

THE STANDARD

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

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

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

In this issue of THE STANDARD we reprint from the Twentieth Century, following copy with regard to italics and small caps, an address entitled "An Infamous Conspiracy," delivered by Hugh O. Pentecost on Sunday, August 25.

This formal statement of Mr. Pentecost's present position will surprise readers of THE STANDARD who, not being at the same time readers of the Twentieth Century, have not kept track of his changing and jostling opinions. It was not more than three or four weeks ago that Mr. Pentecost was charging THE STANDARD with turning a moral and religious appeal into a mere fiscal reform, and degrading the movement for securing equal rights to land from "the plane of high, uncompromising principle on which it once rested" by permitting the presentation through its columns of views which did not involve the taking from land owners of the last penny of economic rent. But now, in the address which we print this week, Mr. Pentecost declares that he is not in favor of the taking by the community of any economic rent at all. He proposes to leave land owners, not five per cent, not ten per cent, not even the thirty-five per cent which he so indignantly charged Mr. Shearman with being willing to leave them, but *all the rent they are at present receiving*. And in striking contrast with his chosen formula of some few weeks since, he now formally and definitely declares that he is not in favor of abolishing private ownership of land, but is only in favor of abolishing the ownership of vacant land.

This seems like an atipodeal reversal of position in the course of a few weeks. Yet it would be hardly fair to call it that. So various and contradictory have been Mr. Pentecost's declarations of opinion for some time past that it has not only been impossible for any one else to fairly state his position, but it has been evident that he did not know it himself. Having swung from his moorings and nailed down the card of his compass so that whichever way he headed for the moment seemed to him the true course, he has been drifting about with every whiff of opinion, all the while declaring that others were changing their position because he was swinging around himself.

Mr. Pentecost's new position, as explained in the address, is that the ownership of land is all right, and the only trouble lies in the ownership (either public or private) of vacant land; that the owners of vacant land are the enemies of

the human race to-day—legal thieves and murderers, engaged in an infamous conspiracy against the rest of mankind; that the world is waiting now for some pregnant sentence that can be understood without explanation or argument. Mr. Pentecost thinks that he is the man who can produce this mighty sentence, and here it is:

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF THE OWNERSHIP OF VACANT LAND.

This pregnant sentence, to which Mr. Pentecost seems to attribute the same magical power that in the "Arabian Nights" attaches to such sentences as "Open sesame!" or "Fish! fish! do your duty!" he styles the "white banner of anti-poverty," and wants people never to abate one jot or tittle of its demands, and to swear that they will "never be tempted to carry it into battle or into politics!"

Seeing that the most obvious ways of carrying a popular demand into effect are by force or by voting, some people might ask how this abolition is to be accomplished. Mr. Pentecost explains: If you own vacant land you must either use it yourself or give it up. And then when you have given up your vacant land (or if, like the great majority of us you do not happen to have any vacant land), you must begin to teach everybody the "horrible iniquity" of owning vacant land. This is not a mere rhetorical slip, for it is evident not only from this address but from other utterances of Mr. Pentecost, that he would rely upon the moral suasion for everything and utterly discard force or law. Naughty children are not to be spanked, murderers are not to be executed; if a burglar breaks into your house the proper course is to go down and reason with him, and if he still insists on carrying off your things, to bid him take them in peace.

Nor is there to be any public ownership or control of vacant land—any regulation as to who shall take it or in what quantities. If two men want the same piece of vacant land they are to settle the matter between them as best they may—probably in the same manner the burglar and burglarized are to settle such differences as may arise when one visits the other. This leaving of the appropriation of vacant land without regulation or control has, wherever it has been tried, resulted in the settlement of disputes by the shot gun or revolver, or whatever else may have been the arms of the period.

But passing this difficulty and supposing that by dint of constant teaching that owning of vacant land is a horrible iniquity and that the owners of vacant land are thieves and murderers, public opinion should become so far educated that no two men would want the same piece, what would the abolition of ownership in vacant land result in? Manifestly, since Mr. Pentecost would give the full ownership of land in use without any stipulation as to any degree of use, since he would not even impose any tax or rent upon it, whenever the people became so fully alive to the horrid iniquity of owning vacant land as to give to public opinion the force of law they would find no vacant land except it were also valueless. If without waiting so long, all our states could within a year's time pass laws prohibiting the holding of vacant land, they could not go

into effect before we should find that all valuable vacant land had been put to some pretense of use—coal land would have become goat pastures, cattle would have been turned upon agricultural land and hogs into timber land, while on city lots would be some sort of a shanty.

Granted that there would even then be some improvement, how little would it go toward the removal of the injustice under which society is suffering, toward securing to all now here, or hereafter to come, their equal right to land? For the doctrine of the equal rights of men to the use of natural opportunities—the truth of which Mr. Pentecost says can be seen as soon as stated—is not satisfied by giving every one an equal chance to scramble for a piece of vacant land somewhere on the outskirts, so long as any vacant land remains to be scrambled for. It can only be satisfied when all are placed on the same plane with regard to natural opportunities, when every one who holds a piece of valuable land pays into a common fund, to be used for the benefit of all, a sum equivalent to the special privilege he enjoys—that is to say, a sum equivalent to the value of his land.

This Mr. Pentecost would not require. He only wants to abolish the ownership of vacant land, and would accord to the owners of used land even a fuller ownership than they have now, since he would not tax them at all. It is evident by his assurance, not only to farmers, but to factory owners, shipbuilders, miners, and house builders, that the land they are using belongs to them, as it is even more clearly evident from articles that have appeared in the Twentieth Century since he has been drifting in his present direction, that Mr. Pentecost has not adopted the crazy notion that no one should be permitted to have land save as he used it with his own hands, and that the use of land which is to give full ownership because, forsooth, the owners know it is theirs, includes the use by tenants or employees. Thus the abolition of the ownership of vacant land, as he proposes, would leave landlordism in full swing wherever it exists, and free to extend itself, as it is extending itself to-day over the used land of the United States, where it does not yet exist. It would leave all the enormous incomes which are now drawn from land to their present owners, and leave them to grow. It would not diminish them by a penny, for vacant land yields no revenue. It would, on the contrary, increase them, as Mr. Pentecost contemplates no tax on land.

This is a queer scheme for the ending of poverty and the release of the laborer from "the hellish thrall" of the capitalist. Those who do not know Mr. Pentecost might think that in abandoning the single tax for such a scheme as this, at once preposterous and inconsequential, he was endeavoring to "draw a red herring across the trail" of the land movement, and so far as his influence went, divert it in a direction in which it would cease to be menacing to those who have grown rich by obtaining possession of valuable land. Or they might think at least that reverting to the timid thought and futile measures of the early American land reformers of a generation ago, he was seeking to get up a land movement to which even the most ignorant far-

mer who thinks the single tax designed to take his farm from him might find no objection. But this is not so.

Nor yet is his present position so utterly incongruous as it might seem. The truth is, as may be seen not only from this address, but from other utterances in the Twentieth Century, Mr. Pentecost has now, in company with the associate editor of his paper, Mr. McCready, reached something like a coherent position. But this is not a new and unappropriated one which he has for the first time discovered, as from the grandiloquent phrase of the address Mr. Pentecost seems to think. It is simply that occupied by the moral force or philosophical anarchists, so called in distinction from the mere physical force regenerators of society, who are also called anarchists. Mr. Pentecost has for the present—it is to be hoped not for long—ceased to be a single tax man and has become (in the better meaning of the term) an anarchist. He would have no taxes on land, and no governmental control of land, because he would have no government.

There are some things, however, in Mr. Pentecost's statement of his present position, which are worth a word of comment for reasons which go beyond any relations of his to the single tax movement. His primary postulate is that truth is so simple, so self-evident that when you discover it you need not seek to prove it. You have but to declare it and everybody will accept it and understand it! And, by the same notion, the discoverer of truth need make no examination to find it, need apply no tests to make sure that he has got it. All he has to do is to feel that he has got it. This is the essential principle of crankism; the root of the self-complacent assumption that leads men who will not take the trouble to equip themselves for mental work to seize on some ill-digested notion, and without further test or examination to hug it and proclaim it as a great discovery. But nothing could be further from the teachings of experience. Moral truth appeals to the deepest and truest faculties of our nature, yet how often has moral truth been overlaid and distorted! While as for the truth that must be apprehended by the intellect, does not experience show that what is not true often appears at first far more plausible than what is true—that truth indeed lies, as the old adage has it, at the bottom of a well, and that he who would find it must dig for it.

Mr. Pentecost's illustrations are curiously unfortunate. Newton did not discover gravitation. The first man to discover the sun discovered that. And that two apples on opposite sides of the earth will fall toward a common center was apparent as soon as the Copernican theory, after general incredulity and long opposition, was at length accepted. What Newton discovered was not gravitation, but the law of gravitation—the law, namely, that all bodies attract each other with an energy directly as to their mass and inversely as the square of their distance. This discovery not merely required great analytic powers, great mathematical acquirements and great labor, but so far from being evident to everybody as soon as announced, it is doubtful if there were a hundred men in England—perhaps not many more in all Europe—who were competent to pass upon it. Nor is the proportion much

larger to-day. Mr. Pentecost and I, and the mass of other people who accept Newton's law of gravitation, do not do so because we see its truth, but because mathematicians and astronomers tell us that it is true. If we were to trust to our own ability to recognize truth of that kind without previous study we should be holding with Brother Jasper that the sun goes around the earth.

That everyone can see just as soon as it is stated that "all men should be equal as to rights and opportunities," is not merely negatived by centuries of history, but by the present condition of the world. Thomas Jefferson stated that in most striking form and prominent place, but though they hear it every Fourth of July, his countrymen do not see it yet. As for everybody seeing that slavery was wrong just as soon as it was clearly stated, it would be quite as correct to say that the confederates all laid down their arms as soon as President Lincoln issued his proclamation, and that there never was any war. Such a statement shows such a grotesque an innocence of historical facts as that the English monarchy was rent in twain and the United States formed because a hundred years ago some one said, "No taxation without representation." It would be more reasonable to attribute that result to Dr. Johnson's "Taxation, no Tyranny." But that was a book, not a phrase.

The abolitionists testified against slavery in their day and generation, but the abolition of slavery in the United States was not the direct result of their denunciations of slavery. Though they made converts, the vast mass of the people continued to support slavery, or at least to decline to move for its abolition. It was the movement on far more moderate lines, the movement which at first had no more radical aim than to restrict the extension of slavery, that finally brought the masses of the north into opposition to it. It is well to proclaim the whole truth, but it is not well to despise the efforts of those who are advancing towards the truth, or condemn practical measures, however small, which are in the right direction.

As for Mr. Pentecost's parallel between land owners preaching the single tax, and slave catchers, slave owners and slave traders preaching abolition, that is of the same logical texture with the rest of his address. Chattel slavery involves a direct relation between one particular man and another particular man. But though the private ownership of land may result in the same robbery of labor as does chattel slavery, the relation between the parties is not a particular and personal one; it is a general and social relation. If I own slaves and am profiting by the appropriation of the proceeds of their labor, I know precisely from whom I am taking and how the injustice can be ended. But if I own a piece of land and am profiting by its rent or by its increase in value, from what particular man or men am I taking? From the tenant? From the man who may want to purchase? Why, they have no more right to the rent of the land or to the increase in its value than I have! To leave it to them or to abandon the land to whoever is lucky enough to get there first and take it, would be equivalent to the slave owner giving away the slave or leaving him for the first kidnapper to claim, not to emancipating him.

I do not know the man who Mr. Pentecost refers to who was willing to impoverish himself rather than take part in the inquiry of owning vacant land by taking it in payment of a debt. If I did, I would like to ask him whether his objections extended also to occupied land, and if not, why not? But I certainly

think that, on Mr. Pentecost's statement, he has more sentiment than sense.

And I do not know the holder of vacant land who told Mr. Pentecost that he was giving time and money to the cause of the single tax while making all he could out of the present system. But I certainly think that he is doing far more for the cause of justice than if he were to impoverish himself by abandoning his land to someone else.

Since he has been evidently bent on finding some position more impracticable than the single tax, it is better that Mr. Pentecost should have drifted into anarchism than into socialism. For, while both are equally impracticable, and each ignores an opposite side of human nature and social needs, anarchism, which would dispense with all government, is on the whole nearer to the direction in which reform should at present move than state socialism, which would subordinate everything to government. And there is another thing that disposes me more to anarchism than to socialism. Socialism seems more consort with atheism; anarchism with theism. For socialism, which seeks to build up, as it were, a huge machine in which every man shall be put into his place, does not trust to natural harmony. But anarchism, which would do away with all government, involves at bottom the belief that there is a natural harmony in individual impulses, a natural order in social affairs, which if given free play would enable society to dispense with all human legislation. The one therefore seems to consort rather with materialism; the other with the recognition of a supreme first cause behind all the effects that our senses recognize as matter and energy. This Mr. Pentecost has probably not considered, yet it is pleasanter to find him moving in the one direction rather than in the other.

Philosophical anarchism, born of the simple life and fervent faith of the Russian peasant, who hardly knows of railroad, or telegraph, or labor saving machine, and who is so used to the operations of his mir or village community that he does not think of it as a form of government, but as a natural thing, like father or mother, which all men have, and would continue to have if government, that means to him only military conscription and taxation for which there is no return, were abolished, seems indeed with its simple trustfulness in human nature a pleasanter thing than state socialism, which has its birth in factory life, bureaucratic regulation and military despotism. And though philosophical anarchism is as utterly impracticable as state socialism, it is probably better that Mr. Pentecost should for awhile find anchorage here than that he should continue drifting around. It is certainly better that since he has ceased to be a single tax man he should frankly proclaim it.

Campbell has been nominated for governor by the democratic convention of Ohio, but not in a way that will compel free traders to vote against him to show their repudiation of protection democracy. The convention was presided over by an outright free trader, M. D. Hartner, who opened the proceedings by a ringing speech. The platform indorses the national platform of 1888, especially with regard to tariff reform, and Campbell has accepted it with good grace. Irrespective of the nomination of Campbell, the tone of the convention seems to have been all that free traders could have hoped for. And though Campbell has been heretofore a protection democrat he is doubtless politician enough to move as fast as the people, if indeed he ever had any stronger attachment to pro-

tection than as he deemed it popular. He voted for the Mills bill in the last house under pressure of the party caucus, and seems in the same way to have accepted the sentiment of the convention that nominated him.

Edward L. Hyneman, secretary of the Executive board of the Ohio single tax league, writes from Columbus of the feeling of the single tax men there in regard to the campaign:

We have failed to secure the nomination of a free trader for governor on the democratic side, but from indications this will nevertheless be an educational campaign. Prominent democrats propose to ignore all side issues and make the tariff reform plank of the platform the keynote of the campaign. From the demonstration of popular enthusiasm on the tariff reform question at Dayton, Mr. Campbell will not dare to stultify himself by nullifying the platform and ignoring the question. The free traders in Columbus are more open and enthusiastic than before, and consider the results at Dayton but a partial failure. We have a better opportunity in Ohio this fall than we had last fall, and while prominent democrats express their regrets that the platform was not plainer and stronger, it is yet an advance on last year, and we can prosecute our work of educating without committing ourselves to any man.

Judge Henry A. Robinson, writing in the Detroit Advance, suggests the establishment, by trades unions and K. of L. assemblies, of volunteer legislatures and congresses which shall meet regularly, organize like any legislative body, and proceed to discuss and act upon political and economic propositions presented in the shape of bills and carried formally through their regular stages. As a means of stimulating inquiry into the economic questions in which the masses are most deeply interested, and as training schools for speakers and parliamentarians, Judge Robinson urges that such societies would be extremely useful. Of this there can be no doubt. One of the important educational agencies that have been at work in Great Britain for some years past are the mock parliaments that have become so common in that country. It may seem at first blush that the spectacle of grown men playing at making laws is somewhat ridiculous. But our government is in the last analysis government by public opinion, and these mock parliaments or legislatures are, in so far as they enlighten and form public opinion, really taking part in the government of the country.

What perhaps would be even more useful in this country than even mock congresses or legislatures would be mock constitutional conventions, or at least the debate of constitutional amendments. The British parliament, or rather the house of commons, for the house of lords is in reality little more than an annex, is a permanent constitutional convention, and, in fact, more, for no ratification by popular vote is required, as is the case with our constitutional conventions. But there are fundamental questions of public policy that cannot be brought before our congresses and legislatures save by way of propositions for the submission of constitutional amendments. The question of the proper organization and powers of government is one that the American people have given no real thought to for a long while, and our new states go on copying the old models as though they represented the very culmination of human wisdom, and endeavor to legislate through constitutions as though the safety of the people required that they should tie their own hands.

The constitutional conventions in the new territories soon to be admitted have, I believe, all adopted provisions requiring the equal taxation of all property, but in all cases against opposition that showed the gathering strength of the single tax idea. Good has however been done by the discussion, a number of the local papers, like the Port Angeles Commonwealth of Washington territory, taking

vigorous ground against this provision. And, after all, constitutions, like laws, must finally yield to the force of public opinion. The stream cannot rise higher than its source.

HENRY GEORGE.

RELATIVE VALUE OF LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY.

The relative value of land, improvements and personal property unattached to land is one of the most important questions in the statistics of the single tax movement; but it is also one upon which information is most incomplete, and as to which estimates differ widely. The estimate most generally accepted has been that real estate, including of course improvements, is of no greater value than the aggregate of personal property. But those who make such an estimate include mortgages on land in the items of personal property. The experience of California, where mortgages are carefully assessed, as part of the real estate, show that one-fifth of the whole value of real estate is represented by mortgages. All other debts are reckoned as personal property; and yet it is obvious that no amount of debt can really increase the aggregate wealth of a community. The creditor may be so much richer; but the debtor must be just so much poorer. All debts, therefore, whether secured by mortgage or not, should be excluded from the computation of personal property. When this is done the estimates of such property will be greatly reduced.

Wherever a careful estimate has been made upon these principles, including only visible things of value under the name of personal property, and separating land values from improvements, there is a striking tendency to equality between the three categories. Land, improvements and chattels each seeming in any civilized community to about equal each other in value.

The tendency to an equality between the value of land and its improvements is fully admitted by all intelligent students of the subject. Wherever the two are separated by assessors, with any degree of care and fairness, this result is indicated. Apparent exceptions, when the facts are made clear, only prove the uniformity of the rule. In Massachusetts, the assessment of 1887 gave the following result:

Land	\$588,000,000
Buildings	753,000,000
Personalty	507,000,000
Total	\$1,848,000,000

In Boston, the result for an average of recent years, as stated by Mr. Atkinson, was:

Land	\$333,000,000
Buildings	230,000,000
Personalty	201,000,000
Total	\$864,000,000

I cannot forbear to notice, in passing, that, even upon these figures, it is manifest that the adoption of the single tax would relieve the rural districts of Massachusetts, at the nominal expense of Boston. Under the present system, Boston carries forty-seven per cent of the tax burden. Under a system of taxation on real estate alone Boston would pay less than forty-two per cent of the taxes. But under the single tax on land values, Boston would pay fifty-seven per cent. How clear it is that this would ruin the poor farmers!

Recurring to the main question, it seems probable that, after allowing for the admitted escape of large amounts of personal property from assessment, its real value would not be less than that of buildings. The value of unimproved and unoccupied land is also always under estimated by assessors. In Brooklyn, for example, the assessors acknowledge that they do not pretend to assess it for more than forty per cent of its selling value; while they claim to assess improved property at seventy per cent, as they generally do. In fact, they assess improved lots at fully twice as much as unimproved lots of the same value, irrespective of buildings.

In many states which have stern and inquisitorial assessment laws, the pro-

portion between real and personal estate is very close upon two to one. This is true of Vermont, Connecticut, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri and Louisiana. In Illinois, Iowa and Mississippi, the proportion is a little more than two and one-half to one. In some southern states, real estate is valued at little more than personalty; and in some of the far western states and territories, what they are pleased to call personalty exceeds realty. But this is clearly a matter of definitions.

The census estimate of national wealth is confessedly loose and vague; but it may still afford some light upon this question. The total estimate, including land, improvements and visible chattels, but properly making no account of debts, is forty-three billions. Real estate covers about twenty-eight billions, leaving fifteen billions for chattels. Dividing real estate equally between land and improvements, it will be seen that the three classes of property stand for about equal values.

In Great Britain and Ireland, Mulhall estimates the value of real estate at sixty-two per cent of the total aggregate. This is too low. The income of real estate, assessed for income tax in 1884, was over £250,000,000, after deducting repairs, taxes and all expenses. This at four per cent, which is a full rate of interest in Britain, would represent a capitalized value of not less than £6,000,000,000; while no estimate of British wealth, of all kinds, reaches £9,000,000,000. Real estate, including railways, must amount to fully sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. Estimating this, as usual, at one-half land values, the proportion between the three classes of property would be exactly balanced: each representing one-third of the whole.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

FROM FATHER HUNTINGTON.

Editor of THE STANDARD: In your issue last week you quoted, with kind intent I am sure, a notice from the New York World of my recent visit to the coal fields of northern Illinois. I went there at my own motion without a very definite idea as to what I could do for the miners beyond offering them my sympathy in their suffering and my encouragement in refusing to accept degrading conditions of existence. I am very glad I went. I found an opportunity of making some suggestions as to the local difficulties, and also a chance to point out, in the presence of two large gatherings of men, that back of all disagreements between employer and employed lies the injustice of the monopolization of natural opportunities, coal fields and land. I found a great many intelligent single tax men scattered through the district and that among business and professional men as well as miners. There has been and is real suffering in the places I visited, Streator, Braidwood, Coal City and Spring Valley and, in the last named place, where the mines have been shut down for six months or a year, there is already cruel destitution, and unless aid is sent them promptly and generously many will die of want and of diseases induced by insufficient nourishment. Even now there is an epidemic of diphtheria among the children and many cases of ague among adults that a few cents' worth of quinine would have prevented. Would it not be wise to give help to the 2,360 persons on the relief list now instead of waiting till the country is shocked by the wholesale destruction of human life? With regard to the question of wages, after hearing statements from all sides, I believe that the men are right in resisting the demand of the operators to accept a reduction of from eighty to seventy cents a ton, and that the profits for the coming season, especially with the magnificent wheat crop of the west almost ready for transportation, would warrant the operators in paying even higher wages than the men are now willing to accept. The evils of the contract, the truck store, and payments only once in four, or even seven weeks, all of them abolished in England twenty years ago, obtain throughout the district, though in some places the truck store is not a matter of complaint. One special hardship which will be appreciated by single tax men is the fact that many of the miners have been practically forced to buy house-lots from the coal companies; these are either not wholly paid for or have been mort-

gaged during the strike; in either case, if the men leave they will lose all they have thus invested, representing in many cases the savings of three or four years. In Spring Valley this seems to be inevitable, as there is no industry there beyond the mines. Nevertheless, whenever the mines are worked again, miners will press in, the lands will be sold again, and perhaps, in time, under similar conditions, return to the company.

May I add a word about myself? In the notice in your paper it is stated that some of my "friends" have been saying that I am going to give up my priestly office and devote my "time and ability to the labor cause." I have no idea who these friends are. If they have been circulating this report during my absence, it strikes me that it is as unfair as it is certainly untrue. It is out of my power to "give up" an office which once received is received forever. What ground there is for the charge I am neglecting the duties of that office, which I have vowed to perform, may be inferred from the fact that, during my stay of ten days in Illinois, I was present at seven public services, preached twice, celebrated the Holy Eucharist once, and baptized thirty-five children, besides reciting the daily offices of the church. It is because I am a priest, and as such an officer of that which, by its principles, is the most uncompromisingly democratic and revolutionary society that the world has ever seen, that I have been led to be a free trader, a single taxer and a Knight of Labor.

JAMES O. S. HUNTINGTON, O. H. C.

Father Huntington On the Streator Miners' Strike.

