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Dr. McGlynn seems to have utterly lost his grasp upon principle, and is proposing a crazy demagogic scheme for getting city rents to band together, refuse to pay for their houses and rooms any more than a building rent, and by their numbers make eviction difficult if not impossible. To say nothing of objections which would make the scheme dangerous if it were not ridiculous, what right have tenants more than landlords to the free use of land made valuable by the whole community? It is a pity to see Dr. McGlynn thus wreck what is left of his influence for good.

I spent the latter part of last week in Washington. The national capital is indeed a beautiful city when the trees are in full leaf, and the American who has never seen Paris or London gets here at least some idea of what the pavements of a city ought to be. The covering of Pennsylvania avenue needs renewal, being full of swells and depressions. Blanton Duncan of Kentucky says it is because they do not use the right material. There is plenty of it in California, he says, but the government-built Pacific roads put a prohibitory tariff on its transportation. But along the less used streets the two storied omnibuses which have recently been introduced roll as easily as though upon steel rails, and bicycles and tricycles of all sorts skim along with a motion that seems to the onlooker the nearest approach to flying that man has yet attained. Ladies in tricycles and ladies riding with men on double-barreled bicycles are common, and despite the disadvantage of their long skirts quite a number may be seen mounted on single bicycles, skimming along when there is not too strong a head wind, as lightly and easily as men. "I should think there would be even more bicycles in use here, since the pavements are so good," I said to a department clerk. "So there would," he replied, "if it were not for the tariff. These bicycle makers have combine, and they keep up prices to a point about five dollars less than it costs to import an English bicycle, and pay freight and duty. If it were not for the tariff you could get a machine for \$95 that you must now pay \$145 for, and lots more of us could afford to have them." That is the way in Washington now. Even if you try to talk to a man about pavements he is likely to land you in the tariff question.

The capitol is indeed a noble building, and appears to special advantage amid the foliage that now surrounds it. The extensive reconstruction that is intended to make the side that was originally designed for the rear appear more like a front is now going on. There is a good object lesson to be had from the capitol, as originally intended that the city of Washington should be built on the firm ground that stretches out to the east or main front of capitol, and the building was constructed with this view. But speculation, unting the future, carried up and the price of land where the city ought to be, and was intended to be, to such extent rates that improvement was driven into the low land and swamp back of the capitol. Thus it is that the noble building presents its rear, not its front, to the city. The east frontage of the building has been much improved by the plantation of trees made in late years, but the colossal statue of Washington preparing for a bath has, either by the pointing or chiseling of pupils to the eyes become badly afflicted with

strabismus, and there is besides a deep hole in its throat. I asked a colored boy with a basket on his arm, who seemed engaged in silent art criticism, the reason of this. He said he supposed the man was cross eyed when he was alive. I asked him who the man was. He said he did not know his name, but (reading the inscription on the side of the pedestal fronting him, "First in war") he added, "He was the first man in the war." "And that hole in his throat?" I continued. "That," said the boy, "is the place where he got shot."

Though congress is still in session, Washington contains now but few strangers, and the hotels are comparatively deserted. All interest centers in the Mills bill; but there is little interest of curiosity. It is certain to pass the house, and as certain to be beaten in the senate. The republicans are doggedly fighting it line by line in the five minutes' debate, and the majority are as doggedly voting down all amendments save those agreed to in caucus. One of these amendments adopted while I was there was that striking works of art off the free list. This was agreed to in caucus because of the representation of western members that the farmers regard works of art as matters of luxury, and would deem it a discrimination in favor of the rich if paintings and statuary should come in free while blankets and trace chains were taxed. I am inclined to think the farmers are right. Our discrimination against the work of foreign painters and sculptors is a shameful and barbarous thing, but it is merely a consistent part of a barbarous and shameful system.

Looking down from the galleries while this debate is dragging along soon becomes tiresome, for it is difficult to hear what is being said. The floor is covered with littered desks and vacant seats. The majority of the small number of representatives present are writing, reading or chatting with each other. One man is speaking, frequently with much animation, but there are ordinarily but two or three who seem to pay any attention, while the chatter around one and the hum from other parts of the house make much of what is said indistinguishable. For purposes of debate the English plan of a small hall and no desks with such a large body much preferable to the American plan; but there are times of course when the house of representatives fills up, and the hush of attention enables even the galleries to catch every word. In the absence of Mr. Mills, C. R. Breckinridge of Arkansas, son of John C. Breckinridge, and cousin one degree removed of the other Breckinridge in the house—W. C. P. of Kentucky, had charge of the bill. Quick, forcible, and well informed, he seemed an efficient substitute for Mr. Mills. Thomas B. Reed of Maine led the republican opposition. A southerner incidentally gave me some idea of what manner of man he considered Mr. Reed to be. "Most of our colored people in the south are good; but there are some mean ones, just as there are some mean whites. But those mean colored people, when they are mean, are as mean as they can be. They just take after Mr. Tom Reed of Maine."

The protracted debate over the Mills bill, which is likely to carry the session into September, while useless as far as immediate effect on legislation is concerned—for it is as certain that the senate will reject as that the house will pass the bill—is in reality of much importance. The congressmen are really speaking to their constituents rather than to each other, and their discussion is at once an indication and a stimulant of that far wider controversy that is going on all over the country, and that will go on with increasing intensity until the popular vote is taken in November—to recommence again immediately afterward.

The feeling at Washington, as I was able to gauge it, is exceedingly good. The election of Barnum as chairman of the national committee is, it is said, no indication of a weakening or apologetic attitude. The response that has come from the country has inspired the democratic leaders with confidence, while republicans privately admit that the opposition to the protective system that is awakening is much stronger than they looked for. Among all the leading democratic congressmen I talked with I did not meet with one who was not in favor of an aggressive campaign. And this, it is said, is the determination of the president. Mr. Cleveland has the reputation of being even a stronger free trader than his message would indicate—and that is strong enough for all practical purposes. The message, as originally written, is said to have been more radical even than as finally sent in, being modified somewhat at the suggestion of free trade democrats, who feared it might be too strong for the party in its

demoralized condition on the tariff question.

The reputation Mr. Cleveland has made in Washington is a very high one. There are plenty who do not like him, but there seem to be none who do not credit him with conscientiousness and determination. I was talking with Charles Nordhoff of the strange obscurity into which the only living ex-president, Mr. Hayes, has fallen—an obscurity so great that although he was a member of the Chicago convention no one out of Chicago seemed to know it, and of the contrast between his character and that of Mr. Cleveland, when Mr. Nordhoff, as illustrative of the president's character, told me a good story. "I was always curious," said Mr. Nordhoff, "as to the sources of General Jackson's wonderful popular strength, and I once asked an old Tennessean what was its reason. 'Our people,' he believed in General Jackson," said he, 'because they were convinced that he was honest and conscientious, and that when he once made up his mind that a thing was right nothing could swerve him from it.'" As indicative of this feeling the Tennessean went on to recall a sermon delivered by a popular Tennessee preacher, describing the condemnation of Christ at the tribunal of Pontius Pilate. "Now, brethren," said the preacher, "don't put Pontius Pilate down for a bad man. He wasn't a bad man; he was only a weak one. He himself would much rather have released our Savior, but he couldn't resist the pressure of the scribes and pharisees and the howlings of the rabble. He didn't have any backbone. He wasn't bad but he was a poor, weak creature—indeed there was nothing to him. Brethren, if General Jackson had been in Pontius Pilate's place that trial would have had a different ending!"

The appearance, manner and talk of Mills of Texas confirm the reputation he has made. He is a strong man, and a free trader from base. He has fought this battle in his own state as it ought to be fought in every state. When, after his first term, he announced himself as opposed to the duty on wool, a howl went up in his district that he was opposing the interests of his own state; that the duty on wool was all that Texas got out of the tariff; and that wool might be right enough for him to try and get duties abolished on things which Texas did not produce, he ought to stand up for a duty on wool until all the others were abolished. Mr. Mills accepted the challenge and met the issue before his constituents on the abolition of the wool duty. He asked them how a Texan representative could go into the house and work for the reduction or abolition of duties while insisting that the duty that was supposed to be his state's share in the general steal should be kept up. He pointed out to them that nobody except Judge Kelley was in favor of all duties, but that our monstrous tariff had been built up and was maintained by the combinations that those in favor of some duties were forged to make with those in favor of other duties, and that for the people of Texas to demand the retention of one duty was to necessarily consent to the retention of all. And then, denouncing the whole protective system as a robbery of the masses, he addressed himself particularly to the assumption that because the duty on wool might put some money in the pockets of Texas wool growers it was therefore a benefit to the whole people of Texas. Who are these Texan wool growers, he asked, that all the other people of Texas should be taxed by the tariff for their benefit? They are mostly absentees, and few or none of them do any real work, while their immense flocks are tended by two or three Mexicans and a lot of hairless Mexican dogs. Who are they that you men who earn your living by hard work should be compelled by law to pay higher prices for every stitch of woolen clothing you or your families wear to give them a bonus? If you want to continue that, vote against me, for I am as much opposed to protecting Texas wool as I am opposed to protecting anything else. Mr. Mills's continued presence in the house shows the answer of his constituents, and the fact that the putting of wool on the free list is the keystone of the Mills bill shows his adherence to the principle he then declared. Like the other members of the house and means committee Mr. Mills evidently only regards the Mills bill as a mere entering wedge. What he really aims at was well set forth in the peroration of his speech in support of the Morrison bill four years ago:

God grant that the day may soon come when American ships shall again sail the seas under the shield and protection of our own flag. If that day is to come, it must be preceded by a reversal of the policy of commercial restriction. We must remove, both by legislation and diplomacy, every hindering cause that prevents the free exchange of the

products of our labor in all the markets of the world. We must unfetter every arm and let every muscle strike for the highest remuneration for its toil. We must let wealth, the creation of labor, grow up in all the homes of our people. Then every industry will spring forward at a bound, and wealth, prosperity and power will bless the land that is dedicated to FREE MEN, FREE LABOR and FREE TRADE!

Representative William L. Scott of Pennsylvania is a man of the same clear-cut kind. Like Mr. Mills, Mr. Scott has made the fight in his own state and has broken the superstition that no one not pledged to protection to Pennsylvania industries can have any political influence in that state. A favorite notion of protectionists is that free traders are all theorists. Scott of Erie has proved himself practical enough as a politician to break Randall's political power in Pennsylvania as by one blow, and he is a practical enough business man to have made a fortune popularly estimated at \$15,000,000. Yet this is the man—a Pennsylvanian, a business man, a millionaire, who has most firmly struck the true democratic keynote in the tariff debate, and declared against all protection, not merely as economically injurious, but as morally wrong—as violative of the spirit and letter of the constitution, of the fundamental principles of the democratic party and of the natural and inalienable rights of man. Nor is it strange that such an outspoken free trader should spring up from the very hot bed of American protectionism. On the contrary, it is natural. Logical and thorough going protectionism begets, when thought is once aroused, logical and thorough going free traders. This is why I am so glad to see the republican platform boldly take such ultra ground. With Scott in the lead, there will be no "Polk, Dallas and the tariff of '43" campaign in Pennsylvania this year. Against the principle of protection will be pitted the principle of freedom, and however the electoral vote may go, the discussion will make free traders.

One of the representative men whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Washington was Congressman Nichols of North Carolina, master workman of the Knights of Labor of that state. Mr. Nichols is a North Carolinian by birth, and at the age of twelve was apprenticed to the printing trade in the office of a weekly paper in Raleigh. He was in the office, and after while got to reading the New York Weekly Tribune, which came as an exchange, but was regularly thrown aside. Thus he became an abolitionist. Though he had to keep his opinions quiet, yet in the office at night time he taught some slave boys and men to read—then a penal offense. When he became of age he agreed to work as foreman of the office, before school, after school and on Saturdays, for his board and the payment of his tuition in a neighboring academy. Then he got married, and then, utterly unexpected, came the war, a local politician, one A. M. Lewis, who is still living, guaranteeing in a speech, when volunteers were first called for, to wipe up with his pocket handkerchief all the blood that should be spilt. Then came the conscription, for things did not go quite as the fire eaters, who had hurried the south into secession, expected. But the state issue of paper money had commenced, and Mr. Nichols was engaged in printing it. Though conscripted, he was too good a printer to be spared from the manufacture of money, and so was detailed for that purpose. He worked away while the war was raging, turning white paper into money so long as white paper could be had, and then when the protection to southern industry afforded by the federal fleets and armies became so thoroughly effective that no white paper was to be had, using up whatever paper could be got hold of, even though it had been printed on one side. Of this money he got at first \$50 a month, and then by successive increases \$400 a month. But the currency depreciated faster than his pay went up, and toward the close his \$400 a month was really worth no more than \$10 a month would have been before the war began. Then came Sherman and his army. The soldiers had lots of coffee, tea, sugar, and all sorts of things which the protective blockade had made unattainable luxuries. They were ready to swap them for garden stuff; and from a patch which he had planted Mr. Nichols got a good stock of such things. They were constantly wanting songs printed, and kept Mr. Nichols busy at it, paying high prices in good money. And they bought up North Carolina currency at \$1 per \$100, to be used as stakes at cards. Thus well started, Mr. Nichols worked away in his book and job office until with the incoming of Garfield's administration he was astonished by his appointment as postmaster. The way of it was that there were three well matched applicants; Mr.

Garfield, unwilling to decide between them, called on them to name a fourth, and they finally agreed on Nichols. His election to congress came in pretty much the same way. General Cox, who had represented the Raleigh district, was defeated for renomination because of his devotion to civil service reform. There was much dissatisfaction, and Mr. Nichols, who had in the meantime become master workman of the Knights of Labor, was asked to run as an independent candidate, and was elected by a majority of over four thousand, receiving many democratic votes.

Very interesting to me was the long talk I had, both of the past and of the present, with this representative of what were the "poor whites" of North Carolina. In his district there are to-day thirty-eight cotton factories, employing from one hundred to five hundred hands each—nineteen of them being in Alamance county. It contains also the largest smoking tobacco factory in the world, which makes the Durham smoking tobacco, flavored with rum and the tonka bean. This factory owes its rise to the fancy which many of the federal soldiers when encamped about Raleigh took for this tobacco, then made on a very small scale by a man named Durham. It now employs from 800 to 1,000 hands, nearly all black. In his district is also one of the largest cigarette factories in the world, that of W. Duke, Sons & Co., which employs 600 hands, nearly all white. The cotton factories employ both blacks and whites—but generally in different departments. There were strong prejudices between the poor whites and the blacks before the war, owing, as Mr. Nichols puts it, to the fact that the blacks being the property of rich men, generally got the better of it in any controversy or collision. These prejudices remained after the war, but the spread of the Knights of Labor is breaking them down. In that order the colors are generally organized in separate assemblies. When organizing in any place they find it best to organize a white assembly first, the blacks being ready to follow the initiative of the whites, but the whites objecting to follow the initiative of the blacks. When white workmen are organized they at once see the advantage of getting colored workmen to organize, as it makes them stronger. The white knights visit the colored assemblies very largely; the colored knights return these visits, though not so largely; and a sense of common interest soon grows up. As yet the growth of the Knights of Labor has been among the mechanics and factory hands, but few field hands having come in. But it is likely in time to embrace these also. They have a need for intelligent lecturers, but the discussion of economic subjects goes on in some fashion in all the assemblies, white and colored.

Master Workman Nichols has always used all his influence against strikes, but the order has won some important advantages without striking, notably the reduction of hours in the cotton factories from twelve to ten.

