyant.

I think the Sun's columns illustrate a good many different orders of architecture.

A correspondent in Pittsburg sends me a clipping from the Chronicle-Telegraph of that city, which is decidedly interesting reading. To enjoy the full flavor of its interest, it must be understood that the Chronicle-Telegraph is an ardent supporter of that beneficent policy which aims to compel American citizens, when they want anything, to go to work and make it for themselves, instead of getting it from the people who can make it more easily than they can, by the simple process of giving in exchange something that they can make better than anybody else.

The Chronicle-Telegraph warns the young men of America that evil days are coming for them. The time is coming, when they will have to "come down to a style of living similar to that of the poorer classes of Europe, which is wholly abhorrent to our American ideas of comfort and independence."

And so the Chronicle-Telegraph advises the young men of America to get out. It recommends emigration—emigration to South America. "With our labor markets overcrowded," it remarks, "and foreigners coming in yearly by the hundred thousand to make the struggle for mere existence still more desperate, it is a wonder that more of our young and adventurous men do not seek to better their fortunes by trying life in the South American republics."

What can the young American citizen do in South America more than in the United States, that he should leave the land of his fathers to the foreigners who are "coming in yearly by the hundred thousand to make the struggle for mere existence still more desperate," and go off to make his home among foreigners speaking a strange language? The Chronicle-Telegraph gives full information on this point.

The government of Columbia, our neighbor republic to the southward, wants to increase its population, and offers what may well be considered very liberal inducements to settlers.

It will pay their passage, give them free transportation to the points where they prefer to locate, furnish them with 250 acres of land each, stocked with a cow, two pigs and a plow, help them to build their houses, and give them \$6 a month.

Here is a start in life that any man of energy and industry, and a desire to better his condition and insure the future of his family, ought to be glad to accept. It is a far better chance than the pioneers of this country had—better, too, than that enjoyed by the men who broke up the prairies and forests of the middle and western states and founded hundreds of prosperous communities.

Isn't that pretty advice to offer American citizens in the centennial year of the constitution? I don't pretend to make any comment on it. I am not going to try to paint the lily. But I do most sincerely hope that every lover of freedom will see to it that this ingenious advice of a paper which boasts its advocacy of a peculiarly "American" policy, is as widely circulated as possible.

The various bureaus of labor statistics, state and national, have been sitting in convention at Hartford in Connecticut. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the national bureau, described the various kinds of statistics he is collecting, for reference to future congressional committees, and said something about the ease with which tabulated figures can be used for the leading of men astray. "Figures," Mr.

Wright is reported as announcing, "won't lie, but liars will figure"—an epigrammatic saying, of which at least the latter half is true. As for the first half, if to convey a false impression is to tell a lie, then figures certainly are liars, and that on a most extensive scale. The various state commissioners told what they had done and hoped to do, and Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky sent a communication chiding the assembled commissioners for not paying more attention to the subject of child labor. And on the last day of the convention the statisticians visited the Cheney Brothers' silk mills, the Willimantic linen company's mills and the Ponemah cotton mill—three manufacturing establishments where the employers really do all in their power to make their employees comfortable, and find their well deserved reward in faithful service and votes for protectionist candidates. Then the convention adjourned, and the statisticians went each to his own place, and recommenced the gathering of figures.

Isn't it rather a weariness, not to say humbug, this constant collecting of figures and arranging them in rows and columns. They look pretty, of course, and there is a certain languid interest attaching to the study of them, but is there really any use of them? It's like the new navy we are building so exultantly—after the ships are finished there comes the temptation to see if they really will kill anybody, and so we begin to look around for a nation with a chip on its shoulder that can be conveniently knocked off. Just so, when a lot of statistics have been scraped together, there comes a diabolical impulse to build a theory on them, and so men's brains are addled. Think of poor Edward Atkinson, and what the fatal habit of statistics has done for him. He might have known things, if it hadn't been for statistics. The proof is, that where he hasn't bothered with statistics he really does know things. He has got up a cooking stove that beats the world, yet he thinks there is no way to get the capital to make cooking stoves with except by putting men on half rations and persuading them to knock off eating pig meat. Now, if there had been no more statistics about pigs and capital than about cooking stoves, Edward Atkinson might have gone and looked at pigs and capital, just as he went and looked at cooking stoves, and found out lots of things about them.

Oh, yes, I know we all use them—I, myself, am no more of a total abstainer than you or anybody else. It's a universal habit. But let me ask you a question—did you ever know anybody to be convinced by them? Were you ever convinced by them yourself?—I mean really convinced on any subject that you cared a button about. You are, I assume, a thoroughgoing free trader, and have had plenty of arguments with your misguided protectionist friends, in which you have used statistics freely. Now tell the truth. Did you ever find your statistics produce the slightest effect upon your antagonist? Wasn't he always ready with his statistics on the other side, proving just the contrary of what you said? Of course, I grant you that his figures were all wrong, and his inferences ridiculously strained—the other man's figures and inferences always are that way, it's a peculiarity they have. But as a matter of fact, you never convinced him, did you? No, and you never will. You see, statistics are good enough shields, but they make mighty poor swords. You can defend your own opinions with them, in a manner most satisfactory—to yourself. But you can't produce any impression with them on the other fellow.

Now, if you are fond of gnawing upon statistics, here are some that will exercise your teeth. Don't go away—when I say "here" I don't mean that I am going to quote them in full. I am only going to tell you where to find them and something about them. Get the City Record—the official journal of New York—for July 3, and read the preliminary report of the register of the health department on the subject of mortality in tenement houses. Only the preliminary report, mind you—the real and final report is to come yet. This preliminary report fills three pages of the Record, and contains eight carefully compiled tables of statistics. And what do you suppose they show? Why, that tenements are the wholesomest kind of houses there are in the city. And not only this, but that the wholesomest tenement houses are those that have the most people living in them. There isn't any mistake about it—there can't be any, because the figures are official. The general death rate in the city is 26.33 to every 1,000 of population. The tenement house death rate is 22.71 per thousand. And in that part of the city south of Fourteenth street and east of Broadway, where pretty much all the people live in tenements, the rate is only 22.55 per thousand, while in the district south of Fourteenth street and west of Broadway, where the tenements aren't half so thick, the rate is 26.60 per thousand. There's statistics for you. If you want your days to be long in the land which the Lord your God has given to your landlord, just go live in a tenement house. That's what the figures say, and there's the register's signature to vouch for it.

There isn't any jugglery about these figures—the register himself is amazed at what they show. He has taken the trouble to figure out the death rates according to population of the houses in which the deaths occurred, and the result bears out the general conclusion that the densest population has the lowest rate. Take the children, for example—I don't want to weary you with a lot of figures—take the babies under five years old. In the houses occupied by twenty tenants each or less, 263 babies died out of every thousand; while in the houses occupied by 100 or more tenants each, only 96.55 babies died out of every thousand. So you can't pretend, after this, that you don't know where to take your babies for the summer.

Of course these figures can be explained away. I am quite sure about that, and so, I dare say are you, because the figures don't show what we think they ought to show. If they supported our views, we should be quite triumphant about them—at least I know I should, and I guess you would too. But don't you see that the figures, as they stand, are just as satisfactory to those who oppose us as they would have been to us if they had supported our side of the case. We should have laughed at any attempt to refute them then, and you may be quite sure the other fellows will be just as scornful of any attempt to refute them now. It's just as easy to laugh on one side as on the other, you know.

Let me whisper something to you: I think statistics are a humbug. I think they're like chips in porridge—no great good and no great harm. Men don't fit their opinions to their statistics—they fit the statistics to their opinions. Isn't it so? Take the figures I have just been talking about. You and I won't think for a moment of changing our opinions to suit those figures. We'll change the figures to suit our opinions. We'll hustle round, and get a lot of other figures, or twist these about and rearrange them until they show what we want them to, and then we'll brag about it. But truth will be no truer, nor falsehood any less a lie, after all our twisting and rearranging, than before.

Friends, if we want to win mankind to freedom, we can only do it by winning men to love freedom. And we can't do that by setting figures down in columns and in rows. Talk to men of right and wrong, of justice and oppression, and you can fire their hearts and stir them up to action. But you can't get men to be enthusiastic over addition and subtraction. I think we may as well let statistics alone, and stick to facts—the eternal facts that God is an equal-loving father, and that men have equal rights of access to his bounties.

Here comes Chambers's Journal, telling of a new industry that has been developed in Germany—the industry of making coffee berries. The climate of the German empire not being adapted to the production of coffee by the usual agricultural method, certain enterprising Germans have hit upon the ingenious device of mixing together burnt flour, flavoring extract and some innocuous and tasteless sort of mucilage, and passing the paste thus compounded through a machine, which takes in paste at one end and turns out beautifully formed coffee berries at the other. These the manufacturer puts upon the market in competition with the genuine seeds of Java and Arabia, and the consumer makes coffee thereof, and, like Job's war horse, saith in his heart, ah! ah! thinking he has somehow got the better of monopolists. We do much the same sort of thing in this country, I

haven't heard that we have gone so far as to turn out imitation coffee berries, though we may be doing it for all I know; but it is generally understood that we have attained a certain skill in the manufacture of ground spices out of coconut shells, while in other imitative and adulterative directions we may fairly claim, without any undue national vanity, to lead the world. We make excellent olive oil out of cotton seed. Our genuine French sardines from the coast of Maine have pretty well run the pauper fishes of Europe out of our market. We import French gloves from Gloversville, New York, Lyons silks from half a dozen of our towns, and foreign ribbons from Paterson, New Jersey. And in the matter of brandies, wines and cordials, we may call ourselves independent of the outside universe so long as our supply of chemicals holds out. Germany will have to get up pretty early in the morning if she wants to compete with us in commercial imitations.

Competition does it, so they tell us. Competition has to answer for a heap of things. Competition is so fierce, you know, that men *must* lie and cheat and swindle or they could never get along together. Smith, being a retail grocer, finds that Brown, another retail grocer, is making a fair living, while he himself is losing money every day. There isn't trade enough for both of them—people don't buy enough groceries for both to make a living. It isn't that people don't want groceries enough to keep both Smith and Brown busy in supplying them—the trouble is that they haven't got the money to buy with. They can't afford to buy.

Consider what poor Smith has to do under these circumstances. Get Brown's customers away from him? Well, not altogether that. He will be glad enough to get Brown's customers if he can; but what he really needs to do—and he has, instinctively, a very keen knowledge of the fact—is to stimulate trade. He must get people to buy more groceries. And since they can't afford to buy more at present prices, he must manage, somehow, to reduce prices so that they can afford to buy more. He thinks and talks as though he were competing with Brown, of the opposition shop, but as an actual matter of fact, he is competing with the poverty of his customers.

Now Smith can't reduce his prices and continue to sell the same quality of goods. At his present prices he isn't making profit enough to live, and lower prices would bankrupt him in a hurry. But he can sell imitations or adulterations at lower prices, and make sufficient profit on them. So he does it. And if his imitations and adulterations are sufficiently artful, he not only increases his own trade, but draws trade away from Brown as well. Then Brown, in his turn, has to stimulate business, and he lays in a stock of the imitations and adulterations. And so behold the game of swindle fairly started. It isn't competition between Smith and Brown that has started it and keeps it alive. It is the poverty of Smith's and Brown's customers. And I want you to observe that Smith and Brown can't help themselves—let them be never so honestly inclined, they must swindle if they want to live. The only thing they can do is to play that it isn't swindling, but "commercial necessity," or "custom of the trade," or something of that sort, which they do with commendable promptitude, and go to church on Sunday just the same as ever.

Follow the thing a little farther. Smith and Brown, dealing in imitations and adulterations, sell a good many more groceries than they used to. People buy groceries from them who otherwise would have had to go without, and those who would have bought anyhow get their groceries a good deal cheaper, and are able either to indulge in other luxuries, or to save money. Life's conditions are made more tolerable for a multitude of men. And then what happens? Why, other men come crowding to the place where conditions are easier than elsewhere, and necessarily, rents go up. Then folks have to go short of groceries again, and so Smith and Brown have to hunt around for fresh imitations and adulterations to stimulate trade withal. I don't ask you to take my word for it. Look around, and consult your own experience. Aren't imitations and adulterations becoming more frequent, and fabrics growing flimsier, and prices going down all

the time? And are not higher rents going along with the lower prices? I tell you it is poverty that makes men commercially dishonest—not their own poverty, but the poverty of other people. And the landlord takes all the profit of it in the end.

Pass laws against adulteration? Oh yes, you can do that if you want to. But you can't enforce them—not if you make them general and try to execute them with any approach to impartiality. You can't enforce a law whose enforcement isn't supported by public opinion. You can't enforce the usury law, nor the excise law, nor the law forbidding people to bring things ashore without paying duty when they come back from Europe. About all you can do is to make men dodge the law and tell lies. And that would be about all you could do with a general law against adulterations and imitations. Public opinion wouldn't support such a law, because it would ruin too many people, and cause too much distress.

Why should we fear to look things square in the face and acknowledge that repressive laws breed dishonesty and falsehood? Men want to be honest. I would like to be honest myself, if society would only let me. So would you, wouldn't you? And I think you and I are not bad samples of humanity in general. Why not give humanity a chance—especially since we are making such a dreadful mess of things with the other plan?

Mr. Austin Corbin evidently is a fighter who pushes his advantages to the uttermost, and never cries truce till he has won an absolutely complete victory. Having recently acquired control of the Reading iron works, he has issued an announcement that the establishment will shortly resume work, which is accompanied by a general order or manifesto, declaratory of the policy he intends to pursue toward the men in his employ. Here is an extract from this latter document, which I cut from the columns of the World:

In employing men for the new company preference will be given to former employees of the old, but only on the following conditions: No member of any labor organization (except such as are purely beneficial or benevolent) will be employed by the company, and every man engaging with the company must sign a written agreement that so long as he is in its employ he will not belong to such organization. Sober, honest and industrious men only will be given employment. Any employees found under the influence of liquor, whether on or off duty, will be discharged. The company will always give a patient hearing to any of its employees in relation to any matter affecting their interests, but it will under no circumstances recognize or treat with representatives or committees of any labor organization or with any person not an employee of the company. Persons willing to comply with these rules must call at the office of the company on or before July 25, and agree in writing, if employed, to accept the conditions named herein. Blanks will be furnished at the office.

