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From all parts of the country, and especially from the doubtful states, where the hard battle must be fought, there have been coming for some time complaints, first of apathy, and then of treachery in the democratic national committee. The New York Herald, which, ever since the nomination and long before it, has been doing the most splendid service for Mr. Cleveland and the cause he represents, was the first to put any suggestions of these complaints into print. Since, has come the statement in the Cincinnati Enquirer, by Mr. William McBride, a journalist of this city, of a conversation between Colonel Bryce, chairman of the democratic national executive committee, Colonel Brown of the New York News, and himself. The point of this interview was the doubt on the part of Colonel Bryce of Cleveland's doctrine and his desire that the tariff issue should be put in the background, and that the president should resort to the old methods of promising patronage to secure the activity of "leaders" now laggard.

This interview derives more weight from the comments of the Sun, which is endeavoring to the best of Mr. Dana's great ability to get the democratic party to run instead of to attack, and thus ignominiously beat Mr. Cleveland. Colonel Bryce has denied this interview, but in a way that leaves no question as to its correctness on the main point—that is, his attitude on the tariff question.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Cleveland has in the official lead of his fight men who are against him upon the issue on which he must either win or lose. How he came to consent to the appointment of a protectionist like Barnum to the chairmanship of the national committee, is a matter that passes comprehension. But there Barnum is, and democratic protectionists seem to have control of the executive committee.

As an indication of the temperature at the democratic headquarters, I am informed by Donn Piatt, editor of Belford's Magazine, that he called there a few days ago with Mr. Robert Belford, publisher of the magazine. They met there Colonel Tracy, one of the confidential men in charge of an important department. Colonel Piatt said to Colonel Tracy: "From information received from the agents of Belford, Clarke & Co., who have been instructed to inquire into and report on the condition of the country politically, I have learned that we have at the present lost Connecticut and New Jersey beyond doubt, and that we will lose New York unless something is done." Colonel Tracy replied, "It is of no use; we need not try to blind ourselves to the fact that we cannot stand up against the cry of 'free trade.'"

Like master like man. This Colonel Tracy is editor of the Star, and under his management that professedly democratic paper has been doing all it can to throw cold water upon the tariff fight. He is a thoroughgoing protectionist, like Mr. Barnum and Mr. Dana, and was at one time editor of the Protectionist, a weekly paper published here with the money of one of the tariff rings. Yet he is one of the managers in a national struggle which can only win by convincing the masses that protection is a sham and a robbery.

Mr. Cleveland entered this campaign

with the most splendid chances. They have thus far been frittered away by the cowardice and treachery of those whom he has had the weakness or the misfortune to allow to run his campaign, and who will "Hancock" him if he permits it. I believe he will be elected yet, and perhaps all the more triumphantly, if this error is quickly rectified. The people have got hold of the tariff issue and will pull Cleveland and Thurman through. But Mr. Cleveland is launched in a race and he ought to cut the balky horses in his lead from the traces. Let him do this as best he can, but do it.

In the meantime, however, there is one good indication. The federation of democratic clubs is pushing forward, and Chauncey F. Black, the chairman, and Edward B. Whitney, the secretary, are democrats who will not make an apologetic fight.

However, all this is the business of the democrats. As for us who support Mr. Cleveland because we are believers in the single tax, our business is simply to do what we can to infuse aggressiveness into the campaign and to swell the vote for Cleveland and Thurman as much as possible. The committee appointed by the conference of single tax men have decided to hold their first meeting at Cooper union on Monday, August 27. James P. Archibald will preside and William Lloyd Garrison and myself will make speeches.

The interviews which we publish on the third page show the temper of our friends, and indicate how large a vote, which at the last election went for Blaine, the single tax idea will this year bring to Cleveland.

The enrollment is progressing extremely well, and the committee asks our friends to push it on. The blank is published in THE STANDARD again this week. If you have already signed it yourself, cut it out, paste on a sheet of paper and get others to sign it.

We print this week an interview with Congressman Ford, chairman of the special house committee on immigration, which may be considered a concise statement of what has been discovered by the voluminous testimony taken during the two weeks' inquiry of that committee. We also reprint from the North American Review the substantial part of an article in which the general master workman of the Knights of Labor urges the further restriction of immigration.

We are not likely to get from the committee much more than we have already got. They are gunning for snipe; they are not "loaded for bear." As Congressman Ford frankly says, they do not care to venture upon the problem that lies at the root of this question of immigration, as of all social questions. Congressmen are only good searchers for what they think voters want to find; and, especially just before an important election, the strong instinct of the politician is to afford the maximum of satisfaction to what he believes to be the "labor sentiment" with the minimum of offense to vested interests. We can hardly, therefore, expect the Ford committee to go further than does the Herald, which has had a good deal to do with getting up this investigation, and has devoted a great deal of space to the publication of the testimony and other matter of the same kind. And in treating the "immigration question" as though immigration in itself were injurious to labor, the Herald pretty well represents the press of the whole country.

To talk of immigration as though that were the cause of scant employment and low wages, is at once to make a pretense of devotion to the interests of labor and to turn the attention of the laboring masses in a direction that will not threaten "vested interests." And just now the outcry against immigration seems to line with the policy of both the great parties. On the one side anti-protectionists can utilize it to show the hollowness of the pretense that the tariff on goods protects American labor. On the other side protectionists can use it to excite those prejudices against "foreigners" which have so powerfully aided them in imposing their scheme of robbery on the American people. To preserve the one Chinese wall which they have induced the masses to erect around our coasts, they would be willing, if need be, to have another erected. To save protection on goods, they would, if necessary, give up free trade in labor. They are the more ready to countenance this idea, because they well know that it is really impossible to impose any substantial restrictions upon European immigration without resorting to the complete Chinese plan of non-intercourse. They well know that the foreign contract labor law is a mere sham,



SECOND FIDDLE.—Never mind me; I'm only the candidate.

and that any amendment that congress can make to it will be but the casting of another tub to the whale.

It is disheartening to note the ardor with which Master Workman Powderly rushes in to draw a red herring, as the expressive Irish phrase goes, across the trail of the true labor movement. Timid as a mouse, as he has latterly become in declaring for honest principle, he is bold as a lion in his efforts to arouse prejudices through which the working masses have in all countries and in all times been most readily enslaved. He sees men working with brass checks at their waist-bands, going to bed with their boots on under blankets of gunny sacks, and marched up to the polls by employers, but he lisps no word that this is under the system of "protection to American labor," and that these employers are the advocates and beneficiaries of that system. He has nothing to say of certain other suggestive things he must have seen where he saw these things—native American citizens mere tenants-at-will on five days' notice of some lord of the manor, living in his houses, buying in his stores, dependent for the right to work upon his will, while on every hand lay unused the abundant natural opportunities that nature had provided. Utterly ignoring the question of how American workmen come to be so dependent that they can be thrown out of work and compelled to take lower wages by the endeavor of other men to get a living, Mr. Powderly concentrates all his attention on the foreigner, just as the English agricultural laborer stones the Irish harvest hand, but takes off his hat to "my lord," the representative of a usurpation of natural rights which makes both him and the Irishman beggars for "leave to toil."

Mr. Powderly disclaims know-nothingism, but he writes in the worst spirit of know-nothingism. The railing charges that he, the son of an Irishman, brings against these later comers are simply a re-vamping of the charges which in the earlier days of Irish immigration were brought against the Irish—that they crowded together and lived meanly; that they did not wash themselves enough; that they not only had "dining room, smoking room, sitting room, kitchen and bed-chamber all in one," but kept the pig in the parlor; that they worked cheaply and sent their money home; that they filled almshouses and prisons, and could not understand our institutions nor appreciate our liberty, but were naturally serfs. What Mr. Powderly says of these Italians, Hungarians and Poles is precisely what was said of the Irish by the know-nothings, except that he does not charge them with being superstitious and priest-ridden,

But to supply this omission he accuses them of speaking a language he does not understand!

There is no more truth in the allegations which are made by Mr. Powderly against the Italians, Hungarians and Poles than in the similar allegations against "the low Irish," which were made by know-nothings in the United States, and are still made by orangers in Ireland and Tories in England. Already in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, where the feeling against these new immigrants was at first so bitter, the members of the order of which Mr. Powderly is the head are beginning to entertain a far juster and kinder feeling. They have discovered that the Italian, the Hungarian or the Pole does not work for low wages because he likes to, but because he has to; and in all the strikes which the Pennsylvania miners have for some time won, they have had the co-operation of these people. They have discovered, too, that these immigrants like to lodge well and fare well, whenever they can; that as soon as they can afford it their scale of living improves, and that their children, when they have opportunities for education and contact, are growing up Americans. Among the prominent Knights of Labor, representatives of various neighboring towns and districts, who filled the stage when I spoke for free trade last month in Mauch Chunk, was one native Hungarian—a bright young fellow who spoke English that anyone could understand. Instead of the other members of the order looking askance at him they seemed to be proud of him.

There is one valid, and at least in the present stage of our civilization, insuperable, objection to the immigration of the Chinese in any numbers. Besides the vast differences that separate them from us in language, religion, customs and habits of thought, there are also physical differences sufficiently marked to prevent assimilation, and to secure the perpetuation of all other differences. To admit them would thus be to admit an unassimilable element, which would continue, perhaps for long generations, to arouse prejudices and enkindle strife. But the people who are coming to us from Europe belong to the same great family of mankind as we ourselves, have the same religious beliefs that exist among us, speak for the most part different variations of what philologists tell us is the same mother tongue, and when not massed together as are the French in Canada, become in a generation undistinguishably blended with the rest of our people.

It is not true, as Mr. Powderly asserts, that there is any essential difference be-

tween the immigration that reached us prior to 1860 and that which is coming now. With the extension of railroads and the cheapening of steamship transportation we are drawing from a wider range, but the immigrants are of about the same class. It is not the rich who emigrate, but the poor; not those who are satisfied with their lot, but those who hope to make it better. From the first, the human flow across the Atlantic has contained criminals, paupers, refugees, assisted immigrants, contract laborers. In the colonial days these labor contracts were specifically enforceable, and men, women and children sold themselves to service for a term of years, in order to secure passage. But while, both in its own character and in the manner of its coming, the immigration in the earlier days of the republic was at least as open to objection as that which is coming now, it rapidly fused into a homogeneous population. Among our "first citizens," even among Mr. Ward McAllister's four hundred, are to be found descendants of redemptionists and bond servants, of men who started with packs on their backs, of men and women whose "dining room, smoking room, sitting room, kitchen and bed-chamber were all in one." Yet, save the know-nothing ebullition, which was more a manifestation of religious prejudice than anything else, there was until recently no objection from those already here to the coming of others. On the contrary, we looked on immigration as a source of national wealth and national strength, as an indication of the rapidity with which the star of empire was passing from the old world to the new. It was our boast that our country was the refuge of the downtrodden, the asylum of the oppressed; that in our broad territory there was room for the whole population of Europe. We sang—whoever remembers the other side of '60 know how heartily—

Come along, come along, make no delay;
Come from every nation, come by every way.

Why the change, when our population is as yet only sixty-five millions, and while we have single states and territories larger than the Austrian empire, or the German empire, or France, or Italy, or Great Britain? If, as Mr. Powderly says, we owe our greatness as a nation to the immigration that came prior to 1860, why should that now coming not increase our greatness? If, as he says, that gave us brain and bone and muscle, made our rivers navigable, dug our canals, built our railroads, and gave us mechanics, laborers and statesmen, why should not this also have such good results?

Surely the Italians, of whom just now most complaint is heard, are not an inferior race. Their language is the modern representative of the language that was once the master tongue, and is yet the sacred language of the Catholic church. Their capital was during centuries the political capital of the known world, and is to-day the religious capital of the greatest and most widespread form of Christianity. It was to Italians that Mr. Powderly offered awhile ago to submit the constitution and work of the order of which he is head. Raphael and Michael Angelo, and Dante and Leonardi da Vinci were Italians, and Garibaldi and Mazzini were Italians. It was an Italian who discovered America. Shall we say that the Italians are an inferior race, and not fit to come here?

What is it that the investigating committee have discovered against this people? Is it that they have believed what our leading journals, our leading ministers, our leading professors and our leading "statisticians" are yet saying—that this is a land where every one willing to work can find work? Is it that Italians borrow money at fifteen per cent, when they can't get it any cheaper? Is it that they keep their agreements even when such agreements cannot be enforced by law? Is it that they crowd together closer than sanitary regulations prescribe, in a city where land speculation permits only some two or three per cent of the families to live under separate roofs and the police will not permit sleeping in the streets?