Protective notions have taken little or no hold among the factory hands; but there is a leaning to them among the proprietors. The internal revenue taxes are favored by the large factory owners and distillers, but are very unpopular among the small farmers, being made the occasion of much extortion and oppression.

The whole atmosphere of Washington confirms the opinion that a new political era has indeed come; that the movement for a reduction of protection must pass into an avowed free trade movement, and that into a single tax movement—that in short what is now beginning in the attack upon the tariff-fostered monopolies is a great struggle against all monopolies. Protection has nailed the black flag to the mast head in the Chicago convention, and the Mills bill, which is being fought line by line in the house, will be killed in the senate. So much the worse for protection. The next bill which will be introduced will be one that will make the Mills bill seem a high protective measure.

The indications are many and are strengthening that a great revolt of free trade republicans, especially in the west, is going to give to the democratic national ticket many states hitherto counted as republican, and elect Mr. Cleveland by a political tidal wave. In so declaring that he shall vote for Mr. Cleveland, while supporting the republican state ticket, ex-Mayor Low of Brooklyn speaks for many thousands of republicans in this and other eastern states. In Indiana, the Indianapolis News, the most influential republican paper in Indiana, takes firm ground against the republican platform, and says:

We believe in a reformation of the tariff which shall not merely reduce the revenues from it, but reduce the rates by which they are derived, and, by supplying to our manu-

facturers free raw material give them a chance at the markets of the world where American energy, enterprise and ability fear no competitor. As we began this fight we continue it. We have urged the people of the Seventh congressional district to return Mr. Bynum not because he is a democrat—in spite of it, for that matter—but because he is a tariff reformer. This battle we should like to see carried into every congressional district of Indiana. We shall aid in carrying it there, and we would that next November would record thirteen tariff reform congressmen from Indiana—no matter what their politics.

The News does not formally oppose General Harrison, but what effect such support of anti-protection congressmen will have upon a protectionist candidate for president can be seen.

The feeling which this indicates is extending through all the west, and as the discussion goes on, must become stronger and stronger.

In the meantime our local friends in Washington are numerous and active. They have held a number of useful meetings, and will recommence them in the fall. They held what they call a socratic debate, at which Senator Palmer of Michigan presided, and Mr. Croffutt, late editor of the Washington Post, opposed the single tax and stood up to answer questions. They had fun. Then Mr. Croffutt and his friends wanting more, they had a debate between Mr. Croffutt and Charles F. Adams, at which Senator Kenner of West Virginia presided; an illustrated lecture by Mr. Charles Newburgh of the pension bureau, at which District Attorney Hoge presided; a debate with the Young men's Christian association, and a lecture from Miss Hulda Loud, who is said to be a wonderfully efficient speaker. Nine out of ten of the Knights of Labor in the district are single tax men. The departments are becoming saturated with it; investigation shows that a majority of the new clerks entering through the civil service examinations are for the single tax; and I heard directly and indirectly of many prominent men, in congress and out of it, who have accepted the idea. Our Washington friends are full of the belief that the federal district offers a magnificent opportunity to bring the single tax proposition in practical form before the whole country. Mr. C. B. Hemingway has already got the signatures of many of the most prominent business men in Washington to a petition to congress asking for the abolition of taxes on improvements and the raising of district revenues from a tax upon the rental values of land. Our friends are confident that before another session they can with proper effort get the signatures of three-fourths, some say nine-tenths, of the voters of the district to some such petition. The proposition thus sanctioned by the highest democratic authority, the will of the people, will not lack friends in both houses of congress to advocate and push it, even though they might as yet shrink from advocating such a measure in their own states. The manner in which the federal expenditures in the District of Columbia have rebounded to the advantage of the land owners, and the growth of the city has been retarded by land speculation, give the most striking illustrations of the justice and expediency of the measure. A great debate in congress on the proposition would have an immense educational influence on the whole country.

I walked down a pleasant Washington street on Sunday afternoon with a friend of mine, now growing gray, who for years has worked hard and well for free trade, and other true reforms—a man to whom it has been given at critical times to have much influence for good. We talked of the long years during which the effort to make any headway against the protectionist superstition seemed like pouring water upon sand, and with joy and congratulation of the new era that with President Cleveland's message seems to have at last opened. He said to me: "I remember when my first child was born, sitting by her bedside and saying to his mother, 'We must teach this child to hate slavery. It won't be abolished in his lifetime, but in his lifetime he will be able to help toward it.' How little I foresaw what was even then at hand. Before that child had much more than learned to prattle slavery was dead."

To me this Fourth of July comes with more of hope for the republic than any have known. Again, in every town a hamlet the majestic words of Jefferson resound:

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We have not fully understood the any more than our fathers did. But are beginning to learn. Freedom is yet here, but she is coming. It is our clear her way.

HENRY GEORGE

ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WE FENCE OUT.

The Growing Wealth of the Argentine Republic—Englishmen, Italians, Germans and Spaniards Enjoy a Profitable Trade, but Americans Must Wait for a Subsidized Steamship Line.

The *Mail and Express*, which is never tired of explaining in its editorial columns that any American who advocates that Americans should trade with foreign countries is, *ipso facto*, a renegade and a paid agent of the Cobden club, has of late developed a habit of giving on its non-editorial pages most tempting descriptions of the advantages which might secure by trading with certain countries if it weren't for the immorality of the thing. It is perhaps not good judgment, while denouncing the sin of Achan, thus to put on exhibition the silver and gold and garments to be gained by imitating his crime; but the *Mail and Express* does it all the same.

Recently the *Mail and Express* has been interviewing Mr. Charles H. Sanford, a wicked American, doubtless secretly in British pay, who has been connected with Buenos Ayres for twenty years, but has always kept his residence in the United States, and lives at present on Fifth avenue, in this city. Mr. Sanford communicated some facts about the Argentine Republic which are interesting.

The Argentine Republic, Mr. Sanford says, is a beautiful country, offering a better opportunity for the investment of capital than any other country in the world.

The prosperity of the people is remarkable. The Argentine Republic is a country of almost unknown, and none of importance have taken place in the last eight years. An Argentine's word is his bond. A note was never given there for a debt before 1874, and to-day the largest transactions of the country are done on simple verbal promises or agreements to pay. I have done millions of dollars of business without ever having a document pass until the business was fully completed. The people I have always found hospitable and amiable. I have known few worthy Americans who did not succeed there.

The government is similar to ours, and its constitution is an exact copy of ours, with the exception that the president is elected for a term of six years instead of four. The president is Mr. M. Juarez Coleman. He is a very young man to occupy such a position, being under forty years of age. He is a very energetic and enterprising ruler, and I have the doubt that his reign will be prosperous to the country. Military rule and dictatorship have long since been a thing of the past in the Argentine Republic, although many people think that that is still the rule of the country.

Every state of the province has a normal school for boys and another for girls. At the head of the latter, with but few exceptions, there are American girls. In Buenos Ayres the public school buildings are handsome and the number of schools in the country was 3,025. They were served by 6,241 teachers, and their attendance numbered 227,450.

"How is the climate?"
"Very temperate and delightful. The mercury rarely goes above 80 degrees in summer or below 60 degrees in winter. The greatest extreme is 40 degrees. It is not a tropical country, but is dry and healthy, about the temperature of Georgia, except that it does not have the extreme cold that state sometimes experiences. Rarely does ice freeze thicker than a pane of glass. This makes the Argentine Republic the best cattle raising country in the world. It is the best place to house the cattle. The number of sheep now being raised there is 100,000,000, and of cattle 20,000,000. A new industry has taken a great hold of the people of late. It is the raising of horses. It is the best place in the world to raise horses. The number of horses imported for breeding purposes cost \$25,000."

"What about the railroads?"
"The number of miles of railroads in the country is 4,420. They cost \$167,000,000. Their gross earnings are \$25,000,000 and net earnings over \$13,000,000. They pay dividends of ten per cent to the stockholders. The company has 1,000 miles of track and one is now building to be 1,200 miles long. The government has ordered the building of a road about 1,200 miles long. Another now being constructed is to connect Buenos Ayres with Chili. The line will be done in two years. It will connect Buenos Ayres with Mendoza via Valparaiso and will make Buenos Ayres the great metropolis of South America, as all West coast passenger mails and light freight, etc., for Europe will save ten days by using this railway."

"Is there much emigration to your country?"
"A very great deal. It is one of the great factors in the growth of the country. During the last year 127,000 immigrants arrived from Buenos Ayres. During the first three months of this year the number arriving was 40,000. It is expected that at least 200,000 will arrive there this year. They are principally Italians, Spaniards, French and Germans, and are of a good class. They all go to work at once. No beggars or paupers are allowed to come to the country. This is one of the reasons for the rapid growth of Buenos Ayres. A remarkable fact is to be noted in the growth of that city. It has been shown that in the last three decades Buenos Ayres has doubled every ten years. It is prophesied that it will be the size of London in less than fifty years, and will certainly be one of the great cities of the world in a few years. In connection with this subject I want to tell you of a city whose record of growth is marvelous. Its name is La Plata, and it is the capital of the province of Buenos Ayres. It was founded in 1829, and now contains 50,000 inhabitants. All the houses are built of brick, the streets are perfectly paved and lighted with electricity. It has banks, theaters, a chamber of commerce, and it has the finest public buildings in South America. Its tramway lines are numerous and first class. All this has been done in five years. La Plata is about thirty miles from Buenos Ayres, on the same river."

With regard to the foreign trade of the republic Mr. Sanford gives some interesting statistical information:

The National bank was founded in 1872, has a capital of \$40,000,000 and deposits of \$70,000,000. The Provincial bank, founded in 1820, has a capital of \$10,000,000 and deposits are \$97,000,000. The London and River Plate has a capital of \$1,500,000, the English bank a capital of \$1,000,000, the Carabobo \$7,500,000, the Italian \$3,000,000, the Commercial \$2,000,000 and the Mercantile \$2,000,000. Besides these there are German and Spanish banks and a number of banking houses. The principal exports are wool and hides. These, a few years ago were the only exports. Now we have a list of articles on the list, notable among them being wheat and flour, of which our exports amount to between \$30,000,000 and \$60,000,000. In 1877 our imports and exports amounted to \$215,000,000. In 1878 our exports were \$24,000,000. Last year the number of vessels entering and departing from Buenos Ayres was 4,000 more than in the year previous and with 1,000,000 more tons of freight. The average number of steamers leaving the city each month for Europe is sixty. The income of the government for 1877 was \$58,000,000, an increase of \$12,000,000 over the year previous.

Is there much money raised in England for the River Plate country?
"Yes. The money raised in London up to the present time for loans, railways, banks and other companies is as follows: Loans payable in London, \$23,000,000; loans paid in London, \$23,000,000; principal payable in Buenos Ayres, \$23,000,000; interest payable in Buenos Ayres, \$23,000,000; interest payable in Buenos Ayres, \$23,000,000. Besides these there are German and Spanish banks and a number of banking houses. The principal exports are wool and hides. These, a few years ago were the only exports. Now we have a list of articles on the list, notable among them being wheat and flour, of which our exports amount to between \$30,000,000 and \$60,000,000. In 1877 our imports and exports amounted to \$215,000,000. In 1878 our exports were \$24,000,000. Last year the number of vessels entering and departing from Buenos Ayres was 4,000 more than in the year previous and with 1,000,000 more tons of freight. The average number of steamers leaving the city each month for Europe is sixty. The income of the government for 1877 was \$58,000,000, an increase of \$12,000,000 over the year previous.

THAT PROTECTION PLATFORM.

A Life-Long Republican Hotly Denounces It and Joins in the Free Trade Fight.

CHICAGO, June 25.—"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," reads like a prophecy of the action of the republican convention of 1888. What else than insanity can have directed its course in the promulgation of a platform so saturated with monopolistic villainy that even the "railroad kings," and "coal barons," and "manufacturing lords," and "merchant princes," and "iron masters" stand aghast at its audacious demands for more plunder and further robbery of the people's earnings.

In these closing hours of the convention, during which the banded monopoly forces seemed to think they had the country by the throat and shamelessly abandoned all disguise or pretense of patriotic motives, there is a kind of hush—a sort of listening for a response from the people so outrageously misrepresented, much as the burglar may listen to learn if, in blowing the safe, the report has aroused any one.

In this case the alarm is surely sounded, and I misread the spirit of the times if this people tamely submit to being "held up" and "slandered" and forced to make further deliveries to this insatiable monster of monopolistic greed. After a tariff plank of the most ultra high protective pattern, what monumental effrontery it is to propose the disbursement of the treasury surplus by creating a navy with "all modern appliances" and in the latest style. Why, this nation has never before had so many than a peace-time citizen has for a revolutionary battle land.

Then, not content with the hundred or more millions to be distributed in navy jobs, we must submit to being robbed of unexpressed millions more for a line of coast defenses. "Who, in the name of a long suffering and overburdened people, do we need to be defended against? Are the 'infant industries' in danger? Surely the tariff wall should protect them. It would seem to a mind not warped by the beauties and benefits of monopoly that the surest defense the country can have is an impenetrable wall of loyalty in the hearts of its citizens, built up by the bricks of exact justice and cemented by the enduring mortar of equal rights, with no special privileges to favored classes.

Then comes a proposition to subsidize ship companies and to dig a ship canal across the isthmus; and seeing with eager, hungry eyes and parched throat the surplus revenues from the robber tariff still unexhausted, the climax of insolence is reached when "We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes (on whisky and tobacco), rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system."

Carlyle once spoke of England as being some twenty millions of people "mostly fools." The builders of this platform must have had the same low estimate of the American people in mind when they so insolently thrust it in our faces as a declaration of principles.

Have been a life-long republican, but my political stomach revolts at this dose, and hundreds of my old party associates agree with me in the belief that it will not only defeat the candidate, but destroy the party. And that it ought to.

The tariff is the only issue in the coming campaign. The lines of battle are formed; the question at issue is clearly defined; and I have an abiding faith that the result will prove that our sixty millions are not "mostly fools."

WM. SPALDING.

The Sentiment for Electoral Reform Spreads.

The growing sentiment in favor of honest elections is manifesting itself in several states in the form of a demand for the adoption of the Australian system of voting. Following the example of New York and Massachusetts, "an act to provide for the printing and distributing of ballots at the public expense, and to regulate voting at state and congressional elections," has been introduced in the Rhode Island legislature with favorable prospects of becoming a law. The press in several western states, regardless of party lines, is beginning to urge this reform upon the attention of the state legislatures. The interest in pure elections in New York has assumed such respectable proportions that Governor Hill's veto of the New York bill will undoubtedly cut a considerable figure in the approaching state campaign.

Michigan has the honor of being the state in which the first of the recent attempts to purify elections was made. For two years some of the legislators have been trying to pass a new election law in that state, but they have been voted down. The success achieved in Massachusetts and New York will doubtless help the Michigan men to pass a bill in the next session.

Easier to Fight Savages than Landlords.

DALLAS, Texas.—The land tax theory is becoming more and more popular every day in this country as people understand it; and those who *glit* the real farmer who cultivates his own land and the renter who cultivates the landlord's land and gives half the makes for the privilege of killing crab grass and burs would oppose this reform, are beginning to see their mistake. All over Texas the real working farmers are getting deeper and deeper into debt. English, Scotch and American companies loan money to them at one per cent per month interest, payable yearly and secured by iron-clad mortgages on their homes, running for five years. At the expiration very few, if any, will be able to meet the principal, in which event their homes will be taken from them. Far better would it be for women and children to-day were the once hostile Comanches back here with their bows, arrows and scaling knives; they could be kept off with Winchester rifles. But before the landlord savages, with the sword of vested rights and the shield of the law, the farmer is defenseless.

