

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD FOR THE CAMPAIGN.
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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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Despite the extremely hot weather, and the fact that it was the only notice given, the call published in THE STANDARD of last week for a conference of single tax men in favor of the election of Cleveland and Thurman, filled the upper hall of the Cooper union on Monday night. The meeting was a representative one, as gratifying in its warmth and unanimity of feeling as in numbers. All seemed to be of one mind, that single tax men, as such, should make themselves felt in this election, and should endeavor to bring to the support of the democratic national candidates that confidence and enthusiasm in and for a great principle in which the democrats in this part of the country seem as yet to be so lacking.

When the timidity of the democrats in attacking the monstrous pretensions set up in behalf of protection by the republicans began to make apparent the need for some organization of radical men, the proposition which at first found most favor with some of our friends was that single tax men should throw their force into the Free trade club of this city and aid in forming branches in the New York congressional districts and through the country. But the opinion which showed itself at the conference on Monday night, and which seemed to be unanimous, was that the greater is stronger than the less, and that much more effective work can be done in this campaign under the banner of the single tax than under the banner of what is generally known as free trade. While the common sentiment was in favor of working with the believers in a purely revenue tariff as far as they would go, and a recommendation that wherever possible single tax men should join the free trade clubs was adopted, there was a strong feeling that some steps should be taken to bring single tax men together, as such, and to give emphasis to the fact that men whose only aim in politics is the emancipation of labor and the abolition of poverty, are supporting Cleveland with all their might for the very reason that the advocates of the protectionist superstition are telling workmen they should vote against him—because at this time he represents in practical politics the side of freedom.

The plan adopted by the conference is extremely simple and flexible. It does not look to the formation of anything like a party, nor even to a regular and formal organization. It provides only for the enrollment of single tax men who propose in this election to support Cleveland and Thurman, and for the appointment of a committee which shall take steps for the holding of meetings, the distribution of literature, and the conduct of correspondence. This will give all that is necessary—a nucleus for association and action, and will enable us to work in unison for the essential things on which we are agreed, without regard to anything else. The resolutions adopted expressly disclaim any inference that our support of the democratic national candidates constitutes us adherents of the democratic party, or pledges us to the support of their state or municipal candidates. In New York, indeed, most of us (I have yet heard of no exception) propose on account of his veto of the ballot reform bill to work

and vote against Governor Hill, should he be renominated by the democrats.

The meeting of Monday night was the first gathering representative of the main body of single tax men that has been held since the split in our organizations consequent upon the determination of some of their officials to carry them into ridiculous and questionable politics. It represented the clear conviction and strong common sense of men who do not propose either to play at politics or to trade in politics, but who, firmly believing in a great principle, are bent on pushing it forward in the easiest, shortest and most effective way. And what was peculiarly gratifying and inspiring in the meeting was the old time ardor and enthusiasm which it evinced; the evident pleasure which coming together again and feeling again "the touch of the elbow" aroused; the evident desire to "get to work." In this I am confident the conference was representative not only of the feeling of single tax men in New York and its vicinity, but of the feeling of single tax men throughout the country. And wherever in other parts of the country our friends see that it would be worth while to hold conferences similar to that we have held in New York, and to appoint similar committees, it is to be hoped they will do so. These committees will form nuclei, which will enable us the better to keep in touch with each other, to arrange for meetings, provide speakers, and to carry into effect any plan for general work that may hereafter seem advisable.

Until the committee which Chairman Post has appointed effects an organization, blanks for enrollment in the same form as that signed at the meeting on Monday night will be furnished from this office on application. In the meantime, as the readiest way of presenting this form for signature, it is printed on the third page of this issue of THE STANDARD, in such a way that it can be cut out, signed, and returned. If more are needed they can be written. Or, better still, if every reader of THE STANDARD will constitute himself a committee of one on enrollment in his locality or circle, it is only needed to cut out this form and paste it at the head of a sheet of paper, and to add another sheet when necessary, to give space for any number of signatures.

Let it be noted that the signing of this declaration does not involve the joining of any society, the paying of any fees or dues, or the assumption of any duties. Nor will the list be published. The idea is simply to enable us, to know our strength and to give the committee the names and addresses of our friends, in case it should wish to communicate with them or to send them literature for distribution. And while it is more important for the purposes of this committee that it should have the names and addresses of those in sympathy with it in New York and vicinity, it would also be useful and encouraging that it should have such names and addresses from all parts of the country. Not only might we as well make this as far as we can a general enrollment and showing of strength, but the possession by the committee here of the names and addresses of our friends in other localities will be of much use in starting local committees in other parts of the country.

And, therefore, I would ask every reader of THE STANDARD from Maine to California and from Florida to Washington territory, who is in sympathy with this object, to take the trouble to get as many signatures as possible and to send them to this office. Here is an easy and telling way in which every one can at once help the good cause on. The greater the strength we find we have, the more heart shall we find to work, and the more readily will others join us.