And so far from it being true of these people, as Mr. Powderly asserts of "the surplus population of Europe transported to this country"—that "they regard liberty as license and soon find their way into the police courts, the New York police authorities say that they have very little trouble with them, while Chairman Ford as the result of his investigation pays the highest compliment to their honesty.

In truth, all this talk about the innate inferiority and depravity of European immigration to the United States has about the same foundation as the stories Chinese boatmen tell of the vicious monkeys on the upper waters of their rivers, who have a passion for crushing steamers by throwing rocks. Mr. Powderly is not only wild

but disingenuous when he talks of the "paupers and criminals who have been dumped by the hundred thousand upon the already over-burdened backs of the workmen of this country." The real gravamen of his charge is, that these immigrants do not come here to prey upon the community or to live on the community, but that they are willing to work and anxious to work, and that it is their competition for work which deprives the American workman of his right to work.

In Mr. Powderly's protectionist philosophy, which, as he declared awhile ago, leads him to break ginger beer bottles in order to make more work for bottle blowers, the coming of criminals and paupers would not be such a bad thing. On the contrary, while criminals and paupers would not come into competition for work, the watching, and catching, and trying, and keeping, of them would much increase the amount of work to be done.

And this is the real bottom of the sentiment against immigration; the real cause of the largely changed feeling in regard to it. Work is growing scarce in the United States, and the competitors for work not unnaturally view with jealousy and dislike any new comers who may deprive them of the share of the work they might otherwise get.

But why is work growing scarce? Why is it that we seem to have what Mr. Powderly calls a "surplus population?" These are questions which Mr. Ford, who is only a congressman, and who as a congressman cannot afford to go ahead of his constituents, may with some reason decline to answer. But they are questions which Mr. Powderly, who is the head of what he claims to be a great educational order—an order which, as he declares, has taken as its function not only the enlightenment of the toiling masses of America but of Europe as well—cannot decline.

Is work growing scarce because there is less need for work?

What is the need for work? Is it not the supplying of wants—the satisfaction of desires? Are all wants supplied? Are all desires for the things that work produces satisfied?

Surplus population! What does the general master workman of the world-instructing order mean by the phrase "surplus population," which he uses so glibly? Does he mean a greater population than there are natural resources to support—a greater population than the Creator, in whom, as a Catholic, he believes, intended to exist? Or does he mean a greater population than there is any use for?

He calls for a party which will "take the same interest in the reduction of the surplus population as is taken in the reduction of the surplus in the treasury of the nation?" How does Mr. Powderly propose that this reduction of surplus population shall proceed? Surely, he would not think of exporting it to Europe, for there, also he says, there is a surplus population? Nor to Asia, nor to Africa? How then would he have his suggested party propose to get rid of it? By war, by pestilence, or by electricity?

To one who will simply look with a desire to see, it must be perfectly clear why even in such a sparsely settled land as this there should be a seeming scarcity of work, a seeming surplus population. Without the use of land men can neither work nor live. If one man owned the earth all the rest of its people, save such as he permitted to work, would be unnecessary laborers—surplus population. Whether, in holding vast areas idle, he were prompted by caprice or merely by the desire to get great speculative prices for the use of the earth, the result would be the same, except as to the definiteness of the line, the tension of the pressure. What would be true of the earth must be true of a continent or a country? And what is troubling our civilization to-day is that we have, throughout the civilized world, made the earth private property.

Or look at the matter in another way:

There are five thousand Italians out of employment in the city of New York, says Mr. Ford. They are nearly all agricultural laborers, and they are honest enough to find bankers who will lend them at least some capital if they have any prospect of repaying it.

Why don't they go upon the Newark marshes and convert them into gardens? Why don't they go upon any of the large amount of unused land that is to be found around New York? "The price is too high," replies Congressman Ford, and he replies truly. Why don't they go west? Because wherever they went they would find the same obstacle, in a degree proportioned to the difficulty of getting there, and the difficulty of getting produce transported from there. If they were to go to Oklahoma, they would find a great course waiting for the territory to be

opened. And as soon as it was decided that they should go anywhere, there, as Congressman Ford truly says, would the price of land go up.

Now if these Italians could get this unemployed land, Mr. Powderly's surplus population would be reduced at once by five thousand. That number of competitors for employment would be taken out of the overstocked labor market of New York city. But this would be only the beginning. These Italians, no matter how cheaply they tried to live—and no blame to them for thinking of wife and children, or sister or mother at home—would, by their demand for other things, set other unemployed men at work, and those, again, others still.

In New York to-day one-half of the men in the building trades are said to be idle. Of those at work, one-half are said to be employed only half their time. Thus virtually five-eighths of the men engaged in all the different branches of house building are now unemployed. And this condition of things is said to be general through the country. Why do these New York builders stand idle? More houses are needed. People in New York—people of all incomes below the rich, are crowded together by high-house rents closer than people ought to live. Why, if house rents are so high, don't those who have capital go to work and employ these idle builders to put up more houses?

Because, in the first place, there are high taxes on most of the materials used in building—taxes for the benefit of what is called in protectionist parlance, "American labor," but which really means lumber kings, shingle tycoons, steel and iron combinations, tin plate associations, etc., etc. This is by virtue of the laws of the United States.

Then, by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, no sooner does a man build a house than he is fined for having done so, and the fine is repeated every year while the house he had the temerity to build holds together.

And lastly, but most important of all, to build a house one must have a lot to put it on. Now, wherever about the city of New York there is a lot on which a house can be built, or is likely to be built, there sits a dog in the manger, who, while he will not build himself, will not let anybody else build until he is first paid an enormous price—a price which he is constantly advancing as the city grows, and which, whenever increasing pressure of population makes the building trades balk, leaps upward so fast and so far that building droops; the builders are idle again, and their enforced idleness forces idleness on others.

Here is the cause—the one great, fundamental cause of unemployed labor and "surplus population." And the remedy is as simple and as plain.

Abolish all the duties and taxes that are now levied in any shape on the useful products of labor and put them, instead, on the value of land. What would become of the trusts and the combinations? How long would the dogs-in-the-manger keep their hold of natural opportunities they are not using? How long would the Italians be unemployed? How long would the builders stand idle? How long would it be before every man in all this broad land who was willing to work would find all the work he wanted to do, and instead of looking with jealous, hateful eyes at our kindred from beyond the sea who seek our shores, the cry would go up, "Come over and help us! Help us subdue a continent; help us build up a republic stronger, greater, richer, purer, than any nation the world ever has seen before—a republic where there shall be work for all, leisure for all and plenty for all."

All Europe would come? What if they did? We would have room for them, and work for them, and plenty for them. But nothing of the kind would happen. The spectacle of such a republic across the western sea; the return visits of those who had come; the letters that went back; the close intercourse which a free trade would give, would arouse such a moral force that thieves would totter and fall, and standing armies would disappear, and a United States of Europe, before a generation had passed away, would clasp hands with a United States of America.

If there were nothing else, Mr. Powderly's article on immigration proves him unfit to be at the head of an order whose emblem is the globe, whose motto is "An injury to one is the concern of all" an order that must turn its face to freedom or perish of dry rot.

The Indianapolis Journal, which, since it is John C. New's paper, is supposed to be General Harrison's personal organ, expresses the belief that my championship of Mr. Cleveland's election is likely to lose him votes, and says "The republicans might do worse than to hire George to preach Cleveland and free land." Very well. I am quite willing to be hired, and won't let any matter of terms stand in the way. In fact, if the republicans of Indiana would like to have me preach Cleve-

land, free trade and free land at one of their big meetings, I am willing to oblige them, even though I have to come for nothing and board myself. But I am quite safe in the offer. The republicans will know that the fallacies of protection cannot stand before the full gospel of freedom.

Congressman Fitch of this city has resigned from the republican organization in a "powerfully weak" letter. Now if Mr. Merriman will resign from the democratic party and take Mr. Fitch's place in the republican he will do what is perhaps the best he can to honor the memory of Thomas Jefferson.

Albert Johnson of Cleveland, who came over with Mr. Blaine, and tangled him up so on a "tariff talk" that the protectionist leader was glad to "seek the seclusion which the cabin grants," is a free trader and a single taxer, a brother of Tom L. Johnson, and a member of the recently formed Cleveland free trade club, which is making up for democratic apathy by the vigorous work it is doing in Ohio. We expect to have Mr. Johnson on the single tax platform at one of the single tax Cleveland meetings at the Cooper union during the campaign. It will be useless to ask Mr. Blaine to debate with him. Protectionists may debate with tariff reformers, but hardly with single tax men.

Thirty-two trunks, twenty bags and four baskets contained the pauper labor goods Mr. Blaine brought from Europe. What a pity Messrs. Porter and Price had not sent him a copy of the Press to tell him he could buy clothes cheaper in the United States!

HENRY GEORGE.

Good Work.

The American Machinist is doing good educational work on its editorial page, and of the many large manufacturers of machinery who advertise in its columns and read its editorials, not a few must by this time "see the cat." It says in its issue of August 18:

A great deal has been said and written regarding the immense value to this country of the immigration to it of able-bodied, industrious citizens of other countries, coming here to seek their fortunes by the creation of wealth out of our natural resources; but it is certainly pertinent to inquire to whom this benefit accrues, and if it be found to benefit only a few, comparatively, and to be a positive injury to the many, including in many cases the immigrant himself, as recent investigations have unmistakably shown to be the case, then it surely becomes the right and duty of the people, through their representatives, to interpose. Under our present social system, labor has little opportunity for self-employment, but must seek employment of those who control the factors or elements to which labor must apply itself in order to create wealth. The control of these elements has not yet been developed, and we hope never will be developed, to the extent that it has been in the older countries, and it is undoubtedly this fact which makes immigration from those countries and the seeking of new homes in this desirable a few weeks since how the control of the coal and mineral lands of England, by a comparatively few "gentlemen" (in the English sense of the term) resulted in the laying of heavy burdens upon all those industries in which coal and iron are important factors, and the lowering of the wages of miners and the profits of mine operators to the lowest possible limit, in their unequal struggle with the miners in other countries, where the government interposes to prevent the impositions of these burdens, by itself controlling the mines and allowing them to be worked upon easy terms.

As the control of such natural resources becomes more and more complete, and a few men become better able to dictate the terms upon which the rest of the people shall be allowed to make use of that which is necessary to their prosperity and happiness, and which nature has provided for families who become more and more difficult for those skilled in the management of mines and having the necessary capital to carry on mining operations, to obtain access to the stores of nature, and to make money, and at the same time pay living wages to those whom they employ to assist them in the work of producing wealth.

That this control of this system of producing wealth makes labor (in the simple labor of the hands only, but all kinds of labor) a commodity for which the possessors must find a purchaser in order to live. It becomes more and more complete, and a few men, every winter, thousands of families who suffer with cold on account of the high price of coal, while upon the other hand there are thousands of miners suffering the privations of the double pressure of lowering their wages and still further increasing the price of coal.

That this control of the opportunities for producing wealth that people need and are willing to pay a fair price for, in order to carry on their industrial operations and make themselves comfortable, has developed to a point where the condition of the workmen in the coal mines of England in which coal is nearly as low as in any of the countries from which our immigrants come, no one who takes the trouble to investigate the matter can doubt. And every thoughtful man must admit that if the condition in which it is safe for any considerable portion of the citizens of this country long to remain.

History has shown, over and over again, that the power and greatness of nations does not depend on the accumulation of wealth per se, so much as upon the distribution of that wealth among the people; and any cause which may be working to produce extreme wealth on the one hand and extreme poverty on the other, should be removed, if possible.

For Use in the Arts.

"It will take," said the tramp to the bartender, "a little free whisky to be used in the arts." "What?" growled the drink dispenser. "Ah," said the tramp loftily, "you are probably a democrat, and haven't the platform which we republicans adopt. We there demand free whisky for the arts, and I will take a little just now to be used in painting my nose."

Leads.

The composers in the (Toronto) World were attacked on a body a few days ago, and then the worthy proprietor locked the door and kept them out. According to that gentleman's account it was all because he refused to submit to an unreasonable demand. The printers wanted to charge two prices for a certain piece of composition. The proprietor says he is a free man and insists on running his business to suit himself. But why does he teach the doctrine of protection in his editorials if he does not believe in it? Why is protection but the interference of the government with the private business affairs of citizens? If Mr. McLean believes that every man should have the right to "conduct his affairs to please himself," he is simply a free trader in disguise.

IMMIGRATION.

