THE STANDARD

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"The Standard" is sent this week to a number of persons whose friends have paid to have the paper forwarded to them for four weeks in the hope that they may be induced to read it, examine the principles it advocates and become regular subscribers. Those who receive the paper without having ordered it will understand that it has been sent in this manner and will be sent for four successive weeks without charge to them.

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I had intended, now that the campaign is over, to devote myself to THE STANDARD, which, while speaking, as I have been doing for some time, nearly every night, I have been forced in a measure to neglect. But my friend, Mr. William Saunders, has urged me to accompany him back to England, and the desire for the rest which I can get on an ocean steamer better than anywhere else, and the prospect of greeting my friends on the other side of the water, has induced me to sail with him on the steamer Eider to-morrow morning. I shall not stay more than a week or two in Great Britain, and expect to be back within thirty days. THE STANDARD will not be without something from me more than one issue following this, as I shall write from the other side.

The London correspondent of the Cork *Constitution* says:

It is generally believed that the land league was conceived by Michael Davitt, and founded by him in Dublin. This is a mistake. It was conceived by an English politician and planned at a house near London, at a "round table conference" composed of the English politician, the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan and Mr. Davitt. Probably if he were pressed on the point of paternity, Mr. Henry George would claim the questionable credit of authorship.

I do not think the credit of the authorship of the Irish land league to be in any degree questionable, and would be proud to have had a hand in it. But I had no hand whatever in it. The honor of it belongs principally to Michael Davitt on the other side of the water and Patrick Ford of the *Irish World* on this. Associated with Michael Davitt at the first meeting were John Ferguson of Glasgow and Thomas Brennan, now of Omaha, where he has made a fortune in land speculation, and one or two others whose names I forget. I do not think that Mr. A. M. Sullivan had a hand in it either. I never met Michael Davitt until his trip to this country in 1880, after the land league had been in existence for some time. I made Mr. A. M. Sullivan's acquaintance when he was member of parliament for Louth in 1881. He is a man for whose memory I cherish the most sincere respect; a clear headed, noble minded and warm hearted man, intense in his desire to secure freedom for Ireland, but yet broad enough to desire the same freedom for other countries as well. His death was a real loss.

The great misfortune of the movement which originated in the Irish land league is that the clear principle that the land of Ireland, like the land of every country, belongs in usufruct to the whole people, has not been kept in view. In its origination a movement for equal rights, it has to a large extent been dwarfed into a movement for merely reducing rents and establishing a peasant proprietary. The great danger of the Irish land movement now is that the conservative scheme to buy out the landlords in favor of the tenants will succeed. Under the Ashburne act quite a number of tenants have already bought their holdings, the government advancing the money; and it is proposed to extend this act into the next session. This scheme has the support of many men in the Irish movement, and it of course has the support of the landlords and of the tory government; for while the landlords would thus be enabled to get full price for their estates at the expense and risk of the general taxpayer, the body of small owners thus created would for a long time constitute a strong barrier to any movement for the restoration of their rights to the rest of the people. If all the tenants of Ireland became the owners of their farms, it would not help those most needing help nor improve the condition of the masses of the people. The workingmen of the towns and the agricultural laborers of the country would be as badly off as before, and all that would be accomplished would be the substitution of a larger class of landlords for a smaller class—the substitution of American landlordism for Irish landlordism. Some of the Irish papers are beginning to see this. The Cork *Advertiser* in a recent issue takes strong ground against the purchase bill and says:

The landlords have played their little game well, and it is not at all improbable that they will succeed. Their prospects of success are so good, in fact, that the whole business is becoming decidedly serious. The thin end of the wedge has been already inserted, and, if left to themselves, the landlords and their supporters, aided even by their political opponents, will in time succeed in driving the wedge home; or, in other words, succeed in establishing a system in this country that will make matters worse than ever. It is annoying to find a certain class of men one day arguing how grossly unjust were the governments that gave the land to the landlords, and the next day arguing how just it would be for the present government to give the land over in almost the same way to the tenants! If it is wrong for the landlords to *own* the land, it is just as wrong for the tenants—the only difference is that the latter wrong is more largely distributed among a greater number of people. If ever there was a time when the truth should be spoken throughout the length and the breadth of the country regarding land monopoly, now is the time. Land monopoly instead of being uprooted, as some say, is getting more firmly rooted every day. People console themselves with the thought that the establishment of peasant proprietary means the salvation of the country, and they close their minds altogether to the warnings of those who say that it will cause the country's ruin. They persist in ignoring the teaching that peasant proprietary is economically false and radically unjust. It is a time when the true character of peasant proprietary should be kept constantly before the public, in the hope that some stay may be put on the extension of the scheme.

The *Advertiser* fears that the landlord scheme, aided by the support of a large section of the parliamentary party, may to a large extent succeed, but it warns the farmers who may be disposed to buy their landlords out that there can be no permanency in such a scheme, and that the land movement cannot end in a mere extension of the class of land owners. It says:

For the day cannot be far distant when the land, and the land only, will be taxed to meet the requirements of the state. They will then find out, to their cost, that they have been "fooled," woefully misled. Common justice, common sense, should convince those dupes that the toiling masses of England, Scotland, and Ireland will not permit the farmers to take absolute and free possession of the soil that God created for the benefit of all his creatures alike. Let them beware, then, and beware in time, for the schoolmaster is abroad and he is fast opening the eyes of the working classes (who now wield the power of the franchise, and enjoy the protection of the ballot) to the undeniable fact that they, too, have a deep and abiding interest in the just settlement of the land question, and that that abiding settlement rests only in land nationalization. This the landlords know full well. This they are as convinced of as is Michael Davitt, and it is the knowledge of this fact that spurs and goads them to escape from the impending sweeping reform, caring little how their dupes may fare, and caring less for the country that unfortunately gave them birth. However, the farmers will only have themselves to blame if they rush madly and blindly into the evil grasp of the Ashburne act.

The *Advertiser* quotes the objections that Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace makes to peasant proprietary, viz.:

1. Because it will give to a class the future unearned increment of the land, which is the creation of the community.

2. Because every citizen ought to have equal right to the rental of his native land.

3. Because a peasant proprietary has no permanency, as the thriftless will be bought up by their neighbors, and landlordism be consequently re-established.

4. Because future land legislation will be rendered difficult, owing to the tenacity of the small proprietors, and thus the community as a whole will suffer for the sake of the minority.

These are all sound objections. Yet it is indicative of the timidity of thought which hampers the usefulness of so many men that Mr. Wallace, while he thus declares the injustice of giving to a class that "unearned increment" which is the creation of the community, and insists upon the equal rights of every citizen to that fund, will hear of no scheme for appropriating economic rent to common uses that does not involve compensation to the landlords for not permitting them to continue to keep it.

November 9. HENRY GEORGE.

Personal.

John Swinton, his many friends will be glad to learn, is recovering strength and eyesight, the operation which he underwent for cataract having been completely successful.

Judge James G. Maguire of San Francisco, who it was stated in THE STANDARD a few weeks ago had been requested to run to succeed himself as a judge of the superior court, declined to do so, preferring to go into practice again. This will have the advantage of freeing him for the visit to the east which it is hoped he will make ere long.

S. M. Burroughs, who generally stays in London, England, came home a short time ago in order to vote for Cleveland and take a hand in the single tax free trade fight. He spoke at a single tax meeting in his native town of Medina, N. Y., on Monday of this week. Mr. Burroughs's father at one time represented the Medina district in congress

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To Saratoga County Single Tax Friends.

BALLSTON SPA, N. Y., Nov. 11.—Please enter into correspondence with the undersigned for the purpose of devising means for a county organization. A large number is not needed. One of us who has seen the "cat" in Saratoga, Ballston and Mechanicville would be a good nucleus, but of course "the more the merrier." Yours for the cause,

RICHARD FEENEY.

THE SITUATION.

POSITION OF THE SINGLE TAX IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN POLITICS.

Significant Speeches at a Dinner Given by New York Single Tax Men to Mr. William Saunders of London—Mr. Saunders's Magnificent Address—Ringing Words of Henry George, Hugh O. Pentecost and John De Witt Warner—The Single Tax to the Front—Our Friends Across the Water Fighting Our Fight—The Single Tax in Parliament—England Has a "Moral" Party, Too—Story of the Republican Party and the Bull Fight—What Will Save Us From the Tweeds—Time for Plain Speaking—Why Our Opponents Got There—A Scare Among the Monopolists—Political Corruption—A New Plan of Campaign—The Hope of the Future.

On Friday evening last more than fifty single tax men gathered in the New York hotel to pay their compliments to their brother at arms, Mr. William Saunders of London, with a modest little dinner.

From their actions a stranger would never have suspected that only three days before these men had been beaten in a political contest. Their faces showed no trace of disappointment, no suggestion that they had in any way sustained defeat. On the contrary, one might have thought their cause had been awarded the glory of success.

They were indifferent to defeat—an indifference arising from a mastery of the situation and a firm hope in the future.

Henry George sat at the head of the chief table, with Mr. Saunders on his left and Mr. William T. Croasdale on his right. Seated at the same table and at other smaller tables were:

W. J. Gorsuch, J. L. Dunham, C. O'C. Hennessy, Benj. Doblin, Louis F. Post, John R. Dunlap, J. B. Dilworth, John DeWitt Warner, E. M. Kline, Rev. Arthur Whittaker, Geo. A. Hollis, Henry George jr., August Lewis, John P. Cranford, G. St. J. Leaveus, M. J. Murray, Arthur Fiegel, Read Gordon, E. B. Ingersoll, Lindley Vinton, Samuel Shoup, F. C. Leubuscher, Thomas Doyle, Rev. H. O. Pentecost, Calvin Tompkins, Mannheim Bittiner, P. J. Zann, W. B. Scott, P. V. Jones, R. F. George, Thomas Davidson, J. B. Chapman, J. M. Harding, Rev. W. P. George, John Hickling, John Filmer, Alphonse Lewis, Richard P. Parrish, Edward A. McLean, J. M. Heard, Geo. White, Chas. H. Delano, C. M. Hibbard, W. Rogers, Wm. Hutton, M. R. Leverson, M. Battle.

Besides being a complimentary dinner to Mr. Saunders, the affair turned out to be a farewell reception to Henry George, who had determined within a few hours to cross the Atlantic with Mr. Saunders and pay a short visit to our friends in Great Britain.

The dinner itself was good but the speeches that followed it were magnificent. Where could their like be heard; such courage in defeat; such strength of purpose and unflagging zeal; such words of cheer and faith in the ultimate triumph of truth? Where but at such a time and in such a cause could such ringing words be heard?

After the cigars were lit, Mr. George arose and said:

Mr. Saunders is probably the most prominent man on the other side of the Atlantic who stands for our ideas. They have not as yet got to using the words that we now use—single tax and single tax men; but it is the same thing and the same end that he and those who are working with him are aiming at. Mr. Saunders has been one of the earliest and one of the best workers there.

They have a better system of elections over there than we have here. A man can be elected from any part of the kingdom to parliament. In the last parliament Mr. Saunders represented East Hull. For the present parliament he was defeated by some thirty-four votes out of 20,000; but he is now what in our parlance would be called the nominee, the candidate of the liberal party for the London district of Walworth, and also the nominated candidate of the same district for the great central municipal council, the governing body of the new London that has been created recently by parliament.

We greet Mr. Saunders to-night as a representative of our co-workers on the other side of the Atlantic. (Applause.) No American holding our ideas can go over to England and travel through it without feeling that it is his country also. (Applause.) From Landsend to John o'Groat's I know that there is not a town or village that I could enter in which I would not find friends, men who would greet me as one of their own.

This fight unites us all. It is the democratic fight not only for the United States on the one hand and Great Britain on the other, but first of all the English peoples of the world, and then for all the rest. (Applause.)

We have just come through a campaign that has been enough if anything could be to make an American ashamed of his country (cries of "Hear, hear" and applause), not merely the gross ignorance of the fools who riveted fetters upon their own limbs, not merely the majority gained by intimidation and corruption, but the whole conduct of the campaign on the republican side, and especially those appeals to the vilest and meanest prejudices, the prejudices not merely of race—we are all really of the same race—but of nationality. A difference of three thousand miles of water, that is all the difference there is between us. Our blood comes from all the European people, but our language and our traditions we get from the United Kingdom. The Englishman who comes here mixes with the people here, and the American who goes there mixes with the people there; and both will feel that we are still flesh of one flesh and blood of one blood, the same language, the same thought and the same feelings.

And we who have been fighting in this campaign for that first little instalment of tariff reform that we who are here to-night hoped would become free trade, had in it a higher object than the making of this country richer, than the making of it easier to live—the breaking down of prejudices, the fraternizing of peoples, the putting up as our ideals of something higher than this thing of merely to get rich, no matter at whose expense. And our friend, Mr. Saunders, we greet here to-night as one of ourselves.

We are glad to greet him as representing, not merely England, but the whole three kingdoms; for he has been one of those democratic Englishmen who has been with Ireland from the first. (Applause.) We greet him as representing those people distinctively because they are separated from us; and in greeting him we mean to greet those who are behind him. The fight is the same in the three countries.

I went with this man eight years ago down into his native county of Wiltshire. And then I could understand where he drew that hatred of this accursed system that makes the majority of the people of both countries mere tenants at will in what they call their native land. There I saw, and it may be seen all over the three kingdoms, it may be seen in this state and even in greater degree in our new states further west—thousands of acres lying idle, while men who ought to be making a living from them stand also idle, the dog in the manger holding them and preventing the application of labor to them, preventing the increase of wealth, simply standing between the hands that would gladly go to work and what God the Father had created for them to work upon.

I take pleasure in introducing to you tonight Mr. William Saunders of London. (Grest applause.) I made a mistake; Mr. Saunders is more than a mere citizen of London. I should have introduced him as Mr. Saunders of Great Britain and Ireland. (Great applause.)

They call us cranks. Mr. Saunders is a representative of the British variety of cranks. (Laughter.) He is one of the people from whom such men as Mr. Hewitt want to save society. (Laughter.) He is one of those disturbers and disorganizers. He is the man who got up the Trafalgar square meetings, and Saturday after Saturday persisted in speaking there in order to enforce the prescriptive right of the people to freely meet in public squares and voice their opinions or their grievances.

So I now introduce to you our brother of the great hope, our brother of the single tax, Mr. William Saunders of Great Britain and Ireland.

The guest of the evening arose to respond, but could not be heard for several minutes on account of the loud applause which greeted him. When he could be heard he spoke as follows:

Mr. Saunders's Address.

Mr. George and Friends: I am sorry that when you are kind enough to introduce me as "Mr. Saunders of Great Britain and Ireland," you do not also add "United States." (Applause.) I have gained a very large portion of my political experience on this side of the water, and I am sure you will pardon me if I say that I feel positively as much at home on one side of the Atlantic as I do on the other. (Applause.) One cannot be sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other of that water without feeling that the interests of the people on both sides are identical. (Applause.)

We are all fellow victims of unjust government. I have been a politician and I have watched the course of politics now for more than fifty years, and I am quite certain that the great cause of human unhappiness is unjust government. (Applause.) It is government for the benefit of the classes instead of government for the benefit of the masses. (Applause.) Both peoples suffer from precisely the same complaint, and community of misfortune ought to make a community of heart and interest, as in point of fact I feel certain that it does do. There is no difference whatever between the people of the United Kingdom and the people of the United States. (Applause.)

The only difficulty that arises is between those men who are generally miscalled practical politicians. I have watched these practical politicians, as I said, for fifty years, and I am quite sure that they are not so wise as the people whom they regard as unpractical and unreasonable politicians. At all events, those who assume the leadership of the people are constantly making obvious errors, and they make those errors because they do not trust the people and do not regard the interests of the people.

MR. GLADSTONE AND HOME RULE.

Now, Mr. George, you mentioned that I had always very great interest in the cause of Ireland, in the cause of home rule; and you will readily understand that the experience which I gained in this country of the practical working of your local and imperial institutions assisted me very greatly in the consideration of that matter. But some of my friends on this side of the water were surprised to find that when Mr. Gladstone brought in a scheme of home rule I was one of his opponents, in common with many other radicals of the United Kingdom. The point I wish you to clearly understand, because it is one of the greatest interest and importance in reference to English politics at the present time, is this: Why did I and some others oppose Mr. Gladstone's scheme of home rule? Because he connected with it two absolutely fatal principles. One was that the Irish people were to be excluded from representation in the imperial parliament, and the other was this: That the people of England were to be called upon to pay an enormous sum to the Irish landlords, a sum very far in advance of the price at which land was selling. Land at that time was selling at from seven to fourteen years' purchase; and Mr. Gladstone proposed that the people of England should pay to the landlords of Ireland twenty years' purchase.

IRISH LANDLORDS.

We could not contemplate for a moment the possibility of establishing any kind of government without representation. Any other course would contemplate the sacrifice of the people to a still further degree than they are already sacrificed for the benefit of landlords. (Applause.) An argument fatal to the interests of landlordism was urged in behalf of landlords in that particular matter. What they said was this: We must not make a change in the government of Ireland which will imperil the interests of the landlords of Ireland. That was the reason which was urged for giving the landlords of Ireland twenty years' purchase.

Why, I should like to know, are we to hesitate in the progress of government and take into special consideration the interests of the already most favored class of the community? Why? The reason is very obvious, and it is fatal to the claims of the landlords in this: The landlords have no practical basis for the claim which they raise. Their claim is exclusively a legal claim, and it is entirely an unjust claim. (Applause.) That is why these landlords were apprehensive.

The butchers and the bakers of Ireland were not apprehensive. They were quite willing that the change should take place. They were not afraid that they would not get paid. Why? Because they do not expect to get paid without rendering service. (Applause.) The landlords expect payment without rendering service; so they became afraid. (Applause.)

THE DEATH KNELL OF LANDLORDISM.

And I rejoiced in their apprehension. I feel that the use of that argument was the death knell of landlordism. They want payment without rendering service. They cannot have it except at the expense of the community. They can only have it by the continuance of unjust legislation, and are apprehensive that when the people govern themselves, and when we really have government by the people and for the people, they are apprehensive that they will be left without payment. (Applause.) But no honest man is apprehensive that he will be left without payment. When the resources of the people are left in the hands of the people, to be used for the benefit of the people, everybody will get just payment. (Applause.)

That was the position in which I as a radical and other radicals found ourselves when Mr. Gladstone brought in his home rule measure. I listened to every word that Mr. Gladstone said in reference to the Irish question. I was within ten feet of him during the whole time of his speaking, both in the great speech in which he introduced the measure and in his subsequent speeches. I was horrified when he announced those two propositions. I was delighted when a few days afterward he practically but thoroughly withdrew them. (Applause.) Mr. Gladstone is a man who very rapidly feels public opinion. He seems to have his finger on the public pulse and to know how things are going; and within three days of his making his great speech he saw that he had made a tremendous mistake in making those two propositions. What did he say in the house of commons? He said this: "My scheme for the government of Ireland was prepared under the greatest pressure to which I had ever been subjected, and in preparing that measure I made proposals for the conciliation of powerful interests. Those propositions have not been accepted in the spirit in which they were made, and henceforth I appeal from the classes of England to the masses of England." (Great applause.) Then I was able to resume my complete allegiance to Mr. Gladstone and to give him my cordial support. (Applause.)

WORKINGMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

But in the interval a vast amount of mischief had been done. The parliament of 1885, which was elected under our new suffrage and also under a new bribery act, was by a long way the best parliament that we ever had in England. We had in that parliament twelve workingmen, twelve actual workingmen who were representing workingmen constituencies, and most of whom were paid salaries by their constituencies in order to enable them to devote their time to the interests of the working classes in the house of commons. The presence of those men in the house of commons was remarked upon by the speaker of the house, Mr. Peel, who is an aristocrat; and he observed that the presence of those men had added to the dignity and the business capacity of the house. (Applause.) That was a striking testimony and a testimony of great importance to us at the present time. But I think that those men, greatly as I admire their actions upon the whole, made a very serious mistake in this: When Mr. Gladstone brought in his Irish bill with those objectionable speeches, they said, We shall support Mr. Gladstone and the party notwithstanding the objectionable features; we will vote for the exclusion of the Irish members; we will vote for the twenty years' purchase because it was introduced by Mr. Gladstone.

Those twelve workingmen did the greatest harm to the liberal party that they possibly could do by taking that course; and it simply showed me that the very worst thing one can do is to support one's party when it is wrong. (Applause.) Lord Palmerston, who was one of the most judicious prime ministers we ever had, did not hesitate to observe that for his part he wanted support when he was wrong. He did not want it when he was right (laughter); and consequently that the true principle of party support was to support your leaders when they were wrong. (Laughter.)

A POLITICAL MISTAKE.

I think experience shows that that cynical observation of Lord Palmerston's has no foundation in fact; because what would have happened if those twelve workingmen and the radical members of the house of parliament had asserted that they would not vote for those two propositions? If they had taken that stand the result would have been that Mr. Gladstone would have changed his measure expeditiously and completely, and he would at the present moment be the prime minister of England. I feel quite sure that if Mr. Gladstone's followers had insisted upon his putting himself right at once he would have done so; but the fact that the radicals and the workingmen members were prepared to support the liberal party in such measures has weakened the liberal party, and in the election which followed the liberal party was thoroughly defeated.

The lesson I have learned from this is merely a confirmation of what I have already said, and that is that sound principles can be the only foundation upon which a liberal party can be based. I know that a good deal of importance is attached to political organizations here; but in our country—I speak from long experience—the liberal party has never wanted support when it has held up before the country measures that were worth supporting. (Applause.)

HOW MR. SAUNDERS RAN FOR PARLIAMENT.

Perhaps you will say, It is all very well for you to come and talk here about high principles, but you appear before us as a defeated candidate, and we want successful candidates. (Laughter.) That is not unreasonable. But perhaps you will allow me a moment to state exactly what my personal political principle is. I never sought to become a candidate for any office. I was requested at the election of 1885 to become a candidate for East Hull. I did so under the condition—and that is the only condition under which I shall accept any candidature—that the people themselves, the whole people, should decide the selection of candidate as well as the election of member. I shall not be the nominee of any caucus or any party, save only after holding a series of public meetings and being selected by the people. I became a candidate under those conditions. There were several other candidates. I was chosen after having announced the principles which we are here to discuss to-night in the fullest and most decided form. (Applause.)

We had a very curious contest. Hull was then divided into three divisions, but at the same time there was a kind of central committee which wished to govern the whole thing, but did not quite succeed. They said: "Now we have a radical in East Hull, and we must now have a good party man in Central Hull." Both these divisions were liberal in the election of 1880 by two-thirds majority. They were, as nearly as possible, even. In East Hull I was chosen, a thoroughgoing radical, in 1885; and in Central Hull they chose a man who made no claims to being a radical, and the result was that the radicals of Central Hull, being so disgusted with his want of appreciation of some radical principles, determined to bring forward another candidate; and thus the party candidate was defeated by a majority of 150, and I was elected by a majority of 605.

STRENGTH OF RADICALISM.

Then came the election of 1886, which took place under very peculiar circumstances. And the same thing happened again. The committee said, "Now we have Mr. Saunders as a thorough going radical in East Hull, and we must take a very mild liberal for Central Hull." The result was I was beaten by 37 and the very mild liberal was beaten by 1,150. (Laughter.) So you see, after all, my record when it comes to be compared closely does not sound so very bad; and I am sure you will recognize the fact that I do not mention these matters to-night from any personal motive whatever, but merely because my defeat in East Hull is made great use of by some of the weak-kneed liberals in order to show that there is no strength in radicalism in the United Kingdom. I believe they are entirely mistaken in their apprehension; and I am quite sure that the liberal party will regain the government when they propose measures worthy the support of the people.

A CANDIDATE FOR WALWORTH.

One word more with reference to personal record. Of course the question came up who should be selected as candidate for the next election, although that might not take place for four years. The selection took place last spring, and I was asked to become a candidate for the division of Walworth. I never moved a single inch toward the selection of a candidate. We went through the ordeal again. There were twenty-seven men who wished to become candidates for Walworth, and I believe most of them, if I may be allowed to say so, were really good men. At all events, twenty-seven men were anxious for the honor of being candidates for Walworth. Three men were selected, of whom I was one. My opponents were strong men indeed. Both of them were barristers, and, in our country, as I believe in yours, lawyers know how to talk better than other people. At all events they did talk exceedingly well; but when it came to votes I had about as many as both the lawyers. (Laughter and applause.) Of course, considering that I was a very extreme man, that did not tell very much against radical principles. One of them the other day in talking to a friend made this observation. He said, "We have no chance against Mr. Saunders because the people recognize the fact that he is the man who stood up for the people's rights in reference to Trafalgar square." (Applause.) What does that prove again? Simply that if you will serve the people the people will serve you. (Applause.) I have never held before the community any other principle than that.

SINGLE TAX AND RIGHT OF PUBLIC SPEECH.

I advocate the single tax because I know it is just and necessary for the people. (Applause.) I advocate and insist on the right of public meeting, because it is necessary for all principles of just and sound legislation. The tories are exceedingly anxious at the present time to put a stop to public talk. They do not like these public meetings. They do not like their actions to be criticised. And it is a very curious circumstance that they are making use of the fact that we have a parliament elected on a broader suffrage than was known in our country previously. They make use of it in this way: They say that with such a democratic parliament anything may be done; and they have done many things which are entirely opposed to the interests of the people. They have turned themselves into angels of light for their own interests. They can see the advantages of democracy when they have control of it. (Laughter.) It is a very remarkable circumstance that the parliament of 1885 was the best that we have known in the present century, and the present parliament is the worst that we have known. It shows this, at all events, that we cannot depend on any system of representation.

RULED BY A MORAL PARTY.

The fact is that nothing will maintain the interests of the people of any country but a constant and intelligent attention to those interests on the part of the people. They cannot delegate those powers to any representative assembly except in an executive sense. It is the public opinion of the people which is the only safeguard of the interests of the people, and it is the only thing that can possibly secure good government. And that is why, Mr. George, I attach so much importance to your efforts and to the efforts of our friends of an educational character. (Applause.) Organization of course is of immense importance at certain periods; but what we must mainly depend upon is education. It is impossible to save an ignorant people from unjust legislation. (Great applause.)

Of course the conservative theory which prevails to such an extent in our country is a very attractive theory. It is just this: That the wisest and best people in the community should be the governors of the community. It is a very attractive theory. There is a great deal that can be said in favor of it. We have had three hundred years' experience in our country, and the result is this: That the wisest and best men, wise and good as they are, govern for their own interest and not for the interest of the people. (Applause.) And the wiser they are, and the better they are, the stronger they are, the more they rob the people. (Applause and laughter.)

THE WAY THE THING WORKS.

Perhaps you think that that is an exaggerated statement. (Cries of "Oh no!") Have you possibly had an experience of that character? (Laughter.) Let me tell you what it has brought us to in our country. Take the question of taxation and our position is exactly this: That where the privileged classes pay a shilling the industrial classes pay a pound. And then when it comes to the subject of remuneration exactly the reverse takes place (laughter); and where the working classes are paid a shilling the privilege classes are paid a pound. (Laughter.) Now, that is not only no exaggeration, but it is a long way within the limits of the actual truth. But I won't ask you to take my word for it, for it seems so extravagant that one can scarcely believe it; yet it is exactly so, only more so. (Laughter.) I will just give you two illustrations. I will take an illustration from a house in my neighborhood. There you will find this, that the owner of the lot will have a property say worth a thousand pounds, for which he has done no labor whatever. The owner of the house will have a property worth fifteen hundred pounds, a property in the accumulation of which there has been much labor. How about the taxation of those two properties? I am not going to give you speculative, but actual figures. At the present time the man who owns the thousand pounds' worth pays in taxation fifteen shillings a year—three-quarters of a pound. In other words, the landlord's property is worth $5,000 and he pays rather less than four dollars a year in taxation. The property of the builder who has worked for it is worth $7,500, and he pays $225 a year in taxes. I think you will see that my state-

ment of a shilling and pound, and the contrast between those figures, as far as taxation is concerned, is proved.