Well, why not? We believe in protectionism, don't we? Protectionism implies a protecting class—a class that knows what is good for us better than we do ourselves—a class that issues orders which the rest of us must obey. Mr. Corbin is only carrying out the true spirit of protectionism. He knows what is good for the working people. He knows that Knights of Labor, and strikes, and things of that sort are bad for trade, and that whatever is bad for trade is, in the long run, bad for men who work for wages. He knows it, just as Bismarck knows it; and Bismarck and he are both determined to put an end to it. Mr. Bismarck proposes to establish great coal depots, where immense reserve stocks of coal shall be kept on hand, so that if the German coal miners start another strike society will not be inconvenienced while they are being starved into submission. Mr. Corbin, having more power than Mr. Bismarck, takes a simpler method, and refuses to let his men go to work in the first place without a distinct agreement on their part that there never shall be any strikes. American citizens have no right to grumble at this. They have put the whip into Mr. Corbin's hands, and Mr. Corbin would be a fool indeed if he didn't use it.

T. L. McCREADY.

One of the Reasons for Our Separating from Great Britain.

Declaration of Independence.

He [the king of Great Britain] has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither.

HISTORY OF ELECTORAL REFORM.

Introduced into Politics by Henry George in the New York Mayoralty Contest of 1886, It Has Been Consummated in Nine States.

New York Evening Post.

There are now nine states which have on their statute books comprehensive ballot reform laws drawn upon the model furnished by the Australian system. One of these, that of Massachusetts, was passed in 1888; the remaining eight were all passed during the present year. Here is a record of reform progress for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of reform movements in this country. It was in the spring of 1887 that agitation of the subject of ballot reform first took formal shape. The discussions of the Commonwealth club of this city led to the formation of a committee to draft a law embodying the principles of the Australian method for presentation to the New York legislature. Previous to this time no comprehensive measure of the kind desired had been outlined. The nearest approach to it had been a bill which had been presented to the Michigan legislature early in 1887, but this, while interesting as containing the germ of the reform principle, was incomplete and inadequate.

The Commonwealth club committee were not long in discovering that their task was no light one, and that no satisfactory measure could be drafted in time for presentation to the legislature of that year. They accordingly postponed its introduction till the following year. They spent a good deal of time during the fall and winter of 1887 in preparing a bill, and early in the session of 1888 it was introduced. This was the original Saxton bill. It has undergone many changes since its first presentation, but in principle, and largely in methods of applying the Australian system to American election laws, it remains to-day substantially the same as it was at first. So generally have its merits been recognized that it has been made the basis of all the nine laws which have since been enacted. Its leading principles were: an absolute secret ballot, all ballots to be printed and distributed at the public expense, none but official ballots to be received at the polls, provisions for independent nominations. These principles will be found, in practically the same form, in all the laws passed, as a brief examination and comparison of their leading provisions will show.

(1) *As to the secrecy of the ballot.* Every one of the nine laws requires the erection of booths or compartments, into which the voter shall, after receiving his ballot, retire, and, free from all observation, prepare it for the polls. The proportion of booths to voters varies somewhat. The Massachusetts law says not less than one for every seventy-five voters. The Indiana law divides the whole state into voting precincts, each containing "as nearly as practicable two hundred voters," each polling place to be provided with three compartments. The Montana and Wisconsin laws require one compartment for every fifty voters, or fraction thereof; the Rhode Island, Missouri and Connecticut laws require not less than one for each one hundred voters; the Tennessee law not less than three, and the Minnesota law not less than two for each hundred. This is very slight variation. The important provision is that all except illiterate and physically disabled voters are absolutely alone while preparing their ballots. The method of marking the ballots varies somewhat. In Massachusetts, Montana, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Minnesota and Connecticut the voter is required to place an X opposite the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote. In Indiana he is required to make the mark with an official stamp furnished by the election officers for the purpose. In Missouri he is required to erase the names of all candidates on the ticket except those for whom he wishes to vote.

(2) *Ballots printed and distributed at the public expense.* Every one of the nine laws provides that the ballots shall be printed and distributed at the public expense. This provision takes away all excuse for assessments upon candidates and removes from the polls all ticket peddlers, "workers" and "heelers."

(3) *None but official ballots to be used.* Every one of the nine laws forbids the use of any except official ballots. There is considerable variety in the methods provided for the marking of the official ballots by the election officers in such a way as to prevent the use of imitations. The Massachusetts law requires that "on the back and outside, when folded, shall be printed, 'Official ballot for,' followed by the designation of the polling place for which the ballot is prepared, the date of the election, and a fac simile of the signature of the secretary of the commonwealth or city clerk who has caused the ballot to be printed." The Indiana law requires the poll clerks to write their initials in ink on the backs of the ballots. The Montana law requires the election officers to stamp on the back of each ballot, before handing the same to the voter, the words "Official ballot." The Rhode Island and Tennessee laws copy the Massachusetts method. The Wisconsin, Minnesota and Missouri laws require the poll clerks to write their initials on the backs of the ballots, and the Connecticut law requires them to write their full names on the backs.

(4) *Provision for independent nominations.*

Every one of the nine laws contains, with slight modifications, the principle first embodied in the original Saxton bill, allowing independent nominations by means of petitions or nomination papers. In this way citizens who are dissatisfied with all the regular nominations for a given office, can by uniting in favor of a suitable candidate, have his name printed upon all the official ballots and have it distributed at the polls on equal terms with the names of the regular party candidates. This is the most deadly blow that could be aimed at the caucus or primary system, and is certain in time to lead to the destruction of that system's worst evils, if not to the abandonment of the system itself.

It is a melancholy reflection that the state of New York, which took the lead in this most notable and beneficent reform movement, should still be without a law embodying its principles. In no state, if we except Indiana, is that reform more urgently needed, and in none has public sentiment in favor of it been more emphatically expressed. For the failure to obtain it the state has to thank its chosen governor alone, for he has twice vetoed a measure which was the inspiration and the model of the nine laws which other states have adopted.

Making Benefited Lands Bear the Cost of Public Improvements.

MINNEAPOLIS, July 1.—I inclose you a clipping which illustrates the way our parks are paid for here:

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF PARK COMMISSIONERS,

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., June 22, 1889.

To all whom it may concern:

At a meeting of said board, held on Saturday, June 15, 1889, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The cost of the Minnehaha state park is ascertained to be, and is the sum of ninety-two thousand, two hundred, eighty-three and sixteen one-hundredths (\$92,283.16) dollars; therefore,

Resolved, That this board do determine, and it is now determined, that 100 per centum of said cost shall be assessed upon and collected from the lands specially benefited by said Minnehaha state park in manner provided by law.

Resolved, That the secretary and attorney of the board be directed to take the proper proceedings in the district court to have such assessment made. Now, therefore, in accordance with said resolution above recited, and pursuant to the provisions of section 4 of an act entitled "An act to consolidate and amend all acts relating to parks and parkways in the city of Minneapolis and incident thereto, and defining the powers and duties of the board of park commissioners of said city," approved March 11, 1889.

Notice is hereby given that said board of park commissioners will apply to the district court of Hennepin county, Fourth judicial district, for the appointment of three freeholders of the city of Minneapolis as park assessors, to assess upon such lots, blocks, tracts and parcels of land in said city of Minneapolis and adjacent thereto as they shall deem to be specially benefited by such park, whether such land shall adjoin and abut upon such park or not, such sum as they shall deem a just portion respectively of the total sum to be assessed for benefits.

Said application will be made at a term of the district court to be held at the court house in the city of Minneapolis, on Saturday, the 6th day of July, A. D. 1889, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, when and where all persons interested may appear and be heard by the court touching such appointment.

By order of the Board of Park Commissioners.

C. M. LOHRN, President,

W. G. NYE, Secretary,

C. J. ROCKWOOD, Attorney.

This principle of making benefited lands bear the cost of improvements applies to all our important public works except street grading—that is paid for out of ward funds raised by general taxation. As a result our streets are poorly graded, and there is great temptation to have the most of the work done near the property of the aldermen, or where it will count most in votes at the next regular election.

We hope to change the plan and have the cost of our grading assessed up against the benefited lands. This is done in St. Paul, and her streets are remarkably well kept.

In the shaping of municipal policy regarding public improvements and the disposition of valuable municipal privileges, it seems to me is a field where our friends can work to good advantage.

C. J. BUELL,

402 West Franklin avenue.

An Iron Molder's Advice to His Fellow Molders.

James Mallett in Iron Molders' Journal.

I am fully persuaded that until we do something to wrest unused and valuable land from the hands of those who will neither use it, pay proper taxes upon it, nor allow any one else to either purchase or lease it, except at extortionate figures—so long as we continue to make men pay heavily for improving property and exempt the lazy land speculator from just taxation—so long will injustice and greed trample down true liberty and justice; so long will poor men be obliged to pay rent for the privilege of occupying a small portion of the earth's surface, and continue to look with eager but useless longing at the vast tracts of unimproved vacant land lying all around them.

Read This from the Protection-Menus—High-Wages Shrieker of Last Fall.

New York Press.

Some of the laborers in Johnstown think \$1.50 a day is pretty poor pay, but for all that it is \$1.50 a day more than nothing.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

A Plague of Office Seeking.

General Charles H. T. Collis writes about "A Plague of Office Seeking" in the North American Review for July, and tells the story of a round of visits which he seems to have made recently to the president and the members of the cabinet. It is a very interesting story, and carries a moral with it, though not, I think, the moral General Collis draws.

The general's first visit was to President Harrison. He went there because, as he ingenuously confesses, he wanted to ask for something—his words are, "I had a little ax with me, myself." He found forty or fifty men waiting in the president's room, while at least twice as many more were waiting their turn in an adjoining apartment. "Mr. Blaine was anxious to present Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who desired to bid the president farewell previous to his departure for Paris; Senator Hawley was looking for a chance to introduce a distinguished Englishman; General N. P. Banks wanted simply to pay his respects; Henry Cabot Lodge was restlessly pacing the room looking at his watch; and a distinguished senator from the Pacific slope told me he wanted to speak to the president about the discrimination of the interstate bill in favor of foreign corporations; yet during the time these gentlemen were waiting a delegation of citizens were recommending their candidate, who was present, for the post-mastership of a town which had, perhaps, barely risen to the dignity of a place in the gazetteer.

I heard the president say, apparently in self-defense and as though courtously to end the conference, "Really, this is a matter for the postmaster general," to which came the ready and premeditated response:

"We have seen Mr. Wanamaker, and we are sure he will make the appointment if you ask him to."

At the state department General Collis found much the same condition of affairs. The secretary's room was "dadoed" with delegations, and Mr. Blaine was making a tour of the apartment, listening to every one in turn, and, to judge from General Collis's account, trying pretty hard to be all things to all men, "until he had sent everyone away happy."

The official hours for receiving visits had expired when General Collis got to the navy department; but the secretary "kindly insisted" that he should come in, nevertheless. General Tracy was eating his lunch and discussing a contract at one and the same time; and in a brief chat, after the contract had been disposed of, and the lunch nearly so, he "confessed that, owing to the demands upon his time from those who desired his assistance, this was the first opportunity he had had either to eat or to transact business; yet he looks like a man used to hard work at all kinds of hours, and thoroughly resigned to submit to the custom in vogue without complaint."

The next morning I dropped in to Mr. Secretary Windom's room. That was a sight! Perhaps some of you know that it is one of the largest apartments in the treasury building. Well, it was not only full, but it had a "surplus;" and all these were candidates and their friends. Are there really custom houses enough to go round. The secretary stood at his table at the far end of the room, one foot resting upon his chair—already, perhaps, fatigued, for it was now noon—receiving each individual and party in turn, and occasionally making a note of what they had to recommend. The tide was still at the flood when I left the room, and I went away wondering where and at what hour of the day or night he attended to the momentous affairs of his department, or whether he was compelled to entrust them to subordinates, while he performed the higher duty of receiving the American people.

Mr. Wanamaker was the last member of the cabinet visited by General Collis. He seems to have a somewhat easier time of it than the other heads of departments, which may be due, as General Collis imagines, to his youth and business habits, or may be induced by that habit, of which General Collis gave us a hint in his interview with Mr. Harrison, of assuring applicants of his perfect willingness to serve them, if they can make things straight with the president. Mr. Wanamaker has his desk in a small room, which holds about six people comfortably. If a seventh man should come in, General Collis says, he "would consider him rude." Yet, when General Collis paid his visit, there were five or six of these rude people present, one of whom was General Collis himself.

All this is painfully ridiculous—to the mind of General Collis. General Collis thinks it is absurd that the time of the president and his cabinet should be taken

up in this manner. They were not chosen to their high offices simply to superintend a distribution of loaves and fishes. The people don't expect it of them. General Collis seems very sure about that. He says that "the sympathy of the people can always be relied upon by a president who cares for his own comfort so that he may the better equip himself to care for theirs; and as but a small percentage of them are candidates for office, the larger body will, one of these days, demand that all his precious time, and perhaps his life, shall not be given to the few."

It seems to me that General Collis is both right and wrong. He is probably right in supposing that the mass of the people would be apt to sympathize with the over-harrassed president than with the place hunters who are besieging him. But I think he is altogether wrong in supposing that this would make any difference. The mass of the people are not candidates for office—true enough; but the mass of the people have mighty little to do with the nomination of a presidential candidate. It is the candidates for office that attend to that department or the public polity, and as long as that is the case, the president and his respected secretaries must grin and bear it. Perhaps, some day in the far future, the people may seriously ask themselves what need they have of a president, or candidates for office either. When that day comes, the problem that perplexes General Collis's soul will be in a fair way of solution. T. L. McCREADY.

The Work of the Corn Law Movement.

In the article on Richard Cobden, copied in last week's STANDARD, I see that Mr. Anton says that in 1838 the Anti-corn law league was formed, and that in seven years from its institution it met and dissolved, because it had accomplished its object. I wish to state that it was in 1847 and not 1846, as Mr. Anton states, when the "corn bill" became law, which was nine years from 1838. I remember it well, and I also remember that in the spring of '47 that the best wheat bread was twenty-six cents for the four pound loaf, the seconds twenty-three cents for the same weight, and that the price came down with a jump soon after the passing of the bill, and that in December of that year the best bread was thirteen cents the four pound loaf and the seconds nine cents. Just think of it, less than half in the price of the bread of the poor. Surely this difference is a good argument in favor of free trade if people would not be so blind, shutting their eyes against the light, still more so, as trade generally was better at the close of 1847 than it had been for some time previous.