Father Huntington, under date of August 23, has addressed the following letter from Streator, Ill., to the New York Evening Post:

Sir—May I call the attention of your readers to the sufferings of the miners of this district of northern Illinois? No doubt some account of this distressing state of affairs has reached them, but direct information from some one on the spot may have added weight. I came here to Streator from New York city this week, having learned from friends in Chicago that I might be of service to this afflicted people. The present condition is briefly stated. The coal operators of this district have for three years met the coal miners in open convention and settled the wages for the ensuing year—from May 1 to May 1. Last spring the operators refused to attend the convention, though at three different times earnestly requested by the miners to do so, and on May 1 declared a reduction of ten cents a ton, bringing down the wages to seventy cents a ton. This is two-thirds of what was paid in these mines some years ago. The miners believed that they would be doing a wrong to themselves and their families if they attempted to go to work at that price. It would mean a state of destitution and want below the level of the convicts in our prisons or of paupers in our almshouses. They refused to go to work. Since that time—nearly four months—only a few of the smaller shafts have been working at all, and those for only a few weeks. The great mass of the people, 15,000 at least, has been quietly waiting, hoping against hope that some better terms would be offered them. In the case of one mine in this place, arbitration has been attempted. The award of the arbitrators, after a week's investigation, was 72½ cents, as the least for which the men could afford to work. That this is the lowest wage that can in justice be paid, and that the mine owners can afford to pay it, is the belief of the general public here and in Chicago.

At a meeting of business men in this place last night, a resolution was passed in which it was declared to be the sense of the meeting that the operators should make the award of the arbitrators—72½ cents—the basis of their offers to the miners. What the result of this present difficulty will be none can foresee. There is a strong feeling among the miners against resort to force under any circumstances, but the strain is becoming intense. The lines of people filing up to receive their pitiful share of rations grow larger every day, and the white faces of the women, the hopelessly eager eyes of the children, the helpless agony of the men as the long habit of self-restraint breaks down for a moment, tell their own tale. The wolf is at the door, and the frosts of autumn and the snows of winter are drawing nearer. The people are famishing and the children in rags. If they leave here they lose all they have, including the installments many of them have paid on their house lots. Will not wise heads and generous hearts find some relief for them? They are willing to work harder than most men, fifteen, sixteen hours a day if need be. They are here in the richest section of this rich land, where the fields are thick with corn, and the barns filled with grain, and the very ground beneath them stored with coal. They do not ask for charity, but for justice. They look only for that which we promised them when they left their homes in England, Scotland, Germany, years ago—"life, liberty, and

the pursuit of happiness." May they not have even the first of these? Must they die?

A Story for Single Tax Clubs.

Professor Hamlin Garland has a short story called "Under the Lion's Paw," that he is prepared to read for the benefit of single tax clubs. It shows in very vivid colors the whole question of landlordism, and takes about forty minutes to read. Mr. Garland will be glad to read the story before any single tax organization on payment of his hotel and traveling expenses. He may be addressed at Jamaica Plain, Boston.

It is doubtless unnecessary to state that it is Professor Garland who, with Mr. Herne, has written the single tax play briefly referred to on several occasions in THE STANDARD. Its title is "Jason Edwards," and is one of four plays which Professor Garland has written. It deals with the great social problem, though, as he states, there is "no sermonizing" about it. Scenes are laid partly in Boston, partly in Boomtown, Dak.

Mr. William D. Howells is said to have heard parts of it read, and is almost as enthusiastic over it as Mr. and Mrs. Herne, who intend to fill the chief roles.

In Oregon.

PORTLAND, Oregon.—We have distributed among the farmers about 500 papers and a like number of tracts. The secretary of our club, Mr. S. B. Riggen, delivered a most excellent address in Cook's hall last evening to a good audience and his remarks were well received. After the address he was congratulated by many who expressed their desire to join our club if that was the single tax.

R. H. THOMPSON.

No Conference.

The committee of New York single tax clubs that last week adopted a resolution in favor of calling a conference in this city on September 26, have abandoned the idea, concluding that the time will be too short.

English Woolen Mills Running Night and Day; in the United States They Are Lying Idle.

New York World, Aug. 31.

To the Editor of the World: In this month woolen and worsted mills have suspended with liabilities of over six millions of dollars, and over five thousand people are thrown out idle. I send you copy of an interview with Mr. John F. Plummer. He says: "Bradford and Huddersfield, in England, are running night and day and flooding us," and his remedy is an entire revision of wages to mill workers on a basis of those paid in Europe. We were assured if we passed the Mills bill or failed to elect Mr. Harrison every mill would close or cut down wages. Does it dawn on these bourbons that the English mills now running night and day for us get their wool free, and if any statesman proposed to tax it to protect the British sheep farmer they would ask him what lunatic asylum he had escaped from? Our mills must have Australian wool free or shut up. To tax the raw wool is a driving absurdity. In this great emergency is our president or cabinet giving one thought to the crisis? Are they not thinking of who is for postmaster of Podunk, while the dazed mill owners are looking at their silent machinery, and their idle work people are told their wages must be cut down? But to the bourbons the Podunk post office is of far more importance.

A PROTECTIONIST.

A Case for the Boston Home Market Club.

New York Post.

There is a judge of the United States Circuit Court in Boston who will bear watching by the Home Market Club. He has lately decided that iron beams, angles, girders and columns punched and fitted together for a particular building are, in contemplation of the tariff law, "manufactures not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or partly of iron," and, therefore, dutiable at 45 per cent, instead of 1½ cents per pound, which is the duty on structural iron not punched and fitted according to an architect's drawings. The duty of 1½ cents per pound is equivalent to 102.75 per cent. We shall expect to see the ruined manufacturers of structural iron, such as Carnegie, Phipps & Co., asking congress to cure this defect in the law at the earliest possible moment. If Judge Colt were a collector of customs instead of a member of the federal judiciary his official head would not remain on his shoulders very long, we think.

The Single Tax Idea.

Boston New Ideal.

Whether or not the most feasible plan with which to begin the new social order, certainly the single tax movement is every week increasing in influence and momentum. THE STANDARD prints regularly a growing list of over two hundred cities and towns throughout the states where the movement is represented either by active clubs or by earnest individual workers, and these are probably by no means all that might be recorded.

This, in Free Trade England.

Journal of United Labor.

By united action the workingmen of England are doing much at present to raise their wages, shorten their hours and improve their conditions. Eight thousand five hundred gas-makers in London have just reduced their hours from twelve to eight after a short and not very serious struggle.

The Melancholy Days Have Come, Dear Sam.

Congress-man James E. Campbell of Ohio in New York Herald.

On the tariff we shall stand where the democracy stood in 1888, adopting the St. Louis plank word for word.

PASTE AND SCISSORS.

When ex-President Cleveland visited one of the shoeshops in Marlboro, Mass., the other day, the superintendent took the measure of the ex-presidential foot with his eye, and before he left the building, after a hasty tour through it, the visitor was handed a handsome pair of shoes which had been only plain leather when he arrived.

A remnant of the Seneca tribe of Indians still lingers in Warren county, Pennsylvania, spearing fish, etc., for a living. The tribe, all told, barely numbers 1,000 members, and has so dwindled that marriage among blood relations has become almost a necessity.

A local brass band plays all day long in a room at the Edison laboratory in West Orange, N. J., for a phonograph, and large numbers of duplicate cylinders containing the melody are made and shipped to the Paris exhibition. The manufacture and shipment of the cylinders will continue so long as the exhibition remains open.

A dispatch from Shoshone, Idaho, says the agents looking up fraudulent land and water right entries are making important discoveries. The upper Blackfoot river has been found to have fine natural meadows, covered by desert entries. On one tract of 11,000 acres claimed by prominent Utah Mormons were found ten mowing machines cutting thousands of tons of hay. Prosecutions are promised to place these lands back in the public domain, while examples will likely be made of some offenders charged with perjury.

The general term of the supreme court in the central part of Illinois has decided that it is trespass for honey bees to go upon land not belonging to their owner.

A recent visitor to the top of Pike's peak found the signal service officer melting snow for his water supply, the only one he gets. The officer said: "Sometimes I stand at the window with my telescope. The wind without is keen and cutting as a knife. I can see the houses of Colorado Springs, twenty miles away, the visitors sitting in their shirt sleeves, sipping iced drinks to keep cool, and ladies walking about in white summer robes. I lower the glass; the summer scene is gone. Green trees, animal life, men and women fade away like creatures in a dream, and I am the only living thing in a world of eternal ice, and snow, and silence."

When a small portion of a United States note is returned to the treasury with sufficient proof that the remainder of it has gone out of existence, the treasury will give the full value of the original note. Naturally the greatest destruction of money is wrought by fire, and bits of bills with charred edges are constantly coming in for redemption. There are not many attempts to defraud the government through the redemption bureau, and none have been successful. The sending of the two halves of a note of large denomination by different people, each swearing that the other half is destroyed and asking for the full value of the note, frequently looks like an attempt to defraud, but the officials think that in most cases the senders believe that they are telling the truth.

Every candidate on the republican ticket in Virginia is an ex-confederate soldier.

A Letter of 1888.

New York World.

A correspondent in Pennsylvania sends us one of the republican campaign cards of 1888, which he took the precaution to save. It contains these injunctions:

"WORKINGMEN!

"Protect your homes! Free trade reduces wages! Free trade will close American manufacturing. Free trade serves the interests of Europe.

"Protection insures fair wages and regular employment. Protection serves the interests of this country.

"These are the issues."

These assurances will be recalled with a decided disposition to "kick themselves" by many voters who were deceived by them. "Four years more" of high protection were hardly insured before wages in the protected industries began to fall and mills and manufacturing to close.

What do the coerced employees of Andrew Carnegie think of the "fair wages" insured by protection? What do the cotton mill operatives in Fall River, forced to accept a reduction in wages and denied even an interview with the mill owners, think of it? What do the coal miners of Illinois think of the "fair wages and regular employment" insured by the triumph of protection? How do the glass workers square their reduction of fifteen per cent, to take effect to-day, with these ante-election promises?

Object lessons like these are a great help in the campaign of education.

There It Is: Raising the Tariff Lowers Consumption.

Philadelphia Times.

The Austrian government, which controls the tobacco trade, made a great financial loss by raising the price of cigars. In Vienna alone 35,000,000 fewer cigars have been sold, with a corresponding increase in the consumption of cigarettes and pipes. In all the loss amounted to 710,000 florins.

True, Mr. Dunn; Now, Can You Take Your Own Advice?

New York Sun.

Mr. Campbell [democratic candidate for governor of Ohio] seems to fancy that he can still ride both horses at once, and be a free trader and a protectionist at the same time. This is pure sham and delusion. There should be no double dealing with this subject.

THE CHICAGO CLUB.

Its Position on the Drainage Question Indorsed—Stirring up Robert P. Porter.

CHICAGO, Aug. 30.—We expected Father Huntington at our meeting last night, but he remained over at Streator, to attend a district meeting of the miners because he felt he could do more good among them than by talking to us.

The heat was intense, but in spite of this a large audience, mostly strangers, filled the hall. Mr. Clinton Furbush kindly consented to speak in Father Huntington's stead. His address, given without special preparation, was thoroughly enjoyable. A feature of the meeting and one that made us all feel especially good, was the presence of a committee from Iron molders' union No. 23, with a strong set of resolutions indorsing the single tax club's position on the drainage question. These resolutions, written by men who had evidently seen the cat, were loudly applauded and the committee had a cordial reception after the meeting. The action of the union is very encouraging to us and we still more firmly believe now that the great drainage scheme, previously outlined in these columns by me, will give us a splendid opportunity for educational work.

We also adopted resolutions calling on Census Commissioner Robert P. Porter to incorporate in the eleventh census statistics relating to land ownership, mortgages and indebtedness. These resolutions we copied from those adopted by the St. Louis Single tax league, and we shall send a copy to every labor and economic organization in Chicago, soliciting co-operation in pressing the matter home on Mr. Porter, who is already planning to evade the issue.

We are still in doubt as to the exact date of Judge Maguire's visit, but we hope to have him here about the 6th. He will have a good hearing.

Father Huntington was in town to-day for a few hours, en route to New York. Several of his friends called on him for the purpose of paying their respects. The Chicago newspapers all recognize the value of his work among the miners. He told me he expected to come to Chicago again in January or thereabouts.

W. W. BAILEY.

What South Dakota Farmers Think.

BRISTOL, South Dakota, Aug. 24.—In a recent STANDARD you refer to my sending out a circular containing the following questions: Do you believe in: 1. A high protective tariff? 2. A protective tariff? 3. A tariff for revenue? 4. A reduction of the tariff? 5. Free trade? 6. Absolute free trade?

I have sent them to one thousand Farmers' alliance officers in Dakota. Of nineteen replies already received not one favors a high protective tariff. Five believe in protection, four believe in a tariff for revenue, one of them answering both Nos. 3 and 5 "yes," thus showing that it is what is known as "British free trade" that he believes in. Ten say they believe in free trade, three of which say "absolute free trade," and three say they favor the single tax.

Some answer simply yes or no to the questions. Others show their interest by lengthy replies. One, whom I have classed as a protectionist, replies to question No. 3: "Yes, or spend the money for labor building government railroads." To No. 5 he says: "Not now." He says further: "A state law, that if any owner of real estate (land or town lots) does not use it for two seasons, anybody could acquire a quarter's right on it, would probably prove a benefit." He adds a postscript thus: "I am an actual farmer and not used to travel on sidewalks and never handled anything with kid gloves (never owned any). Break the bank monopoly first."

Another protectionist answers thus: No. 1. "No, because it protects the few." No. 2. "Yes, to protect our industries." No. 3. "Yes, for the support of the government." No. 4. "Reduce it so there will be fair competition." No. 5. "No, for fear monopoly will be the result in foreign countries." No. 6. "No; there are a few things that should be protected." Another: No. 2. "Our country has been more prosperous during protective tariff." No. 3. "To reduce our taxes." No. 4. "On necessities and raised on luxuries." No. 5. "No; labor in foreign countries is too cheap for us to compete with." Another: No. 1. "No; it protects monopoly." No. 2. "Yes; it protects home labor against foreign labor, therefore home market produce, and therefore saves paying freight." No. 3. "Government must be supported, and may as well be by tariff as any way." No. 4. "On some articles (not room to say on what or why)." No. 5. "No; home manufacture must then compete with foreign cheap labor."

A free trader answers only one, the sixth, "Yes," and says: "Because all indirect taxation becomes unequal when one class or a combination of classes obtain legislative control, and it also leads to the committing of fraud at the ballot box in order to get class representation." Another who prefaces his reply by saying, "I believe in the single tax plan," answers thus: No. 1. "No, because we have been protected so much that we have not much left to be protected." No. 3. "Should get our revenue from income tax." No. 6. "Because we have to sell our produce in the markets of the world and should have a free market to buy in." Another answers thus, No. 4. "Yes. By congressional

enactment. I believe it a legalized system of robbery." No. 6. "Not clear, as luxuries might be consistently taxed." Then he gives an illustration to explain his position, concluding thus: "Why impose a fine upon every improvement of mankind? Why not sustain our government by the single tax system? Is it not plainly apparent that labor must pay it all anyway? However, the single tax system would regulate and equalize the system among mankind." Another replies to No. 3, "No, it is better raised by a direct tax." To No. 5, "Because we want a free market to both buy and sell in, and protection from trusts and combinations." Another: No. 3, "Too much money in the treasury as it is." No. 6, "That is what I would like to see." Another replies: Nos. 1 and 2, "No, it does not protect the agricultural interests." No. 3, "Single tax on all land corporations' stock." No. 5, "We sell in free market, why not buy?" Another says: "In reply to your questions I feel hardly equal to the occasion. I would say absolute free trade on all articles whose prices are held and fixed by trusts. . . . As farmers we are forced to sell at free trade prices to a large extent and are placed in competition with the most degraded of the world's farmers. A common level for all may be a benefit to us; I want a schedule of the tariff."

A "revenue only" man answers: No. 1, "No, because I notice that it is the protection of the moneyed manufacturer instead of the people at large." No. 2, "No, not as the present system is worked—if protection, protect all." No. 3, "Yes, because I believe it to be one means of raising money to pay the expenses of our national government." No. 4, "Yes, on all raw materials and the necessities of life." No. 5, "No, because of my answer to No. 3. Another answers thus: No. 3, "Partly." Nos. 4 and 5, "Yes." Another: No. 1, "No, it is not consistent with good government." No. 3, "Yes, because it is consistent to the greatest number of our people." No. 4, "Upon all goods that are consumed by the masses, because the rich do not bear equal taxes with the farmer (or poor)." No. 6, "No, because it might be an injury to some of our trades and do injury to the labor of some but we might better have free trade than high tariff."

These replies show that, although the farmers of Dakota have mixed ideas on this subject, they are beginning to think, and that they are thinking in the right direction.

W. E. BROKAW.

Chicago Iron Molders Getting Into Line.

CHICAGO, Aug. 26.—The following set of resolutions were adopted by an unanimous vote of a well attended meeting of Iron molders' union No. 23, held August 24, 1889:

Whereas, The fact is acknowledged by all intelligent workmen that the emancipation of labor can only be attained by relieving industry from all taxation and by placing the same where it justly belongs, on land values;

And whereas, The iron molders as a class have always been found among the foremost in supporting and propagating all measures for the alleviation of downtrodden humanity; therefore be it

Resolved, That Iron molders' union No. 23 of Chicago indorse the sentiments expressed in the circular received and read from Single tax club No. 1 of Chicago, and extend to them our hearty and undivided support in the consummation of any and all lawful means that they may adopt to induce that "dog in the manger" known as the land speculator to step down and out.

Be it further resolved, That inasmuch as the new waterway and drainage system will greatly increase the value of land, and thereby increase the amount that the landlord may extort from labor in the form of rent or purchase price, we believe the expense incurred by said waterway and drainage system should be borne by the land owner himself.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Single tax club No. 1 of Chicago and THE STANDARD. Presented by Charles Bone-steel, Marlin Alexan, Patrick Enright, Louis Larson, Gustav Raasch, James Redfern and Conrad I. pp.

A Plan to Reach the Farmers.

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 26.—I recollect in the fifties there was a colored man traveling through England with a movable panorama on canvas. The subject was slavery, and the exhibitor was an escaped slave named Henry Brown, with the middle name of Box, afterward making it Henry Box Brown. He also exhibited the box in which he escaped, and used to get into it. He was provided with a gimlet to bore holes in case he required more air. It was a very entertaining and instructive show, and I am fully satisfied did a great deal to help the cause of abolition. Now we have a great work before us. The hardest people to reach are the farmers. They will not read, and are stuffed with protection until there is hardly any room for anything else. My proposition would be to organize a stork company and get up a panorama illustrating the single tax. Send it through the country as are other small shows are sent. There should be a small charge for admission. I am fully satisfied that the farmers would flock to see it, and that it would be a paying investment in more than a financial sense.

M. P. CROSS.

TARIFF COMPROMISE.

HUTCHINSON, Kansas.—I read with much interest the address of George White before the Central single tax club of Brooklyn, published in THE STANDARD of August 17, entitled "Tariff Compromise." I have also had considerable conversation with friends about it. I find free traders and those in favor of reduction of the tariff very much in favor of the swapping principle. They generally say, after thinking it over, if the republicans will give us that we will ask no more. Protectionists, so far as I have talked with them, are also in favor of it. A leading republican said he could not see anything wrong with that and would vote for it.

I think the suggestion a very important one. It simplifies the whole question. We would not have to defend all the items in a bill with several thousand sections as in the Mills bill. We would simply have to defend the right of every American citizen to swap his own private property for the property of residents in foreign countries. This would be as easy to do as to defend the right of each citizen to the ownership of himself.

Some have said to me that the proposition was simply free trade, as people could swap their gold and silver and money with foreigners. To relieve us of this objection I would suggest that we except the precious metals and money, and merely ask for the privilege of exchanging everything else. This would relieve the minds of those who so much dread the loss of gold and silver. There are a great many who imagine we could bear the loss of everything else if we could only retain those precious metals. It would be a great comfort to all such to know that we did not intend to allow Great Britain to rob us of those precious metals. So many people believe, from reading protection fallacies, that with free trade we would find the balance of trade constantly against us. They are afraid that the people of Great Britain would sell more things to us than we would to them and that the paying of the balance of trade in money would ruin us. Well, this proposition to swap goods would relieve the minds of such people. They would see the impossibility of swapping and getting more than we give.

Then laboring men have been persuaded that to buy goods of the British would cause laboring men to have less work in this country. But they could see that swapping goods would cause no less work, since it would take as much work to produce our goods as the British goods.

To genuine free traders who have made a study of this subject, the proposition to swap goods should be entirely satisfactory. They know that trade always consists in swapping goods and that the use of money only renders the principle obscure. They know that trading with money is only a little more complicated than a method of swapping them, trading without money. We have, therefore, every thing to gain and nothing to lose by adopting this method of fighting for our natural rights to trade freely. It will at least weaken the position of the enemy and spoil his most powerful arguments. He will not be able to frighten our people with pictures of John Bull flooding or deluging our country with cheap goods, because it will be evident that John Bull will take away as much as he brings, or if he does not, that we and not he will be the gainer. I hope others will tell us what they think of this proposition.

J. G. MALCOLM.

Mr. White has sent us for publication the rough draft of a petition which shall embody the "swap" idea. He thinks it would be a good plan to circulate such a petition out west and among the farmers' alliances. It reads as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, deeply impressed with the necessity of bringing to an end a widespread political contest over items in the schedules of our tariff laws, respectfully prays that one or more seaport stations be established, in charge of United States officials, where American and foreign producers can meet, and by barter exchange possessions free from hindrance of import taxes. Your petitioner believes that the establishment of such stations would tend to reduce the annual surplus revenues of the government, and would make it unnecessary hereafter to disturb business by frequent revisions of our tariff laws.

Items from Dallas.

DALLAS, Texas, August 25.—In passing Kahn's clothing store, on the corner of Elm and Lamar streets, on my way to a newsstand a few doors further up on Elm street, I heard the remark, "What we want is, that the rent which goes to the landlord shall go to the whole people." I turned to look and saw three men sitting in a group by themselves on the front steps of the store. Judging by their appearance I should say they were workmen. I passed on to get the latest issue of the St. Louis Republic, and on my return I found the three men still seated in the same place. I heard the man who had spoken before say: "No, sir! he has no more right to compensation than the man who buys a stolen horse."

Now, Dallas is a progressive little town, and it does not surprise me in the least that her citizens should take a lively interest in the single tax. A lot in the business portion of the city sold the other day for \$45,000, which was bought in 1873 for \$700. Indeed,

it is surprising that a single tax club has not been started here before this. One was started in South Dallas.

Just now the railroad question is agitating the minds of the people of this state. Some people favor the appointment of a commission. The News has discussed the question quite learnedly, but very laboriously. The editorials in the News are quite ponderous. The editor has "tackled" the single tax question once or twice lately, but evidently is not inclined to fool with it too much. He was pretty hard on you, Mr. George, in last Sunday's issue of his paper—called you ignorant, in fact. It was something yet said in connection with the railroad question that roused him. If I were able I would take him to task about it, but I am afraid if I were to he would get away with me. He is so ponderously heavy he'd crush me beneath the weight of his—the weight of his—oh, I dauno, the weight of his something.

What say our Dallas friends to a club?

JAMES FITZGERALD.

Brooklyn Single Tax Club.

The first meeting after the adoption of the new constitution and by-laws was held on Wednesday evening at the club rooms No. 56 Livingston street, when a discussion was raised on the subject of wages.

Meetings are held on Wednesday evenings for discussion, Friday evenings for business and Sunday evenings for lectures. The board of management, composed of the officers and the chairman of the several committees, meets on Monday evenings, and it is expected that more attention, than heretofore, will be given to newspaper publications on such questions as will admit of the single tax application, free trade and ballot reform, with a view of addressing letters to the press calling for the consideration of our views.