Now let us get to work and take our part in this campaign, joining with the democrats where they are willing, pushing forward for ourselves where they are not; but always keeping to the front the idea that we are for tariff reduction as a step to tariff abolition, and for that as a step to the removal of all the taxes that fine and hamper industry, and the consequent taking for public uses of that value which the growth and improvement of the whole community attach to land. And let us show what this means. It means not merely the breaking down of the trusts, the combinations, and the minor monopolies that in various ways are fostered by indirect taxation. It means not merely the simplification and purification of government, the lessening of the cost of living, the bringing of the refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization within easy reach. But greatest of all—and without which nothing else can avail labor—it means the breaking up of the most important and

most injurious of all monopolies, that monopoly of natural opportunities, which, withholding unused land from willing hands, produces artificial scarcity where nature has provided all the elements of abundance, and forces men who ought to be able to employ themselves into a cut-throat competition with each other for the wages of an employer.

Let the machine supporters of Mr. Cleveland protest that they are not free traders if they will, and apologize to protectionists for slicing down protection, if they think the votes of protectionists are to be kept thereby. But let us who are free traders in the highest, fullest, truest sense, proclaim where they cannot, the glorious gospel of freedom. Let us, as they cannot, strike at protection "where it lives"—in the idea that labor, instead of being the producer of all wealth, is a poor, weak, helpless thing that must be dependent on the benevolence of those who do no labor for a living; in the idea that there is not work enough to go round; in the idea that there is not room enough and employment enough in this wide, rich world for all the Creator has brought into it; in the idea that the interests of men and of nations are antagonistic, not harmonious; in the miserable national jealousies and hatreds that the oppressors of the masses utilize for the enslavement of the masses. Let us appeal to moral forces, to first perceptions, to the self evident truths proclaimed by Jefferson. Where they retain votes, we can make votes. Where they persuade that a scaling down of protection will do no harm, we shall emancipate the slaves of a degrading superstition and make of them free minded men—men who can be counted on, not merely for this election, but while life shall last, or till the end be reached.

This campaign gives us a great opportunity. Let us improve it to the limit of our ability. The discussion that now excites the public mind, and that during every week from now until election must still more excite it, leads directly to the questions it is our aim to raise, to the principles it is our mission to promulgate. Let us urge it on. In coming to the front and showing our colors in the van of the fray, we shall not merely bring many to our side, we shall lead others forward. The democratic party itself must follow us. For though in the lead of that party are many who could have no place in a party that really held to Jeffersonian principles, though in its ranks those principles have been well nigh forgotten, yet the instincts to which Jefferson appealed are as true in 1888 as they were in 1800. And the work of bringing back the democratic party to Jeffersonian principles has already commenced. Such men as Cleveland and Mills have already moved far, and as they find popular opinion in their own party supporting them will move farther still.

The protectionist campaign will probably burst into full activity on the arrival of the man who is expected to play Mayor of the Palace to the *roi faneau*, who by his grace was nominated at Chicago. We of New York propose to hold a big single tax Cleveland meeting as soon as the committee provided by the Monday night conference can make arrangements. This will open our campaign, and ought to be followed by such meetings, big or little, as our friends may be able to hold. But the great work to be done is not in meetings, but in the hand to hand work of personal effort. And the most important thing just now—that in which everyone can aid, is the enrollment of our friends.

While still talking of the necessity of education, and calling for funds for that purpose, General Master Workman Powderly is still as dumb as an oyster on the great issue on which every member of the Knights of Labor who votes at all must vote this year. In the *Journal of United Labor*, however, he does have something to say on the land question, and something that so far as it goes is good. A member of the order having asked for his views on the land question, Mr. Powderly replies by quoting from his message as mayor of Scranton in 1883, calling attention to the low rate at which unimproved lots are assessed as compared with improved lots, and recommending to members of the order that they look into this subject in their localities and have it remedied. And thus he goes on to illustrate and comment:

Squire Grabland saw a nice tract of land in a young and growing town; he had the means, and for \$500 purchased 100 lots as near to the center of the village as possible; he was bought to sell lots immediately after he made his purchase, but he refrained and held on to them until the town had grown up and manufacturing establishments began to locate in and around the place. Being near the heart of the town, these lots became very valuable, not because the land was any better,