ABOUT WAGES.

Let us come to the question of wages. I met a postman the other day. I was driving, and I asked him to get into the wagon, which he gladly did. I asked: "What are your wages?" "Oh," he said, "I am paid like the others, four pence an hour." I said, "You seem to be a tolerably strong man and your work must require some intelligence; do you think that it is reasonable that you should be content with four pence an hour and at the same time pay your own servants a shilling a minute?" (Laughter.) "What, do we pay any of them a shilling a minute?" he exclaimed in astonishment. I said: "Yes, they get that." "Why," he said, "that is three pounds an hour." I said, "You are as good as a steady reckoner and yet you are content with four pence an hour." I asked, "Is it reasonable? You know perfectly well that those men who are paid a shilling a minute do not work near so hard as you do." He said, "I never thought of it in that light." I said, "No, none of us think of it in that light, and that is why we are so imposed upon."

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE BULL FIGHT.

That is why I said before you cannot protect an ignorant community from unjust government. We have got to watch these things and must speak of them as we find them.

In the western states the other day I read in a newspaper that we ought all of us to vote for the republican candidate because the republican party was the moral party. (Laughter.) Of course it wouldn't do for me, standing here as a stranger, to criticise your political parties. (Laughter.) I accept them on their own estimate. (Laughter.) I am very glad to find that the republican party is a moral party; but then at the same time from a moral party we have a right to expect moral actions. As I understand matters, I suppose I am not far wrong in supposing that at the present time the republican party is the champion of the principle of protection. Now, protection is simply robbery. (Great applause.) It is nothing less, and it cannot very well be much more. (Laughter.) I am quite aware that a great many protectionists are ignorant robbers; but then I do not think their ignorance is at all to their credit. I am quite aware that there are legal robbers; but then the legality of the thing does not prevent its causing suffering and distress. And then I find that this contest between protection and free trade is carried on exactly in the same manner as something which I witnessed in Mexico. I witnessed there for the first time in my life, and probably for the last time in my life, a bull fight. (Laughter.) I do not know whether many of you are aware of the nature of a bull fight, and I must say it is not of a very elevating character. The whole trick of the thing consists in keeping a red rag before the eyes of the bull.

PROTECTIONISTS AND THE RED RAG.

That is precisely what a protectionist did with whom I have had the pleasure of traveling for the last month. He was constantly shaking the red rag before my eyes as a free trader; but then I happened to be up to the trick. I found this by my experience with Mexico, that as soon as the bull got up to the track, and went for the men instead of the red rag, they all scuttled out of the arena. (Applause and laughter.) And that is all we have got to do. (Applause.) We have got to discard the red rags and go for the men. (Applause.) This was the sort of red rag that my protectionist friend was continually putting before me. And he had an amazing number of facts at his disposal. He said this: "You must be aware, Mr. Saunders, that we never had anything like the prosperity which we now have in this country until we adopted the principle of protection." "Well," I said, "Mr. Kerr"—his name was Kerr, although his nature was not that at all—"Mr. Kerr, your knowledge of history is sufficient to know this: You have never had any great degree of commercial prosperity in this country until after Mr. Cleveland was born. Therefore you ought to vote for Mr. Cleveland." (Laughter and applause.) You see, at any rate, my red rag was as good as his red rags; but that did not stop it, and he kept on all the time.

However, I see very well with regard to the people of this country, and the working class especially, that they have not got over this red rag business yet. Some of them are still rushing at the red rag instead of rushing at the men behind it. Directly they go for the men, the men will all scuttle out of the arena. Because there is really not the slightest doubt about it—you cannot give a preference to one class of the community except at the expense of the other classes.

THE ENGLISH FIGHT OF 1842.

It is extremely interesting to me to notice that your conduct here, with reference to free trade, is the exact counterpart of what took place in our country in 1842. In 1842, or about that time, the liberal party began to coquette with the free traders. They did not make them an offer of marriage; oh dear, no! They were not free traders. They merely went in for tariff reform. (Laughter.) I am speaking of the liberal party. They were opposed to free trade up to 1842. Then they went in for the reform of the tariff. What was the effect of that? It consolidated all the protectionists against the liberal party, and it did not encourage the free traders to support the liberal party. What was the result? The liberal party was tremendously beaten in 1842. Why was that? Because we had been coquetting with free trade? I say, no! It was because we did not marry free trade. (Applause.) The conservatives, on the very principle of protection, got a large and unexpected majority in 1842. What was the result? The prime minister they had seated so firmly in his place, and the parliament which was elected with such a large majority for the purpose of upholding protection, themselves proposed free trade and carried it. (Applause.)

Up to the election the parallel with your country is complete. The arguments were precisely the same, the result of the election was the same as this. I would not be at all surprised if in a short time we might carry the parallel a little further. (Applause.)

ENGLISH POLITICAL SITUATION TO-DAY.

I have been asked to say something to-night, although I have already taken up your time too long (cries of "Go on"), I have been asked to say something about what is the precise condition of English politics at the present moment. The position which we found ourselves in at the last election was this: That the liberals are in a very considerable majority, and that Lord Salisbury assisted by the liberal unionists has been able to carry on the government, and to all appearances will be able for the next four years. The liberal party took this position: They said, We have brought in home rule for Ireland, and we mean to stick to that and nothing else until that has been carried. All the radicals in England are home rulers. We earnestly desire home rule for Ireland, but we also say this: We want home rule for England and Scotland also, and mean to have it. (Applause.) We have had rather too much in our country of theoretical politics, and we want now that the people have an extended suffrage; we want now to get practical politics, and we say the people of England are suffering, as well as Ireland. They are suffering intense injustice from legislation, and we intend to have that legislation immediately repealed.

HOME RULE AND SINGLE TAX.

We all go in for home rule, but that must not be the only question to which public attention must be attracted during the next four years; and we insist upon it that the single tax question and other questions shall be discussed along side of the question of home rule. (Applause.) I say to the leaders of the liberal party: "It is of no use for me to go to a number of workingmen in Walworth and tell them that during the next four years we are to have nothing except home rule for Ireland." They will turn around and say, "What, are things to go on in their present intolerable and unjust condition, without any thought or examination on the part of the liberal party? On those conditions we will not work for the liberal party." And they are quite right.

Why should we consider merely a point which would improve the condition of five millions of our people when there are thirty-five millions in a condition of almost equal suffering. We decline to limit the consideration of questions to one point. And we say, If you so limit your programme you will never get sufficient strength from the people of England to carry even that one measure. The fact is that by showing that you have a sympathy with the people of England and the people of Scotland, as well as the people of Ireland, you will gain a strength which will carry home rule and also those other measures of legislation which we demand and require." (Applause.)

IGNORANT PATIENCE OF THE MASSES.

In England we do not grumble enough. (Laughter.) In Ireland they have learned the secret. We put up with our ills, and Mr. Gladstone realizes that fact. Mr. Gladstone is a very wide awake politician, and he says this: "I do not wonder at what some people call the ignorant impatience of the masses; what I wonder at is their ignorant patience." (Applause.) And that is to be wondered at.

Perhaps I ought to illustrate somewhat the condition of the people of England by just a reference to one fact, which will show you, I think, that we have just cause of complaint. What I said just now about taxation and about remuneration will show that there are some things which want remedying. Let me now say some words about the land. Mr. George referred to a visit which he paid to Wiltshire. I had the pleasure of accompanying him, and he saw something of the condition of the people there. But many things have happened since then.

AN INSTANCE OF ENGLISH "LANDLORDISM."

There are only 2,500 acres all told in the parish. At that time there were five farmers occupying 500 acres each. The landlord, as a political economist, said, "This is a great waste of human effort. We have five farmers where one will do; and that is contrary to political economy." So he gave notice to four farmers, and gave the whole land to one farmer. Immediately that one farmer gave twenty laborers notice to leave. Everybody thought that, at all events, the big farmer was prospering. He had his land at twelve shillings an acre while the others had paid a pound an acre; and everybody thought this big farmer was making money. Last fall, however, this big farmer stopped payment, and compromised at five shillings in the pound on £30,000. That showed at all events that the principles of political economy had been carried to an extreme. (Laughter.)

THE COMMON PEOPLE HALF SLAVES.

On the other hand there are some men in my parish—I do not mean that the land belongs to me—but that it is the place in which I was born—there are some men who occupy a few acres and pay several pounds an acre, and yet are able to support their families and pay their debts. But then we cannot measure those things in pounds, shillings and pence. The putting of those thousands of acres in the hands of one family deprived 300 families of the opportunities of gaining a living on those 2,500 acres of land. That is the result of landlordism. In that parish, in which I will venture to say that the people are as moral as the republican party in this country (laughter) and as industrious as any people ought to be, and perhaps a little more so—because I hold a great many people work too hard—the rate of wages at which men are accustomed to support a family is only nine shillings a week. That is $2.25 per week. On that he is expected to maintain his family, whereas when a family of five—the usual size—goes to the work house, these political economists cannot provide for them for less than fifteen shillings a week. This means that our people, industrious and moral as they are, are half starved, not for want of any necessary provision for them but because the landlords of England govern England unjustly for their own advantage and for the robbery of the community. (Applause.)

PARALLEL BETWEEN LANDLORDISM AND PROTECTIONISM.

The point I want to get at is this: That landlordism and protectionism, and everything that gives an income to the privileged classes without labor, is a robbery of the industrial classes. It can not be otherwise. If a man gets something for doing nothing, somebody must work without being paid. Yet I saw a red rag on the streets of Broadway this afternoon—"Who put Cleveland in the soup?" (Laughter.) And there was a picture of a workingman, and it went on to say the workingman was entitled to fair wages. Who doubts it? Why should a simple truth of that kind be degraded to the use of a red rag worthy only of a bull fight. There is no sense, no reason in it; and yet these red rags, I will be bound to say, have done more duty at your last election than all the statements and all the arguments which have been put before the people. (Applause.) What does that prove? It shows that your people are not yet sufficiently intelligent to have good government. That is what it shows, and you have got to recognize that fact. And we in our country have got to recognize that fact, and that is the stumbling block in our way. I do not care about political organization; I do not care about two millions of money being expended in influencing an election. What we want is to teach the people, and teach them in distinct language. I am glad that the republican party is a moral party. I am glad that the people are a moral people. And when you talk to them in plain and straightforward language they will understand you, and will refuse to be robbed. There are two great crimes in the world—robbery and submission to robbery. (Great applause.) I scarcely know which is worse, but I know which is the most foolish. (Laughter.)

I have said enough. I shall be glad if I have conveyed to your minds some idea of the conditions of the people in our country. I am very glad to say that Mr. George is going to our country with me to-morrow morning. Mr. George will be able to speak a few words of encouragement and incitement to our people which I hope will induce them to make more strenuous efforts.

THE TAXATION OF GROUND RENT MOVEMENT.

The question of the single tax has been distinctly and in a great measure effectively raised in our country, not under that name, but under the name of taxation of ground rent. During the time I was in the house of commons I made a motion to the effect that no system of taxation could be just which did not impose taxation on the values which were created by the community, unless the land which was increased in value by the exertions of all the people was made to contribute largely to the taxation. The result of that motion was that inquiry into that subject was referred to a committee which had formed to inquire into the tenures of land. That committee is mainly in the hands of landlords. They have made the most strenuous exertions to present their case. At the same time truths came out which have been of the greatest importance. At the end of the session this committee reported that they had come to a conclusion on all points except on the question of ground rents; and they recommend that they should be reappointed to the next session for the purpose of giving more attention to that point. So we have a committee of the house of commons sitting to deal with that particular point.

THE SINGLE TAX IN POLITICS.

Under the bill established last session for the formation of county councils, the metropolis of London becomes a county, and next January a new council will be elected for its government. The control of public improvements will be placed under this council. As it is clear that these improvements should be paid for by the landlords whose property is increased in value thereby, the subject of the single tax, or as we call it in London, the tax on ground rents, will be sure to occupy the attention of the council. This question has made such advance that I do not think there is the slightest opportunity for any candidate being elected unless he pledges to give close attention to that question. (Applause.) The electors of Walworth have selected a very extravagant man, who is now speaking to you, as their candidate for the London council. If I should have the good fortune of being elected it is very certain that the London council will hear something about the taxation of ground rent. (Applause.) They will hear about that, and they will have to do something about that whether I am elected or not.

MEXICO RIPE FOR SINGLE TAX AGITATION.

Now I think I have said as much and more than I ought to have said, but I wish to say just one word respecting the country which I have just visited, and that is Mexico. I have been through that country and have been extremely interested in what I have seen; and in my judgment Mexico is distinctly ripe for an agitation of the single tax question. The land is owned by large land owners; and when I asked a man the other day why they gave one person so much when he only cultivated a small part of it, he said, "A landlord likes to think that he owns the land to the horizon." (Laughter.) And therefore all the rest of the people who live between him and the horizon are to be subjected to whatever demand he chooses to make for the use of the land. There promises to be a great development of railways and improvements of the country and consequent increase of the values of land. Now is the time to agitate the question.

I think Mexicans are capable of exercising an influence upon their government. If good single tax men want employment for their energies, let them go down to Mexico and talk to the people there. (Laughter.) Perhaps some of you might have got tired of the work here. Mr. George is going to England for a change of air, and let me tell you that a change of air is sometimes extremely beneficial to radicals. (Laughter.) Whenever I get back from this country I feel stronger in body and mind. I hope that England will have the effect upon Mr. George that America has had upon me.

Let us continue this interchange. Let us understand each other, and let the democracy of both countries work together until they obtain that which we know we are entitled to, and that is, this earth.

Loud and long continued applause greeted Mr. Saunders when he took his seat. When silence had been regained the chairman arose and said: "You have just heard one foreign speaker. I shall now call upon a gentleman from New Jersey—Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost." Mr. Pentecost arose amidst laughter and responded as follows:

Mr. Pentecost's Remarks.

The only part of the very entertaining and instructive speech of Mr. Saunders which was not applauded was his announcement that Mr. George was going to leave us to-morrow morning. I felt sure that that would fall upon this audience with somewhat of the effect of a fogbank if there were not a reasonable probability that Mr. George will arrive at the dock just about twenty minutes too late to go. (Great laughter.) However, if he does get off, we can console ourselves with the time-honored refrain that what is our loss is their gain.

It seems rather curious to me that there should be such a jubilant company of single tax democrats gathered here this evening. I remember the company that gathered in THE STANDARD office after our last defeat. If I remember rightly there were about a half dozen, and they were the bluest lot of men I ever saw in my life. It seems to me that there is no indication of growth in strength and courage more significant than to see this happy meeting to-night immediately after our third defeat. It is perhaps well for us to take as much consolation as we can.

THE IRISHMAN AND THE TURTLES.

I first felt when I went home from this city Tuesday night, being pretty well satisfied that the "moral" party was in the ascendancy, very much like an Irishman that I heard of recently who was fooling with a box of turtles. The man who owned the turtles came out and saw the Irishman with a bleeding finger standing by the box and very closely examining the turtles. The man said: "What are you looking at?" "Well, sor," said he, "I am examining the bastes that are in the box." "Well, you seem to be very much interested in the examination." "I am, sor." "What is the point of inquiry in your mind?" "Well, sor, I wish to know which is the head and which is the tail of that animal." "What do you want to know that for?" "Well, sor, I am very anxious to know whether I have been bit or whether I have been stung". (Laughter.) I felt very much that way Wednesday morning. My deliberate opinion is that we have been stung.

While there are some encouraging features about the situation, I presume it is perfectly useless for us to say that we are glad that Cleveland was not elected. I don't feel so, at any rate. One of the encouraging things in this campaign to me has been (so far as I with my limited political experience and capacity for insight into such matters have been able to judge) the very remarkable fact that the democratic party did well just where we did not expect it to do well, namely, among the highly protected workingmen. And it proves that precisely where the tariff question was most thoroughly discussed there the tariff reform side of the question gained a large number of adherents.

SIGNS THAT ENCOURAGE AND SIGNS THAT DISCOURAGE.

We have all rather felt that the farmers were inclining toward free trade; but the farmers undoubtedly went against the democratic party this time. The reason is, they were neglected. Speakers were not sent among them. Attention was paid to the workingmen in protected factories; and it is encouraging to know that in the short discussion that went on there was enough truth in what the democrats had to say to win adherents just as soon as the process of teaching began. That to me is a distinct sign of encouragement.

But, on the other hand, I confess that there are some indications in this election that foreboded evil for the future. I may be wrong in the judgment which I have formed, but I am almost inclined to think that politics in this country have gotten into that condition where it is no longer possible in a general election to elect good men, where it is only possible to elect bad men on bad principles. When you consider that in the state of New York a man like Grover Cleveland was defeated, and a man like David Hill elected—and I might carry that contrast a little further if I needed to in this audience—it looks very much as if the way to elect a man is to put up a bad man and appeal to the worst passions of the people, and use the most damnable means for his election. That seems to be the means to get there; and to get there seems to be the aim of modern politics.

THE REPUBLIC IN DANGER.

I hope that this will not be considered as an ill natured remark. I think there is something in it. If that be so, it proves that a most damnable state of things has come upon us. It proves that the ballot box is in the hands of the moneyed classes. I have seen more than one republican since this election who has said to me frankly and with joy, "You see what boodle can do." I have seen more than one republican who has told me that in this and that district five dollar bills down to twenty-five cent pieces were freely used. No shame about it, but joy that they had the money to buy the votes. Now, I am disposed to think that most of the gentlemen who are here will recognize before long what I believe to be the fact, that the American people have become by their poverty and distress so depraved that there are but one or two contingencies which I can imagine in my mind that can by any possibility redeem them from the terrors of a forceful revolution.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR PLAIN SPEAKING.

You must not be startled by that, because I am delighted to have heard some radical remarks. Nothing relieved me so much as the righteous indignation of Mr. George's editorial this week. He hit right out from the shoulder. He said things which had a savageness about them. I wish he would keep that up. I wish people would be as radical and as "extravagant," as Mr. Saunders calls it, as Mr. George has been in THE STANDARD this week. I think that the time has come when plain speaking, thoroughly radical utterances, fearless denunciation where denunciation is right, is in order. I believe that the time has come for that in order to save us from worse things.

I have not much sympathy, I am free to confess, with the spirit which Mr. Shearman showed the other night. Mr. Shearman had not had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Estell, the effect of whose speech I have not gotten over yet. Somebody hissed Mr. Carnegie, and Mr. Shearman said, "Don't hiss Mr. Carnegie; he is a respectable gentleman." Everybody unites in saying, "Let us be gentle, be tender and polite;" but I have gotten to the place where I cannot call a man who enriches himself at the expense of other people respectable. I have no more respect for a conscious legal robber than for a conscious illegal robber. (Applause.) I have not the slightest objection to saying Mr. Carnegie is a genial man among his friends; but it is not respectable for a man to live upon the robbery of other people. I feel that way, at any rate; and I am quite sure that unless we cease to be afraid of plain speaking that we will have more serious business on our hands in this country before some of us have passed away, if we live out our natural lives.

THE ONE HOPE.

I feel, however, that there is one hope for us, and only one, and that hope is in what Mr. Saunders has been talking about—a direct appeal to the intelligence and the moral nature of the people. This, I think, is our only hope of salvation. I believe the democratic party was defeated this time ingloriously simply because the democrats were cowards. (Applause.) It may be that their cowardice arose from their ignorance. I do not doubt that the great mass of them were conscientious tariff reformers. I do not believe the mass of them were free traders. But it was a cowardly campaign. The democratic speakers everywhere apologized for themselves. They said they did not want free trade. They went into the campaign without a single principle. Mr. Cleveland gave them a principle, but they were afraid to champion it. Since that leader has fallen they have jumped on him as mercilessly as the murderer of their party, the New York *Sun* saying with great gusto and with great delight, "Henceforth the democratic party will go no more into an educational campaign; henceforth the democratic party will be run on business principles, and for victory." When the democratic party gets to that point where it will fight for a moral principle, though defeated again and again, then there will be some hope that they or somebody else in their stead will be the means of salvation to this country from the evils that now threaten.

BUT WE SHOULD GO ON WITHOUT FEAR.

This is about all I have to say. I believe that now is the time, just in the hour of our defeat, when instead of feeling the slightest fear of the issue that has been made, we should have more than ever a profound faith in the success of the moral principle that undoubtedly underlies our movement, whether it underlies the councils and principles of the democratic party or not.

I wish to express my great gratification of upon one point. Everybody who knows anything about my little part in this work knows that at first I was exceedingly averse to having anything to do with the democratic party, and I am not particularly proud of it yet. (Laughter.) I feared that if the single tax men joined the democratic party that the miserable maxims of politicians, the degrading methods known as practical politics, might taint some of our men. And it has been a great pleasure to discover that at every meeting there was not the slightest sign that the blight of the politicians had fallen upon them. (Applause.) Every time the moral idea of the single tax was preached fearlessly, when possibly we might have had greater favor if we had just truckled to their miserable policy for a little while. But it is the glory of the single tax men that they have come out of this campaign feeling that not the slightest swerving has been made from the single tax principle.

This is my hope. This is the one foundation upon which we must build. You can depend upon it that whatever else is true, there is a profound moral nature in the people of the United States and England; and as long as the politicians fear that, as long as they try to compromise with and to conciliate the classes, they will meet defeat. But if we have the courage of our convictions and appeal to the moral nature of our people, then we shall win the victory.

WHAT WILL SAVE US FROM THE TWEEDS.

When Tweed was ruling this city politics were in a most horrible condition. Corruption was no word to describe what we had in this city. But there followed an appeal to the conscience of the people, and that appeal swept away that corrupt ring. I believe that politics in the state of New York have gotten nearly if not quite to that same condition. It is hopeless to try to fight fire with fire. It is hopeless to try to meet such men as the one whose name I have mentioned by their own methods. We have got to do just what was done during Tweed's time—to appeal to the moral conscience of the people. Then we will win.

This must be the watchword for all our hosts. Stand by your guns and your principles. Never acknowledge defeat. If defeat comes, meet it a hundred times. Mr. George is right when he says that the tactics taken from our opponents cannot win. If we adopt them, it is going to bring us ultimate defeat. What Mr. George says is the right thing. We have got to make an appeal on the ground that the land belongs to the people without reference to a monetary principle. We must stick to that principle that free trade is right just because it takes into account the interests of England as well as the interests of America. (Applause.)

Nothing rouses me so as to see a free trader beginning to flinch when somebody accuses him of not loving his country. Somebody tells me that free trade is good for England. That is just the reason I want it. (Applause.) I care just as much for England and France and for Germany as for America. (Applause.) If we think only of the poor people in this country we are small minded. There are poor people all over the world.

We should have perfect fearlessness in saying that this is a movement which thinks of the German, French and English workingmen as well as our own. And along that line it will not be many years before there will rise in this country a wave of moral enthusiasm which will sweep us to victory.

When Mr. Pentecost had ceased speaking, this dispatch was read:

MAUCH CHUNK, Pa., Nov. 9.

The commonwealth club joins in greeting your distinguished guest, and wishes him godspeed. The future of the world belongs to the democrats; on with the fight.

E. R. ENBODY, President.

This dispatch called forth hearty applause. Mr. George then spoke as follows:

Mr. George's Address.

Nothing was further from my thoughts when I got up this morning than that in twenty four hours I would be on my way to England; but my friend, Mr. Saunders, has invited me to go with him, and my wife and friends in THE STANDARD office, and the president of the Single tax committee, have all joined in urging me to cross the Atlantic for a little while. I hope it will be but a little while. I expect to be back here in another month with renewed strength and vigor to go into the fight again. (Applause.)

ABOUT THE ELECTION.

And now let me say a word about the election. I felt a little bad when the news first came, but simply because I wanted to have the gratification of seeing Mr. Cleveland in the presidential chair for four years more. For him personally, I felt the defeat; otherwise, no. Defeats of this kind are the things that lead to victory. (Applause.) Some of our friends say there is no use of saying we are glad of it, but I know that with myself it has long been a mooted question whether it was better for the cause that Mr. Cleveland should be elected or that he should be beaten. We have talked that over among ourselves in THE STANDARD office many times during the campaign. Here sits a gentleman, Mr. August Lewis (applause), who has contributed largely to the cause we all have at heart and to the expenses of the campaign for the election of Mr. Cleveland. I know that two months ago he said to me, "I propose to do all I can for the election of Mr. Cleveland, yet I feel confident that if Mr. Harrison is elected it will be on the whole the best thing for us, for this reason: If Mr. Cleveland goes into office for four years more with a hostile senate he can not do much, and there is great danger of the continuance of the present policy leading to a financial panic. If that comes the republicans will appeal to the ignorant and say that it is because of the advance toward free trade in the election of Mr. Cleveland. If they have Mr. Harrison and the republican party for the next four years they can see what protection amounts to and what prosperity it leads to, and after the four years are over we will be working, not for a five per cent reduction, but for a great deal larger reduction." (Applause.)

THERE WAS A SCARE AMONG MONOPOLISTS.

I wanted Mr. Cleveland's election. When I go into a fight my blood gets up (laughter); that is what's the matter with us all. I tried to dissociate my wish from my judgment, but I could not altogether do so. We know that the election was carried for the republican party in the last week in the campaign, that it was carried not by the tariff scare among workingmen but by a scare among monopolists, who were led to put up money to be used in the doubtful states. But why and how did we expect to win the election? Not merely from the support of men who would vote free trade, nor of men who were voting to support a principle. We thought that a larger number of those who had voted the democratic ticket habitually would vote it again. There was where the failure came. The significant fact alluded to by Mr. Pentecost—in those districts where the industries are most highly protected there are democratic gains—is a sign of certain victory in the future. (Applause.) Education has done its work in these places sufficiently, at least, to cut off the tariff scare—to make free traders: for when you explain this question to a workingman, when you disabuse his mind of the superstition and fallacies of protection, you do not get a tariff reformer, you get a free trader. (Applause.) This election has been lost simply because Mr. Cleveland could not drag his party, his party leaders, even up to the moderate platform that he stood on. It has been lost because the democratic politicians were afraid of those words of power, "free trade." You know how, after President Cleveland issued his message, instead of the democratic organization and papers improving the opportunity, there was for a long time stagnation, and then a general chorus, "We are not free traders; we deem protection to be necessary; we only propose to reduce it a little." That last admission is fatal. Tell a man that protection is necessary; tell him that it does do some good, and he is logical enough to go with the party that is certain to give him protection. A party that wants victory on this issue must be a party that will go in, not for reducing protection a little but for applying the ax to the root of the evil tree. (Applause.) That party is coming. I believe its name in all human probability will be the democratic party. I do not believe that Mr. Dana represents democracy even as it stands to-day. (Applause.) The man who comes nearest to that is the man who spoke this afternoon, Roger Q. Mills of Texas. (Great applause.) For our part, we, who do not care for the offices, and whose only hope and desire is to advance a principle, we have gone one great step ahead—the first step. One presidential campaign has turned upon the tariff issue. All over the country people will continue to discuss it. No matter who has won the election this battle once begun never can be stopped until the cause of freedom is victorious.

NO GREAT DANGER WHILE THE PEOPLE ARE UNCORRUPTED.