The new constitution states the object of the club to be: "To advocate the gradual abolition of all taxes upon industry, the products of industry, and exchange, and the raising of all public revenues by a tax upon the value of land, exclusive of improvements."

"The club shall confine itself to discussions, lectures, and the dissemination of literature, and shall not formally give its support to any political party or candidate for political office."

"Those who shall declare their full belief in the object of the club and shall have been elected by a two-thirds ballot, shall become active members by signing the constitution."

"The dues shall not be less than twenty-five (25) cents monthly. No member shall be allowed to vote if his dues for the two previous months be unpaid."

Lectures will be given every Sunday evening.

J. HICKLING, Cor. Secretary.

A Fertile Soil.

OBERLIN COLLEGE, Ohio.—There is a growing auxiliary force in our reform that must not be overlooked. I refer to the prohibition party. This movement is gradually incorporating and crystallizing the best temperance element in the country; is organized in every state, county and township (with few exceptions) in the union; is supported by the W. C. T. U., in itself a remarkable organization devoted to popular reforms, temperance, educational, industrial, etc. The party is rapidly widening its borders and becoming a genuine labor reform party.

While the tariff plank in the platform of the recent convention at Zanesville, Ohio, is not radical free trade, it is a very strong move for reform in that direction. When republicans and protection democrats leave their parties they generally leave their protection prejudice behind them, get their eyes open and are ready for more light and advanced steps. On ballot reform and clean politics the party is a unit, while the platform is virtually single tax, since nothing but the single tax will destroy "land monopoly in every form," and furnish the legislation that shall "prevent the holding of it unused from those whose necessities require it for a home."

The party is rapidly falling into line with these principles all over the country. As a consequence we are rapidly drawing in the leading labor leaders, Lockwood of Cincinnati, De La Martyr of Colorado, and others are late and powerful additions. Our own candidate for lieutenant governor, L. B. Logan, is a Knight of Labor man, and I think, a single tax man.

I am glad to see the position taken by THE STANDARD, as a generous, independent, progressive, educating power, with the one great idea, the single tax, dominating all. But let our single tax brethren not fail to recognize their friends in this growing temperance movement and avail themselves of every opportunity to sow good seed in this fertile soil.

H. P. MOYER.

A Good Compromise.

Thomas J. Amberg, secretary of the Amberg file and index company, writing from Chicago to renew his subscription to THE STANDARD says incidentally:

We have a traveling salesman, who is, in my opinion, talking more single tax than he is letter files, but we have not issued any instructions to him so far to cease. About three years ago he was a black republican protectionist single tax Henry George crank, while the writer was a free trader. We finally compromised by both of us becoming out and out single tax free traders.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
New York, Sept. 3.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	65,809
Received during week ending Sept. 3	333
Total	66,142

Contributions received during the past week have been as follows:

John Dunn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	\$2 00
John H. McCormick, Tampa, Fla.	2 00
H. J. Simonton, Dade City, Fla.	1 00
H. V. Place, Memphis, Tenn.	50
Louis F. Weston, Cambridgeport, Mass.	1 00
Sundry stamps	32
Total	\$6 82

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD

	1,658 65
Total	\$1,665 47

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

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

John McClimont, Aspen, Col.—All the material for a single tax organization is here and active, though not organized. Most of the mining is done three miles from Aspen, which means to say of the workers inclined to come to a meeting three miles of climbing skyward in the "we sma' ours." Hence it is hard to get men together. I do not hesitate to say, however, that we have a large number of the most active and progressive men and women in the nation enlisted, and when any local business is to be done we do it in a way that astounds the natives.

Thomas H. Hudson, Indianapolis, Ind.—The single tax men of Indiana are arranging for a conference on September 26 and 27 in this city. Favorable replies have already been received from a number of places, viz: Ft. Wayne, Anderson, Terre Haute, Clinton, Centerville, North Vernon, Vincennes, Maitinsville, Connersville, Madison, Pendleton and Aurora.

C. H. Libbey, Lynn, Mass.—I find every one, with the exception of the self-seeking republican, ready and willing that the tax question should be discussed. Every single tax man should keep a few petitions in his pocket ready for signers at all times. The single tax men of Lynn are active. Meetings addressed by out of town speakers are held on the common every Thursday evening. By public agitation they have compelled the assessors to largely advance the valuation of unused land. One extensive land grabber complains loudly that nine of his lots in a certain locality have mysteriously advanced in value from \$4,700 in 1880 to \$6,500 each in 1889. They have made it hot both on the street and in the newspapers for the poor assessor.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Ill.—The outlook grows brighter in Chicago day by day. A new club has just been formed by representative labor leaders and trades unionists and the declaration of principles is indeed significant. It includes (1) The Australian ballot, (2) state control of monopolies, (3) free exchange, (4) the single tax, and (5) a just system of finance. Nothing could more strikingly show the advance in economic thought among the workingmen than the formation of this club on such a platform.

I hope the other workers in Chicago are doing as well as, or better than, I am. The petition is doing good and it ought to be pushed hard and fast until the signatures reach high up into six figures. People seldom refuse to sign after a little explanation. In fact, but two or three men that have been approached by me refused to sign. Nearly all say they have heard of the single tax and nine in ten manifest a desire to know more about it.

J. H. Hall, McGregor, Texas.—I am very much encouraged at the progress the single tax idea is making in this part of the country. We expect to organize a club soon.

W. J. Taylor, Kansas City, Mo.—I inclose you some more petitions. No. 1 is an old sea captain who has been around the world and therefore well knows the disadvantages of protection. No. 2 is a republican and protectionist, but is fast losing faith. No. 6 signed readily, though he knows it will hurt him financially. No. 7 was glad to sign—being out of work, and also out with protection and republicanism. No. 9 is an influential German who will do our cause great good. We had a very interesting debate at our club a short time since, lasting four hours.

R. Delaney, Memphis, Tenn.—The principal work we are doing here in the way of propaganda is the distribution of literature and getting up a petition to amend the Tennessee constitution so as to leave it optional with the legislature as to the kind of property that shall be taxed. This, of course, will give us a valuable opportunity to discuss the single tax.

E. F. Meyer, St. Louis, Mo.—I make many converts by explaining fully how our method of taxation works and who in reality has the tax to pay. For instance, a man invests, say, \$30,000 in land, buildings, machinery and material for manufacturing some needed article. Then the assessor taxes him two and a half per cent on capital invested, which amounts to \$750—a dead expense to the business, which has to come out of it the

same way. The price of the article cannot be raised above the market value, therefore the wages of the factory employes must be reduced that amount. Next, the manufacturer sells the goods, with the tax, to a wholesale firm, who is also taxed on store, building, fixtures, capital, etc., including factory tax, and the wages of these employes must also be reduced this amount. Next, the wholesale dealer sells the goods, including all the taxes, with interest and profits, to the retailer, who is also taxed as the others. All these taxes must be added to the price of the goods when sold by the retailer, or he cannot exist. Now comes the laborer whose wages have already been reduced on account of the tax, and, as a consumer, he has to pay the treble tax again, with interest and profit, from his low wages, all for the benefit of the land owner who gets rich while the laborer stays poor. The public improvements for which the taxes are used increase the price of land and nothing else. Sometimes I take the raw material right from the earth and take it through all the stages of reproduction, doubling up the taxes, until finally nothing is left for the producer. I think our system of taxation should be analyzed and explained in all its details, so that a non-thinking man will be brought to fully understand it.

Edward H. Bailey, Cleveland, Ohio.—The signer of the inclosed petition has been here on a visit. He heard single tax at breakfast, dinner, supper and bedtime. He subscribed for THE STANDARD and his conversion is only a question of time. The day is dawning.

W. N. Eayrs, Boston, forwards his own signature to the petition, saying: I am heartily in favor of the reform. I am thoroughly in sympathy with Henry George and his work.

Organizing in Florida.

TAMPA, Fla., Aug. 21.—For about three years a few of us have been advocating the single tax with apparent little success; but believing our principles to be right and that sooner or later we would be recognized, we fired broadside after broadside into the enemy, until at last they have recognized in us a foe worthy of their steel. We have organized a single tax league in the Fourth ward, and named the baby the Thomas G. Shearman single tax league, and although few in number (twenty), we are full of hope and fight, and expect to make the league an honor to the man it is named after. We are now at work organizing in the First ward, and unless appearances are very deceptive, we will by November have at least two hundred good members. We will not be satisfied in confining our labors to Tampa proper, but propose to send speakers to every town in the county.

We would like to hear from every single tax man in the state, as we would like to correspond with them in view of forming some kind of a state organization, so that we can send out speakers to explain our principles.

Just now old Florida is in the rear of this procession of progress, and those of us who see the cat must and will "double quick" and make up for lost time, so that when the music starts we will be close to the band wagon.

Every meeting we have held so far has been well attended, and a good deal of interest is taken in the proceedings. We read at our regular meetings, which are held every Monday night, a chapter in "Progress and Poverty," when we invite any one present to discuss it pro and con. This has won the hearty approval of our most bitter opponents. The Tampa Daily News has in three or four instances defended the single tax, and all that paper lacks of being an out and out single tax paper is the editor reading "Progress and Poverty." The Journal and Tribune, our two weekly papers, have kept their hands off, but they must and shall speak.

Our president, Mr. S. M. Loomer, in the last election was a strong protectionist and Harrison man and a member of the republican executive committee. "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade?" with the kind assistance of the New York Herald, have, however, placed him on the road to true liberty. Our vice-president, Mr. G. L. W. Wendell, was also a strong republican and an ultra protectionist. "Protection or Free Trade?" fixed him. He also sees the cat, and is hard at work trying to make amends for the wrong he has done in advocating protection.

Please find inclosed \$2, which you will turn over to Mr. Croasdale to help circulate the petition to congress. I also inclose thirty petitions signed, some of them signed in Key West. Send me one thousand petitions, and this club will have them all signed and sent back in two weeks from date of reception. We can and will have at least two thousand signed here in plain English. We are in earnest and are at work.

JOHN H. MCCORMICK,
Sec. Thomas G. Shearman S. T. L.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

At its last business meeting the Manhattan single tax club withdrew its delegates from the joint committee which is arranging for a single tax conference in the latter part of September.

The Sunday evening lectures will be resumed on October 6.

PERSONAL PROPLRTY TAXATION.

How it Robs the Farmers in Peoria County, Illinois.

The schedule of this year's personal property assessments for Peoria county, Illinois, shows some curious conditions. The largest place in the county is Peoria city, which in 1880 had 30,000 inhabitants out of a total for the county of 55,000. Of the other places Elmwood township was the most populous, containing 2,500 people, and Logan the smallest with 723. Peoria city was thus over ten times as populous as the largest of these other places, and contained more people than all the others put together.

The assessors this year were able to find in Peoria only 482 watches and clocks, while in the small towns and farming communities of the county they found 2,563, although, as above stated, Peoria has more people than all the other places. Chillicothe, whose population in 1880 was less than one-twentieth of Peoria's, has 338 watches and clocks, or say three-quarters as many as Peoria. Peoria has, according to the assessors, 593 sewing and knitting machines, while the rest of the county, with less population, has 3,144. Peoria has only 1,418 horses; the rest of the county has 13,454. The average value of the pianos found in Peoria was only \$40.66, while in the little place of Kickapoo they were valued at \$51.75 apiece. In Peoria there are only 1,242 carriages and wagons while the rest of the county has 4,758. The average value of a mule in Peoria is only \$19.65, while in the village of Medina it is \$32.22.

The real estate assessments (houses and lands) are not given, but in 1880 the total real estate assessment for Peoria county was \$10,400,000, of which Peoria had just a little less than her proportion according to population—namely \$5,100,000.

Billy Radcliffe Sets the Pace for the Ohio Campaign.

Billy Radcliffe, writing from Tiffin, Ohio, to a friend in this city, under date of August 2, says:

I am working the towns toward Dayton, and will get there for the democratic convention August 15. Our county convention made me an alternate from our county to the state convention. They could have made me a delegate, but I am most too radical for some of them, but I will show them at Dayton that I am the boy that will kick up more stir than a car load of such delegates as they will send there. I will give them free trade on the street and show them that the people are ready and willing to listen to such talk, can see the beauties of it if it is only put at them in the right way.

BILLY RADCLIFFE, S. T.

P. S.—I inclose you one of the bills I put up in the town to get the people out. I also drive around town with blanket, plumes and bells on my horse, and you bet I get them out.

P. T. Barnum whitewashed! Funny fun on the corner. The favorite vocal clown, banjoist and song writer, Happy Billy Radcliffe, will give his free concert, open-air circus and sleight of hand exhibition, on the street to-night.

Come and join the happy throng, Come and hear the minstrel's song, Don't you miss this jolly treat, Doors will be open both ends of the street.

Word from Billy Radcliffe.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Sept. 1.—"Home Again" and "Looking Backward," I find that I have talked and distributed tracts in forty-five towns and cities of Ohio, and sold "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade" in some of them. I found a single tax chief of police in one place and single tax men up for the state legislature in two other places, with good chances of being elected. I understand there is still another single tax man up for the legislature in one of the cities that I have not visited. The first two are on the democratic ticket, the other one on the republican ticket. Our single tax chief of police was appointed by a democratic mayor. I found single tax men in most of the towns I visited, and clubs in a few of them. I attended the Dayton club last Sunday and found it active.

Dayton was the only place that I was refused freedom of speech. I first asked the mayor for privilege to sell medicine, being willing to pay for the same, which was refused on the grounds that no selling upon the corners would be allowed during the democratic state convention. I then asked for privilege to talk free trade on the street corner and not refer to the medicine. This was also refused on the grounds that he did not want anything to conflict with the convention. At this I left him and in the afternoon I called on him again, telling him that I did not want to be refused the right of free speech, that I was a delegate to the convention and could show papers to that effect. At this he got very warm and positively refused to look at anything or allow me to talk. He is a republican protectionist and I suppose did

not want the democrats educated on the free trade subject.

My horse died at Piqua, Ohio, but as I had him insured my loss is not so heavy. The republican papers of the state say my talk killed him. Be that as it may, I met men in Dayton at the democratic convention who gave me strong invitations to return to their towns and give them some more free trade and single tax.

There is a grand opening for single tax men everywhere. We all know how hard it is to get people to attend meetings in halls. But we can easily reach them with a small party of good singers and talkers who can travel about in a wagon and give concerts and talks on the public squares and streets of the cities and towns. I simply have done good work, but better work can be done where the selling of goods, excepting single tax literature, is not mixed in with the talks. I will pay my share toward such a movement. Everybody should think it over. It is a winner, and a quick way to get our ideas to the front.

BILLY RADCLIFFE, S. T.

From Detroit.

In the course of a letter to a friend in this city Judge Henry A. Robinson of Detroit says:

So rapidly have your views gained since I first became acquainted with Henry George that it seems to me, in a dreamy sort of way, that a full half century has elapsed. I begin to think that in less than twenty-five years the seed you have planted will be in full fruit in England and the United States. It surprises me to find, in my wanderings, so many people who are both consciously and unconsciously inclining in thought toward the single tax. Not the least among the good signs in this part of the country is the desire upon the part of the farmers to hear our views stated. I myself am frequently asked by letter to go into the country and explain our doctrines. Mr. Grinnell and myself are invited to speak at a harvest picnic to be held Thursday the 30th, near Elm, in Wayne county, and my invitation was accompanied with the request that I speak upon the single tax, and I shall do so. I am now out of office and, not having got into business as yet, I have considerable leisure which I am devoting to a considerable extent to propagating the gospel.

You must not think because you do not hear from Detroit as often as from other places that we are doing nothing. I believe that we have as large a number of true converts here as there are in any city of equal population in the west. The heaven has been working quietly but surely through all the organizations of working men and particularly among the Knights of Labor. I also know quite a large number of business men who are pronounced Georgites. The fact is, reform in our modes of taxation is in the air.

In West Virginia.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va.—Messrs. Sugden and Wilcox have a team out on the country roads and are painting on the fences the following mottoes, viz: "The single tax is true religion; preachers why are you silent?" "Vote for the single tax." "Private ownership of land is wrong." "Study the single tax." We are billing the town with a circular giving a synopsis of our ideas. Dr. McGlynn will speak here on October 2 in the Academy of Music. T. B. McGuire of Labor assembly 49, New York, spoke here last Saturday night. He recommended his audience to study the land question and to read Henry George's books. He thinks he is a socialist, but is really a single taxer. Mr. C. G. Abramson, secretary of our club, speaks at Dallison, this county, on tomorrow night. Subject, "The single tax," and knowing him I can say that the tariff will get a few round raps.

W. I. BOREMAN.

The Way it Works.

NEW YORK.—American law is a very curious institution. It prohibits the landing of paupers, yet if an immigrant is possessed of property it straightway, through the tariff, makes a pauper of him to the extent of from five to ninety-five per cent. "The foreigner pays the tax," you know.

I must note one exception. An alien landlord, he may even be paralyzed, deaf, dumb and blind. Evidently we don't want labor. We hunger for that flower of the nineteenth century civilization—a landlord.

I wonder where the landlord "per se" comes from. Noah didn't take one into the ark. If he had!—

B. DORLIN.

The Minnesota Ballot Reform Law.

LYLE, Minn., Aug. 26.—I noticed in THE STANDARD a couple of weeks ago an article relating to our new Minnesota election law. The article said that the law applies to towns of 5,000 inhabitants and more, which is not correct. The new law only applies to cities of 10,000 and over. But the smaller places live in hopes that by the time the Minnesota legislature adjourns in 1891 the Australian voting system will be applied throughout.

O. J. KALLSTED.

To Organize in Springfield, Mass.

Single tax men of Springfield are requested to communicate with John F. Hart, 13 Wight block, with a view to the organization of a club.

THE NEW LIBERAL PARTY.

SIGNS OF ITS COMING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Radical Element Steadily Gaining Strength—Mr. Gladstone's Authority Will be Respected as Long as He Lives—Then a New Order of Things.

DUDLEY, NEAR BIRMINGHAM, England, Aug. 21.—I am glad to be able to assure our friends that all goes well here. Everything makes for the single tax. Mr. George's recent visit has given tremendous strength to the cause. In fact, it was here he said that the taxation of land values had entered practical politics. The fact is not plain to everybody, and no eminent statesman need be expected to take up the question and go to the country upon it either next year or the year after. For the taxation of land values has entered practical politics in the usual way, viz.: as a thing to be avoided. Already a vast amount of ingenuity and energy are being expended upon trumpery expedient, and "eminent statesmen" giving themselves up to the consideration of tithe bills and Ashbourne acts may be taken as giving evidence that they see which way the cat is going to jump. And they are very anxious that the cat should not jump that way at all events in their time.

But wriggle as they may, it is abundantly clear that "eminent statesmen" will ere long find themselves unable to resist the strong tendency in the direction of the taxation of land values which has unquestionably set in. All over the country the best and most earnest men of the liberal party are more or less committed to the principle. The wide chasm between the rich and the poor has convinced a number of intelligent and warm-hearted men that there is something seriously wrong with the state, and the "condition of England" question has become the question of the hour. The contrast between the Christianity of the churches and the condition of the people has commanded the attention of many of the best men in all churches, and almost as by instinct men's thoughts turn to the land. It is impossible that God can have bungled so sorely as to have made man in his own image and then to have sanctioned such a system of things as that which now obtains—a system by which the multitude toil and live in abject misery while the few revel in luxury. The population cannot, by an omniscient Providence, have been deliberately calculated to outstrip the resources of the planet upon which it has been placed. There must be something wrong with the arrangements which give such a command of the resources of the planet to the few. This is how men's thoughts are running.

There is a very striking article in this month's Nineteenth Century entitled, "Wanted—A Gospel for the Century," by Father Barry. It bears out what I say to a remarkable degree. Everyone should read it on your side, for it is attracting much attention here. The article may be missed by some of your readers and therefore an extract from it may not be out of place. Says Father Barry:

I am convinced that society must undergo a transformation or perish. And it is on this account that every thoughtful observer must wish religion would take up the far-reaching problem of the distribution of wealth; the relation of physical science to the prosperity of the masses; the rights and wrongs of property; the claims of the individual to be trained for his place in life and recompensed by a secure old age for the toils of his years of strength; in short, the whole question of civilization on its human and social side. I cannot say too emphatically that it seems to me this thing has not yet been done; is yet without a place in our books of theology, to speak of; and requires doing in all manner of ways. If anybody thinks it an easy matter to be dealt with in a few pages of the treatise *De Contractibus*, or heated by general remarks, however excellent, on the good of poverty and the evils of riches, I believe that man to be profoundly mistaken. To find the solution will task the energy and make severe demands on the good will of our best teachers; nor will they find it at all unless, while keeping one eye on their books they keep the other on things as they are outside the books. For all the sciences are now fast resolving themselves into one—the social science. And all the problems are resolving themselves even faster into one—the social problem. Do you tell me it is at bottom religious? I say so, too. But the terms of its solution and the matter with which it is concerned are not primarily religious, but of the present world and its welfare. When our Lord said "seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added to you." He certainly didn't mean, "And all these things shall be denied to you, the workers, that have produced them by your own hard labor."

Who can doubt that this is the question of the time, and how is it to be peaceably solved if religious men will not view it in the light of their religion?

It used to be said, "All roads lead to Rome." It is rapidly becoming a fact that all problems, even those which might seem purely scientific, lead to socialism. I am not concerned at present with the definition of that much abused term. Enough that it indicates the whereabouts of the malady from which civilized mankind is suffering. Let us call it "labor and capital," "the distribution of wealth," "the condition of the working classes," or what we please—by any name it will be as terrible—only let us not forget that it is the one great business of religious men, if they hope in the future of their creed as an imperial influence, to take it now in hand. Science moving along its own path, as I must repeat, has brought mankind face to face with it. Had that science been applied to life, as it might have been, in recognized Christian principles, that problem would have received its solution, in the main, before to-day. But Christians were indulging in speculations which but remotely concerned their creed when science took its first adventurous flight, and Christianity had to disentangle itself from the ancient regime in one part of Europe, or was a corrupt and sleepy establishment in most others, when commerce and inventive industry were calling into existence the huge black cities and the millions of machine-made proletariat which gives us the factors of this awful question. The season went by; the Sibyl burnt her sacred books, one after the other, but the fewer she had left the more she increased her price. And now the chief hindrances to anarchy in Europe seem to be monarchical institutions resting on public and fading traditions of loyalty; municipalities burdened with debt, often corrupt, and in very few cases equal to the task of enlightened self-government; the army recruited by conscription; and the church. It is not impossible that monarchies, municipalities and armies will find themselves too weak to withstand the onset of socialism in its many forms. Given universal education and there is every sign that the principle of submission to authority, which has been received hitherto as custom, will lose rather than gain in power. For you will have to persuade the educated proletariat that their interests are identical with those of their masters, and that is a hard saying. Education will give weight and edge to the problem, while redistributing the intellectual forces of the world on a plan by no means favorable to those in possession. And the millions upon millions as they learn to read and write and gradually to think for themselves, will ask the Christian religion what view it takes of their interests, and what are the laws of the production and the distribution of wealth which the gospel sanctions, what are those which it rejects and condemns? It will be an evil day for mankind if Christians do not see their way clearly to an answer.

Now this article of Father Barry's is but an illustration of what is going on. Men's minds are occupied with the social problem to the exclusion—or perhaps it would be better to say, to the subordination of all others—even including home rule. Another article in the same review on the "New Liberalism," by Atherly Jones is simply a further illustration of the truth of what I say. And I affirm that the more men look into the social problem the more they see of the cat. They see already enough of the cat to convince them that the solution of the social problem is to be sought in the direction of the taxation of land values. "Eminent statesmen" will not deal with the question until they are compelled to do so, nor is it at all likely that we shall have legislation such as we could desire within the next few years. But it is quite certain that the next great political battle in England will be fought on this very question. Before that takes place, however, the present liberal party will have been shattered. The battle will be fought by a new liberal party led by new men.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Irish question arouses any very great enthusiasm in England. Mr. Gladstone is the object of popular enthusiasm, and as long as he remains in the land of the living "his authority will be respected." Still, there is no doubt that home rule will be carried. It will not be carried on its merits, however. I agree with Mr. Jones, in fact, when he says that "for the success of home rule we must look to the sense of weariness and hopelessness of the English people." I say I agree on this. But I think we may look for the success of home rule; also, we may look to the determination of the intelligent section of the working classes to have the question dealt with in order that we may deal with the question of the condition of England. Those who fought and suffered for home rule long before Mr. Gladstone dreamt of taking it up clearly recognize that it is waste of energy to discuss the home rule question any longer. We expend ourselves on the question of England, and so while directly we promote the cause of the toiling millions here we indirectly and most effectually promote the Irish cause, too.