but because labor had erected dwellings, stores and factories all around them and they became desirable. Five hundred dollars was the price which Mr. Grabland paid for the whole tract. One day Jacob Hardup made a contract with him for the purchase of one lot, on it he paid \$100 down and entered into an agreement to pay \$400, with interest, in four years. By this transaction Squire Grabland secured the same price for one lot as he gave for the hundred. On the hundred lots Squire Grabland paid taxes by the acre, and for the entire tract of land was assessed at the lowest valuation, so that his taxes on the land amounted to but \$20 a year; it being unimproved land it was not assessed for the same value which the acre placed upon it. At the end of a year Mr. Hardup had erected a neat little house on the center of his lot, had built a fence around it, and had moved his family into the house. The time came around to make his second payment to Squire Grabland, and with the \$100 he paid the interest on \$400, which, according to the legal rate of interest in Pennsylvania, is six per cent. In interest Mr. Hardup paid \$24, or \$4 more than the taxes paid by Mr. Grabland on 100 lots for the year. The assessor in making his rounds values Mr. Hardup's lot at \$600 because he has improved it by erecting a house on it; the house is valued at \$1,000, and Mr. Hardup is obliged to pay taxes on \$1,600 worth of property. When the assessor goes to Squire Grabland that old knave asks to have the taxes on the ninety-nine remaining lots reduced, on the plea that having sold one of them he should not be obliged to pay on so large an acreage as before, and accordingly his taxes are reduced 30 cents, and he pays but \$19.50 for that year.

Jacob Hardup's cousin, Samuel Workhard, wishing to locate near his kinsman, goes to Squire Grabland and makes terms to buy a lot. He is told that the lots are now worth \$700 apiece. On asking why the price went up he is informed that Mr. Hardup having built a nice house, and having otherwise improved his lot, it has enhanced the value of the surrounding property, and he cannot afford to take less than \$700 for so valuable a piece of land. Mr. Workhard pays \$300 down and enters into a contract to pay the remaining \$400 in four years, with interest, of course. Squire Grabland has in one year received in payment on two lots \$500, the full amount of his original investment, and is certain of \$700 more from Messrs. Hardup and Workhard, whose contracts call for that amount with interest.

The taxation on the remaining lots held by Squire Grabland is reduced still more when the assessor calls again, while that of the two men whose labor improved his land is increased, so that in addition to purchasing the two lots they are also paying the taxes on the remaining acres of Squire Grabland, whose cupidity has kept the most available lands in the town off the market, thus driving dwellers to the outskirts and impeding the progress and growth of the town by keeping stores and factories from locating near the center of trade, as they would have done if the law did not allow Squire Grabland to speculate in what the Almighty was kind enough to place under our feet for the use of the whole human family.

Call a town meeting and appoint a committee to go through your town and find out how many men are holding on to lots with a view to speculation; then go to the assessor's office and see if they are paying taxes according to the price they ask for their lots, and if they are not, insist on their doing so. Make every man who owns a lot pay taxes on it for its full value, the same as the poor or rich man does on his improved lot. If you do this, you will find that your taxes will be reduced in some instances over half, and in that way will you afford protection right at home, and the best of it is that you can do it yourselves without the aid of either of the grand old or new parties.

This is not Spencerism, Georgism or Powderlyism. It is better than all of them put together. It is equity. It is equal and exact justice. Try it.

This pointing out of the evils of the general practice of assessors in discriminating in favor of the owners of unimproved land would be worthy of all praise in Mayor Hewitt or Mayor Fittler, and it would be commendable in Mayor Powderly of Scranton addressing the common council of Scranton, and as to practical measures restricted to making the best of the law as it exists. And even coming from Mr. Powderly, who for some time has seen fit to ignore what he once declared was the greatest of all questions, it is a gratifying evidence that he feels the growth and pressure of the single tax idea. It will, moreover, do something toward turning attention in the direction in which alone any solution of the labor question can be hoped for. And for this we should be thankful.

But as an expression of the views of the Master Workman of the Knights of Labor on the land question it is altogether contemptible. It is certainly not Spencerism, or Georgism, or equity. If it is any of the four things that Mr. Powderly mentions, it is certainly Powderlyism—that is, trifling.

Compelled, as though against his will, to say something on the land question, Mr. Powderly ignores the essential to dwell upon the incidental. The heart of the great labor question is exposed in his illustration. The Grablands grow rich by appropriating as their own the value which the presence and work of the Hardups and Workhards collectively create, and in order to obtain this, to them, "unearned increment" of wealth, they seize and hold natural opportunities so that an artificial scarcity of the natural means of employment is produced and laborer forced to bid against laborer in an unnatural competition. But instead of pointing all this out; instead of showing the essential difference between property in land and property in the results of labor, and proposing what alone would secure justice and gain freedom—the taking by the community of the

value arising from the growth and improvement of the community and the leaving to the individual of the value which his productive exertion creates—Mr. Powderly has no better advice to the Hardups and Workhards than that they should see to it that the Grablands pay as much taxes on values which really belong to the public as they themselves pay on values their toil has created, and which therefore belong of right to them, entirely and exclusively. A pretty doing of equity, a pretty solution of the land question—that the mere appropriator shall be compelled to pay *quite as much* taxes on what he appropriates as the producer pays on what his labor brings forth.