I realize the truth of what Mr. Pentecost says about corruption in government, but I also realize that, where a great principle is being discussed, though there may be a corrupt government, if there is not a corrupt people, that government's days are short; but once the people themselves become corrupt there is no salvation. I realize the extent of that debasement that makes success the thing that is most admired, that corruption that looks on bribery and jobbery as evidences of "smartness," and the only things to be sought for and desired. But in this campaign we have introduced a principle into American politics. We who have been speaking, writing and talking to our fellows during these months have not worked in vain. It takes time for thought. Convince a man today; put in his mind a truth that in a little while is sure to dominate it, yet it will take time before he gives his assent. The speeches that have been made, the tons of documents that have been distributed did not do their work in a month. Many who were convinced by them, aye, even the free traders who have heretofore voted with the republican party, cast their ballots this year as they did before. A man who changes his views on a great question distrusts himself at first. He votes his old ticket; but the principle is there and will come up again; it will crop out. Even the arguments of his friends on the other side will push him further on and strengthen his convictions.

ABOUT THE FARMERS.

The farmers are against us. The farmers are the pagans of old. The word pagan, which we use as opposed to Christian, meant originally a dweller in the country—the man who is last to receive a new idea, not from any inability to receive it, but because he is the hardest to get at. But as you see the men of the towns go to-day, so you may be certain to see the men of the country go to-morrow. We have won in the vital part of the country. We have won among the dominating class. For after all, the men who rule are not the great unthinking masses, but the few people who do think.

For years and years I have looked forward to this day. I believed, as I have said in your country (turning to Mr. Saunders) to your people and to you, that the great movement we all have at heart would only begin in the United States when we got the tariff question into practical politics. We have in this election taken the first step on the road that leads to the recognition of the fundamental principle enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, and I have faith enough to believe that there will be no stop on that road.

And so I believe that, although David B. Hill, whom we opposed because he refused us the Australian ballot bill, is elected, that that principle too has taken root, and it gives me courage when I think of that. Why, we who begun the agitation for that Australian ballot were but a handful. Already one sovereign state, the commonwealth of Massachussetts—honor be to her—has adopted the system. Kentucky has adopted it for the city of Louisville. In at least half a dozen other states it will probably be adopted this winter, and Mr. Hill or no Mr. Hill, it will not be long before New York will adopt it. (Applause.)

A NEW PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

What we have to do is to push on this fight, and we are in good condition to do it, better condition than we were in during the campaign. There are more free traders in the United States to-day, many, many more than there were when Mr. Cleveland wrote his message, and now, without any practical politics to hamper us, what we have to do is to press on the work of education and propaganda. A committee has already been appointed and will report in a few days, preparing a form for a national petition. We have already the names of thousands of our friends scattered through all parts of the country. We want now to organize in each place a little local committee, not binding the members to the rules of a society nor to the payment of any dues, but just a little committee to come together and do what is necessary for getting up meetings and forwarding the cause, and to communicate with our central committee here, for the maintenance of which I trust we will be able to get sufficient contributions. We want these local committees to get up petitions to the state legislatures for the removal of taxes on personal property and improvements. That will be the state work. And then we want to have them all circulate a petition to congress asking for an amendment to the constitution doing away with the restriction on direct taxes, so as to prepare the way for raising our national revenues by direct instead of indirect taxation; and when we get that far, putting it where it ought to be, on the value of land. This kind of work can be done all over the country. (Applause.)

DEFEAT COMES AT FIRST.

It is but to be expected that the first engagement in this movement should be a defeat. Mr. Post said to me on the night of the election, when we began to receive the telegrams showing that Cleveland would probably be elected, "Well, I want to feel for once, the sensation of being on the winning side; I never have felt it." And, as a matter of fact, he had not; and he has not felt it yet. (Laughter.) And when I come to think of it, I don't think I have ever felt it, unless it was when Abraham Lincoln was elected. I don't think after Lincoln's second election I engaged with much ardor in fighting for the election of anybody else until it came to men who were defeated. But it is the men who are defeated, and defeated, and defeated who accomplish the great things. (Applause.) And it is better to be defeated and in the right than to be on the winning side and in the wrong. And if we are in the right, and can get public attention, we are certain of victory.

This thing of protection: it is nothing but a gross and degrading superstition. It stands, just as all superstitions stand, because it has not been discussed. If we free traders were all to keep quiet and could only get the protectionists to go round the country making protectionist speeches and distributing protectionist newspapers like the New York *Press* (laughter)—(the *Press* is a very good protection paper)—we could fold our arms, knowing that protection was doomed. I have been a free trader for many years, but I never knew I was a free trader until I heard a protectionist speech.

THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE.

I am going across the water to-morrow morning with Mr. Saunders. When I get back I hope to find that another campaign has commenced, a campaign that will go on and on, that will not wait until election times when the brass bands begin to play and the bonfires are burning and the red rags are being waved before the bull. If this work had begun in January, if it had been conducted on a basis of principle, if a free trade fight had been made, Mr. Cleveland would have been re-elected president of the United States by a great majority, and even as it is I think he has a majority of the popular vote. If the old fossil element, the mere self seekers and machine politicians, the men who want the democratic party conducted on business principles, turn now to go back, there is in the democratic party an element that will go ahead (applause), and a new movement will bring together out of both the democratic and the republican party—for there are many such men in

that party as well—the men who do believe in equal rights, the men who do believe in free trade, the men who do believe in what Cobden has aptly called "the international law of God," the men who would sweep away all tariffs and all barriers to the intercourse of mankind and who would make all the nations of the earth members of one family as fully as are the sovereign states of the American Union. We call ourselves single tax men for the want of a better name. What we really aim at is something more than a new system of taxation. If the name democrat had not been so abused that is the name that would fit us; or we could call ourselves equal rights men or liberty men, if those names had not also been abused. These names would come nearer, not our our mode, but our spirit. Why we favor the single tax is because we believe in equal rights, because we wish to insure to every one the full and fair reward of his exertion and energy or his thrift, and break up and destroy all laws and institutions by which those who do no work live on the toil of those who do work.

THE UNEARNED INCREMENT.

We who call ourselves single tax men—at least, we who first adopted that name—mean something more than the institution of the single tax. We propose not merely to impose one tax in lieu of all other taxes, but to raise that tax until as nearly as possible the whole of what John Stuart Mill called the "unearned increment" is taken for public purposes; until the community gets the full benefit of that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community.

But there are with us men who do not go that far, yet who are fully and truly single tax men. They propose to go with us only to the point where all other taxes are abolished and the single tax draws from the unearned increment all necessary taxation for present purposes. And for a long time to come we can go together. It will be some time after we catch the hare before there will be any necessity of deciding how we shall cook him. As a representative of those men, I want to call upon Mr. Warner to say a few words. He is a representative of men who have done yeomen's service in this campaign. I call on Mr. John De Witt Warner.

There was hearty and general applause when Mr. Warner arose to respond. He said:

Mr. Warner's Address.

Mr. George: Rising, sir, in response to your invitation to voice the feelings of democratic free traders, I trust I may be allowed a summary avowal of my principles.

I am a democrat, and I have been one, sir, as long as I have been old enough to be anything politically. I have been a democrat, sir, because, misused as it has been—misused as it continues to be—I believe that the grand word "democracy" stands for the principle that lies at the root of the political system of every free people, "a government"—to use the words of Abraham Lincoln, that great republican-democrat—"of the people, by the people and for the people"—of and by and for the whole people, and not for any privileged class. (Applause.)

That means, too, that I am a free trader. (Applause.) For not merely is freedom the essence of democracy, but, if I read it aright, free trade is the Genesis—and most of the Revelations to boot—of the political gospel of the democratic party applicable to this time and country, so far as yet revealed. (Applause.)

And, sir, I believe in the single tax—to the extent that I believe that of all sources of revenue, a direct tax upon land values is that which can be at once most equitably assessed and most surely and most easily collected, and is the one, also, which, least burdensome to the people, least hampering to their enterprise and energy, we shall find it the highest political policy to adopt. (Applause.)

Now, sir, having the floor, I propose to take advantage of that fact to express my radical opposition to the views of a speaker who has preceded you and me (Mr. Pentecost). He seemed to feel that, while we should be stout of heart, yet that in the result of the campaign just closed there were certain causes for despondency, to which he referred. I, sir, do not thus see them. On the contrary, as a democrat with faith in my party I see the strongest ground for encouragement.

WHY NEW YORK WAS LOST.

First of all, sir, it must be admitted—it is too plain to be gainsaid—that the democratic party of the state of New York has been beaten because it did not deserve success. In the character of those who misrepresented it at its state convention; in the platform with which that convention insulted the intelligence of our people; in the personality of the man, a defense of whose indefensible character and record it wantonly chose as the issue on which to contest the Empire state, it courted and deserved the defeat it has met. Keen, sir, as is my regret that the man who dared to attempt to drag the heelers of his party up to his own level is not to be rewarded by four years more of opportunity to head, as president, the reform issue which he forced upon the country, I know that the salvation of democracy in a free and intelligent people is that it cannot succeed except when it deserves success. Not having deserved success in New York, our defeat, sir, is not discouraging. Having left unused the best weapon in our armory, there is every reason to believe that, using it, we shall yet win the fight—that, deserving success—and this lies with us, we shall succeed. (Applause.)

BESIDES, THE DEMOCRATS DIDN'T USE GOOD WEAPONS.

Again, sir, there was another cause for our temporary defeat, not merely in the state but in the nation, consideration of which is encouraging in that it points the way to success. As far as advised, I agree in but few of the political sentiments of the president-elect. But there is one taunt of his that has rankled in my flesh, as it has in that of many a democrat—rankled there because there was too much of suggested truth in it—his suggestion that this campaign on the part of the protectionists was one of principles, not of schedules. Bad as their cause was, our opponents stood by it and made their fight on principles; while the democratic party—we cannot deny it—attempted to make the issue one of schedules. It is always the fact—and it is essential to democracy that it should be so—that though the guns be equally well manned, and the smoke and roar of battle may rise so evenly from opposing batteries that the issue seems doubtful, yet in the end the solid shot of principle always carries the day against discharges of the mere wadding of percentages and schedules. We have been defeated, sir, in the nation because we have not used our ammunition—our principles. Using them, as we now shall, we have every reason to be confident of success.

WHY OUR OPPONENTS "GOT THERE."

But, sir, the speaker whose apprehension I have criticised did note a most ominous sign—that in the campaign just closed political principles had been subordinated to baser methods—bribery and appeals to prejudice, the success of which he feared had gone far to prove that honorable men, using honorable methods, could not be elected to office among us, and added to the influence of the men who "get there" by fair means or foul. I do not so see it. It is a fact, sir, and I am not sorry for it, that the men who "get there" are the men who know what they want and are willing to work persistently for it, be they saints or scoundrels. Now, sir, our opponents did know what they wanted, and we can bear hearty tribute to their energy and persistency. They "got there." The democratic party, sir, as a whole, not merely did not know what it wanted, but to the very last, only half awakened, wasted much of the too short time at its disposal in explaining away its principles, in support of which it was neither intelligent, energetic nor steadfast. We didn't "get there." But there were more than there were the day before, there are more to-night than there were election day, who know that freedom of trade is what we want, and who are ready to work for it. And so, sir, I have every confidence, born of the very defeat we have just suffered, that in the next engagement a democratic army of free traders, swelled by new recruits enlisted for the war, bearing no apologies on our banners, will "get there."

SYMPATHY FOR OUR BROTHERS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

It has been with peculiar pleasure that I am present to-night. I should have been glad at any time to meet and say godspeed to the stout hearted gentleman who championed against the opposition of the privileged classes the ancient right of Englishmen to meet in the public squares of London, peaceably, to discuss their grievances and consult as to measures of redress. But the present time and place, and the words of those who have preceded me have stirred in me an additional interest. In common, I believe, with every American citizen who was at once cool headed and high spirited, I have felt inexpressible scorn and disgust at the appeals to personal meanness and national prejudice upon which our opponents relied to influence voters whose intelligence they thus insulted. Sitting here this evening there has been stirred in my mind the conviction that here, too, if I may so say, we can learn from them. Confident in the ignorance of certain bodies of our voters they have asked them in the name of spite against Englishmen, to help bind themselves the tighter with the bonds of class legislation. Their malice points out, sir, what seems to me our pressing duty—not merely to preach the gospel of sympathy by the oppressed here for the oppressed everywhere, but to bring the masses of this country to a lively comprehension of the fact that the cause of English workmen and Irish tenants is their own cause as well—that in the fight here for industrial freedom they are touching elbows with those battling there for the right to live in the land where they were born, in a common campaign of common right against privilege.

And I know, sir, that I voice the unanimous feeling of free trade democrats when I wish our guest to-night all success in the work in his native land to which he has devoted himself; when I assure him that our masses sympathize with their brothers there in the efforts to do away with class oppression, and when I ask for our toilers, in the campaign in which they are now pitted against the tories of America, the sympathy and encouragement of the united liberals of England, and of home rulers of Ireland and Scotland as well.

The proceedings were fittingly brought to a close with a speech, rich in humor, by Mr. Louis F. Post and a short and effective expression of good wishes to the two travelers by Dr. M. R. Leverson.

For the Exemption of Small Personal Properties and Improvements from Taxation.

CINCINNATI, O., Nov. 10.—I have long thought that in beginning with an effort to abolish or modify the tariff tax you were beginning at the wrong, because the complex, end of the question.

It seems to me that the tax reform which looks to an ultimate single tax on land could be best inaugurated, or at least a sentiment in that direction could be quickest aroused, by beginning in a small way to enlarge the exemption of personal property and of improvements on land from taxation up to a certain specified amount, say $3,000. The mere effort to enact a law of that kind would begin an agitation of the tax reform question at the point where its justice could be easily perceived, and where its effects could be quickest and most directly felt.

The beneficial effects of such a law would be instantly obvious to the multitudes who occupy tenements, flats and rented houses in the cities, and rent humble cottages and dwellings in the country towns, besides the small real estate owners who are struggling to make payments on the little dwellings that has cost them $1,000 to $2,000. The assessor never fails to rate their little homes or store of household goods at the full value, while the expensive furniture, tapestries, pictures, etc., of the opulent are assessed at but a fraction of their value, and much property in the shape of notes, bonds, stocks, cash and vacant land goes scot free.

How then shall this reform be set afoot? How shall we secure the enactment of the proposed law? By vigorously memorializing the state legislatures soon to convene. Every community in the land, small and great, should start a memorial of its own, obtain all the signatures possible, and see that the honorable members representing that section in both branches of the legislature be duly impressed with the gravity and urgency of the demand made upon them by their constituents.

Incidental to the drawing up and circulating and signing of these memorials there would be conferences and private meetings and public discussions that would let in a flood of light upon the minds of the overtaxed and unjustly taxed small holder of household goods and improved property. This preliminary work, if undertaken in a spirit worthy of the cause, will be the beginning of an agitation that will not stop till the $3,000 limit is enlarged to $6,000, and that to $10,000, and finally the absurdity of the tariff tax will be seen and its total abolition be but a matter of time.

There are already precedents for such a law on the statute books of some of the states. Ohio exempts $500 of personal property from taxation. I am told that some other states exempt amounts up to $1,000. Allen G. Thurman once declared in a public speech that he would favor the exemption of $5,000. I think it would be feasible to begin with $3,000.

W. H. K.

Suggests the Establishment of a Single Tax Lecture Bureau.

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 10.—I am rejoiced to know that it is the purpose to continue our organization. The establishment of a lecture bureau for the dissemination of our principles, with headquarters at New York, has suggested itself to me as a good plan to adopt. If we could have the benefit of an occasional speech like that made by Mr. Post it would strengthen us and make many converts. With cheers for the success of our principles, free trade, free land and free men,

HARRY S. BROWN,
1,553 Montrose street.

Labor and Capital Are One.

A farmer employed an industrious Irishman for five years at the rate of fifty dollars a month "and found"—board, lodging, washing and mending. At the end of the term he said to his man: "I can't afford to pay you the wages I have been paying. You have saved money and I have saved nothing. At this rate you will soon own my farm." "Then I'll hire you to work for me," said the other, "and you can get your farm back again!"

WHO SAID DEFEAT?

WHAT SINGLE TAX MEN ALL OVER THE COUNTRY THINK ABOUT IT.

The Great Progress Which Has Been Made—The Big Strides of the Single Tax Cause—Free Trade and Possibly Single Tax Must Come in 1892—Plans and Suggestions for the Future.

The following extracts give a fair indication of the kind of letters which have been pouring into THE STANDARD office during this week. Let the faint-hearted read and grow strong.

George W. Hall, New York.—The result shows the triumph of ignorance of the tariff question. In cities and manufacturing districts, where opportunities for education were greatest the vote cast in favor of tariff reform was most encouraging. It was the remote localities that crucified Cleveland.

Jesse Keen, Baltimore, Md.—Inclosed please find the signatures of four single tax men who voted for Cleveland. I had the signatures before election, but through neglect they were not sent. Our single tax league is all right. At the next meeting it will commence the reading and discussing of "Progress and Poverty," a chapter at each session.

W. J. Gorsuch, New York.—The farmer knocked us out. As in the past so to-day the peasant has stood in the way of progress. In the manufacturing districts, where the protectionist fallacy was the most thoroughly discussed, the democratic vote was the largest. This shows that where thought is possible protection is doomed. I feel only encouraged. The forces of ignorance and corruption which we must overcome, can not be conquered in a day or a battle. We have enlisted for the war. The next conflict will be free trade vs. protection and the democratic defeat of to-day will but swell our ranks for the battle of to-morrow. Ballot reform will be the next state issue, and Governor Hill will not dare veto its presentation. This will pave the way for affairs of greater import. We single tax men should rejoice that now discussion is not only possible but certain. Once more let us, who believe in the final triumph of truth, gird up our loins for the fray.

L. L. Dean, Chicago.—Hill and Quay now have their way, but sure as the law of moral action and reaction—sure as the ever onward march of truth and right, the doom is written on the sky:

Hill and Quay have had their day;
They've had their day and passed away!

The ballot reform bill may not next session be passed in New York over Hill's veto, but it is coming there, and in Pennsylvania, and in all the states, and at its heels the golden rule for raising all governmental revenue by just and equal taxation, the present tax on land values expanded into the single tax upon the only fund designed by the divine organizer of human society for that purpose. No man who has once seen this grand truth can while he holds his reason unsee it, and they who are being born again under this gospel are many daily. Though wrong called right and industrial and commercial ruin hurrahed over as prosperity and salvation, be nominally enthroned as "Harrison II" to-day, the reign of monopoly and spoils, of Boodle the Great, thank God, has only "4—4—4 years more!" Freedom is not defeated!

Henry S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—Cleveland and free trade were defeated owing to the ignorance of honest voters in the republican party. But men like me will only be more enthusiastic and earnest in teaching them the principles of free trade and single tax—the bottom truth of national prosperity and justice.

Daniel MacCallum, New York.—In common with the other single tax men who supported Cleveland, I feel disappointed at the result of the election, but think if the president had issued his memorable message two or three years ago, instead of last December, the popular education would have been sufficiently advanced ere now to have made his re-election sure. But, as Henry George says, this is only a Bull Run and will only enhance the glory of the future victory; and as Mr. Post feelingly remarked on Nov. 1, "Truth may lose a battle, but never a war."

J. C. Roshirt, Albany, N. Y.—I think the reason of Cleveland's defeat was that the Mills bill put pigs' bristles on the free list. The American voting pig objected to the competition of the foreign pigs' bristles. Foster's fat frying process was a success. They fried us well with protected fat.

E. F. Shelly, M. D., Atchison, Kan.—The advocates of tariff reform were far too few to cope with the pious multitude which had evidently become desperately determined to avenge the sacrilegous outrage committed in the temple of monopoly by President Cleveland when he, in the words of Mr. Pentecost, had the temerity to "slap the sacred fetich of protection in the face," and then add injury to insult by impiously daring the dazed and superstitious host to do its worst. And it did do it. Last Tuesday it expressed its pious indignation at the polls. 'Tis true, protectionism "comes high," but it seems the "dear people" "must have it," therefore it is hoped that it will have such unbridled sway during the next four years, with its inevitable accompaniments of dear goods, cheap men, and starving women and children, that the American voter, who, it appears, must have the truth knocked and starved into him, will see not only the propriety and desirability, but the absolute necessity as well, of his transferring his misguided affections from the brazen faced pythoness of monopoly to the modest maiden of freedom.

L. F. C. G., Lonsdale, R. I.—The true policy of those who favor the single tax now should be to influence state action. Dissociated entirely from national politics, a steady and even rapid spread of our doctrine may be expected in many of the states. The method adopted in Texas, Ohio and Minnesota of petitioning the legislature to abolish taxes upon personal property, buildings, and other improvements upon land, will be most effective in gaining the ear of the people. Rhode Island, whose workingmen are for the first time to vote next year, may be looked for near the head of the reform column.

George R. Webb, Orange, N. J.—Henry George expressed my sentiments to the letter when he said "that Cleveland's defeat makes the immediate future of the country darker and the path of reform more rugged, but it may all the quicker bring complete success." And again, when he said, "The future is ours. We single tax men are the winners in this campaign. The democrats help us, the protectionists serve us. Quay, Morton, Wanamaker, Dana, Hill and the whole obstructionist brood but hasten our victory in their temporary triumph." So let the good work go on, and let us all take a hand.

E. F. H., Brooklyn, N. Y.—The two chief causes of our defeat were the attitude of the democrats in pretending to be just a little less protectionist than the republicans, and the lavish use of money. No improvement can be expected for the industrial masses of this country for any legislation that the republican congress might enact unless it defies its masters and ignores its platform. We may expect strikes, starvation wages and depression, ending in commercial panic, during the next four years. Our campaign reopens at once. We must organize for aggressive work. This organization should be of two distinct kinds. In the cities we should form ourselves into clubs of about fifty members, paying each a dollar a month into the treasury. Each club or society to hire a store, with a good display window, and occupy it as a permanent reading room and headquarters. No upstairs or back room or back alley affair, but wide open on a principal thoroughfare, where constant work could be done and a pleasant evening spent and the eye of everybody attracted. At least one or two members of the club should be present every evening to speak, explain and conduct the business of the headquarters. In the country the system should be different, and the plan suggested some time ago of forming circles for distributing literature seems to me a very excellent idea. But onward we must march—onward to victory—fighting every day for God and fatherland on the lines of this new radical democracy.

William F. Esterbrook, Tompkinsville, N. Y.—President Cleveland's bold, manly and courageous stand for tariff reform has brought this important issue before the people, and has done an enormous amount of good for the cause of the single tax. I deplore the defeat of Mr. Cleveland, but feel satisfied that the single tax idea has become stronger.

Walter Manning, Rochester, N. Y.—We have gained wonderfully by co-operating with the democratic party. There is a persistent desire among the people since election to discuss the tariff question. And there has been a remarkable advance, as it seems now to be generally conceded that the tariff is a tax. I wish to suggest that we next concentrate our strength in a given state, where our best speakers and quantities of our literature can be sent. As a fit state for this purpose I would name Connecticut where, by the recent election, was shown an independence which argues well for the intelligence of its people, and where we should not have to contend against the conservatism incidental to agricultural districts.

R. H. Ferguson, Buffalo, N. Y.—We met the enemy and we have been beaten through the ignorance of the working classes, who ought to have known better. To overcome the superstition and sophistries of so many years' false teaching will require at least four years of active and earnest propaganda. I suggest that some systematic plan of organization be adopted in each election district of the country for the organization of an economic club, the objects of which shall be to study and disseminate information on the questions of trade and finance, together with any other issues that may arise as we progress. I shall try to start such a club here at once and I shall endeavor to enlist the prominent democrats into the movement who see their party defeated through ignorance and prejudice. I shall also try to get the editors of papers who have supported the administration into it and many manufacturers who have enough of the American spirit in them to say they can compete with the world if they only have their raw materials free. We have one such manufacturer in Buffalo, Mr. Francis of the Francis ax company. I believe with two years' earnest work that we can change the next congress and in 1892 can carry the whole nation upon the principle of absolute free trade. As free trade is what we want let us fight for it.

C. S. Walker, Cincinnati, O.—I for one believe that the line of our advance still lies in acting with the democratic party. We have all seen how our most radical ideas have been warmly received in democratic meetings during the late campaign, and how we were listened to as friends, where had we been opponents a hearing would not have been given. We are still accepted as allies by men of that party, and our suggestions at all times are received in a friendly spirit. Would it not be well for single tax men to appoint committees to confer with the leaders of their locality and try to impress on them the policy of advocating reform of the ballot and removal of taxation from the products of labor?

F. W. Beals, secretary single tax club, Auburn, Me.—Once more we see right and justice go down before falsehood and ignorance. It makes a man blush with shame for his kind. It has been a great object lesson, and proves that we can hope for no better results until we get a pure ballot system. Let us work for it in all possible ways. Our single tax friends here will go marching on just the same as before election, undaunted and undismayed. THE STANDARD is like water to the thirsty traveler.

William Chapman, West Warren, Mass.—It is only three weeks since I began to subscribe for your inestimable paper, THE STANDARD, and during that short time I have been converted to your single tax doctrine. The campaign just closed has been very exciting here. Out of 655 voters, 328 went democratic, something that has never happened before in the history of this little place. Surely this is proof that workingmen are beginning to see the fallacy of protection protecting labor. I wish from my heart there were more papers in America breathing the same true spirit that THE STANDARD does. Working people would sooner be brought to a knowledge of their rights, for ignorance is their deadliest foe. May God speed you in your noble cause.

Jose Gros, Morristown, N. J.—My views about the result of the campaign coincide with yours. I even go a little farther than you. I think it will prove a real benefit to have the democracy out of power, because that will force the party to take a more and more radical stand against the abominations of our tariff, and thus incite its rank and file to closely study our economic gospel. The party may even become, in a few years, a real absolute democracy proclaiming free trade and free production, and hence the rapid suppression of monopoly in all forms. This republican stronghold went democratic by a plurality of eighteen.

William Saul, Jersey City.—The result of the election makes it clear that nothing can be done in the way of reform until the two great machines are swept out of existence, when the paid liar and the political humbug can no longer frighten simple people by free trade bogies. The ballot, the sacred ballot, must be restored to the people; then and not till then will the world know and despots wonder how a free people can govern themselves. Therefore, let every single tax man, every good democrat, every good republican and all honest men of every shade of political opinion rally round the standard of ballot reform, nor cease to cry and to clamor for their untrammeled, independent ballot. Let this be their watchword and their war cry in every state, in every city, in every town, in every village, till it is theirs.

William L. Miggett, Chester, Pa.—The republicans certainly have it all their own way. I believe Mr. Harrison is sincere in his desire to reform the government, but the question is, can he do it? He owes his nomination and election to the most corrupt ring of political tricksters and most lavish expenditure of corruption funds the country ever knew. The pressure brought to bear upon him by spoilsmen will surely be something enormous. In all probability it still remains for Grover Cleveland to lead the hosts of reform to victory in 1892.

The Situation in St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 9.—The republicans carried their entire city ticket here. The democratic candidate for governor was elected. The union labor party succeeded in getting several of their men into the legislature by making a combination with the republicans. Some of these newly elected legislators are single tax men, and stoutly declared their faith through all, the while opposing the stand taken by the single tax league. They justified their alliance with the republicans on the ground of expediency and practical politics, feeling, no doubt, like Mayor Hewitt, that they were "not so impractical as to refuse to use the means by which society is at any time governed."