AN INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN FORD OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

The special committee of the house of representatives, appointed to investigate the subject of immigration, have been taking testimony in this city for over two weeks. To enable our readers to get a better idea of the result of the investigation so far as it has progressed than they are likely to obtain from the voluminous reports of the daily papers, a STANDARD reporter requested an interview with Mr. Ford, chairman of the committee, which was courteously granted. Mr. Ford is a democrat, representing the Grand Rapids district of Michigan, where he overcame a previously strong republican majority by aggressively arraying the protectionist policy. He is a native of Michigan, of mixed English and Irish blood, a lawyer by profession and a stenographer by trade. In response to a question as to what had been discovered by the inquiry he is conducting, Mr. Ford replied:

"To commence at the beginning, we have discovered that several of the steamship companies make it a business to employ a crowd of agents in Europe, particularly in southeastern Europe—Gallia, Silesia, Hungary, Italy and certain portions of Greece—among the lower classes of people, chiefly in the villages and among the agricultural laborers. These agents and their assistants go through the country posing up placards and advertisements to the effect that the steamship companies and public squares, where they make speeches setting forth the advantages of this country for the common laborer, who, they say, can obtain employment without any trouble. Several of these circulars have been submitted to the committee, but not one of them represents the true state of affairs as to the industrial situation in the United States. A slightly different method is pursued by one company—the North German Lloyd. This company's agents find some laboring man here or there in our almshouses within a week after they have landed in Canada. In one instance it was within forty-eight hours. The law defines paupers as those without the means or unable to perform the work necessary for a living. It has been very poorly enforced."

"How about the enforcement of the contract labor law?" "I confess I am astounded at the way it has been disregarded. As enforced it does not amount to anything. "Can such a law be enforced? Since the contracts are merely verbal, and merely on honor, what way can there be of finding out about them?" "It is true that the contracts are not written. But while we have the law we should try to enforce it. My idea would be to increase the consular service and have a force of inspectors in each foreign port to make careful investigations and prevent the shipping of contract laborers."

"Yes. As it is now American employers and their agents violate the law openly. The Lees manufacturing company of Bridgeport, Conn., for instance, advertised openly in English papers for woolen operatives."

"There is a highly protected industry, is it not?" "Oh, yes! These manufacturers who import their labor are always the ones who howl the loudest for protection. The firm I have mentioned was one of those who appeared before the ways and means committee and testified that if the duty on woolen goods was cut down they would be obliged to cut down wages. They said they wanted to protect American labor. Yet only recently an American operative, a foreman by the name of Haddy, who wanted a position in their factory, was told that he could not have it, as a foreman was coming from England to take it."

"Has your investigation shown anything as to the effect of this immigration in reducing wages?" "Oh, yes; it has that effect, especially in New York and Pennsylvania. Thousands and thousands were taken to the coal fields at Wilkesbarre, Hazleton and other places when the workmen were absolutely starving. Mr. Sawyer, a prominent coal operator, told Senator Haddock of Pennsylvania that the iron and coal operators had put up this job for the express purpose of overstocking the labor market. They are all high protectionists and howl for protection to American labor. Every man who has been detected violating this law is a highly protected manufacturer or employer. So far as our investigation goes the very men who demand high duties to keep out foreign 'pauper goods' are the very men who make a practice of employing foreign pauper labor."

"Has the investigation thrown any light upon the difference in wages and the cost of living between this country and Europe?" "In Italy the wages of common laborers seem to be about ten cents a day, with their meals; without meals, twenty-five cents a day. Of the wages in other countries we have learned nothing to speak of. The cost of living is, of course, much less than here. One thing that shows that is that the great majority of Italians go back when they save a little money. Of the fifteen hundred employed on the West Shore work, all returned to Italy except the paupers or the sick. All their surplus earnings are sent home, too. I can mention a direct instance in connection with that that has come under my notice, however; that of Paul Glouton, a skilled silk worker, imported by McCullum, Constable & Co. of Northampton, Mass. He received 7 francs a day in France, and was offered 12 francs to come here; but he testified before our committee that the other factors were such that he would much prefer to do the same work in France for 7 francs that he did here for 12 or 14. Had he known what the circumstances were before coming, he would have demanded \$3 a week. A granite cutter testified that the wages here were about the same as in England."

Does your inquiry throw any light upon the number of men, citizens as well as immigrants, now out of work?" "No; we have not touched upon that point. But as to these men I have been talking about, it is said there are now five thousand Italians in New York out of employment."

Are there not a good many who have come from Europe to this 'land of plenty' who would gladly go back if the passage were furnished them?" "Undoubtedly; thousands and thousands of them."

"How would it do to appropriate from the surplus enough to send all back who wanted to go?" "That is a new proposition I am not prepared to answer. But as these 5,000 Italian laborers in New York, if they could be transported to the purpose of exacting tribute from their fellow creatures is a wrong equally obvious. The only question to be as to what is the proper and successful remedy. A home for every man, woman and child should be the highest purpose of the state, and it is the dearest hope of the individual. That nation where there are no homeless people—that is, where one's home does not depend on the payment of interest on mortgage—would be the grandest, the mightiest and the happiest nation that the sunlight of heaven ever smiled upon.—[Chicago Sentinel (Greenback)]

"About five years, I think." "We used to look on it as a source of national wealth and strength did we not?" "Indeed we did. My own state of Michigan had agents in every country in Europe. I think to-day if these people would go to

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's 'Triumphant Democracy,' and of Mr. Carnegie's castle and his coaching trips? You know that Mr. Carnegie dwells most eloquently upon the greatness of our country, the beauty of our institutions, and our boundless natural resources, and asserts precisely to that any one here can come as rich as he himself, if he is only industrious, sober and intelligent."

"Yes, and says nothing about the protective tariff that has put millions in his pocket, by taking it out of other people's. I have read Mr. Carnegie's 'Triumphant Democracy,' and said to myself: 'Here is matter for a hundred screaming Fourth of July orations.' But our investigation has been confined to the immigration from southeastern Europe. We have only touched the subject of immigration from the British isles with regard to assisted immigration."

"But our papers have been saying the same things, and not only have our railroad companies been spreading through Europe the most rose colored accounts of what a good country this is, and how little it is occupied as compared with its boundless natural resources, but many of our newer states have appropriated money to stimulate immigration, by establishing bureaus, issuing circulars, etc. Have you any testimony as to the effect of this?"

"No. I think that kind of thing has been discontinued. My own state, Michigan, has stopped doing it, as has also Wisconsin, and I think Texas. We had too much immigration."

"What about the assisted Irish and English immigrants?" "Well, that consists mainly of paupers and vagrants; but it is enormous. I do not believe that a single man in this country has any idea of the extent to which the government has assisted emigration. Under the poor laws the guardians are allowed to use the funds for the purpose of sending the poor away, and even permitted to borrow money for this purpose. These paupers are many of them shipped to Canada, and, as there is no law against Canadian paupers coming here, owing to the refusal of the senate to agree to the house bill so long as it applied to our land boundaries, we often have these poor men here in our almshouses within a week after they have landed in Canada. In one instance it was within forty-eight hours. The law defines paupers as those without the means or unable to perform the work necessary for a living. It has been very poorly enforced."

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the far west we would not have much trouble. Much of our Michigan immigration is of Scandinavians, an energetic, industrious people, who make splendid farmers. They will take up land just cleared by the lumber barons and left bare and desolate, and turn it into fine farms. But these poor Italians, although mostly agricultural laborers, have not the money to stock a farm; they are therefore obliged to herd in the cities."

"But why should they herd in the cities when there is plenty of land nobody is using all around the cities? These Italians are agricultural laborers, and, as they prove around San Francisco, are splendid gardeners. If they are energetic enough to come over here, honest enough to get trusted for the passage money, why can't they go across the river to the Newark flats and turn them into gardens, or go on the vacant land in the upper part of New York city and go to work there?"

"I suppose the price is too high."

"Is there not some connection between the increase in the price of land in the United States and the changed feeling with regard to immigration?"

"That is a bigger subject than we have undertaken to investigate."

"But this is the kernel of the whole matter. There would be no complaint of the coming here of men able and willing to work if there was work for everybody. This there does not seem to be. What is the reason? We have as yet only some sixty-five millions of people. Is there not room enough here for say a thousand millions?"

"I should think there was. But the question you raise is too big a one. If we were to go to the question of why labor cannot readily find employment in a country where there are such abundant natural opportunities for employment we would be going to the very heart of the labor question, and of all social difficulties, and should raise no end of controversy. What we are trying to do is to find an immediate remedy for some specific difficulties. I can only say that as far as our investigation has shown, a large proportion of the immigrants coming to the United States are agricultural laborers, but they arrive in the winter months, and are not able to transport them to the vast agricultural regions of the west, or to any place where they could prosecute their occupation of agriculture, in my opinion, the present surplus of laboring men in the large cities would be largely reduced, and the excessive competition among laborers would be to a large extent abated."

"Do you know of any part of the west into which this flood of immigrants could be turned with the assurance that they could find work to prosecute their occupation of agriculture?"

"No—with a pause—I do not. Of course, if it was turned into any section, the price of land there would go up."

"Then, in short, while we have an abundance of natural opportunities for work, the trouble is that these natural opportunities are monopolized."

"Yes; that is about it. Of course I have my own private opinion. But we cannot go into the greatest of all questions in an investigation like this."

Will They Break Through the Crust?

Republican—Well, you're making a great fuss over this admission of the Chinese into this country; but, really, you know, there is a force which is drawing the two races toward each other which is stronger than any human law.

Democrat—What's that?

Republican—The attraction of gravitation.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

There are seven presidential tickets in the field, representing seven separate and distinct political parties. Among all the platforms put forth by these parties there is only one that favors high tariff and that is the republican platform.—[Duluth, Minn., Age.]

Certainly the old issues are dead when the son of William Lloyd Garrison is a free trader, the son of Owen Lovejoy a democratic candidate for congress, and the son of Hugh McCulloch an admirer of President Cleveland. The old issues are dead, and the old issues are going into the republican camp on the tariff issue, which would show that it is time to talk something other than war and slavery.—[Rockville, Ind., Tribune.]

The Hamilton, Ont., Times makes a very full and lurid explanation of the single tax, and says: "When opponents of the single tax say that it is a scheme to turn men out of their homes, they are either ignorant of the question or they are endeavoring to deceive the ignorant. We affirm that the adoption of the single tax on land values, in lieu of all other taxes, would not buttorily turn men out of their homes, enlarge their accommodations, or otherwise improve their homes their taxes will be no more than what they let their homes run down to the level of pig sty. Which is better for the home owner? He is taxed on every improvement he makes as he now is or to be taxed only on the special privilege by way of location that he enjoys and left free to the extent of his desire.—[Topeka, Kan., Post.]

If Henry George's single tax idea was in operation now, and a man wanted a load of sand, instead of paying a private individual for it, as he does now, in the bed of the Miami river he would pay the city treasury. This then would enable the city to give employment to idle men in keeping our streets and alleys clean, and lessen the burden of taxation on all of us who contribute for this purpose. The man has just as much right to the bounties of nature as another man. You might with the same propriety permit every man along the Miami river to sell the running waters.—[Dayton, O., Workman.]

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CAMPAIGN WORK.

Enrollment of Single Tax Free Traders—Preparing for the Big Mass Meeting—The Campaign Committee.

The enrollment of single tax free traders who propose to vote for Cleveland and Thurman goes rapidly along. Blanks with signatures attached have been pouring into THE STANDARD office. This work should be pushed. Single tax men everywhere should out on the blank form to be found on the eighth page of THE STANDARD this week, paste it on a sheet of paper, obtain as many signatures as possible and forward it at once to this office.

There have been several meetings of the single tax Cleveland campaign committee, and plans have been laid and subcommittees appointed for the big Cleveland ratification meeting in Cooper union on Monday, August 27.

At the mass meeting on Monday, August 27, in the large hall of Cooper union, James P. Archibald, master workman of the paper hangers' district of the Knights of Labor, who was one of the principal originators of the labor party movement in the majority election of 1886, will preside, and William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts and Henry George of New York will speak. Other mass meetings will be held at an early day, which it is hoped will be addressed by Hugh O. Pentecost of New Jersey, Judge Reid of Tennessee, Thomas G. Shearman of New York, and other absolute free traders.