SUSANNA MACGREGOR.

TARIFF NOTES.

The protected wool growers should contribute a little raiment to the destitute protected miners of Pennsylvania.—(Louisville Courier-Journal.)

The present distress in all the mining district has nailed one protection lie to the counter. The tariff on soft coal does not keep up the wages of the miners. Now, the question is: Does a tariff keep up wages in any industry? It is a simple question of facts and ought to be answered easily. Does it or does it not?—(Chicago News.)

British capital does not seem to have been much hurt by our protective policy. With the profits of free trade British capitalists are buying up our breweries, railroads, ranches, coal and iron lands. They carry our foreign commerce for us, and our tariff does not prevent them from owning the plant of our protected manufacturing establishments.—(St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

While wages are going down and work is getting scarcer, the prices of the necessities of life are advancing. There is hardly a commodity which does not cost more than it did six months ago, while in every department of industry the tendency of wages is downward. The trouble is that the trusts, most of them children of the protective tariff, have obtained control of both ends of the market.—(Indianapolis Sentinel.)

And now Illinois, which gave a majority for protection because she believed it a benefit to labor, is having trouble in her mining districts. It is the same old story.—(Clinton, Ind., Argus.)

The rapid increase of trusts in branches of industry which are highly favored by the present tariff threatens to place in a very embarrassing position those republican organs which denounce such combinations of capital, and at the same time oppose any reduction of duties.—(Paterson Guardian.)

Iron mill men in Pennsylvania and coal miners in Indiana and Illinois are on a strike—idle because wages are low. This is the real labor picture as it exists to-day, but it is not the picture painted by protection orators during the last presidential campaign. The success of protection did not raise wages nor put "a turkey in every dinner pot." In many mines "the cry of the human" is heard, and it is a cry of hunger. At the Brazil mines in Indiana miners receive on an average \$5 per week, and even this must be expended at the "pluck-me" stores.—(Kansas City Star.)

CHRONICLES

In the First Year of the Reign of Benjamin the Republican.

1. Now it came to pass in those days that Andrew, whose surname was Carnegie, stretched forth his hand to vex certain toilers in the Keystone state.

2. And he laid hold upon John, who was an artificer in steel rails, brother of all such as work in rolling mills and who pour out molten iron like water.

3. Now John was a protectionist, falsely so called.

4. And the same had aforetime at the command of the political captains of that land—

Marched in percessions and got up hooraws, And tramped through the mud for the good of the cause, And thought he was kinder fulfillin' the prophecies, When 'twas only jest changing the holders of offices.

5. Nevertheless Andrew, a great captain of industry, was fain to cut off and reduce the wages of John, who was a typical toiler, the like of whom in that land numbered some millions.

6. Then it came to pass that John bowed down his head and wept and bewailed greatly. And his heart was heavy within him, and his soul was sore amazed.

7. And he called his wife Jane and his sons and his daughters, and they took counsel and lamented together.

8. Saying alas! now must we fall and perish, for behold, our means are cut off and our days are full of evil.

9. Surely great is protection, and Benjamin is his prophet! O that it were as in the former days, when we walked in strength of our youth, and the candle of prosperity shined upon our heads.

10. But now our days are darkened and our nights are heavy with weeping.

11. Then Jane answered and said, Surely great is protection and we are its product! Lo! these many years have we wrought in the iron mill and scorched in the blast of the fiery furnaces for a long generation.

12. Let us, I pray thee, arise and journey toward the setting of the sun; let us go to the soil whence we were taken, and find delight and sustenance in the earth which was our origin.

13. Surely I remember the green fields of my childhood, and the sunny hill-sides are ever before me.

14. And behold I have saved a measure of beans and a handful of barley; there shall we plant and gather in; we shall not sow and another eat, for behold the heavens are the Lord's, but the earth hath He given to the children of men.

15. And then answered Carnegie, the typical monopolist, (for it came to pass that he had been in hiding behind a pile of rails) and he lifted up his voice and said, Great is protection and these are its profits. Selah!

16. O vain woman! how long will thou darken words without knowledge, and utter speech without understanding.

17. Know that we have fenced in the earth and builded a wall and set bounds that none may pass over.

18. If thou saw seed by the roadside the fowls of the air will come and devour it up and if thou plant by the highway the beasts shall destroy it.

19. Sow in the open fields and the tax gatherer shall waste thy bread and the lord of the fields shall devour thy substance.

20. I, indeed, have broken thee in pieces, but surely the landlords will grind thee to powder. Selah!

21. Notwithstanding Andrew the Caledonian was somewhat cast down, and his spirit was disquieted within him.

22. For Andrew was not wicked above all other men nor a sinner beyond all the dwellers in that country.

23. And he said to himself, Behold I will arise and utter my voice in the North American Review and declare words of wisdom throughout all the land.

24. Surely great is protection and Andrew is his product; wonderful is wisdom and Carnegie is her first born!

25. Special privilege is mighty, and landlordism is the basis of society and compasseth the earth.

26. And I believe in the dollar almighty, mover of heaven and earth, and in special privilege and land monopoly, source and foundation of power to purchase all marketable things.

27. I believe in holy self, a high protective tariff on what I wish to sell, free trade in labor, the survival of the richest and the life at the public cost. And all the people shall say amen.

28. Toil on, toil on, O poor worker! for the day of thy prosperity is at hand; the great captains of industry shall direct thy labors, and the saviors of society are to become stewards of thy reward.

29. For inspiration has at last come down from heaven; O toiler, see thou mistake it not for incantation come up from hell!

30. Great is inspiration, and Carnegie is her mouthpiece. So I come to do thy will, O Mammon; I bow down to thee and worship, O thou golden calf!

31. Yet am I moved with pity for thee, O toiler! I will put some of thine earnings into charitable works for thy good; thine and thy fellows.

32. I will surely found libraries and halls of music; schools of protection and soup houses shall stand hard by each other.

33. But the Time Spirit said: Thou fool, this night an accounting of thy stewardship shall be required of thee.

34. Who made thee a judge and an administrator over thy brother? Have I built the constitution of the moral universe upon charity or patterned the corner stone thereof after thy designing?

35. Where wast thou when I laid its foundations upon righteousness and established it forever on justice? Surely thou wast then born for thou art from of old and the number of thy years is very great.

36. Verily, wisdom shall die with thee, and understanding shall perish at thy death.

37. And about those days arose certain of the sect called Georgites, the same having not the fear of political captains before their eyes.

38. And moreover they said private ownership of the Creator's land is all wrong, being at the same time false economy and a sin against God.

39. And the same agreed not with the political captains, only in part, and they had many followers, but not all openly at first, for fear of the captains of politics and the captains of industry, and some even for fear of ecclesiastical and theological captains.

40. Howbeit certain of them met often together in halls and in tents and under every green tree.

41. But the newspapers and able editors mostly, at first, held their peace, waiting to see whereunto this thing would grow.

42. And so it came to pass that many of the toilers also waited inquiring diligently one of another if any of the rulers or the protectionists had believed on the doctrine.

43. And many in those days, because of their toil were ignorant, but Henry, whose surname was George, spake often and earnestly unto the people.

44. And some answered what will this babbler say? Other some he seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods.

45. Others said, am I my brother's keeper? and passed too and fro, noisy and shouting, with dust and great commotion, but going no whither.

46. And some were stupefied by rum and tobacco and led captive by ungodly lust, so that they cared for none of these things, and went merrily down to eternal death.

47. And there were devoted women not a few who knew the laws of heredity, and so raised up sons and daughters full of divine pity and born reformers from the first.

48. And there arose certain wise men of the east, able and scholarly withal, who being "born in Boston needed no second birth."

49. And it was given them from on high speedily to see that the fair promised land of such as see visions and dream dreams could never be conquered and held, or even reached, save by the utter extinction and overthrow of landlordism as then known.

50. Now the rest of the acts of Andrew and of Benjamin, and of the political and the theological captains may not some of them be found written in book Humbug, known and read of all men?

51. Hundreds of men have been thrown out of work and the rest had their wage reduced. Surely great is protection and these are its results.

52. Employers go to congress and say "you must protect us because we pay so much higher wages than are paid in other countries," and then they turn around and say to the workman, "Your wages are high because we have protection." Verily, verily, great is Humbug, and ye are fed upon it.

A. P. BROWS,

Jersey City, June 5, '89.

THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

Social Problems, Chapter XVII.

To prevent government from becoming corrupt and tyrannous, its organization and methods should be as simple as possible, its functions be restricted to those necessary to the common welfare, and in all its parts it should be kept as close to the people and as directly within their control as may be.

We have ignored these principles in many ways, and the result has been corruption and demoralization, the loss of control by the people, and the wresting of government to the advantage of the few and the spoliation of the many. The line of reform, on one side at least, lies in simplification.

The first and main purpose of government is admirably stated in that grand document which we Americans so honor and so ignore—the Declaration of Independence. It is to secure to men those equal and unalienable rights with which the Creator has endowed them. I shall hereafter show how the adoption of the only means by which, in civilized and progressive society, the first of these unalienable rights—the equal right to land—can be secured, will at the same time greatly simplify government and do away with corrupting influences. And beyond this, much simplification is possible, and should be sought wherever it can be attained. As political corruption makes it easier to resist the demand for reform, whatever may be done to purify politics and bring government within the intelligent supervision and control of the people is not merely in itself an end to be sought, but a means to larger ends.

The American republic has no more need for its burlesque of a navy than a peaceable giant would have for a stuffed club or a tin sword. It is only maintained for the sake of the officers and the naval rings. In peace it is a source of expense and corruption; in war it would be useless. We are too strong for any foreign power to wantonly attack, we ought to be too great to wantonly attack others. If war should ever be forced upon us, we could safely rely upon science and invention, which are already superseding navies faster than they can be built.

So with our army. All we need, if we ever need that, is a small force of frontier police, such as is maintained in Australia and Canada. Standing navies and standing armies are inimical to the genius of democracy, and it ought to be our pride, as it is our duty, to show the world that a great republic can dispense with both. And in organization, as in principle, both our navy and our army are repugnant to the democratic idea. In both we maintain that distinction between commissioned officers and common soldiers and sailors which arose in Europe when the nobility who furnished the one were considered a superior race to the serfs and peasants who supplied the other. The whole system is an insult to democracy, and ought to be swept away.

Our diplomatic system, too, is servilely copied from the usages of kings who plotted with each other against the liberties of the people, before the ocean steamships and the telegraph were invented. It serves no purpose save to reward politicians, and occasionally to demoralize a poet. To abolish it would save expense, corruption and national dignity.

In legal administration there is a large field for radical reform. Here, too, we have servilely copied English precedents, and have allowed lawyers to make law in the interests of their class until justice is a costly gamble for which a poor man cannot afford to sue. The best use that could be made of our great law libraries, to which the reports of thirty-eight states, of the federal courts, and of the English, Scotch and Irish courts are each year being added, would be to send them to the paper mills, and to adopt such principles and methods of procedure as would reduce our great army of lawyers at least to the French standard. At the same time our statute books are full of enactments which could, with advantage, be swept away. It is not the business of government to make men virtuous or religious, or to preserve the fool from the consequences of his own folly. Government should be repressive no further than is necessary to secure liberty by protecting the equal rights of each from aggression on the part of others, and the moment government prohibitions extend beyond this line they are in danger of defeating the very ends they are intended to serve. For while the tendency of laws which prohibit or command what the moral sense does not, is to bring law into contempt and produce hypocrisy and evasion, so the attempt to bring law to the aid of morals as to those acts and relations which do not plainly involve violation of the liberty of others, is to weaken rather than to strengthen moral influences; to make the standard of wrong and right a legal one, and to enable him who can dexterously escape the punishment of the law to escape all punishment. Thus, for instance, there can be no doubt that the standard of commercial honesty would be much higher in the absence of laws for the collection of debts. As to all such matters, the cunning rogue keeps within the law or evades the law, while the existence of a legal standard lowers the moral standard and weakens the sanction of public opinion.

Restrictions, prohibitions, interferences

with the liberty of action in itself harmless, are evil in their nature, and, though they may sometimes be necessary, may for the most part be likened to medicines which suppress or modify some symptom without lessening the disease; and, generally, where restrictive or prohibitive laws are called for, the evils they are designed to meet may be traced to previous restriction—to some curtailment of natural rights.

All the tendencies of the time are to the absorption of smaller communities, to the enlargement of the area within which uniformity of law and administration is necessary or desirable. But for this very reason we ought with the more tenacity to hold, wherever possible, to the principle that, in things which concern only themselves, the people of each political subdivision—township, ward, city, or state, as may be—shall act for themselves. We have neglected this principle within our states even more than in the relations between the state and national governments, and in attempting to govern great cities by state commissions, and in making what properly belongs to county supervisors and township trustees the business of legislatures, we have divided responsibility and promoted corruption.

Much, too, may be done to restrict the abuse of party machinery, and make the ballot the true expression of the voter, by simplifying our elective methods. And a principle should always be kept in mind which we have largely ignored, that the people cannot manage details, nor intelligently choose more than a few officials. To call upon the average citizen to vote at each election for a long string of candidates, as to the majority of whom he can know nothing unless he makes a business of politics, is to relegate choice to nominating conventions and political rings. And to divide power is often to destroy responsibility, and to provoke, not to prevent, usurpation.

I can but briefly allude to these matters, though in themselves they deserve much attention. It is the more necessary to simplify government as much as possible and to improve, as much as may be, what may be called the mechanics of government, because, with the progress of society, the functions which government must assume steadily increase. It is only in the infancy of society that the functions of government can be properly confined to providing for the common defence and protecting the weak against the physical power of the strong. As society develops in obedience to that law of integration and increasing complexity of which I spoke in the first of these chapters, it becomes necessary in order to secure equality that other regulations should be made and enforced, and upon the primary and restrictive functions of government are superimposed what may be called co-operative functions, the refusal to assume which leads, in many cases, to the disregard of individual rights as surely as does the assumption of directive and restrictive functions not properly belonging to government.