"How has the election affected our cause?" We are disappointed in the result, of course, but *we have made many and many a free trader*, and that is the first move toward the single tax. Mr. Cleveland took a step in our direction; we sprang to his assistance in the hope that he and his party would take another step. He was right enough in his position, but he was right too soon (too soon for "practical politics" I mean, not too soon to be right). It has been an educational campaign. We single tax men in St. Louis have had hearers who would never have given us a moment of their time if we had not declared that we were Cleveland men *because* we were single tax men. I myself can testify that I have persuaded three times as many men to read "Progress and Poverty" since Cleveland's message drove me into the democratic camp than I persuaded during the year which preceded the message.

The *Republic* newspaper gave good reports of our meetings; and if we made arguments which were worth anything its readers got the benefit of them. We did not get this consideration before the campaign opened.

The democratic party has been defeated because it lacked the courage to follow its leader. Because of its concealments, its dodging and its timorous policy, it has been overthrown, as it deserved to be overthrown. The free traders who rallied to its support have nothing to regret; they did their whole duty. Their scars are all in front. Their cause has been advanced. Tariff reform is dead, but the cause of free trade, free land and free men goes marching on.

Let spoilsmen sneer at the statesman who deliberately raised an issue and provoked a discussion which resulted in his own and his party's defeat. Single tax men will honor the man who turned the whole country into a debating club. His knowledge of practical politics cannot be impugned—for that message would have carried its author to a place in history among the presidents who did some service for their country—and it would have carried the democratic party into power again were it not for the treachery of spoilsmen such as David Bennett Hill.

Western democrats will never again trust their leader's fate in the hands of men who are capable of slaughtering him in order to save a local issue. New York has named the democratic candidate for the presidency for the last time. Mr. Hill is out of national politics. No explanation can save him; he won, his chief lost, and that's all there is to it.

All this is of value to our cause—anything helps us which tends to smash the machine. Discipline through disaster is a thing badly needed in this country. The democratic party has had a dose of the medicine, and as a single tax man I am glad of it.

H. RUSSELL.

Cheering Words From Professor Garland—Some Capital Suggestions.

BOSTON, Mass.—A single tax man is ignorant as regards one thing—he don't know when he's defeated. We have begun our new campaign in Boston with greater energy and certainly better methods than ever before. During my trip in the west I was struck, among other things, with the success of a petition at Minneapolis, where Mr. Carl J. Buell and others have secured about a thousand names with comparatively little exertion. The petition is very simple, contains not above eight or ten lines, tersely stating that we purpose abolishing all taxation on personal property and improvements and fixing upon the site value of land as the basis of all taxation. I would recommend to all friends that similar petitions be circulated everywhere. Do not have a long-winded manifesto on the point, simply a few lines stating what we're driving at. Don't attack anybody or use the name of any party, organization or committee. Appeal solely to the common sense of men. Friends in Massachusetts can secure copies of a similar petition which we will use by writing to us. They will cost but little. The plan which I think is a good one, is to have advertising cards giving officers, object and place of meeting of the local league, with a statement of principles, on the back.

Another method for spreading the light is the printing of note heads to be supplied to any dealer who will use them in connection with his business. On the reverse side there might be a statement of the single tax doctrine.

This idea is in operation in Baltimore. Let the paper be good linen paper, attractive to merchants, and I think many will use it. All members should use similar means to spread our principles.

Stickers bearing a suggestive inscription to be used in public places or on papers might be used with good effect in innumerable ways.

But after all is said, it is the lecture bureau which will do most to further our cause. By all means let a lecture bureau be established. Let the leagues of the country co-operate in such wise that when a lecturer goes out he can speak each night without loss of time at points where the meeting has been duly advertised and in other ways properly arranged for. Under such circumstances competent speakers could make frequent lecture tours. In order to facilitate this let every secretary put himself into communication with THE STANDARD, giving standing of his league and other information. Let single tax advocates in towns where no league exists organize as soon as possible by getting one of the best known of our speakers and connecting these who are known to be in sympathy with us.

Just one word about advertising. Our meetings in most cases are not sufficiently advertised. Now why could not THE STANDARD print large posters in such form as to be used in any town. The cost of posters is very small once the matter is set up, and a roll of posters could be sent to a league secretary at a slight cost, much as theatrical companies bill the towns. A single word or name of the hall might be written in if necessary.

I offer these suggestions for what they are worth. We are planning a number of meetings in suburban towns which we hope to make profitable. I spoke last week in Whitman and also at Fitchburg. Sunday evening several of our speakers went over into Lynn to co-operate with the Lynn land and labor club. Two Sundays in each month we shall try to hold similar meetings. [illegible] friends correspond with us. [illegible] has returned to No. 27 Pemberton square, where he can be found by visitors [illegible] by letters.

I shall go to Southbridge in a few days to help organize a league. Also to Concord, Mass., where our good friend and fearless advocate, Robertson James, will organize a league. Quite a large membership has already been secured in Cambridge, where I shall speak on Friday night.

HAMLIN GARLAND, President,
7 Beacon street.

Ringing Words from H. Martin Williams—The Next Move Will Be on the Missouri Legislature.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 9.—The crash of ballots is over, and we single tax men in Missouri are able to extricate ourselves from the wreck of parties and take a calm view of the field, and sum up the situation as it really appears to us.

To say that many of us are not sorely disappointed over the defeat of Cleveland and Thurman would be saying what is not true; but we have emerged from the most memorable and important political contest in the history of this country, full of faith, hope and courage.

We realize that the struggle through which we have just passed, mighty as it has been, was only a reconnoisance in force, and that the great battle remains to be fought, and that the great principle involved, which was only partially perceived by the greatest number of those engaged in its behalf, has suffered no defeat, nor its final triumph deferred for a single day even.

Already thousands in the ranks of the democratic party in this state, who either failed to see or acknowledge that they saw the issue at stake in its entirety and completeness, now declare for the utter abolition of the whole protective system. By our support of Mr. Cleveland we have reached and educated thousands of voters whom we could not have enlisted in our cause, and the single tax principle is tenfold stronger now than it was six months ago.

While a great many professed single tax men in this city put aside their principles to secure some personal end or advantage and went into the union labor party and combined and traded with the republicans, and a few really honest and stanch supporters of the single tax declined to vote for Cleveland, we have a nucleus around which we can gather those honest hearts that are fast coming to a knowledge of the great truth which is our guiding star.

Our single tax league will immediately take steps to extend its organization and influence in the city, and form branch leagues in every city and county in the state. It will urge two measures before our next legislature—the Australian system of voting, and the exemption of personal property from taxation; and with the experiences through which we passed in this city last Tuesday fresh in the minds of our legislators, I think I can safely assure the readers of THE STANDARD two months in advance of the meeting of the legislature that the first measure will become a law.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

A Letter Full of Suggestions for Single Tax Work.

NEW YORK, Nov. 11—Although the single tax men feel the defeat of Mr. Cleveland more keenly than the average democrat, yet the reflection is consoling that the single tax idea received such an incalculable impetus during the campaign that we can well afford to be satisfied with our portion of the defeat. To use a current phrase, "We have got our work in, in great shape." We now stand on common ground with the democrats. We have met defeat and so have they, and the same impulse which has been forcing the single tax men onward has seized the democrats so strongly that the party will become impelled to push the free trade idea until the ignorance which has been encountered shall become dissipated. The democratic leaders are aware that the fight was lost, not only through ignorance of the beauties of free trade by the masses, but through ignorance of the iniquities of the protective sham, although acquaintance with either of these two systems can have but one outcome. Protection must go soon before it. If the democrats are true to their principles the fight must be made to lift this bank of dense ignorance until the fraud is made clear. We can go with them to that end. If they refuse, it remains only with the single tax men to push it on alone. We shall at least have the sympathy of the democrats in the future instead of the antipathy we have been receiving in the past. I believe that activity on the part of the single tax men will become contagious with the democrats and spur them on.

If the friends who have already sent their names to THE STANDARD will respond to calls for public meetings and invite some of the democratic tariff reform leaders to address such meetings, it will furnish a cue to the democrats and tariff reform journals which will be followed up all over the country. We must not only push on ourselves, but we must push the democrats on also. Individual and club work will accomplish a great deal more, and in this connection I desire to suggest one plan. The New York *City Record*, published, I believe, by the election bureau, contains the names and addresses of all the voters in the several election districts. The election districts are but small portions of the assembly districts, and contain between three and four hundred voters. A single tax man living within the limits of one of the election districts can secure the names of all the voters living therein, and can confine his labors to his neighborhood alone, ascertain if there are any other single tax men living there, and form a club—even if there are but two or three men—send out tracts, correspond and invite replies, aggravate discussion, ascertain who the most popular men in your vicinity are, and work on them especially; become acquainted with the vocation of the persons living in that district and point out to them what the application of the single tax and free trade would be to their particular line. When the club becomes large enough endeavor to raise sufficient funds to call public meetings, in a convenient hall as often as possible. Popular speakers on the question are becoming as numerous as huckleberries in summer time. Also purchase copies of "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade"—distribute or loan them. The idea is to concentrate the work in as small a space as possible upon which each club may work. Every election district in the city should be organized and a system of exchanging visits between the members of each club should be adopted so that new ideas and plans originating in one district may be applied to others. Communication of ideas is wholesome and will work to the good of the cause, the growth of which, while it may be invisible, will be constant and great. The English idea of having posters with which every conspicuous point throughout the city may be plastered, is a good one, the character of the inscription upon which may be safely left to the ingenious campaigners of THE STANDARD office.

T. W. GREENE.

Will There be a Collector at the Gates Ajar?

Nothing so sure as death and taxes is true enough perhaps, but formerly people imagined that when death came along taxes stopped. It turns out that we're changing all that, witness this little item which is going round the country:

Cremation is illegal in France, and bodies have to be taken to Italy to be burned. M. Morin, dying recently in Paris, left instructions that his body should be sent to Milan to be burned. This was done, and the cost of the incineration was but fifteen shillings. The Italian custom house, however, levied $50 import duty on the body when it came into the country, and the same amount export duty when the ashes were taken back to France.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1888.

THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

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

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

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

Henry George sailed for England last Saturday, intending to be away three or four weeks. He is the guest of William Saunders, the single tax leader of England, who sat in the last parliament, and will no doubt sit in the next.

Early in the fall Mr. Saunders stopped in New York on his way to Mexico, and was present at the first single tax mass meeting held in Cooper union. He returned from Mexico election night, and according to notice in last week's STANDARD dined at the New York hotel on Friday with about fifty friends of the single tax movement. That was a notable gathering. Though nearly every man had been active in the political campaign which resulted in nominal defeat, the sentiment was unanimous that a real victory had been achieved, and the enthusiasm proved the genuineness of the sentiment.

It was a victory. We have carried the doctrines of the single tax before the people in most effective ways and to an extent that would have been impossible to a third political party. We have taught the elementary principles of taxation and excited thought among the people. The day of buncombe and clap trap on the stump is gone. The mere "whooper-up" already finds himself without audiences while the teacher and the debater command attention. This in itself is a victory.

But the victory does not end here, for when clap trap gives place to debate truth is certain to make its way. In the election we have proof of this. It was not among protected laborers in manufacturing and mining districts that the republicans gained votes, though it was in such districts they expected to gain. It was in sparsely settled communities, where we, from lack of means and time, were unable to excite thought by either speeches or literature, that bourbonism triumphed. There the American tories gained ground. But in protected districts, where population was more dense and thought could more rapidly pass and crystallize, it was the democratic vote that increased while the protection vote fell off.

Here is satisfactory evidence of progress; but even without such evidence—even in the absence of every indication of progress—it would be glory enough for one year to know that an economic question divides the two political parties of the country, that it excites universal discussion, and that each side proclaims its object to be the elevation of labor.

The course of those of us who a year ago protested against a national single tax party has been justified. We have saved the single tax principle from ridicule and disgrace, and we have given aid and encouragement to the radical wing of the democratic party.

We were told that we should not fear ridicule for teaching the truths of the single tax. That is true. But we should fear ridicule for the way in which we teach them. The engineers of the united labor party proposed to teach these truths by throwing the influence of the organization in favor of the doctrine of protection, which is diametrically and unalterably opposed to the single tax; they proposed to stand before the public as a third party, but secretly to solicit votes for the protection party; they proposed to hold the free traders of the party away from the democrats by the tie of party allegiance, while encouraging its protection members to vote the republican ticket; and for all this they sought a money consideration from the party which they proposed secretly to serve.

Such a policy could only bring the movement into contempt and its aiders and abettors into merited disgrace. And that is what it has done.

We refused to have anything to do with it. At first we were in a hopeless minority, for the enthusiasm of our friends made them blind to the pitfall prepared for them. But as the months went by, the boldness of many democratic leaders on the one hand and the development of the plans of the united labor party manipulators on the other, brought single tax men to see the wisdom of the policy we advocated; and it was not long after the adoption of Mr. Croasdale's plan of enrollment until it was evident that real single tax men had lost confidence in the third party movement.

How many that movement retained may be inferred from the vote. The united labor party polled for its full electoral ticket about 1,500 in the city of New York. But the electoral ticket for which it canvassed was not the full ticket. To make good its bargain with the republicans it printed a ticket containing the names of two united labor party electors and thirty-four republicans. This ticket was to serve a double purpose. The vote for the two united labor party electors was to measure the strength of the party, while that for the thirty-four republican electors was to prove the party's value to the republicans and measure its right to patronage in the event of Harrison's election. Of such tickets there were about 1,100 cast in New York. The total voting strength, therefore, of the remains of the united labor party in the city of New York is fixed at 2,600 in round numbers, or about one per cent of the voting population.

It is frequently asked how a real single tax man can be a protectionist. The answer is, he can't. The single tax being a tax on land values alone, a protection tax which falls on commodities cannot be consistently advocated by single tax advocates. Some protectionists who profess to believe in the single tax explain their position by declaring that a protective tariff is not a tax; but this is too absurd for serious consideration. There are, however, a class who call themselves single tax men and who honestly think they are, but who nevertheless are protectionists. Their mistake is in supposing they are single tax men. They are, in fact, land nationalizers.

When the single tax idea began to exert an influence it was the object to be accomplished, namely, equality of rights through common property in land, rather than the means whereby it should be accomplished—the single tax—that excited attention. So it happened that many people went into the movement because they believed in common ownership of land, though they knew nothing about the single tax as a mode of securing that common ownership. Among these were socialists, to whom common ownership of land was a long step in the direction of common ownership of both land and capital. Among them, too, were protectionists, who believed in nationalizing land, but also in taxing commodities for the purpose of restricting imports. It was quite natural, as the single tax got to be better understood, that both socialists and protectionists should either be converted from their heresies or abandon the single tax movement. And this is what has happened.

The single tax is neither common property in land, nor is it individual freedom; but it is the highway to both, and to obstruct it by other forms of taxation, or by any mode of interfering with production and exchange, is to continue inequalities and delay freedom. A man may at advocate community in land or land values and at the same time be opposed to free trade, just as he may advocate telegraphy while opposed to the use of electricity; but such an one is not a single tax man, and if he be honest, does not understand the meaning, purpose or effect of the single tax.

England appreciates the significance of Harrison's election and the protection victory in this country. The tory press expresses tory satisfaction over the result, while the democratic press is not happy, and the more democratic the paper the less its happiness. It is a curious fact, and one which Irish-Americans who voted for Harrison might profitably consider, that Ireland's bitterest enemies in England are glad of Harrison's election, while her truest friends there are sorry for Cleveland's defeat.

The Harlem democratic club has undertaken a gigantic task in attempting to draft an electoral reform bill that shall not be obnoxious to Governor Hill's veto of the Saxton bill. Unless Governor Hill has changed his opinions about ballot reform, and, in view of his success in electing himself and defeating Cleveland under the present system, there is no reason to suppose he has, the Harlem club has undertaken an impossibility. It may draw an electoral bill which will not be obnoxious to the governor's objections, but there cannot be any reform in such a bill. It is not generally known, but it is a fact, that the governor's objections went to the heart of the Saxton bill. He made a great variety of objections to details, which might be changed; but his principal objections, if sound, were vital. We hope the Harlem club will not be discouraged, and shall be glad to see its bill when completed; but we shall have no expectation of real ballot reform in this state while David B. Hill is governor, unless he mends his ways.

Already the benefits of protection have been experienced by the workers in Higgins's carpet factory in this city. Last summer, "in consequence of Mr. Cleveland's probable election," one-third of the force was discharged. This was a sad blow at free trade. It was not difficult, probably, for Higgins's employes to see that if a free trade nomination reduced the force one-third, a free trade election would diminish it another third, and a free trade inaugration would do away with it entirely. Consequently a large number of Higgins's men voted against free trade. They were studying markets, not maxims. But they failed to study markets with that care and intelligence with which a due regard for maxims would have enabled them to do it, and their calculations have gone all askew. One half of their number have been discharged since election. To most of the discharged half there must be a grimness in the recollection that only a week before their discharge they marched and shouted for "protection to American industry." So far as these are concerned, only their ignorance calls for pity. If they want to vote and suffer for protection for the benefit of monopolists, it is their business; but unfortunately they have helped to make their more intelligent and thoughtful fellow workmen suffer with them.

Nothing could be plainer than that free wool would make a greater demand for labor in the carpet industry. Every worker in that industry knows that part of the wool is of necessity imported, and that the tariff on it increases the price of carpets and diminishes the demand, thereby reducing the call for labor and decreasing wages. Yet some of these very sufferers voted deliberately against freeing wool. They wanted protection, and now they are enjoying the kind of protection they voted for.

The disposition recently exhibited by the authorities to interfere with gatherings in commemoration of the Chicago anarchists should be denounced. Free assembly and speech is a social safety valve, and society is never in greater danger than when a policeman squats upon it.

New Britain sends a single tax man to the Connecticut legislature in the person of Mr. Corscaden, who has been interested in and an advocate of the single tax for two years, and is now preparing for a fight for the Australian ballot in Connecticut.

In an interview in the *Evening World* the other night, Roger Q. Mills said: "I do not think the tariff agitation had a bad effect in New York or anywhere else. The vote in New Jersey, a great manufacturing state, shows this. I attribute the defeat in New York to trades and deals. Our next presidential candidate must be from the west, and he must be a representative of the bone and sinew of the democratic people of the country. The democratic party has it in its power to make enough western states reliably democratic, so that it will not be of much importance which way the vote of New York goes in a national issue. Cleveland has a strong hold on the affection and confidence of the people, and he may be forced to take the presidential nomination in 1892; he is the only New York man who can be nominated by democrats in that year." All this is true. Unless it courts defeat the democratic party must go away from New York for a candidate, or name Cleveland. It can take Cleveland because he is no longer a New York man, but a national man.

Mr. Mills is the democrat we took him to be. The defeat of Cleveland only makes him bolder in declaring the principles of true democracy. Being asked what the future policy of the democratic party would be, Mr. Mills said: "We must go on without a halt. It is our mission to reduce tariff taxation and remove the burden from the people. We will continue the fight for tariff reform until the next presidential election, and then again force the issue. It is the duty of the next house of representatives, if it has a democratic majority, to pass another tariff bill, and it is the duty of democratic orators and newspapers to educate the people on the iniquity of unnecessary taxation. The tariff question must be kept to the front by the democratic party, whether it brings victory or defeat, until the burdens on the people are removed. I am convinced that the west especially is favorable to tariff reduction, and that if the issue had been raised by Cleveland in his first message the result would be different. But the defeat of Cleveland, though sincerely to be regretted, will have no effect on the policy of the party on the tariff question. There will be no retreat, but a steady advance."

But there is likely to be a fight in the democratic party—a fight between the machine politicians and the protectionists on one side, and men like Mills on the other; a fight which will determine whether the democratic party is to be the "dummy" or the adversary of the triumphant party of protection. It will be better for the party if it follows the lead of men like Mills.

In this fight the *Sun* will be the organ of the tory democrats. It has already begun to prophecy that there will not be another educational campaign; but prophecy is not the *Sun's* best hold. It is much handier with the stiletto.

Free trade is not dead; but an outspoken advocate of protection has been elected president who will be supported by a protection senate and house. The way is clear for carrying out the scheme of protecting American industry by means of the tariff. The opportunity of the republicans has come and the burden is on them. No excuses will avail. They have been placed in complete power for a clearly expressed purpose and must carry out that purpose. Free trade is not dead, but protection has been ordered to commit hari-kari.

The election being over, American labor is getting with almost indecent haste the protection for which it was invited to vote. Before we have had time to digest the news from Higgins's protected carpet factory which dispensed with half its employes last Saturday, reports arrive of a labor riot in the protected coal mines of Bevier, Missouri. Protection is a queer name for this sort of thing.

Some democrats are alarmed at the prospect of the admission of certain republican territories by the incoming republican congress and president. There is no occasion for alarm. If these territories are entitled to admission into the Union, their political complexion should not be considered. They should be admitted regardless of how their citizens will vote. But it is by no means certain that they will retain their republican complexion. With the new issue which has fixed itself in American politics, changes will go on with great rapidity all the year through and year after year, and he must be a wise man who can predict four years in advance how the electoral vote of any state, new or old, will be cast.

The Boston *Post* has made comparisons of the vote in Massachusetts for the purpose of learning the effect of the tariff agitation on men in protected industries. In the five great cotton manufacturing cities—Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford and Holyoke—the democratic gain is 5,702 against a republican gain of 2,873; in the six important wool manufacturing centers—North Andover, Hyde Park, Maynard, Worcester, Fitchburg and Pittsfield—the democrats gain 3,536 and the republicans 2,607; of these wool manufacturing centers, three are engaged in the iron industry, and in them the democrats gained 3,607 and the republicans 2,191; and in Brockton, Lynn, Haverhill, Marlboro and North Brookfield, all engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes, the democrats gain 3,794, and the republicans 3,088. So it seems to have gone all over the country. Where men have had experience in protection, and have been thinking and talking about it, free trade rather attracted than scared them; but in communities where the tariff was a new question, where old party ties were still strong and opportunities for agitation were slight, the republicans carried the day.

The betting fraternity in Pennsylvania have been brought up with a round turn. They have in that state an old law which makes it the duty of directors of the poor to bring suit against the winners of bets to recover the amount for the poor, and for a period of two years the stake holders are liable to suit for the amount intrusted to them. If the directors neglect to bring suit, they are guilty of misdemeanor. This law has long been forgotten, but the Berks county poor directors having had their attention called to it have ordered suits to be commenced, much to the consternation of several worthy citizens who are in the habit of backing their political opinions with money in lieu of brains.

Who would expect to find anything about the *Sun* which could be described as innocent? And yet the *Sun* itself is innocent enough to suppose that bribery is not practiced at New York elections! Extremes meet. Innocence in this case goes hand in hand with ——

The *Sun* has had a great deal to say lately concerning what it terms "the new agriculture," being a system of feeding plants with moisture from beneath by means of reservoirs and trenches. On the face of things the system is an utter humbug; but the *Sun*, with its monkey-like habit of being deeply in earnest over matters of no importance, has published quite a little library of communications, essays and editorials on the subject. Its latest effort is an appeal to "the Vanderbilts, or any other set of enlightened millionaires," to take "the new agriculture" by the hand and stand it on its feet:

> The right place to make a conspicuous and triumphant display of its marvelous results is here at the doors of the metropolis, among the hills of Westchester. The land is there, its long slopes turning to the southern sun; the living springs of water are there; the climate is favorable, the situation peerless, and all that is necessary is that some great and far-seeing man, with as much money as he has brains, should devote a little thereof to a work whose success will not merely make its capitalist glorious and famous, but also increase his wealth beyond the wildest dreams of avarice. No matter how many millions he may have already, the new agriculture would add to his store, and in addition the blessings of the human family, the cry of joy from poverty relieved, the shout of hope from hearts that dread and doubt, would be given to him in full measure and exulting chorus.

What wise millionaire, what rich and great philanthropist, desirous of being the benefactor of the human race, of putting an end to hunger and poverty, will come forward and lay hold of this unexampled opportunity to gain for himself imperishable renown, and to confer upon his grateful countrymen the benefits of universal prosperity and boundless abundance?

Mr. Dana may know a good deal about farming, but he clearly don't know much about economics. If his "new agriculture" were all that he pretends, and if a Vanderbilt should devote his millions to the development of it, the chief effect would be to enrich the fortunate few who had had the foresight to secure the control of land suited to the new system.

The editor of the *Sun* would probably consider it a great thing for humanity if coal lay around loose on top of the ground for anybody to pick it up. Well, there are plenty of places in Pennsylvania where coal *does* lie round in that fashion; but humanity is none the better off for it. For every such spot is "owned" by some person, firm, or corporation, to whom society concedes the right to prevent anybody from coming there to pick up coal. And men whose business it is to mine coal are compelled to surrender the greater part of their product, or, worse still, to stand idle and mine no coal at all, just because those "owners" have that power. If the "new agriculture" should quadruple the producing power of the earth, the most important result would be the rise of rents.

AN UNANSWERABLE QUESTION.

A short time ago the *Sun* published an item headed "A Question Mr. George Did Not Answer," in which it stated that at a meeting held in Williamsburg a Mr. Brennan rose and asked this question:

> The gentlemen whose principles you so ably advocate have put brick on the free list. The weekly wages paid to brickmakers in England are $3.54. The weekly wages paid in the United States are $11.86. Now, if ship owners find it advantageous to carry brick as ballast, and as the cost of loading in England and unloading in New York would be no higher than the cost of loading at Haverstraw and unloading in New York, what would be the effect on the wages of brickmakers and on the brick industry in America?

To this question the *Sun* says Mr. George did not answer. This statement is not true. Mr. George did answer it, and answered it satisfactorily to the Williamsburg audience. As to the brick makers of Haverstraw, the vote cast there showing a democratic increase over 1884, is sufficient proof that the democratic policy did not scare them as it appeared to scare the *Sun* reporter.

But as the question is perhaps worth a more detailed answer than was given at the meeting, we submit the following:

In the first place the census of 1880 shows that in that year 66,355 hands were employed in the brick and tile industry in this country, and that the total amount paid in wages during the year was $13,400,000, an average of $203 per year, or say $3.92 per week, against $3.54 per week in England. What Mr. Brennan probably did was to compare the wages actually paid in England for a whole year with the rate of wages paid in some American brickyard for some short season of the year. This is a well-worn protection method of falsification.

But aside from this it is easy to show the absurdity of such a question. If the cost of brick depends upon the amount of wages paid the laborers, and his figures were correct, then, as we pay in wages $11.86 against $3.54 in England, that is, 235 per cent more than they pay, why of course there must be a duty of at least 200 per cent on brick to keep the English from flooding us with baked clay. But as a matter of fact, there is scarcely any brick imported, not enough to ballast the fleet of a New England fishing village, and yet the duty is not 200 per cent but only twenty per cent—one-tenth of what it ought to be!

The fact of the matter is that in brick making, as in other industries, American labor, considering the amount of work done, is probably the cheapest labor in the civilized world, and with free materials and machinery we can to-day beat any nation in the world in free competition.

A City.

That endless sweep of domes and spires
Above the river's misty pall
Lies shimmering in the dawn's first fires,
As when in gray-arched granite hall
The torches, gilded shield and spear
That canopied some sea-king's bier.

But now the fire-crowned god of day
Lifts with his lance the robe of death.
See! ships like giant jewels sway
Moved by the tide's awakened breath,
And the vast somber vault of gray
In depths of azure melts away.

The bells ring out their matin call,
Streets change to human shuttled looms,
While in long lines far over all
Factories wave their sable plumes.
A mighty heart is beating here,
Whose pulse is felt around the sphere.

Ah, were thy ends but adequate
To thy unbounded, depthless power,
If love swung wide trade's golden gate,
And truth and honor ruled each hour;
Then would those lofty towers of thine
With more than earthly splendor shine.