In the report in THE STANDARD of last week of the proceedings of the conference of single tax men held at Cooper union on the 6th of August, an error occurred as to the resolutions. Two sets of resolutions, having the same purport, but somewhat different in phrasing, had been prepared. Only one, however, was offered, which was adopted. By a singular blunder the set that was not offered was printed in our report as the set that was adopted. The resolutions, as adopted by the conference, were as follows:

Whereas, The democratic party has nominated Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman for president and vice-president, a platform demanding a reduction of tariff tax, and

And whereas, The democratic majority in the house of representatives has passed a bill reducing tariff duties generally and relieving a few important products from all custom house taxation;

And whereas, A reduction of tariff duties, however slight, is a step toward the abolition of all taxes on the products of the country, and their consequent transfer to land values, and a blow at the false pretense that taxes on goods can "protect" labor;

**SOME ACTIVE NEW YORK SINGLE TAX
MEN VOICE THEIR SENTIMENTS.**

John J. Flanagan, 157 East Twenty-seventh street.—“Glover Cleveland has voted in 1884, and this year I shall vote for him again because of his views on the tariff question, which have been adopted by the democratic party. I think about sixty-five per cent of those who voted for George will vote for Cleveland this year, and fifteen per cent for Harrison. Intelligent discussion is fast replacing old ideas and deep-rooted prejudices. The protectionists are clearing away before the free traders. They now realize that protection, instead of being, as they once believed, ‘Plenty of work at high wages,’ really means fewer markets, restricted manufacture, limited amount of labor, low wages and high prices. There is a

fifteen per cent for Cowdrey and five per cent or prohibition. Undoubtedly free trade is a sound training ground, but this is only because of the strength and adaptiveness of the single tariff system. It is an informing medium of training in the tariff question, and the fact that the democrats were thrown out of the debate at the beginning by the question, "If a little protection is good, why won't twice as much of a duty give five double the benefit?" If we could eliminate the prejudices arising from the war, appeals to which form the largest part of the republican politician's stock in trade, there is no question in my mind that the workmen would be more likely to sympathize with the republicans than with the democrats. The democrats would become single tariff men, and we are about to hear a single expression commendatory of Governor Hill's veto of the electoral law.

can easily lead up to the single tax. We that is the single tax men) can do more to make Governor Hill's election uncertain if he is nominated than the party to which he belongs gives us credit for at this time. Under circumstances will I vote for him if he is nominated. I will support the party that will advocate an election reform bill like the one vetoed by Governor Hill."

Henry Ware Jones, 162 Ninth avenue,—"I voted for James G. Blaine last campaign. I will probably vote for the democratic candidate this year, because: 1. I believe free trade to be the natural and protection the artificial way of transacting business or commerce. 2. The democrats are at present the only party advocating the abolition of free trade. 3. Their views on isolation of the country."

John Welsh, 555 West Thirty-seventh street.
 "My first vote cast for president will go to Cleveland, for I think so far he is going our way. I believe the majority of the votes cast for Henry George last year will go to Cleveland this year. In the discussion of the tariff question free trade is gaining and leading to the single tax. I can now get men to talk with me about the question of the tariff."

reform) he represents is a step toward free trade as commonly understood, and because from that to absolute free trade and the single tax the transition will be easy. I think the greater proportion of those who voted for George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland this year. Those who only partly understand the principles of the single tax will probably vote for Harrison. The free trade idea has taken wonderful strides among the working classes during the past two years, and this is largely due to the spread of single tax ideas. The single tax idea grows with the free trade movement. Many admit in daily conversation, without being aware of it, all the fundamental truths of the land value tax. The feeling that little good can be accomplished until secrecy of the ballot is secured is shared, I think, by all who have thought on the subject; and I find in conversation with the agriculturists that they are almost unanimously in favor of the single tax. I must hurry for voting the Australian ballot bill. I shall vote against him myself if he is renominated."

John Hamilton, 343 East Thirteenth street.
"I intend to vote for Cleveland this year because I see plainly that he is going in our direction. I find in discussing the tariff ques-

W. H. Fawcather, Editor *Weekly Fish Journal*.—"At the last presidential election I was one of the republicans in favor of civil service reform who voted for Grover Cleveland. This election I shall vote for Grover Cleveland because I am now a single tax man and believe President Cleveland's message is a step in our direction. In the Tenth assembly district, in which I live, four-fifths of the votes were voted for Henry George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland. The only work of much account which has been done in this district so far in the tariff line has been done by the republicans, who are working hard on the prejudices of the ignorant classes. The democrats are acting the part of cowards in denying free trade. The feeling of the intelligent voter in the district, without regard to parties, is very bitter against Governor Hill, on account of his veto of the electoral college bill. I think Hill will be behind the democratic ticket if it is renominated. I shall vote and work against him."

Henry Huff, 57 Fulton street.—"I shall vote for Cleveland and "natural trade" this year. From conversations I have held I judge that the free trade side is gaining ground. As to Hill, I think he would be defeated if nomi-

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

A Western Student.

LONG PRIMER, Minn.—(1) In "Progress and Poverty" you state that one of the factors in human progress is the "law of least exertion" in satisfying our desires. Now, since this is a law, and since you propose to eliminate the "law of least exertion," will that state of affairs tend to make men lazy, retard production, stagnate industries, kill all ambition, make men as well as countries poor, make men content themselves with merely having what they absolutely need, and finally bring humanity back to the "root digger" state?

(2) On free trade the question has occurred to me: What assurance have we when we take off tariff and offer the people cheaper goods that they will be any better off, i. e., retain the present wages and be enabled to "buy more"?

(3) And if free trade is to be beneficial to the farmer by giving him a better market for his produce, and therefore a higher price, how will free trade then benefit the mechanic classes, who have to buy these products?

(4) And if we have no assurance for higher wages (pay for work), or even if they remain the same, and free trade is to raise the price of products necessary for the laboring classes (wheat, butter, eggs, etc.), it seems to me that the people and the country as a whole would be worse off than under the present system.

THORWALD WILSON.

(1) It is stated in "Progress and Poverty" that men seek to gratify their desires with least exertion. This law needs but to be expressed to be accepted. It is also stated that want and the fear of want would be removed by free trade. But it is nowhere stated that human wants will be either abolished or diminished. Men will still want; they will want in greater degree than they do now, because they will then be free to satisfy their wants by their work. And instead of production being retarded by the absence of starvation and fear of it, men will be stimulated to greater production by the certainty they will have of enjoying what they produce.

You have confused two things. In saying that want and fear of want will no longer be known, it is meant that there will be no involuntary poverty—that men will not suffer for want or fear of want of the necessities of life; but you have taken it to mean that human desires will be obliterated. If men should cease to desire to live according to high standards they would not put forth the exertion necessary to enable them to live up to such standards; but having the desire to live according to the highest possible standards, their disposition to put forth the necessary effort of brain and muscle will be enhanced if they cease to fear the probability of falling into a condition in which they cannot even with great exertion maintain themselves in comfort.

When it is said that men seek to gratify their desires with least exertion you are not to understand that they seek to go through life with least exertion, for that is not true; what they seek is to produce given results with least exertion.

(2) It is not the mere fact that goods will be cheaper that assures higher wages. Cheaper goods will be but one result of a condition of which higher wages will be another. The less restriction there is upon labor the better off laborers are. Protection is a restriction. It diminishes opportunity to work which reduces wages and limits the supply of goods which increases prices. Free trade will at once increase opportunities to work and augment the supply of goods.

(3) It does not follow that prices of farm products will be increased to the consumer by free trade. They may or may not be. But whether they are or not the farmer will get more commodities for his labor than he gets now. Such a condition will make a greater demand for commodities and consequently afford larger opportunities for employment in all industries. And this will benefit farmers and mechanics alike.

(4) As the assumption is unfounded the question calls for no answer.

A Whirlpool of Figures.

BOSCORDEL, Wis.—Please answer in your next Standard the following: The number of inhabitants, total wealth, number of paupers in 1860 in the following states: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Iowa; same in same states in 1870 and last census.

ED. MEYER.

Massachusetts: Inhabitants, 1,231,066; 1870, 1,457,371; 1880, 1,783,985. Paupers, 1860, not given; 1870, 8,036; 1880, 5,433. Assessed valuation of real estate, 1860, \$475,418,165; 1870, \$901,037,841; 1880, \$1,111,160,072. Assessed valuation of personal property, 1860, \$301,744,651; 1870, \$690,945,271; 1880, \$478,936,730. Estimated true valuation of all property, 1860, \$815,237,433; 1870, \$2,132,148,741; 1880, not given.

Pennsylvania: Inhabitants, 1860, 2,906,215; 1870, 3,521,951; 1880, 4,282,891. Paupers, 1860, not given; 1870, 15,872; 1880, 12,646. Assessed valuation of real estate, 1860, \$561,192,990; 1870, \$1,071,680,934; 1880, \$1,540,007,957. Assessed valuation of personal property, 1860, \$158,060,355; 1870, \$241,555,108; 1880, \$143,451,059. Estimated true valuation of all property, 1860, \$1,416,591,818; 1870, \$3,805,340,112; 1880, not given.

Illinois: Inhabitants, 1860, 1,711,951; 1870, 2,539,891; 1880, 3,077,871. Paupers, 1860, not given; 1870, 6,054; 1880, 4,275. Assessed valuation of real estate, 1860, \$287,219,540; 1870, \$348,438,906; 1880, \$575,441,053. Assessed valuation of personal property, 1860, \$101,987,432; 1870, \$134,465,669; 1880, \$211,175,341. Estimated true valuation of all property, 1860, \$871,660,282; 1870, \$2,121,680,578; 1880, not given.

Iowa: Inhabitants, 1860, 674,913; 1870, 1,194,020; 1880, 1,624,615. Paupers, 1860, not given; 1870, 1,543; 1880, 2,133. Assessed valuation of real estate, 1860, \$149,433,423; 1870, \$236,610,688; 1880, \$297,254,342. Assessed valuation of personal property, 1860, \$55,738,560; 1870, \$75,904,780; 1880, \$101,416,808. Estimated true valuation, 1860, \$247,333,265; 1870, \$717,644,750; 1880, not given.

These figures are taken from the United States census reports.

The Ballot Bill.

CORONET, N. Y.—On a question of censuring Governor David B. Hill for vetoing the ballot

reform act? some of the members claim that the act was unconstitutional, while others claim that the law passed and signed by the governor of Massachusetts was identical to the same as the one vetoed by Governor Hill.

Please state the difference, if there be any, between the bill passed in New York and the one passed in Massachusetts in the next issue of THE STANDARD, if possible.

ALFRED MURRAY.

On the point of constitutionality, I understand that there is no essential difference between the Massachusetts law and the bill which Governor Hill vetoed.

The constitutional objections urged to the latter by the governor were, in my opinion, frivolous. You will find the reasons for this opinion in the review of the Governor's veto published in THE STANDARD of June 30, 1888.

The Protection Clauses.

EAST ORANGE, N. J.—Following are three statements made by protectionists which are thought by them to settle the entire question: (1) If I can manufacture certain goods cheaper than you I can run you out of the market. It would make no difference where we were located—in the same town or state, or different states, or if we were separated by oceans. England can manufacture cheaper than we because of her cheaper labor, and if it were not for protection would drive our goods out of our home market even.

(2) A smart fellow dealing with the theory of free trade can make it quite plausible, but it is all a theory, and is crushed out by the facts of the case when it comes against them. The one fact that overthrows the theory is that with free trade the worker gets fifty cents per day, under protection he is paid \$1. Everybody knows this and it settles the whole question.

(3) The English manufacturers through the Cobden club have contributed \$1,000,000 to aid in the re-election of Cleveland. This is a proof of what free trade in this country would be worth to them.

E. C. ALPHONSE.

(1) If I can manufacture certain goods and bring them to market cheaper than you can, I can run you out of the market as a manufacturer of these goods. That is true. And, except for differences in the expense of transportation, it would be immaterial where we were located. If laborers everywhere turned over to their employers the same quantity and quality of product for the same wages, an argument like that in question might be plausibly made. Even then the argument would involve a fallacy, which is not necessary here to expose, because laborers in different places do not turn over to their employers the same quantity and quality of product for the same wages. Take coal for example. In America the miner turns over to his employers a ton of coal for from 40 to 70 cents, while in England he gets 80 cents and upward. The same thing is true of most of our industries. Now it is absurd to suppose that the coal operators of England would supply us with coal because "of her cheaper labor," the labor cost of mining a ton of coal there being more than it is here. This is illustrated by protection figures about farming. Protectionists say that farm wages here are about \$20 a year while they are as low as \$30 in India; and yet, American wheat sells in the same market with India wheat. This could not be if the American farm laborer did not give to his employer more value for his wages than the Indian farm laborer gives to his employer.

(2) Where does the worker get \$1 a day under protection as against fifty cents under free trade? Are the United States and England compared? That would be begging the question. If workers got twice as much wages here as in England, and in fact they do not, it would only prove that wages in America are twice as high as in England. It would not prove the benefits of protection which we have and England has not. If protection is to be made to account for the difference it must be shown not only that the difference exists in favor of all protected countries, but also that there is no other rational way of accounting for the difference between this country and England. But the difference does not exist in favor of all protected countries. Witness Germany, France, Russia, Italy and Spain, where they have protection and where wages are lower than in England. And there are rational ways of accounting for the higher wages of this country, not the least of which is that this is a vast continent with only 60,000,000 inhabitants, while England is a little island with 40,000,000. Wages would naturally be higher here, where land is comparatively cheap and labor, therefore, comparatively free, than in thickly populated countries. They would be higher still in this country if speculation in land had not withdrawn so much land from use.