In the division of labor and the specialization of vocation that begin in an early stage of social development, and increase with it, the assumption by individuals of certain parts in the business of society necessarily operates to the exclusion of other individuals. Thus when one opens a store or an inn, or establishes a regular carriage of passengers or goods, or devotes himself to a special trade or profession of which all may have need, his doing of these things operates to prevent others from doing them, and leads to the establishment of habits and customs which make resort to him a necessity to others, and which would put those who were denied this resort at a great disadvantage as compared with other individuals. Thus to secure equality it becomes necessary to so limit liberty of action as to oblige those who thus take upon themselves quasi-public functions to serve without discrimination those who may apply to them upon customary conditions. This principle is recognized by all nations that have made any progress in civilization, in their laws relating to common carriers, innkeepers, etc.

As civilization progresses and industrial development goes on, the concentration which results from the utilization of larger powers and improved processes operates more and more to the restriction and exclusion of competition, and to the establishment of complete monopolies. This we may see very clearly in the railroad. It is but a sheer waste of capital and labor to build one railroad alongside of another; and even where this is done, an irresistible tendency leads either to consolidation or to combination; and even at what are called competing points, competition is only transitional. The consolidation of companies, which in a few years bids fair to concentrate the whole railway business of the United States in the hands of half a dozen managements, the pooling of receipts, and agreements as to business and charges, which even at competing points prevent competition, are due to a tendency inherent in the development of the railroad system, and of which it is idle to complain.

The primary purpose and end of government being to secure the natural rights and equal liberty of each, all businesses that involve monopoly are within the necessary province of governmental regulation, and businesses that are in their nature complete monopolies become properly functions of the state. As society develops, the state must

assume these functions, in their nature co-operative, in order to secure the equal rights and liberty of all. That is to say, as, in the process of integration, the individual becomes more and more dependent upon and subordinate to the all, it becomes necessary for government, which is properly that social organ by which alone the whole body of individuals can act, to take upon itself, in the interest of all, certain functions which cannot safely be left to individuals. Thus out of the principle that it is the proper end and purpose of government to secure the natural rights and equal liberty of the individual, grows the principle that it is the business of government to do for the mass of individuals those things which cannot be done, or cannot be so well done, by individual action. As in the development of species, the power of conscious, co-ordinated action of the whole being must assume greater and greater relative importance to the automatic action of parts, so it is in the development of society. This is the truth in socialism, which, although it is being forced upon us by industrial progress and social development, we are so slow to recognize.

In the physical organism, weakness and disease result alike from the overstraining of functions and from the non-use of functions. In like manner governments may be corrupted and public misfortunes induced by the failure to assume, as governmental functions that properly belong to government as the controlling organ in the management of common interests, as well as from interferences by government in the proper sphere of individual action. This we may see in our own case. In what we attempt to do by government and what we leave undone we are like a man who should leave the provision of his dinner to the promptings of his stomach while attempting to govern his digestion by the action of his will; or like one who, in walking through a crowded street or over a bad road, should concentrate all his conscious faculties upon the movement of his legs without paying any attention to where he was going.

To illustrate: It is not the business of government to interfere with the views which any one may hold of the Creator or with the worship he may choose to pay him, so long as the exercise of these individual rights does not conflict with the equal liberty of others; and the result of governmental interference in this domain has been hypocrisy, corruption, persecution, and religious war. It is not the business of government to direct the employment of labor and capital, and to foster certain industries at the expense of other industries; and the attempt to do so leads to all the waste, loss, and corruption due to protective tariffs.

On the other hand, it is the business of government to issue money. This is perceived as soon as the great labor saving invention of money supplants barter. To leave it to every one who chose to do so to issue money would be to entail general inconvenience and loss, to offer many temptations to roguery, and to put the poorer classes of society at a great disadvantage. These obvious considerations have everywhere, as society became well organized, led to the recognition of the coinage of money as an exclusive function of government. When, in the progress of society, a further labor saving improvement becomes possible by the substitution of paper for the precious metals as the material for money, the reasons why the issuance of this money should be made a government function become still stronger. The evils entailed by wildcat banking in the United States are too well remembered to need reference. The loss and inconvenience, the swindling and corruption that flowed from the assumption by each state of the union of the power to license banks of issue ended with the war, and no one would now go back to them. Yet instead of doing what every public consideration impels us to, and assuming wholly and fully as the exclusive function of the general government the power to issue paper money, the private interests of bankers have, up to this, compelled us to the use of a hybrid currency, of which a large part, though guaranteed by the general government, is issued and made profitable to corporations. The legitimate business of banking—the safe keeping and loaning of money, and the making and exchange of credits, is properly left to individuals and associations; but by leaving to them, even in part and under restrictions and guarantees, the issuance of money, the people of the United States suffer an annual loss of millions of dollars, and sensibly increase the influences which exert a corrupting effect upon their government.

The principle evident here may be seen in even stronger light in another department of social life.

The great "railroad question," with its dangers and perplexities, is a most striking instance of the evil consequences which result from the failure of the state to assume functions that properly belong to it.

In rude stages of social development, and where government, neglectful of its proper functions, has been occupied in making needless wars and imposing harmful restrictions, the making and improvement of highways has been left to individuals, who, to recompense themselves, have been permitted to exact tolls. It has, however, from the first, been recognized that these tolls are properly subject to governmental control and regulation. But the great inconveniences of this

system, and the heavy taxes, which, in spite of attempted regulation, are under it levied upon production, have led, as social advance went on, to the assumption of the making and maintenance of high roads as a governmental duty. In the course of social development came the invention of the railroad, which merged the business of making and maintaining roads with the business of carrying freight and passengers upon them. It is probably due to this that it was not at first recognized that the same reasons which render it necessary for the state to make and maintain common roads apply with even greater force to the building and operating of railroads. In Great Britain and the United States, and, with partial exceptions, in other countries, railroads have been left to private enterprise to build and private greed to manage. In the United States, where railroads are of more importance than in any other country in the world, our only recognition of their public character has been in the donation of lands and the granting of subsidies, which have been the cause of much corruption, and in some feeble attempts to regulate fares and freights.

But the fact that the railroad system, as far as yet developed (and perhaps necessarily), combines transportation with the maintenance of roadways, renders competition all the more impossible, and brings it still more clearly within the province of the state. That it makes the assumption of the railroad business by the state a most serious matter is not to be denied. Even if it were possible, which may well be doubted, as has been sometimes proposed, to have the roadway maintained by the state, leaving the furnishing of trains to private enterprise, it would still be a most serious matter. But look at it which way we may, it is so serious a matter that it must be faced. As the individual grows from childhood to maturity, he must meet difficulties and accept responsibilities from which he will shrink. So it is with society. New powers bring new duties and new responsibilities. Imprudence in going forward involves danger, but it is fatal to stand still. And however great be the difficulties involved in the assumption of the railroad business by the state, much greater difficulties are involved in the refusal to assume it.

It is not necessary to go into any elaborate argument to show that the ownership and management of railroads is a function of the state. That is proved beyond dispute by the logic of events and of existing facts. Nothing is more obvious—at least in the United States, where the tendencies of modern development may be seen much more clearly than in Europe—than that a union of railroading with the other functions of government is inevitable. We may not like it, but we cannot avoid it. Either government must manage the railroads, or the railroads must manage the government. There is no escape. To refuse one horn of the dilemma is to be helped on the other.

As for any satisfactory state regulation of railroads, the experience of our states shows it to be impossible. A strong willed despot, clothed with arbitrary power, might curb such leviathans; but popular governments cannot. The power of the whole people is, of course, greater than the power of the railroads, or the railroads, but it cannot be exerted steadily and in details. Even a small special interest is, by reason of its intelligence, compactness, and flexibility, more than a match for large and vague general interests; it has the advantage which belongs to a well armed and disciplined force in dealing with a mob. But in the number of its employees, the amount of its revenues, and the extent of the interests which it controls, the railroad power is gigantic. And, growing faster than the growth of the country, it is tending still faster to concentration. It may be that the man is already born who will control the whole railroad system of the United States, as Vanderbilt, Gould, and Huntington now control great sections of it.

Practical politicians all over the United States recognize the utter hopelessness of contending with the railroad power. In many, if not in most, of the states, no prudent man will run for office if he believes the railroad power is against him. Yet in the direct appeal to the people a power of this kind is weakest, and railroad kings rule states where, on any issues that came fairly before the people, they would be voted down. It is by throwing their weight into primaries, and managing conventions, by controlling the press, manipulating legislatures, and filling the bench with their creatures, that the railroads best exert political power. The people of California, for instance, have voted against the railroad time and again, or rather imagined they did, and even adopted a very bad new constitution because they supposed the railroad was against it. The result is that the great railroad company, of whose domain California, with an area greater than twice that of Great Britain, is but one of the provinces, absolutely dominates the state. The men who really fought it are taken into its service or crushed, and powers are exerted in the interests of the corporation managers which no government would dare attempt. This company, heavily subsidized, in the first place, as a great public convenience, levies on commerce, not tolls, but tariffs. If a man goes into business requiring transportation he must exhibit his profits and take it into partnership for the lion's share. Importers are bound by an "iron-clad agreement" to

give its agents access to their books, and if they do anything the company deems against its interests they are fined or ruined by being placed at a disadvantage to their rivals in business. Three continental railroads, heavily subsidized by the nation under the impression that the competition would keep down rates, have now reached the Pacific. Instead of competing they have pooled their receipts. The line of steamers from San Francisco to New York via the Isthmus receives \$100,000 a month to keep up fares and freights to a level with those exacted by the railroad, and if you would send goods from New York to San Francisco by way of the Isthmus, the cheapest way is to first ship them to England. Shippers to interior points are charged as much as though their goods were carried to the end of the road and then shipped back again; and even, by means of the agreements mentioned, an embargo is laid upon ocean commerce by sailing vessels, wherever it might interfere with the monopoly.

I speak of California only as an instance. The power of the railroads is apparent in state after state, as it is in the national government. Nothing can be clearer than that, if present conditions must continue, the American people might as well content themselves to surrender political power to these great corporations and their affiliated interests. There is no escape from this. The railroad managers cannot keep out of politics even if they wished to. The difficulties of the railroad question do not arise from the fact that peculiarly bad men have got control of the railroads; they arise from the nature of the railroad business and its intimate relations to other interests and industries.

But it will be said: "If the railroads are even now a corrupting element in our politics, what would they be if the government were to own and to attempt to run them? Is not governmental management notoriously corrupt and inefficient? Would not the effect of adding such a vast army to the already great number of government employees, of increasing so enormously the revenues and expenditures of government, be to enable those who got control of government to defy opposition and perpetuate their power indefinitely; and would it not be, finally, to sink the whole political organization in a hopeless slough of corruption?"

My reply is, that great as these dangers may be, they must be faced, lest worse befall us. When a gale sets him on a lee shore, the seaman must make sail, even at the risk of having his canvas fly from the bolt ropes and his masts go by the board. The dangers of wind and sea urge him to make everything snug as may be, aloft and aloft; to get rid of anything that might diminish the weatherly qualities of his ship, and to send his best helmsmen to the wheel—not to supinely accept the certain destruction of the rocks.

Instead of belittling the dangers of adding to the functions of government as it is at present, what I am endeavoring to point out is the urgent necessity of simplifying and improving government, that it may safely assume the additional functions that social development forces upon it. It is not merely necessary to prevent government from getting more corrupt and more inefficient, though we can no more do that by a negative policy than the seaman can lay-to in a gale without drifting; it is necessary to make government much more efficient, and much less corrupt. The dangers that menace us are not accidental. They spring from a universal law which we cannot escape. That law is the one I pointed out in the first chapter of this book—that every advance brings new dangers and requires higher and more alert intelligence. As the more highly organized animal cannot live unless it have a more a more fully developed brain than those of lower animal organizations, so the more highly organized society must perish unless it bring to the management of social affairs greater intelligence and higher moral sense. The great material advances which modern inventions have enabled us to make, necessitate corresponding social and political advances. Nature knows no "Baby Act." We must live up to her conditions or not live at all.

My purpose here is to show how important it is that we simplify government, purify politics and improve social conditions, as a preliminary to showing how much in all these directions may be accomplished by one single great reform. But although I shall be obliged to do so briefly, it may be worth while, even if briefly, to call attention to some principles that should not be forgotten in thinking of the assumption by the state of such functions as the running of railroads.

In the first place, I think it may be accepted as a principle proved by experience, that any considerable interest having necessary relations with government is more corruptive of government when acting upon government from without than when assumed by government. Let a ship in mid-ocean drop her anchor and pay out her cable, and though she would be relieved of some weight, since part of the weight of anchor and cable would be supported by the water, not only would her progress be retarded, but she would refuse to answer her helm, and become utterly unmanageable. Yet, assumed as part of the ship, and properly stowed on board, anchor and cable no longer perceptibly interfere with her movements.

A standing army is a corrupting influence,

and a danger to popular liberties; but who would maintain that on this ground it were wiser, if a standing army must be kept, that it should be enlisted and paid by private parties, and hired of them by the state? Such an army would be far more corrupting and far more dangerous than one maintained directly by the state, and would soon make its leaders masters of state.

I do not think the postal department of the government, with its extensive ramifications and its numerous employees, begins to be as important a factor in our politics, or exerts so corrupting an influence, as would a private corporation carrying on this business, and which would be constantly tempted or forced into politics to procure favorable or prevent unfavorable legislation. Where individual states and the general government have substituted public printing offices for public printers, who themselves furnished material and hired labor, I think the result has been to lessen, not to increase, corruptive influences; and, speaking generally, I think experience shows that in all departments of government the system of contracting for work and supplies has, on the whole, led to more corruption than the system of direct employment. The reason I take to be, that there is in one case a much greater concentration of corruptive interests and power than in the other.

The inefficiency, extravagance and corruption which we commonly attribute to governmental arrangement are mostly in those departments which do not come under the public eye, and little concern, if they concern at all, public convenience. Whether the six new steel cruisers which the persistent lobbying of contractors has induced congress to order, are well or ill built the American people will never know, except as they learn through the newspapers, and the fact will no more affect their comfort and convenience than does the fit of the sultan's new breeches, or the latest changes in officers' millinery which it has pleased the secretary of the navy to make. But let the mails go astray or the postman fail in his rounds, and there is at once an outcry. The post office department is managed with greater efficiency than any other department of the national government, because it comes close to the people. To say the very least, it is managed as efficiently as any private company could manage such a vast business, and I think, on the whole, as economically. And the scandals and abuses that have arisen in it have been, for the most part, as to out-of-the-way places, and things of which there was little or no public consciousness. So in England, the telegraph and parcel carrying and savings bank businesses are managed by government more efficiently than before by private corporations.