But oft thy halls of justice stand,
Poor, whited sepulchers, indeed,
Builded on drifts of shifting sand,
Swayed by each low-born breath of greed.
Monopoly's dread ensign flies
Where'er starv'd labor turns its eyes.

Awake! "Things are not what they seem."
True greatness is not built on gold.
Awake, ere thy vain glorious dream
In dust and stains of blood is told.
Undreamed-of goals before thee lie;
Awake, and fill thy destiny.

Brooklyn. KATE HUDSON.

Stirred Up.

The Indianapolis single tax men have apparently been stirred up, not down cast, by the result of the election. The *Sentinel* of that city published a call for a meeting of citizens to be held in one of the court rooms on Saturday of last week to discuss the Australian ballot as well as "protective tariffs and all other engines for the subjection of the many to the few." The call was signed by an active worker, Tom Marley.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

Defeat does not discredit a man who would "rather be right than be president."—[N. Y. World.

The result of the election would seem to decide that taxation makes us rich.—[Troy Times.

And now awake; arouse, ye monopolists and land grabbers, ye subsidy seekers and carpet baggers, ye noble army of contractors, ye repairers of old hulks, and all ye of that vast horde which hungereth for office.—[N. Y. Herald.

The political overturn will be claimed as a verdict for high protection, but an analysis of votes in many manufacturing localities does not bear this out.—[Boston Transcript (ind).

The cities have turned their faces toward democracy.—[Philadelphia Record.

As respects the bearing of the result upon tariff reform it is to be observed that it may delay but cannot prevent it. The people may not understand their relation to the question fully yet, but the educational process inaugurated during the campaign will continue, and the end can be forseen.—[Baltimore American.

By one way or another the reform (of the tariff) is bound to come. Only education of the people is necessary to win the people's cause. And this campaign has been a great beginning of such education. It has been prolific in intelligent discussion, and the people have listened eagerly.—[Springfield, Mass., Republican (ind).

The reformers have been so much encouraged by the reception given by the people to the doctrine of a low tariff that they will not abandon it.—[Baltimore Sun.

Monopoly has the country by the throat. But the time is coming when the country will have monopoly by the throat, and it is not so far distant as the moneyed kings, in this moment of their triumph, imagine.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

The magnificent democratic gains in the three principal manufacturing cities of this state—Newark, Jersey City and Paterson—show that the workingmen think for themselves, and vote as they think.—[Paterson, N. J., Guardian.

Frank Hurd's old district, the Tenth of Ohio, a large manufacturing district, has again, after a most stubbornly contested fight on the tariff question, returned a democrat by about 1,600 majority. The Toledo *Blade* (rep.) says of the protection candidate's defeat, that it "is a stigma upon the voters of this district, from the fact that they stand before the nation as having failed at the supreme moment of the contest between protection and free trade, when the fate of the present system was trembling in the balance."

That the powers which made the Chicago platform and ran the recent campaign will allow the republicans to frame and adopt a bill which will be acceptable to the tariff reform sentiment of the country is not at all probable, and that sentiment will not be diminished in force by a failure to do so.—[New York Times.

The republican party was returned to power by the money and the labors of the protected monopolies for the purpose of preventing a reduction of the tariff. It is a shackled party—bound hand and foot to the tariff barons whose "fried-out fat" furnished the fuel and the lubrication for the republican party machinery in the campaign just closed.—[New York World.

The districts of Frank Hurd and William R. Morrison have been carried for tariff reform and Roger Q. Mills has been returned by a majority of 6,000.

The New York *Press* of November 10 declares in double leads that the policy of the republican party should be to further reduce the importation of foreign goods, and that the senate bill should be made more thoroughly protective. It points out that tin plates, for example, should receive adequate protection.

The battle for tariff reform is not over by any means, but will be fought right on to the final and inevitable triumph.—[Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The corporations are mainly responsible for the result of the election. Their vast power was concentrated in the doubtful states, and the cause of the people went down under it. That is the long and short of it.—[St. Paul Globe.

Although the party which created and fostered trusts has triumphed in the nation, we feel very confident that the doom of that species of statesmanship is sealed.—[New Jersey Labor Unionist.

The ball which was set rolling by Mr. Cleveland last winter is bound to continue on a triumphant course, for it is impelled by nothing less than truth.—[Boston Post.

To go forward is the one word in order.—[Brooklyn Citizen.

The movement for a reduction of the outrageous tariff taxes borne by the producing masses has been put off another four years. If the republican party desire to reduce the tariff, it can hardly afford to do it so as to benefit the *working people*, as it is now absolutely under control of the capitalists who put it in power.—[Louisville Labor Record.

"You would like to ask me how I feel about the election," said the Rev. Dr. T. De Witt Talmage to the crowd which had gathered to hear him talk politics at the weekly prayer meeting in the Brooklyn tabernacle last evening. "Thankfulness to God is the one emotion that pervades me. Our cities, states and nation are under a special providential care. Our motto is onward and forward."

Every democrat in Pennsylvania ought to do himself the pleasure of giving one more yell of transport over the defeat of Congressman Brumm in the Schuylkill district. That arrant demagogue has brought reproach upon us long enough.—[Philadelphia Record.

For fear of wounding the susceptibilities of certain factory lords the entire mission of the democratic party was foreswora along the Atlantic seaboard. Had the state of New York been left to its own devices, had the true democratic argument been authoritatively presented to the people of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois by the national democratic committee, the *Herald* would not this morning announce the temporary renunciation of public affairs to men who are personally interested in the continuation of the war system of taxation.—[Chicago Herald.

The defeat of Grover Cleveland and the free trade south has not been paralleled since the overthrow of Lee and his rebel hordes at Appomattox.—[Pittsburg Commercial-Gazette.

The surprising thing is that so much education has been accomplished in so short a time.—[Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The democratic party must place itself squarely on its old platform of "a tariff for revenue only," and fight it out on that line if it takes half a century to win.—[Oswego, N. Y., Palladium.

The president lifted the plane of national politics from a petty strife for spoils to a noble contest for principle. He buried beyond resurrection the dead issues of the past and brought both parties face to face with a living question of the present. He substituted a campaign of education for a campaign of detraction. And though the education of the voters was not completed, the movement which he inaugurated will not stop.—[New York World.

There are not a few who will agree with Colonel Higginson that Mr. Cleveland is the leader in a battle yet to be fought out, and that his "career is just beginning." Higginson himself is not at the beginning of his career, but he is not so near its end as General Banks, who has just defeated him for congress.—[Philadelphia Times.

MEN AND THINGS.

On Thursday of last week Philip Baer attempted to board an elevated railway train at the Canal street station after the platform gates were closed and the train had started. The guard refused to open the gate, and while the two were wrangling the train passed the end of the station, squeezing Baer against an iron post which there stands close to the track and seriously injuring him. The guard still persisted in keeping the gate shut, but pulled the bell cord to stop the train. Unfortunately, several passengers who saw what was going on also pulled the cord, and the engineer, imagining that the second pull meant "all right," failed to stop. Suddenly Baer turned faint, relaxed his hold upon the gate, fell to the street below and was killed. The guard has been arrested.

It is easy to say that Baer's death was due to the guard's stupidity—that a man of any sense would have opened the gate, rules or no rules, when he saw that a human life depended on it. But the guard was not there to exercise common sense, but to obey the cast iron rules of the railway company. Had he opened the gate in the first place, and so averted all possibility of accident, he would have been severely blamed by his employers, and might very possibly have been discharged. Nor is it easy to blame the company for so enforcing discipline. For if the guards were in the habit of opening the gates after the train had started merely because passengers were clinging to them, the danger of disaster would be vastly greater than it is.

The real reason of the Baer disaster is that while the railway company is perfectly right in making cast iron rules and holding its employes to a rigid observance of them under penalty of discharge, it has no right to enforce the observance of the same rules by the public under the penalty of death. Yet that is, practically, what it does. It forbids the public to attempt to board the cars after they have started and punishes them with the risk of maiming or death if they attempt to do so. What the company ought to do is to make it impossible for any man to board a train except when it is at rest with the gates opened. This could easily be done by a system of portcullis gates upon the platform.

It is announced, apparently by authority, that the empress of Austria and queen of Hungary is about to visit the United States. A great many of her subjects have already come here. There will, however, be quite a difference between the reception they have received and that which will be accorded her.

A certain Mr. R. G. Kimber, who occupies a house near the town of Dulwich, in England, is having quite a dispute with his official spiritual overseer, the rector of the parish. Mr. Kimber's house and garden stands on about a quarter of an acre out of an estate of twenty-one acres. There are one or two houses like his own upon other parts of the estate, but the greater part of the land is altogether idle and unproductive, being held out of use, probably, in anticipation of an increase of value.

Now, the rector of the parish has a right to collect about £6 a year as tithes on this twenty-one acres estate; and failing to get it for the past two years, from the owner of the land, he has hit on the ingenious idea of collecting the whole amount from Mr. Kimber and leaving *him* to settle with the other tenants and with the landlord. Mr. Kimber naturally protests against being compelled to pay £12 because somebody else owes it. But the rector has appealed to the law and the law is plainly on the church's side. Mr. Kimber, however, sets both secular and spiritual authority at defiance. He not only declares flatly that he will not pay, but has intrenched himself in his house, with all his portable property around him. The law forbids the sheriff's officer to force the front door; and so Mr. Kimber, for the time being, has the best of it. But there is little doubt that the established church will conquer in the long run.

Mr. David A. Wells, in a letter to Thomas Barley Potter, M. P., published in the London *Weekly Dispatch*, makes a curious statement regarding the methods of taxation in this country. He says, speaking not of any particular locality, but of the country at large:

> All land and buildings in private or corporate ownership are taxed, whether occupied or not, at their presumed market value. If a person holds land simply for pleasure or for speculation, he is not regarded with much favor by the local assessors, and he is likely to pay more than his share rather than too little.

All this may be true of the little town in which Mr. Wells lives, though even there we think it hardly probable. But that it is absolutely untrue elsewhere in the United States Mr. Wells might easily have discovered had he taken the trouble to make even the slightest inquiry. He might have learned, for instance, that in the city of New York, whereas a vacant lot is assessed for taxation at not more than a third of its selling value, a lot with a house upon it is assessed at sixty per cent or more. He might have learned that one of the sources of strength of the oppressive anthracite coal trust is the fact that they are allowed to hold immense tracts of coal land absolutely unused, paying practically no taxes whatever upon it. He might have learned that all the country through gas bearing lands, oil lands, mineral lands, farming lands, city building lands, held on speculation, are taxed on absurdly low valuations, generally on the express ground that they are kept out of use, and are therefore producing no revenue.

It is a pity that Mr. Wells should be so grossly ignorant of facts within the knowledge of every other American citizen.

Another serious collision between two ocean steamers, this time within a few hours' sail of New York. The Cunarder Umbria crashes into the French ship Iberia, cutting her completely in two. Luckily no lives are lost. The Iberia is a freighting steamer, carrying no passengers; her compartment bulkheads do their duty, and the vessel, though dismembered, keeps afloat.

But suppose it had been the French ship that cut down the English instead of the Englishman the Frenchman. It might easily have been. The Umbria had on board seven hundred and eleven passengers. Is it likely they would have all escaped? The two steamers lost sight of each other in the fog immediately after the collision, and did not join company again for more than twenty minutes. What might not have happened on board the giant Cunarder in that time?

The first command given by the captain of the Umbria after the collision was: "Close the compartments." Her compartments, then, it seems, were open. It took several minutes to close them. Suppose she had been the vessel cut in two, would it have been possible to get the compartments closed before she went to the bottom? It may well be doubted. Yet had they not been closed, the ship, with her whole after body cut away, would have sunk like a stone, and the loss of life would have been appalling.

When the collision occurred the Umbria was rushing along through a dense fog at full speed, or very near it. She had just narrowly escaped a disastrous collision with the Normandie. Is it conceivable that her owners would have allowed her thus to court disaster had they known themselves pecuniarily responsible for any damage to life, limb or property that might result from their recklessness? We can hardly think so.

It cannot be too often reasserted that it is far easier for vessel owners to prevent diasters at sea than for railway managers to put an end to accidents on their lines. Collisions between steam vessels can be rendered absolutely impossible, except by willful neglect. Vessels can be built that will not sink, even though cut in two as was the Iberia. The ocean highways can be made far safer than the iron roads. But this will never be done so long as ship owners are allowed to shelter themselves behind an ancient superstition, to lay on the Almighty the blame that should properly attach to human carelessness, and to find too often, through our barbarous system of marine insurance, a greater profit in losing ships than in running them.

The *Sun* of Sunday last publishes a letter from its Washington correspondent, dated October 6, but for some reason held over for a month on the editorial desk. In this Mr. Blakely Hall tells the story of an interview with Senator Ingalls of Kansas, in which that statesman delivered himself of his views as to the destiny awaiting the American republic.

According to Mr. Ingalls, the pressing need of the United States is, or very soon will be, more room.

"We have reached," he says, "the limit of arable land in our public domain. In ten years the homestead system will be extinct within the territory now open to settlement. Since the war with Mexico we have ceased to enlarge our boundaries, not because the instinct of acquisition was lost, but because we had enough. The pressure of surplus population will soon be felt, and the overflow will absorb Mexico and Canada inevitably, and perhaps Cuba and the other West Indian islands, which we need for the tobacco and sugar products in order to complete our industrial independence. We have paid duties enough on sugar in the past thirty years to have purchased Cuba from Spain thrice over. We also need additional accommodations in the torrid zone for the surplus African population of this country, which will require an outlet before the close of the century. The race problem in the south is not yet settled. If the whites and blacks cannot assimilate they will eventually probably separate peacefully, by common consent, the negroes establishing states in the tropics and accomplishing their destiny in their original and native environment. We have now a continuous line of railway to Mexico. It will soon be continued to the valley of the Amazon. Vestibuled trains will run through without change from New York to Buenos Ayres. Along this highway the Anglo-Saxon race will move to the domination of the hemisphere."

The Kansas senator's notions about surplus population, it will be observed, are quite baronial. He wants plenty of space—for the men who are lucky enough to own the standing room. As for the inferior persons who constitute the surplus, they can "overflow" Mexico and Canada and other places. What they are to do after that Mr. Ingalls doesn't say—overflow into the sea probably. And as the overflow goes on it is to carry—dreadful thought—absolute free trade with it. The tobacco of Cuba, the sugars of the whole West Indian group, are to come to us absolutely without any penalty whatever, and in some mysterious way the sugar planters of Louisiana, the tobacco growers of Virginia, Kentucky and Connecticut, and the tenement house cigar makers of New York are not to be destroyed.

And then Mr. Ingalls goes on to inform the world, through the columns of the *Sun*, that President Cleveland "has the same claim to the title of statesman that a man crossing on the Desbrosses street ferry from Jersey City to New York would have to be called the discoverer of the Hudson river." This is crushingly sarcastic, of course; but still the ferry crossing man of Mr. Ingalls's allegory has at least the merit of knowing a river when he sees it. Mr. Ingalls himself is like a man carried across the same ferry fast asleep, who never finds out there *is* a river, or dreams that he himself is on its farther bank. Mr. Ingalls is on this side of the Atlantic without knowing it. He thinks he is still in England, a hundred years ago.

The Rio Grande river, which for a great distance forms the boundary between Mexico and the United States, has a habit of occasionally shifting its bed and transferring a strip of land from one country to the other. It is now asserted that this tendency is being encouraged by certain of the Mexican authorities with a view to increasing the territory of Mexico at the expense of the United States. The mayor of El Paso has notified Governor Ross of Texas that Mexican engineers are constructing embankments on the Mexican side of the river with the intention of changing the channel:

"Unless the work is at once arrested," says the mayor in his message, "not only will the frontier be artificially changed, but serious injury will be inflicted on Texas land owners. What do you advise me to do in order to protect the territory of the state and of the United States, as the urgency of the case will hardly allow the delay necessary to obtain redress by the ordinary diplomatic channels?"

We shall be curious to see what remedy Governor Ross can propose for this novel sort of aggression. The Mexicans own half the Rio Grande, and it will be pretty hard to prevent them improving their half in any way they see fit. Perhaps the American authorities may retaliate in kind, with the ultimate result that the Rio Grande will be fitted with a series of overlapping wing dams, arranged in fish ladder fashion, and effectually putting an end to navigation. Or possibly the day may come when Americans and Mexicans will discover that the prosperity of both countries is to be sought in unrestricted commerce between their inhabitants, and that when free trade is secured mere territorial jurisdiction will be little worth quarreling about.

A queer story comes from Michigan about General John G. Parkhurst of Coldwater, in that state, who has recently been appointed minister to Belgium. General Parkhurst, it is said, is not at all disturbed at the defeat of the administration. He will go to Belgium just the same, stay there until his successor is nominated by President Harrison, and then come back to Michigan to take up the burden of life again and attend to serious business. In fact, he doesn't want to stay in Belgium for any length of time, anyhow; even had President Cleveland been re-elected he would have resigned in March or soon after. He sought and obtained the appointment because a member of his family is in poor health and it was thought that a trip to Europe and a few months' stay in Brussels would be good for her. He is simply proposing to make a pleasant and dignified excursion at government expense.

All this may be true or it may not. But whether true or false the fact remains that it *might* be true and nobody would be in the least astonished or injured. Our diplomatic service has degenerated into an expensive farce. We have about as much need for a minister to Belgium as we have for a gentleman usher of the black rod or a first gentleman of the bed chamber. If Mr. Parkhurst or any other American citizen wants to go to Brussels he ought to do it at his own expense.

Another Boston sugar refinery—the last in that city under the control of the sugar trust—has been instructed to stop work. Its owners will go on receiving dividends as hitherto; but the men whose business it really is to *make* sugar, the workers in the refinery, must find other employers to buy their labor, or stand idle. And the capital of the refinery—the boilers, engines, tanks, etc., must stand absolutely unused, profitless and wasting. Both capital and labor are the worse off because of the sugar trust. What the owners of that trust make their profits from is the exploitation of a taxing franchise pure and simple—a franchise guarded and fenced about by the protective tariff wall. There is less sugar made to-day than when the trust was formed. But the total of money paid for sugar has increased. Of course, the trust will never reach the point where they will make no sugar at all and still collect an enormous revenue. But they are undeniably tending toward it.

And it must not be forgotten that the paralysis of industry engendered by the trust has a constant tendency to spread. The men who have to pay double price for sugar consume not only less sugar, but less of other things as well. Housekeepers put up fewer preserves, make less cake, use less of everything whose use necessitates the consumption of sugar. The refiners thrown out of work necessarily use less of everything, for want of means to purchase with. Thus from rank to rank among the workers the impulse of idleness propagates itself; and men stand unemployed because those who would gladly buy the products of their industry are robbed of the means of doing so.

Sweep away the tariff, and how quickly would all this end. Let men who want sugar buy sugar from any men who make it, no matter whether they live in the Sandwich islands or in France, and we shall see our American refiners, not closing their doors—they do that under protection—but waking up to the knowledge that if they want to make money they must work for it, not loaf.

FOR BALLOT REFORM.

It ought to be evident to any one who thinks about the matter at all that the rapidity with which the corrupt use of money at elections is growing, and the cynical indifference with which this is admitted constitute the most serious danger now menacing the republic.—[The Epoch.

There is one important lesson that the democrats of New York ought to learn from this election. The lesson is that they must adopt the Australian system of voting, which has already become law in Massachusetts, to go into effect at the next state election.—[Boston Globe (dem).

Everybody, no matter how much confidence he may have in his party, knows that elections in this country are carried by wholesale bribery of voters. We therefore make an appeal to the citizens of Parke county to join in presenting a petition to the next legislature to adopt the Australian or secret ballot system.—[Rockville, Ind., Tribune (dem).

"Ballot reform" is the cry in New York now, and a bill to be presented to the legislature is being prepared by a democratic organization. In Rhode Island and Michigan similar steps are being taken, to be followed, it is predicted, by other states. It is unquestionably the fact that there is a strong feeling in favor of something that will purify and render less costly elections.—[Pittsburg Times.

The democratic party of Indiana should give this state an election law which will not only insure an absolutely honest canvass in the state, but will remove the *opportunities* for bribery, bulldozing, intimidation and other abuses which are so extensively practiced now. As at present conducted, Indiana elections are in no sense an expression of the popular will.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

THE GUILDS OF LONDON.

Medieval Trades Unions Which Have Survived Until To-day.

The *Century Magazine* for November contains an interesting article by Norman Moore on "The Guilds of the City of London." Mr. Moore by no means exhausts the subject, nor does he, we fear, even dive very deeply into it. But so far as it goes his story of the guilds is reliable and instructive.

Mr. Moore begins by explaining what Americans do not understand, that what is meant by the city of London is not the whole of the great metropolis of England, with its 4,000,000 inhabitants, but "the district about one mile across which extends from Tower hill to Temple bar, and over which the lord mayor presides."

The lord mayor is elected from the twenty-six aldermen or heads of the wards into which the city is divided by the votes of the livery, that is, of the members of the several guilds of the city. He is elected at the Guildhall on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. Few more interesting ceremonies are to be seen in England. A wooden screen is erected outside the Guildhall with many doorways in it. At each is stationed the beadle of a guild, who is expected to know all the liverymen of his company and so to prevent unauthorized persons from entering. The floor of the Guildhall is strewn with sweet herbs, perhaps the last surviving instance of the medieval method of carpeting a hall. The twenty-six aldermen come in, all in scarlet gowns. The recorder, or law officer of the city, rises, bows to the lord mayor and the assembled liverymen, and makes a little speech, declaring how from the time of King John they have had grants of certain rights of election. The lord mayor and aldermen then go out; another law officer, the common sergeant, repeats what the recorder has already said and tells the liverymen that they must name two for the office of lord mayor, of whom the lord mayor and aldermen will select one. Two names are then chosen, and are carried to the aldermen by the heads of some of the chief guilds. One is selected, and thereupon the lord mayor and the aldermen return to the Guildhall and sit down, the chosen future lord mayor sitting on the left of the actual lord mayor. The recorder again rises and reads the two names and the one selected, and asks the liverymen if it is their free election, "Yea or no?" They shout "Yea," and the sword bearer thereupon takes off the fur uppet of the lord mayor to be, and puts a chain around his neck. On the 8th of November there is another meeting in the Guildhall. The old lord mayor rises and gives the new one his seat. The chamberlain of the city then approaches with three solemn bows, and hands to the new lord mayor a jeweled scepter, the common seal of the city, and an ancient purse. The sword bearer next advances, and bowing three times, each time with increasing reverence, gives the lord mayor elect the great two-handed sword of state, which symbolizes justice and legal supremacy. The crier, with bows equal in number and profundity to those of the sword bearer, next approaches and presents the mace. The aldermen and sheriffs then congratulate their new chief, who proceeds to sign certain documents, and among them a receipt for the city plate. Last of all, he is presented with the keys of the standard weights and measures, deposited in his custody. The meeting then breaks up and the old lord mayor goes back to the mansion house, his official residence, for the last time.

The next day, the 9th of November, is known in London as Lord Mayor's day, because on that morning the new lord mayor takes office in the Guildhall. He drives thence through the ward of which he is alderman and proceeds in gaudy procession to the courts of law within the bounds of Westminster. Before his coach are running footmen, and there is a long procession of the carriages of the aldermen and of the heads of the several guilds and the main body of his own guild, all in their best official gowns. The banners of the guilds, their beadles and pageants which vary according to each lord mayor's taste, make up a wonderful show, which as it winds in and out the narrow streets of the city enlivens them with brilliant color. Though often decried because it obstructs business for one day, should the progress of modern times abolish the custom it would be regretted by all who have witnessed it.

The lord mayor is presented to the lord chief justice of England, takes an oath of fidelity, and calls on the judges of the several divisions of the high court of justice and invites them to dinner. The judges always reply somewhat hauntingly that some of them will attend and the lord mayor then returns to the city in which for a year he is to be the greatest person, obliged to give place only when the queen herself comes.

That evening he presides at a splendid feast in the Guildhall, at which he entertains many of the great people of England. There are judges in scarlet and ermine, foreign ambassadors covered with orders, knights of the garter in blue ribbons and knights of the bath in red ribbons and stars, old admirals in blue, old generals in scarlet, and perhaps some Oriental potentates, subjects of the empress of India, blazing with pearls and diamonds. The company is seated in the fine old common hall of the city of London, and at the end of it are Gog and Magog, the successors of a long line of city giants in old times carried in the lord mayor's procession, but now perched on great brackets at the end of the hall and never moved. Before Geoffrey of Monmouth was superseded by Hume and Freeman and Green, the citizens of London, on the faith of his account, believed themselves descended from the ancient Trojans, and these figures represented two heroes, Corinæus and Gogmagor, whose exploits formed part of the imaginary wars of the Trojans and the aborigines of Britain.

On the walls of the hall are costly marble monuments to Nelson and Wellington and Chatham and Pitt, heroes and statesmen admired by the city and entertained in that hall when at the height of their fame. A fine hammer beam wooden roof rests upon the solid old walls and gives warmth to their cold, gray line. The lord mayor with his most illustrious guests comes into the hall where the general company is already seated, and, after walking all round with a flare of trumpets, takes his seat, and the banquet begins. Seated at the tables may be seen many men in gowns edged with fur and wearing golden chain-like collars ending in front in great jeweled badges. Foreigners, unlearned in the manners and customs of the city of London, often think that these splendid individuals, whose aspect is always one of grave dignity suitable to their costly ornamentation, are great English nobles wearing the decorations of orders of knighthood. It is easy to say who they are, but those who have tried know that there are few tasks more difficult than to explain their status and functions to an inquiring Frenchman. They are the masters and wardens of the London companies, of the guilds whose members elected the lord mayor, whose banners ornamented his procession, and to one of which he himself must belong. He often belongs to more than one, and, when elected lord mayor, if not already a member of one of the twelve great companies, sometimes becomes one. These twelve great companies are the Mercers, the Grocers, the Drapers, the Fishmongers, the Goldsmiths, the Skinners, the Merchant tailors, the Haberdashers, the Salters, the Ironmongers, the Vintners, and the Clothworkers. Each of them has a hall in the city, vast estates, curious usages, ancient royal charters, various public duties, and fixed days for feasts.

Besides the twelve great companies, there are eighty smaller ones, thirty-six of which have no hall.

Of the methods of these companies, the uses to which they put their vast wealth, the manner in which they administer their great landed estates, Mr. Moore tells us nothing. He, however, is probably not to be blamed for this, as the guilds guard their secrets closely and fiercely resent any attempt, official or private, to pry into the financial mysteries of their administration. But of these stately balls and generous feasts our author speaks enthusiastically:

Not less magnificent than the grocers' is the hall of the drapers in Throgmorton street. The hall was rebuilt in 1881, and, with the great staircase leading to it and the smaller dependent rooms, is in a style of profuse splendor of carving, molding and gilding, combined with a sort of costly solidity, which without much real artistic beauty produces a picturesque grandeur not unsuited to a society of wealthy merchants and the elaborate and hospitable feasts that it celebrates. The street in front is filled all day with people making bargains, and on the opposite side is the stock exchange, overflowing with shouting, business doing stock brokers. What a contrast between the interiors into which those opposite doors lead! On the stock exchange side, business going on at its fastest pace, rushing and crowding; on the grocers' side, within the door a quiet quadrangle such as you would expect to see in a palace at Florence, a gorgeous staircase on one side leading to carved and gilded spacious rooms, empty and deserted most of the daytime, or used by a few worshipful gentlemen quietly transacting charitable affairs, lively only on a feast day; and beyond this court a delightful garden with a fountain. . . .