No one can know better than Mr. Powderly ought to know that to advise the Hardups and Workhards, of whom the Knights of Labor are composed, to do merely this, is practically to advise—nothing.

So long as public opinion is not aroused to the essential distinction between property in land and property in the results of labor—so long as it does not realize that the value which attaches to a lot by reason of the growth and improvement of the community belongs of right to the community and ought to be taken in taxation for the use of the community, while the value which labor embodies in such a thing as a house belongs to the producer and ought not to be taxed at all—so long as our laws treat these two utterly different species of property as of the same kind and direct their equal taxation, it will be impossible for the Hardups and the Workhards to secure that equal taxation. Mr. Powderly might as well advise the catching of birds by sprinkling salt on their tails. The Grablands have wealth, power, leisure, and their interests in electing and controlling assessors are large and direct. The Hardups and the Workhards have their noses to the grindstone; their individual interests are small, and to the majority of them not direct. Thus it has been universal experience that the assessors favor the Grablands. And this must continue to be the universal experience until the masses wake up to the paramount importance of exempting from taxation all the products of labor and of taking for common purposes, by the taxation of land values alone, that common fund which of natural right belongs to the whole community.

There is no man in the United States who has had grander opportunities than Terence V. Powderly. There is no man who has given higher promise. Six years ago his address as general master workman of the great order of the Knights of Labor rang with the passionate declaration of the central truth. "In my opinion," he then said—

In my opinion, the main, all-absorbing question of the hour is the land question. And I allow this opportunity of expressing that opinion to the Knights of Labor of America to pass without taking advantage of it, I would prove myself false to my own convictions of right and justice. The eight hour law, the prohibition of child labor, and the currency question, are all of weighty moment to the toiler. But high up above them all stands the land question. Give me the land and you may frame as many eight hour laws as you please. Yet I can battle them all and render them null and void. Prohibit child labor if you will, but give me the land and your children will be my slaves. . . . Give me the land and I will absorb your wealth and render your legislation null and void.

And so he went on to teach that the land question was the heart of the labor question; to denounce individual ownership of land as monstrous; to assert the equal rights of all men to the use of land as derived direct from their Creator; to deny that any human being or any number of human beings could justly deprive the unborn child of its heritage in the use of natural opportunities; to declare that no honest man could fear the land question; and to exclaim:

Give heed to this land question; be not afraid of the taunts or jeers of our enemies; do not quail at the name of communism if it is applied to you, for it were better to be called a communist than to be a party to the plundering of a people of the inheritance ordained for them by God. . . . God hasten the day when the "greater felon" will be brought to justice! And may our organization be brave enough to shoulder its portion of the responsibility, and share in the glory of the achievement.

What a pitiable contrast between these brave words and what Mr. Powderly has to-day to say on the land question!

We who believed in Mr. Powderly in 1882, and who continued to believe in him for years after, have been waiting for him to redeem his promise, but with fainter and fainter hope, till now it has well nigh gone. He seems at last to have deliberately shirked the responsibility that was on him, and declined the glory of achievement that might have been his. He seems to have deliberately chosen to be a mouse rather than a man—an office holder of the Hardups and Workhards rather than their leader into freedom and plenty.

But in spite of their official leaders, the rank and file of the order are not ignoring vital questions. District assembly No. 163, Knights of Labor, whose jurisdiction extends over the important Pennsylvania district comprising Adams, Cumberland, Dauphin, Franklin, Lebanon, Lancaster, Perry and York counties, at its recent meeting held at Lancaster, adopted resolutions declaring that an economic question has been presented for decision at the polls, on which it would be criminal for workmen to remain in ignorance, and therefore asking all the local assemblies in the district to discuss the following propositions and report their decision upon them to the district assembly:

1. Should each subject of government contribute to its support in ratio to the benefits received and ability to pay?
2. Does increased cost of an article diminish demand and consumption, and also the means of purchase?
3. If the principle of protection is just, does it apply to state and individual as well as to the nation?
4. Should the golden rule or the law of reciprocity be practised in trade and commerce?
5. Is it a violation of natural right to prevent a person from disposing of the result of his labor, or the purchase of the labor of another, without being taxed?
6. Is it better to exchange products for those that can be produced cheaper than to produce them ourselves at a greater expense?
7. Do custom houses embarrass trade and furnish inducements to dishonesty, smuggling and bribery?
8. Does protection foster selfishness and bribe men to forsake principle for profit, to enrich the few at the expense of the many?
9. Does a country become wealthier when her imports exceed her exports?

It is easy to see to what these propositions lead.

The Ford committee of the house of representatives is still sitting in New York, inquiring into the question of immigration, and especially of contract immigration. But they have not touched the vital point of the whole matter—why it is that the man who comes here willing to work cannot find work without interfering with some one else; why it is that, with room for millions, a few more thousands cannot find places? Is labor indeed the source of all wealth? Why then should we not welcome labor?