(3) This is a typical protection statistic. As with all protection statistics the strength of the argument lies in the brazenness of the lie. English manufacturers have made no such contributions, nor will they; for few know better than they that free trade here would reduce them to an equality with our manufacturers in the markets of the world. Our salt and lumber monopolists are just about as anxious to contribute to Cleveland's election as are the English manufacturers.

LOUIS F. POST.

An Illustration of the Law of Wages. **HELENA, Montana.**—The extract in your issue of the 4th from the New York Times concerning the gold find in Michigan, and your comments thereon remind me that the operation of the mining laws of the territory affords a striking illustration of your theory of the regulation of wages by the access to natural opportunities.

Helena is in Last Chance Gulch which, twenty-five years ago, was one of the most famous "placer diggings" ever discovered. It produced six millions of gold. The "gravel" whence the gold was taken, after three or four washings, still contains gold enough to pay an industrious washer about \$2.50 per day, and in the immediate vicinity of the town there are hundreds of acres of it. Free access to these abandoned placer claims absolutely fixes the wages of the common laborer in Helena at \$2.50 per day.

Would it be the adoption of the mining laws of the territory by the state of Pennsylvania break the back of the coal monopoly? The question gave Delegate Jones pause. It also seemed to give him food for thought;

DELEGATE JONES.

The State of the Painting Trade Affects His Nerves and Causes Him to Lose Flesh.

I met J. G. Jones the other night. All journeymen painters know Delegate Jones, for he has been the walking delegate of one of the painters' organizations for four years or more. He is not looking well. When I used to know Jones he seemed to me a large, robust, round cheeked, bright eyed fellow, full of life and vim; when I met him the other night he had shrunk in flesh, was nervous and his eyes were sunken, with many crow's feet about them.

He and Conklin were standing by a lamp post on the corner of Fourteenth street and Fourth avenue. I asked after his health, and he said he was feeling all right, except that his nerves were unstrung. Was it a result of his almost constant change in how many painters are employed on any job you might name and what they are getting. Whenever a painter is wanted he knows where he can be found, the interests of his own organization being, of course, always uppermost in his mind. But Jones, while an active sympathizer and worker with all labor movements, has never devoted his time to a study of the principles involved. While he has been a recognized leader in painting matters, he has been content to be a follower in the large movement which looks to the emancipation of all labor. He has a dim, very dim, perception of the truth, but that is all.

"You want to know what is the matter?" said Jones to me, after he, Conklin and I were seated. "Well, I can hardly tell, except that matters are taking such a turn that I do not know what to do." After a pause: "You know I have been the walking delegate of the Progressive painters for four years, don't you? Well, I think I do twice as much work now as I did four years ago and I seem to accomplish less than a fifth of the results. I don't know whether it is owing to anything in my ability, or whether these freetrade notions have not had any effect on me, but I am not able to do the work of my society as I used to, notwithstanding the fact that I work harder."

Jones began to puff slowly at his pipe and to lose himself in thought; but I brought him back by saying: "Give us some details, Jones; show what you think you used to be able to do, and why it appears to be so much harder to do the same work now." "I'll do it. These books," said he, unstrapping a package of them "will give you an idea. Here," said he, as he opened a book, "are the memoranda of my weekly collecting of wages and initiation fees during my first year. You know of course, that it is a part of the delegate's duty to examine the cards of men at work, to see that they are in good standing in the society, and, if they are in arrears, to make them pay up, giving them a receipt; also, to induce non-society men to join, giving them a 'protection card' which allows them to work with union men until the next meeting of the society. Well, this time four years ago I used to turn in to the society a weekly average of nearly one hundred dollars, and I maintained that average almost up to the close of last season. But this year—and I believe that is what is affecting me so—I haven't so far been able to turn in enough to pay my salary; and though I am working harder than I ever did the men of my organization are twitting me with laziness and saying that it is about time a new man was selected as delegate, and some of them seldom lose an opportunity to insult me by saying that the cause of the falling off in my collections is due more to 'freedomness' than anything else."

"Well," said I, "if the feeling of the men seems to be turning against you, why don't you resign, and give some one else a chance to do better?" "I would be perfectly willing to do that if I could get a job, but, I see, I have in the course of my duty as delegate, to see to it that all the boss painters of this city at some time or another; and the business we have had together has not been calculated to cause them to entertain any feelings of good will toward me. The bosses lay all the blame for the differences which have occurred between their men and themselves on the walking delegate; whereas the delegate only carries out the instructions of his union—instructions, as a rule, given by the very men in whose behalf he visits the employer. The result is that the boss painter would give me nothing to do. If I were to lay down my office, I would have to go to another part of the country for work; and the chances are that the bosses association's enmity would even then follow me."

"What is the reason for the falling off in your collections?" I asked. "Well, the men simply won't pay, and the new men won't join the society," Jones answered. "Why won't they?—why would they pay and join four years ago, and last year, and now?" "Well," answered Jones, "I think the old and principal reason is that trade is not as good as it has been."

Here was the key to the thing that puzzled Jones—"trade is not as good as it has been." I don't think he realized that he had struck the key note, so I questioned him further. I asked: "What is the cause of the dullness in your trade this year when it has been so good for the past four years?" "Well," he answered, ruefully, "we can't paint unless we have something to paint. The carpentering trade is dull, for instance; and so is the bricklayers' and so are all the building trades. Yes," said he, looking as if he had solved the question, "the building trade being dull makes our trade dull."

"But," I persisted, "what has suddenly made the building trade dull, when it was good up to last year?" My question set him thinking again; but after a pause he answered, "Why, the building trade is dull because very little new building is being done. Do you know," he said, "that there is not fifty per cent of the work going in our line this year that there was last year? And the men are doing practically nothing; and the men with capital who have heretofore invested in building properties are keeping their money in their pockets. Do you know that?"

Yes, I knew that, but I didn't say so to him. I contented myself with putting another question or two to him.

"Why is very little building being done, and why are men keeping their capital in their pockets, instead of investing it in building properties?" The question gave Delegate Jones pause. It also seemed to give him food for thought;

but after revolving it in his mind he confessed he didn't know.

"But," he said after some time, "one of our men said the other evening that 'the reason the builders are not putting up buildings was because the price of land had gone up so high that men with money could not afford to take the risk of buying it and building on it. It had become a risky investment.'"

"Well," Jones said, "does that strike you as a good reason?"

I had asked the question in such a way as in my opinion would not influence his answer, for I wanted him to express his own judgment in the matter; and after leaning back in his chair and taking several pulls at his pipe, watching the smoke curl up and fade away, he turned his face toward me and said, "I don't know."

"The work didn't make any impression on me at the time; but it seems to me now, in view of the light you have thrown on the question, that the man was not far out of the way."

I wish to remark here that I didn't throw any light on the matter at all, but that Jones did so himself. Jones seemed to be comforted. He could see, at least, that the dull times in the painting business was through no fault of his; if he saw no further, he knew that the cause of the prevailing dullness in his trade was because the building trade was dull. He may be satisfied to stop there; but if he is the building trade and builders and men with money to invest will not.

As he was disposed to talk freely, I asked Delegate Jones how business was generally. He answered that it was very bad. There were in the various trades of the building industry old, well known hands who had not yet found a lick.

"I could," he continued, "at a few hours' notice, furnish five hundred painters to any man requiring their services. And I know the same can be done in several other trades. I know one large union in the building trade which last year had seventeen hundred members in good standing. This year one thousand of that seventeen hundred are in bad standing; and it is so in all the trades."

"How about the contingent which comes here every year from England and other countries to work in the building industries during the busy season?" I asked.

"Well," he said, "they have left this year. They are here. They brought just money enough to keep themselves for a few days, relying on their usual luck to get work, and they are all broke. If they had the money they would go back where they belong; but they haven't, and they are stuck. I am afraid that the general dullness is going to affect the rates of wages; and I don't see the way out."

"Piling on more protection might prevent wages from falling," I suggested. "He gave me a scornful look, took a few pulls at his pipe, and said: 'I don't see it. It's just the way it goes. You want to go home and take a sleep.'"

I thought his advice good and we parted.

W. McCABE.

PEN, PASTE AND SCISSORS.

There is good story told in the French war office to the effect that for ten years a soldier was stationed in the passage leading to the minister's private apartments with orders not to let people touch the walls; but no one was allowed to understand why this was done. A new minister of an inquisitive turn of mind determined to find out the explanation of a circumstance that his fifty predecessors had never remarked; but no one could give him any information, not even the chief clerks or the subordinates who had been in service half a century. A certain door keeper, however, an old fellow with a good memory, recollected that on a certain occasion a soldier was placed there because the walls had been painted and the minister's wife had been spotted on her dress. The paint had dried, but the sentinel had been left.—Household Words.

Two parcels of real estate have recently been sold which come within the high priced category of choice properties on Manhattan island. The first is No. 207 Broadway, on the southwest corner of Fulton street. It contains a five story office building, with a lot 15.10x57 in size, and has been purchased for \$330,350. There are 1,632 square feet in this parcel, which gives an average of \$184.10 per square foot for the property, making it the fifth in rank among the highest priced parcels of realty in New York sold during recent years. The next is No. 137 Broadway, which is a lot 15.10x57 in size, and is situated on the next in precedence is the northeast corner of Pine street and Broadway, which sold for \$762,500, or \$155.75 per square foot; the second in precedence is No. 7 Wall street, which sold for \$340,000, or \$155.37 per square foot, and the first in rank reported to be the most costly parcel in the new world—the southwest corner of Wall and Broad streets, which, with but 508 square feet of ground, sold for \$78,770 per square foot. The average price of ground in New York city is probably not more than \$3 or \$4 per square foot.

There is a well known idiot in Philadelphia whose memory is astonishingly keen and reliable. He is a faithful deliverer of groceries for a retail house, and is well cared for by the district clerk, who gives him a good loaf, projecting conically upward and backward from the crown, but the forehead is low and receding, and his hair grows thickly upon it, down almost to his eyes. Whenever he is asked to give an order the idiotic carrier has to be shown the house, and told that John Brown, Bill Jones or James Clark lives there, as the case may be, and thereafter he is always to be relied on to deliver the goods. He cannot read, and has no letter of the alphabet, and does not read the numbers on the houses, yet what is most remarkable he remembers every fire that has occurred in Philadelphia for the last ten years, and will tell, and with perfect accuracy, in calling out the engines, how many and what companies responded, what accidents, if any, occurred, and the character of the fire to the recollection of details of loss. He rushes to all fires within running distance of his room, night or day, and seems to enjoy the excitement on the streets near the conflagrations. As a man with the memory faculty of the brain alive and developed, but with all other powers of that essential ruling organ dormant or absent, he is an unusual subject of scientific interest.

There have been recently in Germany a number of queer accidents and crimes. At Munich, for instance, a stampede of four elephants through the crowded streets during a great procession is something new in the annals of the city. The elephants charged through the crowds lining the streets, upsetting and trampling upon a dozen people. They were scared originally by steam from a locomotive in the procession. The beasts, instead of being terrified at the sight of the people all around them, and at umbrellas thrust and knife cuts they received in trampling through the crowd. At one point the crowd was caught in a corner and compressed into a small space, and the impact of the elephants almost to suffocation. They battered down the doors of the mint, but quickly came out of that building again. In Heilige Geist street they upset a cab. At the Cafe Heck the elephants scared a man, who swung himself upon a big chandelier, which broke and nearly caused a tremendous gas explosion. Finally in Baum street they battered down the doors of a small house, and, instead of rushing out, they stood on the floor, while the people were on the roof praying and shrieking. One elephant attempted to go up stairs, but broke through with a crash which nearly caused the people on the roof to fall. The elephant then broke through the roof of the house, and after hours of hard work they were gotten out of the house through a hole in the wall.—(New York Herald.)

A PROTECTED INDUSTRY.

A Protectionist Paper Tells the Story of the New York Shirtmakers.

"Stitch, stitch, stitch," in Hood's rhythmic "Song of the Shirt" means more, and in the same time less now, than it did when it was written half a century ago. It means more because the ceaseless stitching is done faster by machinery than any woman who

Sat in womanly rags, Flying her needle and thread, ever dreamed of, and less because, although with its aid she is able to accomplish much more than formerly, she is not in the least benefited by the change, but has to be satisfied with wages that are constantly decreasing rather than augmenting in size.