Like these businesses—perhaps even more so—the railroad business comes directly under the notice of the people. It so immediately concerns the interests, the convenience and the safety of the great body, that under public management it would compel that close and quick attention that secures efficiency.

It seems to me that in regard to public affairs we too easily accept the dictum that faithful and efficient work can only be secured by the hopes of pecuniary profit, or the fear of pecuniary loss. We get faithful and efficient work in our colleges and similar institutions without this, not to speak of the army and navy, or of the postal and educational departments of government; and be this as it may, our railroads are really run by men who, from switch tender to general superintendent, have no pecuniary interest in the business other than to get their pay—in most cases paltry and inefficient—and hold their places. Under governmental ownership they would have, at the very least, all the incentives to faithfulness and efficiency that they have now, for that governmental management of railroads must involve the principles of civil service reform goes without the saying. The most determined supporter of the spoils system would not care to resign the safety of limb and life to engineers appointed for political services.

Look moreover, at the railroad system as it exists now. That it is not managed in the interests of the public is clear; but is it managed in the interests of its owners? Is it managed with that economy, efficiency and intelligence that are presumed to be the results of private ownership and control? On the contrary, while the public interests are utterly disregarded, the interests of the stockholders are in most cases little better considered. Our railroads are really managed in the interests of unscrupulous adventurers, whose purpose is to build and bear the stock market; by men who make the interests of the property they manage subservient to their personal interests in other railroads or in other businesses; who speculate in lands and town sites, who give themselves or their friends contracts for supplies and special rates for transportation, and who often deliberately wreck the corporation they control and rob stockholders to the last cent. From one end to the other, the management of our railroad system, as it now exists, reeks with jobbery and fraud.

That ordinary roads, bridges, etc., should not be maintained for profit, either public or private, is an accepted principle, and the state of New York has recently gone so far as to abolish all tolls on the Erie canal. Our

postal service we merely aim to make self-sustaining, and no one would now think of proposing that the rates of postage should be increased in order to furnish public revenues as they are yet made to furnish in some countries; still less would anyone think of proposing to abandon the government postal service, and turn the business over to individuals or corporations. In the beginning the postal service was carried on by individuals with a view to profits. Had that system been continued to the present day, it is certain that we should not begin to have such extensive and regular postal facilities as we have now, nor such cheap rates; and all the objections that are now urged against the government assumption of the railroad business would be urged against the government carriage of letters. We never can enjoy the full benefits of the invention of the railroad until we make the railroads public property, managed by public servants in the public interests. And thus will a great cause of the corruption of government, and a great cause of monstrous fortunes be destroyed.

All I have said of the railroad applies, of course, to the telegraph, the telephone, the supplying of cities with gas, water, heat, and electricity—in short, to all businesses which are in their nature monopolies. I speak of the railroad only because the magnitude of the business makes its assumption by the state the most formidable of such undertakings.

Businesses that are in their nature monopolies are properly functions of the state. The state must control or assume them, in self-defense, and for the protection of the equal rights of citizens. But beyond this, the field in which the state may operate beneficially as the executive of the great co-operative association, into which it is the tendency of true civilization to blend society, will widen with the improvement of government and the growth of public spirit.

We have already made an important step in this direction in our public school system. Our public schools are not maintained for the poor, as are the English board schools—where, moreover, payment is required from all who can pay; nor yet is their main motive the protection of the state against ignorance. These are subsidiary motives. But the main motive for the maintenance of our public schools is, that by far the greater part of our people find them the best and most economical means of educating their children. American society is, in fact, organized by the operation of government into co-operative educational associations, and with such happy results that in no state where the public school system has obtained would any proposition to abolish it get respectful consideration. In spite of the corruption of our politics, our public schools are, on the whole, much better than private schools; while by their association of the children of rich and poor, of Jew and Gentile, of Protestant and Catholic, of republican and democrat, they are of inestimable value in breaking down prejudice and checking the growth of class feeling. It is likewise to be remarked as to our public school system, that corruptive influences seem to spring rather from our not having gone far enough than from our having gone too far in the direction of state action. In some of our states the books used by the children are supplied at public expense, being considered school property, which the pupil receives on entering the school or class and returns when leaving. In most of them, however, the pupils, unless their parents cannot afford the outlay are required to furnish their own books. Experience has shown the former system to be much the best, not only because, when books are furnished to all, there is no temptation of those who can afford to purchase books to falsely plead indigence, and no humiliation on the part of those who cannot; but because the number of books required is much less, and they can be purchased at cheaper rates. This not only effects a large economy in the aggregate expenditure, but lessens an important corruptive influence. For the strife of the great school-book publishers to get their books adopted in the public schools, in which most of them make no scruple of resorting to bribery wherever they can, has done much to degrade the character of school boards. This corruptive influence can only be fully done away with by manufacturing school-books at public expense, as has been in a number of the states proposed.

The public library system, which, beginning in the public-spirited city of Boston, is steadily making its way over the country, and under which both reading and lending libraries are maintained at public expense for the free use of the public, is another instance of the successful extension of the co-operative functions of government. So are the public parks and recreation grounds which we are beginning to establish.

Not only is it possible to go much further in the direction of thus providing, at public expense, for the public health, education and recreation, and for public encouragement of science and invention, but if we can simplify and purify government it will become possible for society in its various subdivisions to obtain in many other ways, but in much larger degree, those advantages for its members that voluntary co-operative societies seek to obtain. Not only could the most enormous economies thus be obtained, but the growing tendency to adulteration and dishonesty, as fatal to morals as to health, would be checked, (1) and at least

such an organization of industry be reached as would very greatly reduce the appropriative power of aggregated capital, and prevent those strifes that may be likened to wars. The natural progress of social development is unmistakably toward co-operation, or, if the word be preferred, toward socialism, though I dislike to use a word to which such various and vague meanings are attached. Civilization is the art of living together in closer relations. That mankind should dwell together in unity is the evident intent of the Divine mind—of that Will, expressed in the immutable laws of the physical and moral universe which reward obedience and punish disobedience. The dangers which menace modern society are but the reverse of blessings which modern society may grasp. The concentration that is going on in all branches of industry is a necessary tendency of our advance in the material arts. It is not in itself an evil. If in anything its results are evil, it is simply because of our bad social adjustments. The construction of this world in which we find ourselves is such that a thousand men working together can produce many times more than the same thousand men working singly. But this does not make it necessary that the nine hundred and ninety-nine must be the virtual slaves of the one.

Let me repeat it, though, again and again, for it is, it seems to me, the great lesson which existing social facts impress upon him who studies them, and that it is all-important that we should heed. The natural laws which permit of social advance require that advance to be intellectual and moral as well as material. The natural laws which give us the steamship, the locomotive, the telegraph, the printing press, and all the thousand inventions by which our mastery over matter and material conditions is increased, require greater social intelligence and a higher standard of social morals. Especially do they make more and more imperative that justice between man and man which demands the recognition of the equality of natural rights.

"Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness (right or just doing), and all these things shall be added unto you." The first step toward a natural and healthy organization of society is to secure to all men their natural, equal and inalienable rights in the material universe. To do this is not to do everything that may be necessary; but it is to make all else easier. And unless we do this nothing else will avail.

I have in this chapter touched briefly upon subjects that for thorough treatment would require much more space. My purpose has been to show that the simplification and purification of government is rendered the more necessary on account of functions which industrial development is forcing upon government, and the further functions which it is becoming more and more evident that it would be advantageous for government to assume. In succeeding chapters I propose to show how, by recognizing in practicable method the equal and inalienable rights of men to the soil of their country, government may be greatly simplified, and corruptive influences destroyed. For it is indeed true, as the French assembly declared, that public misfortunes and corruptions of government spring from ignorance, neglect or contempt of human rights.

Of course in this chapter and elsewhere in speaking of government, the state, the community, etc., I use these terms in a general sense with no reference to existing political divisions. What should be properly belong to the township or ward, what to the county or state, what to the nation, and what to such federations of nations as it is in the manifest line of civilization to evolve, is a matter into which I have not entered. As to the proper organization of government, and the distribution of powers, there is much need for thought.

(1) There are many manufactured articles for which the producer now receives only a third of the price paid by the consumer, while adulteration has gone far beyond detection by the individual purchaser. Not to speak of the compounding of liquors, of oleomargarine and glucose, a single instance will show how far adulteration is carried. The adulterations in ground coffee have driven many people to purchase their coffee in the bean and grind it themselves. To meet this, at least one firm of large coffee roasters, and I presume most of them, have adopted an invention by means of which imitation coffee beans, exactly resembling in appearance the genuine article, are stamped out of a paste. These they mix in large quantities with real coffee.

Well, if the Law is Inoperative, Why Not Abolish It?

New York Press.

It is asked whether the law in regard to contract labor does not present an effectual bar to prevent the pope from appointing or engaging in Europe the professors to be employed in the new Roman Catholic university at Washington. Probably it does. It seems to keep out pretty nearly everything but the foreign contract labor that competes with the American workman.

This is a Funny Item; But It's a Fact, Also.

Boston Transcript.

The manner in which the English are buying up our breweries is getting to be a serious matter. With the lager beer schooner departs the last vestige of our American shipping.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Practical Operation.

SAINT JO, Texas.—In his great speech at Denver, Col., Mr. Shearman, while answering objections to the single tax, made use of the following words: "Improvements may now be taxed out of their owner's hands. Under the single tax this could never happen."

(1) Now, if the farmer's improvements were exempt from sale for taxes, and the tax should cover the whole rental value of the land, how and from whom would the taxes come?

(2) Of what use would the land be to the tax purchaser if the delinquent be left in possession of the improvements?

(3) If the tax covered the whole rental value, and the purchaser was compelled to pay full value for the improvements, would he not lose the tax due from the delinquent?

ALBERT PHILPOT.

(1) You confuse exemption from taxes with exemption from sale for taxes. We propose to tax only land values; but the tax would be paid with products, and if it were not paid, the delinquent's property would be liable for it. We might exempt cattle from taxation, and yet seize cattle in payment of a tax on dogs. So we may exempt improvements, and yet seize improvements for arrears of taxes on land values. The single tax is rent; but rent is paid, not with the land on which it falls, but with the products of the occupier. It is the price of a privilege, which is greater or less according to the value of the privilege, but is paid with what the privilege yields to labor.

(2) The delinquent would not be left in possession of fixed improvements. He would get the value of the improvements from the tax purchaser. But out of his property (inclusive of that value) his arrears of taxes would be collected.

(3) The purchaser would have nothing to do with delinquent taxes. They would be deducted by the state from what he paid, and the balance would be turned over to the delinquent. L. F. P.

A Misunderstanding.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—Suppose under the single tax system A and B own adjoining lots, 100 feet front. A builds a house which costs \$2,000 and B one which costs \$6,000. If A draws for rent \$20 a month and B \$60—owing of course to better improvements—will the tax on those lots be levied in proportion to the rent? If so will not this be a tax upon industry (namely, houses), instead of a tax on the market value of the land?

GEORGE MCKENZIE.

This would be a tax upon industry. But the tax would not be levied on rent in the sense in which you use the term. Economic rent has relation to land value only, and it is this rent that we propose to tax. But the term "rent" as commonly used includes both house value and land value. In the case you suppose, A and B should pay the same tax. L. F. P.

What Farmers Want.

THAWVILLE, Iroquois county, Ill.—As a farmer I want to tell you some things the farmers want that, as it looks to us, the single tax advocates do not want to give us.

We want landlordism abolished—want the entire results of our industry. You propose to retain the landlord, taking from the one who works the soil the usual rent exacted by the landlords, only converting it to public use. Where is the relief to the tenant?

If the farmer only works as much land as he alone can properly cultivate, have you ever thought how small is his reward. Then why should he be singled out to pay a "penalty" (as you call a tax) for using the raw material—land?

You are presupposing that because the tenant does pay rent he can just as well as not; but if any tenant ever laid up a dollar as the result of labor on a prairie farm, I have not lived beside him.

Again, no more arbitrary tax can be imagined than a positive amount of money from each acre of land. The farmer's income is more uncertain than that of any other class.

Farmers differ in ability, and superior knowledge may make the income of one from land of equal quality many times greater than that of another. Shall the weaker and more unfortunate one pay an increased penalty for having less income?

CHARLES W. SPRAGUE.

Your misinformation about the single tax is uncommonly varied and complex. You seem to be equally well equipped with misinformation relative to the wants of farmers. You say the farmers want landlordism abolished. That is a mistake, for if the farmers really wanted that, it would be done before another president was elected. You say they want the entire results of their own industry. Another error, for if they did, they would not have voted away the results of their own industry to maintain a protective tariff.

You say we propose to take from the one who works the soil the usual rent exacted by landlords, only converting it to public use. We propose nothing of the kind. What we do propose is to take from the landlord whatever rent he may have exacted from the user of the soil, and by ap-

plying it to public use, to exempt the user of the soil from all other exactions. We believe too that when this is done, it will be so unprofitable to keep land out of use that enough will be thrown upon the market to cheapen it and reduce the exactions of landlords.

We have often thought how small the farmer's reward is. But unlike the farmer who thinks it, we have gone on and thought out the Why. And we find that his reward is small because monopoly of land makes land dear and rent high, while taxes on products, besides robbing the farmer directly, make restricted markets and low profits. We have even gone beyond the Why and proposed a remedy, which consists in exempting products from all taxation and taxing land according to its value. We do not single the farmer out to pay a penalty, nor have we ever called the single tax a penalty on labor. Taxes on labor as it is exerted, is a penalty on labor. These taxes we propose to abolish. But taxes on the price of an opportunity to labor, is not a penalty on, but rather an encouragement of labor. It is a penalty on monopolizing opportunities, and tends to discourage such monopoly; but as your own common sense must tell you, whatever discourages the monopoly of opportunities to labor, must encourage the use of those opportunities.

We are not supposing that the tenant can pay rent because he does. But we are supposing that if he pays it to a landlord we can get it by taxing the landlord.