Here is an item from the *New York Daily News*, one of a kind that is daily appearing:

Manuel Lopez was taken into custody and arraigned before Commissioner Shields today by Internal Revenue Officer Coleman, who found him in possession of three hundred unstamped cigars, which he was trying to dispose of on the Bowery. Lopez was committed in default of \$300 bail, and the cigars were confiscated.

Stripped of property that was justly his, and sent to prison for the exercise of a natural right, and that in a country that boasts of freedom!

Here is another item of the same kind from the *Herald*:

Among the passengers by the steamer Rotterdam, which arrived yesterday, was the Rev. J. V. Dundas of Rice county, Minnesota, who declared that he had no dutiable articles in his baggage. Customs Officer Schaeffer, however, found in his trunk a fine white India crepe shawl, embroidered in silk; a large quantity of men's underwear, ladies' underwear, a silk umbrella, an anorak, parcels of prayer books, towels, handkerchiefs, perfumery, and in a false bottom five thousand cigars packed in boxes snugly fitting to the trunk. The trunk was seized.

What is to be thought of laws which tempt even ministers of the gospel to take false oaths? The Rev. J. V. Dundas is a criminal in the eye of the law. What offense has he really committed in the sight of heaven? He bought this property, prayer books and all. He did not steal it. It was fully his, in the outward side of the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. Why was it not as fully his on the inward side? As for his false oath, suppose he had met a pirate who proposed to take half his property, and who to discover it compelled him to take an oath?

HENRY GEORGE.

They Will Crush It.

J. G. B. Erwin of Erwin, Ga., a manufacturer of steel cultivators, writes to THE STANDARD:

I believe in equal and exact justice to all classes and do not favor hasty or precipitate action that would tend to injure American manufacturing interests unless the protection barons refuse and obstruct such laws as the Mills bill, and in that event the masses may be goaded to strike at the root of this evil and crush it in a sweeping political change, the inevitable output of protectionists' folly, which they will deserve.

The True American System is Yet to Come.

Clinton, Ind., Saturday Argus.
One of the most brazen falsehoods ever placed upon the shoulders of the poor little types is the statement that the system of protection is an "American system." The truth is protection of labor is no more American than is the habit of eating. It is a heathen idea and originated in China, where it was carried to its natural and logical conclusion by the erection of a great stone wall around the country. The real American system still remains to be put into operation. The American system will be new, far advanced, humane, just and above all, Christian. It will be founded upon the rock of absolute justice. It will operate so as to leave to labor the full product of its industry. It will recognize and protect the highest and most sacred rights of property, instead of taking from the industrious producer and turning it over to the lazy and selfish. The American system will give labor freedom of access to raw material and freedom to exchange the product of its industry with whomsoever and for whatsoever it pleases.

Victory. All their demands were conceded by

Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 45 Elliott street,

were happy.

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CLEVELAND AND FREE
TRADE.SINGLE TAX MEN TO TAKE CONCERNED
ACTION.

A Conference of Representative Men at Cooper Union—Strong Speeches and Much Enthusiasm—A Committee of Nine Appointed to Direct a Single Tax Free Trade Campaign.

By a little after 8 o'clock last Monday night the upper meeting hall of Cooper Union was filled with single tax men of New York and its vicinity who met in response to the call issued in last week's STANDARD, to decide on a plan for active work in the present campaign. The meeting was a very enthusiastic one and remarkable for the earnestness and unanimity shown by those present.

Henry George opened the meeting. He said that it had been called in response to a strong feeling, one part of single tax men who were going to vote for Cleveland and Thurman that some plan should be devised by which they could best make their influence felt in the coming election. Since Grover Cleveland stands at least on the side of freedom, and the great political party he represents is going in the direction of the single tax, it is the duty of the single tax men to help his election. Mr. George concluded by nominating Louis F. Post for chairman of the meeting. Mr. Post was elected chairman, and Henry George, Jr. was elected secretary.

The meeting being declared open for business, W. T. Crossdale arose to present a set of resolutions in regard to the method of work to be pursued in the campaign. He said that his was not the only plan proposed; already the single tax men in one of the districts had organized for work as a branch of the Free Trade club, and the plan was advocated by others; but the more he thought of it the more he felt that the men who had been in the movement for the last two years as "George men" would prefer now to go into the campaign as single tax men, not as an organization, but simply by an enrollment of their names as single tax men who would vote for Cleveland and Thurman, in order to facilitate communication with each other and make it easier to do effective work. The resolutions he presented were as follows:

Whereas, Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, democratic candidates for president and vice-president, stand in the coming election against the degrading superstition of protection and on the side of greater freedom; therefore

Resolved, That we, advocates of the single tax on land values, whose aim is the perfect freedom of labor, hereby pledge our votes and efforts to assist in securing the success of the democratic national ticket.