Sewing has been stamped as a work which unquestionably belongs to women, so unquestionably that she has hardly been permitted to picture to herself of doing anything else, like better, although perhaps born with as deadly a hatred for sewing as her father or brother. When the time arrives, as it does in so many thousands of homes that both daughters and sons have to earn their living, the boys learn carpentry, plumbing, mechanics, masonry and other trades, and the girls shirt making. If each year new employments are ventured upon by a few women more strong minded than their sisters, still there is no diminution in the number to be found at sewing. Shirts must be made, however, and women must win their bread and butter. It is hardly likely that the demand and supply will ever cease, unless the custom of wearing shirts is given up, or a way of making them invented without the use of fingers. Hope for bettering the wages and conditions of women who make shirts need never be relinquished, for the demand must band together and make themselves strong by force of numbers before they can hope to accomplish very much. A girl who has worked for five years at the shirt trade, and told the writer of some of the worst she has seen, said: "Women are slow to organize, as every one knows who has talked to them about the reforms that would surely come through organization, but I cannot help thinking the spirit is in them from this way they behave toward each other in the factories. They seem to be absolutely united on one point, and that is that they will treat each newcomer as if she were one of them."

"Do you mean when the girl comes to work at the factory for the first time?" "Yes. Each girl naturally feels some embarrassment when she enters a room full of strange women, and sometimes she does not speak at all, but sits down and weaves, pale and frightened. Before the day is over she has herself quieted at her ease, for the girls have taken pains to speak to her, helped her over her tea at dinner time perhaps, and, in short, made her feel at home. This is the experience, and I think that their very feeling of helplessness toward one another will finally result in their uniting to protect themselves against the low wages they receive."

"What does a girl earn who makes shirts?" "The average wages earned in a week are \$5 or \$7, but it is possible for the very best and most rapid workers to earn \$12 during occasional weeks, when trade is very brisk. Others, less competent workers, earn \$3. I can explain to you just how the work is done. Through the middle of the room there is a double line of machines. They run by steam power, and are arranged so that the women face each other at their work. There is a space between the machines which is filled by a receptacle for the work, which looks like a trough. The different parts of the garment are allowed to fall into this as they are finished. It takes ten different pairs of hands to make a shirt as it is done in factories, and it would be difficult to find a half dozen women in any single factory who could make the garment entire. For instance, the backs are made by one person, the bosoms by another, the sleeves by another, and so on."

At the suggestion of the writer a little memorandum was made by the young shirtmaker of the different parts of the garment, with prices attached, which will be given below: Bosoms, 15 to 20 cents a dozen. Backs, 15 cents a dozen. Joining and banding, 13 to 20 cents a dozen. Putting in sleeves, 10 cents a dozen pairs. Seaming shirts, 8 cents a dozen. Felling shirts, 8 cents a dozen. Hemming shirts, 5 cents a dozen. Making waistbands and neckbands, 30 cents a dozen.

Putting on the waistbands and neckbands, 10 cents a dozen. Buttonholes, 12 cents a hundred. "These prices are for an ordinary white shirt; they vary somewhat according to the quality of material and dyes used, and the size of the shirt." "They must have to work very fast to earn even \$5 or \$7 a week," remarked the writer. "They learn to make their fingers fly at a remarkable rate, and anxiety to accomplish makes them put in long hours, and a new strain that is a great tax upon the strength."

"Why is it that each woman works only on one portion of the garment?" "Because she can finish quickest that which she is doing over and over again. Her fingers follow their calling mechanically, and she would almost be able to accomplish her work if she were blindfolded. The bosom is the best paying part of shirtmaking. It is possible to make eight or ten shirts in one day, but of course that is not the rate of work for the average woman. A girl may be proficient at making sleeves, in which case she will often make one dozen pairs in one hour. The work consists in putting on the facing at the wrist and making it ready for the one who seams the shirt or the one who puts on the wristband. We sit at our work from eight o'clock in the morning until six at night. Sometimes three-quarters of an hour is given for dinner, but often half an hour. At Wallace's shirt factory in Thomas street the factory law has recently been posted in the work rooms. There are two hundred girls who may read, and long for the three-quarters of an hour's rest they are entitled to at noon, but it hasn't been granted them yet, and perhaps will not be until the factory inspectors follow up their preliminary attempts to enforce the law. During fifteen minutes at dinner time would mean the loss to employers of thirty hours' work during the week. Would the consciences of these power holding individuals prick to any effect if they thought they were robbing the workers of an hour's rest they are entitled to each day, and I wonder?"

With a little calculation it will be seen that the cost of labor on a shirt at the rate of payment given above is eleven cents, and one-tenth of a cent, and the prices are not by any means the lowest. Few men buy shirts that cost as little as \$1 each, but if they do, what a difference there is in the price received by the worker and that received by the dealer, even taking into account rent, machinery and other expenses—and it must not be forgotten that the manufacturer himself often assumes management of the retail business, although he is not a dealer in such or other. It may take as much ingenuity to sell a shirt as to make one, but it certainly does not take any more, and why may not the hard working women be worthy of something other than a mere pittance?"

It is already known that any number of the shirts sold in the stores of New York pass through the hands of one, sometimes two contractors, and are given out by them to the tenement house workers. The pay just half the price of the regular manufacturer. They always live in the tenement house districts and a sign that is hung without the door: SHIRTMAKERS WANTED! may attract the same persons over and over again, who come for their "lot" of four dozens of shirts with regularity and precision, or it may call in fresh seekers for work with the appearance of each succeeding day. It is an inclination to join with the legitimate shirtmaker in her bitterness of feeling toward the manufacturer, who pays only from \$4 to \$7 a week to his employees, and there he cries of "war" toward the contractor, who gives out flannel shirts to make at the rate of 36 cents a dozen to women who toil

In poverty, hunger and dirt, from early morning until late at night? How

that "stitch, stitch, stitch," as the machine keeps up its constant throbbing, must penetrate to the very center of the tired brain. The fingers, worn, sore, and trembling over their work, must sometimes, aye, frequently, steal to the eyes and brush away tears of sorrow and weariness, and with a kind of hopeless persistence reach back to their work again. If the women are mothers and have family cares and interruptions, what can they earn? It takes a woman who is thoroughly accustomed to the work, and without interference from outside matters, two days to do four dozens of flannel shirts, and that is working steadily from 8 o'clock in the morning until 10 o'clock at night. She receives \$1.34 for twenty-six hours of work.

Sometimes the shirtmakers are obliged to turn from necessity to the contractor for work when, at certain periods of the year, their regular employer closes his factory. He may or may not have informed his employees of his intentions, in order that they may quickly secure other employment; but work; the probability is that he has not done so. He may take their addresses with the purpose of sending for them when he begins work again, but very likely such a good intention is forgotten if new apparel is pressing themselves in the meantime. There are employers, too, who tell beginners that if they will work two days for nothing they will be paid; then at the end of the two days they say it will be necessary to work a week, perhaps two weeks, before they can expect pay. Practicing that policy with a number of persons, they get a great deal of their work done for nothing. The highest price paid to workers in the shirt trade is for custom shirts. These, the manufacturer has made within the walls of his own building, where he may oversee the work himself if necessary; but a large part of his business is done in the shops of the retailers, and for these he pays a good hand many an earn from \$3 to \$3.50 a dozen shirts. The hours are usually less severely observed and a shirtmaker usually considers himself in luck if he gets such a position. There is no question as to the quality of "doing up" the shirts and also collars and cuffs before they are ready for the dealers. There are machines to do the washing and women are only used to do the ironing. Their places are gradually being usurped, however, by the convict laborers, although their peculiar fitness for shirt ironing above other trades when they come out of the penitentiaries is unquestioned by question. It is a very different trade from ordinary laundry work, and the women employed would, so ironing what is technically called a "family" shirt. The most skillful worker is a woman who has been in the trade for years, and is a good hand for her business in order to gain a livelihood at ironing the garments, for which she earns 4 1/2 cents apiece.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

Protection is driving millions of workers out of European countries. Why is this so? Why don't a tariff raise wages in Europe.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

Mr. Harrison says that what we want is the establishment of American steamship lines. So we do. We want steamships more than we want protection, but we can't have both.—[Chicago Herald.]

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Judge Kelley's Notions.

Judge William D. Kelley, in the August issue of the Forum, presents us with a curious and by no means uninteresting essay on "The Sources of National Thrift." The judge is one of those extraordinary men who think they know more than God, and strive, as far as in them lies, to run the universe according to their own funny ideas without reference to the laws of nature. In his present effort he explains how, by allowing him and a few other philosophers to instruct them what they shall eat and drink and wear and shelter themselves with, the people of the United States may attain to such a condition of prosperity that when the wealth of the philosophers is added to the poverty of the common herd, and the sum divided by the total of population, the quotient shall show an average of a couple of hundred dollars per head. This Judge Kelley evidently considers a vast improvement on anything Dame Nature could have done in her crude, unscientific way. It is a pity that Judge Kelley was not called on to assist in making the world. To give nature full sway for millions of years, and then expect the judge to set things straight within the short compass of a human lifetime, was surely short sighted in Providence.

This is the way in which Judge Kelley approaches his subject:

The terms production, distribution and consumption include all the material interests embraced in the consideration of political economy. The nation which has within the limits of its territory the amplest facilities for producing the means of human sustenance and enjoyment, of transporting its native materials and the productions of its people with greatest speed and regularity and at least cost of labor per unit of measurement, and the enterprise and labor of whose people is so generously rewarded that they are able freely to consume one another's productions, must lead all other nations in the race for intellectual, social, and industrial supremacy; for, as has been tersely said, "both the foundation and the limit of the growth of wealth are in the profitable exchange of products. Given that condition, it cannot grow too fast or too far." This axiom is a condensed statement of results possible of attainment by a nation in the enjoyment of the conditions just enumerated; for such a nation may produce and distribute among its people limitless wealth and provide for all the reasonable desires of its citizens without exacting exhausting labor from any.

Except for the misuse of the term "distribution," which he evidently confounds with the final processes of production, this is a very handsome endorsement of the natural law and should make the ruler of the universe proud indeed. Then the judge goes on to chant the praises of that favored portion of the earth whose economic destinies he feels it is his self imposed mission to guide:

No people ever possessed so vast or richly endowed a country, or one so happily situated for complete and symmetrical development. The natural wealth of the United States is marvelous, not only by reason of its magnitude and universality of kind, but for the beneficence with which it has been so distributed as to furnish employment and profit to the people of every section of the country. All the elements of life and manufacture are found distributed throughout our country in such relations as to stimulate a vast system of internal exchanges. The sense of mutual interdependence thus produced is our strongest bond of union.

This is what the judge says; but it isn't what he means. The agony of collecting his notions has paralyzed his faculty of expressing them. He doesn't mean that "no people ever possessed," etc. He means that no other people ever possessed. He tells the truth by mistake, when he meant to insinuate a falsehood—a not uncommon *tapsus* among doctrinaires of his peculiar school.

However, let that pass. A man who knows more than God is not to be measured by ordinary standards. The judge goes on to sing the praises of the United States. He tells us of its variant climate, its far reaching water courses, its magnificent harbors, its fertile soil, and all the rest of its advantages. Ordinary common sense people who believe in the attraction of gravitation and other natural laws might be apt to say that all the inhabitants of so favored a country could possibly need would be to be put in possession of their country, and left alone. Their natural instincts might be trusted to do the rest. If they wanted iron, they would go and take it; if they wanted coal, they would go and take that; if they needed wheat, or corn, or oats, they would set to work and raise them; if they were short of things like tea or coffee, that other people could produce while they couldn't, they would dig, or make, or grow things that those other people needed, and make a trade profitable to both parties. Judge Kelley, however, knows better than all that. He and his brother doctrinaires will take care of the American people and lay out their occupations for them. Just listen to the gospel according to St. Kelley:

While England is dependent upon other countries for food and materials for fabrication, in order that her people may be fed, clothed and employed, the resources of our country are sufficient for all our needs in these respects, and our most profitable market is found in the interchanges of our own productions between our own people. The accomplishment of these magnificent results, which are attainable by any other people, does not fully indicate the capacity of the American people for such achievements. Their roads have been built without reference to the fact that profitable production and commerce must be symmetrical, and in spite of the requirements of harmonious proportions. The gravest troubles that have afflicted us, and which now beset us and threaten our future, are traceable to uneven growth. That they have not been greater and more frequent is due to the fact that our domain was so large, its wealth so varied and abundant, and so wholly undeveloped, that there was room for every sort of hurried growth. But as the population increased in proportion as they were brought into contact, by becoming large enough to demand improved but imperative means of exchange. . . . The growth of the west in agriculture has been marvelous, but contemporaneous growth in mining and manufactures has supplemented it largely, and by creating a home market has prevented much of the evil effect which must have followed more exclusive agricultural development.