JOHN C. BRUCE.

Out Door Meetings in and Around Boston.

BOSTON.—We are getting the taxation question before the people in various ways, the chief one of which is through mass meetings on the common on Sunday afternoon after the public concerts are over. These meetings compare favorably in size with any meetings held in this section in years. In addition to these Sunday meetings, at least one out door meeting a week is held in some suburban town. A portable platform, light, strong, and easily taken apart has been constructed by one of our members, so that we have merely to find a suitable open place in which to set it up. There is no lack of speakers, and if some, perhaps, are not bookish and close reasoners, the plain truths they proclaim and the hard facts they display are not the less interesting to the crowd. One of the best results of this kind of agitation is the increased demand for literature.

E. M. W.

A Note from London.

LONDON, W. C., June 20.—We are pegging away here. The heaven has enormously spread. Land nationalization is now popular in all the advanced liberal clubs. Candidates are now being selected for parliament. Scarcely any of these are fully with us, but all (nearly so) are in favor of taxation of land values.

The new evening paper, the *Star*, is a phenomenal success. It is straight on the land question.

J. C. DURANT.

TINKERING WITH THE IRISH PROBLEM.

The National Leaders Trying to Harness the National Proprietary and the People With a Ruinous, Halfhearted Compensation Scheme—Irishland's Only Hope.

BELLAUGH, County Kerry, Ireland, June 25.—The present aspect of the Irish land agitation borders on the region of hopelessness. The tinkering measures of reform proposed by the national leaders, the action of the landlords and the miserable condition of the farming population, unite in creating a feeling almost of despair in the breasts of true land reformers. Monstrous rack renting, eviction and poverty stare us daily in the face, and in the near future we are threatened with a peasant proprietary and an extensive landlord compensation. The £5,000,000 granted under Lord Ashbourne's act for compensation has been already gobbled up by the landlords, and another appeal will be immediately made to parliament for a further vote to continue the steal. In a few years, if the Irish representatives take no means of stopping it, this gigantic and iniquitous robbery will have been effected over the whole country, and the Irish people will be crushed down for another half century under its terrible weight. Paying purchase money will be just as severe a burden on the industry of the country as paying the enormous rent, so that virtually this monstrously unjust purchase scheme is equivalent to a respite to landlordism for fifty years.

Under these circumstances many will be inclined to ask themselves whether the agrarian agitation of the past nine years has been a benefit to Ireland? Has it not rather been a curse? There cannot be a doubt of the opinion posterity will hold if its leaders permit this tremendous robbery to be perpetrated. Divits cut out during the past thirty years (£330,000,000 (\$800,000,000)) have been paid by Irish tenants into the pockets of Irish landlords. And now when the people clamor for this wanton and barefaced robbery to be stopped, those engaged in it have the supreme audacity to demand compensation; and the national leaders in face of this terrible record of pickpocketing are disposed to entertain their claim. Compensation to landlords, a few years hence will be considered as inhuman and unjust as compensation to slaveholders after the civil war in the United States.

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Is This Not What the Protected Tariff is Intended to Do?

Pittsburg Dispatch. There there will be a long lookout among the employees in the various iron mills in this vicinity after July 1 seems a certainty. The striking employees of Singer, Nimick & Co. have been notified that they will be paid on Wednesday, and that the mill will be closed in five days unless their demands for a ten per cent reduction. The employees at the Soho mill of Moorhead, McClean & Co. will also refuse to go into effect July 1. The employees of the Pittsburg forge and iron company also refuse to accept any reduction in their wages. Quite a number of sub lodges of the amalgamated association have already decided to reject the manufacturers' scale.

Free Trade Doctrines a Light in the Window to Him.

McKEESPORT, Pa., June 30.—Please send me some of Thomas G. Shearman's tracts. His speeches, as published in THE STANDARD, have been a "light in the window" for me, and I am sure, for many others who are groping in the darkness of protective doctrines. I have distributed quantities of tracts, and I found many men in favor of the free trade.

B. F. MORGAN.

STRAWNS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Industry has been enslaved. Laborers have been cut off and fenced out from natural opportunities by monopolies. Our "illogical, unjust and erroneous" system of taxation has done it, and the masses are beginning to see it.—[Fearsall, Tex., Sun.]

This Australian system of voting is the best the ingenuity of man has yet devised to prevent fraud, intimidation, bribery or corruption in elections, to give a perfectly secret and free ballot and secure honest counting of the votes actually cast.—[Council Grove, Kan., Anti-Monopolist.]

The onslaught of government journals against unrestricted reciprocity has slackened remarkably of late. Have they suddenly become conscious of the hopeless absurdity of preaching to the electors of reciprocity that they would not profit incalculably by free trade with sixty-two millions of neighbors—the wealthiest people in the world?—[Toronto Globe.]

Hill's veto of the election reform bill in New York, at the behest of the beetlers and strikers and ward bosses who composed the democratic convention that sent the delegates to St. Louis, has rendered that state very unsafe for the democracy this fall. The indications are that Cleveland may carry the state, but that the democratic state ticket will be buried out of sight.—[Mariette, Wis., Eagle.]

It is only a short time since the teachings of Henry George were treated with derision, and were laughed at as vagaries. It was not dreamed that his theories would ever gain a foothold among the people. But George's land theories have grown until they have grasped a great victory. The eagerness of the masses to hear George and read his writings on the subject is evidence of the rapid spread of his doctrines.—[Santa Barbara, Cal., Herald.]

Before wages can be made more permanently raised business must be made better and the demand for labor increased, while its burdens are at the same time diminished. That means that the excessive and unneeded tax debts that both restricts demand and diminishes the purchasing power of wages must be stopped. To this great work, the first step in true labor reform, President Cleveland, undismayed by lying misrepresentations, has bravely addressed himself.—[Boston Globe.]

Shall a few men be supported in luxurious idleness because they permit other men to occupy and use land the so-called owners do not want to use themselves? Or shall all have access to the materials out of which labor produces wealth, and shall each be permitted to keep for his own what he produces—no more and no less? The decision of how taxes shall be imposed will settle this question, and we hope to see it settled in favor of those who work though those who do not should be the losers by the change.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.]

We want it understood that we are working to secure the adoption of "the single tax" as soon as it can be brought about. Tariff reform will be one great step in the right direction. Tariff reform, if it can be carried out to the end, will shortly lead to free trade. Free trade will be another step. The removal of internal revenue taxes will allow all the people gain more light, until in the end, and in a much shorter time than many imagine, the present unjust system of taxation will be a thing of the past and taxes will be settled on the value of the land which they ought to be.—[Minneapolis Labor Union.]

There is no reform more imperatively needed in our country than such an improvement of election methods as will prevent bribery and intimidation in voting and fraud in counting. Such a reform can be measureably accomplished by something akin to the Australian system. The Saxton election bill, recently vetoed by the democratic governor of New York, was such a measure, and was admirably adapted to accomplish its end. Minnesota is getting to be a populous state. It is time for reform. The Saxton election bill, we trust, that the legislature will not let next winter to pass a suitable law. They will be no veto to fear from a Minnesota governor.—[Minneapolis Journal.]

The tramps are a great nuisance in Ang Arbor. They are infesting the city in large numbers—begging on Main street for a little money, begging at back doors for crumbs to eat, many of them stealing when they can get a chance. Last Sunday at least twenty-five swarthy, ragged, dirty fellows lounged on the bank of the river not far from the M. C. R. R. holding a "bum" party. Some of the current explanation of "tramps" and poverty in general is that "it is all their own fault." "If they would only work and economize as I did," said one gentleman, "they might get a good living." As though in a system of monopoly all could employ all! Why, more than all the competitors in a race can be successful.—[Ann Arbor, Mich., Register.]

The men who have absolute ownership and control of land own the mines, the forests and the fields from which labor must draw its sustenance, and labor can only work for itself by giving up a portion of its earnings to the owners of the natural opportunities for the privilege of working. It is not self evident fact that any plan which would make it unprofitable for land owners to hold these opportunities in idleness—which would compel them to use the opportunities and give them up to those who would employ them—would increase the demand for labor and raise wages! By what simpler method could this be accomplished than by transferring all taxation to land, and who except the land speculator and land would be benefited by such a tax? It is a land tax that your true free trader hopes to see in place of a tariff tax, and this is the logical conclusion of the free trade argument.—[Rock Springs, Wyo., Independent.]

"Much Virtue in an 'It'"
Commercial Bulletin.

If, as well posted men will allow, the progress of this country in the protection era is paralleled in the world's history—
If the policy of protection rules at the present time in all nations of the earth with but two rare exceptions, and is everywhere gaining in favor rather than losing, even in England—
If the products of our manufacture have grown so tremendously in this era of protection that we are now the foremost manufacturing nation on the globe—
If the multiplication of industries during the era of protection has brought about such domestic competition as to materially reduce the cost of every article of living save rents—
If the American workman is better paid, better clad, better educated and (unless he is a free trader) more contented than any other on the face of the globe—
If the American workman not only earns more and spends more, but also pays more money in saving institutions than any other class of working people—
If business is fairly good and we are holding our own in every branch of trade and industry except our unprotected cotton carrying trade—
Why, in the name of common sense and ordinary prudence, should we aim a deadly blow at this same protective system which has served us so well?

But the Poor Have to Spend All They Get and Are Taxed on Every Cent they Spend.
New York Sun.

The Vanderbilts and the Golets spend much more of their incomes proportionately than the Astors, but after all, only a small part of them, and Mr. Gould, reputed to be now richer than ever in substantial property, lives on a scale which requires only an insignificant sum as compared with his revenues from investments and speculation. The same applies to the very rich men of New York generally. What they are expending is a trifle by the side of what they are receiving and making. It is also to be remembered that pro-use expenditure is no guarantee of solid wealth, and modest living does not always imply its absence.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE RATIFICATION MEETINGS.

Both wings of the democratic party and the republicans in this city have held their ratification meetings. Such meetings would have been held with much show of enthusiasm had both parties nominated men never before heard of by their respective voters. There is a tacit understanding among Americans that a candidate for the presidency must be hurried for with ever accelerating energy from the moment of his nomination to that of his triumph or defeat at the polls. Nor are the cheers thus given altogether perfunctory. There are in both parties large numbers of men who really enjoy such cheering and who can readily work themselves up into a condition of personal devotion to their candidate that savors largely of the emotional loyalty of an English cockney to "er gracious majesty the queen." Nevertheless there is some conscious manufacture of excitement on such occasions, and this is notably true of the republicans this year, who have two candidates that they do not really care for, while the majority of the party is bitterly disappointed that Blaine was not nominated.

The Tammany ratification was chiefly distinguished by Governor Hill's repudiation of any sympathy with free trade. Governor Hill has apparently learned something since then, and he was a little more discreet and less sensational when he spoke at the county democracy meeting last Thursday evening. Though he again insisted that the democratic party did not mean free trade, the governor made a strong attack on the protective delusion and declared that American labor needs protection, and that the protective system oppresses labor and builds up monopolies. The governor seems to be something of a democrat, after all, and if he will keep right along in this direction no free trader will care to quarrel with him about the mere use of terms. In fact, he is absolutely right when he declares that the present movement aims, not at free trade, but at "freer trade." No rational free trader asks any more than "freer trade" from year to year until trade is free indeed. We suspect that if it were not for Governor Hill's profound ignorance of the real sentiments of workmen he would be as about as good a free trader as the author of the Mills bill.

But while Governor Hill's speech was more satisfactory to free traders than could have been anticipated after his Tammany hall performance, they have the right to feel somewhat disappointed with the talk of Speaker Carlisle, who occasionally "doth protest too much." When the brilliant galaxy of able Kentuckians who now so well serve their country and honor their state meet "the star-eyed goddess" and her keeper in familiar intercourse, they are understood to be about as radical a lot of free traders as can be found; but they have agreed among themselves apparently that they owe it as a duty to the northern democracy to conceal their sentiments in the presence of our working people, and since no one expects free trade as the immediate outcome of pending legislation, they take frequent occasion to repel the accusation that the democratic party is committed to free trade. We advise them not to carry this policy too far. The bosses of the two machines in this city are not very safe advisers as to the sentiment of those workmen whose votes may go astray in the pending contest. However great may be the alarm among the street pavers, garbage dumpers and ash cart men on account of free trade, there can be found in the two political machines men fully competent to ally it and restore equanimity to the perspiring patriots whose votes are supposed to be in jeopardy. These are not the workmen who are likely to desert the democratic party to support the "pedigree and pocket book" ticket of the republicans. The men whose votes must be retained in order to assure democratic success in this city are those who have been deceived by republican assertion and democratic silence into a belief that a burdensome system of high tariff taxation assures higher wages to American workmen than they would otherwise receive. These men cannot be deceived into the belief that the democratic party is as good a friend as the republican party to the protective idea, and unless they are undeceived as to the effect of protection they are going to vote for the party that can safely be depended on to continue the protective policy. This is

all that the tariff question means to them, and so long as they believe that protection does give higher wages they will not care a hawbee whether the party which opposes THE protection party wants only to reduce protection a little or to abolish it altogether. They will be against that party all the same.

If Mr. Carlisle wants to do any real good in New York he ought to set about destroying the delusion, fostered largely by so-called democrats here, that the republican policy of protection is a great boon to labor. He can depend on a most courteous and interested audience of workmen whenever he proposes to discuss this question and declare his real views concerning it. He ought to have seen evidence of this in the warm greeting he received at the hands of the Academy of Music audience. Mr. Carlisle is chiefly known to New Yorkers as the great apostle of tariff reduction. He has no local following or influence such as gives Governor Hill the carefully stimulated applause with which he is usually greeted. Why then was Mr. Carlisle received with such enthusiasm? It was undoubtedly as the leader of the tariff reformers. If he and Mr. McMillan, who followed with another repudiation of free trade ideas, could only escape from the hands of our local bosses and face a meeting of real workmen they would be surprised and delighted at the intelligent and even critical attention with which their most sincere utterances would be received. One or two such experiences would show them how little the Tammany and county democracy leaders understand the line of argument necessary to democratic success in this state at the coming election. There is scarcely a limit to the effect that a series of speeches against protection by such men as Carlisle, Breckinridge, Mills, McMillan and others would have. We warn the true friends of Mr. Cleveland that they must set about this work and abandon the cowardly policy of the local bosses if they are to save New York for Cleveland and tariff reform.

The republican ratification meeting was held on Friday evening in the Metropolitan opera house. The crowd was enormous and the enthusiasm intense. The mass of republicans appear to be sincere worshippers of their party's fetish, and fanatical believers in its power to bring them success. Their candidates are not those they would have chosen had they had their own way about the matter, but they are working up the regular quadrennial enthusiasm for them with considerable success. It will be at white heat before the dog days.

There is one thing to be said to the credit of the republicans, and we say it with sincere satisfaction. There is no concealment, double dealing, or backing and filling about their declarations. In the language of Ben Butler, they "know what they want and are not afraid to ask for it." Every speaker at the Metropolitan opera house lauded protection to the skies. Colonel Robert Ingersoll was particularly emphatic in asserting that in it lay the hope of high wages for American labor. He sneered at free raw materials as entirely unimportant to manufacturers, and insisted that only \$5 worth of raw material enters into a \$12,000 locomotive, the remainder being the product of labor. This is interesting, and we hope that the workmen in locomotive shops will promptly call on Colonel Ingersoll for information as to what becomes of the \$11,995 of value that they create in the building of each engine. Does protection give it to them? In fact, Colonel Ingersoll, prodded by some impolite free trader in one of the boxes, admitted that even under protection the workmen does not get all that he ought to get; but, he continued, "if protection is not an advantage, why does not American labor emigrate? Why is the tide of immigration this way?" Some one in the audience cried "that's a corker!" and the whole audience went wild with enthusiasm, which continued for some minutes.