Resolved, That we do not by this action constitute ourselves adherents of the democratic party or pledge ourselves in any way to the support of its candidates for state or municipal offices.

Resolved, That in order to secure concert of action during the present canvass the chairman of this meeting be requested to appoint a committee of nine (with power to add to their numbers) whose duty it shall be to procure the enrollment of single tax men who propose to vote for Cleveland and Thurman, to provide for the holding of public meetings and for the distribution of single tax free trade literature.

These resolutions were considered section by section, and a general discussion followed. Mr. Vanderpoort offered an amendment that the committee be enlarged to one member from each (New York) assembly district; Mr. Silberman wanted it to be composed of twenty-five members, but these amendments were finally withdrawn.

Mr. George said that, as Mr. Crossdale had remarked, there had been some talk among their friends as to the necessity of doing something in this campaign. They wanted to put the issue in a much more radical form than the democrats are doing, or are likely to do. (Applause.) They wanted once in a while to stand up and say something, and here and there at least a platform on which a man could stand and declare himself a free trader (applause); on which a man could stand and declare that he voted for Grover Cleveland because he wanted the tariff utterly abolished (applause), and because he wanted to go further and abolish every tax on every product of labor and take for the use of the whole community that fund which properly belonged to the community. (Applause.) Now it had been proposed by some friends that they acting simply in the capacity of free traders, should join hands with the men who had already organized a free trade club, and, as friends in Harlem have already done, form branches of that club, and saying nothing about the single tax, stand in this election as free traders, as Jeffersonian democrats, as men who saw in this movement the beginning of the great struggle for the emancipation of labor and the bringing back the republic to democratic principles. (Applause.) Mr. George said that he was not entirely clear as to whether this was the best course, or whether it would be better to form an organization as single tax men, letting such as wanted to (and he for one would do it) go into the Free Trade club also. The organization proposed in the resolutions of Mr. Crossdale was a simple kind of an organization, having simply a committee that could bring men together and take such steps as it might deem advantageous to take for effective work. The enrollment proposed was of this kind:

I authorize the enrollment of my name on the list of voters who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman in the coming election, on the ground that any step toward tariff reduction tends toward the abolition of all taxes on the products of labor, and the final transfer of such taxes to land values.

Address.

With such an organization, he said, they could bring men together and enable them to know each other, and give to this campaign something of a more radical aspect than it otherwise would have. (Great applause.)

In response to calls, Edward J. Shriver said that he had delayed speaking for two reasons—first, that he had wished to see what the sentiment of the majority of the men was; and, secondly, that he had a certain feeling of delicacy in appearing to solicit members for the Free Trade club, of the governing committee of which he was chairman. He favored the formation of a single tax organization, and also joining the Free Trade club. It was a very good thing to enroll men in favor of the election of Cleveland and Thurman; but work could best be conducted in the districts through the Free Trade club. He continued:

We here all believe, I take it, that our first step forward must be on the tariff issue. Now there are in the Free Trade club and elsewhere many hundreds and many thousands of men who do not go so far as we do. Some believe in absolute free trade and direct taxation; others again are even willing to lay all taxes on land values, but don't want to go to the confiscation point. (Laughter.) Now, here is an opportunity to go to this club and work with these men of this kind, and, as we single tax men have the truth on our side, the result must be that we will win over those others little by little to our way of thinking. Of course, the Free Trade club has dues of one dollar a year, but I don't think that will make much difference. It seems to

me we should resolve on this enrollment of names, and then I think as many as are willing should come into the Free Trade club for the purpose of organizing in the assembly districts for active campaign work. By this method we should get the advantage of being in an already established organization, and one which in this campaign at least is working for the same cause as we are. (Applause.)

Mr. Crossdale then said:

Before the resolutions are put I wish to say that one of the objects in having that committee which the resolutions call for appointed, is that it shall, as speedily as possible, secure some large hall, such as Cooper Union or the Academy of Music, according as we have more or less funds, for we are, as usual, poor (laughter), and hold a meeting to endorse and ratify the nomination of Cleveland and Thurman on the grounds on which we do endorse and ratify them. (Applause.) And what we will do in holding such a meeting will not be merely to show our approval of the stand they have taken, but to show to the democratic party, as a grand object lesson, one of the largest halls in New York filled with workmen shouting for free trade. (Great applause.)