But in spite of these mitigating circumstances, the fact still stands that the undue production of wheat is creating unrest and poverty in the northwest, as exclusive cotton culture arrested the growth and development of the south, reduced her people to poverty, and finally drove the cotton states into armed rebellion, because their great planters believed that, in the absence of the protective system, these states would command the commerce of the world.

And to all this the judge appends this table, which he says was compiled from official statistics:

Average export prices of certain commodities for the fiscal years from 1854 to 1881, compared with 1855, 1880 and 1887.			
	Corn per bushel.	Wheat per bushel.	Cotton per pound.
1854 to 1861.....	\$0.75	\$1.85	\$0.10-5-6
1862 to 1870.....	\$0.60-10	\$1.80-10	..
1871 to 1881.....	\$0.50-10	\$1.80-10	..
1882 to 1887.....	\$0.40-10	\$1.80-10	..

The full significance of these figures doesn't seem to have occurred to Judge Kelley. From 1861 up to the present time he and his fellow experimenters have been arranging the American people's occupations for them—prohibiting them to buy things unless produced in certain places, and generally abridging their freedom. And for doing this their constant justification has been the welfare of the American farmer, and especially the western farmer. He was the boy whom protection was to enrich. And now the end of it all is that there is "unrest and poverty in the northwest." The grain buying people are going off to other countries to buy their food; wheat and corn have tumbled a third or more in price, and only cotton—which we have a practical monopoly—has come anywhere near holding its own. Judge Kelley, in his superlative wisdom, has been trying to make Europe buy grain from us, while forbidding us to take anything from Europe in exchange. His protectionist policy has developed the wheat fields of Russia, India, Chili and Australia, and brought about "unrest and poverty" in our own northwest. Phaeton, when he tried to drive the chariot of the sun, never made a greater mess of things.

Judge Kelley, however, doesn't see matters in this light. What we need, he thinks, is to provide something else for our western farmers and southern cotton planters to do. We must put a lot of them to work making something and compel the rest to buy it when it's made. This will make everybody rich. Because the fellows who are thus set to work will be able to pay big prices for their grain and cotton out of the money the grain and cotton raisers will be forced to give them; and the grain and cotton raisers will be able to buy the things produced by the fellows who are thus set to work with the extra prices they will get for the grain and cotton. To be sure, there won't be as much wealth as there is now; but in some mysterious way everybody will have more of it. Here is the way the judge puts it:

This discussion of the necessity for more symmetrical development of our resources is demanded by its opportuneness. Just when our leading crops have ceased to be remunerative, great agricultural industries, adapted alike to the lowlands of the gulf states, the overworked lands of Florida, and the wheat and corn fields of the west and northwest, have become available. The inauguration of the iron and runcie industry, including the manufacture of both these fibers, and of the growing of cane, beet, and sorghum, and their conversion into sugar, will largely reduce our foreign disbursements, assure to the planters of the south immense profits from the growth of two additional crops, and in an equal degree benefit the farmers of the west and northwest, by enabling them to devote to pot and sorghum and beet land now wholly devoted to corn and wheat.

The rest of Judge Kelley's article is of slight importance. It is chiefly a lamentation over the sinfulness of southern members of congress in presuming to put their trust in God rather than in a Pennsylvania protectionist. Judge Kelley is apparently surprised that the experience of the war did not convince them that the surest way to make a country prosperous is to blockade its ports and cut it off from intercourse with the outside world.

The Russian Political Exile.

Mr. Kennan's contribution to the August Century is highly interesting, and withal somewhat disappointing. He tells us so much about his meeting with the Russian political exiles that we cannot help wishing he had told us more. We are introduced to a small colony of them resident in Semipalatinsk on the great Kirghis steppe. Mr. Kennan takes us with him to their houses, presents them by name, lets us chat with them, shows us the books they are reading, the work they are doing, the manner of their daily life—and then whirls us off across the arid steppe, and so on to a struggle through mountain passes and valleys. And we should have so liked to linger—to hear from each of these persecuted ones the story of his life, how he came to be arrested, what treatment he had endured, what hope he had for the future. Doubtless Mr. Kennan has good reasons for not detailing these things; but the regret arises nevertheless.

Mr. Kennan was introduced to the exiles of Semipalatinsk by a government official secretly in sympathy with them. Here is his account of an evening spent at the hut of an exile named Lobonofski:

At 8 o'clock that evening Mr. Frost and I knocked at Mr. Lobonofski's door, and were promptly admitted and cordially welcomed. We found him living in a small log house not far from our hotel. The apartment into which we were shown, and which served in the double capacity of sitting room and bedroom, was a very small—not larger, I think, than ten feet in width by fourteen feet in length. Its log walls and board ceiling were covered with dingy whitewash, and its floor of rough unmatched planks was bare. Against a rude unpainted partition to the right of the door stood a small single bedstead of stained wood, covered with neat but rather scanty bed clothing, and in the corner beyond it was a triangular table, upon which were lying, among other books, Herbert Spencer's "Essays: Moral, Political, and Aesthetic," and the same author's "Principles of Psychology." The opposite corner of the room was occupied by a what-not, or etagere, of domestic manufacture, upon the shelves of which were a few more books, a well filled herbarium of coarse brown wrapping paper, an opera glass, and an English new testament. Between two small deeply set windows opening into the court yard stood a large unpainted wooden table, without a cloth, upon which was lying

open the book that Mr. Lobonofski had been reading when we entered—a French translation of Belfour Stewart's "Conservation of Energy." There was no other furniture in the apartment except three or four unpainted wooden chairs. Everything was scrupulously neat and clean; but the room looked like the home of a man too poor to afford anything more than the barest essentials of life.

After Mr. Lobonofski had made a few preliminary inquiries with regard to the object of our journey to Siberia, and had expressed the pleasure which he said it afforded him to meet and welcome Americans in his own house, he turned to me with a smile and said, "I suppose, Mr. Kennan, you have heard terrible stories in America about the Russian nihilists?"

"Yes," I replied; "we seldom hear of them except in connection with a plot to blow up something or to kill somebody, and I must confess that I have had a good deal of trouble in my mind as to whether the word 'nihilist' is understood in America to mean a person who does not believe in anything and who advocates the destruction of all existing institutions."

"Nihilist is an old name," he said, "and is no longer applicable to the Russian revolutionary party, if, indeed, it was ever applicable. I don't think you will find among the political exiles in Siberia any 'nihilists,' in the sense in which you use the word. Of course there are, in what may be called the anti-government class, people who hold all sorts of political opinions. There are a few who believe in the power of the sword, and who regard themselves as justified in resorting even to political assassination as a means of overthrowing the government; but even the terrorists do not propose to destroy all existing institutions. Every one of them would, I think, lay down his arms, if the czar would grant to Russia a constitutional form of government and guarantee free speech, a free press and freedom from arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and exile. Have you ever seen the letter sent by the Russian revolutionaries to Alexander III upon his accession to the throne?"

"No," I replied; "I have heard of it, but have never seen it."

"It sets forth," he said, "the aims and objects of the revolutionary party, and contains a distinct promise that if the czar will grant freedom of speech and summon a national assembly the revolutionists will abstain from all further violence, and will agree not to oppose any form of government which such assembly may sanction. You can hardly say that people who express a willingness to enter into such an agreement as this are in favor of the destruction of all existing institutions. I suppose you know, Mr. Kennan, that when your President Garfield was assassinated the columns of the *Messenger of the Will of the People* (the organ of the Russian revolutionists in Geneva) were bordered with black as a token of grief and sympathy, and that the paper contained an eloquent editorial condemning political assassination as wholly unjustifiable in a country where there are open courts and a free press, and where the officers of the government are chosen by a free vote of the people?"

"No," I replied; "I was not aware of it."

"It is true," he rejoined; "of course at that time of judgment was regarded as a political crime, and such it was condemned in Russia, even by the most extreme terrorists."

Our conversation was interrupted at this point by the entrance of three young men and a lady, who were introduced to us as Mr. Lobonofski's exile friends. In the appearance of the young men there was nothing particularly striking or noticeable. One of them seemed to be a bright university student, twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, and the other two looked like educated peasants or artisans, whose typically Russian faces were rather heavy, impassive and gloomy, and whose manner was lacking in animation and responsiveness. Life and exile seemed to have gone hard with them, and to have left them depressed and embittered. The lady, whose name was Madame Dicheskula, represented apparently a different social class, and had a more buoyant and sunny disposition. She was about thirty years of age, tall and straight, with a well proportioned but somewhat spare figure, thick brown hair falling in a soft mass about the nape of her neck, and a bright, intelligent, mobile face, which, though it had become a little too thin and worn, and her complexion had been freckled and roughened by exposure to wind and weather and by the hardships of prison and exile life. She was neatly and becomingly dressed in a Scotch plaid gown of soft dark serge, with little ruffles of white lace at her throat and wrists; and when her face lighted up in animated conversation, she seemed to me to be a very attractive and interesting woman. In her demeanor there was not a suggestion of the boldness, hardness and severity which had expected to find in women of the Russian political crime. She talked rapidly and well, laughed merrily at times over reminiscences of her journey to Siberia; apologized for the unwomanly shortness of her hair, which, she said, had all been cut off in prison; and related with a keen sense of humor her adventures while crossing the Kirghis steppe from Akolna to Semipalatinsk. That her natural buoyancy of disposition was tempered by deep feeling was evident from the way in which she described some of the incidents of her Siberian experience. She seemed greatly touched, for example, by the kindness shown to her party by the peasants of Kamishlova village through which they passed on their way from Ekaterineburg to Tiumen. They happened to arrive there on Trinity Sunday, and were surprised to find that the villagers, as a manifestation of sympathy with the political exiles, had thoroughly scoured out and freshened up the old village etape, and had decorated its gloomy cells with leafy branches and fresh wild flowers. It seemed to me that tears came to her eyes as she expressed her deep and grateful appreciation of this act of thoughtfulfulness and good will on the part of the Kamishlova peasants.

About nine o'clock Mr. Lobonofski brought in a steaming samovar, Madame Dicheskula made tea, and throughout the remainder of the evening we all sat around the big pine table as if we had been acquainted for months instead of hours, talking about the Russian revolutionary movement, the exile system, literature, art, science and American politics. The cool, reasonable way in which these exiles discussed public affairs, problems of government, and their personal experience impressed me very favorably. The bitterness of the bitterness of feeling and extravagant statement which I had anticipated, and I did not notice in their conversation the least tendency to exaggerate or even to dwell upon their own sufferings as a means of exciting our sympathy. Madame Dicheskula, for instance, had been robbed of most of her clothing and personal effects by the police at the time of her arrest; had spent more than a year in solitary confinement in the Moscow forwarding prison; had been banished, without trial, to a dreary settlement in the Siberian province of Akolninsk; and, finally, had been brought across the great Kirghis steppe in winter to the city of Semipalatinsk. In all this experience there must have been a great deal of intense personal suffering; but she did not lay half as much stress upon it in conversation as she did upon the decoration of the old etape with leafy branches and flowers by the people of Kamishlova as an expression of sympathy with her and her exiled friends. About eleven o'clock, after a most pleasant and interesting evening, we bade them all good night and returned to our hotel.

It is not surprising that Mr. Kennan, after his meeting with this body of nihilists, should tell us that he finds it impossible to "bring back the unreal, fantastic conception of them which I had when I crossed the Siberian frontier." What is surprising is to find him expressing astonishment that the Russian government should have thought it necessary to send such people as these out of its territory. If he had but thought a little, he would have remembered that not ignorance but education is the deadly enemy of tyranny, the fast and firm friend of freedom. The ignorant proletariat can be kept in subjection by force, or cheaply appeased with bread and games. It is the man who knows his rights whom it is dangerous to rob of his heritage.

The Trappist Monks of Kentucky.

The same issue of the Century tells the story of an entirely different sort of exiles from those of Siberia; men who have voluntarily withdrawn themselves from home and all that makes life dear; who have abandoned even their very names; the Trappist monks of Kentucky.

It is a terrible life, as James Lane Allen described it, a prolonged death, from which actual dissolution must be a joyful awakening.