Colonel Ingersoll's question indicates clearly the republican line of argument in this canvass, and the democratic speakers and writers have got to answer that very question and answer it satisfactorily. They cannot answer it without bringing in the land question. If they try to avoid that they will find that the man in the audience was right and it is a "corker." American labor does migrate, and has been migrating for years. As migration began to be checked the existing difficulties began to appear and wages began to fall. The migration that kept up wages was not toward the protected factories, but toward the once free land of the great west, where the unprotected industry of agriculture was carried on. The cause of labor troubles is land monopoly. When land was easy of access to all who sought to employ themselves wages were high, no matter what tariff hampered trade. And so long as land is monopolized and men must work for others or starve, wages will tend to fall, whether we have a high tariff or free trade. Free trade will for a time provide new channels for labor and increase the purchasing power of the workman's wages, and it is a good thing in itself, but it will not finally solve the labor problem. Let any man who thinks so prepare an answer to Colonel Ingersoll's question and then try it on a crowd of laborers.

This may not be a pleasing fact to those who are mere free traders or tariff reformers in the ordinary sense of those terms, but it is eminently pleasing to the advocates of the single tax, because it demonstrates the impossibility of carrying on the fight against protection without bringing in the land question. We single tax people are the only ones who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by this

contest. Colonel Ingersoll can frame no questions that will alarm or embarrass us; and the men who are alarmed or embarrassed by such questions must ultimately accept our answer to them or let them go unanswered. If the democratic orators do the first, they will assist in spreading the single tax propaganda, and if they accept the alternative, and permit the question to go unanswered, they will cause their party to be defeated and have finally to turn to the single tax programme as their only way out of the wilderness. Our heartiest thanks are due to President Cleveland for bringing the great economic question into politics, and now that it is in, neither the president nor all the democrats combined can take it out. It is here to stay, let who may run away from it; and it can only be solved by the truly American policy of freedom, and never by the Chinese policy of restriction.

THE TARIFF DEBATE.

The debate on the Mills bill drags along in the house, and it becomes clearer from day to day that the republicans are seeking to delay a final vote rather than to effect any changes in the measure. On Wednesday of last week Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania coolly proposed that, since the issue had now been clearly made between the two parties, the democrats should consent to lay the bill aside until after the presidential election. Mr. Mills very properly proposed that, instead of pursuing such a course, the minority should cease to offer obstructions and permit the democrats to put themselves on record in favor of the bill, in order that the republicans might use their action against them in the campaign if they thought they could make anything out of it. Mr. Beckinridge of Kentucky suggested that the republicans should prepare such a measure as they were willing to stand by and offer it as a substitute for the pending measure, promising, on the part of the democrats, that the minority should be given as early an opportunity as they may desire to vote on their own bill. Both Mills and Beckinridge informed the republicans that, if they persisted in their tactics of delay, the democrats would stay there, if necessary, until the fourth of next March rather than consent to an adjournment without action on the bill.

Nothing fairer could be proposed, and if the republicans really had the courage to face the country on the issue made up between the two parties they would accept the democratic proposition. It is needless to say that they did not accept it, but went on with the weary debate on each separate line. Their object is perfectly plain. Nearly every protectionist member is the representative of some private interest affected by the bill, and each of them wishes to prove to his particular master that he does not propose to neglect the private interest thus intrusted to him. This is made all the plainer by the fact, alluded to by Mr. Beckinridge, that the bill must go to a republican senate, which would doubtless prevent its passage, thus putting the two parties even more plainly on the record in the matter of reducing taxation.

An amusing feature of the dreary debate since the Chicago platform was adopted is found in the indignant repudiation of one of the planks in that platform by those republican members who are afraid of the temperance vote. The democrats constantly twist the republicans with their party's declaration that it prefers the abolition of the tax on whisky rather than submit to any reduction of the tariff taxes on the necessities of life. Mr. Ezra B. Taylor of Ohio grew excited over the accusation on Thursday, and Judge Kelley, of pig iron fame, literally held up his hands in horror at the thought that he could be regarded as favoring free whisky. This was all the more amusing, as the judge, though usually a temperate man, has certainly no personal prejudices against the great Kentucky beverage. Mr. Weaver quoted the Chicago Tribune as authority for the declaration that the whisky plank in the republican platform was a great blunder, whereupon the republicans promptly repudiated that great journal and greeted Mr. Weaver's assertion that it is a republican paper with derisive cries. It is a pity that the Tribune was not thus formally read out of the party in time to prevent it from stultifying itself by even such half hearted support as it has begun to give the organization that has rejected its candidate and given it a platform that it is forced to repudiate.

THE COURT OF APPEALS DECISION.

The more the action of the court of appeals in the Gill conspiracy case is considered the greater becomes the wonder that so momentous a decision should have been rendered without the assignment of any reasons. The decision, as we have already pointed out, strikes a deadly blow at labor organizations, and is more in accord with English public opinion a quarter of a century ago than with what has been supposed to be American opinion during recent years. At a time when all sorts of combinations of employers are in existence, many of them actually promoted by a perversion of governmental powers, the working people of New York are suddenly denied the right to maintain any kind of effective combination for the promotion of their own interests as workmen. Since THE STANDARD called attention to the gravity of the decision, the New York Herald has taken the matter up, and it, too, complains of the failure of the court to offer any explanation of what it holds to be the law in the matter.

There can be but two possible explanations of the failure of the court to render

an opinion. One is that the appellants, being mere mechanics, are regarded as persons of too little account to command the serious attention of an august body which is largely occupied with the preparation of minute opinions concerning comparatively trifling disputes in which great and wealthy corporations are concerned. The other is that the judges did not dare to put into words the full enunciation of the law as it is interpreted by their decision. It was much easier and safer to render a decision that may arbitrarily send a number of reputable mechanics to jail for the assertion of what they, and most other people, believed to be their legal rights than to expound the law with such clearness that a plain issue would have been raised which the aroused and indignant working people could have carried into politics with a view to compelling the rewriting of those laws that now deny to them the rights freely accorded to workmen in countries nominally less free.

As matters now stand the members of the labor organizations can scarcely take one step in the darkness in which the court of appeals has left the question of their rights without incurring danger of imprisonment as criminal conspirators. If the refusal to work in the same shops with non-union men is conspiracy, it is difficult to imagine any course that the union men can take to protect the integrity of their unions and uphold wages that will not be accounted a crime. If a decision similarly outlawing the established customs of great moneyed corporations had been rendered it would have been accompanied by an elaborate opinion in which shrewd lawyers would have endeavored to find loopholes of escape for their clients. Schemes to evade the operation of the law would have been devised, and, at the worst, those concerned might have anticipated a final defeat after prolonged litigation and a new decision by the court of last resort. Workmen cannot afford to attempt such tactics, and they must, therefore, obey, so far as they can, this arbitrary dictum of the court or risk the consequences, which in their case is not the mere defeat of a money making scheme, but imprisonment in case they even unwittingly offend. Such a discrimination between two classes of citizens in the administration of the law in what is called a free state, will, if continued, make our boasted American freedom a mere snare for the feet of the unwary.

JIMMY O'BRIEN ALARMED.

Mr. James O'Brien of this city appears to be greatly concerned lest the tariff issue may injure President Cleveland's chances of re-election. He has written a letter to that unselfish and consistent upholder of democratic principles, Samuel J. Randall, in which he manages to put a protectionist stamp speech of chestnut flavor in the mouths of a number of supposititious democratic workmen, whom he represents as being ready to organize for the defeat of any democratic congressman from this city who shall vote for the Mills bill. The spectacle of Messrs. Randall and O'Brien weeping together over the possibility of such a result is an interesting and instructive one. Mr. O'Brien confines himself to his statement of the case without suggesting a remedy, but, after the "don't nail his ears to the pump" method, he says that "if a number of workmen who are democrats come together and pledge themselves to vote against candidates for congress unfriendly to American labor and American interests they may vote against our president."

Here we are shown Mr. O'Brien's real animus. He is talking for himself in this sentence, and he speaks of those who support the Mills bill as men "unfriendly to American labor," thus placing himself in accord with the party that insists that a high tariff means high wages and general prosperity and against the party represented by the president and a large majority of the democrats in congress. Even if there were nothing in the past career of Mr. O'Brien to suggest a doubt as to his interest in the democratic party, we should find here conclusive evidence that he is not now in accord with its principles as declared in its platform. Yet this is the kind of man who writes to Mr. Randall a letter pretending to solicit for the interests of the democratic party!

That there are workmen talking as Mr. O'Brien declares is doubtless true. Most of them are of the sort that constitute this so-called Irish high tariff league. Politicians of the Randall and O'Brien sort encourage such talk and then base on it predictions of disaster. Their predictions will prove well founded if somebody does not get at these deluded workmen and show them that the movement for tariff reduction is not only not "unfriendly to American labor," but directly in the interests of American labor and the general welfare. This may not be an easy task with workmen who have been led by O'Brien and instructed by Randall, but it can be done if men of sense and courage go about it. The attempt, however, to fool these men into a belief that the two parties are equally committed to protection will, despite the present confidence among the democratic leaders, cost the democratic party the loss of New York.

We have already got far beyond the question as to which political party is the best friend to "protection." That is settled, and the workmen understand the matter just as fully as anybody else. The republican party is the natural political home of all men who believe that such moderate legislation as that recommended by the president and embodied in the Mills bill is

"unfriendly to American labor." The question now is whether the policy to which the democratic party is irrevocably committed is in the interests of labor or against those interests. Those who, from whatever standpoint, propose to show workingmen that a high tariff does not promote their interests are the men who will help President Cleveland to win a success. Those who propose to inculcate the opposite opinion, no matter what their name or profession, are seeking, consciously or unwittingly, to prevent Mr. Cleveland's re-election.

People who argue with figures, like people who lie, should have long and ready memories. The stock argument of protectionists, duly ornamented with statistics, is to the effect that American wages would fall to the level of foreign wages if American and foreign products were allowed to compete on equal terms; but now comes the Press and says that the average farm wages here have for several years been \$220 per annum, as against \$30 per annum in India. How happens it then that American farming is not ruined by the importation of Indian products? and how are American farmers able to compete in European markets with the farmers of India? The answer must be that wages do not determine the price of products. If they did—if, for example, the wages for raising a given number of bushels of wheat in India were \$30, and \$220 for raising the same quantity here—Indian wheat would drive American wheat out of every market in the world, including our own. But the truth is that though the farmer in India pays but \$30 a year per man for wages, while the American farmer pays \$220, the American farmer gets a good many more bushels of wheat for the wages he pays.

As with farming, so with all other industries. The employer who gets more for given wages can undersell his competitors; but if he gets no more for the wages he pays, even though he pay smaller yearly wages than does his competitor who pay high yearly wages, he has no advantage. And so it is that, if the markets of the world were opened to us by abolishing the tariff, our labor would have an advantage in these markets in respect to all commodities for the production of which our country is naturally adapted.

It is singular that the Press, which is so expert with figures, should not stop in its headlong career and think a little, when it makes itself authority for the statement that farmers' wages in the eastern states are \$312; in the west, \$267; in California, \$456; in Virginia, \$167, and in South Carolina, \$147. If the protection doctrine that wages control prices be true, South Carolina and West Virginia ought long ago to have made farming a lost art in the east and west, and especially in California. These differences in wages are not confined to farming. They appear in all industries; but when all the facts are collated it will be found that the low priced man of one locality returns low values to his employer, while the high priced man returns high values. High priced labor is cheap labor, and in most employments American labor is the cheapest in the world.

"Like the English sparrow, the American tramp must go," says the Philadelphia News. Better that he should not come. If every man had an equal chance there would be no tramps. Neither would there be any millionaires; and that is what makes the shoe pinch.

Philadelphia has a citizen named Theodore Search. Mr. Search is trying to make a living under difficulties. He is in the worsted yarn business, which has to be carried on at a loss, according to Mr. Search, while the manufacturers hold on "in the hope that the government will do something for them." It is extremely unfortunate that any American should be compelled to do business for nothing until the government helps him, so Mr. Search thinks, and therefore he goes into the newspapers to complain of the tariff of 1888, which seems to have been badly arranged for worsted men, who, instead of getting help from the government have, been compelled to struggle along just like other people who do not get help from the government. We are sorry for Mr. Search, and yet we cannot think it quite right to tax people for Mr. Search's benefit. But there is nothing mean about us, and we are willing to help him out by calling for subscriptions. Any one desiring to contribute a penny or upward to help Mr. Search make a living may forward to him, care of Eben Search & Co., Philadelphia, and he will no doubt acknowledge with gratitude.

Bill Nye has a rival who is furnishing protection papers with funny articles about a duty on imports not being a tax, but a means of compelling foreigners to support the American government. Some of these articles surpass anything that our most noted humorists have ever done. When he feels like giving variety to his subject, we suggest that the wit in his own unique way expose the popular fallacy that water has tendency to run down hill.

The South Orange, N. J., Bulletin has been moved by an object lesson. On South Orange avenue, in that village, there is a lot of ground—ten acres—which is allowed to lie idle in such condition as to be a blot on the appearance of the village; but it is assessed for taxation at the value of \$400 an acre, while opposite to it improved property is assessed at \$15,000

per acre. These facts arouse the Bulletin to say that the owners of the vacant ground are "holding on for a large price," and the "tax assessor is aiding and abetting this disgrace by putting the tax on the property so low that the holders can afford to wait till the enterprise and energy of their neighbors make their property more valuable." Such object lessons are rapidly educating the people all over the country.

That Mr. Ring is making himself felt in Texas is evident not alone from the great number of signatures he is obtaining to the single tax petition, but as well from the way in which he is making the land speculators mad. Here is a communication to the Houston, Tex., Post, which may pass for a specimen: "Why don't you give those single tax advocates—Ring and his gang—some nuts to crack. Common sense should tell the farmers the theory is fallacy. Ring would make 5,000,000 farmers pay the tax for 60,000,000 people and allow the railroads, steamboats, pork packers, manufacturers and capitalists—the men who are able to support the government—escape taxation." The reason the Post does not give "Ring and his gang some nuts to crack" is because it has the sense to know that "Ring and his gang" can crack any nuts it may give.

The Atlanta Constitution has made the important discovery that the way to raise wages is to do more work and better work. The Constitution forgets, if it ever knew, that it takes two things to make wages—work and material. Without material, work cannot make wages, whether it be more or less work or better or worse work. If material were as free as when all things were pronounced good, it would be perfectly true that more work and better work would make higher wages; but when the source of material is monopolized, so that no one can get any material without paying for the privilege, it ought to be evident, even to the Constitution, that more work and better work, as soon as it became general among laborers, instead of raising wages, will only raise the price of the privilege of getting material.