Not far from Throgmorton street, and in the Threadneedle street which they had a chief share in naming, is the hall of the merchant tailors. Outside it looks like a modern office, but on entering the visitor comes into a spacious quadrangle, round which are ranged the halls and the library and the meeting rooms of the company. In one of these are two beautiful pieces of embroidery—palls which were used to cover the coffins of members of the guild when carried to the grave accompanied by the surviving members singing the dirge, for this was one of the duties of every good livery man. The kitchen has some ancient masonry with pointed arches, too solid to be affected by the fire, and near them a staircase leads to the cellars stored with wine. In one subterranean chamber is the plate—silver dishes as large as sponge baths, others like foot baths, endless cups and tankards, goblets and salvers and salt cellars and hundreds of silver forks and spoons. A delightful old man, neat and courteous as a cathedral's dean, was for many years butler of this company. When he showed the plate, he used always to open with pride a particular cabinet in this plate room. It was filled with small pepper pots and represented one of the achievements of his life. "Would you believe it, sir, when I became butler the company had but one small pepper pot; the waiters used to carry one in their pockets for the livery." The deficiency is now supplied—the liverymen have nearly a pepper pot each. *Ah vidon!* reckon up thy days and deeds; canst thou rival what this butler has done—hast thou multiplied pepper pots from one to infinity and made a destitute livery happy and luxurious?

A little farther south, in Fenchurch street, is the hall of the iron mongers. Izaak Walton was their master, and there are his arms to this day decorating the paneled hall; while on the staircase, in the hall, indeed everywhere, are to be seen rampant lizards or salamanders, the crest and supporters of the armorial achievement of the company.

Leaving the iron mongers with regret and walking down Fenchurch street to the end, you come in view of the graceful cupola of the church of St. Magnus, one of Wren's most successful designs. Just opposite to it, on the west side of London bridge, is the Fishmongers' hall, a building of gray stone with a pediment toward the river. Billingsgate market is hard by, and the fishmongers have the power of seizing and destroying putrid fish. Their hall covers the site of the riverside house of Sir William Walworth, the stout lord mayor who slew Wat Tyler.

Farther up the river is Dowgate, a very ancient landing place, and near it and Dowgate hill, is the Skinners' hall. How long it has been there is shown by the fact that the street opposite is called Budge row, from the budge, or dressed lambskin, which the craft used of old to hang out for sale in the row. Happy the man who is entertained by the Guild of the body of Christ of the Skinners of London, as the company style themselves in all official documents. A beadle receives him with lofty courtesy and calls out his name as he ascends a handsome staircase. At the top the guest suddenly finds himself in the august presence of the master and wardens. They shake hands with him and bid him welcome as if he was the one guest who, long invited and never coming, had at last appeared and satisfied a lifelong wish on their part to see him.

The guest seems to have entered into their very hearts, when suddenly he feels that they can smile on him no more, and that the absorbing attention with which they received him is exchanged in an instant for total neglect. It is merely that these high functionaries are receiving another guest, and so another and another till the list is complete and dinner is served. All dinners of all companies are noble feasts, and the tables of the great companies are brilliant with splendid pieces of plate. Among the Skinners' plate are some curious flagons made in form of beasts and birds. The Skinners like to tell how these are used. On the day of election of master and wardens, the court, or governing body of the guild, is assembled in the hall, and ten blue-coat boys, with the almsmen of the company, the master and wardens, all in procession, preceded by trumpeters blowing blasts, march round the hall. Three great birds of silver are brought in and handed to the master and wardens. The birds' heads are screwed off, and the master and wardens drink wine from these quaint flagons.

Three caps of maintenance are then brought in. The old master puts one on. It will not fit him. He hands it to another, and he to another, and both declare that it does not fit. Then it reaches the skinner who is to be master for the year. Wonderful to relate, it fits him to a nicety. The trumpeters flourish their trumpets, the skinners and their almsmen shout for joy. The wardens next find out whom the cap fits, with these two caps of maintenance, and so the high authorities of the guild are installed for the year. Their court room is paneled with red cedar, with deep gilded classical moldings, and when lighted of an evening is rich beyond compare to look at and exhales a delicious odor—a true cedar parlor, in which Sir Charles Grandison might well be glad to bow forever over the hand of Miss Harriet Byron.

Close to the Skinners' hall are those of the dyers and the tallow chandlers and the innholders, and that of the Mystery of the Vintners, is in the same region of the city. A few yards off, on the other side of Cannon street, in St. Swithin's lane, is the space as but not very interesting hall of the salters. For arms they bear three salt-cellars, springing (or casting out) salt; and as they all firmly believe themselves to be "salt of the earth, ye virtuous few," so do they often repeat their motto, Sal sapit omnia ("Salt savoreth everything"). They have a pie of their own, a most choice pastry, in which their favorite ingredient has many companions. The date of the recipe of this delicious piece of cookery is 1394.

"Take pheasant, hare and chicken, or capon, of each one with two partridges, two pigeons, and two coneys, and smite them in pieces and pick clean away from all the bones that ye may, and therewith do them into a foyle (a case) of good paste, made craftily in the likeness of a bird's body, with the livers and hearts, two kidnies of sheep and forcemeats and eggs made into balls. Cast thereto powder of pepper, salt, spice, eyesel and musbrooms to make a good broth for it and do it into the foyle of paste and close it up fast and bake it well and so serve it forth with the head of one of the birds stuck at the one end of foyle and a great tail at the other and divers of his long feathers set in cunningly all about him.

We commend this fourteenth century recipe to the attention of the modern housekeepers.

With the Compliments of God Almighty.

An English court recently had to decide whether a wild bird's egg was the private property of the man upon whose land it was laid, and after elaborate consideration decided that it was, and gave judgment for £1 in favor of the man whose seagull's egg had been taken by a fisherman.

A STORY FOR WORKINGMEN.

CHAPTER I—SH-H-H!

Tribune's account of the republican parade on Nov. 3.

The carpet men filled in the time with campaign cries and songs. Every man who had not a cane and flag when he reached the street was immediately supplied from the big storehouse of Joseph Wild, at No. 11. Every man wore on his coat lapel a miniature imitation of the big banner of the club, a piece of blue carpet with gold braid at the top. To the carpet was pinned a piece of white silk, with the words, "Carpet Trades Harrison and Morton." There was wild cheering all along Thomas street when 400 carpet workers came marching into the street, a solid body of voters, and all from Higgins's carpet works, at the foot of West Forty-third street. At the head of this splendid turnout was Superintendent Joseph Ferguson.

CHAPTER II—BOOM!!

New York Press, Nov. 9.

Boom! boom! business boom!
Listen to the rattle of the spindle and the loom!
Listen to the music when the wheels go round!
Freeing raw material from prisons in the ground,
Making each American wilderness to bloom.
Business, business, business boom.

CHAPTER III.—AH-H-H!!!

New York Herald, Nov. 9.

Notices were put up in Higgins's carpet factory, in West Forty-third street, last night that the force is to be reduced one-half on Saturday, throwing about 600 people out of work. The factory has been running with a two-thirds force since last June, and next week it will necessarily be run by one-third of its original force. The notice has caused a good deal of consternation among the hands, as it is not known yet who will have to face the winter without work.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The marble for the palace to be erected at Lenox by Mr. Westinghouse, of air brake fame and fortune, is now being quarried near that place. It is said that this will throw all other American palaces into the shade. Its cost, when finished and furnished, will run into millions. The story goes that Mr. Westinghouse, while in Italy recently, bought a title and an estate for his son and heir, now a lad, who may be seen, dressed after the style of Millais's painting of the princes in the tower, out driving over the Lenox hills with his mother.

The pauper figures in London for the last week in September showed 92,538 paupers receiving indoor and outdoor relief. This shows an increase of 2,295 over the corresponding week in 1887, 4,921 more than in 1886 and 6,609 more than in 1885.

Dr. Henry Hiller, a well known citizen of Wilmington, Mass., who died on the eve of election, will be buried in a casket for which his wife will probably pay over $15,000. She engaged a skillful draughtsman and wood carver of Cambridge in 1886 to make two caskets, one for her husband and one for herself. The casket for Dr. Hiller was finished just before he died. It is really composed of two caskets, one inclosing the other, which are made of Spanish mahogany lined with brass. Symbolical designs all carved in wood or chased on brass cover every portion of both, so that half the work will be hidden, although the casket is to be kept above ground in an air tight glass case.

John De Lacey Duffy, a civil engineer, who a few years ago was very well known and had made a great deal of money at his profession, died in extreme poverty at a Park row lodging house the other day. His clothes were threadbare and his pockets contained only a few cents and some pawn tickets. He was a graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, and claimed relationship with Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

Potter Palmer of Chicago has imported a four-in-hand coach and four handsome horses from England at a cost for the coach of $10,000, for the horses of $10,000, for the harness and robes $900.

On October 22 last Chauncey Goodrich, sixty-five years old, attempted suicide in the boarding house No. 383 Twelfth street, Brooklyn, by swallowing laudanum. He was sent to the hospital and recovered. In court the other day he told his story. At one time he was in business in New Haven and made a fortune in the manufacture of clocks. He lived in fine style with his wife and two children. In 1858 he was elected a member of the state legislature of Connecticut, and in 1870 the democrats made him a state senator. Later on he lost all his money and finally went to work as a day laborer in the Ansonia clock company's factory in Brooklyn. He says that he lost courage and determined to end his life. His home is broken up and his wife supports herself by selling books in New Haven.

General Alger is said to be worth $10,000,000. His money is invested in pine and mineral lands, a railroad and a bank. All of his fortune has been made within fifteen years.

Grover Cleveland.

Henry Watterson in the Louisville Courier Journal.

When the trial came there was literally no one among the professional politicians to make the president's fight his fight; no one among the great capitalists to advance considerable sums of money; no one among the leaders inspired by the sublime energy of personal devotion, and no enthusiasm among the masses, other than that brought out by the cold issue of tariff reform or started spasmodically by the figure of the Old Roman flashing briefly through the tumult and confusion of the fray. To all approaches for help, which the president thought he had no right to give, his one answer was that this was not the administration's, but the people's battle. When he was asked directly from the national democratic headquarters whether he was for us or against us, he smiled pleasantly, and considered that when was only half a jest as all a tribute to his integrity. As indeed it was, though at the expense of his wisdom. It is true to say of him that he did not raise his hand to help himself from the beginning to the end of the campaign; that he did not encourage anybody else to help him, and that in many cases he did not permit his official subordinates to help him. This was magnificent, but it was not politics.

. . . . . .

The gifts of magnetism and grace were not given him by the fairy that bent over his cradle in the hour of his birth. But loyalty, courage, integrity, devotion to duty, a rugged, self-reliant spirit, and a stern, unflagging faith in truth were his; and he, surely, can afford to step down and out with the sense that, however fallingly, he was true to his convictions, and made no concessions to party claims or selfish interests of any kind. He may not carry with him into his retirement many plaudits. But no one who has ever encountered him will refuse him the respect which his conscientious and fearless discharge of public obligations challenges of all men, friend and foe alike.

Let us hope that in his own good time God will raise us a leader adequate to the needs of a conflict as irrepressible and as one-sided as that between freedom and slavery, free labor and slave labor, and that, raising us such a leader, he will point out the way to the ultimate triumph of the masses over the classes, in the pouring down upon the heads of the just and the unjust, even as the dews of heaven, equally the blessings and the burdens of government. That is the issue of issues. That is the leaven without which there can be nothing sweet or wholesome in our system of boasted democracy. That and that alone will constitute the dividing line of parties until it is settled on the side of the people, or until parties cease to represent the people and exist only to record the will of the plutocracy.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Free Trade and the Wages System.

NEW YORK.—(1) Is it not the fact that under the wage system both production and trade are carried on more for profit than to satisfy wants?

(2) Can there be any real freedom of trade to the wage worker so long as he is bound to the wage system? J. J. M.

(1) To say that production and trade are carried on for profit is to say that it is carried on to satisfy wants. In the most primitive form of production, when a man makes the very things he himself consumes, you would say he works to satisfy his wants; but in diversified industry, when one man makes more than he wants of one thing for the purpose of trading for something else, you would say he carries on his business more for profit than to satisfy wants. But in each instance the motive is the same. It is to satisfy his wants that a man produces and trades, and if he also does it for profit it is because the more profit he makes the more easily and certainly he can supply his wants.

The wage system to which you refer has nothing to do with the matter. The seeming object of production and trade, whether under a wage system or a co-operative system, is profit; but the real object under both systems is to satisfy wants.

I have thus far used the term "profit" to signify the benefits which a man derives from engaging in production and trade. What you probably mean by it is what socialists call the "surplus value" of labor which remains after the laborer is paid. This "surplus value" is in reality the blackmail which monopoly levies on production and trade. So far as monopoly is concerned this "profit" is its chief consideration; but in free production and free trade there is no such monopoly.

(2) No, not so long as he is *bound* to the wage system. But this does not imply that the wage system should be abolished. The wage system serves a useful purpose. The wrong about it is that men are bound to it. Men with only their labor with which to make a living are forced to find a boss or starve. Let natural opportunities be equalized, so that he who used valuable ones paid their value to the community, while all others were free, and no man would be bound to the wages system. Then instead of men being compelled to find a boss, the boss would be compelled to find men.

That Poor Farmer.

CHICAGO, Ill.—I believe that all future increase in land values should accrue to the whole people, but I fail to see the justice of the confiscation of all land values. The labor problem can never be solved by doing an injustice to one division of the industrial classes in attempting to secure justice to another division. Take the case of a man who has desired to engage in farming. Finding the land all monopolized he has toiled for eight or ten years in order to save enough to purchase the right to the independent use of a piece of land, or in other words, to buy a farm. Is it just to confiscate the value of his farm, and place him on a level with a spendthrift who has consumed all his earnings? The same argument will apply to men who have purchased city lots, not for speculation, but for the purpose of securing a permanent home. Should not the single tax advocates discriminate between a monopolist who has purchased a mine for a mere trifle and now holds it at an enormous valuation, and a farmer who has paid for his land by high labor and holds it at a price very little, if any, in advance of what it cost him.

I read "Progress and Poverty" some years ago, and have since read and heard considerable about the single tax, but have never yet met with an answer to these objections that was satisfactory to me. I would be glad to have you answer my objections in an early number of THE STANDARD.

W. D. MACKENZIE.

You may have read "Progress and Poverty" and you may have heard single tax men talk, but you have not done any very serious thinking about either what you have read or what you have heard.

True, the labor problem can never be solved by doing an injustice to one division of the industrial classes in attempting to do justice to another division. But there are no divisions of industrial classes, such as you have in mind. All men who work for a living have a community of interest.

To do justice to the industrial classes we must secure to each the full fruit of his own labor, be it little or much; and we cannot do that unless we remove those obstructions which divert part of the earnings of every man's labor to some one who, so far as that transaction is concerned, does no labor. Nor can we do it so long as we place it in the power of some to force a payment from workers for the privilege of working. Yet we do divert from the worker part of the fruits of his labor, we do compel workers to pay for the privilege of working, when we treat land as if it were a labor product.

You say you believe that all future increase in land values should accrue to the whole people. Why? If land is justly private property, if the value of land is produced not by the community but by the owner, how can you reconcile your proposition with honesty. What right have you to confiscate any part of the land owner's property? Would you imply that the future increase in value is produced by the community, but the present value is produced by the owner? Of course not, for that would be transparently absurd; the whole value is produced by the community. But perhaps you suppose the present value is a past product—something which the community has called forth and sold, and which it cannot therefore reclaim. You are in error. Land value is not a tangible thing. It is nothing but the measure of demand for given land at a given time. It is the gate money which labor must pay for the right to work. Withdraw demand for land, and the most valuable land will be valueless.

Present land value (omitting speculative values for the sake of simplicity) is the tax which a community must pay at the present time for the privilege of using its own land. If the payment is made to the community itself, different advantages are equalized: the citizen who uses land of low value pays a low tax, and the user of better lands pays a higher tax. But if the payment is made to land owners, the industrious are to that extent taxed for the benefit of the idle.

You instance the case of a farmer who works for ten years to get enough to buy a piece of land. If the single tax were in force he would not have to work at all to get enough to buy a piece of land, for plenty of farming land near at hand would be free. So, even if the case were as hard on your imaginary farmer as you suppose, it would be better that a few such as he should suffer that all who come after them might be saved the necessity of toiling eight or ten years to get enough to buy a piece of land, than that man should forever be condemned to long years of labor to earn the price of a place on the earth. But your hypothetical case is a pure figment of your own imagination. The single tax would not confiscate that farm. You will have to hunt a long while for a farmer such as you speak of who does not pay more taxes now than he would pay if all taxation were placed on land values.

There is no discrimination to be made between the monopolist you describe and a farmer. There are many reasons for this. The first is that it cannot be done, and that reason is enough. Any attempt to tax the land of speculators merely would fail. It would be another patch in the legislative crazy quilt which men afraid to be wholly right have made for us. But while there would be no discrimination in form there would be an automatic discrimination in fact. Abolish all taxes but the one on land values, and levy that indiscriminately on all land, little parcels and big, land in use and vacant land, on each according to its value and up to its annual value, and the speculator in land would stop speculating. Then no land would be kept out of use; all land would pay what it was worth; there would be no burden on industry, and vacant land would be free to whoever chose to use it. There is no class that would derive greater immediate benefit from this than farmers, and no class of farmers to whom it would be a greater relief than those who are forced to work eight or ten years to buy a piece of land for a farm.

LOUIS F. POST.

Song of the Toilers.

"Echoes of the Coming Day," by Fred Henderson in the London Democrat.

We build the homes of our masters,
Where alway at ease they dwell,
And the sound of music greets them
'Midst the comfort they loved so well;
But we know that their ease is builded
On the hunger and pain we bear,
Their pleasure upon our toiling,
Their hope upon our despair.

They sing of the merry springtide,
Which is sweet to them indeed—
These wealthy whom we are clothing,
Whose little ones we feed;
But to us is the sun a furnace,
The spring but a scorching hell,
The sky but a burning caldron,
And life but a prison cell.

But the time will come when the beauties
Of earth shall be for all,
When none on his brothers' slavehood
Shall base his freedom from thrall;
When the spring shall bring us gladness,
And pleasure instead of pain—
To us who have toiled and sorrowed,
Nor tasted our toiling's gain.

Mistaken About Our Election Laws.

AMSTERDAM, N. Y., Nov. 11.—We have all been mistaken about the necessity for ballot reform, and Governor Hill is evidently right. This conviction was forced upon me by standing at the polls yesterday and witnessing the perfect operation of the present system. Surely any one must have been edified.

I am ashamed of having advocated the Australian system of voting. It ought to be patent to every one that the present ballot system is developing a higher idea of American citizenship.

Scarcely any one in our city accepted less than $5 for his vote, and no one who pretended to have any appreciation whatever of the true dignity of American citizenship could be induced to accept less than $25. The glorious privilege of the elective franchise as exercised under the admirable system so ably defended by our popular governor is more highly prized each succeeding year. As a reader and admirer of THE STANDARD I beg of you to desist from further disparagement of our American voting machinery. JONES.

Another Reform That is Necessary.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Nov. 10.—Does not the result of the recent election teach us that there is still another reform which it would be well for THE STANDARD to advocate conjointly with the adoption of the Australian system of voting, and that is the holding of state and local elections some time after the close of the national contest. Of course I include representatives at Washington in the national election, but with regards to governors of states, members of state legislatures and mayors of cities it would seem that a more fitting time might be chosen for their election than during a national campaign, since the petty rivalries and personal animosities of candidates for offices of minor importance are then made to appear of greater moment than questions concerning the national welfare. It has been found to be productive of great corruption to hold local elections just previous to the national one, and to hold them on the same day appears to be scarcely less so. GERALD E. FLANAGAN.

The Tariff Scare Did Not Work Where it was Expected To.

Brooklyn Times.

It was a glorious victory, but after all we are disappointed. Perhaps we expected too much.

We expected, of course, that the rural counties would do just as they have done, cast a good old time republican plurality. We also expected that the manufacturing cities would show heavy republican gains, as they ought to do when their prosperity was so directly menaced.

They have not done it. Except Brooklyn there is hardly a manufacturing city which has taken the alarm. New York, Long Island City, Albany, Troy, Elmira and other places have shown a surprising degree of pig headed conservatism. And that is why this election isn't quite so unanimous as some of us had hoped.

The Machine Beats the Pauper.

American Machinist.

Clocks to the value of $1,302,647 were exported from the United States during the year 1887. And these clocks were sold in competition with those made in Switzerland and Germany by workmen receiving only a fraction of the wages received by the Connecticut workmen. It is plain, however, that the American workman must make more clocks in a given time than his foreign competitor. The American clock must cost less to make, or it would suffer in the competition. The above facts furnish a very forcible illustration of the advantages resulting from the employment of intelligent and high priced labor, working with the best of machinery and tools.

IN RHODE ISLAND.

BALLOT REFORM AND THE SINGLE TAX.

The Former has Strong Friends Who Are Ready to Push It—Both Parties are Favorably Disposed—A Bill to be Introduced Next Session—A Call for a State Conference of Single Tax Men.

The success of ballot reform in this state is hopefully expected by its friends at the next session of the legislature, which meets in January. At the short session last May, held in Newport, a ballot reform measure was introduced by Mr. E. C. Pierce, a republican representative from Providence, and was then referred to a joint special committee which was authorized to hold hearings on the subject in the interim between the two sessions, that is, in the period extending from June to January. There have been no hearings, however, so far, as the presidential canvass has occupied the attention of those who would otherwise have been interested. But now that the national election excitement has passed the discussion has again come to the fore, and a meeting of the Rhode Island association is announced to be held in Room 15, Phenix building, Westminster street, Providence, on Thursday evening, November 15.

When Mr. Pierce introduced the measure the opinion was freely expressed that he had jeopardized his political future, but recent developments would seem to indicate that this view was not well founded. But whether it is or not, Mr. Pierce has shown a regard for principle that is commendable, and his work in preparing the bill, in advocating it before the assembly and in public addresses, has been of more weight than that of any other man. The indications in favor of the measure are that the Providence *Journal* supports it, the *Telegram* favors it, and, more than all, General Charles R. Brayton, who has the reputation of being the political dictator of the state on the republican side, is claimed by the friends of the measure to have said that he thought it would go through the general assembly at the next session. This is very encouraging, as it is well known that what he says "goes."

The chairman of the joint special committee, Mr. Walter H. Barney, a leading republican, is considered to be very favorable to the measure.

The bill as introduced by Mr. Pierce is the same as the Massachusetts law, with such changes as different circumstances made necessary for this state; but it only applies to state elections, and not those for the election of city and town officers. This is felt to be a defect, and probably the discussion this winter will result in amendments that will make the bill applicable to all elections, with the possible exceptions of town meetings.

The Rhode Island ballot reform association held many meetings last winter and spring. While many men who have interested themselves in various reforms in the past have connected themselves with it, the majority are new men—new in the sense that they have not been before the public as advocates of every so-called reform in the past. This is perhaps an advantage here in our somewhat indifferent and conservative community, as the impression seemed to prevail that some men were engaged in agitating for "reform" as a pastime in the same way that other men indulged in various recreations. The officers of the association are: President, Dr. William Barker; vice presidents, David Thorpe, John O'Keefe; secretary, Alfred Dawson; treasurer, Louis Kranz; executive committee, P. Timothy Newell, Frank Began, P. A. Capelle, and the president and secretary.

The probability is that next spring Rhode Island will go democratic on account of the new voters who will come in under the Bourne amendment passed last spring, and which does away with the property qualification as it applied to foreigners. This result, however, is not wholly certain. The evenly balanced condition of affairs growing out of this causes both parties to look with some favor on ballot reform, because neither one sees any gain likely to result to itself in opposing it, while the adoption would be a check on the party that possibly might get in power. Everything considered the prospects are favorable and the agitation is likely to be constant and lively this winter.

A movement is on foot looking to an active agitation in Rhode Island in favor of the single tax. There is a land and labor club in Providence, but it has been in a condition of suspended animation for some time. The Pawtucket men have, however, a finely organized single tax association, and are doing an excellent work. The following is the text of a circular issued November 8, calling a single tax conference, and is the first definite move in Rhode Island at concerted action in this direction:

To Mr................

Dear Sir:—Having reason to believe that you are an advocate of the doctrine that all taxes should be placed on land values, thereby wholly abolishing all burdens now imposed on industry and its products—in short, that you belive in the "single tax," or are disposed to favor that method of taxation, and that you are willing to do something to bring about this reform, you are invited to be present at an informal conference of gentlemen holding similar views at Room 15, third floor, Phenix building, 129 Westminster street, on Friday evening, November 16, at 8 o'clock.

It is very desirable that the advocates of the single tax in Rhode Island should meet each other in friendly and neighborly conference, with the hope that such a meeting may result in some plan for inaugurating a campaign for the propagation of "single tax" doctrines. With this object is this conference called.

Will you not make an effort to be present? You may strengthen the hands of those who are active in the reform, promote a firmer grasp of the principles involved in it and accelerate the adoption of them.

WM. BARKER, JOHN RANDOLPH,
SIDNEY S. RIDER, L. F. C. GARVIN,
ROBERT FESSENDEN

Upon a consideration of these facts it will thus be seen that Rhode Islanders are not idle, and single tax men and ballot reformers everywhere, instead of mourning over the non-election of Mr. Cleveland, should pluck up spirits and pitch in for work on similar lines. Let them do so at once, and before Christmas we shall have made important progress.

ROBERT GRIEVE.

A Bad Antidote.

The country that finds itself half ruined by landlordism, and to brace itself up adopts a a high protective system, is like the Irishman who was found by his employer rolling on the ground in great pain. "For heaven's sake, what is the matter?" said his employer. "Well, sorr, I swallowed a potato bug; and although, sorr, I took some parrus green widin five minutes after to kill the baste, still he's just raisin' the devil inside o' me, sorr."

And Mr. Dana Will Have To Do It, Too.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

Now if Charles A. Dana and all his ilk would go over, bag and baggage, to the monopoly party, where they belong, the genuine democrats of this country would feel that they had something to be thankful for.

SANCTUM SKETCHES—PREPARING FOR WINTER.

T. T. in Toronto Grip.

"These be chillsome days, William," remarked the editor, reaching out his hand for the foreman's freshly filled and newly lighted pipe. "And this stove don't draw, although your clay does—beautifully. Speaking of the pipe, William, I can plainly see smoking is having an injurious effect on your once robust constitution. Ease off a little. As for me, I mean to check you every time I notice you indulging to excess, as I do this morning. Your first smoke since yesterday afternoon? Well, anyway, it's too soon after breakfast for you to resume the pipe. I, not having had any breakfast, can safely whiff. So hand it over."

"But we were talking about the cold and our stove—that is to say, this stove. For, you are not aware, this stove ain't legally ours. I borrowed it temporarily for the house from old Tinkerton, the tinsmith, and his men forgot to come back and take it away. However, it comes in handy since the bailiff's last visit, and I really would not like to part with it. You say it don't heat well. Let's see. Here, William, is the cause, as plain as the new apprentice's face. The front damper is welded to the hole. And see—there is a large crack in the bottom; and, I declare, another on the side! What! One on the other side, too! The stovepipe check won't work, eh! Well, well! We must go to work and repair, William. Winter cometh on apace, and if we can't get anything else in this world to cheer us except a little comfort out of our stove, let us enjoy that in the best possible shape, for goodness' sake!

"Now for ways and means. When you go to dinner get some clay down at the pottery and we'll fill up the cracks. In the meantime get the shooting stick and we'll pry back the door damper. Gim me the hammer and I'll soon start——Geewhilikins, Bill! You might have told me the door was off its hinges. Lor', how that bruise stings!