In the condition of the great political parties we have much ground for hope. The tory government has quite recently suffered a very serious reverse. It was pressing upon parliament a Welsh tithe bill. Certain provisions in this measure were so unacceptable to the liberal party and to many members of the tory party that in one or two divisions the government narrowly escaped defeat. In order to make their bill more acceptable to the house the government accepted certain amendments. These amendments, the speaker ruled, were of such a character that, as he said, there was little of the old bill left. Under these circumstances the government withdrew the bill, whereupon the Times observes:

It would be idle to pretend that the past week has not been a week of discredit for the government. When it began they had pledged themselves to carry a tithe bill the exact converse of their own bill of 1887, excusing themselves on the ground that it was necessary to pass a tithe bill of some sort at once, and that to be passed at once such a bill must be the simplest that was possible. Each of these positions they have been driven to surrender—the second being abandoned when it was determined to assimilate the bill to the elaborate measure of 1887, the first when it was determined to give up the idea of passing any tithe bill at all. A government cannot indulge in such vagaries without a sensible loss of prestige.

This means that we are within measurable distance of the break up of the present coalition by which the government is maintained in office.

But a much more serious and damaging blow might have been inflicted upon the government if the Irish party had been as compact and as alert as it used to be. If the Irish party had been present in full force the government might easily have been out voted twice in one evening. It is said that Mr. Parnell is much annoyed and has administered a very severe rebuke to the absent members. Mr. Parnell's task is a very difficult one—perhaps more difficult than has fallen to the lot of any statesman of modern times. He has to lead a party which is vowed to eternal opposition; that is in itself a thankless business, and it is disastrous to any party that its work should be forever negative and never positive. But when to this is added subordination by alliance with another party the task is rendered still more difficult. No one who knows the position of affairs in England just now can refuse to Mr. Parnell the fullest sympathy.

It is very trying therefore that at a critical moment a number of his supporters should have failed him. An opportunity such as this never recurs, and no assiduity of attendance in the future will suffice to repair the disaster of the past.

The Irish party would do well to enter more than it does into sympathy with the English democracy. It would then have something better to do than mere lobby marching and smoke room lounging. It would be difficult for the party to take this line, however, for in the first place it must not embarrass Mr. Gladstone, and in the next place, as a party, it has of course extremely little sympathy with English democratic ideas. The democracy of England is saturated with the doctrines of Henry George on the land question, and the average Irish member has no ideas on the land question other than low rents or cheap purchase. Of late, however, the Irish party has lost much ground with the democracy because Mr. Parnell supports Mr. Gladstone on the question of the royal grants. It would have been better to hold aloof altogether from the controversy. No one has complained much, but there is a very strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction. The English radicals think they have a right to say to Mr. Parnell, "We helped you in your adversity, and we were entitled on this matter to give assistance, or at all events your neutrality." The answer is no doubt that the Irish party owes nothing to the English radicals, and it is unquestionable that Mr. Gladstone would probably not have taken up the home rule question if he had not been situated as he was. At the same time the men who led the attack on the royal party were in the main the men who befriended the Irish cause when Mr. Foster was at Dublin castle, and they ought to have been considered.

All parties being in this more or less disintegrated condition, an opportunity may be looked for at any moment. We have to watch and to work. The men who have a policy, clear and comprehensive, these are the men who will command the ear of the people, when all the wriggings by eminent statesmen and the wranglings of mere office seekers have had their day. HAROLD RYLETT.

FOREIGN NOTES.

Mr. William Saunders, L.C.C., says the London Christian Commonwealth, has been making an examination of some of the books of the Metropolitan Board of Works, with reference to the cost of dealing with unsanitary areas in the Metropolis. In regard to one area, the total cost of simply compensating landlords, and of removing the buildings, was £86,000, whilst the land, after it was cleared, only fetched £13,000, so that there was a loss of £73,000. A state of things like this is not within the limits of common honesty. There could not have been £86,000 honestly paid in compensating the owners of land only worth £13,000. The county council obviously cannot go on improving London at such cost, but must find a different basis. The basis has been suggested by Mr. George in a single epigrammatic sentence: "Don't buy the landlord out; don't kick them out; but tax them out!"

Mr. Pickard, one of the miners' representatives in parliament, says that with the money now paid annually to the monopolists of mineral-yielding lands in the shape of mining royalties, it would be possible to build 20,000 houses for 20,000 artisans; to build and richly endow 20 colleges at £20,000 each; and to give pensions to a considerable number of miners.

A select parliamentary committee was recently appointed to inquire into the facilities which exist for the creation of small holdings of land in Great Britain, whether in connection with an improved system of local government or otherwise, those facilities may be extended, and whether in recent years there has been any diminution in the number of small owners and cultivators of land, and, if so, whether that diminution is due to legislation.

"A ratepayer," writing to the Daily News, feels very curious to know whether the Duke of Westminster, who has just granted a 25 per cent. remission on the rents of his Flintshire tenants, intends making a similar reduction in the ground-rents of his London tenants. "And if not," he asks, "why not?" Why should the Flintshire farmers obtain an abatement denied to the struggling London tradesmen? Logic and bare justice both demand that the Duke's metropolitan tenantry should receive the same concessions as his agricultural. Ground-rents on the Grosvenor—as on the other larger London estates—have been so continuously and systematically raised, that profitable trade is now almost an impossibility in these days of severe competition, while houses on the residential portion of the estate are now unsalable, except at a heavy loss to the lessees, in consequence of the enormously high ground-rents. This is exceedingly unfair, and I fail to see how the Duke can refuse to Londoners the relief he has already given to Welshmen and others. Why are the former to be the only tenantry in the British Isles who are to be excluded from participating in that general reduction of rents which is going on over the whole country? English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh each and all have obtained reductions, while the long suffering Londoner, who for years has been rack-rented by the ground landlords to an extent unknown elsewhere, is to receive no abatement of their preposterous charges. Why? Is it because we are so law-abiding that the ground landlords consider they can fleece us to their hearts' content? This rent question is eminently one for the county council to take up; indeed, they were elected for the purpose, and they should now endeavor to impress upon parliament the great necessity there is of appointing without further delay a commission having power to deal with London ground-rents as has already been done with Irish and Scotch crofter rents. But why the cumbersome and expensive machinery of a commission? The single tax will do it.

By a law lately promulgated in Japan, title-deeds of land are abolished, and their place taken by a system of land registration. The details contained in the deeds are henceforth to be entered in a land register, which is to be kept at the head offices of the various administrative districts. By this measure all questions relating to taxation and to the transfer of property are rendered even more simple than they were before.

An Annual Profit of \$890 on Each Convict Worker.

MOBILE, Ala.—Here is a cutting which may give reformers a "pointer":

Major Goree, manager of the Texas penitentiary, claims to have not only made the convicts under his care self-supporting, but to have turned into the state a profit of \$65,000, after paying all costs of food, fuel, shelter and clothing, or \$890 profit for each convict employed. This result was obtained under exceptionally favorable conditions, doubtless in raising sugar cane and refining the juice.

Does this not settle the labor question?—\$890 profit for each laborer! Well, that's more money than the average laborer can earn outside of the prison in two years. Why not have all laborers confined, each state becoming a vast prison? This idea beats Edward Atkinson's cook stove project. Let us encourage Major Goree.

E. Q. NORTON.

Farmers Declare for Absolute Free Trade.

At the first convention of the Missouri farmers' and laborers' union, an organization which has taken the place of the old Farmers' alliance and the Wheel, a declaration of principles was adopted which contained the following:

"We favor the placing of a tariff upon the luxuries instead of the necessities of life and a gradual reduction of the tariff, which shall ultimately lead to free trade."

Honolulu, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
 Holtan, Kan.—J. J. Avery.
 Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.
 Houston, Tex.—H. F. Bang, corporation attorney.
 Hutchinson, Kas.—J. C. Smith, P. O. box 502.
 Ithaca, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 502.
 Indianapolis, Ind.—J. P. Custer, president. Single tax league. Postal Tel. Co. 15. Meridian st.; Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, A. C. Smith's hardware store, E. Wash. st.; Wallace, N. Y.—C. C. Chitt, August, 75 East State street.
 January, N. J.—B. H. Walsh.
 Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary. Standard Single tax club, 56 Lake street.
 Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Bent, 2124 Highland avenue.
 Keesau, W. Va.—C. C. Chitt, August, 75 East State street.
 Kilmorsburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
 Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Roveaux.
 Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McManis, 21 Edgewood st.
 Louisville, Ill.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.
 Madison, Mo.—J. C. Chitt, August, 75 East State street.
 Lexington, Ky.—James McManis.
 Little Rock, Ark.—Sol. T. Clark.
 London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, N. Y. Committee.
 Lowell, Mass.—J. H. Deane, 31 North Academy street; W. A. C. 119 South Hill; or A. Vinette, P. O. 81 Union P. Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
 Lyle, Minn.—C. F. Weinham.
 Louisville, Va.—Thos. Williamson, cor. Fifth and Church streets.
 Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
 Madison, Dak.—The Lake S. T. club, H. Evenson.
 Maine, Cal.—Jas. C. Becker, ex-cident. Frey Trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
 Madden, Mass.—George W. Cox, Glenwood street.
 Manchester, Mich.—Albert Wainley or W. R. Han.
 Mansfield, O.—J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
 Marlboro, Mass.—Geo. A. B. Reynolds.
 Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Bardon.
 Mart, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
 Mayfield, Mont.—J. P. Halston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
 Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
 Mauritus, Indian Ocean.—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
 Memphis, Tenn.—J. B. Brown, secretary. Tariff reform club, 51 E. Madison street; Bouton Smith, 235 Alabama street.
 Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 580.
 Middletown, N. Y.—Chas. H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
 Milwaukee, Wis.—Percy Morrill, 157 Fourth street.
 Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buch, president. Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.
 Mobile, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
 Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.—J. M. Fisher, M. D.
 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—J. P. Lathrop.
 Murrayville, Ill.—William Cann, president. Democratic club.
 Nashville, Tenn.—Mrs. Wm. Man, 212 N. High street.
 Nashua, Mass.—Q. A. Lathrop, member. Henry George single tax club, 51 E. Madison street.
 Newark, N. J.—Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
 New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
 Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary. Single tax club, 51 E. Madison street.
 Newburyport, Mass.—Wm. R. Whitmore, secretary. Merrimack assembly, *Herald* office.
 New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Dry street.
 New Orleans, La.—John S. Watters, Maritime association.
 Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Behrman, secretary. Single tax league, 247 South Kate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor street.
 New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex. Hamilton, member. Tax reform association.
 New York, N. Y.—Manhattan single tax club, 50 Clinton place. On every evening.
 Norfolk, Va.—Edward C. Robertson, secretary. Alpha club, P. O. drawer 5.
 North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; S. B. Brown, 105 E. Main st.
 North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Boyleville street.
 Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
 Oberlin, O.—Edw. H. Haswell.
 Okla. City, Okla.—O. C. Jones, single tax association.
 Olympia, Wash.—J. C. Alexander, Fairbank, Adam street.
 Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embler, 322 Virginia avenue; Percy Peppoon, president. Single tax club, 1512 S. 5th street; C. F. Beckett, sec., 11 W. Cor. 27th and Howard streets.
 Ordway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member. Tax reform association.
 Oswego, N. Y.—Alex. Skillen, 160 West First street.
 Owego, N. Y.—M. J. Murray, 18 Main st.
 Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, 163 Washington place.
 Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Wells, chairman. Passaic county single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
 Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
 Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 38 Gooding street.
 Peabody, Ind.—J. C. Stickleton.
 Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
 Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm. J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street or A. H. Stephenson, 244 Chestnut street, secretary. Henry George club.
 Piermont, N. Y.—J. C. Jones, R. Hood, P. O. box 13.
 Pittsburgh, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 147 24th street.
 Portland, Ore.—S. B. Biggen, 48 State street; R. H. Thompson.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
 Providence, R. I.—Robert Griley, 32 Sutton street; Dr. Wm. Barker, pres.; Rhode Island single tax association.
 Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
 Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
 Reading, Pa.—Chas. S. Frazier, 1013 Penn. street; Charles Corkhill, 15 N. 6th street.
 Richmond, Va.—John C. Jones, 107 Church street; box 20.
 Richmond, Ind.—M. Ritchie, 913 South A. street; J. E. Duff, 136 South Third street.
 Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
 River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
 Rochester, N. Y.—M. J. Brown, 47 Morrill street.
 Roselle, N. J.—Hood Gordon.
 Rutland, Vt.—H. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
 San Diego, Cal.—A. Harvey, 159 16th street.
 San Francisco, Cal.—Junge James J. Maguire, Superior street.
 San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs. Frances M. Mline.
 Seattle, Wash. Ter.—Alexa. der Wall.
 Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm. H. Addison, P. O. box 55.
 Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Boxwell, librarian. Single tax club.
 Shenandoah, Va.—Merris Marsh, president. Single tax club; Thos. Potts, 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, secretary.
 Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schimpff, secretary. Tariff reform club.
 Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCune, secretary. Sangamon single tax club, 102 Black avenue.
 Springfield, Mo.—H. A. Jureman, 665 Nichols street.
 Springfield, Mass.—John F. Farr, 13 W. 1st block.
 St. Louis, Mo.—H. H. Hoffman, 415 N. 6th street, president. Single tax league; J. W. Steen, 2213 Eugenia street.
 Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
 Stoneham, Mass.—Dr. W. Symington Brown.
 Stratford, Ill.—George G. Gauntner.
 Syracuse, N. Y.—H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or J. C. Jones, 107 Church street; or James K. McGuire, secretary. Single tax club, 29 Greene street.
 Seaboard, Wash. Ter.—F. P. Morrow.
 Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 308 K st.
 Tampa, Fla.—S. J. Leamer, pres. T. G. Shearman S. T. Leamer, 414 W. Wendell, vice pres.; John H. McCune, sec.
 Toledo, O.—J. P. Travers, secretary. Single tax club, No. 1, 112 Summit street.
 Toronto, Ont.—S. T. Wood, 157 Venable st.
 Trenton, N. J.—H. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
 Troy, N. Y.—B. B. Marlin.
 Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert G. Young.
 Unionville, Conn.—John McCulliffe.
 Utica, N. Y.—Thos. Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel H. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Charlton.
 Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, P. and N. R. R. Co.
 Vincennes, Ind.—Hon. Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 4 Opera block.
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 14th street.
 Wakefield, R. I.—David Harpocret.
 Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Goldies, 1719 G street, N. W., secretary. single tax league.
 Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Bush.
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
 Wheeling, W. Va.—John C. Chitt, August, 75 East State street.
 Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
 Whitman, Mass.—C. P. Hollis, cigar store; Thos. Douglas, president. Single tax league.
 Woodstock, Ill.—A. V. Cumins.
 Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Price, Lake View.
 Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
 Youngstown, O.—Wm. K. Kaufmann, Rockville house.
 Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Laughlin, 71 Van Buren street.

THE STANDARD.

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There is a mystery about the execution of the law relative to the employment of children in theatrical performances. As we understand, the statute absolutely prohibits the employment in that way of any child under sixteen years of age; and its execution is remitted to the society for the prevention of cruelty to children, of which Elbridge T. Gerry is president. Every now and then we hear of Mr. Gerry's activity in enforcing the law, a recent case in point being that of Freddy Clark, who was employed by Hermann to lead his orchestra. And then, again, we learn that the law is infringed under the patronage of Mr. Gerry himself, a recent case in point being that of the child who, during the past winter, interested so many people in the character of Little Lord Fauntleroy. Have Mr. Gerry and his society been invested with legislative authority in cases of this kind?

To the boat of a fresh air excursion came this summer a poor woman, carrying in her arms a dying child. A physician, seeing the child, told the mother of its hopeless condition and advised her to carry it home again; but she begged so piteously to be allowed to take it upon the excursion that her request was granted. Soon the child revived and when the mother brought it back to her poor home, it had secured a new lease of life. Commenting on this incident, the Newark Advertiser wonders whether it was really a good thing for this babe of the slums that its life was saved, saying: "The prospects of the poor are not pleasing to either men or women. Supposing the child was a boy, we cannot resist the conclusion that youth will find him corrupted, young manhood a criminal, later years a convict. The very poor are becoming more numerous, their conditions and surroundings grow more and more loathsome; immorality, depravity and crime are the inevitable consequences. If it was a girl, her outlook upon approaching womanhood is even darker. She may go the natural course of abandonment and shame to an early death; or, scarcely less happy, she may struggle along through a virtuous but horrible existence, finding no reward for her purity, no response to her noble principles, no incentive to continue the difficult fight. In any case, our little pilgrim has probably started on a woful journey."

When the editor of the Philadelphia Telegraph saw this extract in its Newark contemporary it was shocked. It found the extraordinary utterance in the editorial columns of what it regards as the ablest and most influential public journal in New Jersey, a journal which "in all things pertaining to public affairs and social questions speaks for an intelligent, wealthy and Christian community;" and when such "a staid and conservative" journal "can use such remarkable language upon such a subject," the Telegraph declares, properly enough, that "it behooves thoughtful men to stop and

think." They might well have stopped and thought without waiting for a staid and conservative newspaper to say something extraordinary. But it is a good thing if they stop and think at all, and the Telegraph sets an example by itself stopping and thinking. Is this picture, "drawn with such heartlessness and in such cruel language," a true one? Are the poor becoming more numerous and their condition worse and worse? Are immorality and crime coming upon us as the inevitable consequences of this deplorable state of affairs? A corrupted youth, a criminal manhood, and later a convict—has this prediction for children of the slums a just basis? Can it be that a life of purity among these struggling people is a life of horror in its desolation and hopelessness? These are questions the Telegraph asks itself, and here is the way it answers them:—

It is a dark and terrible picture, but it is the very truth itself, and it is high time the people of this great country were squarely facing it. It presents a problem of momentous character, one fraught with consequences of infinite importance to society, the nation and mankind. We cannot, we must not, go on in this horrible way. There must be a halt. This question must be taken up and the grave duties growing out of it assumed with courage, intelligence and fidelity, by those who have it in their power to ameliorate the condition of these helpless people, and to prevent the demoralizing outflow that is now spreading itself throughout our great cities and over the land. We need no longer talk of the slums of the Old World, of the depths of poverty and suffering and helplessness to which humanity is subjected elsewhere. Right here in the very centers of our seething national life, this problem is presented in a manner that ought to arrest the attention of every thoughtful citizen.

"There must be a halt," says the Telegraph. Indeed there must. But does it suppose it is calling a halt when it points to magnificent charities for rescuing children of the slums, and calls for more? All the children of the slums need is to be let alone. Not manacled and let alone, but freed and let alone. What they require of the rich is not charities, but justice.

It is a custom among taxing officials everywhere to tax vacant land on a lower appraisalment than improved land of equal value. The difference is often very great. In the city of New York improved land is taxed on an appraisalment of from fifty to sixty per cent of its actual value, while vacant land is appraised at from forty per cent down. Auction sales have shown in some cases an actual value so high that the appraisalment for taxation was no more than about eighteen per cent. This custom is so general as to be recognized in every community in the United States.

Of course a custom so prevalent must have an explanation other than that of incapacity or dishonesty of taxing officials. There must be an appearance of righteousness about it, or it could not prevail so long and so generally. Ask any one who has not thought much upon the question, and an explanation will be given forthwith. Vacant land yields no income, and, therefore, it at first seems to be unjust to tax it as high as improved land which does yield an income. This is the first thought; but second thought shows that vacant land also yields an income, and it is a hopeful sign that newspapers, not identified with the single tax movement, are beginning to understand and to proclaim it.

One of these papers is the Bulletin of Mobile, Alabama, which notices that the owner of an humble cottage in the suburbs of Mobile is forced to pay taxes on a full valuation of his homestead, while the owners of many acres of valuable building land escape with a tax on less than thirty-three and one-third per cent of its real value. Explaining how this is accomplished, the Bulletin says that many building sites in the city are held by wealthy men who bought them years ago at a nominal price; and having done nothing to improve the sites, they claim that as the land yields them no income they should be taxed at a nominal valuation. But the Bulletin asserts that this land does bring in an income, "which would be very apparent if the present

owner should desire to sell." It then proceeds in the following fashion, which is tolerably sound single tax doctrine, though the Bulletin, like many other newspapers, is no doubt quite unconscious of its practical alliance with us:

Others have bought land surrounding these tracts and erected buildings thereon, thus improving the value of their own land, and at the same time rendering the unimproved land adjacent thereto more desirable for building purposes. Thus the land, for which was paid a small sum before its surroundings differed in feature, improvement or value therefrom, is now worth one, two, three, four, five and, in some instances, ten times its purchase price. Deducting from its present value the taxes and interest thereon, and the interest on the purchase money, and the property still bears a value largely in excess of its original cost, and this value is one toward the establishment of which the owner has done nothing. Therefore, this land has been an investment which has compounded an interest annually, and has held beyond the power of loss an income collectable at any time by the sale of the property. Such landed holding is not (as claimed) devoid of production, but is a regularly paying investment and should have its full valuation, or within ten to fifteen per cent thereof, on the tax list.

From Boston, by the way of the Home Journal, comes a repetition of that "the world owes every man, woman and child in it, however born, however endowed, a living." What the world really owes to every man, woman and child, is not a living, but the natural opportunity to make a living; and all that any but the physically helpless require is not a ready made living, but the enjoyment, unimpaired, of this natural right. If it were true that the world owes every one a living, Adam and Eve must have had an interesting time collecting their dues. If the world owes every one a living, what would happen if everybody stopped working and insisted upon the living the world owes him? It is easy to see that there would be no fund out of which the world could settle its indebtedness. But when we agree that what the world owes to every one is the right to make a living, we shall see that all the world has to do to keep clear of the books is to abolish whatever tends to prevent the enjoyment of that right.

The Rev. Washington Gladden asks in the last issue of the Forum, "Can our social ills be remedied?" He thinks they can be, but if the way he proposes is the only way, it is exceedingly doubtful if they ever will be, or if any real advance in the direction of a remedy will be made. He tells us that we must keep four ends in view: First, "the correction of whatever injustice may have crept into our laws and our methods of political and legal administration by which the strong are favored and the weak are burdened; second, the creation of powerful tribunals by which monopolies of all sorts may be restrained from encroaching upon industrial freedom; third, the reorganization of industry upon a participatory basis; and, fourth, the suppression of parasitism."

That the injustices which have crept into our laws must be corrected, all will agree; and few will doubt that the way of correcting them is to abolish the laws that make them possible. But what are the injustices, and by what laws are they made possible? That is the question about which there is dispute, and which Mr. Gladden and social philosophers of his class try to evade. There are many such injustices, but all have their root in the fundamental injustice involved in securing an absolute property title in some of the people, exclusive of all others, to the raw materials of the earth with which nature has equally endowed mankind. One of the effects of this injustice is to make the majority of men helpless to resist other encroachments; but it is an injustice which Mr. Gladden apparently has no idea of correcting by abolishing the laws that make it possible, or by any mode that would have the effect of neutralizing the unjust principle of those laws. He and his class of reformers are in search of a method correcting the unjust effects of those laws without doing away with their essential principle. It cannot be done.

Injustice cannot be corrected by perpetuating injustice.