A gentleman named John Tyree, of Geneseo, Osage county, Kansas, has just come into his own, and is duly congratulated by the Cincinnati Christian Standard. Brother Tyree, as the Standard calls him, "has always been liberal toward the cause of Christ," but little could he have thought that ages before the Christian era the creator of all things was preparing to reward him for his nineteenth century liberality and Christian goodness. Far back among the darkest clouds of the misty past Brother Tyree's inheritance was prepared for him. It was deposited in Osage county, Kansas, and through all the long ages was hidden away from the sight of men. But when in the fullness of time Brother Tyree's liberality had been proved, the Lord put it into the mind of a single ditcher on the good Deacon Tyree's farm to uncover the treasure. And now Brother Tyree is one of the richest men in the country, to be pointed out to the youth of his time as an example of what industry and piety will do for a man in this free country where all are equal except those who are not. Brother Tyree's inheritance consists of an other deposit, the richest and largest yet found on the American continent; it covers an area of at least thirty acres and is six or eight feet in depth. Thousands of tons are now in sight and millions of tons in deposit, worth from \$10 to \$60 each. Industry is all right as a virtue among the masses for whom the Lord has not made other beds, but an other bed in Kansas in conjunction with a million free and equal citizens anxious to work in it on almost any terms lest they starve, makes industry a very bad second in the race for wealth.

Here is a little story, shining with the beauty of true womanly sympathy, which we clip from an article in the Press by Mrs. Robert P. Porter:

"I felt a breath on my cheek, and a moment later a head slid gently on to my shoulder. On the head was a coarse straw hat. Its sex was unmistakable. Turned very much up at one side, with a pert wing and a bunch of faded ribbon, it told of poverty and of love of finery carried with certain amount of jaunty ease. Looking down I saw a faded blue dress reaching just over the knees of a pair of thin black stockings little legs that hardly reached the floor. A jolt of the train, and the hat slipped back. Under it was the worn, pale face of a child of twelve. It had no claims to beauty, except in the long black lashes that followed the curve of the well-shaped eyelids. Every now and then a tear slowly trickled down the girl's face, following the little channels which time alone is not cruel enough to leave on the face of a child. Finally the tears stopped. Sleep became sound, and station after station was passed without a move. The park rose green and lovely on one side, on the other flowed the Hudson, crested with gold and streaked with the crimson of the setting sun. Perhaps the child was going beyond the street where she lived. A gentle shake roused her and brought a stammered 'Oh!' of apology from her lips. 'I did not know where I was,' she added, hastily.

"Where do you get off?"
"At 135th street, and I was so tired and warm I hope you'll excuse me."
"Shall I be a fairy and tell you what you are?" I asked.

A sort of withered smile came over her thin face, and her big gray eyes settled curiously upon me as I said: "You're a cash girl in a Sixth avenue shop. To-day you got into trouble, but you were too proud to cry before the others; you meant to wait until you got home."

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for \$2 a week, running here and there, always with the cry of "cash" and the tap of pencil on counter in her ears. How her carfare consumed 60 cents out of her \$2, and her daily lunch of milk and doughnuts 30 cents more, and a fine or two would break into the second dollar, which her mother so much needed, "because I am the oldest, and the only one that can earn anything yet," she concluded, with an air of mingled pride and responsibility.

"And when you are older?"
"Oh," and her eyes sparkled, "I shall be a saleslady, and get \$5 a week, and if I am real smart and stay on, I shall get \$8. I'm not big enough now." This apologetically. Would she ever be big enough, I wondered, this woman child, with her old face, her narrow chest, her thin wrists and nervous little legs? Within a yard at a real child of twelve—golden hair, rosy cheeks, white frock, laughing lips. The contrast smote the eye. Yes, and it smote the heart.

Such a story of every day actual life is enough to undo the work of a hundred "tariff talks" and labored editorials on the blessings of protection. What has protection done for this worn, pale child of twelve, weeping in her sleep because her pitiful wage has been cut down? What can it do for her, save to reduce the purchasing power of "the second dollar that will lighten the fine imposed on her by her employers to know that her mother will be fined five cents every time she buys a peck of potatoes? Is life any easier for her because her faded blue dress and her thin black stockings are "protected"? The issue of the hour was incarnate in that "woman child, with her old face, her narrow chest, her thin wrists, and nervous little legs." No wonder that it smote a woman's kindly heart!

Many of the smaller republican newspapers, relying on the ignorance of their readers, pretend to rejoice in the failure of the republicans of the Fifth Minnesota district to renominate Hon. Knute Nelson for congress. Mr. Nelson was renominated after supporting the Morrison bill, but they say the people of his district could not stand his support of the Mills bill. These papers are either mistaken or are deceiving their readers by deliberate falsehoods. Mr. Nelson voluntarily retired because he intends to contest Mr. Sabin's seat in the senate; but he practically named his own successor, who has publicly declared that his position on the tariff question is the same as that of Nelson. Nor is this all. The republican convention of the Fifth district endorsed Nelson's course and declared for tariff reform, the only difference of opinion among the delegates arising from the desire of the farmers in the convention to make a more radical declaration in favor of free trade. How these farmers can vote for Harrison and Morton and the republican national platform no one can see, and it is therefore among the possibilities that Minnesota may accompany her election of republican tariff reformers to congress by the choice of democratic presidential electors. If the people there are logical they must do so.

Mr. E. A. Hartshorn tells an interesting story about a Minnesota farmer in a recent Press tariff talk. The farmer, it appears, is a Scandinavian, who came to this country twenty years ago and earned his first dollar working on the farm of one of Mr. Hartshorn's friends—a fact which the tariff talker, and the friend, and Mr. Hartshorn himself, all seem to think should have made a life long protectionist of him. This Scandinavian, we learn, now farms four hundred acres of land, keeps seventeen horses, milks thirty-eight cows, finds it doesn't pay to raise wheat, has lost money by investing in a factory, and thinks the tariff a robbery. Mr. Hartshorn's friend says this "will serve to show what the Cobden club educational work has done for the Minnesota farmer."

Mr. Hartshorn's friend is a little hasty in his judgment. Even admitting that the Cobden club's educational work has been guilty of producing the seventeen horses and thirty-eight cows, which is absurd, and conceding, which we deny, that it has swept away the profit in wheat raising and compelled a Minnesota farmer to lose money, still this does not account for the four hundred acres of land, which we respectably, but firmly, insist were brought into being by Almighty God without the aid or intervention of any club or educational work whatever. The Press, probably, regards those four hundred acres as a very minor factor of the moderate prosperity of the misguided Scandinavian. To us, however, they sufficiently account for the horses and the cows, as well as for the bias against protection. As for the cause of the loss on the factory investment and the depreciation in the value of wheat, we think the Scandinavian can be trusted to figure that out for himself.

Taxing Our Trade.

Says McKinley: Our beautiful tariff was made To "protect" you by heavily taxing your trade.

But, McKinley, it's death
When you choke in our breath,
Just as surely as though you were choking it off.

And we seize this occasion to ask, as we cough,
Can you choke the life into our trade?
—W. H. B.

The Kind of Robbing Peter to Pay Paul
Businessmen and the Tariff Fosters.
Burlington, Iowa, Western Herald.

The republican platform asserts that taxes are a good thing in themselves, that, entirely apart from revenue, we are made richer and happier by piling on "duties." The men who own pine forests, iron deposits, grazing lands, tell us in effect that if we continue to shut out the pine logs, iron ore and wool that might come in from neighboring lands, they need not reduce the rent demanded for the privilege of cutting logs, procuring iron for ourselves or for grazing sheep; and that they, the owners of nature's gifts, upon getting rich will spend some of these rents in providing elegant houses, horses and carriages, and diamonds, for themselves. This will stimulate industry, give employment to the poor and further the coming of the kingdom of Christ.

MEN AND THINGS.

The New York coffee exchange gave an object lesson in mercantile economy last week—nothing less than a "corner" in coffee, well managed and completely successful. The men who had contracted to deliver coffee on or before June 30 were unable to get the coffee to deliver, and were consequently obliged to pay over to the men entitled to receive the coffee the difference between the prices at which contracts were made and the price at which it was agreed that coffee could have been bought if there had been any for sale. Within a few minutes the price of coffee advanced nearly seventy-five per cent, and had the managers of the corner desired, it could doubtless have been easily forced much higher.

The story is a very simple one. In April last two firms began buying coffee for June delivery. The price was low, and they accepted every contract offered them. The men who sold the coffee, of course, didn't have it on hand—men don't keep coffee in store for two months because somebody has agreed to buy it at the end of that time—they expected to buy it, or to have it on hand when the time came for delivery. Soon it became evident that the two buyers were operating very largely. The sellers concluded that when the time should arrive for delivery the buyers would be unable to pay for all the coffee that would be delivered them without reselling it almost as fast as they received it, which, of course, would force the price down and enable the sellers to fill their contracts at a profit. Unluckily for the sellers of June coffee, the buyers showed themselves amply able to pay for all tendered them, and the result was that the sellers were compelled to settle, practically, at prices named by the two firms who held their contracts.

It is the fashion to stigmatize transactions of this sort as gambling, and to invoke legislative interference to render them impossible. And yet a close analysis of this coffee corner reveals nothing reprehensible. The merchant who in April believes that there is going to be a brisk demand for coffee in June has an unquestionable right to make a contract for coffee to be delivered him in June at a settled price. The merchant who thinks it is going to fall in value does nothing wrong when he undertakes to deliver coffee two months hence that he hasn't bought yet. To deny the right of either would be to put the commerce of the country into fetters. The law that should prevent dealing in futures on an exchange would also prevent a farmer from contracting for the sale of his potatoes before they were actually dug and barreled, or a manufacturer from taking advance orders for goods. It would practically forbid producers to make any effort to learn the needs of consumers in advance—to feel the coming market as it were; and making production a matter of guesswork, it would largely and wastefully increase its cost.

Our exchanges really perform for the community the work which the advocates of state socialism would assign to clumsy bureaus of statistics. By the constant "higgling of the market," by the never ending friction of buyers and sellers, they maintain the equilibrium between production and consumption, and secure that neither shall our stock of wealth be abruptly diminished, nor our markets suddenly filled to overflowing with goods for which no demand exists.

That it is possible to gamble on an exchange is true enough. Men can do and buy and sell coffee for future delivery without the slightest wish or expectation either to receive or deliver it. But that is no more an argument against the coffee exchange than is the fact that men may bet on the success or failure of the peach crop an argument against raising peaches. Mercantile exchanges are legitimate and economical instruments of production. The gambling that occasionally disgraces them is a consequence of the belief, bred and fostered by unjust social conditions, that the chief end of life is money getting, and that the slowest and least certain way of getting money is by working for it.

One thousand and thirty-eight human beings died in this city last week. Of these 577 were children under five years, and 493 were babies less than a year old. How the hot spell stifled the little ones in the crowded tenement houses may be judged from the fact that the deaths dropped from 227 on Tuesday to 106 on Saturday. The latter days of the week having been refreshingly cool.

It is no figure of speech, but the statement of a cold, hard fact, to say that hundreds of these little ones were crowded off the planet because society refused to allow them standing room on it. If they had been stifled in a panic stricken crowd trying to force its way out of some public building, what an outcry would have gone up against those responsible for the insufficiency of exits. Yet how silently and carelessly we listen to the record of the social crime. There was room enough in New York for all these suffocated babies could they but have been allowed to occupy it; a rich heritage awaiting them had they been permitted to live and to possess it. Surely their puny wailings and their mothers' tears shall be a testimony against us.

The Depositors' guarantee company is a recently formed organization of banks and bankers, whose objects are thus defined by one of its officers, Mr. A. M. Scriba, late United States national bank examiner, in an interview with the Times:

It is intended to absolutely insure the solvency of state and national banks by forming a combination of banks for self-protection through this corporation. As a measure of the guarantee principle, \$1,000,000 of the capital of the company will be deposited with the treasurer of the United States at Washington, and such amounts in bonds with the proper officers of the various states as the laws of such states may require. Already 1,000 of the most prominent banks in the United States have signified their intention of becoming stockholders and having their deposits guaranteed by the company. These banks have agreed to pay the company one-fifth of one per cent annually upon their gross deposits, which will give a yearly income over estimated expenses of about \$500,000.

000. In every banking center of the country there will be a competent bank examiner, who will make a thorough examination of a bank before a policy will be issued to it, and the bank examiners of the company will have the right to examine any bank included in the guarantee at any time during the year without any notification to its officers and directors. Upon the delivery of a guarantee the company will have an advertisement, to run for a period of six months, inserted in the leading newspaper in the locality of the bank bearing the notification that all depositors in the bank are guaranteed against loss, and that in the event of the bank's insolvency all deposits will be paid in full by the company with interest. The company will start upon a sound financial basis, and with abundant resources; for not a guarantee will be issued until the guarantee fund of \$5,000,000 has been paid in full. No bank will be guaranteed unless holding stock in the combination. The charter calls for a lease of fifty years with power to extend.

This is a commendable step toward co-operation in a business in which co-operation is much needed. The proper function of banks is to facilitate production. By their aid the worker in every stage of production is enabled to secure the reward of his labor without waiting till the process of production is absolutely completed. The laborer, helping to build a railway which will not be finished for months to come, transforms his share of railway at the end of each week or month into shelter, clothing, provisions, or what else he will, by virtue of the banker's guarantee to the community that the work of production will be carried forward until the railway is completed and ready for use as a tool of further production. The farmer, whose grain in bags is still far from being a completed product, would have to wait for his share of its value until the grain had been transported to some distant market and there ground into flour, the flour baked into bread, and the bread sold to actual consumers, were it not that the banker steps in with a pledge that the transportation, and the milling, and the baking, and the selling of the bread, shall all be duly and promptly attended to. The merchant of a few generations ago, when he freighted a vessel and so aided in producing goods at the port of destination, had to wait weeks or months for his reward, and consequently insisted on and received high wages for his labor. The merchant of to-day, from his office in New York, directs the production of 10,000 bales of cotton from the Mississippi to the Mersey; the intervention of the banker secures him the wages of his labor the moment he has performed it; and as a result he finds himself well paid with a reward which would have seemed contemptible to his predecessor a hundred years ago. It is no part of the banker's work to supply capital. His whole duty is to render it possible for labor to be applied to a series of productive processes without waiting for its reward until the whole series is completed. He can enable labor to produce capital whenever capital is legitimately needed. The bank is the clearing house of industry.

A misapprehension of the true function of the banker is one of the reasons why economists of the Edward Atkinson school fail to understand that, given access, to natural opportunities, there need be no limit to the production of wealth save the limit of the availability of labor. These men have a perplexed notion that the aggregate of the capital which constitutes the guarantee fund of the banks somehow marks a limit beyond which capital cannot be increased except by slow accretions of savings. If they would think more closely they could not fail to observe that the periods when capital can be most easily secured for industrial enterprises are precisely those when labor is most fully employed, and when, upon their hypothesis, capital should be most difficult to get—since their constant claim is that the possibility of employing labor is limited by the amount of capital in existence. The time when men find it easy to build railroads, to erect buildings, to open mines, to establish manufactories, is not when bankers' vaults are crammed with idle money and laborers are loafing on the streets, but when every dollar is in active circulation, every man employed at good wages, every wheel of industry revolving at topmost speed. When Brown, and Jones, and Robinson are profitably employed is just the time when Smith also can work to most advantage; and the banker's part in the scheme of production is to enable Smith, whose product is itself the tool or material of further production, to obtain, day by day, in the products of Brown, Jones and Robinson, the equivalent of the value he creates.

The Depositors' guarantee company is a step in the right direction, because by federating the banks of the entire country it will render each one of them more capable of performing its share of the common duty. It is only to be regretted that, while thus strengthening themselves for their legitimate work, they cannot be deprived of that power of issuing money which should appertain to the government alone.

The Australian colonies have apparently made up their minds pretty thoroughly on the subject of Chinese immigration. New South Wales has already forbidden Chinese passengers to land, and forced the ship bringing them to take them away again; and now the telegraph announces that the Sydney longshoremen have refused to work at loading a steamer unless the Chinese sailors and firemen employed on board are first replaced with white men.