Upon them all, like a spell of enchantment, lies the sacred silence. The honey has been taken from the bees with solemnity; the grapes have been gathered without song and mirth. The vow of life-long silence taken by the Trappist must of course not be construed literally; but after all there are only two occasions during which it is completely set aside—when confessing his sins and when singing the office of the church. At all other times his tongue becomes, as far as possible, a superfluous member; he speaks only by permission of his superior and always simply and to the point. The monk at work with another exchanges with him only the few low, necessary words, and those that provoke no laughter. Of the three so-called monastic graces, *Similitudo, Benignitas, Hilaritas*, the last is not his. Even for necessary speech he is taught to substitute a language of signs, as fully systematized as the speech of the deaf and dumb. Should he, while at work, around his fellow workman, sorrow may be expressed by striking his breast. A desire to confess is shown by lifting one hand to the mouth and striking the breast with the other. The maker of cheese crosses two fingers at the middle point to let you know that it is made half of milk and half of cream. The guest master, whose business it is to act as your guide through the abbey and the grounds, is warily mindful of his special functions and requests you to address none but him. Only the abbot is free to speak when he deems the judgment may approve. His silence, says the Trappist, shuts out new ideas, worldly topics, controversy. It is silence that enables the soul to contemplate with singleness and mortification the infinite perfections of the eternal.

In the abbey it is this all-pervasive hush that falls like a leaden pall upon the stranger who has rushed in from the talking universe and this country of free speech. Are these priests modern survivors of the rapt solitaires of India? The days pass and the world, which seemed in hailing distance to you at first, has receded to dim remoteness. You stand at the window of your room looking out and hear in the autumn trees only the flute-like note of some migratory bird, passing slowly on toward the south with all its kind. You listen within and hear but a key turning in distant locks and the slow, retreating footsteps of some dusky figure returning to its lonely self-communings. The utmost precaution is taken to avoid noise; in the dormitory not even your guide will speak to you, but explains by gesture and signs. During the short siesta the Trappists allow themselves, if one of them, not wishing to sleep, gets permission to read in the refectory, he must read the psalms in his book immovably. In the refectory, while the meal is eaten and the appointed reader in the tribune goes through a service, if one through carelessness makes a noise by so much as dropping a fork or a spoon, he leaves his seat and prostrates himself on the floor until bidden by the superior to arise. The same penance is undergone in the church by anyone who should distract attention with the clasp of his book.

The dress consists, if he be a brother, of the roughest dark brown serge-like stuff, the overgarment of which is a long robe, if a father, of a similar material, but white in color, the overgarment being the cow, beneath which is the black scapular. He changes it only once in two weeks. The frequent use of the bath, as tending to luxuriousness, is forbidden him, especially if he be young. His diet is vegetables, fruit, honey, cider, cheese, and brown bread. Only when sick or infirm may he take even fish or eggs. His table service is pewter, plain earthenware, a heavy wooden spoon and fork of his own making, and the bottom of a broken bottle for a salt cellar. He has a white cow, he eats but one such frugal repast a day during part of the year; if the brown robe, and therefore required to do more work, he has besides this meal an early morning luncheon called "mixt." He renounces all claim to his own person, all right over his own powers. "I am as wax," he exclaims; "mold me as you will." By the law of his patron saint, if commanded to do things too hard, or even impossible, he must still undertake them.

For the least violations of the rules of his order, for committing a mistake while reciting a psalm, a responsory, antiphon or lesson, for giving out one note instead of another, for saying dominus instead of dominio; for breaking or losing anything, or committing any fault while engaged in any kind of work in kitchen, pantry, bakery, garden, trade or business—he must humble himself and make public satisfaction forthwith. Nay, more; each by his vows is forced to become his brother's keeper, and to proclaim him publicly in the community chapter for the slightest overt transgression. For clarity's sake, however, he may not judge motives nor make vague general charges.

The Trappist does not walk beyond the inclosures except by permission. He must repress all those ineffably tender yearnings that visit and vex the human heart in this life. The death of the nearest kindred is not announced to him. Forgotten by the world, by him it is forgotten. Yet not wholly. When he lays the lashes of the scourge on his flesh—it may be on his carious bones—he does it not for his own sins alone, but for the sins of the whole world; and in his searching, self-purging humiliations, there is a silent, broad outreach of sympathetic effort in behalf of all his kind. Sorrow may not depict itself freely on his face. If a suffering invalid, he must manifest no interest in the progress of his malady, feel no concern regarding the result. In his last hour he sees ashes strewn

upon the floor in the form of a cross, a thin scattering of straw made over them, and his body extended thereon to die; and from this he is not exempted, if he knows it will be borne on a bier by his brethren and laid in the grave without coffin or shroud.

Enough of such horrors. A deity who could approve such a system of prolonged suicide would find pleasure in condemning a race to poverty. His most fitting temple would be a tenement house.

AT A GARDEN PARTY OF KING DEMOS.

Pall Mall Gazette.

King Demos has taken a new departure this summer, which has hitherto hardly received the attention which it deserves. He has taken for holding garden parties in Trafalgar square on Saturday afternoons. The institution is novel but popular, and promises to become very useful. It supplies a great need, and staves off a great danger. The need is that of a common rallying point where the more active and earnest leaders of London democracy can meet to discuss informally with their followers the progress of events, and the danger is that the Trafalgar square might be lost entirely to the people owing to the lack of any efficient mode of maintaining peacefully and legally the popular protest against the usurpation of Mr. Matthews and Sir Charles Warren. The Saturday garden party in the square, which Mr. Saunders has initiated has now become one of the features of London life, and there is no saying what useful purposes this new departure may not serve. There is no place better than the square for the purpose of a political exchange. It is the most central point in the metropolis. It lies in a hollow, so that any one seeking a friend or acquaintance can pick him out from the square with the least effort. It is sufficiently small to preclude the possibility of missing any one whom you wish to meet.

On Saturday the square began to fill about half-past three. Sir Charles Warren had taken for holding garden parties in Trafalgar square on Saturday afternoons. The institution is novel but popular, and promises to become very useful. It supplies a great need, and staves off a great danger. The need is that of a common rallying point where the more active and earnest leaders of London democracy can meet to discuss informally with their followers the progress of events, and the danger is that the Trafalgar square might be lost entirely to the people owing to the lack of any efficient mode of maintaining peacefully and legally the popular protest against the usurpation of Mr. Matthews and Sir Charles Warren. The Saturday garden party in the square, which Mr. Saunders has initiated has now become one of the features of London life, and there is no saying what useful purposes this new departure may not serve. There is no place better than the square for the purpose of a political exchange. It is the most central point in the metropolis. It lies in a hollow, so that any one seeking a friend or acquaintance can pick him out from the square with the least effort. It is sufficiently small to preclude the possibility of missing any one whom you wish to meet.

The square was now becoming less crowded. Dr. Clark, M.P., was there discussing of the iniquities perpetrated in our name by the Shepstones and the Osbornes in Zululand. The war was a put up job, of that he had no doubt. But the general Smith, in control of the country and you need not fire another shot. He had just received letters from the seat of war, and he was running over with details which the house will hear with interest. The police were around him, and he seemed to think they had flung him down, for the moment he got his breath he sprang to his feet and attacked the nearest constable. Instantly a wild hubbub arose. The crowd broke up from all sides toward the luckless wight was seized by a dozen stalwart constables and marched off to the lock-up amid a chorus of groans and cries, "Take his number." "Down with Warren's murderers," etc. The departure of so many police restored quiet, nor was there any attempt to hold a meeting. The Rev. Malcolm MacColl, bronzed with the northern sun, sauntered across the square, where last November he had been martyred by the police, exchanging notes of his yachting experiences of the north of Scotland for gossip about high personages in Petersburg society. Mr. MacColl disappeared. In his place came the Rev. Stewart Headlam, fresh from paying out of the strike fund nearly seven hundred of Bryant and May's match girls. Next Saturday, mayhap, some of the match girls themselves may come down to tell their story to their friends in the square. Meanwhile the crowd in front of Morley's hotel was increasing. A fresh contingent had left the square after the last arrest, and the road was tolerably blocked. Mr. Graham, "shepherd" by the police, a stout refuge on the steps of Morley's hotel. A friend tried to get him a glass of water. "We don't want none of yer—socialists in 'ere," said the waiter, slamming the door in his face. The crowd cheered Graham, who acknowledged the cheers by taking off his hat. Standing on the steps of the hotel it seemed as if he were going to address a meeting. The pathway was densely crowded. In the street there was a hopeless

block—buses, hansoms, and cabs. The obstruction to traffic in front of Morley's hotel was worse than that which has been occasioned by any of the meetings held in the square in the days when they were permitted as a matter of course. At last a column of policemen marched down the pavement from St. Martin's church, driving the crowd into the street. Then they marched up the steps of the hotel and pitched Mr. Graham and the others down stairs. Mr. Graham was thrown against a cab, which ran over his foot, laming him so severely that he had to go home. Mild and modest Mr. Massingham who was present professionally thus describes the police charge in the columns of the Daily News:

"A band of police came, literally charging down on the few dozen moving men and boys, with several journalists among them, and scattered them like chaff. Harmless persons—spectators or sympathizers—were seized by the clothes or the throat, and violently thrown out of the roadway. A ruffian numbered 429 L simply tore up and down assaulting everybody in turn, myself included. Another man, whose number was M 8, seized me and threw me half across the road—mark you, though I was not even loitering, but walking briskly along. It was one of the most maddening sights I ever saw. The assaults I have described and scores of others were made without a shadow of a shade of provocation. The people were only too ready to get out of the way of the police."

"Back to the square" was the cry, and the crowd streamed back to the square, where numbers both of the police and of the public were much increased.

The police were now getting rough. Boys were selling a pattern song about Sir Charles Warren and his pugilistic policeman. Socialists and publicists were shouting vigorous words and now and then an irate citizen would express in a loud voice his disapproval of the conduct of "Charles Warren." They were worse than the royal police, said the respondent of an Irish newspaper who had just seen a colleague rescued from a "stalwart" ruffian who had pinned him by the throat. "Yes," chimed in another pressman, "but you have no idea how they hate the job. The whole force is seething with discontent. Warren means well, no doubt, but he is driving the constables to mutiny. Their discipline has been made much severer, at the same time that the atmosphere in which they live has become much more hostile. Superintendents and inspectors have lamented repeatedly the change. The sympathy of the crowd now is not with the policeman, but with the man he arrests." The conversation was interrupted by an angry rush of fifty policemen who were stampeding Mr. Saunders. He had been walking about quietly, when the police decided to harry him out of the square. Imagine a human football driven before a compact mass of forty or fifty constables who are hooting and groaning, until at last it is driven through the line of pillars and then flung violently to the ground, and you have the scene. Mr. Saunders, much shaken, took a cab and went home. Then the police took to harrying the Rev. Stewart Headlam. He was not speaking. He was smoking a cigarette and moving about talking to friends. But the word seemed to be passed to drive him out of the square. A rush of constables was made upon him, and he was driven from behind the whole length of the square into the street. He then walked round to another entrance and came in again. No sooner was he recognized than he was driven out again, and this time more roughly treated. His hat was knocked into a panicle, and he was almost pulled out of his clothes. Among those who were most violent in their handling of him were Constables A R 71, A R 74, A R 76, and M 14. They harried him through the street, nearly to St. Martin's church, where he was rescued by a friend with a stout stick. The crowd then swept back to the square, where they remained, snatching and enjoying their garden party as best they could, until about six o'clock, when a large body of men of the B Reserve came up, and the police swept all out of the square.

There was no violence and no disorder, except on the part of the police, whose interference with what would have been a perfectly quiet assemblage caused more obstruction and commotion than we have seen at Charingcross since last November.

No; but Because It is the Truth.

Henry George comes out strong in defense of copyright as an abstract principle, but thinks the inventor has no natural right of ownership which should be secured to him by a patent. Is this because Mr. George has written one of the most successful and best-selling books since "Robinson Crusoe" or "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and has not invented corkscrews and ice cream freezers?

MASS MEETING

of advocates of

THE SINGLE TAX ON LAND VALUES,

at

COOPER UNION,

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 27, 1888,

to indorse the nomination of

CLEVELAND & THURMAN,

On the ground that any reduction of tariff duties is a step toward the abolition of all taxes on the products of industry and their consequent transfer to land values.

THE MEETING WILL BE ADDRESSED BY

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

of Massachusetts,

and

HENRY GEORGE

of New York.

All who wish to hear a bold and thorough discussion of the great issue of this campaign are invited.

TO SINGLE TAX CLEVELAND VOTERS.

The conference of single tax men held at Cooper union, New York, on Monday, August 6, decided to make an enrollment of all single tax men who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman. All who desire to have their names added to this roll can do so by signing the blank given below and forwarding it to this office. One blank can be made to serve for a number of signatures by clipping it out and pasting it on a sheet of paper.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Send this blank when signed to THE STANDARD office, 13 Union square, New York.

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