The three other ends which Mr. Gladden tells us to keep in view show the absurdities into which men fall when they attempt to deal superficially with a radical problem. He would create "powerful tribunals by which monopolies of all sorts may be restrained from encroaching upon industrial freedom." Such tribunals might restrain the encroachments of monopolies. So might a dictator. But would they? Shall we ignore experience in dealing with social questions? A dictator would be preferable to a powerful tribunal, for a dictator might rise superior to the power of monopolies; but a powerful tribunal would only add its power to that of the monopolies it was organized to restrain. This plan of Mr. Gladden's is only a variation of the old idea of correcting the effects of some forms of encroachments on individual freedom by adding other forms. Freedom must be secured not by multiplying encroachments with the view of having one correct another, but by abolishing laws that permit encroachments.

Mr. Gladden would also reorganize industry upon a "participatory basis." Exactly what this means is not certain. Society is now organized on a participatory basis, but it is not satisfactory because some participate too much and others too little. Mr. Gladden surely does not intend that society should be organized on a basis that would allow participation irrespective of contribution. That would be no reform at all, for we already have such participation, and all that could be done would be to change the participants without changing the principle. Nor is it possible that he would make an equal division, for Mr. Gladden believes in the eighth commandment, and an equal division of products irrespective of merit in production would be as much a violation of that commandment as is the present system of unequal division irrespective of merit. The only participatory basis which would be just is one that secures to the worker what he produces, without deduction either for public use or private plunder, and the only way of establishing this basis is to abolish taxes on industry and place them where, by falling on common benefits, they will secure his product to the producer and to the public the value of common property. Mr. Gladden neither proposes this nor anything else. He only requires us to keep in view "a participatory basis" for the organization of society, without either pointing out the direction in which it lies, or telling us of the barriers that obstruct our progress and hide the object of our aim from view.

And as to the "suppression of parasitism," what is it and how is it to be suppressed? Is each individual parasite to be caught between the fingers and laid upon one thumb nail and cracked with the other? And are the conditions that attract and breed parasites to be retained, so as to make the catching and cracking of parasites an endless task? Or does he propose to suppress parasitism by removing that which attracts and breeds the parasites? If the latter, why does he not say so, and give some idea of how he proposes to do it? To put a plain question to a man who avoids making plain statements, does he suppose he can suppress industrial parasitism so long as the very material and opportunity for labor and source of life is treated by law as private property?

It is due to Mr. Gladden to say that he recognizes the "intellectual and moral change in the community" which his reforms involve and presuppose. Besides a "great increase of popular intelligence," it is required that there should be a "cultivation of the cardinal virtues of frugality and economy," on the part of the working people. If Mr. Gladden will go among the working people, he will find all the frugality he could expect. We should hardly call it a virtue, perhaps, for no practice can well be called a virtue when it is imposed by necessity; but it

is just as good a quality of frugality, from the standpoint of political economy, as any frugality to be had in the market. As for economy, working people do not practise it; but how can any one be expected to practice economy when he is compelled by his poverty to buy coal by the bucket and other necessities of life in like quantity? But even if working people were economical as well as frugal, that would not be enough. They must also cultivate a "spirit of sweet reasonableness." Mr. Gladden forgets that tired muscles, wearied brains, and empty stomachs, make poor soil for the cultivation of a "spirit of sweet reasonableness," or sour reasonableness either. It might be thought, because he recommends the cultivation of "sweet reasonableness" on the part of the working people, that Mr. Gladden, like so many writers of his class, has no criticism for any but working people. Not so. The capitalistic and employing classes are required to develop in their minds "a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their fellow men, and especially of those who are their partners in industry." Why should this class in particular have a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their fellow men? Ought not every one to cultivate that sense? Are the capitalistic and employing classes specially selected and endowed by the Creator as guardians of their fellow men?

Among the letters sent out by the United question club of Boston was one to John M. Woods, of the firm of John M. Woods & Co., Boston, dealers in hard woods, inquiring what good purpose is served by the heavy taxes on timber, planks, boards, laths, shingles, and clapboards, imported from Canada. In the course of his reply Mr. Woods says: "I utterly fail to see how a protective duty on lumber benefits American labor unless it is a benefit to pay high rent, and higher for everything that is made of lumber, but I can see that it benefits the men who own the lands or buy the standing timber." This presents the whole tariff question in its relation to labor and land, for it is not respecting timber alone that a tariff results in higher prices for the product and larger profits for the owner of the land from which it is produced; this holds good with all kinds of products. A tariff on anything that labor produces increases the price of the foreign product and tends to increase that of the domestic product. When it does not actually increase the price of the domestic product it fails of its purpose as a protective tariff, and when it does actually increase the price of the domestic product the difference goes, not to the workmen who produce, but to the owner of the land who sells them their opportunity to produce. In brief, a protective tariff increases rent at the expense of consumers; and, going a step further than Mr. Woods does, we may add, that by discouraging consumption it tends to diminish opportunities for work and thereby lowers wages.

Isaac Hoffer, ex-mayor of Lebanon, Pa., has an article in the Daily News of that town, in which he undertakes to argue against the single tax. His article offers the stereotyped objections that have been often answered to the satisfaction of the candid and the silencing of the disputations, and Mr. Halbach, a single tax man of Lebanon who is discussing the question in the News with Mr. Hoffer, pretty effectually disposes of his objections.

As an illustration of the superficial character of Mr. Hoffer's arguments it is sufficient to cite his contention that if land values were taxed landlords would increase rents and thus shift the tax to the user. All plausibility has been hammered out of this argument, and until those who advance it are prepared to show why landlords do not increase rents without waiting to be taxed, single tax men will not be worried by it. And yet it is an argument of no little force with men who have neither thought much of the subject nor heard any reply to it. Its plausibility is due to a confusion of land with things produced by labor under competitive conditions. It is well known that a tax on products of industry is, as a

rule, shifted from the producer on whom it first falls, to the consumer, in an increase of price. The reason of this is that a tax on products, by discouraging production, tends to diminish supply and thereby to increase value; and people who know this are apt, without stopping to think of the reason, to assume that it is a general principle that taxes increase prices, no matter on what kind of property they are imposed. But the true principle is that when a tax is imposed on something which cannot be reproduced, the owner pays it; while a tax imposed on something that is in regular course of reproduction and barter, is paid by the ultimate buyer. In the former case, the ownership of the article is a monopoly, and the owner gets all that any one will pay, irrespective of whether it is taxed or not. But in the other case, the owner gets what it costs to reproduce a like article; hence if the article be taxed he adds the tax to the price, because the tax would necessarily constitute part of the cost of reproduction. Now, land is one of the things no one can reproduce, consequently the value of land is the same whether taxed or not, and when taxed the tax is of necessity paid by the owner.

Not only is it true that a tax on land values cannot be shifted from the owner to the user in increased price or rent, but it is also true that such a tax reduces the value of land. A tax on products increases their value because it tends to diminish supply. A tax on land decreases its value because it tends to increase the supply. The same law of supply and demand operates in each case in the same way, but with an opposite effect.

Of course a tax on land does not literally increase the supply; but it does what amounts to the same thing, it increases the market supply. Great quantities of land are held out of use, and other great quantities are not put to their best use. A low tax on land permits and encourages this and a high tax discourages it. If land were not taxed at all, any one who owned it could keep it out of use without expense; a moderate tax makes it expensive to keep it out of use, and a tax to the full value of the land makes it unprofitable. Consequently the higher a land value tax is the greater will be the market supply of land and the lower its price.

The reason given by political economists is briefly this: The value of land depends on what is called the margin of cultivation. From zero at the margin it increases according to the productiveness of the particular land to which it attaches. The compensation of labor is practically uniform for the same effort and skill, whether it be applied to land at the margin or above: the difference in productiveness is reflected in rent and not in wages. If now a tax be imposed on land values it must be paid by land lying above the margin of cultivation, for land at the margin and below has no value. If this tax were shifted to the users of the land, wages on land above the margin would be lower than wages on land at the margin, where there was no tax. But under the law of rent this is impossible, and wages remaining as high above as at the margin the tax is a deduction from rent.

At Benton Station, St. Louis.

BENTON STATION, St. Louis, Aug. 27.—The Benton school of social science, of which Pa Chase is the leading spirit, held a public meeting last Saturday night in the Benton amusement hall. Mr. John Dutro occupied the chair and Mr. John Z. White addressed the audience of between 200 and 300 for about one hour and a half. He made a statement of the object of the single tax movement and the manner in which it is proposed to bring it about. The speech was remarkably clear and logical throughout. After the address questions were put to the speaker whose replies seemed to give entire satisfaction. Such meetings as this give us great encouragement. We are not a very large band of workers, but we are doing what we can—more than any of us thought we could do when we started. Our hands are strengthened, our faith increased and our determination more fixed by the success that has followed us.

J. N. SYMONS.

Liberty's Invocation.

To the rescue—oh, my children!
The rescue of the land,
And round my glowing banner
Swear ye to take your stand.
Swear, swear, swear!

Swear, that ye no more will keep,
Nightly vigils long and deep,
Toiling on while others sleep,
While your children round you weep
In vain for food your toil should bring;
Oh! swear that ye not thus will toil,
Through day and night in thriftless toil,
Until both health and strength take wing:
In this vain attempt to live
A life that were not worth a groat,
Were it not that life doth give
Some loves that round our hearts will float;
Then by these loves, rise up and swear
That ye no longer will endure
Such wrongs; rise, claim your legal share
Of earth—which these deep wrongs shall cure.

Your birthright, Earth, oh swear that ye
Rest not, till it and ye are free!
Swear, oh swear!

Swear! while yet your babes are sleeping;
Swear! while yet your wives are weeping;
Swear while famine's o'er ye creeping;
While Death a savage feast is keeping;
And Ruin's ruthless plowshare's sweeping
Over the land!

Swear, that ye no more will ask
To toil and starve while others bask,
In your distress;
That faces calm no more shall mask
Hearts where grief hath learnt its task;
So well that more it cannot know:

Oh, say that this no more shall be
But round the banner of the free—
You, with your wives and children be
Gathered to swear!
By all thy hopes of earth and heaven,
By all that's righteous to the given,
By all that's sacred from the riven—
By all that's wretched o'er thee driven—
Swear, oh swear!

By thy short lived hours of gladness—
By thy long hours of heart sadness—
And by misery-working madness,
Swear, swear, swear,
That no longer ye'll be slaves,
Ridden rough-shod o'er by knaves.
That scheming craft and cunning guile
Shall not longer from you wrest
Your labor's gains, and mock the while
Your toils, your trials, and unrest.
But that henceforth ye'll be free,
As the sons of earth should be!
Up! lie not thus supine, but rise!
Let your loud heart wail, rend the skies.
Shout, till the cry throughout the land
Is echoed, heard from strand to strand.
Go, send it forth on every gale
That sweeps o'er mountain and thro' vale,
To rouse the weak who faint and fail.

Remember how thy fathers fell,
Thy martyred Heroes—who shall tell
But that their spirits hear the vow
That Freedom's children utter now!
Remember all that hath been done
Since Right's great battle first begun;
And how much yet is to be won.
Go, hug your wrongs unto your heart,
Nor let their memories thence depart.
Go, hush not voice, nor rest not pen,
If ye be worth the name of men,
Till round your hearth fires ye can tell
How right hath fought—how wrong hath fell!
Till from the watch-towers of the world
The sun-kissed banner floats unfurled,
Of Peace and Justice, which shall give
To each and all the right to live;
To every soul who treads the soil
The time to rest, as well as toil.

SUSANNA MACGREGOR.

Jersey City.

PERSONAL.

Thomas Williamson, hitherto of Lynchburg, Va., has been called to fill the post of principal of Newbern academy, Newbern, Va.

At the democratic county convention, held at Zanesville, Ohio, last week, T. J. McDermot, Dr. R. A. Bonnetfield, John O'Neil, B. V. H. Schultz and Charles A. Potwin, all single tax men, sat as delegates. The resolution against the protective tariff, and one in favor of ballot reform show evidences of their work.

Joseph M. Hazzard, of the American press association, is now a resident of New York city. As a result Brooklyn loses a good single tax man and citizen.

Anna Dickinson announces that she will soon return to public life. She intends lecturing.

Professor David B. Todd, Amherst college, is in Washington, making the final preparations for his expedition to Africa to observe the total eclipse of the sun on December 22.

Mr. Prizer of Reading Pa., a single tax man has called upon several of the St. Louis single tax men while on a short visit there. The St. Louis friends hope to see all visiting single taxers.

Henry George King is the new baby of Charles R. King of the Lakeside Press.

An item in the Chicago Globe says that Father Huntington, who is now among the striking coal miners, has doffed his clerical garments and gone down into the mines, with pick and shovel, in order to better study their condition, and to talk with them familiarly about the injustice of present con-

ditions and of the remedy offered in the application of the single tax. The Chicago single tax club will give him a reception on his return.

John C. Fremont is seventy-eight years old.

J. L. Caldwell of Mart, Texas, has a letter in the Waco Stock and Farm News, in which he shows that the single tax would be a benefit to such landlords as have improvements on their lands, especially those whose improvements are more valuable than the land, because the improvements would be exempt from taxation.

W. E. Brokaw of Bristol, one of the energetic men of the single tax movement in South Dakota, tells Dakotans, through the columns of the Grant County Review, what real, genuine, true free trade is. He also has a three-column article in the Boulder, Montana, Age in criticism of an article in June Chautauquan, by Mrs. Fields, entitled "The Aged Poor."

J. W. Bengough, artist and editor of the Puck of Canada, the Toronto Grip, and to whom THE STANDARD is indebted for the series of spirited cartoons which are appearing on the last page of this paper, has started on a lecturing trip to British Columbia. Mr. Bengough is no less successful at lecturing than at drawing pictures for his paper, and has won for himself a well deserved reputation for his keen observation and sparkling wit. His style is free, natural and graceful. He sets up a blackboard on the platform and punctuates his discourse with such sketches as can only come into the head of a humorist. With all this Mr. Bengough is a thorough going, out and out free trader and single tax man. He would be a capital man to keep in mind when a first rate entertainment or light lecture is to be given under the auspices of any of the single tax organizations.

The Detroit Evening News celebrated its sixteenth birthday on August 23.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Not long ago Mrs. Eugene Clark of West Twenty-eighth street, gave a canine party that will serve as a model for some months to come. The host, a most sagacious little animal, born in the Japanese empire, was assisted in receiving his canine friends by an elder cousin, also from the orient. One dog lay in a black walnut bedstead, dressed in a white lace counterpane spread over rose colored satin, and the honored dog stood at the entrance of a real glass house lined with blue silk cushions. Each guest on arriving entered the drawing room carrying his birthday present, which he laid before the delighted host, who in turn made himself agreeable by saluting the donor and removing the gifts to a corner reserved for that purpose. What were the tributes? Everything that the heart of a well bred dog could desire—but juicy bones. There were collars in leather, silver and worsted work, hung with little silver bells and bright ribbons; bridles of steel, bronze and sterling silver; blankets embroidered in Kensington patterns; shell combs and ivory brushes, imported soaps, porcelain bath tubs, bells by the dozen, drinking bowls of decorated china, feeding pans of German plate, games, with rats attached; fancy pillows, sleeping and traveling baskets lined with quilted silk, and last of all, bouquets of tea roses, which the honored Kioto devoured on the spot. After the reception the dogs were taken to the dining room, seated about the table on stools and regaled on bread and milk. For dessert there were soft cream candies, ice cream and cake. The favors were taken from a game and consisted of Japanese balls wrapped in paper napkins.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 26.—A special from Moberly to the Journal says: Four tramps arrested here for vagrancy were put up at public auction to-day from the court house steps. The sale had been duly advertised according to law, and there was a large crowd present. The bidding was not very spirited. Two of the tramps went to farmers for \$2 a head, and another was bid for 75 cents. The fourth tramp could find no purchaser, and he was returned to jail. The three who were sold must serve their purchasers for four months.

The ball given by Mr. and Mrs. George Peabody Wetmore at Chateau-Sur-Mer, Newport, in honor of their debutante daughter, on Tuesday night ranks as one of the most superb entertainments of the season. Mr. Wetmore's house, as well as his estate, is one of the most extensive in Newport and sufficiently large for the entertainment of many guests. Nothing was forgotten for the ball of Tuesday night. The house itself did not require decorating with its wealth of fine tapestries, carvings, and the Spanish dining room, so all decorations were put on the exterior and the piazzas were made to look as if they were but a continuation of the splendidly furnished suites. These were hung with tapestries and rich brocades and lighted with Japanese lanterns, giving abundant room for the promenade and for those who chose to seek retired nooks to hide themselves in groups of tropical plants and palms. The improvised supper room which seated 300 guests at the same time, opened from the piazzas. The ball room, a beautiful room in white and gold, was ample for the cotillon of fifty couples. Mrs. Wetmore looked as youthful as her daughter. She wore a gown of white brocade and many diamonds. Miss Wetmore wore a flowered silk draped with white gauze.

Mrs. Bridget M. Guirk, residing at 4201 Easton avenue, is reported to be in extremely destitute circumstances. Her husband left her six weeks ago without money. She has five children to support, two boys and three girls, the oldest being eleven years old. (St. Louis Republic, August 25.)

PROTECTION IN FRANCE.

France has suffered much in recent years from commercial depression, and has chosen protection as a remedy. The high tariff established eight years ago was not merely for the purposes of revenue; it did not pretend to be reciprocal; it was purely and simply undisguised protection. It was consistent protection, too, for food and luxuries, raw material and manufactures were alike taxed. France, therefore, of all countries of Europe, affords the best illustration of the working of this system. We shall see what benefits the country has derived from its adoption.

Up to 1860 France was under a strictly protectionist regime, which it had inherited from Colbert. For some years before this time the principles of the Anti-corn law league had been taking root in France. The society of political economy was founded, and a galaxy of brilliant economists—Bastiat, Chevalier Leon Gaucher, Courcelle-Seneuil, Molinari and others—actively propagated free trade ideas. The triumph of free trade in England helped forward the movement. The emperor had been a partisan of protection, but it is said that Cobden had talked him over, and in 1860 a commercial treaty, commonly called Cobden's treaty, was entered into between France and England, and proved equally advantageous to both countries. France about the same time remodeled its tariff all round, and entered on a new commercial policy in the direction of free trade. The reform had excellent results. The foreign trade of France, which in 1860 was 4,174 million francs, rose to 8,425 millions in 1880—having more than doubled in twenty years. The reform ended only in not going further toward free trade. Duties were still levied for other than merely fiscal purposes, and manufactured articles had to pay a duty of from twenty to thirty per cent. Protectionism, which had remained quiescent for some years, broke out in 1867. An agitation was then commenced against the low tariff system in force. A committee was appointed by the corps legislatif in 1869 to inquire into the working of the treaties of commerce, but the war put an end to the investigation. Thiers next appeared as the champion of protection, and laid a complete scheme for taxing all raw materials and manufactures imported into the country before the national assembly in 1872. Owing principally to the opposition of England and Belgium, and to the fact that France was hampered with its treaties of commerce, nothing was done, and Thiers's grand scheme disappeared when he fell in 1873. Protectionists, however, soon began to be aggressive again. The peasantry began to complain. Phylloxera had ravaged the vineyards, bad harvests had depressed agriculture, and heavy taxation afflicted the commercial classes. A cry for protection was raised throughout the country. Old fallacies and well worn sophisms long since exploded were resuscitated. Protectionist leaders stumped the country, denouncing free trade and treaties of commerce. They noted with alarm that the imports of the country exceeded the exports, and declared that it was an unmistakable sign of commercial decadence. They appealed to parliament to remedy this deplorable condition of things. The agricultural population plainly told the government: "You have protected manufactures but left agriculture at the mercy of the foreigner; you inscribe equality on your walls but deny it to us; you have attracted capitalists and workers to the towns at the expense of the country, and unless you give us protection we will turn you out." As an election was coming on, this threat had a salutary effect on deputies, and the bad harvest of 1879 favored the demand for protective legislation.

When the subject came before the chamber of deputies in 1880, M. Keller demanded protection for the farmers, on the ground that "if you do nothing for agriculture, agriculture will do nothing for you;" and another member tried hard to prove that the inevitable effect of a duty on cattle was to lower the price of meat. During the debate the usual high sounding phrases were uttered about the "inundation of foreign produce," and stereotyped arguments about the "protection of national industries" reeled off by the yard. Pathetic speeches were made on behalf of that noble animal the national sheep, which was—so it was argued—doomed to extinction unless protected by a duty of twenty francs. At this time

there were still a moderate number of deputies found ready to combat these fallacies; and though they failed to defeat, they succeeded in lessening the protectionist demands. The new tariff passed both houses and became law in 1881.

The new treaties of commerce and the new conventional tariffs came into operation in May, 1872. Heavy duties were levied on articles of food and on raw material. Oxen had to pay 12s. a head, sheep 1s. 6d. a head, codfish 19s. 6d. per cwt., salted meat or ham (except American ham, which was prohibited), 1s. 10d. per cwt., and eggs 8s. per 100 kilogrammes. Coal had to bear a burden of 113d. per cwt.; raw petroleum 9s. 4d.; refined petroleum (largely used in France by poor people for light) 12s. 2d. The duty was raised 20, 40, 80, 150, and up to 300 per cent on cotton stuffs, yarns, drapery, wool and woolen goods. Coffee, tea, cocoa, and five hundred other articles were taxed. When raw material was raised to the standard of a luxury it is unnecessary to show how manufactured articles suffered. The duties were of such a character as to hasten the protectionist millennium which seems to consist in a country having the greatest possible amount of exports with a minimum of imports. A doctrine, which finds great favor among French protectionists, and which is founded on the assumption that a country can sell without buying, or that other countries make it a present of their exports—two interesting phenomena which have never yet arisen in the commercial affairs of nations.

The protective duties did not allay discontent, did not foster agriculture or develop native industries, did not improve trade—did not in fact protect. Protection was beginning to make itself felt in a very emphatic manner. Imports reduced by nearly 800,000,000 francs in two years must have cheered the heart of the protectionist, especially as it was accompanied by the gratifying fact that there was a tendency toward the coveted equilibrium of exports and imports.

Imports diminished, but exports fell quite as much, which was something the protectionists had not bargained for. There was a notable falling off in the importation of manufactures, but this was accompanied with diminished exports, which, when we consider that more material was sent abroad in 1884 than in the previous year, was a double loss to the country. Considering the determined attempt made to cripple commerce, the result was not so bad as might have been expected. The protectionists, however, were not quite satisfied with the outcome of their handiwork. Bad seasons and general depression may have in some measure affected trade, but then these are some of the contingencies which protection is supposed to cope with. But the main cause of the comparative failure of the new regime, was, we were told, that parliament had been too niggardly with its protection. The protectionists had clearly foreseen the disastrous effects which would follow any half-and-half, milk-and-water sort of measures. Had the duties only been twice as high—as the wisacres of the party had suggested—the country would have been in a much more prosperous condition. It was clear, therefore, that more protection was required, and it was equally certain that more protection would have to be given. Reaction again set in. The protectionist campaign—led off by the agricultural party—became fiercer than ever. County councils and agricultural societies passed resolutions demanding very high duties for all imported agricultural produce. Many free traders wavered before the tide of national indignation which was sweeping over the country. Treaties of commerce were roundly denounced on the ground that France should not cramp her commerce and sacrifice her own interests by any such international obligations. The government was attacked, and ministers quaked before the frantic appeals and tornadoes of abuse which rose on all sides. In order to remove charges of apathy made against them, M. Meline, then minister of agriculture, created a new order, the *merite agricole*—a ridiculous decoration which is not known to have materially bettered the farmer's condition. The conseil general of the Seine, which is analogous to the London county council, became alarmed at the condition of affairs and appointed a commission to consider the question. In its report the commission advised higher duties, and declared that no more treaties of commerce should be entered into, and that existing treaties

should be got rid of as soon as possible. But for M. Yves Guyot, the eminent economist and free trader, who was then a member of the council, this absurd report would have been adopted. As the general election was coming on, the monarchists and Bonapartists seized upon protection as a weapon against the republicans. The republicans took fright and promised as much protection as their opponents.