It is not proposed to exact a positive amount of money from each acre, but a proportionate amount of the value of each acre. If the acre is not worth anything, we will not tax it anything; if it is worth a great deal we will tax it a great deal.

The single tax is not intended to encourage idleness and unthrift. Therefore, if the smaller income of what you call the "weaker and more unfortunate" is due to inferior effort or capabilities, we certainly do not intend to make his tax lower on that account. If he and his industrious and thrifty neighbor occupy land of the same value, we propose to tax them alike. If he does not know how to utilize his land to the best advantage let him go to cheaper land and give better men a chance. We would not tax him because he has a small income, nor his neighbor for having a larger one; but we would tax both for the common domain they occupy, on the basis of its value.

You say you want landlordism abolished. We say we can abolish all that is bad about landlordism by abolishing taxes on labor and centering all taxation on the value of land. How do you propose to abolish landlordism? L. F. P.

Goods for Goods.

WINGO, Ky.—The theory that all trade is the exchange of commodities for commodities, is to me an apparent contradiction. Will you be kind enough to explain it.

J. R. WINSTON, M.D.

If every man made all the things he used there would be no trade, and there would not be many things, nor anything as good as it might be. Division of labor makes greater and better production possible. Trade results from division of labor. It is the channel through which the man who devotes himself to making one thing, or a part of one thing, gets the many different things he requires. It is what enables you to turn your special knowledge, skill and labor as a physician, into food, shelter and clothing. Perhaps the thing would be clearer to you if stated in the form some times used, that "trade in its last analysis is an exchange of labor for labor."

I assume that you are not misled by the fact that trade is accomplished through the medium of money and commercial paper. A moment's thought will satisfy you that an exchange of commodities for money is only a partial trade; it is not complete until the money has been exchanged for other commodities. L. F. P.

A Few Simple Points.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—(1) I am asked, Suppose, the single tax having been established, that a man in possession of a farm of 100 acres, the rental value of which is \$35 a year, should discover a gold mine on it, what would be done? Would the tax be raised? If so, how much, and why so much, and who would do it? It is easy to find the rental value of a city lot or a farm, but how can be found the rental value of a gold mine? If you say that every natural opportunity must be put to its best use, how are you to know when the gold mine is being put to its best use?

(2) Again I am asked, suppose any number of men who just manage to make a living along the docks or on the streets, how will the single tax help them? They have no means to build on any lot that may possibly be abandoned. Even if they happen to be

near unused farming land they cannot take advantage of the opportunity.

(3) I am told that many a poor man who has scraped together a few dollars and invested it in a lot for a home, would have to abandon it under the single tax.

(4) I am also told that the single tax would help the rich to get richer by forcing the poor into deeper poverty. S. D. GUION.

(1) Gold mines like fisheries, market stalls, and other special opportunities, could be best managed for the public good under a system of leases to the highest bidder, with provisions for securing improvements to the improver. If that plan were adopted, your question would be answered, for the public lettings would determine the value. But it would not be difficult under the single tax to appraise the value of a gold mine. Experts appraise them for private purposes; why could they not appraise them for public purposes?

(2) Your question supposes that these men are utterly incompetent to do any kind of work except upon the streets or the docks. It is not based in fact, but I will assume that it is. The benefit to such a class of men would be in the greater demand for their labor. If they get poor wages now, it is because there is such a demand for opportunities to do their work. With natural opportunities opened, this demand would fall off and their wages would rise by a law as invariable as a rule in arithmetic; and with better wages, it might be hoped that they would raise up children who would not be quite so helpless as themselves. If your astute critics want to try an experiment let them go to these men and say something like this: "Boys, on the further side of the palisades, in New Jersey, there is a great deal of good land that no one is using. If you will go over there and use it for any purpose you please, you shall not be required to pay anything for it; there will be no mortgage on it; all your improvements will be exempt from taxation forever; you can engage in any occupation without paying either stamp or license taxes or giving bonds; all the goods you want from any part of the world will be sent to you for the original price and cost of delivery without a penny for duty; and all you need agree to, is to pay a tax on the value of your land no greater than is imposed on other land of the same value." If your friends can manage to make these dock and street laborers believe them, not a dock or street laborer will live in New York while that land beyond the palisades holds out.

(3) There are not many such landlords, and those that are to be found own only cheap land. Let your friends make them an experimental offer. Let them say: "My dearly beloved poor! we understand that you own building lots on which you hope to rear homes. Now, we will make you a proposition. If you will deed your land to us we will give you a perpetual lease, your rent to be no more than the land taxes of men who occupy land of equal value, and we will forever pay all your taxes, whether on your improvements, on the land, on your incomes, or on the things you buy, and whether levied by the village, the county, the state, or the federal government. On all imported goods that you buy we will pay the duty. On all stamped goods we will pay for the stamps. And if you choose to go into a business requiring bonds or license taxes we will freely become your bondsmen and pay for your licenses." The rapidity with which those "poor landlords" would jump at such a proposition, if they had confidence in its genuineness, would make your friends' heads whirl.

(4) In reply to this objection tell your friends the story of the Irishman whose employer objected to his voting for free trade because it would reduce wages, and who replied: "If you thought so you would vote for free trade yourself." The story is a "chestnut," but so is the objection. L. F. P.

The Rubber Trust.

WILKESBARRE, Penn.—The Philadelphia Ledger announces that the rubber boot manufacturers are about to form a new trust. I am informed that such a combination was made in 1887, but fell apart. The most extraordinary part of my informant's statement is that such goods actually brought higher prices the year after the combine ceased to exist. This runs contrary to all my ideas of the purpose and effects of trusts, and I would like an explanation.

JOHN HUTTON.

I know nothing of the facts in this case; but I can understand that during the formative period of a trust a reduction of prices, even below cost, would be a likely way of forcing competitors into the trust or out of the trade. A reaction would be apt to follow either the complete establishment or the breaking up of the combination. L. F. P.

The Length of a Rope.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Horse and lot which brings in \$500 yearly, pays twenty-three per cent of amount of rent under present system of taxation. What per cent would be collected on same house and lot under the George system, which collects enough to pay expenses of general government, and state, county and municipal expenses. JOHN H. HATFIELD.

In the private letter in which you inclose this question you say it was asked in a group of business men gathered in a broker's office discussing the single tax, and you could not answer it. No wonder. To answer it you must know the whole amount to be raised, the value of the land irrespective of the house, and the proportion which the value of this land bears to the value of the land to be taxed.

By abolishing other taxes and leaving only land values to be taxed, no difficulty would be experienced in fixing the rate on the selling value of land, and that would determine the amount to be exacted for occupying the land on which this house is erected. L. F. P.

ELY'S CREAM BALM

I used Ely's Cream Balm with complete success. It is over one year since I stopped using it and have no return of catarrh. I recommend it to all my friends. Milton T. Palm, Reading, Pa.

CATARRH

ELY'S CREAM BALM

CURES COLD IN ROSE COLD HEAD

HAY-FEVER

DEFENSES HEADACHE

PRICE 50 CENTS

ELY BROS. OWNED U.S.A.

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

YOU CAN'T AFFORD

to spend a dollar on watches without getting full particulars about the best watches made, our Keystone Dust-Proof and our mode of selling them in Clubs at \$1 a Week. We guarantee you absolutely against loss. Exclusive territory given to Active Agents. Prices, \$7 to \$150. Our special \$43 Watch is the best watch made for Railroad use. We guarantee our prices to be the very lowest at which any watches of equal quality can be sold, and we protect our customers fully. We refer to any commercial agency Full Paid Capital, \$500,000. We have selling agents in every large city. We want AGENTS everywhere. Write at once to THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO., 904 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

PAINLESS EFFECTUAL

BEECHAM'S

THE GREAT ENGLISH MEDICINE PILLS

WORTH A GUINEA A BOX

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, Burning after Meals, Dizziness, and Constipation, Cold Chills, Flushing of the Face, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Catarrhus Vesicae, Itches on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Bilious Complaints, &c. **THE FIRST DOSE WILL GIVE RELIEF IN TWENTY MINUTES.** This is no fiction. Every sufferer is earnestly invited to try one box of these Pills, and they will be acknowledged to be a Wonderful Medicine.—"Worth a guinea a box."

WEEK STOMACH; IMPAIRED DIGESTION; DISORDERED LIVER;

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

Prepared only by **THOMAS BEECHAM**, St. Helens, Lancashire, England.

Sold by Druggists generally. **S. P. ALLEN & CO., 345 and 367 Canal St., New York** Sole Agents for the United States, who, if your druggist does not keep them,

WILL MAIL BEECHAM'S PILLS ON RECEIPT OF PRICE, 25 CENTS A BOX.

But inquire first of your druggist. In ordering mention **THE STANDARD.**

LABOR'S EARNINGS.

More Per Capita is Paid, Three Times Over, for the Food of the Pauper Than the Laborer Spends in His Family.

Detroit Advance.

Very little has, as yet, been done in Detroit in the way of gathering statistics, but we trust soon to begin the work in earnest. The figures gathered among the furniture workers of the city, will be used first, although we do not intend to go into the matter very deeply, for the reason that the state, through its bureau of labor statistics, is this year engaged in tabulating the facts gathered among the furniture workers.

What we desire to do at this time is to call attention to what has been done in Chicago in this line, and thereby prove what was asserted in the headlines of this article, viz.: That the average worker in factory and shop has less than one-third as much to support himself and family on than is taken from the tax payer for the support of the pauper in charity institutions.

In 1878 statistics were compiled in Chicago from reports received from eighty-four workshops and factories, of which the following is a brief capitulation (the general average only is presented here):

Actual earnings per worker for the year 1878	\$374 78
Reduction in wages since 1872, per cent	37 7-10
Lost time during the year, weeks	12 1-2
Average yearly earnings, divided by the number of living days (365), allows to each worker, per day	1 02
This amount to a family of five persons allows to each person, per day, cents	20

NOTE.—This general average has been compiled from reports of standard trades that furnish the most constant employment, and represent the earnings of adults only; hence the high rate of earnings compared with the reports of the Massachusetts and Ohio bureaus of labor statistics; Massachusetts, per day, .75; Ohio, .97; Chicago, \$1.02.

[It is rather remarkable that the average yearly earnings, stated here by the statistician of the trade assembly to be correct by the United States census of 1880, which gives the average earning per worker per day for the United States at exactly \$1.02.]

Groceries	\$237 25
Clothing	66 01
Fuel	33 30
Rent	75 27
Recreation	10 74
Education	91 13
Total expenses	\$445 50

NOTE.—The above statement of the cost of living, divided by the number of living days (365), and also divided by the number of persons per family (5), allows to each person, per day:

For food	13
For clothing	3 5
For fuel	1 4-5
For rent	4
For recreation	1-10
For education	3-5

Total expenditure per person, per day 23

The above statement, compared with the report of the Illinois state board of charities for 1878, is as follows:

Average expenditure, for board only, of the inmates of the charitable institutions of the state, per person, per day	43 3-7
An excess of expenditure per day, per person, for board only, over the expenditure of the industrial population of this city for all the necessities of life of	66 3-7

Or nearly 300 per cent, or three times as much, for board as is considered sufficient to supply three (3) industrial producers with not only the necessities of life, but to also enable them to provide against loss of employment, sickness, accidents, to build up a home, and get rich. The county board of Cook county, Illinois, allows twenty-five cents per day for food alone for each of the criminals in the county jail, or five cents in excess of the amount the industrious worker gets for all his wants.

Charity for "Protected" Miners.

Chicago Herald.

The operation of protecting the infant industry of mining coal in Illinois has now reached the stage of starvation at the Braidwood district, at Streator, Spring Valley, LaSalle, Peru, Oglesby, Roanoke, Minook and Morris. Unless the charitable of Chicago shall give, the men who, for years, have dug the fuel of Chicago must starve as a reward of their labor.

In a time of regular seasons, of succeeding harvests, of copious rains, of gentle winds, of general health—without national ills—the farmer of Dakota or Nebraska has suffered because his supply of fuel was inadequate, and the hard working miner starves because he can get no bread. First and foremost, therefore, we have the stupendous crime of governmental intervention in the ordinary business affairs of private citizens. It has turned out that the government, in 1888, collected 75 cents a ton on about \$3,000,000 of foreign imported soft coal, while the Illinois miner, if we reckon all the robberies of his employer, received not over 55 cents a ton for digging screened fuel.

Protected against the better soft coal of Nova Scotia, the American capitalist has proceeded to fry the fat out of our people. As more capitalists have sensed the gain in that form of business, the domestic competition has increased, and every cent of diminution in price has first come out of the wages paid to miners. Once \$2.80 was offered for a ton of unscreened coal. To secure the present result, practices have been instituted that

shame humanity as far as greed can shame it. As protection does not protect, the mine owners are now engaged in eating each other. During this contest the miners, on one reason or other, must starve, or be fed by the philanthropic. This is the lesson at hand, and this is the exigency. Unless those who have bread shall give of it, about 11,000 miners, with their families, in Illinois alone, must starve. These 11,000 miners voted for protection, because their wages of 55 cents were paid with that understanding, and as the voter's ballot is marked by a number, as in Chicago, it would be a fatal mistake to attempt to vote for escape from a false system.

Wherever in America protection has established an infant industry, there has followed the truck system, the slave system, the company government and the de-Americanization of that region. The Americans have fled and foreigners have come in. When Americans have been seen in the blasted district, it has been on the call of the governor for militia to effect a lower scale of wages. As at Johnstown, Peneoyd, Brazil, Hocking—everywhere—the friend of man has looked on the scene, and has wished that manufactures and mining had not come into the world, to make the drama entirely hateful. While the workers have silently metamorphosed—from Americans to Irish, to English, to Germans, to Italians, to Magyars, to Huns, to Seythians—the great American millionaire has passed away and the billionaire corporation has taken his place. At last men, contemplating the work of protection, close their mouths and grow afraid. Now let them give, in order to save these worthy miners from death, for of late the labor problem has got to that stage where the strike and the militia can no longer be used to confuse the promptings of charity or to conceal certain hypocrisies of our civilization.

The Cause is Marching On.

Detroit News.

An immense amount of quiet education on the tariff is going on throughout the country. The great majority of it is outside of party lines, the subject being taken up by tax reform associations independent of party affiliations.