"Why, man, you've got the darn stove half full of ashes! How d'ye think she'd go with all this stuffing her up, like an editor talking circulation to a prospective advertiser? Can't get enough wood at a time to fill her up, eh? Well, we'll hire a more enterprising boy—that's all. One that is able and willing to enlarge the circle of his fuel hunting investigations is what we want.

"Buy wood, did you say, William? Well, I should say we couldn't. Why, within exactly one hundred yards of our back door there are no less than four separate and inviting piles. Didn't know of it? Take a pencil and make a note of it right straight, then; and thank your stars somebody about this establishment has ordinary powers of observation. There's the new dressmaker's pile—'taint even in a shed. Got that down? Right next door is old Snipper, the tailor's. You'll have to get early at that pile, for only this morning he was telling me he missed his wood and meant to put a threatening advertisement in the *Hooperup* as a warning to the borrowers. If you could get off with a good jag of it, say to-night, I fancy it would fetch the advertisement.

"Well, that's No. 2. No. 3 is corporation stuff, bought for the Widow Wilkins. If she had to pay for it herself, hang it, I'd hate to borrow from her. But as the council foots the bill and the stuff is handy, let'er go, Johnny Smith!

"The fourth and most eligible lot is at our contemporary's premises across the road from the widow's. We really ought to teach our bloated rival a lesson for thus flaunting his wealth under our very noses! If you and the two boys can't get away with fully one-half of the bran-new cord piled up in front of the *Ripper's* office door before twelve o'clock to-night, you're simply and sententiously no good.

"With these golden opportunities, William, not to mention those presented in the yards of our more contiguous neighbors, and which you, of course, are at present availing yourself of, we ought to be able to worry along nicely for fuel the coming winter.

"As to this incapacitated stove, don't scorn it. See, she draws better even now! Of course it needs a lid instead of this hunk of boiler plate; and I agree with you that legs would look rather better than these old bricks to support it. But, heavens, William, we can't put on the style of a palace in this printing office. Remember, I am only the editor of the Mudge Hollow *Hooperup*. I'm not Vanderbilt or 'Old Hutch!' You want to give me a chance!"

Population in France.

London Times and Echo.

The statistics for last year, which have just been officially published, exhibit a very serious state of things, which French statistics admit cannot be explained away to the advantage of the country. In the year 1887 there were registered 278,056 marriages, 899,333 births, and 842,797 deaths. Although this shows a balance of births over deaths of 56,536, being 3,920 over that of 1886, yet it is admitted that the population tends to remain stationary. For, although for seven years the number of deaths has been pretty much the same each year, the births have shown a constant tendency to decrease. Thus the births have fallen from 937,758 in 1884 to 899,333 in 1887, showing a mean annual decrease in the number of births of 12,808. The annual surplus of births over deaths, which was in 1881 108,299, has fallen to 56,536 in 1887, or a diminution of 48 per cent in seven years. The statistics, moreover, show a steady decrease in legitimate births and a corresponding increase of illegitimate births. There were in 1887 835,479 of the former and 73,854 of the latter, or 8.20 per cent of the total births illegitimate. This proportion varied from 25 per cent in the Seine department to 2 per cent in Finistere. The proportion of births to population varies markedly in different departments. The mean birth rate is 23.5 births per 1,000 inhabitants, reaching 30 per 1,000 in the north of France and 34 in Finistere, but falling to 15 per 1,000 in Gers. The mean rate of mortality during the year was 22 per 1,000, varing, however, from 30 per 1,000 in Finistere to 17 per 1,000 in Creuse. As a matter of fact, in thirty-seven departments there was an absolute excess of deaths over births, amounting to a total of 31,399. In Orne the excess of births over deaths was 2,950; in Eure, 2,432; in Haute-Garonne, 2,215; in Calvados, 1,861; in Gers, 1,709; in Seine-et-Oise, 1,636; in Lot-et-Garonne, 1,618; in Vaucluse, 1,632. Since the law of 1884 the number of divorces up to 1887 has been 12,250—namely, 1,657 in 1884, 4,277 in 1885, 2,950 in 1886 and 3,636 in 1887. Two-thirds of the divorces have been in Paris. In the first of a series of articles on this subject in the *Economiste Francaise* the situation as revealed by these statistics is treated as of the utmost seriousness; the writer seems inclined to attribute the falling off in births to a large extent to the increasing number of celibataires in France.

A Clear View of the Pennsylvania Coal Monopoly from Frigid St. Paul.

St. Paul Globe.

The advance in the price of coal and the consequent great additional outlay required in order to keep warm, has naturally been the source of much discontent and downright hard feeling among consumers. In many instances persons who are not informed as to the causes are disposed to blame those who are blameless. When a person buys an article and is forced to pay an extortionate price the natural impulse is to blame the seller for the extortion. Thus the local coal dealer gets the first rap every time a consumer buys a ton of coal at present rates. This is wrong, because the local dealer is as blameless as the consumer. His margin of profit is no greater when coal is $10 a ton than it would be if coal were only $5. There are others who lay the blame on the miners who go on strikes and cause lockouts. This is also a wrong view of the case, and the poor workingmen should have all the credit that is due them; for these miners are the poorest paid and the worst used class of workmen in this land, and while they add millions of dollars every year to the wealth of their employers, they are no better off themselves and see no prospect of improvement in the future.

The whole cause for the coal extortion rests with the coal kings themselves, the owners and operators of the mines, and there are no exteunating circumstances. The coal magnates not only fix the price of the goods they sell, but they limit the supply to so many tons, so that the market can not be glutted and there can be no possible chance for a "bear" movement to reduce the rates. They meet at certain times in a congress composed solely of coal barons. They determine the price and the number of tons to be put on the market. When that is done they set their slaves to work and bring up the desired amount as soon as possible. Then when the nation's supply of fuel is out of the ground, the men are discharged and left to shift for themselves, or starve, until the next crop is due. This is not the story of one season, or two. It is the history of coal mining in Pennsylvania ever since the coal barons got control of the mines and the railroads.

It costs just sixty cents a ton to take the coal from the ground, break it and place on the railroad track ready for shipment. Then the coal barons fix the price at $3.50 or $4 for coal that has cost them sixty cents. In addition to this they own the railroads, and rope in additional gains by extortionate freight charges. Every man who burns coal or buys coal should know that we could have the best coal in the fields of Pennsylvania delivered at our doors here in St. Paul at $5 or $6 a ton, and would have it but for the greedy exactions of these coal barons, who, not content with starving their employes, are levying extortionate rates on every furnace, range and parlor stove in the land.

It should also be remembered that every one of these coal barons is an active supporter of Harrison and Morton in this election contest. Not because they admire Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton as individuals or statesmen more than they do Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, but because they know if Harrison and Morton are elected on the one great issue of this campaign, it will mean for them an unlimited perpetuation of the coal baron dynasty. The election of Harrison means for them a continued opportunity to fill their private coffers by robbing the people. It was under the republican system of high protection that the coal combine originated, and its longer existence depends wholly upon the continuation of that policy.

DE MISTAKES OB SCRIPTURE.

Jay K. Washington White in Toronto Grip.

MISTAKE NO. 1.—"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." De mistakes ob de scripture, deably belubed bredren, am many an' noom'rous. Dey am also berry dang'rous—case why? It makes de infidels say 'taint true what's in de bible. Now, it am my mission to pint out dat it am all puffeckly true, only it am a mistake. De proof readers an' printers in dem yar ole days when de bible wor fust printed weren't much, any way. And yet, belubed bredren, considerin' dese yar scriptures am 'sposed to be 'spired by divine troof, it am a mystery how dey ever cum dar, 'less as I said befo', day am mistakes. Dat fact am clar as mud, and dis chicken am going to demonstrate dat dis mawnin', sho's yo bawn. De most stupendous mistake in de hull book am found in de words ob my tex—"De arf is de Lawd's an' de foolness deroff." In dis yer tex', my bredren, dere am a most important omission to be found. Dat omission 'sists ob one sylabble only, but dar lies all de difference in de wo'ld. De proper rend'ring ob be tex' and de only way de tex' can hab any possible meaning in dese yer days is—"De arf is de landlawds' and de foolness deroff." De arf belongs to de landlawd, every bit of it, and de landlawd rents it out fo' us po' faderless chillen ob de Lawd to live on. No, my bredren, de Lawd don't own a square inch ob land in Yurup nor Ameriky, as I know it b'longs to de landlawd, de speclater and de landgrabber, and dere ain't nary an inch left fo' de Lawd or His po' human chillen. His po' human chillen hab got to lib in ten'ment houses, thirteen families in a house, an' ten ob a family in a 'partment whar' dere ain't room to whip a cat in. Case why? "De arf is de landlawd's," its acres am his, and de Lawd's po' chillen may go hang. De landlawd's wife and daughters distribute tracts among de po' people, tryin to make em good, but yo don't catch em 'stributing de acres round. Ef dey would sling round de acres 'mong de po' people like dey do tracts, de millennium would come afore dey had time to get into dere Sunday go-to-meetin' close to celebrate it. And yet, belubed bredren, such is de wickedness ob human natur, dat some engrateful sperrits in dat dar crowd from de slums look all round and see all dat miles and miles ob empty land, and de debil puts it in dere heart to ax why is it dat it takes all dis land to hold one man and his chillen; an' we an' our chillen doan own not a cubic inch a piece, an' den am piled up one on top ob de oder like coolies in de hold ob a slave ship—eh? Dey want to know if dis yere landlawd aint a human critter like dareselves, an' ef we are all chillen ob de same parent, like de tracts say we am, why he gives all de house room to two or tree ob his chillen an lets de oder get so badly crowded up dat bof soul an' body get mildewed. And dey wants to know, too, how dey calls dereselves followers ob Christ, when Christ didn't own a single acre of land. To all dem dar absurd questions dere am but one answer, "De arf is de landlawds' and de foolness deroff." It am a millioncholy fact but it am de troof, an' dis am a pointer fo de nex' revision of de Holy scriptures. We will now sing de psalm, "De arf belongs unto de Lawd." All de friends will please jine in and doan forget to tack on de missin syllable to de Lawd.

A Single Tax Man on Gov. Black.

The following letter appears in the Atlanta *Constitution*:

I have before me a copy of THE STANDARD, in which appears an article from ex-Governor Chauncey F. Black of Pennsylvania on "Jefferson and Hamilton." The article is, as THE STANDARD says editorially, a most "timely addition to higher political literature." THE STANDARD adds: "Without a trace of mere partisanship, Governor Black has reviewed the most important period of American political history, and in the opposing systems of the two great statesmen who yet stand as the best representatives of the normal division of American parties, shown the underlying principles which, beneath the eddies and froth of the surface, struggle for the mastery in our politics to-day."

Now, the average voter has but a crude idea of what the underlying principles in our politics are, more and more unreconcilable do the two great political parties become, and fiercer will the fight between them grow, as the people learn what these underlying principles are, and as Governor Black has shown in this article that the issue is more and more becoming the issue that was fought out between Jefferson and Hamilton; Hamilton representing avowedly the privileged classes and Jefferson the people, Jefferson contending that the people should govern and Hamilton that the people are not fit to govern, but that the government for the people is one in which the will of the people should be subservient to the will of the heads of the government. Governor Black shows in this article that the same elements and forces are at work now in the republican party as existed at the time of Hamilton in the federalist party and were so indignantly and wholly repudiated by the people then. Every one should read this paper of ex-Governor Black's. It will infuse enthusiasm for the democratic cause, and make us realize the importance of the overthrow of the republican party. In fact, it will satisfy a patriot that the very existence of our liberties and our republic depend on its overthrow. The paper referred to appears in THE STANDARD of October 13. By the way, it will not be out of place here to refer to Henry George, the editor of THE STANDARD. The *Constitution* has several times referred to him in depreciating and insinuating tones, leaving the impression that he is a socialist, or a communist. There is not the least foundation for such charges. Henry George has repudiated and argued against both socialism and communism in the most convincing manner, and there is not a man to-day who is further from a believer in socialism or communism than Henry George. People who think of him as a socialist or communist simply have not read what he has written, do not understand his theories and know nothing about him. Those who have not read what he has written are that much behind the times, and are in the dark as to what the thought of the day on social and economic questions is fast shaping itself to. The eagerness with which his works have been read, and the conviction which they have carried with them, is something wonderful. His "Progress and Poverty" has been translated into nearly every language, and few who have read it deny the correctness of its premises and the rightness and justness of its conclusions. His paper, THE STANDARD, contains more solid and suggestive reading matter than any publication of the day. Every man interested in the discussion of politics and social and economic questions should read it.

X., JR.

A Narrow Vale.

Robert G. Ingersoll in Current Literature.

Life is a narrow vale between the cold
And barren peaks of two eternities.
We strive in vain to look beyond the heights.
We cry aloud: the only answer
Is the echo of our wailing cry.
From the voiceless lips of the unreplying dead
There comes no word: but in the night of death
Hope sees a star, and listening love can hear
The rustle of a wing.
These myths were born of hopes, and fears and tears,
And smiles; and they were touched and colored
By all there is of joy and grief between
The rosy dawn of birth and death's sad night.
They clothed even the stars with passion;
And gave to gods the faults and frailties
Of the sons of men. In them the winds
And waves were music, and all the lakes and
Streams, springs, mountains, woods, and perfumed dells
Were haunted by a thousand fairy forms.

To Help Single Tax Strangers.

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

Akron O—Jas R Angier, 109 Allyn street.
Albany, N Y—Robert Baker, 175 Madison avenue; J C Roshirt, 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 21 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter—W E Brokaw.
Altoona, Pa—Joseph Sharp, jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Rouzee, 924 First avenue.
Amsterdam, N Y—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D C—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anaheim, Cal—James B Hassett.
Antoa Chico, N M—Lewis T Granstam.
Ashtabula, Ohio—A D Strong.
Auburn, Me—F W Beals, secretary Single tax club.
Avon, N Y—Homer Sabin.
Ballston Spa, N Y—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md—John W Jones, sec Single-tax league of Maryland, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, Pres Henry George club, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 1453 E Baltimore street.
Bayside, Long Island, N Y—Antonio M Molina.
Braceville, Ill—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Binghampton, N Y—E W Dundon, 83 Malden lane.
Boston, Mass—Edwin M White, 268 Main street, Charlestown; J R Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamlin Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain.
Brooklyn, N Y—J Hickling, 41 Sidney place, president Single tax club.
Burlington, Iowa—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Burlington, Vt—Charles N Monahan, cigar manufacturer.
Cambridgeport, Mass—Wm Ford, 116 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N Y—H W Johnson, P O box 265.
Chamberlain, Dak—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill—Frank Pearson, secretary Land and labor club No 1, 45 La Salle street.
Clanton, Ala—O M Mastin or Alex G Dake.
Cleveland, O—Frank L Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind—L O Bishop, editor *Argus*.
Cohoes N Y—J S Crane.
Columbus, O—E J Brackens, president Single tax club, 505 North High street; Sam F Caen, corresponding secretary, care Edward Hyneman, 348 1-2 South High street.
Cornwall, Cal—Jeff A Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N J—Chas P Johnston.
Dayton, O—W W Kile, 33 E Fifth street; J G Galloway, 265 Samuel street.
Denver, Col—Charles G Buck, chairman State executive committee National tax reform association, new Tritch block.
Detroit, Mich—J K Finehart, 45 Waterloo street; J F Duncan, secretary Tax reform association.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal—J V Lanston.
Dunkirk, N Y—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.
East Northport, Long island, N Y—J K Rudyard.
East Rindge, N H—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N J—Benjamin Urner.
Elmira, N Y—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.
Farmington, Iowa—F. W. Rockwell.
Gardner, Ill—T S Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N Y—Herbert Doromer.
Glens Falls, N Y—John H Quinlan.
Gloversville, N Y—Wm C Wood, M D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex—J McCallem.
Hartington, Neb—J H Feller.
Haverhill, Mass—Arthur F Brock.
Hornellsville, N Y—George H Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark—W Albert Chapman.
Hoosick Falls, N Y—F S Hammond.
Houston, Tex—H F Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas—J G Malcolm, M D.
Ilion, N Y—George Smith, P O box 592.
Indianapolis, Ind—Herman Kuehn, 11 Talbot block; or L P Custer, member of Single tax club.
Ithaca, N Y—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N J—Thos A Johnston.
Jersey City, N J—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Ege avenue.
Kansas City, Mo—Chas E Reed, 2,523 Woodland avenue.
Kingston, N Y—Theodore M Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N Y—James McMann, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, R I—Dr Garvin.
Lexington, Ky—James Erwin.
Los Angeles, Cal—W H Dodge, 89 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 139 South Hill; or A Vinette, P O box 452.
Lynchburg, Va—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass—Theodore P Perkins, 11 South Common street.
Madison, Dak—E H Evenson.
Mahanoy City, Pa—J K Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Manistee, Mich—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.
Marlborough, N Y—C H Baildon.
Hart, Tex—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Massillon, O—Samuel T Wright, 63 West Main street.
Memphis, Tenn—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.
Middletown, Conn—John G Hopkins, P O box 580.
Middletown, N Y—Chas H Fuller, P O box 115.
Minneapolis, Minn—C J Buell, president Anti-poverty society, 402 W Franklin avenue.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa—A O Pitcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N Y—Richard Watson.
Murrayville, Ill—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn—P Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American league.
Neponset, Mass—J A Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N J—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
Newburg, N Y—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newport, Ky—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 89 Taylor street.
Norfolk, Va—Edward K Robertson, Marine bank.
Oberlin, O—Edw B Haskell.
Omaha, Neb—John E Emblen, 822 Virginia avenue.
Ordway, Dak—R H Garland, member Tax reform association.
Passaic, N J—J J Barnard, P O box 181.
Paterson, N J—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W Va—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R I—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill—J W Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N Y—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
Plymouth, Mass—C E Marks, box 51.
Portland, Ore—S B Rigen, 48 Stark street, James P Kohler, 134 Grand street, or R H Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N Y—William C Albro.
Pulaski, N Y—C V Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill—W H Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa—Chas S Prizer, 1013 Penn street.
Ridgeway, N Y—D C Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis—George H Bates.
Rochester, N Y—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N J—Read Gordon.
Rutland, Vt—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal—Judge James G Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal—Mrs Frances M Milne.
Seneca Falls, N Y—Wm H Adkinson, P O box 56.
Shenandoah, Pa—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
South Gaston, N C—W L M Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N Y—C L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Mo—H A W Juneman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo—Geo S Bonnell, president Single tax league, 1527 Leffingwell avenue; Sidney A Rendl, secretary, 1108 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal—D A Learned.
Syracuse, N Y—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; A R Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Thomaston, Conn—Andrew Leary, sec Land and labor club, P O box 293.
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Waco, Tex—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
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Yonkers, N Y—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio—W H Longhead, 27 Van Buren street.

AN OPEN LETTER

From the Anti-Poverty Society of Toronto to the Members of the Ministerial Association.

REVEREND SIRS: In consequence of your declining to receive a deputation from this society I am instructed to send the following letter:

Many of our members have long looked to you as their pastors and leaders in religious thought, and from the kindness which you individually manifest, they feel a little disappointed that a request, which seemed to them very reasonable, should have been declined. We cannot recall any instance in which Christ ever refused audience to those who came to him sincerely desiring the truth, but we have some remembrance that He had to rebuke His disciples for so doing. Since you decline to receive us in person, we trust you will pardon our intruding on you in another way and asking your consideration to some thoughts—thoughts of overwhelming importance respecting our social relations.

You are recognized by the majority of the community as the teachers of ethics—as the propounders of the gospel of justice. If any party is looked to as the teachers of questions of right and wrong, it is you. Therefore, we come to you in matters pertaining to honesty, to justice, to righteousness.

You teach that at the foundation of religion, and as an essential to religion, there must be honesty, there must be justice; that without honesty any pretension to religion must be but sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. We were exceedingly anxious to submit to you some questions respecting the meaning of honesty and justice. You can easily understand that your preaching of honesty, justice and righteousness must be vain until we can understand what these terms mean.

You lay a great deal of stress, very great emphasis, on the authorship of the earth. From the words of Revelation and from the adaptations of means to end you establish the doctrine that there is an infinite creator, that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The denial of this doctrine you denounce as blasphemy. But there exists another and equally important question: For whom did He make the earth, to whom did He give it? Did He make it for a few men to hold as their exclusive possession, the rest of mankind to be tenants at will, not to own one foot of land and to be compelled to pay for all time for the mere privilege of getting access to the earth? Does the Psalmist speak truth when he says, "The earth hath He given to the sons of men?"

There are thousands of people in our cities who do not, and, according to our present arrangements, cannot, own a foot of land; by our laws they are dispossessed, and their title to a share of the earth is practically denied. Our laws give over the possession of the face of the earth to one part of mankind to be their exclusive possession, thus denying that the earth was made for the whole race.

Your preaching emphasizes the doctrine of the Creator. Do you insist with equal emphasis on the second doctrine—that God made the earth for mankind, the whole of mankind, and not merely for a part?

Let a man profess disbelief in a creator, you exclude him from fellowship; you call him an infidel, an agnostic. You do not even allow it to be an open question. To doubt it is sin. But is it not true that the denial of this second doctrine—that the earth was made for all—in no way disqualifies a man from the title of Christian? To disbelieve in a creator you say is sin. What then can we say of a disbelief in his justice?

The first question, therefore, we wished to ask was one of prime importance, as it affects some of us in a terrible manner, depriving us of our share to the common bounties bestowed by the hand of a common father. If those to whom the exclusive possession of the earth has been given are the children of the eternal father what must we be who find ourselves born into a world with not a foot of land reserved for us?

Does not the denial of this equal right deny the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

We ask your attention to the extraordinary relationship this arrangement produces. Wherever society collects there comes a something called land value—not a commodity produced by toil, such as clothing, food or houses. It represents not that the so called owner of the land is producing wealth or rendering service. It comes always with the crowd. It is caused by the crowd, and in no way resembles a service done, or a commodity produced by an individual. Every increase of population increases this land value. Now, we again want to know in the name of honesty, justice and righteousness, should this value caused by the community belong to the community or to the individual? Our laws decree this value to the individual—the value caused by the community is appropriated by the individual. We would like very much to know if this is honest.

When one man makes a coat and another raises potatoes and they exchange, we see an act the justice of which is never questioned; but when a man appropriates a ground rental, a value caused by the community, what does he produce in exchange for the enormous surrender that the producer must make to him? According to our present laws he is under no obligation to produce so much as a shoe latchet in exchange. We who toil must furnish supplies to him, but he need furnish nothing in return to us.

Is not this legalized parasitism; is it not legalized spoliation?

At first, with a scant population, his power to appropriate is small, but with every increase of population we have to surrender more. The more we pay the more we have to pay. With greater density of the community our obligation continually increases. The more we pay the deeper we sink in debt. The debt is increasing and continuous. To this law of impoverishment we must submit, and unless a change is effected we must leave to our offspring an everlasting burden of indebtedness.

Here is an arrangement by which one who produces not is allowed to appropriate our product. Are we intruding an improper question when we ask, Is this right, is this honest?

What is the prospect to which we can look?

With an increasing obligation to leave to our offspring; on a planet to which we have no statutory claim, having to toil as long as strength endures, to see our product surrendered to those who claim the earth, and thus see ourselves and our children inevitably doomed to impoverishment, were we asking too much when we asked an interview to inquire if this is right?

The holder of a land value as such sows not in spring and reaps not in harvest; he need organize no business; he toils not, and yet Solomon in all his glory was arrayed no better than he. In his growing luxury we see the growing poverty, the grinding, hopeless toil of a large portion of the masses.

Does this harmonize with the divine law. "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Let love be without dissimulation; be kindly affectionate one to another, in honor preferring one another?"

We trust you will receive this in the kindly spirit in which it is intended; for to us these questions are of terrible import. *On your answer will depend very largely the faith of a multitude in the creed of the churches.*

In every workshop in this city your answer has been noted, and however mistaken may be the inference, it is felt that your conduct lacked sympathy with those whose struggle in life is hard enough.

The questions we wish to ask are now being discussed in every assembly of workmen in this province, and a compliance with our request would have been taken as a kindly act.

A kindly act is an eloquent sermon.

We have read that "Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, *thinketh no evil.*" It is reported that one of your members thought that in asking an interview we were seeking a little cheap notoriety. We trust the report is a mistake.

Should it be true it proves at once that the statement of our letter was quite correct when it said that our aims were misunderstood and misrepresented by the clergy.

You sometimes read us sentiments of surpassing sublimity, and our hearts long for their realization.

"Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor. Owe no man anything; but to love one another, for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this—Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment it is briefly comprehended in this saying—thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. *Love worketh no ill to his neighbor,* therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

Do not our present social arrangements set all these commands at naught? Do not they kill by dooming the toiler to a low, brutish existence—a muscle and stomach existence—and kill the best part of his nature by making intellectual culture an impossible attainment? Do not they steal by depriving him of his share of the earth and its vast store of wealth given by God for a common heritage? Do not they bear false witness by denying the justice of God, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of humanity, by teaching that one man may earn his bread by the sweat of another man's brow? Do not they manifest the most unmitigated covetousness—a covetousness so terrible that it would be a wonder, an amazement, were it not so common; men wealthy often far beyond the limits of enjoyment, and yet grasping more and more when that more means the crushing of some one already far too poor?

If the views herein expressed are erroneous, we shall be thankful for their correction; but if they are correct, or so far as you regard them correct, will you kindly express your approval and confirmation, and thus give us the moral aid and support which would result from your indorsement. Yours respectfully,

W. A. DOUGLASS, President.
S. T. WOOD, Secretary.

What is Electricity?

At the close of an able address at Bath, England, Mr. W. H. Preece, after summarizing all the great achievements in the electrical domain, said: "It seems incredible that, having utilized this great power of nature to such a wide and general extent, we should be still in a state of mental fog as to the answer to be given to the simple question, What is electricity? The engineer and the physicist are completely at variance on this point. The engineer regards electricity, like heat, light and sound, as a definite form of energy, something that he can measure and apply. The physicist—at least some physicist, for it is difficult to find any two physicists that completely agree with each other—regard electricity as a peculiar form of matter permeating all space as well as all substances, together with the luminiferous ether which it permeates like a jelly or a sponge. Conductors, according to this theory, are holes or pipes in this jelly, and electrical generators are pumps that transfer this hypothetical matter from one place to another. Other physicists, following Edlund, regard the ether and electricity as identical, and some, the disciples of Helmholtz, consider it as an integral constituent of nature, each molecule of matter having its own definite charge, which determines its attraction and its repulsion. All attempts to revive the Franklinian, or material, theory of electricity have, however, to be so loaded with assumptions and so weighted with contradictions that they completely fail to remove electricity from the region of the mysterious. It is already extremely difficult to conceive the existence of the ether itself as an infinitely thin, highly elastic medium filling all space, employed only as the vehicle of those undulatory motions that give us light and radiant heat. The material theory of electricity requires us to add to this another incomprehensible medium embedded or entangled in this ether, which is not only a medium for motion, but which is itself moved. The practical man, with his eye and his mind trained by the stern realities of daily experience, on a scale vast compared with that of the little world of the laboratory, revolts from such wild hypotheses, such unnecessary and inconceivable conceptions, such a travesty of the beautiful simplicity of nature. He has a clear conception of electricity as something which has a distant objective existence, which he can manufacture and sell, and something which the unphilosophic and ordinary member of society can buy and use. The physicist asserts dogmatically: 'Electricity may possibly be a form of matter—it is not a form of energy.' The engineer says distinctly: 'Electricity is a form of energy—it is not a form of matter; it obeys the two great developments of the present generation—the mechanical theory of heat and the doctrine of conservation of energy.' There must be some cause for this strange difference of views. It is clear that the physicist and the engineer do not apply the term electricity to the same thing. The engineer's electricity is a real form of energy; the speculative philosopher's electricity is a vague subjective unreality which is only a mere factor of energy and is not energy itself. This factor, like force, gravity, life, must, at any rate for the present, remain unknowable. It is not known what force is; neither do we know what is matter or gravity. The metaphysician is even doubtful as regards time and space. Our knowledge of these things commences with a definition. The human mind is so unimpressionable, or language is so poor, that writers often cannot agree on a definition. The definition of energy is capacity for doing work. We practical men are quite content to start from this fiducial line and to affirm that our electricity is a something which has a capacity for doing work; it is a peculiar form of energy. The physicist may speculate as much as he pleases on the other side of this line."—[Electrical World.