The new tariff came into force on March 28, 1885. The duty on wheat was raised to 3 frs. per quintal or 5s. 3d. per quarter if of European origin or imported directly from the country of production, otherwise the duty was 6 frs. 60 cent. Flour was admitted on similar conditions, the duties being 6 frs. and 9 frs. 60 cent, respectively. Oats, barley and rye paid a franc and a half per 100 kilogrammes, or 8 frs. if imported indirectly. Maize was haphly exempted, and became more largely used as an article of consumption in place of wheat. All live stock were burdened with a surtax. Oxen were put at 25 frs., or a pound per head, cows at 12 frs., sheep at 3 frs., swine at 6 frs., and salt meat at 8½ frs. per 100 kilogrammes. This was another blow at French trade, which shrunk further under these exorbitant and prohibitive charges.

The surtax on wheat and other cereals produced the inevitable result. France had been importing cereals in diminishing quantities for years, and of course exporting less every year. In 1887 she sent abroad cereals valued at 190,000,000 francs, but by 1886 they had fallen as low as 30,000,000 pounds. The decreasing imports seemed to have reached a minimum in 1885, they began to rise in 1886 and 1887. No substitute could be found for the necessities of life, although maize to some extent took the place of wheat; and while the national consumption remained the same or augmented, the national protected production diminished. The same phenomenon is seen with regard to live stock. The imports of cattle and sheep fell from 238,000,000 in 1878 to 132,000,000 in 1886; the exports from 36,000,000 in 1877 to 23,000,000 in 1886. Owing to the bad wine harvest there was a large increase in the importations of Spanish and Italian wines. The increased export of sugar, which rose from 35,000,000 in 1885 to 65,000,000 in 1886, again rose in 1887. Under the insidious and mischievous bounty system the more exports of this article the worse it is for France. A more short-sighted and disastrous system could not be invented. It means that the French people are fined in order to fill the pockets of a few sugar manufacturers and give the English a supply of cheap sugar. A double fine is in fact inflicted on them, for while the English get the good sugar they get the bad, and pay more than double the price that the English do. A hard and fast rate of yield of six per cent of sugar to 100 kilos of beet root had been established, but the manufacturers were easily able to produce large quantities above this rate, and this surplus was favored with an export drawback. The country thus not only lost in this sugar being exempted from dues, but the taxpayer had to pay a bounty on an article which had not paid excise. The loss to the state from unpaid excise and from the bounties is estimated at more than one hundred and fifty millions a year.

One would have thought that by this time protection would have killed itself. But no. The terrible delusion continued to spread. Struggling under the system which their own folly had established, they still cried for more protection, to further handicap themselves in the markets of the world. Ever ready to respond to the national impulse in order to keep in office, the government pursued the suicidal course. Treaties of commerce limited the scope of their mischievous designs, but they again pounced on articles of food. The duty on wheat was raised in 1887 to 5 francs per quintal, or 8s. 9d. per quarter, and appropriately put in force on April 1. Corresponding measures were taken against foreign beet root, and the basis of the revenue raised from indigenous sugar remodeled—as the protectionist M. Waddington puts it—"to considerably favor the producer," which means that the interests of 39,000,000 people are made subservient to the selfish interest of a few score of sugar makers.

These figures speak for themselves. Every succeeding year demonstrates more forcibly the suicidal policy which France is pursuing in commercial affairs. Last year the amount of raw material imported was less than it had been in any year since the ascendancy of protec-

tion. The principal commodities which entered in decreased quantities were wool, cotton, coal, hides and skins, jute, silk, lead, zinc, and hemp. The loss to industry which this involved was accentuated, as the production of indigenous material did not take its place, and as the export trade only decreased by five millions. Exports of wool and skins which France was unable to turn into finished articles valued eleven millions each. In the import trade of articles for human consumption protection again defeated the object of its partisans. The increase was precisely in those articles which the new duties were intended to exclude by fostering native production. Wheat imported to the value of 289 millions in 1887 rose to 366 millions in 1888. Barley rose by 19 per cent, and oats by 77 per cent. The national tribute to the sugar manufacturers seems at last to have been overdone. The exportation of unrefined sugar rose 13 millions, while the exportation of the refined article fell 14 millions. It is unnecessary to emphasize the consequence which all this had in checking production and strangling commercial enterprise. The new duty left the farmer worse than before, struggling harder and complaining more than ever of low prices and little profits. But the consumers were the greatest sufferers. Mr. Crowe, in a report to the English foreign office, notes that in Paris the duty of 1885 raised the price of bread from 3d. per kilogramme to 3½d., and that the duty of 1887 sent it up another halfpenny; but some of the consuls report that there was no increase, or only a slight increase, in the price of bread in other districts. This apparent inconsistency was caused by the fact that in free trade countries the price of wheat had fallen 11s. per quarter.

The protection given to agriculture does not stop at the imposition of duties. It also receives large subsidies from the state. The state subsidizes stud farms, cattle shows, and establishes commercial museums. There is likewise a magnificent system of agricultural education in all its grades. The National Agronomic Institute at Paris heads the system. There are three provincial colleges, twenty-three practical schools, and as many farm schools, about thirty agronomic stations, eighty per patetic professors, numerous *champs d'experience* and *champs de demonstration*; special schools for arboriculture, vine culture, drainage and irrigation, model dairy and sheep farms, and various other agencies for the furtherance of agriculture.

All this system which was only organized eight years ago is being perfected every year, and is intended to convert the French farmers into skillful and scientific agriculturists. The average French peasant farmer moves in the rut of sluggish routine. He clings to antiquated methods of cultivation, and has a horror of innovations. He is reluctant to employ labor-saving appliances, and disdains the use of chemical manures. Though the modern plough was invented by a Frenchman, ploughs of a very primitive type—which might have been fashionable in the time of Charlemagne, but would now be at home in a museum of antiquities—are still used in France. It is not surprising then that the yield of wheat per acre in France is just about half what it is in England. But the French farmer is advancing and shows signs of coming into the line of agricultural progress. By improved methods of farming which would raise the yield per acre, France could easily be rendered independent of foreign countries for her wheat supply.

In reckoning the protectionist forces at work in France, the octroi must not be forgotten. This duty levied on all articles as they enter a town greatly interferes with the interchange of commodities between towns, burdens trade and industry all round, and presses very heavily on the poor. It is a relic of the *ancien regime* which has withstood the changes and revolutions of a century. It is now being attacked in the chamber of deputies by M. Yves Guyot, who proposes to give the town council the option of extracting this odious indirect tax, and substituting some other method of taxation.

With the deplorable result of their eight years' work envisaged before them one would have thought that the protectionists would begin to lose hope in their specious palliative. But they still refuse to recognize the facts, and still cling to their cherished superstition. The country is hopelessly and helplessly inoculated with the virus of protection, and there is no prospect at present that the disease will be eradicated. The protectionists still propose to redress lesser wrongs by creating greater ones—to again attempt to satisfy the insatiable maw of the producer by giving him more protection.

ROBERT DONALD.

"AN INFAMOUS CONSPIRACY."

MR. PENTECOST DEFINES HIS POSITION.

Address Before Unity Congregation August 25.

From the Twentieth Century.

A truth when once discovered is very simple. It is easy to understand. We may not know why it is so, but it will be easy to perceive that it is so.

Every effect must have a cause. We do not know why that is so, but the moment it is pointed out to us we see that it is so. It does not require education, or a trained mind, or very much intelligence to comprehend the fact that every effect must have a cause.

Two and two make four. Why? We do not know. But just as soon as we know what two means and what four means we know that two and two make four.

The apple falls to the ground. It was a long time before anyone thought about it particularly, but by and by a great thinker said: "Why, see! The apple always falls to the ground, when not suspended by force. Two apples on opposite sides of the earth will fall toward each other. One will fall up and the other down, so to speak. That is, both will fall toward the center of the earth." And so, the great thinker said, there must be a force that draws everything toward a common center. It was no sooner said than everybody saw it was true.

Truth is simple. When you really discover it no elaborate explanations are necessary to make people understand it. All you have to do is to state it clearly and people will see it at once.

All men should be equal as to rights and opportunities. Everyone can see that just as soon as it is stated. It would be hard to make anyone believe that a king, a nobleman or a millionaire should be possessed of natural rights or opportunities which a peasant or a beggar should not share. You may argue the thing out, but it is not necessary. Truth does not need to be argued. It only needs to be stated.

The old abolitionists were not reasoners. They simply went up and down the country declaring that slavery was wrong and denouncing the church and state for upholding it. Just as soon as it was clearly stated everybody saw that slavery was wrong. Greed and avarice maintained the wicked institution long after it was known to be wrong. But it was doomed just as soon as men were found who would go in and out among the people and declare its iniquity.

Now, what society stands in need of today is the announcement of some truth so simply and clearly that all people will at once see it. Nobody denies that society, at present, is organized unjustly. Every one can see that some riches are unfairly come by, and that some poverty is undeserved. We have gone so far in the discussion of the social problem that every one knows there is at least one screw loose somewhere.

What we are waiting for now is for some one to arise and point out clearly just what the trouble is and just how to remedy it. We want some one who will say in a few words what must be done to redeem this world from the curse of involuntary poverty, which is much worse than the curse of chattel slavery, because the chattel slave was never in want, but the poor man is always in slavery.

There are many social agitators; but no one with a voice loud enough to be heard has yet spoken the simple word of truth that is destined to push civilization forward one more mile towards freedom.

A hundred years ago some one said: "No taxation without representation." Nobody wrote a book about it. That one pregnant sentence was enough. Everybody saw what it meant. That one sentence rent the English monarchy asunder and the United States were formed from one of the fragments of the broken empire.

Fifty years ago Garrison said: "I demand the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery." That one sentence cost this nation a million lives in battle, but it freed the slaves from chattel bondage.

We are waiting to-day for the pregnant sentence that will change our industrial slaves into freemen, that will break up the power of the capitalist to keep the laborer in a hellish thralldom. It must be a sentence that will contain some liv-

ing truth that all men will soon understand without argument. It must be what we call a self-evident truth. I believe I can formulate such a sentence. Here it is:

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF THE OWNERSHIP OF VACANT LAND.

I believe that anyone can see at a glance the justice of that demand. It is based upon a self-evident truth. Everybody knows that land is just as essential to human life as air and water. We are land animals. We must have land as a fish must have water. Take a fish out of water and it dies. Prevent men from going freely to the land and they starve. Why are the laborers so completely in the hands of the capitalists to-day? Simply because they cannot go to the land and supply their wants. I will not insult your intelligence by arguing such a proposition. You will see its truthfulness as soon as it is stated.

Again, Everybody knows that every user of land is fairly entitled to the land he is using. Are you a farmer? Your corn fields, your meadow lands, your pasturage, your vegetable garden, your door yard, your house lot and your barn lot are yours, because you are using them. No one has a right to disturb you in the full possession of all these bits of land as long as you are using them. Have you a factory, or a dwelling house? Are you making use of land to raise food, procure minerals, or place houses, or build ships? In that case the land is yours because you are using it, and should be yours as long as you use it.

I will not try to prove what I say. You know that it is true as soon as I state it.

Again, Everybody knows that a man has no right to vacant land. At least everybody will know it just as soon as the case is plainly stated. Vacant land should belong to no one. It should be free for the use of any one. Land is here for human beings to use. It is not here to be fenced in and kept from use. The mere fact that you paid money for a piece of vacant land does not make it right for you to own it any more than it made it right for a white man to own a black man because he bought him with money.

The cases are exactly parallel. If you own a slave you can rob him of the fruits of his labor. If you keep land vacant you rob the person to whom you ultimately sell it, because you make him pay you for the privilege of living on this earth, which is just as much his as yours; and you become one of the conspirators who force the laboring people into dependence upon the capitalists, by depriving them of their right to live by their own labor.

Now, look you. Anybody can see that no man has a right to own vacant land. Land is something which should not be owned. It should be *used* but not *owned*. It should be possessed by those who use it as long as they use it. But vacant land should be free.

You did not make your vacant land; therefore, it is not yours. You have a title to it, I admit. But all land titles are based on force or fraud. Your title is not good against the claims of humanity.

But the self-evident reason why you should not withhold land from use is that it is the ownership of vacant land that keeps our factories and mines full of slowly starving slaves and our tenement houses full of degraded women and dying children.

Don't you see that if vacant land were free men would be free? If you do not, it is simply because you have not thought about it.

If you own a piece of vacant land you are one of the people who help to keep this world poor. Every time a man starves to death you help to kill him. Those Braidwood miners whose families are actually starving to death—who is it that is starving them? The owners of vacant land. And if you are one of these you are helping to starve them.

Do you ever see a woman going about the streets, pawing over the contents of an ash barrel, picking out bits of dirty and rotten food? She hardly resembles a human being, she looks so low and degraded. Well, the owners of vacant land produce such women.

Do you read in the papers of the children who die like flies in tenement houses? Well, the owners of vacant land kill those children.

The owners of vacant land are the enemies of the human race to-day. They produce the robber millionaires and the tramps. They own the consciences of

our politicians and priests. Upon the ownership of vacant land is built every social iniquity. And if you own vacant land you are a part of the conspiracy; you belong to the brotherhood of legal thieves and murderers.

Now, mark you. I will not pay you the poor compliment of trying to convince you of all this, by argument. It is self-evident. You can see it without argument. Therefore, I repeat:

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF THE OWNERSHIP OF VACANT LAND.

Do you ask me how it is to be brought about? The answer is a simple one.

First, If you own vacant land you must do one of two things with it. You must either use it yourself by raising food from it, digging minerals out of it, building a house upon it, or in some other way; or else you must allow the first man who wants to use it to do so, without price or hire. And,

Second, You must then begin to teach everybody you come in contact with the horrible iniquity of owning vacant land.

When it becomes clear to you that something is wrong, it is your first duty, nay, it is a *moral necessity*, that you do not that thing. Unless you practice what you preach people will not believe that you mean what you say.

In the old slavery days an abolitionist would have been justly despised if he had been a slave owner or a slave trader.

What influence would a prohibitionist have now if he owned a brewery, a distillery or a saloon?

So too, if you believe that the ownership of vacant land is "the keystone of the arch of social iniquity," as thousands of persons now do, how can you own or trade in vacant land? Such inconsistency between precept and practice would make you the laughing stock of the world.

The ownership of vacant land is justified by men who believe it to be essentially wrong, by saying that as long as it is legally right, as long as this system lasts, it is legitimate to practice it.

A heavy land speculator, a large owner of vacant land, said to me a short time ago that he was giving his time and money to break up the land monopoly by means of the single tax, but he proposes to take advantage of the present system as long as it lasts, and make all the money out of it he can.

And that doctrine is very popular in certain quarters. But the men who practice it will never be of any use in the great effort that is now going on for the abolition of the ownership of vacant land.

Fancy a company of slave catchers, slave owners and slave traders preaching abolition! Fancy a company of liquor makers and dealers preaching prohibition! Fancy a company of vacant land owners preaching against land monopoly!

Oh, no. The way to abolish the ownership of vacant land is to abolish *your own* ownership first of all. Do right yourself. Then you can talk to others about doing right.

I know a man who loaned a friend a large part of what he had saved up for his old age. His friend lost it, but he offered the man vacant land to the full value of the amount. The man refused it, saying that he would no more own vacant land than he would own a slave. There was a true man. He was willing to impoverish himself rather than to take part in the iniquity of owning vacant land.

It is by such men that our great moral victory is to be won.

Those who preach one thing and practice another can only bring reproach upon any effort for social regeneration.

I have been studying the social problem for years. It has been growing clearer and clearer to me all along. I have been searching for the root of the trouble. I have been hunting for the truth that can be put into few words, and that everybody can be made to understand at once. I believe I have found the root of the trouble.

It is not the private ownership of *land*. It is the ownership (either public or private) of *vacant* land.

I think I have found the remedy.

It is not the *common ownership* of land.

It is not the abolition of private property in *land*.

It is not the Single-tax.

It is the abolition of the ownership or control of *vacant* land.

Vacant land must be unconditionally free for use by anybody who wishes to use it.

This, I believe, is the key that will unlock the next door that should be opened in the Palace of Liberty.

But it means that you and I must gird up our loins for a long struggle. That we must take up our cross daily. That we must make many personal sacrifices. That we must be true to our convictions. That we must be instant in season and out of season in preaching the truth, until a vacant land owner will become more of an outcast from society than a common burglar or murderer is to-day.

Let us raise aloft the white banner of Anti-Poverty. Let us swear that we will never be tempted to carry it into battle or into politics! And let us never abate one jot or tittle of our demand!

THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF THE OWNERSHIP OF VACANT LAND.

TARIFF NOTES.

One of the most striking instances of ingratitude in modern history is that the iron industry has so stubbornly refused to flourish despite all that the tariff has done for it. It has been protected, for these many years, and the result is that it seems to be in much the condition of a favorite son whose loving but not wholly judicious mother has kept in his go-cart long after he has reached years of maturity.—(Boston Courier.)

It is very evident that the tariff question will be one of the most important questions before the legislature of the country this winter. The free trade party is already warring the country at a tremendous rate.—(Boston Home Journal.)

We tax the main articles of export from South American countries so that they are obliged to sell them in Europe, and then have the gall to ask the South Americans to trade with us and exchange their copper, wool, woods, hides, coffee, etc., etc., for our manufactures, also advanced in price by taxation. Their hides and coffee, being on the free list, we buy freely; but we are obliged to pay cash for the great bulk of our purchases, instead of paying for them with the products of our congested manufactories.—(Philadelphia Record.)

The man who went to mill with grist in one end of a sack and a rock in the other across the horse's back was more excusable than the high tariff masses, for in the first case the horse carried the burden, and in the latter the people.—(Nashville, Tenn., Advocate.)

The Bulletin (of the Protective tariff league) evidently believes that protection and the trusts are indissolubly connected. If it does so believe it believes the truth. The withdrawal of protection will kill the trusts. The outlawing of trusts would kill protection. Trusts are the legitimate outgrowth of modern protection and one cannot exist without the other.—(Eric, Pa., Herald.)

Not a word in the platform of the Pennsylvania republican convention about protecting the labor of Pennsylvania from the stern and cruel sway of her own plutocracy! For the unprotected industries of the country at large nothing but more taxes, more tribute to the Carnegies and the coal barons!—(St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

"Whereas, It is a self-evident fact that of all questions, tariff reform is the leading and all absorbing question before the American people to-day."—[Adopted at the Tariff picnic, held at Plattsburg, Missouri.]

We regard the doctrine that a high protective tariff, like that now in existence, is essential to the prosperity of the industrial classes as a heresy of colossal magnitude. We think this is clearly demonstrated by the general discontent and want that prevails; the numerous strikes that have recently taken place; the general depression in business and the closing up for the time being of numerous manufacturing industries; the failures, unprecedented in number and amount involved, which are overtaking men engaged in numerous and varied business pursuits; the largely increased and increasing mortgage indebtedness of the country; and the army of unemployed and idle men and women not only in the towns and cities, but extending through the rural districts.—[From platform of Zanesville, Ohio, democratic county convention.]

Although a protective tariff practically favors the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer, that fact is not always brought so clearly home to the casual observer as it is in the case of the French duty on wheat. Some years ago the duty on American wheat was fixed at 20 per cent. The French farmers thought they had the consumers in a corner, but they took to eating Indian corn and corn meal, the duty on which was merely nominal. Now the council general of the department of the Vosges is clamoring for the government to raise the tariff on those articles of food.—(Hamilton, Ont., Times.)

The highly protected workers in Higgins's carpet mills are finding out to their cost that a high tariff on carpets does not mean high wages. Since last November they have been twice reduced, the last time between 20 and 25 per cent.—(New York World.)

Out of twenty strikes that occurred in the United States during the first week of August seven were in this state. Nearly all were for an advance of wages, showing that in the community where protection has had fullest swing, and where presumably its alleged benefits would be most manifest, there is the most discontent among the workers. The list includes coke workers, railroad laborers, furnace hands, blacksmiths' helpers and mill girls.—(Philadelphia Record.)

"Protection" is obviously synonymous with ruin so far as woolen mills are concerned, judging from the manner in which they are tumbling into bankruptcy under its beneficent (?) operation.—(Lynchburg Virginian.)

ITHURIEL'S SPEAR.

A Vision.

W. T. in London Democrat.

Him, thus intent Ithuriel with his spear
Touched lightly, (for no falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness).—Paradise Lost.

In my vision there came to me a being,
clad as a warrior, but yet surpassingly
bright, and beautiful as an angel. Presently I knew it was Ithuriel. He spoke mournfully yet kindly. "All men," he said, "have three selves: first, themselves as they appear unto others, by no means the true self; secondly, themselves as they appear to themselves—still less the true self; and, thirdly, themselves as they appear unto their maker—the only true self. Carest thou to be wise? take this spear, touch any, and the true self will at once appear. Be bold and fear not."

I dreamed that I consented, and was instantly transported to an old abbey church, one of those grand monuments of the past that throw a mellowing light on the future, which, though warping the mind, yet sanctifies the heart. As I entered the sacred portals sounds sweet and soft as heavenly echoes fell upon my ear, and I heard voices as of angels, chanting "Grant us thy peace." "Have mercy upon us." The prayer seemed to linger in the building; and irresistibly I was drawn to a young woman with a babe in her arms, who seemed to hear nothing but the sweet, sad appeal to the Throne of Grace—"Grant us Thy peace." She joined in the prayer for peace, the peace of God, the peace that passeth all understanding. She prayed earnestly, her infant clinging closer and closer to her, and, pressing it to her bosom again and again, she prayed, "Grant us Thy peace." Long she lingered amid the solemnity around her. It has been said that the solemn grandeur of the gothic arch impresses even the rudest savage. It seemed to me in my vision that this young woman was profoundly impressed. She sat silently a long time. Then an involuntary sigh escaped her. Listen! what was that? Her sigh answered by a hundred others from far, far overhead. She was afraid! She looked round and saw she was quite alone. Again she sighed, and again came moans, as though the whole abbey was filled with spirits as deep in trouble as herself. Then her infant lifted up its soft blue eyes and laughed, and instantly its laughter was taken up by hundreds of invisible infants, and the sacred edifice rang with the merry joyousness of an unseen childhood. The woman was alarmed. She had never heard of the wonderful echoes in large gothic buildings, and in her alarm she fled. As she was passing from the building, I touched her with Ithuriel's spear, but, Magdalen though she were, she changed not.

The whimsical wanderings of a vision next transported me to the humble cottage of a laborer on the estate of a great lord. The neat garden in the front, the well-tilled plot at the side, spoke of diligence and industry. The threshold was in smiles; it was difficult to imagine the hearth in tears. Yet so it was.

"Think of this, lass," said the old man to his wife, "I last year I got four pounds more fra' this bit o' land, than iver I did afore, an' now Jackson, t' steward, says I mun pay four pun ten a year more, nathless there will n't be ought of a harvest this year; so all my extra work and extra seeds go for nought."

"But how's that, they didn't give us any of t' seeds?" asked his wife.

"Noa," replied the old man, "but tha' sees, we bought a washing machine last winter, an' Jackson says that them wot can buy luxuries o' that sort can afford to pay more nor six puns rent."

"I thought," rejoined his wife, "that t' other day ye said his lordship were one o' that Gladstone's lot, who are putting things straight, and had been talking in furrin parts about good landlords making contented tenants."

"Ay, ay, lass, so it wor in t' papers," he replied, "but ye see Gladstone sent him to furrin parts, because he's clever; and he knows nowt about us. If so be I went to him, I couldn't get to see him, an' if I did he'd say, 'Go to Jackson.' These big men say lots o' things to t' newspaper men as they know nothing about."