In this city, during the past six months, there has hardly been a public labor meeting held in which one or more of the speakers have not in some manner touched upon the subject of taxation and its effect on labor and wages; and as the labor speakers most sought after are out and out free traders, it is not difficult to see the trend of their remarks. The Detroit tax reform association, that meets once a week, has also added to its list of converts.

Thomas G. Shearman a few weeks ago started on a lecturing tour across the continent, everywhere preaching the gospel of freedom. His speeches were nearly always fully reported by the local press of the various localities reached, and the interest manifested is prophetic of the rich harvest that will follow the planting of such good seed. Mr. Shearman believes that not only should trade be perfectly free, but that taxes should be levied on the value of land alone, leaving industry untrammelled by any burden of any tax gatherer. He lays particular stress on the benefits to be derived by agricultural communities from declaring what he calls crooked—meaning indirect—taxation. He shows by statistics that perfect free trade would save the farmers fully one-third, besides giving them a steadier and more profitable market.

A few days ago an address on "Natural Law and the Labor Question" was delivered before the Indianapolis central labor union. The speaker was, of course, for free trade absolute, and showed the course labor leaders should pursue if they aspired to be real leaders. Out in Dakota the tariff question is also being agitated. At this distance it is hard to form an opinion of the effect of the free trade propaganda there, yet its effect is apparent in the news of efforts being made by protectionists to divert attention to local questions.

Probably the person who is doing as much as any other one man to undermine protection is Andrew Carnegie. The entire labor element of western Pennsylvania has been aroused at Mr. Carnegie's successful attempts to reduce wages, until now, as the Pittsburgh Labor Tribune says, "it is doubtful if there is any difference in wages existing between English and American rail mills; yet there is the starter for another reduction at home, while English wages are apparently still on the up grade." All of which is so opposite to the promises of Mr. Carnegie that even those workers who are most protected are about convinced that they have been deceived.

There is no reason to doubt the ultimate triumph of free trade ideas in this and in every other civilized country. It is wrapped up in the conflict of human rights that has been going on since the world began. It follows naturally in the channels made by the struggle for civil and religious liberty, and is making for the same goal. Like every other great truth, it may be for short periods overpowered by error, but it always manages to regain lost ground, shining all the brighter for its partial eclipse. Next winter monopoly will attempt to intrude itself still more firmly in the laws of the country. In all probability the struggle will only help to make more complete the final overthrow of the whole wicked tariff system.

The Peril of Plutocracy.

New York Times.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, in delivering an address on "Taxation" at Portland, Oregon, recently, declared that it could be demonstrated by statistics which are undisputed that 100,000 persons are possessed of incomes which enable them to save about three-fifths of all the wealth that is annually saved in this country. As wealth is all reproduced within less than thirty years, he calculates that if the existing tendencies and processes continue to operate, 100,000 persons may, within thirty years, become possessed of three-fifths of the entire wealth of the United States. This is an extreme statement and ig-

nores many causes that tend to break up and dissipate large fortunes, but it indicates in a broad way the tendency toward the concentration of wealth in a few hands. The danger which Mr. Shearman and others see in this tendency is that the comparatively small number of men who may come to control the bulk of the wealth of the country will have an immense power in its politics and its government—enough to exercise a practical control over the results of elections and over legislation and administration.

It will be remembered that Bishop Potter, in his historic address in St. Paul's Church on the Washington centenary, referred to a growing plutocracy, the prevalence of luxury, and the massing of material forces as a menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual. At the Woodstock celebration on the Fourth of July Senator Frank Hiseock took it upon himself to make a direct reply to the bishop's address. After maintaining that the public men and political methods of today compare favorably with those of Washington's time, he came to the question of the massing of material forces for the production of wealth. He declared that it resulted in an increase of the wages of labor, a reduction of the cost of living, and a more equal distribution of wealth, and therefore could not promote political degeneracy and moral decay, or menace the freedom and integrity of the individual.

This question of the perils of plutocracy on the one hand and the beneficence of concentrated wealth on the other has become a common subject of discussion nowadays, and we find ministers of the Gospel enlisted on both sides of the controversy. There is no doubt that the accumulation of capital and the "massing of material forces" have resulted in greater rapidity and economy of production and distribution, and that some part of the benefit has accrued to the mass of laborers. But it is equally true that it has been accompanied by an increasing disparity of fortunes and wider extremes of poverty and wealth. Even if it has resulted in a higher standard of wages and a lower cost of living, it does not follow that it has produced a more equal distribution of wealth. It is notorious that the actual result is quite the reverse of this, for in the large increase of wealth arising from the combined activity of labor and capital and the application of improved methods and larger economies there has been a constant tendency to the aggregation of wealth in a few hands. The proportion of the saving over and above current consumption that accumulates in the possession and control of a small number of persons has constantly increased.

The danger that arises from this unequal distribution of wealth and its accumulation in the hands of the few is altogether real. It increases the power and influence of a plutocratic class, which tends more and more to direct the forces of society, to subsidize the press and even the pulpit, and to control the management of political parties, the results of elections, the action of legislative bodies, and the course of public administration. The real peril at present comes from the fact that a public policy has been adopted in the past and is still maintained which involves the pecuniary interests of capitalists directly in the course of legislation and the action of the government. The taxing power of the government is used for their benefit, and so long as it is so used they will endeavor to control its operation. This has done more to build up a plutocracy, and does more to maintain it than all other causes combined, and the most effective means of averting the danger of its absolute and permanent control in public affairs is the adoption of a system of taxation that shall give it no advantage.

Investigate, Howard, Investigate.

Howard in New York Press.

We read often of the wretched lives led by shirtmakers, collarmakers, the sewers of coats and trousers and vests, and women who turn out fancy garments for their fellow sisters, and bad enough it is, but I don't know that it is any worse than the lot of the ordinary clerk, male or female. Up early in all weathers, in or well, weak or strong, standing at the counter of custom with no chairs or stools to rest upon, waiting for the caprice of patrons, subject to petty tyrannies, misunderstood, hopeless—heavens, what a life!

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE TRUE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, 1,000 octavo pages cloth. Mailed prepaid for \$1.30 by the American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, 20 Cooper Union, New York city.

TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Devoted to Secular Religion and Social Regeneration.

HIGH O. PENTECOST, Editor.

The only so-called "liberal" paper that advocates Radical Social Regeneration. Among its contributors are the foremost exponents of Socialism, Christianity, Judaism, Spiritualism, Single Taxism, Free Trade, Protection, Socialism and Anarchy.

Some Contributors: Edward Bellamy, Rev. John W. Chadwick, Rev. W. S. Crowe, Clinton Furbush, Rev. J. F. C. Greenberg, Rev. John C. Kimball, Dyer D. Lamm, Samuel J. C. MacDonald, Rev. R. Henry Sewton, W. L. Sheldon, A. Van Dusen, Mrs. L. M. Barry, Wm. T. O'Connell, Daniel DeLeon, Ph. D. Rabin G. Gottlieb, Rev. John Hall, D. D., H. L. Koppman, T. L. McCready, M. M. Mangenarian, Wm. M. Sawyer, Lila Stevens, Rev. J. M. Whiton.

Its columns are open for the absolutely free discussion of all economic and religious theories. Elegantly printed on the paper. Issued weekly. \$1 a year. Sample Copies Free. All subscribers will receive a copy of Mr. Pentecost's book, "WHAT I BELIEVE."

Address, TWENTIETH CENTURY PUBLISHING CO., No. 4 Warren St., New York.

ASSORTMENTS OF TRACTS.

During the late campaign quantities of our best tracts were assorted for special work, and many of these not having been used, we now place them, with some of a more recent date, in convenient packages, at a low price.

Packages may be had at 50c. and \$1.00.

Address, THE STANDARD, 12 Union Square, NEW YORK.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

PRANG'S NON-POISONOUS COLORS

for the use of children learning to paint.

These paints represent all the latest art colors and tints, and can be given to even the youngest children with absolute safety. They come mounted upon neat, tin paillets, or in tin boxes. They are all specially prepared for us by the most eminent manufacturer of colors in Europe—Mr. Gunther Wagner, of Hanover, Germany. They must not be classed with ordinary children's paints, put up in cheap form and made of injurious and poisonous materials. They are really fine art colors in convenient form for use and especially non-poisonous for the needs of children.

PRANG'S OUTLINE PICTURES.

With these non-poisonous colors for children we issue several series of outline illustrations of familiar subjects as practice sheets. The original design is furnished in each case by some leading artist, and is strictly correct in form and detail. Directions how to paint them are furnished with every series. One specimen sheet of each series is furnished, colored by hand, in order to serve the children as a guide for harmonious coloring, and as an example of artistic work is the foundation of taste. The instruction is all the more successful because supplied in the form of amusement.

PRICE OF PRANG'S NON-POISONOUS COLORS:

Palette Colors—

Palette A, containing six colors with brush, 10 cents.

Palette B, containing nine colors with brush, 15 cents.

Engle Colors—

Box No. 2, containing eight colors and brush, 25 cents.

Box No. 4, containing twelve colors and two brushes, 40 cents.

One box No. 2 of Prang's non-poisonous colors and one package of Prang's outline pictures (eight in a package with an extra copy of one of them painted by hand and full directions) 50 cents.

Or one box No. 2 of Prang's non-poisonous colors and three packages of Prang's outline pictures (each package different in design), \$1.00.

To be found at all leading stationers, or will be sent by mail postpaid on receipt of price.

A RARE OPPORTUNITY.

PORTRAIT OF HENRY GEORGE IN COLORS.

Only One Dollar.

The man whose right principles and deep convictions have made the great movement for the single tax on land values thus far successful, must be dear to thousands who watch and approve his course. But his features are not so familiar, and the esteem in which he is held has prompted many requests for the publication of his picture in worthy and permanent form.

Realizing this urgent demand, we beg to announce the publication of an entirely new and very striking portrait of

HENRY GEORGE.

It is in colors and is full life size, designed to be framed to an outside measurement of 17x22 inches.

This picture will be sent, on receipt of price, by mail postpaid. Remittances may be made either by check post office order, registered letter, or postal note.

L. PRANG & CO., ART PUBLISHERS, Boston, Mass.

NEW YORK—38 Bond Street.
CHICAGO—79 Wabash Avenue.
SAN FRANCISCO—29 Commercial Street.

THE SINGLE TAX LIBRARY.

1. A Syllabus of Progress and Poverty. Louis F. Post, 8 pages.
 2. Australian System. Louis F. Post, 4 pages.
 3. First Principles. Henry George, 4 pages.
 4. The Right to the Use of the Earth. Herbert Spencer, 4 pages.
 5. Farmers and the Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman, 8 pages.
 6. The Causes of Taxation. Henry George, 4 pages.
 7. A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms. Samuel R. Clarke, 16 pages.
 8. Back to the Land. Bishop Nulty, 16 pages.
 9. The Single Tax. Thos. G. Shearman, 8 pages.
 10. The American Farmer. Henry George, 4 pages.
 11. Unemployed Labor. Henry George, 4 pages.
 12. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 3 pages.
 13. Social Problems. 342 pages, 12mo. Paper, 35c.
 14. Objections to the Land Tax. Thos. G. Shearman, 4 pages.
 15. Land Taxation. A Conversation Between David Dudley Field and Henry George, 4 pages.
 16. How to Increase Profits. A. J. Steers, 2 pages.
- Prices of Single Tax Library: Two page tracts—1 copy, 1 cent; 40 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 20 cents; 1,000 copies, \$1.50.
- Four-page tracts—1 copy, 2 cents; 20 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 40 cents; 1,000 copies, \$6.
- Eight-page tracts—1 copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 30 cents; 1,000 copies, \$6.
- Sixteen-page tracts—1 copy, 4 cents; 5 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, \$1.00; 1,000 copies, \$12.
- No extra charge by mail.
- The following numbers of the "Land and Labor Library" are still in stock:
6. Settler's Nightmare. Louis F. Post, 4 pages.
 7. New York's Docks. J. W. Sullivan, 4 pages.
 10. Mysterious Disappearance. Lewis Freeman, 6 pp.
 13. Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm. W. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.
 14. The Collegiate Church and Shoemaker's Field. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.
 15. Only a Dream. Abner C. Thomas, 4 pages.
 18. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer, 4 pp.
 21. Christianity and Poverty. Father Huntington, 4 pp.
 22. Poverty and Christianity. H. O. Pentecost, 8 pages.
 26. Religion vs. Robbery. Rev. Dr. McGlynn, 8 pages.
 28. Anti-slavery and Anti-poverty. H. O. Pentecost, pp.
 29. Tenement House Morality. J. O. S. Huntington, 4 pp.
 33. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George, 4 pages.
 38. "God Will's It." Henry George, 4 pages.
 44. How John's Father Saw the Light. W. C. Woods, 2 pp.
 51. Ten Thoughts for Christian Thinkers. Rev. John W. Kramer, 4 pages.
 54. What the United Labor Party Wants. Henry George, 2 pages.
 64. Hints as to What You Can Do. Henry George, 4 pp.
 71. My Butcher Woman and My Grocery Man. William McCabe, 4 pages.
 84. A Republican's Reasons for Supporting Cleveland. Judge Frank T. Held, 2 pages.
 88. Jefferson and Hamilton. Chauncey F. Black, 8

GERMAN TRACTS.

42. First Principles. Henry George, 4 pages.
43. Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. Henry George, 4 pages.
46. Taxing Land Values. Henry George, 3 pages.
47. It is the Law of Christ. Rev. S. H. Spencer, 4 pages.
48. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 3 pages.
53. Sailors' Snug Harbor. Wm. T. Crossdale, 12 pages.

SWEDISH.

52. The Case Plainly Stated. H. F. King, 3 pages.

TARIFF TRACTS.

57. Protection as a Universal Need. Henry George, 4 pages.
 61. The Tariff Question. Henry George, 4 pages.
 63. American Protection and British Free Trade. Henry George, 4 pages.
 69. Protection and Wages. Henry George, 8 pages.
 70. The Common Sense of the Tariff Question. Thomas G. Shearman, 8 pages.
 72. Protection the Friend of Labor? Thomas G. Shearman, 8 pages.
 75. A Short Tariff History. Thomas G. Shearman, 4 pages.
 76. Plain Talk to Protectionists. Thomas G. Shearman, 4 pages.
 77. A Address to Workmen on the Tariff Question. Henry George, 4 pages.
- A set of Tariff Tracts will be sent to any address for ten cents.
- Address, THE STANDARD, 12 Union Square, New York City.