It is not unlikely that the outcome of this Chinese difficulty may be a serious modification of the relations between Australia and the mother country, if indeed it do not hasten that "cutting the painter," of which the young Australian party has begun to talk so freely. Great Britain still retains a veto power over Australian legislation, which, as in the recent case of the South Australian bill legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, she does not hesitate to use on occasion. And as regards their relations with the outside world, the colonies are bound by treaties in the making of which they have absolutely no voice whatever. The home authorities are slow to understand the reason for the Australian repugnance to Chinese immigration, and have so far

showed no disposition to aid the colonists in their struggle against it. If Great Britain refuses to negotiate for a modification of her treaty with China, and insists that the Australians shall respect its present provisions, the world may witness the birth of a new nation before the close of the present century.

It is a little amusing, amid the wailing of the protectionist organs over the dread depression of industry that the mere introduction of the Mills bill has caused, to read a dispatch like the following in the columns of the Tribune:

FALL RIVER, June 30 (Special).—M. C. D. Borden of New York, who is now principal owner of the Fall River iron works, and who recently purchased the Fall River iron works adjoining the print works, has just purchased the land next south of the old iron works property of the Richard Borden manufacturing company. This tract comprises about five and one-half acres and gives Mr. Borden control of all the land from the Old Colony railroad company property at the steamboat wharf south to Ferry street, in all fifteen acres, including the most valuable wharf privileges in the city. Ten acres of this land are now unoccupied, including the old iron works, from which the buildings have been removed. What disposition will be made of this property by Mr. Borden is not definitely known, but the general opinion among manufacturers is that Mr. Borden will not suffer it to remain idle. A report is gaining circulation that he and another New York capitalist contemplate utilizing this tract for mills to supply the print works, and that the plans are for a much larger plant than that of any present concern in the city.

The old iron works, from which the buildings have been removed, eh? It seems as though under the beneficent tariff an industry that formerly existed in Fall River has so completely died out that the buildings adapted to it have been removed. Perhaps free iron ore and free coal might be a benefit to the wage workers of Massachusetts, and not damage those of Pennsylvania either.

The coal barons of Chicago have issued an edict that, beginning with July 1, the people of Chicago shall pay them an extra tax of twenty-five cents on every ton of coal they burn. "What can we do about it?" said the largest of Chicago's retail dealers. "Nothing. We can only advance the retail rates correspondingly. We are at the mercy of those who control the anthracite fields. The owners of the mines have the advantage, and they are using it."

The committee of the Lombard peace and arbitration society (Unione Lombarda per la Pace e l'Arbitrato Internazionale) offers a prize of 1,000 lire for the best essay in reply to the two questions: (1) What are the predominant causes which have hitherto prevented, and which still prevent, the establishment of a secure and lasting peace in Europe? (2) What are the likeliest means to the abolition of these causes? Full particulars of the competition may be obtained by writing to the secretary of the union, Signor Angelo Mazzoleni, 91 Via Cerva, Milan. Writers of any nationality may compete, but their essays must be written in French or Italian. The copyright of the successful essay will remain the property of the author. The union will not undertake to print it at its own expense, but if the author should resolve to print it he will be expected to present a copy to each member of the committee. The essays are to be sent to the secretary, at the above address, before December 31, 1888.

Here is an opportunity for advocates of the single tax on land values who can express their ideas fluently in French or Italian. It ought not to be difficult to trace the international jealousies and discontent of the European people to their true source in the monopolization by the few of the magnificent and all sufficient heritage of all. Tear down the tariff walls and throw open natural opportunities to labor and a single generation would see the end of the present wasteful system of armaments and camps.

Another rich man has done for New York one of the things that New York ought to do, and could amply afford to do, for herself. Mr. George W. Vanderbilt has presented to the public a handsomely furnished building on Eighth avenue, with a selection of some six thousand books, the whole to form a branch of the New York free circulating library.

It is a good thing that Mr. Vanderbilt that he is thus mindful of the needs of his fellow men. It is a good thing for the citizens of New York that their needs should be thus remembered. But it would be a better thing for him and for them if the people of New York would bethink them that they have lying ready to their hands, waiting only for them to claim it, a heritage of wealth sufficient to provide every public convenience they can wish for without the aid of private benefactions.

The Equitable life assurance company of this city have purchased the block bounded by Tenth and Eleventh avenues and Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh streets, and are going to cover it with tenement houses. There will be sixty-four houses, accommodating in all 800 families, with stores on the ground floors. Allowing five members to each family, there will be 4,000 men, women and children crowded on to 190,000 square feet of earth surface—which is at the rate of nearly 700,000 to the square mile. To appreciate what this density of population means, imagine 15,000,000 of people inhabiting Manhattan island and forced to remain in the city during the heated term.

The new lottery loan of the Panama canal company seems destined to failure. The exact amount of subscriptions to the bonds has not been published, but it is said, on apparently good authority, that less than \$40,000,000 of the \$135,000,000 needed to have been tendered for. This means simply that the French public have lost confidence in the canal, and is ominous of a coming crash. When the end does come more than \$400,000,000 will have been sunk in the effort to pierce the isthmus; and the French government will then have to decide whether it will itself undertake the completion of the canal, or allow the savings of scores of thousands of its citizens to be hopelessly swept away. That the canal ought to be completed, if possible, is certain. It will be an international calamity if the results already achieved are allowed to go to waste.

CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

The following subscriptions to the fund for special circulation of THE STANDARD during the presidential campaign have been received this week:

"An Iron Worker," Johnstown, Pa.	\$5 00
Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y. (\$1 per week)	1 00
Silas M. Burroughs of Medina, N. Y.	121 75
M. C. Barry, Georgetown, Minn. (\$1 per month)	2 00
Ben Adams, Charleston, S. C. (\$5 per month)	5 00
Messrs. Quimby, Merrill and Thompson, Concord, N. H. (\$3 per month)	3 00
Louis Franz, Boston	5 00
E. W. Nellis and four others, Paterson, N. J. (\$2.50 per month)	2 50
M. R. Levenson, Burlington, Vt.	5 00
Edward Ferguson, Brooklyn (\$2.50 per month)	2 50
J. L. Barker, Santa Barbara, Cal.	25 00
A. R. Wynne, Toledo, O.	5 00
Previously acknowledged	\$122 75
Total to date	\$1,424 75

ALBANY, N. Y.—It gives me pleasure to add my mite to the fund proposed for the circulation of THE STANDARD during the campaign. I send you one dollar for the month of June, and you may rely on me for a dollar a month up to and including October, 1888. I am glad to see that there are some men of means in this movement who are willing to provide the money to distribute single tax literature and thus open the eyes of their fellows to the injustice of our present system of taxation and the remedy that is within their power to apply. Your attitude in opposing the nomination of a candidate by the party this year meets with the approval of the majority of single tax men in this vicinity. I would recommend to all subscribers of THE STANDARD who do not feel able to contribute financially to the fund for the dissemination of our principles, that they on no account allow THE STANDARD, after perusal by them, to lie idle, but to pass it on among their acquaintances. This will cause those who casually read an article or two to inquire further concerning our principles, and possibly result in obtaining an ardent convert to the cause. My experience is that a large proportion of the people are thoroughly dissatisfied with the present condition of public affairs, but lack definite views of amending them.

ROBT. BAKER,
178 Madison avenue.

LONDON, June 12, 1888.—I have great pleasure in enclosing another hundred dollars to spread the gospel of truth about the land, poverty and tariff question by distribution of copies of the New York STANDARD.

I never parted with money with greater satisfaction to myself, feeling that any one who will take the trouble to read THE STANDARD, or any of your works, will see that they are right and true, that you labor but for the benefit of right of man of which he has been deprived by blind selfishness but certainly not just legislation. The sooner the people see that those who collect toll or tribute for God's bounties are in the same boat with all other pirates, and the sooner they vote for the abolition of all taxes, excepting the tax on land values, the sooner will peace and justice reign upon the earth and the nearer will the millennium be at hand.

S. M. BURROUGHS of Medina, N. Y.

GEORGETOWN, Minn., June 18.—Inclosed \$2 for the months of June and July to promote the circulation of THE STANDARD. I'll send monthly after July. M. C. BARRY.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 7, 1888.—Your idea of opening a "free trade campaign fund" is a good one, and I take pleasure in pledging myself to \$5 monthly from now until November. I enclose installment for June.

BENJAMIN ADAMS.

CONCORD, N. H.—There are three of us here who have been circulating tracts and copies of THE STANDARD as extensively as we have felt able. We feel encouraged at the tariff discussion which this has excited. As the fight progresses I believe the truth will be more clearly presented, and as men come to understand that we are right on this question it seems to me they will be better prepared to listen to arguments on the land doctrines.

I have talked with my friends Merrill and Thompson, and we are of the opinion that we want to be represented in the fund to circulate THE STANDARD during the campaign, so we therefore agree to give monthly, until the first of November, \$1 each.

Inclosed you will please find postal note for \$3 that being the amount due for the month of June.

FRANK P. QUIMBY.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., July 1.—I am glad to see that a campaign fund has been started by THE STANDARD. If single tax men felt the full importance of this act you would receive from them \$1,000 a week for this purpose alone. If it were in my power I would send you something worth while; but as it is not, I can only add to my mite my best wishes and a promise that I shall work to the best of my ability to increase THE STANDARD'S circulation. Inclosed is \$2.50, and I shall send you the same amount monthly during the campaign.

EDWARD FERGUSON,
762 Myrtle avenue.

PATERSON, N. J., June 27.—The plan of circulating THE STANDARD as a campaign document is a good one. This campaign is bound to push our movement far ahead. Inclosed find \$2.50, which amount will be sent every month, possibly with additions. Five of us chip in fifty cents each. My four friends prefer not to be known.

E. W. NELLIS.

SANTA BARBARA, Cal., June 23.—Inclosed find check for \$25 to aid in the distribution of THE STANDARD. I will send a check for a like sum before the campaign is over. I would like to contribute more, and realize that this is the time of all others that it is needed, but I am so financially situated that I feel this is all I ought to do in justice to myself. It may be that I may feel able to do more than I have promised; and if so, it will give me great pleasure.

J. L. BARKER.

TOLEDO, O., July 1.—Find inclosed postal order for \$5 to be placed where you think it will do the most good.

I have just returned from a short trip through Michigan, and from what I could learn the people are not pleased with the nominations at Chicago, and I believe the high tariff platform has made the state a very doubtful one. All the prohibitionists that I have talked with are free traders.

A. R. WYNN.

A Voice From Limerick.

LIMERICK, Ireland, June 22.—Inclosed find order for books. I am one of those who go in heart and soul for your land doctrines, as I consider them the just solution of the social problem. I have read with deep interest "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" and I can frankly tell you that my estimation of them is that they show a thorough grasp of the land difficulty, and prove most convincingly the injustice of private property in land and the blessings of making land the property of the whole people.

FRANCIS A. P. GAFFNEY,
21 Upper Mallon street.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The few fashionable people, with few exceptions, who had lingered in town until a week ago to-day, departed on Monday. Many of them, who have friends or relatives in college, stayed several days at New London to see the Yale-Harvard race. But even this interesting incident, absorbing as it is, caused but little excitement, and the week promised to be flat, stale and unprofitable. By Thursday, however, there was a change, for it became known to intimate friends that Mrs. Hamersley was to be married to the duke of Marlborough. [New York Tribune, July 1.]

Eliot F. Shepard of New York has taken both Mr. Blaine's splendid cottage and the equally handsome one adjoining it on the High Brook road, Newport, and will entertain very extensively during the summer. Mr. Blaine's cottage will be given up to Mr. Shepard's guests.

Michael Mack was a book keeper in New York. He lost his situation some time ago and went to Chicago to find work, taking but little money with him. Of course the new position did not present itself for labor is drug on the market out west. His scanty funds were soon spent, and for a fortnight he has been sleeping in the parks at night and living by day on what he could beg and get at the lunch counters. He was out in the parks during several heavy storms, and rheumatism crippled him. Last night the police found him helpless in Lincoln park and took him to a station. He said he had not tasted food since last Sunday, and his stomach was so weak he could scarcely swallow a cup of coffee. The police took him to a doctor, dressed and talked and acted like a gentleman. His family in New York has been communicated with, and he will be kept at public expense until they are heard from. He pawned a watch and ring in New York to get to Chicago.

The New York Sun having said that the Stewart estate was not as large as several other estates and fortunes in New York, a correspondent asks for the names of the others. The Sun in reply says: "The Goetz estate as a whole must exceed \$20,000,000. Then there are the Standard Oil fortunes of the two Rockefellers and Mr. Frazier, each of which can safely be estimated now at more than that sum, and they are rapidly increasing. Mr. Herbert R. Bishop can be set down as worth more, and probably Mr. D. O. Mills also. Mr. Pierpont Morgan's fortune is supposed by those best informed as to such matters to be between a score and a million, and Mrs. Hetty Green is not forced to the rigid economy she practices, for doubtless she has more than the sum at which we estimated the Stewart estate. There are Messrs. Ames, Erie, and Carnegie, Carnegie, Percy R. Fyne, Charles R. Pratt, Jabez A. Rustwick and Herman O. Armour, each of whom is reported to have \$20,000,000 and over." And this, says the Sun, is not a full list.

George M. Pullman of sleeping car fame has caused to be erected on an island near Alexandria, Va., a magnificent summer residence. It is built of granite, and it has stately towers that remind the passer by of some ancient castle on the Rhine. The cottage and grounds cost the owner over \$100,000. Mr. Pullman and family will soon be here to occupy it, and it is said that among the guests this year will be James G. Blaine on his return from Europe.

Louis Franzen of 139 Franklin avenue was run over by a horse car last September, and received such severe injuries that he is to-day a helpless cripple. He has a wife and three children, the eldest of whom is only fifteen years of age. His wife is unable to work and the entire family relies for support at present on the \$8 a month which Lizzie, the eldest girl, earns by folding papers in a publisher's office. [New York Herald.]

The old Ellingwood estate, a charming property lying at the foot of the well named Serpentine road, on Staten island, was yesterday the scene of an animated and joyous gathering. The place has become the property of a hundred and odd islanders, who have converted it into a winter country club, with the object of promoting social recreation and intercourse among its members, and particularly of encouraging and stimulating an interest in riding and driving. It was at first intended to keep it open until December 1 only, but it is now proposed to make it permanent. The winter club, with the object of introducing Canadian winter sports on Staten island, as the locality abounds in natural tobogganing slides. Although the club now boasts of twelve acres of ground, the intention of its organizers is to increase this quantity by the purchase of a flat field to be used for polo playing. A part of the estate has already been appropriated to a gun club, another to a track dotted with hurdles, while a third will accommodate lawn tennis players. There is stabling for twenty-five saddle horses and a coach house which will hold a dozen "traps." Guests from New York were conveyed from Gramercy by four-in-hand stages, after being greeted at the station by handsome and well-dressed waiters, acting as aides-de-camp. The club grounds presented a picturesque sight, dotted as they were by well-dressed and charming women, having for a background the luxuriant foliage of the island's woods. At one o'clock one and all of the guests were loth to depart. [New York Herald.]

Vanderbilt once paid Miss May Tillinghast \$30,000 for inventing a new kind of tapestry hazing.

Mr. J. F. Irwin of Oswego is said to have paid \$10,000 for a bible. It was originally in three volumes, but by the insertion of wood cuts, manuscripts, engravings and etchings had been expanded to sixty imperial folio volumes.

Blanche Clinton, a young girl of seventeen, jumped off the pier at the foot of Oak street, Chicago, last week. Two men rescued her after a hard struggle, and a physician managed to bring her to life. In the girl's pocket was found the following note:

"I have had no work for a long time, and would rather die than live, as I have no friends or relatives. My name is Blanche Clinton."