"Well," said the woman, "as for t' washing machine, it wor no use going on without it. I'm sixty-four now, and what wi' rheumatiz an' one thing and another, I'm not half the woman I wor thirty years ago, and I cannot earn so much wi'

the peggy and tub as I used to. It wad be different if Jessie wor here."

"Ay! poor Jessie," and the old man trembled with emotion, "it'll be aboon a year next Michaelmas since she wandered away to her shame. Curse these rich folk. If their daughters lived as ours do, their daughters would do as ours do. Bless the poor girl—whatever her sins, I love her."

There came a gentle tap at the door, and in stepped a woman with a babe in her arms, the same I had seen in the abbey church. She cast her eyes to the ground, and spoke but two words, both tremblingly:

"Father, mother," she said, and was welcomed with a joy which in heaven greets a sinner that repenteth.

I touched both of the aged couple with the spear, but they changed not.

I next found myself in a luxuriously furnished room in the rectory. A clergyman, his face beaming with every sign of comfort, sat sipping port wine, and every now and then made fruitless attempts to read an article in a tory quarterly. His wife sat at an occasional table, displaying all the languor "that stamps the caste of Vere de Vere."

"Why, my dear," asked the rector, "do you insist that the lamp at the corner of Rectory garden should be moved this way?"

"Because," answered the lady somewhat petulantly, "it shines on the doctor's preserves."

"Well, what of that?"

"What of that?" exclaimed his wife. "Why it is our lamp, and it shall light only our garden."

The rector drank his wine in silence. Experience had taught him submission when in the company of his wife.

In a few minutes John, the waiter, entered the room with cafe noir et cognac for his mistress.

"Ahem!" fell from his lips, a well known sign that he had news to communicate.

"Well, what is it?" asked his mistress, tartly.

"Yes, mum, it's true that old David's daughter has come back," answered John.

"Thank heaven!" exclaimed the rector, "it will gladden the old man's heart. He has long prayed for her return."

"And, mum," added John, "she's brought a baby with her."

"A what, a baby!" almost shrieked the lady, "and has he taken them in, has he given them shelter?"

"Yes, mum, and talks of killing the fattest calf, although, as I knows, he hasn't a calf at all; an old sow is all his live stock."

"Go to David at once, John," said the lady, "and tell him to send his drab and her brat to the workhouse, and send round my phaeton. It is yet early, and I will go to Mrs. Jackson's."

"Yes, mum," replied John, and left the room.

"What are you going to do, my dear?" asked her husband, quietly.

"Going to do?" she replied, quite furiously. "What a question! I am going to Mr. Jackson to tell him that David must turn his daughter and her bastard out of the cottage, or he must be turned out himself."

"Let him who is without sin cast the first stone," said the rector, who mechanically quoted scripture, without much regard for its applicability.

"Oh! that's all right for the pulpit, but it is out of place for a drawing room," was his wife's reply. "Precious little regard you have for your patron's welfare. Do you think he wants his estates swarming with riff-raff?"

The phaeton was at the door and she drove to the agent's mansion, about half a mile away. Old David and his wife would not forsake their only child, and the inevitable followed. All were turned out of the cottage, which, with the wealth put into the plot of land by the old man's labor, and his little crop ready for gathering were all handed over to some one else.

"It is the law of 'ownership' of land that allows this thing," said a voice, whispering into my ear. I knew it was Ithuriel who stood beside me in radiance, and he continued: "When the hearts of all men shall be bared, it will be the poor and not the rich, who will shrink from the scrutiny."

The lord of the land was in a foreign country, with every confidence in his agent, who, however, was always pleased to oblige the people at the rectory, especially the mistress of that establishment.

The rector's wife drove down to the cottage to see the eviction faithfully carried out. As she reclined in her phaeton, I touched her with the spear. She instantly became a snake, and curled quickly out of sight amid the luxurious rugs on the carriage seat.

Then I awoke from my dream that was not all a dream.

What His Wife Saw.

I'm a wife of summers three
And 'twixt us—you and me,
There's a secret that I'm half inclined to mention:

My husband is in trouble,
'Cause he pricked a little bubble,
That half playfully arrested his attention.

He's a monarch in his ward,
And the people freely 'plaud,
As he speaks on mooted questions of the hour;

But one day he missed his "cue,"
Took the wrong end of a "view,"
And thus began the waning of his power.

He was always so kind hearted,
A kiss whenever we parted,
And his honest face was ever wreathed in smiles;

But now he's dull, dejected,
Says "mistakes are not corrected—
In the muddy pool, political, there are too many wiles."

But returning to the question,
Let me venture the suggestion,
If there is anything in "say so," it is that:
My much desponding lord,
Though the idea he abhor'd,
Has beheld that feline species known as "cat."

J. J. N.

The World's Fair and the Tariff.

Correspondent "B" in N. Y. Evening Post.

Allow me to add a few words to the discussion about the world's fair in 1892.

I am an American manufacturer and opposed to any exhibition of European pauper labor here. What! Hold a fair in the year 1892, when the great tariff question will again be debated on every stamp in the country in the year of our presidential election! Show our farmers how cheap the people in Europe can purchase their goods.

Just imagine John Hayseed from Cross Corners, in Indiana, going through the exhibition with his worthy wife. She sees in the English department some nice looking wool stockings.

"Gracious me, John! Only nine shillings a dozen; nine pence a pair. How much is that?"

"About nineteen cents."

"Why, they cannot be bought here for seventy-five cents."

"Well, you see, Mary, nine shillings are only \$2.25, but Uncle Sam adds forty per cent ad valorem and thirty-five cents a pound on the weight as duty, and when they come to the importer they cost him \$5.40. He sells them to the jobber for \$6, the jobber to the retailer for \$7, and the retailer must ask seventy-five cents a pair. All this is done to protect that stout gentleman in the corner over yonder, Mr. Smallock, who made \$5,000,000 in the last ten years as agent for American manufacturers; but he contributed \$50,000 towards the election of President Harrison, who promised to protect him a little more yet when elected."

Imagine our farmers going home with such ideas! An exhibition here! I protest in the name of all our manufacturers, from the wooden nutmeg to the greatest shoddy factory.

No! It will never do for a presidential year! To celebrate what? The discovery of America by Columbus! Why, if he had waited 400 years more, he would not have had money enough to pay the duty on his ships, nor would he have been allowed to bring his pauper labor here, he being under contract with Queen Isabella.

No! It won't do! I protest!

Politics, Protection and Patronage.

Boston Transcript.

Teacher—We will now hear the first class in politics. What are politics?

Pupil—Politics is the science of seeming to help another to get there, and getting there yourself.

"What is an office?"

"The one thing needful."

"How can an office be secured?"

"By putting yourself in the hands of your friends."

"What do you understand this to mean?"

"Make the office your friend and keep your hand on the office."

"Should a man seek office?"

"Not if he doesn't want it."

"What is a legislature?"

"A place where the corporations purchase their privileges."

"Is this the only business transacted by the legislature?"

"Oh, no; the members go there to get re-elected."

"Explain the protective tariff."

"It is a compact under which the people agree to starve rather than eat the fruit that hangs over the wall between themselves and their neighbor's garden, in order that Farmer Jones down at the Corners may get a big price for his apples."

"What is patronage?"

"The cornerstone of government. It is the stone that is given to those who ask for bread."

"What is an election?"

"It is the people's 'amen' to the prayer formulated by the bosses."

That's No.

New York Sun

No man can be a genuine free trader if he proposes to retain any tariff at all.

VIEWING THE OHIO DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The democratic state convention in Ohio appears to have completed all the arrangements for enlarging the republican majority in that state and for electing Foraker and Halstead. The tariff smashers had the upper hand in the convention and carried everything their own way. They want another educational campaign apparently; and democrats elsewhere can look on and see how they come out.—[New York Sun (Dana-Randall).]

With every new occasion for the manifestation of its purpose the democratic party in all sections of the country is coming more and more boldly to the line laid down for it in the last campaign. In doing so it is gaining steadily in force, and at every step shows and has a right to feel greater confidence in its future.—[New York Times (ind).]

They have not heeded the cowardly counsels of those who would have persuaded them to practice concealment, suppression and double dealing. They have acted upon the advice which the World gave them some time ago, to "mail the banner to the mast" and stand firmly for tariff reduction through tariff reform.—[New York World (ind. dem.).]

Democracy still means free trade. That is the substance of the party's faith as proclaimed at the Ohio convention.—[New York Tribune (rep.).]

Mr. Campbell's platform is much better than his personal record. It stands squarely upon the national democratic platform of last year in demanding "reduction of tariff taxes," and pledges the party to "continue the battle for tariff reform until the cause of the people is triumphant."—[New York Evening Post (free trade).]

For some weeks past we have heard it whispered about that the Ohio democrats were afflicted with ague in their knees; that they felt so shaky over the tariff issue that it was more than likely they would roost very low on the subject and squeak in very piping tones. Well, how does it strike you now, Mr. Protectionist? Is there anything sneaky or squeaky in the platform adopted at Dayton?—[New York Telegram (ind).]

What the platform and the speeches of the temporary and permanent chairmen of the convention mean is that the influential democratic leaders of Ohio are still wedded to the free trade idea and that the voice of their state, as represented in the democratic national convention of 1892, will be for Grover Cleveland.—[Brooklyn Standard Union.]

In the Ohio democratic platform notice is served that Cleveland and Thurman went down on a winning question. There had been forecasts of a straddle, of soft words, of an adoption of the bogus platform of 1884. The event of yesterday happily gives us two clauses that are as clear as Cleveland's message. The tariff is denounced as a tax. The part of the St. Louis platform which destroyed Cleveland is especially reaffirmed. The trusts are correctly attributed to the tariff. The Herald could ask for nothing more, and offers to Congressman Campbell the friendliest inspirations of victory at the polls.—[Chicago Herald (ind. dem).]

The issue recognized as most important was the tariff. The convention reaffirmed in no uncertain terms their approval of the policy of Cleveland as it is found in the democratic platform of 1888. They put themselves solidly in line with the democratic national party and proclaimed their support of the historic economic ideas of their party as they have been handed down by the fathers. The speech of the temporary chairman was a bugle blast for tariff reform.—[Richmond State (dem).]

A Protectionist Paper That is Not a Protectionist Paper.

Boston Globe.

Wade's Fibre and Fabric, a protectionist trade paper which, in its own words, "is run on principle and does not take the back track," continues to oppose the Pennsylvania tax on iron and coal and the Ohio tax on wool, for the reason that it finds these impositions not protective, but destructive. In the last issue it declares editorially that "while it believe in protection sufficient to protect, it knows that taxed raw materials are not protection. There are none so blind as those who will not see. There is a large iron plant almost within sight of us that by taxed raw materials has been driven out of existence. Such a state of affairs could not pass unnoticed if partisanship had not blinded the majority." The same journal gives an extract from a private letter of a large worsted manufacturer as follows:

"We are getting object lessons daily. Perhaps you will remember that some time since I said we took no stock in the expected benefits of the 'worsted decision.' We are finding out to our sorrow that our ideas were correct. I am a mourner in that crowd. Although I had expected nothing, I have been hoping I was wrong. . . . If we could only make manufacturers talk as they now feel, they might have some weight in the right direction. It appears now as if the wool speculators had got caught, although with the cheap money market and the advance in wools in Europe they may be able to hold up prices even if manufacturers can't do a profitable business."

All of this is commended to the high tariff theorists of the New York Tribune and the Boston Journal.

Even Senator Blair Wants a Tariff Reduced.

F. P. Powers in America.

Senator Blair of New Hampshire is demanding the repeal of the duty on coal, so that the manufacturers of New England can get cheap coal from Nova Scotia. I think he has said that some such concession was absolutely necessary to save the New England manufacturers from ruin. Neither party dares take the duty off coal, because both parties want Virginia and West Virginia.

NOTES HERE AND THERE.

The International typographical union at its last session, held in Denver, among other things, resolved to publish an official paper of their own, and instructed the secretary, W. S. McClevey, to carry out the provisions of the resolution. This he has done, and the result is a handsomely printed eight-page paper called the *Typographical Journal*. It devotes the bulk of its space to the news of the craft only, and has so far expressed no opinions in politics or political economy.

But while the *Journal* is conservative in tone the delegates to the international convention were not. On the contrary, representatives of very radical ideas were there assembled. There were, among others, a large contingent of single tax men, known by their unions to be so, who devoted their spare time to trying to convert delegates not of their way of thinking. The effect of the work of these men can be seen in the resolution which was adopted recommending that the subordinate unions organize lecture courses for the discussion of economic questions bearing on the labor problem. Members of the New York union have been considering the matter for some time; and probably when important union matters now before the body are disposed of a bureau will be inaugurated here.

Of the delegation who went to Paris to represent the United States at the international congress of workmen, all but one were foreign born.

Stilson Hutchins is a well known newspaper man of Washington, D. C. He used to live in Missouri, and at one time represented his district in the legislature, of which body he was elected the speaker. There was in the same legislature a member from another district—a man Hutchins had conceived a prejudice against. This man wanted to bring up a bill in the interests of his constituency; but he never seemed to be able to catch the speaker's eye. Day after day he would wait until routine matters had been cleared away, when he would rise in his place and, in the peculiar Missouri high treble, address the presiding officer, but without receiving that recognition without which no member of a parliamentary body can proceed. The member finally became tired of such treatment, and one morning, after the house had been called to order, he marched in with a rifle on his shoulder, which, when he reached his seat, he leaned up against his desk. He sat there quietly until he thought the routine business was about all disposed of, when he slowly picked up his rifle and cocked it. When the last motion had been put and disposed of our friend arose, placed his rifle against his shoulder, drew a bead on Speaker Hutchins, and drawled out, "Mr. Speaker." There was a silence as of death in the assembly chamber for a few moments, which was finally broken by the speaker himself, who slowly and distinctly said, "The gentleman from — has the floor." The member lowered his rifle, uncocked it, and then, as if nothing had happened, proceeded to lay his bill before the legislators.

Colonel William Lamb of Norfolk shipped from Virginia to New England during 1888, 100,000 tons of coal. The tariff on that article prevents its being brought from Nova Scotia. Colonel Lamb used to be a democrat, but has changed his politics because he is a protectionist and owner of a Virginia coal bed. By the way, he received his title from the confederate government. He is the man who defended Fort Fisher against General Butler, and who, after the general was "bottled up," evacuated the fort. Brigadier-General Terry achieved considerable fame from that Fort Fisher affair. He was a volunteer officer from Connecticut; and after General Butler had paved the way to success in the Fort Fisher fight, and was relieved from command, General Terry was sent on to capture it. He arrived in front of the fort after the confederates had left it, and took possession without firing a shot. And here was where his lucky star rose in the horizon. The United States senate was considering the filling up of a vacant brigadiership in the regular army, and, as usual in such cases, several senators had another candidate than the one suggested by the president. The senate was wrangling over the matter when a copy of a dispatch from Terry, which had been received at army headquarters, was brought to the senate chamber. It was in these words: "I have occupied Fort Fisher. Terry" [not "carried," but "occupied"]. Immediately the senate broke out into cheers; and when the enthusiasm had somewhat subsided, a senator rose, and moved, amid cheers again, that the vacant brigadiership be conferred on "the hero of Fort Fisher." The motion was enthusiastically adopted; and that is how Brigadier-General Terry, a Connecticut lawyer and civilian up to the time of the war of the rebellion, and not a graduate of West Point, happens to be a brigadier-general in the regular army of the United States.

Charles, S. Hopkins makes a unique suggestion for the site of the World's fair. He says that some years ago Mr. Holly, the inventor, drew plans for a gigantic iron structure. The plan was as follows: Take a space equal to about four of our city blocks. At each corner build iron pillars about 2,000 feet high. Swing spans from these columns,

at intervals of about 200 feet, building on them substantial floors. On these floors, of which there would be ten, erect all the buildings necessary for the exhibition. Here would be a structure 1,200 by about 500 feet, and 2,000 feet high, built on an entirely new plan, which would have the advantages of compactness and an elevation over three times as high as the Eiffel tower in Paris. It would be regarded as one of the wonders of the world. The idea appears at first glance chimerical; but an examination shows that it is not so absurd after all. After the world's fair had got through with the structure the building could be changed into dwellings, which could be rented cheap, because of the small amount of land used. Besides, it might serve builders as a pattern of economy of space in future building, when land became so valuable as to make building unprofitable unless they could go a long distance in the air.

The British museum has bought the splendid prayer book which the late king of Bavaria, Ludwig the Second, ordered from Franz Fleischhut, and which is adorned with copies of the decorations of the famous so-called "great church treasure." The price paid was 37,000 marks.

Perhaps the funniest thing in the whole of the Paris exhibition, says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is "A Practical Guide" thereto, issued by "C. H. Bertels and Florent, editors, Rue de l'Universite." It is a bona fide production, although it could not have been more amusing had its wit been intentional. It almost beats the famous "Portuguese English grammar," dedicated "at the Portuguese youth especially," which appeared some few years ago. The present guide book is a perfectly literal translation from the French, written, we should imagine, by the aid of a dictionary alone, and with no other knowledge whatever. The information, however, contained in these pages is most exhaustive. Nothing is omitted—not even the English oil cloth, the "danish friery," or the "toys, zingnols, and dancing jacks for the children." "What wants the stranger," the author remarks in his preface, "it is a means which permits him to see all without losing uselessly his time in the most vain researches." To further assist the stranger, the conversational form is occasionally adopted—as thus, apropos of the Eiffel tower: "This ascension attires you, visitor, and you lady, who doubted at the first sight, so much the colossus is enormous, that there are about 200 metres until the cupola, where are floating multi-colored flags. Do not deprive you of the pleasure to contemplate Paris from such a height." The "visitor" and the "lady" are thus addressed at intervals all through the book. On approaching the Lyons silk exhibits: "If you are in a hurry, visitor, beware you well to let enter therein your lady, for certainly she well no more come out of it." Describing the first coup d'oeil of the Exhibition, "in the first of the perspective are erected the gilded statues of the parts of the world which are hooking (i. e. sacrochont) the sunrises." And here is an account of the "Palace of the children": "Enter there with your little family and you will certainly not annoy you. There is united all what concerns the childhood, raiments, furnitures, toys, works for children, hygiene and even therapeutic. Your babies will find there a kermess with a shooting for macarons, turnpikes, divers games, waffles and milk." At the street of Cairo the author runs wild: "It was famous in Paris before the opening of the Exhibition, this picturesque street. When one comes out of the Palace of divers Industries, a little giddy pate and aching of a blustering decoration, the eyes rest them there instantly. Not any art has carried at the same degree of perfection as the arabian art the elegance and the grace of the lines, it appears that the ideal of the happy life has consisted for it to the indolence in a cool place with exquisit and light shapes around it, it penetrates you with what I don't know of languishness."

This year brings the seventieth anniversary of the "Peterloo Massacre." On August 16, 1819, 60,000 men, women and children assembled on Peterfield, Manchester, to publicly give voice to their discontent and misery, and to petition the crown for universal suffrage and the abolition of the corn laws. The popular leaders—Henry Hunt, Dr. Healey, Samuel Bamford and others—had taken the most stringent precautions to avoid the slightest appearance of menace. The people had been advised even to leave their sticks at home, and the processions which streamed into Manchester from the adjacent towns of the morning of the 16th were as defenseless as they were peaceable. When, however, the chairman, "Orator" Hunt, commenced the proceedings by enjoining the people to maintain order, the Manchester yeomanry, acting under the direction of certain magistrates gathered in a neighboring house, dashed into the crowd and sabred men, women and children indiscriminately. The hussars soon followed, aiding in the work of butchery. Eleven persons were killed upon the spot, many were trampled upon and crushed, while more than 600 were carried to the infirmary mangled and bleeding.

Mr. John Morley has taken a house at Lynton, in North Devon, for the autumn. He

has declined many invitations to address political meetings, and intends to devote himself during the next three months almost exclusively to literature. His monograph on Sir Robert Walpole is practically finished, and will probably be published next month, and his life of Chatham is far advanced. He has also undertaken William Pitt in the same series of short biographies of English statesmen.

Invention Has Done These Things; but Has the Laborer Received Any of the Resulting Benefits?
Toledo Blade.

In the manufacture of boots and shoes the work of 500 operatives is now done by 100.

In making bread boxes three workers can do the work of thirteen box-makers by old methods.

In cutting out clothing and cloth caps with dies one worker does the work of three by old methods.

In leather manufacture modern methods have reduced the necessary number of workers from 5 to 50 per cent.

A carpet measuring and brushing machine with one operator will do the work of 15 men by the old methods.

In the manufacture of flour modern improvements save 75 per cent of the manual labor that once was necessary.

In making tin cans one man and a boy with modern appliances can do the work of ten workers by the old process.

By the use of coal-mining machines 160 miners in a month can mine as much coal in the same time as 500 miners by the old methods.

One boy by machinery in turning wood-work and materials for musical instruments performs the work of 25 men by the old methods.

The horse power of steam used in the United States on railways, steamers, and in factories and mines was in 1888 12,100,000 against 1,610,000 in 1850.

In the manufacture of brick improved devices save one-tenth of the labor, and in the manufacture of fire brick 40 per cent of the manual labor is displaced.

In stove-dressing, 12 co-laborers with a machine, can dress 12,000 staves in the same time that the same number of workers by hand could dress 2,500 staves.

In nailing on shoe heels, one worker and a boy, with machinery, can heel 300 pair of shoes per day. It would require five workers to do the same by hand.

In the manufacture of carriages it used to take one man 35 days to make a carriage. It is now made, by the aid of machinery, with the work of one man, in twelve days.

In the cotton mills in the United States, the manual labor has been reduced about 50 per cent. Now one weaver manages from two to ten looms, where one loom was formerly tended by one worker.

Woman Suffrage in Fact.

New York Press.

The governor and several other state officers of Kansas have published a statement declaring that women suffrage is a success. It has been demonstrated—

- (1) That women will vote.
- (2) That good women will vote.
- (3) That the evils predicted if women should vote, viz., that they would neglect home duties, etc., have not visited Kansas yet, although that state has had three years of women suffrage.

The way to prove that women won't vote is not to give them a chance.

Good women have as much interest in good government as good men, and they will exercise themselves to secure wholesome laws and see them enforced where their votes count for as much as any other citizen's.

Almost every day brings news from some quarter that women, for one reason or other, are throwing off their ancient lethargy and asserting their right to be heard in matters concerning themselves and their children, and many women in the highest circles in England have taken sides on the question of granting the parliamentary franchise to their sex. For fourteen years or more certain classes of women have possessed municipal suffrage in Great Britain.

Women suffrage may not come with a rush, but it is coming.

How a Harrison Supporter Talked Seven Years Ago.

Joseph Medill of the Chicago Tribune in 1882.

The present system of protection back taxes and waterlogs every other manufacturer. The whole system is mutual plunder one of another and all of each. Suppose I have a protection of fifty per cent, I levy that much extra for my goods on my neighbors. But my neighbors also have a protection of forty to 100 per cent, and they levy back on me, and when we come to balance books at the end of the year we find that, so far at least as the workingmen are concerned, what they have gained in nominal wages they have lost in the artificial cost of living. The manufacturing capitalists, it is true, have increased their profits, but it has been done at the expense of the unprotected farmers, who cannot tax back by fixing an artificial price on their products because the market value of their crops is determined by the foreign quotations. In this protection struggle to grab one from the other where the game is the devil take the hindmost, the unprotected agriculturists are the ones who get "taken in" and done for by the smarter town gentry. Protection is a fraudulent and false system. Freedom of exchange, like truth, alone leads to honest results.

A Republican Suggestion.

New York Tribune.

Democratic state conventions which do not want to revive the tariff issue would do well to suspend the custom of having an address from the presiding officer. That official invariably is loaded with a free trade speech, as was the case in Ohio, and it has to be shot off.

AFTER ELECTION IS OVER.

The Glass Manufacturers, Having Secured a Protection to Labor Government, Now Reduce Wages.