Protection's Offspring, the Trust, Enables Workmen to Take a Holiday.

Chicago Sentinel.

Last week Senator Vest rolled up his sleeves and pitched into the whisky, the sugar trusts and the copper syndicate. If the Missouri senator had gone further he might have referred to Stewart's Statistics of Idleness and found out that the combined industries of the country pay the Vulcan steel works of St. Louis \$100,000 to stand idle, thus throwing its workmen out of employ. The Weaverly stone ring pays quarries thousands of dollars—in one instance \$1,500 a year—to do nothing. The salt works along the Kanawha were bought up by the American salt manufacturer's association and never have employed a man since. The Standard oil company buys up competitors and dismantles their works. The tack manufacturers buy out a refractory fellow who will not join the pool, and not a wheel has turned since. The Western lead and shot association buys the shot tower at Dubuque, Iowa, to keep men from working there. The bagging mills at Dixon, in this state, have been idle for three years, while the proprietor draws a dividend from the pool for "limiting production" greater than he could realize by running the works. Sloan & Co. stop as many coal mines as is necessary to prevent the output from exceeding the limit agreed upon at the "annual meeting" of the combination.

Alabama Willing to Take Her Chance Without Protection.

Mobile Register.

Alabama does not need a high protective tariff; she will need it still less in the future.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY,

An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want With Increase of Wealth—The Remedy.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

350 pages.
Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

342 pages.
Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$2.50.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

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

BY HENRY GEORGE.

Cloth, \$1.50. Paper covers, 35 cents.
Half calf or half morocco, \$3.00.

In Half Calf and Half Morocco:.....\$2.50

Social Problems..... 2.50

Protection or Free Trade..... 3.00

In sets of three, bound alike..... 7.00

THE LAND QUESTION.

What it Involves, and How Alone it Can be Settled.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

57 pages.
Paper covers, 10 cents.

PROPERTY IN LAND.

A Passage-at-Arms Between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George.

77 pages.

Paper covers, 15 cents.

FORTSCHRITT UND ARMUTH.

(Progress and Poverty in German.)
TRANSLATION OF C. D. F. GUTSCHOW

430 pages.

Paper covers, 35 cents.

PROGRES ET PAUVRETE.

(Progress and Poverty in French.)
TRANSLATION OF P. L. LEMONNIER.

348 pages.

Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROTECTION OU LIBRE-ECHANGE?

(Protection or Free Trade in French)
TRANSLATION OF LOUIS VOSSION.

436 pages.

Paper covers, \$2.75.

PROGRESSO E POVERTA.

(Progress and Poverty in Italian.)
TRANSLATION OF LUDOVICO EUSEBIO

352 pages.

Paper covers, \$2.50.

For sale by all booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt of price. Foreign editions of these books imported on order.

HENRY GEORGE, 12 Union square, New York.

VOLUME FIVE OF THE STANDARD.

NOW READY.

A limited number of bound volumes of THE STANDARD, in heavy boards, are offered for sale at the following prices:

Separate volumes..... \$3.50
Volumes 3 and 4, bound together..... 6.50
Volumes 2, 3 and 4..... 9.00
Volumes 2, 3, 4 and 5..... 12.00

(Expressage extra.)

Address THE STANDARD,
12 Union square, New York.

SINGLE TAX DOCTRINES IN A NUT-SHELL.

Thirty pamphlets on various phases of the social problem. The question of the hour. All should understand it. Will be sent post paid on receipt of fifteen cents in stamps, or will be sent free to any one sending twenty-five cents for six months' subscription to the Standard. Send for leaflets of testimonials free. Address THE DORNE MAGAZINE, 19 Park Place, New York.

ANY PERSON CAN PLAY THE PIANO AND ORGAN WITHOUT A TEACHER, by using Soper's Instantaneous Guide to the Keys. Price, \$1.00. No previous knowledge of music whatever required. Send for leaflets of testimonials free. Address THE DORNE MAGAZINE, 19 Park Place, New York.

JAN. HOGAN, Principal Agent for James Means' \$3 and \$4 shoes, 236 Bowery, near Prince St.

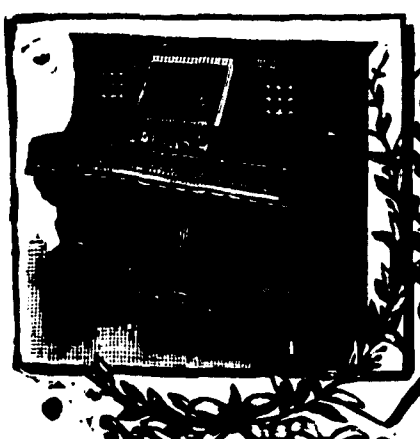
CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (INC.), 104 Elm street, cor. CANAL, N.Y. BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.



NEXT IN ORDER.

HENRY GEORGE—Here, Gladstone, this gentleman wants a single tax measure.
GLADSTONE—All right, sir; as soon as I have finished with my Irish customer.

Good morning
Have you used
PEARS' SOAP?



BRIGGS' PIANOS
C. C. BRIGGS & CO.
4 APPLETON ST. BOSTON MASS.
MANUFACTURERS OF
GRAND SQUARE & UPRIGHT
PIANO FORTES
GRACEFUL DESIGNS • SOLID CONSTRUCTION •
MATCHLESS TONE • BEAUTIFUL FINISH

MONEY FOR YOU

In buying or selling our Watches, either all cash or in Clubs, at \$1.00 a week. Reliable Agents wanted. Lowest prices guaranteed. Exclusive territory given.



CUKE THE DEAF

by Frank's Ear, Throat and Nose Treatment. Whispers heard distinctly. Comfortable, inflexible. Illustrated book & proofs, FREE. Address or call on F. HISCOX, 853 Broadway, N.Y. Name this page.

AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE for the Celebrated **MISSOURI STEAM WASHING MACHINE**. No Rubbing. Fits all clothes. Sample letter two weeks trial on Liberal Terms. Particulars on J. WORTH, Sole Agent, St. Louis, Mo.

OLIVAN & BEGG'S MILITARY BAND and Orchestra. Office, 267 Third ave., New York. Residence, 703 Union st., Brooklyn. Music furnished for all occasions.

HOLLAND'S COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS, 145 Fourth avenue, bet. 13th and 14th sts.

HOLMAN'S CHOLERA MIXTURE is a sure cure for all summer complaints. Price 35 cents. Holman's Pharmacy, 381 Fourth avenue, near Twenty-seventh street, New York.

DENVER, COL.—Lots \$40 each in South University Place Annex lies high and beautiful located in the line of rapid growth and improvement. For information and plans address C. G. HUCK, 66 S. York Block, Denver, Col.

Pico's Remedy for Catarrh is the Best, Easiest to Use, and Cheapest.

CATARRH

Sold by druggists or sent by mail, 50c. E. T. Hazeltine, Warren, Pa.

THE WONDERFUL LUBURG CHAIR, STYLES, BABY COACHES
COMBINING 5 ARTICLES OF FURNITURE IN ONE
INVALID SUPPLIES
WHEEL CHAIRS
Automatic Brake on all Coaches FREE
We retail at the lowest wholesale factory prices. Send stamp for Catalogue. Name goods desired. LUBURG, MFG. CO., 145 N. 5th St., Philadelphia, Pa. DELIVERY FREE

KANSAS CITY, MO.

FIVE YEARS REAL ESTATE FIRST MORTGAGE COUPON BONDS.

In sums of \$1,000 to \$10,000 each, bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Interest payable semi-annually. These bonds are secured by first mortgages on Kansas City property worth three and four times the amount of bonds. Prompt payment of principal and interest guaranteed at maturity. Interest collectable through your own bank, with New York exchange added. Recorded mortgage forwarded with each bond.

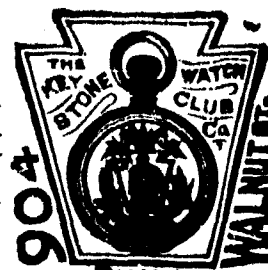
CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT issued in amounts of \$100 and upward, bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Certificates of deposit are secured by first mortgage bonds deposited with a trustee, a special deposit receipt to that effect, from the trustee, is attached to each certificate issued, therefore making the certificate of deposit an absolutely safe investment. When ordering securities write your name in full, also that of your city, county and state.

J. H. MAURELAIN & CO.,
Security Building,
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI.

\$2.50 \$30.00 EARN MONEY
\$7.50 \$50.00
By Collecting Kissweat's Bonus Seal Washers. We pay cash for them. Write to us for a circular. KISSWEAT & CO., 50 Catherine Street, New York City.

Do You Want Money?

Have you One Hundred, One Thousand, or Five Thousand Dollars? You can multiply it by ten in one year by getting the sole agency for our watches in your city. We guarantee you absolutely against loss, supply advertising matter free, give exclusive agency, sole use of our club forms, and protect you from competition. You know that our Keystone Dust-Proof Watches contain everything essential to accurate time keeping in addition to numerous patented improvements found in no other watch. They are the Best and our prices the lowest. No one else can give you one-tenth the advantages we offer. Write at once for full particulars before your town is taken. We refer to any commercial agency. Capital, \$300,000. Full Paid. **THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO.**
904 Walnut St., Philadelphia.



PIANOS UNIVERSITY ORGAN

\$150 to \$1500 Guaranteed 6 years. **PRICE \$180** They Lead the World. You sell direct to families, and send for trial in your own home before you buy. Catalogue Free. Estab. 1838. Incor. 1877. **MARSHAL & SMITH PIANO CO.,**
235 East 21st Street, N.Y.

MRS. AGATHA MUNIER ATKINS WILL continue to receive pupils in solo singing and vocal sight reading at her residence, 221 E. 52d street, New York.

ARE YOU RUPTURED?

That is the question. Are you ruptured? If so, use **FRINK'S RUPTURE REMEDY**, the only quick, safe, sure and permanent cure for hernia (breach) or rupture. This great remedy has cured many persons every year for the last twenty years, and they have stayed cured. It cures by penetrating through the pores of the skin and building up and strengthening the abdominal wall, at the same time closing the hernial opening. The Remedy is generally used in connection with a truss. Children in arms are cured by the remedy alone without the aid of a truss. Soreness caused by chafing or pressure of truss pads, relieved immediately. The pressure can be relaxed gradually and the truss abandoned altogether in six to eight weeks. Price of Remedy, sufficient to cure an ordinary case, \$5; sample package, containing enough to show good effect, \$1. Sent by mail, postpaid, upon receipt of price. Full directions accompany each package. O. FRINK, sole proprietor, 234 Broadway, New York. (Opposite the post office.)

BELFORD MAGAZINE.

Edited by Denu Pintt.

Published monthly and devoted to literature, politics, science and art.

A complete long novel in each number.

The publishers of BELFORD'S MAGAZINE recognizing the fact that "revolutions never go backwards," have nailed the colors of **TARIFF REFORM** to the mast and "prepare to fight it out on this line" until the uninformed are educated up to the truth, that "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation."

The well known reputation of the editors, is a guarantee that BELFORD'S MAGAZINE in all its departments will be kept up to a high standard, and that the monthly bill of fare, set before its readers, will be alike welcome in the home, the office and the workshop.

Subscription price, \$2.50 a year; 25 cents a number.

Subscriptions received by bookellers, newsdealers and postmasters, everywhere, or remit by P. O. order, bank check, draft or registered letter.

Sample copies sent to any address.

New volume begins with the December number.

SPECIAL RATES TO CLUBS.

BELFORD'S MAGAZINE

New York.

NEW BOOKS.

Divided Lives.

A Novel. By Edgar Fawcett. Author of "The Ambitious Woman," "The False Friend," "A Hopeless Case," "Tinkling Cymbals," etc. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper Covers, 50 cents.

A Friend to the Widow.

By Maja Spencer. Author of "Calamity Jane," "A Plucky One," etc. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper Covers, 50 cents.

The Veteran and His Pipe.

By Albion W. Tourgee. Author of "Foot's Errand," etc. Cloth, \$1.00.

A Boston Girl.

At Boston Bar Harbor and Paris. Paper Covers, 50 cents.

Carlotta Perry's Poems.

12mo. Cloth, \$1.00.

Kady.

A Novel. By Patience Stapleton. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper Covers, 50 cents.

Swedish Folk Lore.

By Herman Hofberg. Translated by W. H. Myers. With 41 full page and other illustrations. Small quarto. Cloth, full gilt edges. Price, \$1.50.

Florence Fables.

By William J. Florence (comedian). Cloth, \$1.00. Paper covers, 50 cents.

Miriam Halester.

A novel. By Edgar Fawcett. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

Yone Sante: A Child of Japan.

A novel. By E. H. House. (The serial just completed in the Atlantic Monthly.) Cloth, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

Under the Maples.

A novel. By Walter N. Hinman. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

Adventures on the Mosquito Shore.

By E. George Squier, M. A., F. R. S. With 60 illustrations. 12mo, cloth, \$1.00.

Edith de Luxe of Poems of Passion.

By Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Fully illustrated with photographs, wood cuts and lives process plates, by Graves, Rhodes, Cady and others. Large quarto. Cloth, \$4.00. Full Morocco, \$7.50.

Songs of a Haunted Heart.

By Minna Irving. With portrait of the author. Uniform with "Poems of Passion." Cloth, \$1.00.

The Wrong Man.

A Novel. By Gertrude Garrison. Paper, 25 cents.

The Shadow of the Bars.

A Novel. By Ernest Delancey Pierson. Paper, 25 cents.

Aunt Sally's Boy Jack.

A Novel. By N. J. W. LeCato. Paper, 25 cents.

An Impossible Possibility; or, Can Such Things Be.

A Novel. By Charles E. L. Wingate. Paper Covers, 25 cents.

Recherches on Moral Maxims.

With Steel Portrait of Author. Cloth, \$1.00.

Keats's Centenary.

Fully and beautifully illustrated. Two volumes in one. Cloth, \$1.50.

The Positive Philosophy.

By Auguste Comte. Translated by Harriet Martineau. 8vo. Cloth, \$4.00.

An American Vendetta.

By T. C. Crawford. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00. Paper, 50 cents.

BELFORD, CLARK & CO.,

PUBLISHERS.

Chicago, New York and San Francisco.