A New York lady has a diamond ring for which she paid \$48,000.

While the emperor of Brazil was ill in Milan his estimated expenses were \$40,000 francs. The regular hotel bill was 1,000 francs a day; but on account of his illness other guests had to leave, and for thirty-five days the cost was 65,000 francs. A physician from Paris made two trips to Milan for 30,000 francs, two Italian doctors were paid 1,200 francs a day, and he had to give a lot of fees.

Joe Bonbright, a colored man, was knocked down to the highest bidder under the vagrancy act at the court house steps in Memphis recently. His services for the next six months were sold to M. A. F. Rector, prosecuting attorney, for \$6.50. This is the second vagrant sold or bound out to service in this city since the war. The other one was Nelson Thomas, in the second case the state was the purchaser. Dance for six months. Mr. Dance says he made a good bad.

It is a unique fashion for the present summer to have a set of covers for parasols made detachable and to match the various toilets with which the sunshade is to be carried. The form has an elaborate handle, either of modeled silver or gold, or carved ivory or shell, and these extravagantly and artistically embellished handles cost almost any price that anybody feels like paying, for they are sometimes set with jewels, besides representing a great deal of skilled handiwork. A handsome handle and form, with a set of twelve assorted covers, may easily cost \$100, although half that sum will buy a tolerable outfit. If the belle desires to be further extravagant, she may have as many handles and covers as she likes, and they are inseparable by putting the former in a bag of colors and designs to match the latter. [New York Sun.]

THE SINGLE TAX DOCTRINE.

BY H. F. KING.

Reprinted from the Houston Post.

About two thousand of the voters of Harris county have already signed a memorial to the twenty-first legislature of the state asking the submission to the vote of the people of a constitutional amendment exempting improvements on land and personal property from taxation, and requiring all direct taxes to be levied on relative land values only. It is no exaggeration to say that at least four men out of five to whom this memorial has been presented and explained, have signed it. The memorial is also being circulated with equal success in many other portions of the state. It would, therefore, seem that the single tax doctrine has now obtained sufficient foothold in Texas to justify its serious consideration by every thoughtful and patriotic citizen.

The petition referred to is accompanied with a brief statement under several heads, or propositions, of the principal reasons why this change in our system of taxation should be adopted. I propose, if the Post will kindly allow me the space, to take up and discuss, in a series of three or four articles, each of these propositions.

The first proposition is that the adoption of the proposed amendment, while increasing the tax on vacant lands held for speculative purposes, would result in reducing taxes on farmers' homesteads and all species of improved real estate from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent, without in any way increasing the burden of indirect taxation.

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

It is urged as an objection to this measure, that if personal property and improvements on land were exempt from taxation, and if speculators and land monopolists were made to pay as much in taxes for the privilege of excluding capital and labor from the use of land as farmers, merchants and manufacturers are required to pay for the privilege of employing labor on lands of equal value, the owners of improved real estate would, in the end, have a greater tax bill to settle than before; because, it is urged, no one could then afford to hold land in idleness and pay the increased tax on it; and hence, that vacant land and lots would soon revert to the state for non-payment of taxes, thus compelling the owners of improved lands to bear, in addition to the present taxes, all that portion of the burden now borne by land speculators and land monopolists. In other words, it is urged as an objection to this measure, that it would so effectually destroy every species of land monopoly that every unoccupied tract of land, business or residence lot, every unimproved coal bed, mineral deposit or water privilege, would revert to the state, and thus become free to the first comer who wanted to use it; and hence, it is urged, that it would be a little higher tax on it than is now required of the present owner. Let us see if this would really be the case.

In this connection the first thing to be considered is the present state of the present wealth of the state in personal property and improvements on land, and what portion is in land values alone.

It was shown by ex-Mayor Opdyke of New York, in a treatise written by him nearly forty years ago, that the value of land is at all times almost exactly equal to the combined value of all that is on the land, the price of land always reflecting the value of its accumulated productions. That is to say, one-half of the wealth of a community is in land values, and the other half is in personal property and improvements on land. This is now an undisputed fact in political economy, and its truth is proven approximately by an examination of the assessment rolls in those communities and states in which improvements on land are assessed separately from the land itself, as is the case in Vermont and California. Thus in 1888, the total assessment of the state of California was \$632,000,000. Of this sum \$150,000,000 was in personal property, \$145,000,000 in improvements on land, and \$337,000,000 in land values. In Texas, improvements on land have not been heretofore separately assessed, but the report of the comptroller for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1887, shows the total assessment of the state to be \$650,000,000, of which sum \$190,000,000 is personal property, \$145,000,000 in improvements on land, and \$315,000,000 in land values. It thus appears that the proportion of personal property to real estate about the same on the assessment roll in Texas as in California, and there can be no doubt but that the proportion in regard to improvements on land is also practically the same.

It therefore follows if we were to exempt personal property from taxation, and also omit the value of improvements in assessing land for taxes, we would thereby reduce the aggregate wealth on our assessment rolls about one-half. In other words, the values remaining on the rolls, which would then simply be the land values, would only amount to about one-half of the present assessed valuation. In order, therefore, to raise the revenue at present derived from direct taxation it would be necessary to increase the percentage of the tax so that the tax on land values would be twice as great as it is at present.

At present the tax on my farm is, say \$25 a year; my land is worth, exclusive of all improvements, \$500, and my improvements, including the additional value which the land has from having reduced it to cultivation, are worth \$2,000, or four times the land value. I am now paying a tax of \$5 a year on the land value of my farm, and a tax of \$20 a year on its improvement value. Under the new system my land value tax would be doubled, and it would be \$10 a year instead of \$5, but as my improvements would be free from tax, the taxes on my farm would actually be reduced from \$25 a year to \$10 a year; and so the taxes would be reduced on nearly every other farm and homestead in the state, because, in the great majority of cases in Texas at least, the improvement value of a farm or homestead largely exceeds its land value. Where there are no improvements on the land the increase in the percentage of the tax referred to above would, under the new system, on an average, double the taxes on such vacant lands, and thus make up the deficiency resulting from exempting the products of industry from taxation. Thus, where the tax is now, say \$20 a year on a thousand acres of vacant land, under the new system it would have to be \$40 a year, and it would therefore be necessary to raise the percentage of the tax until the revenue derived from vacant land would, on an average, be twice as great as it is at present. The new system would thus double the taxes to be paid on every tract of unimproved

land, but it would reduce the taxes to be paid on nearly every tract of improved land.

The next proposition in support of the tax reform memorial is to the effect that farmers, merchants, mechanics and manufacturers ought not to be compelled to pay any more in taxes for the privilege of using land and thus adding to the prosperity of a community, than land speculators and land monopolists are required to pay for the privilege of withholding land of equal value from use, and thereby detracting from its prosperity.

A tax on real estate is in effect nothing more or less than ground rent paid the government annually for the privilege of the exclusive possession of a tract of land. If the owner does not pay this ground rent every year he is sold out for non-payment of taxes, and the government, or the purchaser under the tax sale, takes possession. Why should the government compel the man who uses his land to pay a higher ground rent for it than if he permitted his land to remain idle? If I build a house, or a factory, or open up a farm on my land, do I injure any one by so doing? Have I not employed labor in so doing? Have I not in fact benefited the community and added something to the prosperity of its merchants, as well as its working people, by then added greatly to the value of the vacant land adjoining my own, which is held for speculative purposes? Who has benefited the community most? I, by using my land and giving employment to labor on it, or the speculator who holds the adjoining land in idleness, the value of which is greatly enhanced by the improvements made by me on my own land? Why should I be fined by an increase of taxes for having made that speculator's land more valuable, as well as for having benefited the community generally? If any discrimination must be made between me and that speculator in the matter of taxes, because of the difference made by us respectively in the use of these adjoining tracts of land, and if the government must punish one or the other of us for this reason, on whom ought the blow to fall? Should it fall on me for making my land useful to mankind, or on him for withholding his land from the use of mankind? And yet, under our present system of taxation, the moment a man begins to employ labor upon a piece of land, by breaking up the wild soil, or otherwise, the tax assessor pounces upon him as though he had committed a heinous crime, and fines him for his enterprise by doubling and quadrupling his taxes.

To one who has seen the cat, as we single tax men say, nothing seems more absurd or barbarous than the present system of taxation, a system which taxes the products of industry and fines people for producing things useful to mankind. What sense or reason is there in a system of taxation which encourages speculators in the gifts of nature to hold lands in idleness until they can extort from the community the highest possible amount of blackmail?

Every dollar of taxation raised from taxing the products of industry lessens to that extent the tax on the land value, lessens to that extent the burden of holding land in idleness, and encourages to the same extent the speculator in his blackmailing schemes against thrift and industry.

I will suppose the reader to be the owner of a thousand-acre tract of wild land, in the neighborhood of which a number of industrious farmers have already settled. You may not think of it, and they may not know of it, but all these farmers are putting a considerable amount of money in your pockets for every day's work in the hot sun done by them in improving their own lands.

Ten years ago you paid \$1 an acre for that thousand-acre tract. You are now holding it at \$5 an acre. Whose labor has put this additional \$4,000 of value upon that vacant land? Was it your labor or the labor of any one employed by you? You now refuse offers of \$2 and \$3 an acre, because you say you do not need the money and can afford to hold the land. You demand \$5 an acre and are stiff at that price, say you know that some of these farmers are poor, and you there will soon want to enlarge their farms or settle their children in the neighborhood, and meanwhile the population of the country is steadily increasing. You are well satisfied that the necessities of these people, or those of other people, with the natural growth of population alone, will compel some one to give \$5 an acre for that land, and more, too, in a few years.

Meanwhile you expect the tax assessor will continue to deal very gently with you, on account of the plea that your land is unproductive real estate, as though you were a miser who refused to let his land idle and in refusing to accept \$2 or \$3 an acre for it from those who wish to make it useful to mankind.

Your plan is to squeeze the farmers, who must buy your land sooner or later, up to the highest notch; and you do not doubt but that the tax assessor will let you carry out this programme with the least possible expense to yourself. You expect to pay in taxes for the privilege of excluding capital and labor from the use of a free gift of nature about one-fourth or one-fifth as much as farmers around you are required to pay in taxes for the privilege of employing labor on land of equal value. You have done nothing with your land except to drive labor off from it and thereby to retard the prosperity of the community, and it is, therefore, thought proper to encourage you for it by assessing your land for taxes at only \$2 an acre. These farmers, however, have done something with their land—they have improved it, and in so doing have given employment to labor and thereby enhanced the prosperity of the community, and it is, therefore, thought proper to tax them for it by assessing their land at \$10 an acre, so as to make them pay ten times as much in taxes for benefiting the community as you are required to pay for injuring it.

But now suppose the constitutional amendment which the single tax men advocate to be adopted, and the deficiency in the public revenues, resulting from exempting personal property and improvements on land from taxation, to be made up by doubling, or if need be, by trebling the percentage of the tax; your thousand-acre tract being vacant land, the tax on it is of course, doubled; before it was \$20 a year, now it is \$40. It now costs you annually twice as much to prevent farmers' sons from opening up homes on that land as it did before. It will seem right hard on you, won't it?

But as a result, while you would hold on to that land and pay your taxes on it as before, you would moderate your price perceptibly, and be content with a little less blackmail paid you for the privilege of access to a natural element. Under the present system, you pay in taxes for the privilege of preventing labor from being employed on a hundred acres, \$3 a year, while the farmer pays in taxes for the privilege of employing labor on the same adjoining hundred acres of land of the same value, exclusive of improvements, \$10 a year. Under the new system your tax on that 100-acre tract of land would be \$4 a year, and the farmer's tax on his 100-acre tract of land would be the same. Your taxes are increased 100 per cent, the farmer's taxes are reduced sixty per cent, so that you and the farmer will then be paying each the same tax to the government for the privilege of

the exclusive possession of tracts of land of the same value, exclusive of improvements.

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

Land is not really property, because it is not the product of human industry. It is the gift of nature, intended by a kind, heavenly Father for the equal use and enjoyment of all his children. The child of a pauper born in a garret is, by natural and inalienable right, as much entitled to free access to a portion of the surface of the earth as the child of a duke. And no act of the people of any preceding generation can rightly be held to have deprived that pauper's child of an inheritance bestowed upon him by the almighty Creator of the land. Since land, exclusive of all improvements on it, by natural right belongs in common to all, a tax on land values alone is simply something paid for the benefit of all for the privilege of the exclusive possession of a portion of that which, by natural right, belongs equally to all. This is the proper theory on which to base the right of taxation, to the exclusion of the notion that taxes should be paid as an equivalent for the protection received from the government.

It is also claimed in favor of the proposed constitutional amendment exempting improvements on land and personal property from taxation that the value which land has, exclusive of improvements on it, results from the presence of population; that it increases with the increase of population, and is produced by the common energy and enterprise of all, and that hence a tax on these values simply takes the common energy to appropriate, for the good of all, a portion of the values which have been produced by all.

A man buys a vacant block of ground in Houston to-day, for which he pays \$10,000. He has no notion of ever making any use of it himself, and so he holds it in idleness, and five years hence it is worth, say, \$30,000. He may have lived in China all these years, while his land has been increasing in value. Will he, by any act of his, have made the land worth \$20,000? Will not this additional value of \$10,000 have been produced by the enterprise of the entire community? Will not the child of a pauper, and the child, by simply living in the community, and making a community, have jointly produced this \$10,000 of additional value and placed it on his land, just as effectually, so far as his benefit is concerned, as though they had, by contributions among themselves placed a \$10,000 brick building on it for him? If he sells out and pockets a profit of \$10,000, but he has not thereby increased the sum total of the wealth of the world one iota. He has simply been enabled to pocket \$10,000 of wealth which the community has produced in common and placed upon his land. Had he, however, instead of investing his \$10,000 in vacant land, put it into the products of industry—i. e., into buildings, tools, or any enterprise giving employment to labor—where, as in a machine, it would have been instrumental in the production of more wealth, then a profit to him of \$10,000 would represent so much additional wealth in the world, which had been brought forth by his capital, not to the injury of, but to the benefit of labor.

The soil on that vacant block of unimproved land in this city, just referred to, has never been used, and its condition to-day is precisely what it was fifty years ago. That block of ground was valueless to-day if it were worth \$10,000, and its owner can command from labor, for the bare privilege of making it useful to mankind, the total earnings of 100 laborers for 100 days at the rate of \$1 a day. In other words, he can demand, almost as effectually as though these laborers were his gringing slaves, that the total product of 10,000 days of the hardest kind of toil be yielded up to him before labor shall have the bare privilege of being employed on that block of vacant ground. And so it is with every other unimproved natural opportunity for employment. The price that the owner demands and obtains for the privilege of using the raw, natural element is all that labor can make out of it above the bare cost of subsistence. Is not this always a fearful obstacle for idle capital and idle labor to surmount in gaining access to the original source of employment, to wit: to the unused lands, coal beds, mineral deposits, homesteads, business and manufacturing sites? Need we wonder at dual taxes? Need we wonder that the men are always out of employment and eagerly hunting for work in a country containing unused natural opportunities for work sufficient to give employment to ten times its present population? Need we wonder that soul-destroying poverty abounds on every hand? Need we wonder that, though inventions have increased tenfold the capacity of the laborer to produce wealth, the purchasing power of his wages has remained comparatively stationary, and that with him the struggle for food and bare subsistence, is as intense to-day as when the wheat crop was garnered with a sickle?