The Deepest Coal Mine in the World.

Age of Steel.

The Hasard colliery was opened in 1842 by M. d'Andrimont. The area of its concession is 4,170 acres. The colliery employs 961 workmen underground and 273 at the surface. Its output in 1886 was 232,742 tons. The seams worked vary from 2 feet to 4 feet 1 inch in thickness, and the coal is of a semi-bituminous character. A notable feature in the working of the mine is the use of the Plom and d'Andrimont excavator, an ingenious contrivance for increasing the useful effect of blasting. The shot-hole is drilled in the ordinary manner and the excavator is introduced, which hollows out a space at the back of the hole much greater than the diameter of the hole. This enlarged powder chamber is found to greatly increase the useful effect of blasting and also the proportion of round coal. It is used in six seams in the colliery, and has also been adopted at Lens, France. The coals are not brought to the surface of the shafts, but only to the level of 400 feet, whence an endless chain road, two miles long, extends to Bay Bonnet.

The Saint Andre du Poirier mine claims to be the deepest coal mine in the world. It has a royalty of 864 acres, and a yearly production of 200,000 to 250,000 tons. There are two coal-drawing shafts, the one 2,952 feet deep, the other 3,083 feet deep. The first shaft is being deepened to 3,149 feet. Each of the pits is ventilated by a Guibal fan working in a second shaft. A remarkable feature in the workings at these mines is the comparatively low temperature experienced. The maximum temperature is 75 degrees Fahr., and it is very often considerably lower; the air passing along the "face" is not warm. This tends to show that elevation of temperature is by no means the greatest obstacle in working very deep mines. The four seams worked at St. Andre vary from 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet 7½ inches in thickness; the working faces are 50 feet wide. The daily output per underground workman is eighteen hundredweight. It seems that with an average selling price of 7s. 1½d. per ton, the mine makes a profit varying from 9½d. to 1s. 7d. per ton. This is striking testimony to the efficiency and economy with which the operations must be conducted. The daily output of the St. Andre shaft is from 300 to 350 tons. This is an old shaft, only 9 feet 10 inches in diameter; it has been sunk in several stages, as the upper seams became exhausted. It is provided with wooden guides, and six tubs are lifted at once. The winding is done with flat steel ropes of non-tapering action, weighing twenty pounds per yard. Ropes of the tapering action were formerly used, but were found liable to break at the change of the section. The ropes were wound on ordinary drums. The ascending speed is at least thirty-three feet per second, 120 tubs being lifted per hour. The engine is vertical, with two cylinders and 400 horse power.

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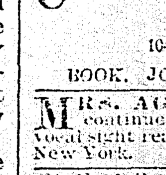
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CURRENT THOUGHT.

Mr. Edward Atkinson is a man who is full of surprises. His thought channels run in curves and angles that make any comprehensive view of his theories impossible. When you think you have seen the whole of him, behold! around the corner a fresh vista of Atkinsonian philosophy opens up, and the consideration of his case must be commenced afresh.

In the issue of *Bradstreet's* for November 3, Mr. Atkinson, replying to a previously published communication of Mr. Samuel M. Hyneman, discusses very briefly the question of the single tax, and points out what, in his opinion, are the chief objections to it.

In the first place, Mr. Atkinson is puzzled to know how the tax on land values is to be assessed. For if the whole—or anything like the whole—rental value of the bare land is to be taken in taxation, evidently the rental value will be extinguished—there would be no more rental value. And if there is no more rental value how on earth are you going to lay a tax on it? It is a problem something like that which puzzled the Dutch grocer, when his customer first ordered a pound of crackers, then exchanged them for some cheese, and then refused to pay for the crackers, on the ground that he hadn't kept them, or for the cheese, on the ground that he had given the crackers for it. Here is what Mr. Atkinson says:

What I desire to see put in the form of an act of legislation is the method by which the assessors may be able to ascertain or determine what is the rental value under such conditions. The act of legislation must provide for this. If the land is subject to a tax equal to ninety-five per cent of its rental value, how could it possess any value either for sale or purchase, and how is its rental value then to be determined, and by whom? If land is to yield no rent for occupancy and use, who would occupy or use or pay rental taxes upon it? The land itself possesses no value—it only attains value when labor and capital are applied to its use and occupancy. What is the rental value of land and how is it to be determined except in connection with, or in proportion to the capital or labor applied to its use? In what proportion and in what way would capital or labor be applied to the use of land which in itself possesses no value under a system by which ninety-five per cent of the value which would be imparted to the land by the application of labor and capital, one or both, would be converted over to the use of the state? Would not this system merely convert the state into a landlord and impose upon the assessors the duty of bargaining for perpetual leases? What else could be the effect? Who would then become the boss landlord and what would be the condition of the civil service?

It is only fair to assume that Mr. Atkinson means what he says. We are forced to believe, therefore, that he really thinks that "land only attains value when labor and capital are applied to its use and occupancy;" and that the rental value of land cannot be determined except in connection with the capital and labor applied to its use. We may be excused for wondering at his ignorance, but common courtesy requires that we should attach due credit to his confession, and believe that he really *is* ignorant, and not making believe.

Yet if Mr. Atkinson will start from his home in Boston and travel a few hours in almost any direction not leading out to sea he will find ample reason to change his belief. For in whatever direction he may go he will find pieces of land to whose use and occupancy no labor or capital has been applied—land which is absolutely unoccupied, absolutely unproductive, which might be swept out of existence, were such a thing possible, without reducing the wealth of the community by so much as an egg shell, and yet which has a very considerable value. And if he will inquire among the buyers and sellers of land what it is that gives that land its value, he will learn that it is simply and altogether the desire of a number of men to enjoy the privilege of applying labor and capital to it. This is the value, created altogether by competition for the use of natural opportunities, and not by any application of labor or capital or both, which, under the name of "land value," it is proposed to take for public use by the single tax. As for "the value which would be imparted to the land by the application of labor and capital," the single tax would leave that altogether untouched. It belongs of right to the men who create it; and the crying evil of the present system of taxation is that by confiscating a portion of this value it inflicts a penalty on industry and enterprise.

And if Mr. Atkinson will consult any experienced real estate broker he will learn that there is not the slightest difficulty in determining these land values with quite sufficient accuracy. When a house and lot is sold, nothing is easier than to determine how much of the purchase money represents the house and how much the mere advantage of location. When a coal mine is purchased it is easy to separate the shafts, headings, machinery, timbers and other products of human industry from the value of the natural opportunity which the single tax would absorb. An oil well has a value of location altogether apart and easily distinguishable from the value of the tubing, pumps, etc., used in operating it. When, as often happens, these land values are collected from the user or occupier of land by the landlord, they are determined with sufficient ease. It will be just as easy to determine them when they are taken by the state in the form of a tax.

Mr. Atkinson's fear lest the single tax system should convert the state into a landlord springs naturally from his confusion of thought about land values. Strictly speaking the state is the universal landlord to-day. It would be the universal landlord in the same sense, and in no other, were the single tax in full operation. So far from the system leading to the development of a "boss landlord," it would have precisely the opposite effect. For it would be impossible for any man to gain anything merely by holding land, or by permitting others to use it. To make a profit by landholding the landowner would have to use his land by applying labor and capital to it.

But the dread that the imposition of a tax on land values should in some backaction sort of way defeat its own object by rendering the assessment of land values impossible, is by no means the whole of Mr. Atkinson's objection to the single tax. He goes on in this fashion:

It has been supposed by most persons who have examined the proposition that the benefit to the community was expected to consist in compelling the landholders, or those who might take conditional possession of the land under this system for permanent occupation, in some way to pay all the taxes without recourse to others; that in this way the masses of the people would be relieved from any contribution whatever to the taxes, and that therefore a prime cause of poverty might be abated. . . .

The point which I desire to bring out is this: What would be the effect upon people of moderate means of making land the sole instrumentality for distributing the taxes? So far as I have been able to apply this theory it has appeared to me that while the taxes might be secured with less cost and with greater economy than by any other possible method, they would be as surely, or more surely, distributed in ratio to consumption than in any other way. But the limited possession of land under such conditions would render it almost necessary that nearly all land should be held by large capitalists who could afford to advance the taxes of each year in anticipation of their recovery from the annual product, since all profits, interest, rents, wages, earnings and taxes are and must be in the nature of things derived from the product of each series of four seasons—i. e., from the annual product.

In the beginning of his letter Mr. Atkinson remarks of the single tax doctrine, that "the proposal is entitled to respectful consideration, and has received it from me." It is hardly conceivable that he has "respectfully considered" so important and radical a doctrine without a least reading THE STANDARD literature of the subject. Yet it is certain that neither from the pages of "Progress and Poverty," nor from the columns of THE STANDARD, nor from any speeches or writings of the leaders of the movement, can he have derived the idea that the object of the single tax is to relieve the masses of the people "from any contribution whatever to the taxes" by compelling a few of the people to pay them. Such a nonsensical theory would be entitled to very little "respectful consideration," and would certainly never have received the support of thinking men.

Mr. Atkinson's experience of the cotton spinning industry must have taught him that it makes a great deal of difference in the prosperity of a mill whether it is located in one place or in another. A mill in Fall River will have greater efficiency of production than one in the middle of a Maine forest, with nothing but a wagon road connecting it with civilization. The Fall River mill can get its raw material and distribute its product with the minimum of expense. It has easy and cheap communication with the New York market. Its machinery and fuel can be brought by water to its very doors. It can avail itself quickly of any favorable change in prices. It can secure additional workmen when it needs them with the smallest possible delay. There may be more advantageous locations for a cotton mill than Fall River; but for the purpose of illustration we may assume that the Fall River mill can produce cotton goods with the maximum of economy.

But the area of Fall River is limited. Only a certain number of mills can be located there. More than this, within Fall River itself some locations are better than others, because of easisr access to the water front, or for some other reason. Hence arises among the owners of cotton mills a competition for the privilege of locating at Fall River, and in the most advantageous part of the city. By the friction of this competition Fall River land—that is, the privilege of building a mill at Fall River—acquires value. This value is economic rent, and its measure is the advantage which the owner of a mill in Fall River has in efficiency of production over the owner of a mill at the place of least efficiency of production. There are plenty of places where a mill owner can secure the privilege of building for nothing. If, at the most advantageous of such places, a mill owner can secure a yearly profit of ten, whereas in Fall River, by the employment of the same capital, he can secure a yearly profit of twenty, then the economic rent of the land in Fall River necessary for the erection and operation of his mill will be ten. If the disparity increases, economic rent in Fall River will rise; if it diminishes economic rent will fall. The actual rental value of Fall River land will not, of course, adjust itself with absolute accuracy to this standard. But it will constantly tend to do so and will never vary very far from it.

This economic rent is *not* a tax upon production. On the contrary, *it is the measure of an increase of production*, brought about, not by anything the Fall River mill owner has done or can do, but by the utilization of a natural opportunity. There is more cotton cloth produced with the same expenditure of labor, because of Fall River's harbor, and other advantages of location. Were an earthquake to render Narragansett bay unnavigable, economic rent in Fall River would become less. But that would not mean the lifting of a tax from production. For, other things remaining equal, the destruction of Fall River's harbor would make the production of cotton cloth more difficult and tend to raise its price.

Now the doctrine of the single tax is simply this: That this increase of production, being due entirely to natural advantages which belong by right to the whole people in common, ought to be taken for the benefit of the whole people. The increase of production falls naturally into the hands of the men who control the natural opportunities—the landowners. The single tax will compel the landowners to hand it over to its proper beneficiaries, the people in common. The single tax will lay no burden upon anybody, whether producer or consumer. It will simply take for public use the increase of production which properly belongs to the public. If Mr. Atkinson will think this out he will modify his views about taxation very materially.

But the securing to the community of the wealth of which it now is robbed will be by no means the chief benefit of the single tax. Its work will be vastly greater. It will compel every man who, by virtue of a paper title, forbids his fellow men to utilize any natural opportunity to pay to the community the full measure of the increase of production that would result from the using of that opportunity, whether he himself makes use of it or not. The Fall River citizen who builds a fence around a vacant piece of land and looks to gain a fortune by compelling some mill owner to pay him for the privilege of using it, will either have to pull his fence down and build a cotton mill himself mighty sudden or make a present of his land to some one else who will. For year by year Fall River citizens will exact from him the full value of the increased production that would result if that vacant lot were properly utilized, and the longer he might hold it idle the worse off he would be. And what would happen in Fall River would happen everywhere else throughout the country. Every acre of coal or mineral land would either be utilized by the application of labor and capital or left free for labor to exert itself upon at will. Millions upon millions of idle acres from which men are now fenced out by speculators would be thrown open for whoso would occupy them. No able-bodied man would have an excuse for idleness. Competition among employers would take the place of competition among laborers. The measure of wages would be the earnings of a free man applying his labor to natural opportunity. And with constant employment assured and industry relieved of its present crushing burden of taxation, poverty would vanish and wealth be within the reach of any man willing to work for it.

As for Mr. Atkinson's idea that nearly all the land would have to be held by capitalists who could afford to advance the taxes, he will himself see how nonsensical it is, if he will consider what goes before. Taxes can be collected in arrear as well as in advance. Even should it be thought necessary to collect each year's taxes on the first of January, bankers could probably be found to make the necessary advances. But as a matter of fact the greater part of the land of the United States would be absolutely tax free and open to the use of the first comer. Sixty millions of people would not crowd the state of Texas, let alone the whole of our vast domain.

Electoral Reform in Indiana—A Suggestion About Single Tax Placards.

EVANSVILLE, Ind., Nov. 10.—Could you send me by return mail a copy of the Saxton electoral reform bill? Such wholesale frauds were perpetrated here on Tuesday that people are aroused to the necessity of reform. I wish a copy of the Saxton bill for the use of our senators and representatives in the state legislature, and also for the editors of two of our daily papers who wish to write the subject up.

The sentiment in favor of free trade is stronger now than before the election. Democrats admit that their only course is to go forward.

I see nothing in this defeat to discourage single tax men. We must continue the work of education. During the campaign pictures of Cleveland and Harrison were to be seen everywhere. This suggests an idea. Why could we single tax men not have some appropriate mottoes which in a few words would contain the essence of our doctrines printed upon cards. These cards if neatly printed could be framed and hung up in our homes, offices or workshops, or hung in our windows, and thus proclaim our principles to the world. They would set people to thinking. The following are some mottoes I would suggest:

OUR PLATFORM:
FREE TRADE. FREE LAND.
FREE MEN.

ABOLISH ALL TAXES
SAVE A SINGLE TAX ON LAND VALUES.

NO TAX ON LABOR
OR THE PRODUCTS OF LABOR.

Many of the short, pithy sentences from "Progress and Poverty" could be used as mottoes. CHARLES G. BENNET,
427 Upper Third st.

Other Clubs Should Do This.

The Henry George club of Philadelphia presented the following interrogatories to the candidates for the legislature from that city:

1. Are you in favor of abolishing the poll tax?
2. Are you in favor of abolishing all taxes on personal property?
3. Are you in favor of reducing and gradually abolishing all taxes on improvements?
4. Are you in favor of raising public revenues by increasing the present taxes upon land values?

We also desire to know whether you are in favor of what is know as the Australian system of voting, the main features of which are:

1. An absolutely secret ballot, which prevents bribery and intimidation.
2. The printing of the ballots at the public expense. Respectfully, O. F. ROLLER,
Recording Secretary.

Replies were received from E. G. Schmidt and Lawrence F. Flick. Flick dodged the leading questions, but Schmidt answered every one of them in the affirmative like a man. The same questions were propounded to Alfred C. Harmer, republican candidate for congress, who has just been elected by over 6,000 majority. His manly answer was:

While your letter refers to the actions of those who may become members of our state legislature, I have no hesitation in saying that in my opinion the poll and personal taxes should be abolished, and taxes on realty should be readjusted in the line you suggest. I am fully in accord with the views presented in relation to the ballot. Very faithfully yours, A. C. HARMER.

Wants a Single Tax Party.

NEW YORK, Nov. 11.—I do not share in the affection shown for the defeated presidential candidate by many of our friends; in voting for him I swallowed the biggest and bitterest political pill that ever fell to the lot of any man; it is true that when one has "seen the cat" in its fullness he can otherwise be easily handled, but why should we hereafter be handicapped? Why should there be a chance for a belief that we are allied to any "lost cause" or dead issue? I for one am for a clean single tax party, headed by the purest, ablest and best man in the nation, our only leader. PHILO ORANGE SOPER.

To Make the Single Tax as Well Known as Santa Claus.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—In regard to the single tax bulletin board, which you will remember was supplied by single tax friends here through a letter of mine to THE STANDARD—it has proved of much use and is worthy the trial of every single tax man who has the opportunity and the courage to do it. The board has been in place now over a week and all the papers and tracts you sent me, in addition to a bundle of papers and tracts which some kind friend sent me, and for which I here take occasion to thank him, have nearly all gone—taken mostly by men going and coming from work. You will remember that the board has painted on it in good sized letters:

SINGLE TAX BULLETIN BOARD.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT FREE.

This catches the eye of the average man, and in most cases interests him sufficiently to induce him to stop and take a paper or a tract with a word from me as often as possible to let us know what he thinks about it.

I am fully satisfied that if there were a dozen or two such boards around this town the single tax would become as well known by Christmas time as Santa Claus. Even the children passing my window ask one another, "What is the single tax?"

It is the intention of the friends of this "spread the light" bulletin board to form clubs wherever and whenever they can obtain the means. Our friends elsewhere should adopt this idea. It is a good one. Come, now, who will do as I have done here! Let me hear from you through THE STANDARD.
ALEXANDER VEITCH.

Cheering News From the Northwest.

CHICAGO, Nov. 7.—We have won a victory. "Nominate Hill and he will knife you," warned THE STANDARD. The result has shown the democrats here the truth of your position. "Make the fight straight and you will win," said THE STANDARD. In New York a cowardly policy placed Hill, the demagogue and protectionist, to the front and George, Shearman, Post and the others of our leaders at the rear, and the result was a deserved defeat.

Illinois made the fight against the theory of protection—struck at the root of the accursed evil—and the sure state of the west has waited twenty-four hours in the vain attempt to decide who is to be governor.

In New York democratic audiences were treated to a defense of the protection idea—and you could not be allowed to stand upon a democratic platform. In Illinois the main representatives of the tariff reform league and the speakers most in demand all over the state were members of the single tax club. C. I. Darron and John Z. White made no appeal in behalf of the fetich of protection. They attacked the monster itself—and the result shows the difference between cowardice and courage.

In my judgment the democrats of the west will assert their manhood. They have seen the light, and they will not bow down to the defenders of the monopolists. The west is awake to the issue, and never in all my political life have I seen such bright promise of substantial progress as I do to-day. There are no dark clouds over my political horizon. The skirmish has been nobly fought: seed has been sown this year that will yield full crops of earnest radical reformers.
CLINTON FURBISH.

John Sherman Tells How the Workingmen of Ohio Voted and Why?

When asked by a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* how he accounted for the democratic gains in many manufacturing centers of Ohio, such as Cleveland and Springfield, Senator Sherman replied:

Too many workingmen regard capital as the enemy of labor, and reach the illogical conclusion that protection benefits their employers while it does not benefit them, and actuated by a feeling of hostility, and further deceived by the seemingly plausible cry of cheaper goods, they are led into opposition to what they believe accrues only to the benefit of their employers. It is quite possible that a casting of a greater bulk of the labor vote with the democracy may have caused the apparent decrease in the republican plurality in Ohio this year.

Tom L. Johnson's Magnificent Canvass.

Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Cleveland is essentially a manufacturing district and an iron manufacturing district at that; consequently so far as selfish proprietary interests are concerned it might justly be expected to be extremely sensitive on the question of so called protection. The merits of high and low tariff and absolute free trade have been faithfully discussed through the press, on the stump, by the fireside, in the street and everywhere until every intelligent man has had a fair opportunity to weigh the arguments on both sides—in fact he could not very well avoid informing himself, in a measure, at least, for what was not dinned into his ears or put under his eyes by his daily newspaper was thrust into his mail or put into his hand or left at his door in the shape of printed matter disseminated by party committees, the free trade club and, more industriously than by all other agencies combined, the Western reserve protective tariff league. So that no voter can say that he did not vote understandingly. When Mr. Tom L. Johnson was nominated by the democrats he was known to be a free trader in opinion and said so in his letter of acceptance, although he added that he is aware that free trade is not in present issue. The republicans and the protective tariff league, and a considerable number of interested manufacturers who employ large numbers of men, lost no opportunity to impress it upon the public mind that Mr. Johnson is a free trader. They went still further and insisted that he is a disciple of Henry George and would take their homes away from workingmen. It was proclaimed on the street corners that the question of the tariff is a question of wages. Everything which a desperate ingenuity could invent was pressed into service to win votes for Burton, prodigal expenditure of money and coercion of employes included. All this was heaped upon the pressure of a presidential year.

One year ago Foraker carried the wards and townships in the Twenty-first district by 2,314 plurality over Powell. Burton has a meager 500 where 5,000 was hoped for. The war cry of the republicans and "political business men" was, "Bury the free trade monster out of sight!"

Most significant of all is the fact that Johnson carried the city precincts of the district by about 800, where Foraker's plurality was 1,600.

It should be remembered in this connection that substantially all the manufacturing concerns affected by the tariff are within the city limits. Add to this the 500 democratic plurality in the city precincts of the Twentieth district and it will be found, to the discomfiture of the Chinese wall tariff advocates here and elsewhere that the great iron manufacturing city of Cleveland, with her blast furnaces, rolling mills, steel works, wire works and her thousands of other extensive manufacturing enterprises directly or indirectly interested in iron from the ore to the finished product—this presumed high protective tariff city has actually given a plurality of about 800 in 42,000 votes for revenue and tariff reduction on candidates for congress—a body which has the sole power of imposing, changing or removing the tariff—and one of those candidates was proclaimed as a free trader.

This verdict of the far-famed manufacturing city of Cleveland should be a beacon light to statesmen of the United States and should strike the scales from the eyes of disinterested but misled sympathetic citizens in other districts. The result of the vote on candidates for congress in this city is the logic of experience and the judgment of intelligent consideration by voters most directly affected and consequently best informed on the bearings of the issue involved.

The *Plain Dealer* takes justifiable pride in pointing to its own efforts in behalf of the cause which the voters of this city have approved at the ballot box in spite of extraordinary influences exerted to prevent such a verdict.

Torm.

Sarah A. Peple in Century for October.

De'r law! Sis' Jane, of dat ain't you!
Come in an' tek a cheer;
I ain't sot eyes upon yo' face
Sence hawg-killin' time las' year.
Lemme dus' it wid my ap'on, 'kase
P's'feared yo'll spile yo' dress;
We's kinder late dis mornin', an'
Things is all in a mess.

Heah, Jim! bring mammy a tu'n er wood.
(Yo' dad des sont a load.)
Lize! fetch some water from de spring—
(Nigger, doan' brek dat gode!)
How's all yo' folks? Well? Dat is good;
An' we all des is prime.
I'm g'wine to tell yo' 'bout Torm's ga
Ef yo'll dess gimme time.

Yer see, Torm's gone an' 'gage heself
Ter a likely gal—but min',
She ain't no yaller nigger, man!
She's de molliglassy (1) kine,
Des 'bout de cutlier ob gingerbread—
Sis' Jane! whot's de matter wid you!
Yo' face 'bout as long as two o' my arm
An' yo' lips is fa'rly blue.

How's Torm, yo' say, Sis' Jane! How's Torm?
Why, my Torm, he's all right;
He went to see his Sylvie walk
De cake-walk des las' night—
Bad news? I spec dat shote o' mine
Done hang in de bobby cue (2) fence;
Lize drug him out a while ago,
An' he hain't nuvver come back sence.

Bad news 'bout Torm? Go 'way, Sis' Jane!
'Tain' nothin' happen to Torm;
He's haulin' railroad sills to-day
Down on ole marster's farm.
De railroad!—dat wuz hit, yer say!
De railroad danejus place!—
Tell me de gospel troof, Sis' Jane!
I sees death in yo' face.

De train come t'arrin' 'long, yer say,
An' Torm cyarn't hol' de hoss;
De injine shriek so furous dat
He f'ar an' pitch an' toss,
An' th'ow Torm out, an' den de wheels
Des strek him on de hade?
An' now you's tryin' ter splain ter me
Dat *my boy Torm*—is dade?

'Tain' while to tell me dat, Sis' Jane!
Torm *cuddent* die 'fore me.
Heish! what's dat rumblin' 'long de road?
Dey's bringin' him—home—ter me!
Lawd Jesus! come hyar to me now
An' tell me what I done!
De Lawd hab massy upon me!
O Torm! my son, my son!

(1) By some called moligasker, supposed to be a corruption of Madagascar.
(2) Barbed wire fence.

We Shall Have the "Post" Advocating the Single Tax Next.

New York Evening Post Nov. 10.

The impudence of the copper syndicate passes all bounds. They have now taken contracts with all the American companies for their supply for ten or twelve years, for the purpose of restricting production and putting up or holding up the price of a necessary article of modern civilization. We advise them to have a care. When the particulars of the English salt trust became matters of public notoriety a few weeks ago, the London *Economist*, the organ and mouthpiece of conservatism in British finance, declared bluntly that parliament would not allow any portion of the soil of Great Britain to be monopolized to the injury of society. It reminded these salt monopolists that land titles in the United Kingdom had been inquired into, and contracts respecting the use of land set aside for less reason than appeared to exist for inquiring into the uses of the Chester salt mines. In other words, it invoked the eldest principle of law regarding real property, viz., that the title of the state is paramount to all others, and that the ownership and use of land are subject to the scrutiny of the sovereign power at all times. Now we advise the copper syndicate to bear in mind that the English law of real property is the American law also.

How is This for Pennsylvania Miners?

Mauch Chunk Democrat.

Several years ago, at Philadelphia, an esteemed friend expressed surprise that the Mauch Chunk *Democrat* would dare come out openly and emphatically against the high protective tariff, being located in one of the leading and most highly protected industries of the country—iron and coal? We answered our friend that in just such industrial regions as ours the high tariff system is most outrageous and ruinous to the business and labor interests, and that when the people come to understand the subject they will give tariff modification and reform their cordial support; and that is the reason why the *Democrat* has planted itself squarely on the side of truth.

Now, what is the result—as far as heard from? The great anthracite region of America consists of the counties of Carbon, Columbia, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Northumberland and Schuylkill, and in 1884 they gave Blaine a majority of 2,446. In 1888, after the agitation, the same counties gave 4,000 majority for Cleveland, being a clear democratic gain for tariff reform of 7,000. But this is only a beginning! It is an eye opener!

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Bright clear complexion
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