The *Commoner* and *Glass Worker*, a Pittsburgh weekly of high protective views, prints in the first column of its issue of August 10 the following letter, signed by John Coffey, and dated at Philadelphia:

The Glass manufacturers' association have not yet manifested a disposition to accept the wage and apprentice regulations decided upon by D. A. 149. They claim that the condition of business does not justify the continuance of last year's wage rates, and ask for a reduction of from ten to twenty per cent. We cannot conceive of anything more absurd or unwarranted than this demand of the manufacturers. In the discussion of all questions at the recent convention, the interests of the manufacturers as well as blowers, and their legislative conclusions, were only arrived at after careful and mature deliberation.

We know the condition of the glass business positively justifies the standard of prices decided upon by the blowers. The market price for glass bottles is favorable, and the demand for the product of our labor is particularly urgent. The surplus accumulation of the factory products during the past year has been pretty generally disposed of, on account of the suspension of production during the summer. It is true that the importation of glass has been large, and it is also true that the blowers have gone further to limit this importation than the glass manufacturers. It is amazing to observe the inconsistencies of the manufacturers in dealing with blowers upon the question of tariff. Just one year ago, when our representatives at the national capital were engaged in an intellectual contest in the legislative arena upon the Mills tariff bill, the manufacturers became greatly agitated, and fearing the passage of the bill, they urged the blowers to enter a protest against any attempt upon the part of congress to reduce the tariff, particularly upon glass. They enlarged upon the evil effect which a reduction of the tariff would have upon the wage standard; and they further assured the blowers that if the tariff was maintained there would be no difficulty concerning wages thereafter. One prominent member of the manufacturers' association urged the blowers to subscribe \$5 each toward the republican campaign for the purpose of electing men favorable to the tariff.

The glassblowers sent a deputation to Washington to urge the continuance of the old rates of duty on glass, and their efforts in that direction proved successful; the tariff has remained unchanged. National officers favorable to its enforcement have been elected, and now the glass manufacturers, having gratified their ambition for governmental restriction upon the cheap products of European workshops, coolly divest themselves of the garb of pretended friendship, which they assumed toward the blowers when their manufacturing interests were endangered, and blandly request them to submit to a reduction in wages. And this is the nauseous dose they try to give us under the guise of protection; this preservation of mutual interests appears like a mythical freak of the imagination, and not a practical reality.

This demonstrates to the workingmen that if they would erect a governmental barrier against importation as high as the sky, it would still be necessary for them to maintain their organizations in order to protect themselves against the rapacity of human cultures who, intent upon the acquisition of money, would ruthlessly confiscate the whole result of labor's creation to satiate their greed, and leave the producers of wealth to eke out a miserable existence. The pronounced antagonism of the manufacturers will produce but one result, and that is a mutual warfare of unusual severity between themselves and the blowers, the final outcome of which will be a recession upon the manufacturers' part from their present unwarranted demands and a recognition of the justice and reason contained in the regulations adopted by the blowers.

The *Commoner* and *Glass Worker* says editorially:

In our letter from M. W. John Coffey, D. A. 149, printed in this issue, there is one little point made that should shoot home to every workers' mind. In summing up the situation in the east between manufacturers and blowers he says, "this demonstrates to the workingman that if they were to erect a tariff barrier as high as the sky it would still be necessary for them to maintain their organizations."

High Time for Politics.

Chicago Herald.

There must come a time, even in the course of human events, when the man who is governed will ask his government to consider his personal condition. If he has been digging coal all his life, and find himself naked and starving, he will turn to his government, and demand to know what manner of thing hath been wrought.

This question the miners of Illinois and Indiana are now addressing to the American government. Because politics has at last touched the question—because the orators are rattling the empty dinner pails—there is indignation among republican commentators. The republican giver of charity is incensed to know that he has saved the life of a democratic proselyte. The atrocity of untimely starvation and politics becomes the text of many republican sermons.

Yet the miners were industrious in a useful calling. They are starving. They voted the republican ticket because they were told they would starve if the taxes were reduced. The taxes were patriotically maintained, and starvation, prompt in its apparition, is no sweeter to the industrial stomach. If ever there were a time when politics ought to appeal to a man it is when his government, by twenty-five years of absolute quackery, has finally denied him shelter, food, clothing and employment.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

American Transatlantic Steamers.

RUTLAND, Vt.—A friend made the statement that there was a line of steamships owned by the Pennsylvania railroad company, with offices in Philadelphia and New York, that did a general passenger and freight business between the United States and England. J. R. HOADLEY.

The Pennsylvania railroad started a line of American built steamships sailing under the American flag, but after some years' effort to make it pay, found it cheaper to use English steamers.

Our Country—Some Statistical Information.

PORTSMOUTH, Va.—(1) What was the amount of the public debt in 1861, and what was the population of the United States—white, not colored?

(2) What was the cost of the civil war in dollars and cents, and human lives lost?

(3) What was the public debt in 1865, and since that time under what administration was this debt most diminished, and how much?

(4) What is the white population of the United States now, and what is the colored?

(5) Which pays the heavier tax as per \$1, the northern or southern states, and what state in the Union has the heaviest tax? Which the smallest?

(6) What are the net proceeds realized from taxes on foreign imports by the United States and what by internal revenue?

(7) What does it cost to run the government of the United States for one year?

(8) What is the number of Indians in the United States at present, and expense of the same to the government?

(9) What is the present public debt?

G. H. PETTJOHN.

(1) The national debt in 1861 was \$90,582,000. The white population in 1860 was 26,900,000.

(2) The property losses in the war have never been and never can be accurately estimated, \$5,000,000,000 would probably be a low figure. About 600,000 men lost their lives.

(3) In 1865 the debt was \$2,684,000,000, but in this amount is included not only the interest bearing bonds but the non interest bearing legal tender notes—"greenbacks." It was reduced most rapidly in Grant's first term, over \$300,000,000 being paid off in the four years.

(4) In 1880 the white population numbered 43,400,000 and the colored 6,600,000; total, 50,000,000. If the same proportion holds good to-day with an estimated total of 65,000,000, the white population numbers 56,500,000 and the colored 8,500,000.

(5) It depends on what kind of taxes you mean. If you mean tariff taxes, then the agricultural states pay the largest relative proportion, for they buy protected goods and sell products incapable of being protected, while protected residents of other states make up the losses by the increased price of goods they make.

(6) For the year ending June, 30, 1888, the national receipts were, from customs taxes, \$219,000,000; from internal revenue, \$124,300,000; from other sources, \$16,000,000. Expenditures: For civil expenses, \$22,800,000; for Indians, \$6,250,000; for pensions, \$80,000,000; for miscellaneous, public buildings, collecting revenue, etc., \$44,000,000; for interest on public debt, \$45,000,000; for war department, \$18,800,000; for navy, \$16,000,000; for rivers and harbors, about \$20,000,000. Other expenses bring the total up to \$359,000,000.

(8) Less than 100,000. For cost, see above answer.

(9) \$908,000,000. The officials make it \$1,660,000,000 by adding in the \$750,000,000 of greenbacks, silver and gold certificates, etc., now in circulation, as part of the "debt." This part they call the "non-interest bearing" debt. W. B. S.

Free Trade and Single Tax.

WORCESTER, Mass.—(1) Though I am a free trader, it seems to me that there is some truth in the assertion that wages will be cut down when free trade reigns supremely. If not so, will you state why, always supposing that the single tax system is not adopted.

(2) Do out and out free traders propose to levy no duties on tobacco, liquors and luxuries in general?

(3) Supposing the single tax put into practice. In the same house in a city live a workman earning about \$450 a year, and a lawyer whose yearly income amounts to something like \$30,000. Neither is then going to pay any taxes, if I understand you rightly, and that is equality. But the farmer earning perhaps just enough to exist, is to be taxed? How does that compare with the lawyer as to equality of taxation?

CARLOS GOLDKUHL.

(1) Wages in the protected industries are fixed by the rate of wages in the unprotected industries, and over eight-tenths of our workers are unprotected. The tariff does nothing but rob every workman of a part of his wages by increasing the cost of almost everything he buys, and it handicaps every small manufacturer or producer by increasing the cost of his plant and tools and raw ma-

terial. Wages could not be reduced in the protected industries under free trade, for the protected industries would then, as now, pay the rate of wages fixed by other industries, and the wages paid by other industries would be better under free trade, because any increase of foreign trade always causes a greater general demand for labor in unprotected industries. Moreover, as Mr. Blaine and many other protectionists have freely acknowledged, our protected workers produce about as much, if not more, for each dollar they receive as the "pauper labor" abroad, so that protection simply robs them by increasing their expenses.

(2) The only out-and-out free traders are the single tax men. They propose to abolish absolutely all taxes save one on land values.

(3) The lawyer and the workman would both pay for their rooms, and in their room rent would be a portion of the ground rent. This ground rent would go to the government and thus they would both pay some tax directly. But the \$30,000 a year lawyer, who lives as you say in a \$450 a year workman's furnished room, must save about \$20,500 a year. If he simply put it away in a bank year after year he would pay no taxes on it; and he doesn't pay any now either on his bank deposits, for tax assessors are never able to tax what they can't see. And why should he pay anything? If he has done \$30,000 worth of work a year why should the government attempt to rob him of the fruits of his labor? Monopoly is what should be taxed. He who takes part of the common estate and uses it for his exclusive benefit should pay its annual value. In that case valuable land would not be held out of use. No farmer would need to live on land where he "barely existed," industry would not be fined and robbed, business could extend naturally, and you would have no \$450 a year laborers. The enormous incomes paid to monopolists and the too's and attorneys of monopolists would cease when monopoly ceased, and labor would get what it produced. What makes you think that in this nineteenth century any man under a state of freedom cannot easily produce an abundance instead of "barely enough to exist?" W. B. S.

Draining Gold from a Country.

HONEOYE, N. Y.—Assumed that in a single year our imports exceed our exports to the extent that, after the balance of trade has been adjusted by means of bills of exchange, there still remains a balance of \$100,000,000 for us to pay in gold. Would not all our gold soon be exhausted if our imports exceeded our exports at this rate from year to year? And if so, would it not be a detriment to this country to completely exhaust our gold? If not, why not? GEO. FRANKLIN.

If a country produces gold as the United States does, then it can and undoubtedly will send out more gold on the average than it receives, just as it will send out more coal than it receives if it is a great coal producing country. But as soon as gold becomes scarce here—relatively scarcer than in other countries—then its value will rise, that is, it will purchase more here than elsewhere, and as a result it will be sent here in exchange for other things. The rate at which bankers will sell bills of exchange shows at once where gold will buy the most, and there, under free and peaceful conditions, gold will go.

But a country can be drained of its precious metals. For instance, Peru was drained of silver by Spanish robbers who came over in vessels and carried the bullion away with them. Egypt and Ireland are drained of most everything, gold and silver included, the one by her enormous interest charges and the other by her rents. And the people of the United States are bound to send a good deal of gold abroad to pay foreigners for the privilege of using western farms and working mines and for traveling on railroads which foreigners own, and to pay interest and principal of the national and municipal debts. We, however, produce over and above all these charges and above what is consumed here, a surplus of other things which we send abroad instead of gold and so keep plenty of the precious metals here; if we could not do this we would soon be drained as Egypt is. But this kind of drainage is not exchange—it is tribute or robbery whichever you please to call it. W. B. S.

Notes.

C. F. Hunt, Mayfair, Ill.—Rental value does depend on inequalities of productiveness; but selling value, being a capitalization of rental value, depends on the amount of rent the land owner is allowed to retain. If all rental value were appropriated to public use there would be no selling value, though there would still be rent.

Single Tax Cat.

An Impromptu dedicated to Toronto Grip.

O, a marvelous cat is the S. T. cat,

And a protean cat withal!

For he doth now right sleek and fat,

And now a wink lets fall

At the landless man, as who should say,

"Keep y'r peepers peeled, I pray."

Anon he wearth a rare grimace—

With whiskers stiff on either cheek—

And now he donneth a sphinx-like face,

And now a smile full meek;

And ev'r he looketh a wise old cat,

Who thinketh and knoweth a trick there-

at.

He pauseth outside the minister's door,

And listens to Orators din;

He sticketh single tax stickers galore,

And feeleth no pang of sin,

But shutteth his eyes in musing snore

When the Land-shark sweareth sore.

O, a marvelous cat is the S. T. cat,

And he roameth the earth around,

Breaking the peace of the trust-king, fat

On meal which his slaves have ground.

And ever the cat's wide, winning grin

Brings light to the cottage and all there-

in.

HAMLIN GARLAND.

They Stole Because They Couldn't Get Work.

"Taverner" in Boston Post.

Some reader of this column whose memory is abnormally developed may possibly recollect that a few weeks since I mentioned the case of two young men who started out for a vacation without any money in their pockets. Their design was to work their way along, and to turn their hands to any employment that offered. Well, these boys have been heard from, and although they have passed through several rather unpleasant experiences, their trip has been on the whole very successful. When they alighted from the cars, somewhere in the northwestern part of this state, they had, I believe, only a dollar between them. The first afternoon they sought for work at all the farm houses they passed, but found none, and toward night they exchanged half of their single dollar for a supper. After eating this they sallied out again, for they were regarded with so much suspicion that they didn't venture to ask for a sleeping place, and spent the night in a barn a few miles farther on. They slept soundly on the hay—so well, in fact, that they overslept, and were awakened the next morning by an angry farmer brandishing a pitchfork and urging "Tige," a cur colley, to "sic 'em." However, the dog hung back, and the boys managed to pacify the farmer, finally, indeed, sitting down to breakfast with him, for which privilege they bartered their remaining half dollar.

The next day they failed again to find work, and they tramped along till nightfall without having anything to eat since breakfast, except a few berries which they picked at the roadside. The situation began to look somewhat serious; should they continue to fast, or beg, or steal? The boys have confessed that they held a council, and finally determined to steal a chicken. Accordingly, selecting a barn which stood at a pretty safe distance from the dwelling with which it belonged, they waited till the lights in the house were put out, which happened before nine o'clock p. m. Then they crept softly into the barn and poked about by the aid of a few matches; they broke their shins over a harrow and were badly scared when a whole row of invisible animals, snuffing the intruders, arose as one cow, rattling their chains and making a terrible noise with their feet. At this the boys fled to the door, but, seeing no lights in the house and hearing no sound in that direction, they ventured back again, and after considerable searching they discovered a sort of shed where a dozen or twenty hens and chickens were solemnly roosting. After hasty deliberation they selected a fat pullet, and one of the boys, going up behind her very cautiously, soon had her by the throat and legs.

There ensued, of course, a terrible outcry, the chickens screaming "Thieves, woodchucks, murder!" at the top of their voices. With hearts beating fast the robbers made

off, cutting around back of the barn, and stumbling across the field behind. I believe they wrung the neck of their pullet as they started. When they got a short distance off they stopped for breath and looked back. This time, sure enough, they saw a lantern slowly proceeding from the house to the barn, but after five or ten minutes it went back again, and when silence and darkness enveloped the farmhouse once more, the boys picked their way into the woods, stumbling along with extreme difficulty and many falls, and at the base of a little hill they kindled a fire, roasted their chicken in some barbarous fashion, and then lay down to rest, with the fire smouldering cheerfully at their feet, and feeling pleasantly conscious of the fact that now indeed they were "roughing it." Much more have I extracted from these ingenious lads, but I reserve the remainder of their adventures for another occasion.

Grim Sarcasm.

Chicago Herald.

"Another woolen mill closed" is the heading in various newspapers. It might as well be kept standing until the mills get free wool or until the last mill has gone under.

"I can heartily say to any young man who is wanting good employment, work for Johnson & Co., follow their instructions and you will succeed." So writes an agent of B. F. Johnson & Co., 1009 Main St., Richmond, Va., and that's the way all of their men talk.

HAY FEVER. CATARRH

During a severe at-

tack of Hay Fever I

used Ely's Cream

Balm, and can cheer-

fully testify to the

immediate and con-

tinued relief obtained

by its use. I heartily

recommend it to those

suffering from this

or kindred com-

plaints.—(Rev.) H. A.

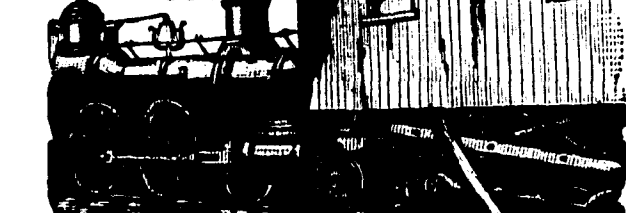
Smith, Clinton, Wis.

A pamphlet is applied in each nostril and is agreeable. Price 50 cents. Druggists; by mail, registered, 60 cents. ELY BROTHERS, 55 Warren St., New York.

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We want to know exactly the value of this advertising medium, and will pay you to tell us, as it may save us thousands. Mail a postal or letter giving name of this paper and we will send you absolutely free, a receipt for One Dollar on account of one of our \$43 Keystone Dust-proof Railroad Watches, and a handsome charm case-opener. You know our Keystone Dust-proof Watches are the best, and we have selling agents almost everywhere. We want one in your city. We sell watches in our Co-operative clubs at the lowest cash prices for One Dollar a Week. THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO. Main Office in Company's Own Building, 904 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

What did this wreck cost?



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

A KEYSTONE DUST-PROOF RAILROAD WATCH costs \$43.00—the WRECK COST MANY THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS. These watches are for sale either for ALL CASH or in our Co-operative Clubs for ONE DOLLAR A WEEK. If we have no selling agent in your town, better write us at once for terms, &c.

THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO., Main Office in Co.'s own building, 904 Walnut St. Philadelphia, Pa.

J. A. BROWN, Principal Agent for James Means' \$3 and \$1 shoes, 236 Bowery, near Prince St.

PAINLESS BEECHAM'S PILLS EFFECTUAL

For Bilious and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Drowsiness, Cold Chills, Flushings of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Nervous, Hiccups on the Skin, Disturbed Sleep, Frightful Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations, &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."

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

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

they ACT LIKE MAGIC—a few doses will work wonders upon the Vital Organs; Strengthening the muscular system; restoring long lost Complexion; bringing back the keen edge of appetite, and arousing with the BLOOD-POURER OF LIFE. It is 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 LARGEST SALE OF ANY PATENT MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Full directions with each box.

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IN THESE MODERN DAYS.

In these days of philanthropic endeavor the legislators of the civilized world are beginning to harass themselves seriously over what is euphoniously termed the "labor problem." The earth apparently is becoming too full of the human race. America—great, prosperous, America—is known to the outside world as the land of millionaires, railroad kings, stupendous land monopolists—and tramps. Europe is clamoring for bread. The bitter cry of outcast London is an expression of national suffering which shakes the listening heavens in its awful note of anguish. Berlin, Paris, even Rome is crumbling into senile decay under the shadow of its seven hills. St. Petersburg, where the starving population are streaming away by thousands from the waterlogged city of Peter the barbarous, and all the other great capitals of Europe, are merely huge aggregations of human woe. Asia, that vast continent of gold and hunger, lives perpetually on the verge of starvation. Australia, the newest of nations, is already harassed by the specter of poverty, and while the world's wealth increases faster than at any previous period of history the cry of the poor and the landless grows every day louder and more vehement. Even in the flood tide of national prosperity the marts are haunted by thousands of willing workers who can find no possible outlet for their energies. There is apparently not work enough to go round, and therefore we come to the question with which we started, Is the world becoming too full?

And the answer that rises from the tongues of a thousand bogus philanthropists and dismal formulators of dull unreasoning platitudes is—Yes! "The poor ye have always with you," drives the pious moralist of the day, and therefore he concludes that the poor shall be always with us—that they are an essential part of the great scheme of creation—that Providence designed the evil-smelling slums and the malodorous rookeries and the fetid fever dens where the toilers of the land live with the air of pestilence and death sweltering all around them. "The relations of capital and labor must be maintained," says the charitable millionaire who gracefully bestows a few thousand dollars on the poor to teach them that slavish submission which comes of dependence and mendacity—inculcate in their souls that sentiment of gratitude which breathes the atmosphere of pauperism into their inmost being. "The rights of property are the basis of our constitution," adds the hereditary land holder, the legitimate descendant of that old time apostle of constitutionalism to whom the rights of property meant the inalienable privilege of every man to flog his own nigger; and among them all it is unanimously resolved that society is in no way responsible for hunger and want and misery, and that if a large section of the human race suffers from chronic want of work and bread, and lives forever on the brink of starvation, it is because the world has grown too full.

"The labor market is overstocked" is the dreary platitude which answers every tale of woe and suffering among the poor. Yet the labor market was equally overstocked when the first of the human race awoke in Eden, the solitary monarch of earth and sea, the lonely heir to the riches of the smiling world, the uncrowned king of a new planet just springing into life. THEN there was one single producer and one single consumer to keep the balance even and the proportions can never vary so long as time and space endure. The human race gradually increased and multiplied—cities were built and kingdoms founded and sin and suffering grew apace, but the scale never wavered. The producers numbered fifty millions and the consumers as many, and the law of demand and supply remained where it stood when the first man came to succeed the slimy saurians that crawled over the shapeless earth. The mass of population still grew larger. The mud-walled kingdom became an empire. The undressed potentate who swayed his reed scepter in a palace of clay and dirt developed into a jewelled sultan. The trader who struggled across the desert with his caravan grew into a merchant king. The rain maker and the fetich and the medicine man passed away to make room for modern science. The census of the earth showed that the aggregate total of human misery amounted to fifteen hundred million souls, and against all this countless host of possible producers

there were necessarily fifteen hundred million consumers, and the balance was still level. If the labor market is overstocked to-day it should likewise have been overstocked when Adam and Eve, the king and queen of an empty world, held their solitary court by the shores of the Euphrates.

The labor problem is the natural result of landlordism and monopoly. Poverty is a morbid condition brought about by injustice and greed, and its abolition is a question which the world must face, or sooner or later universal revolution will ensue. For centuries the settlement has been postponed by the wholesale exportation of that dangerous element—the poor—to new worlds beyond the seas, but there is an end to the discovery of new worlds, and this resource is fast drying up. The western movement which has hitherto relieved the misery of the east has brought up with a shock against the crowded shores of China and Japan. The Pacific coast is the *Ultima Thule* of the great procession, and there is nothing beyond it but the teeming lands of Asia, where human misery is already at its maximum. Therefore, the nations of Christendom will soon have to face the hitherto insoluble problem and strive to abolish poverty at home instead of sending it abroad. If there is not room on earth for the poor then the conditions of life must be altered—no matter at what cost to the vested interests of the handful of capitalists and land stealers who are now permitted to monopolize the globe. The theory that poverty is a necessary and inevitable condition because "the labor market is overstocked," is hopelessly untenable unless we are prepared to believe that the Almighty created the first man to be an unemployed pauper, receiving outdoor relief in Eden. Poverty and landlordism began together, and land nationalization, when once it is fully accomplished, will abolish poverty forever.

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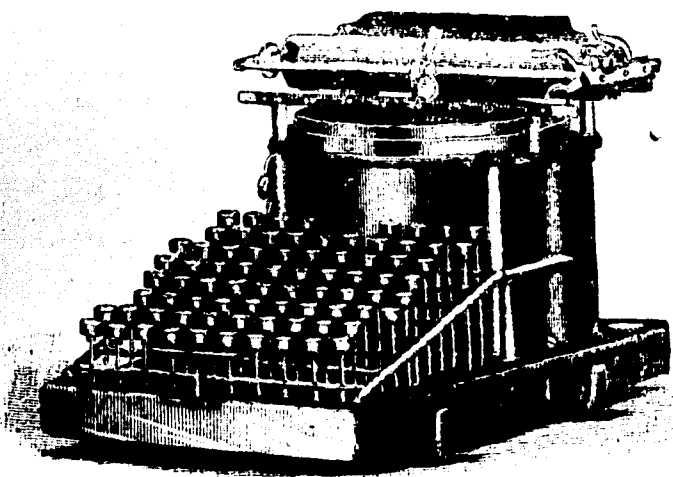
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