No one can claim that the present owner, or that any previous owner, of that vacant block of ground has placed upon it the \$10,000 of value which it has to-day. No one can deny but that this value has been placed there by, and is sustained by, the present generation of people who comprise the present community. That which is produced and brought forth by and owes its existence to my industry belongs to me. It is mine by every moral and divine right. Now, since the value which that block of land has been produced by, and brought forth, and owes its existence to, the community, why does not this value belong to the community by a moral and divine right just as sacred? And why has not the community the right to appropriate, by means of a single tax on land values, at least so much of the value which the community has produced as the needs of the government require? In so doing the government is but appropriating for the good of all a portion of the values which have been produced by all. And hence a tax on land values will yield more than sufficient for the needs of government, why should we hang a millstone around the neck of enterprise by taxing the products of industry?

The land of a farm is worth, we will say, exclusive of improvements, \$500. The improvements are worth \$2,000. This means that the community, by its common industry, has put \$500 of value on the farm, and that the farmer, by his individual industry, has put \$2,000 of value on it. When the farmer pays his land value tax on the \$500 he is simply repaying the community a portion of the values which the community has produced and placed upon his land; but if the farmer is required also to pay a tax on his improvements and personal property, he is thereby deprived of a portion of the values which he has individually produced. It is right for him to be compelled to pay the community a tax on the land value of his farm, because the value has been brought forth by the common industry of the community. It is wrong for him to be compelled to pay a tax on the improvement and personal property values of his farm, because these values have been brought forth by his individual industry. The community does not give value to them in the way in which it gives value to his land. Thus, land increases in value with the mere increase of population, because, no matter how great the

demand for land may be, the surface of the earth cannot be extended.

Improvements on land and personal property, however, do not increase in value with the increase of the population, in this case, no matter how great the demand for them may be, the products of industry can be indefinitely increased to meet the demand.

Double the population of Houston, and a lot worth \$1,000 to-day will then be worth \$2,000, but the building on that lot will not be worth a dollar more, nor can it be insured for a dollar more. How absurd then to subject both species of property to the same burden of taxation.

Now, some one rises up and says, your idea of exempting improvements on land from taxation is all right, but the millionaire owners of stocks and bonds and other personal property ought not to be relieved from the payment of all taxes, as would be the case were this constitutional amendment adopted. My dear sir, if the taxes on your little home or farm are reduced one-half, why need you find fault with the system simply because it happens to benefit also those rich men who have fortunately invested their capital in the products of industry instead of putting it into vacant lands, coal beds and forests, and unused homesteads, and business sites, for the purpose of being able to levy blackmail upon enterprise and labor?

But even if a plan could be devised which would not offer a premium on fraud and perjury, and by which all personal property could be ferreted out and placed upon the assessment rolls, and taxes on it collected with impartiality, yet, by the way, is a manifest impossibility, yet even if it could be accomplished, out of whose pocket, in the end, would come the money with which these rich men would pay the tax?

Suppose the assessed valuation of the stocks of merchandise in this city should be increased so that on an average the taxes paid on them would be doubled. Would not this increase of taxation increase to the same extent the expense of doing business in this city? Suppose W. D. Cleveland's tax on his stock of goods to be \$2,000 a year. Would not this tax increase the expense of his business to that extent in just the same way as the salaries of two clerks at a thousand dollars a year each increase if is not W. D. Cleveland and every other merchant obliged to charge enough to pay the taxes to cover all expenses connected with his business, including his taxes, as well as rent and clerk hire? And do not all the people, the poorest as well as the richest, pay all of these expenses in the increased price of the goods when they are bound to purchase and consume? When the government taxes the stock of goods carried by merchants, the government simply makes the merchants tax collectors. The merchants collect the taxes from the customers in the increased price of the goods, and turn the tax to the government. W. D. Cleveland to-day sells his goods for as much money as he can possibly get for them. So does every other merchant, but competition among merchants keeps the prices down. Now, if by exempting personal property from taxation we were to quit taxing merchants for carrying stocks of goods, we would thereby reduce Mr. Cleveland's business expenses, say \$2,000 a year; but we would at the same time reduce the business expenses of all merchants in the same proportion. Competition would then reduce the prices of the goods at least to the same extent, and the people, instead of the merchants, would in the end reap the chief benefit of this exemption. Who got the benefit of the exemption of the tariff tax on quinine? Was it the importing merchant who paid the tax, or the people who consumed the quinine? Before the tax was abolished quinine was \$3.50 an ounce and upward. After the tax was abolished it fell to a dollar an ounce. And so it can be just as easily and clearly shown that a tax on any other of the products of industry is in the end paid to the same extent, and by the same bulk of such taxes are finally paid by the poorest class of people, who constitute the mass of the consumers, in the additional cost of everything they buy.

Since, then, it is perfectly futile for society to attempt to put the burden of taxation on the rich, by taxing the products of industry, what is the use of trying to do it when by so doing we check enterprise and lessen the demand for labor? By putting the burden of taxation, however, on land values we will thereby, instead of retarding enterprise, actually stimulate it, increase the demand for labor, and thereby drive out of the land speculators and land monopolists, and the sooner they are driven out of business the better for all concerned.

If we were to tax land values only our city debt here in Houston to-day, instead of being in all respects a curse to the town, would actually become in some respects a blessing to every laboring man and merchant in the place. Whether this debt shall be in some respects a blessing or in all respects a curse to them depends simply upon whether we shall put the burden of the debt on the values which the community has produced by its enterprise in commerce or on the values which have been brought forth by individual industry. If we increase the burden of taxation on the products of industry, on stocks of goods or on factories, merchants and manufacturers will shun the place as though it were a pest hole; but if we could take the burden entirely off from stocks of goods, buildings and factories, and put it on land values alone, capital and enterprise would be attracted to this city as though drawn here by a loadstone. The increase of taxation on the vacant lots and business sites would make the place a better place, and the more the employment of capital and labor would be anxious to sell and would keep the amount of blackmail demanded for the privilege of using them within the bonds of reason. Speculators would let land in Houston alone. Business and homestead sites would remain cheap, and the greater the land value tax on them became the cheaper they would get. The cheaper such building sites became the less would be the portion of the mechanic, merchant or manufacturer's capital exhausted in the purchase of a site on which to do business, and the more would be the amount of capital left to be used in the employment of labor. Nor would the capitalist or the home seeker thus attracted to the town be frightened away by this tax on land values however high it might be, because he would be able to discount the tax in the purchase of his ground, and as to him the tax would be nothing more than ground rent annually paid in lieu of a greater investment of purchase money.

It is claimed that the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment requiring all taxes to be levied on relative land values only would render the investments of capital less profitable, while the exemption from taxation of buildings, tools, machinery and all products of industry would make the investment of capital in productive enterprises giving employment to labor more inviting and more profitable, and that hence the demand for labor would be increased, and business generally would be stimulated.

A capitalist can increase his wealth in two ways. One way by which he may increase it is by investing his money in industry, the products of human industry, as in buildings, factories, machinery—anything in the production of which labor has been employed. The capitalist whose wealth was invested in this

channel is himself a wealth producer. While he is increasing his individual wealth he is at the same time adding to the sum total of the wealth of the world, and in this channel he can only increase his wealth by calling on labor to assist him; in other words, by giving employment to labor.

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

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

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

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

What is the great obstacle which stands in the way of the working people becoming the owners of homes in cities and of farms in the country? Is it because of a scarcity of vacant lots in cities and towns, or of vacant lands in the country? Even in the city of New York half of the resident lots are vacant, and it is much the same in all our towns, and scarcely one acre in ten in this state is in cultivation. The great obstacle preventing poor people from becoming the owners of homes in towns and farms in the country is a high price of land. In order to get hold of a piece of land on which to build a house or open up a farm working people must first bind themselves to pay over to some land speculator all which they can possibly make above a bare living for a long term of years. And what is the equivalent which is given them for these years of protracted servitude? Simply the gracious permission of a forester to make a bit of the surface of the earth useful to mankind.

Why is land so high? Why is the homestead seeker always compelled to use up so much of his capital in the purchase of some unused site on which to erect his improvements? Simply because our laws encourage men to invest their means in vacant lots and lands for the purpose of forestalling labor, instead of investing it in buildings, in mills and factories, and other channels for the purpose of employing labor.

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

An objection hastily urged against the single tax doctrine is that its application would reduce taxes on railroad property. If this were the case, it would necessarily result in a nature a monopoly, a reduction in the running expenses resulting from a reduction of taxation would finally bring about corresponding reduction of tariff rates, to the benefit of all consumers of goods hauled over railroads. The fact is, however, that a railroad company, except occasionally as to rates from points where there is competition, always charges all that the traffic will bear, regardless of running expenses and everything else. That is to say, the rates are fixed by law, a railroad company will always charge what, in the opinion of its managers, will produce the largest net revenue, and these charges are practically in no way affected by a slight decrease in running expenses. Railroads in Texas collect three cents a mile from passengers. In the northeast, at least one hundred passengers are carried on railroads where one is carried in Texas, and the cost of carriage per passenger there is probably not one-tenth as much as in Texas. Yet the rates are almost as high there as here. In consequence, railroads running out of New York actually earn thirty-three and a third per cent annually and upward on the actual capital invested, exclusive of course of the water in the stocks and bonds. It is evident, therefore, that a reduction of taxation on railroad property would benefit only the owners of railroad stocks and bonds; the public generally would derive no benefit from this reduction of taxation, as would be the case were it practicable for railroads to be subjected to the free play of the laws of competition. But by adopting the single tax constitutional amendment we would not thereby reduce taxes on railroad property. In the first place the land on which the road bed of a railroad rests has, on account of its shape and the franchise rights attached to it, a peculiar value over and above adjoining lands. It is a narrow, continuous and unbroken strip of land running from county line to county line, and having for this reason a relative value far in excess ordinarily of adjoining lands. The tax assessor and the commissioners' court would therefore be bound to fix the value of the land as elevated by the right of way of a railroad company at a figure from which as great a revenue would be derived to the government from

taxation as is present. Again, if found necessary, an occupation tax could be levied upon railroads, as is now done in several other states, from which the deficiency in the revenue, if any, resulting from taxing the land values only of railroad properties would be made up at the expense of the owners of railroads.

If one will only think twice about it before coming to a conclusion, it will be found that there is no truth in the assertion that the single tax would reduce the burden of taxation as to railroads or any other species of property having an essentially monopolistic character.

My Faith.

In ancient days a bitter cry:
Went up from Israel's toiling race;
And thou didst hear, Oh, God most high,
And give it in thy heart a place.

Thy love for crushed and hopeless men—
Thine anger, stern, 'gainst pride and might,
Were manifest to nations when
Old Egypt sank in rayless night.

Thou didst command thy servant, bold,
Along the path thy wisdom showed,
To lead the toilers, young and old,
To lands where milk and honey flowed.

Thy presence lingered day by day,
To guide and guard them through the land—
Nor left them on the weary way,
Till rescued by thy soverign hand.

II.

In later days, when savage greed
Had burdened man with want and care,
Thy son came down his cause to plead,
And bring deliverance everywhere.

But not with angry sword and flame,
Consuming kingdoms into dust—
With words of peace and love he came,
And wondrous lesson of the cross.

He taught the righteousness of love;
That goodness is forever kind;
Thy kingdom came in lowly art,
A faith that leaves all self behind.

That everywhere—in church or state:
"Nearth lifting domes, or towers tall;
From city slums to desert's gate—
Thy justice rises over all.

In humble toil his life began;
A willing sacrifice he died,
To teach us that pure love for man
Is better than all things beside.

III.

Our Father which in heaven art,
We love thy name, we love thy laws;
We crave while here to have a part
In spreading o'er the world thy cause.

We cannot add to thy great fame;
We cannot please thee with mere praise;
We cannot gild thy glorious name,
Or with our wisdom mend thy ways!

And so with love and eager prayer—
And weary haltings, now and then—
We strive to show forth, everywhere,
Thy love, and ours, for toiling men.

(Rev.) C. M. Morse.

What the Tariff Costs a Photographer.

The following extract from a letter to the *Truth-Seeker* gives some figures which are not quite as large as those of the ordinary statisticians but which mean a good deal more to the average citizen:

I am a photographer, have worked at that business for fifteen years. Last fall I purchased a bill of 5,000 cabinet negatives of a Philadelphia manufacturer at \$12 per thousand. This spring through an importer I purchased 5,000 of the same grade of cards from a German manufacturer. The bills were sent me in the goods alike. Yes, to all outside appearances, but when torn apart the home manufactured card was of a coarse, unfinished pulp, while the imported one was of fine fiber and completely pressed. Now, I paid \$72 import duty on the German cards, and \$33 for the 5,000 cards, making \$105. I did not pay any import duty on the Philadelphia card stock, but I paid \$60 for them all the same.

I have a lens that cost \$125, the duty on which was \$56.25. I have another lens that cost \$60, the duty being \$27. I have still another lens that cost \$25, the duty being \$11.25. During the last fiscal year I have purchased four reams of photograph paper, the duty on which was \$37.60; thirty-one boxes glass (at \$4 per box), \$124, duty 78 per cent. I state further that I have footed up the cost to myself of the tariff per year at about \$1,000. No government on the face of the earth would dare levy a direct tax on a business of about \$4,000 per annum in that amount. My entire property would not bring under the hammer \$20,000. Yet I have to pay nearly almost the half of what I am worth to support the most damnable system of robbery the world has ever known. Nine years since (1879), I purchased the property on which I now live and am compelled to pay \$800 in it. To day I still owe \$700, not having been able to pay a dollar, except the interest, for eight years.

Now, I and my workmen earn this \$900. Has any one on the face of the earth a right to deprive me of it? Has any government, autocrat or power of whatsoever nature the moral right to force me to contribute to their personal aggrandizement by my personal discomfiture and loss?

An Illustration of the Republican Platform Reduced to Practice.

Henry Watterson's Paper.
Taxation is one thing and revenue is another. Taxation is what is taken from the people directly and indirectly under the form of law.

Revenue is that portion of taxation which goes to the government. Protection is that portion of taxation which goes to the manufacturers.

The constitution authorizes taxation only for revenue—taxation for any other purpose is robbery. As an illustration, take the tax on sugar; it amounts to about sixty millions; of this \$34,000,000 goes to the government, and \$26,000,000 to the planter. The government collects its sugar tax at the custom house by a duty; the planter collects his of the consumer by adding it to the price of the sugar, bringing up the price of the American article to put with the imported article, plus the tariff.

Now it would be possible to reduce the revenue by an increase of taxation. If the rate on sugar should be advanced the imports would fall off, and the price in American markets would increase. As imports fell off the revenues would decline, but this would not lessen, it would increase, the burden of taxation by the increase in price. Though the share going to the government would be reduced, the planter's proportion would increase as prices increased. The result would be that the sugar tax would be sixty-five millions, the government getting \$26,000,000, the planters 17,000,000. The illustration is used to make clear what the republicans mean by insisting on a revision of the tariff which would reduce the revenues of the government by advancing the rate.

Before and After the Monopolization of Coal Lands.

"I remember when a coal miner was an aristocrat among workmen," said an old coal miner to a *Chicago Mail* reporter. "I have seen the time when \$30 a month was a poor man's work with him in a western Pennsylvania mine, and I have often drawn \$120 in a month. It is wonderful what a change has taken place in that great branch of industry. The coal miner now who can make \$125 a month is doing better than the average wage. If he could make that the year round he would be doing well, as things are now, but strikes and lockouts and the shutting down of the mines to regulate the output and keep up the selling price cut into his small yearly income fearfully."

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