I have no doubt that as the result of the campaign which we are about to enter, we can add to the vote of Cleveland and Thurman many thousands of votes in New York and New Jersey, and that this influence of single tax men will not be confined to this region, for we know that our friends in Indiana and Illinois are as anxious to take this action as we are. But, any accession of voters, any success for the ticket, will be but trivial compared with what we have done if we once force the issue and win the election of Grover Cleveland as the only candidate that dominates his party to-day. (Applause.) There is no one thing that can so surely help his election, or that can help the democratic party to the goal toward which all its traditions point, than the endorsement of the single tax. Men are waking up and preaching true democracy to the men who have gone back on their faith. (Applause.) I hope these resolutions will be adopted; but I have no objection to the plan of joining the Free Trade club. That, God, we are free traders, free traders, and we are not afraid to acknowledge it. (Great applause.) By adopting the resolutions we will not restrict ourselves from acting with other organizations. Let us take all the means we can to our campaign for free trade, direct taxation, and the concentration of all taxes on land values which the people create. (Applause.)

The chairman then put the resolutions, and they were carried unanimously.

Mr. Shriver offered the following:

Resolved, That this meeting urges all single tax men to join the Free Trade club for the purpose of securing for active political work in the congressional districts.

In discussing the resolution, Mr. Shriver said he thought local work could be best done in this way. He said, too, that the necessary money for literature, halls, etc., could be raised through the medium of the Free Trade club; that that club had a good strong platform, and had year by year been growing more radical, the majority of the executive committee to-day being in favor of absolute free trade and direct taxation.

Two gentlemen from Brooklyn suggested that it might be just as well for Brooklynites to join the Brooklyn Free Trade club, which was something like the Free Trade club.

Wm. McCabe suggested that the word "invited" be substituted for "urged." He said also that his experience was that men preferred the name "single tax." For present purposes he thought that a stronger name than the name of Free Trade club. (Applause.) There was a magnetism about the name of "single tax" that the name of "Free Trade" did not have. (Applause.) He believed the Free Trade club must have to accept of the single tax, and he thought the Free Trade club desired to do in the congressional districts was good work, but he thought the resolution should be simply in the form of an invitation to our people to join the organization.

A gentleman from the Twenty-sixth ward of Brooklyn said he was somewhat surprised to find that a large number of the men in his district had voted for Henry George last year, and containing now that the Syracuse platform contained not a word in reference to the single tax. (Laughter.) Nevertheless, he believed in the single tax himself, and as he could not get those others to join with him, he had organized a single tax association by himself and had issued challenges to any and everybody to debate with his organization. (Laughter.) He said he could convince people that to have one single tax in place of so many varieties of taxes would be a good thing, and it was not necessary to tell them what the single tax would be levied on. (Laughter.) They would find it out later. The speaker favored the name single tax.

A gentleman who said he represented an organization of six hundred men on Long Island, said that while they were all for the single tax, yet ninety per cent of them were afraid of free trade. (Laughter.)

Mr. George then rose and said:

I don't well see how this body can invite men to join the Free Trade club. This is not the Free Trade club. And don't know that the club has any right to go to us and urge them. But I think that all of us who can vote for the Free Trade club, and I rise simply to give my hearty support to the spirit of Mr. Shriver's motion. I think, wherever we can, we ought to support the free trade organizations. I recognize as a fact what the gentleman from Long Island has said about the fear of free trade which many workmen have. The democratic party has so long been so cowardly that to-day among great bodies of workmen the name of free trade is the subject of a bugaboo that the name abolitionist was to the slaves in the south before the war when they had been so long told that an abolitionist was everything that was bad that there could be more of his kind. And one of the great benefits that I expect from this campaign is the disabbing of workmen's minds of this impression. (Applause.) What we want to show them is that we have no objection to the policy that the emancipation of labor are free traders, and that the interests of the masses is always in freedom. (Applause.) Talk about the British flag and the British system! This thing "protection" is nothing but an old British flag. (Applause.) I am a free trader because I am an American. (Great applause.)

I am a free trader because I love the republic. (Applause.) And I am a free trader because I wish that the republic not merely that she shall be rich, but merely that she shall be great, but that she shall lead the world to freedom. (Applause.) I am an American, born under the shadow of Independence hall, and I am a free trader because I put my foot upon the misadventures that look upon the enmities and prejudices of race and creed. (Long continued applause.) An American citizen endorsing the single tax! (Laughter.) An American citizen talking about Great Britain! Overwhelming! (Laughter.) The industries of sixty million people only existing by virtue of custom houses, by grace of spies and informers and baggage searchers and seizures! (Laughter and applause.) It is time that we should popularize the name of free trade. (A voice.) That is right. Show your colors. I want to show my colors (applause), and last campaign, although this was not an issue, yet whenever there was a question asked from an audience, I proclaimed myself a free trader, a free trader absolute, whose aim was not a revenue tariff, but no tariff at all. (Applause.) And now when what I have waited for so long has come at last, now that this great contest that I have been hoping for and praying for for years is at hand, I want to go forth as a free trader. (Applause and voice.) (The speaker said that he had called free traders in this country who look

on us, or who have looked on us, with alarm, with contempt; who thought we were cranks, who thought we were communists; and who perhaps think so still; some who will fight us as soon as we get past the point to which we have come, and some who will fight us rather have our room than our company. (Applause.) I care nothing for that. The man who has begun this long march and wants to carry it on to the end will go to-day with those who are willing to go the day's journey, even if he has to fight them to-morrow. (Applause.) And so whenever we can we ought to get them to do our work for us. We will be doing our work in so far as they aid in breaking down protection. Therefore, I think we should go into the free trade clubs, or any other clubs, where we can forward the single tax movement. And now would I like to have it go forth that the sentiment of this meeting is that we should join the free trade organizations everywhere. (Applause.)

Mr. Shriver consented to change his resolution that he recommended single tax men to join the Free Trade club, and it was adopted, and referred to the committee to be appointed by the chairman. Blanks for enrollment were passed around and over 180 signatures obtained; and a collection amounting to \$50 cash, with pledges for \$1 more, was taken up. With a few cheers for Grover Cleveland the meeting adjourned.

Pursuant to the resolutions the chairman appointed the following committee:

William T. Crossdale, chairman.
Michael J. Murray.
August Lewis.
William H. Faulhaber.
Jerome O'Neill.
Edward J. Shriver.
Charles O'Connor Hennessey.
Benjamin Urner.
Thomas G. Shearman.

IN AND ABOUT BALTIMORE.

The Steel and Steel Company—Single Tax Cleveland Men Organizing.

BALTIMORE, Aug. 3.—To-day I visited a place called Steelton, about ten miles from Baltimore, on the Patuxent. This settlement is neither a village nor a town. It is an enterprise of the Pennsylvania steel company, whose headquarters are at Steelton, Pa. It has some remarkable similarities to an old time slave plantation. The company owns all the land and refuses to sell to any one. Like a benevolent Christian slaveholder of the ancient regime, it prevents the sale of liquor on the premises. It is composed of a number of its employees, assisting in the establishment of both a Catholic and a Protestant church. The houses of the employees are mere bunk rooms one story high. That there can be family life developed in such a way I cannot see. The company has a store where everything is sold. Of course these gentlemen who are managing this enterprise are pure philanthropists and would not overcharge their employees in any way, but they don't let anybody else start a store on their ground all the same. If the people want to buy elsewhere they have to go to Baltimore, ten miles away by steamer. The men are employed by the month and must give seven days notice before leaving.

This is one of our highly protected infant industries, and, as far as I know, is something of an anomaly about Baltimore, no company having heretofore attempted to control the commercial relation of their employees. It will be interesting to observe in the future whether this institution is productive of a greater increase or decrease in the poverty of its employees. To my mind it has the appearance of a state socialist settlement where the workers have no voice in the management of their affairs—all that trouble being taken off their shoulders by the benevolent "captains of industry"—for a consideration.

A movement is on foot to organize the single tax men of Baltimore who propose to support Mr. Cleveland, into a separate organization. All persons who desire to participate therein are requested to send their names and addresses to J. W. Jones, 125 North Bond street, as early as possible.

As an instance of the good effect of our present policy I would like to mention, this morning, in conversation with a well known democratic leader of this city, I was enabled to outline the single tax idea in a conversation of more than half an hour's duration. This man, less than two years ago, characterized Henry George as an enthusiast, totally impracticable in all his actions. Now his eyes and the eyes of other democrats are open to the fact that if they wish Mr. Cleveland to occupy the presidential chair for another term they will have to seek the aid and sympathy of the "George enthusiasts," otherwise they will get badly left.

W. N. HILL, M. D.

Gaining Ground in Toronto.

NEW FORT BARRACKS, TORONTO.—We are certainly gaining ground in this city and vicinity. Mr. A. C. Campbell last Sunday addressed a large audience in Queen's park from the band stand. He was given an attentive hearing from beginning to end although speakers before and after him were interrupted and annoyed. Sunday evenings the commonwealth club meet at Labor hall, Teumess street, and discuss the single tax. Last Sunday Mr. Banks of the World gave us a very interesting address, during the course of which he stated that he could get a house with modern conveniences, seven rooms, a large hall, fifteen minutes walk from the center of an English city of two hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants, with gas at 2s. 6d. per thousand cubic feet, for five dollars per month. He then asked his audience what sort of a house could be got in Toronto for such terms? Five dollars a month for such a house seems like a fairy dream to most of us. Such a house in Toronto would rent at at least twenty-five dollars.

The center of a poverty stricken society is considering the advisability of closing this winter to secure an exemption of \$500 on all house property. This in itself does not seem much but it introduces the idea.

ROBERT CARTWRIGHT.

The New York Single Tax Petition.

NEW YORK, Aug. 6.—Editor STANDARD: As I am in constant receipt of applications for single tax petitions from people outside of this state you would confer a favor by saying in your columns that I am prepared to supply the petitions for New York state only. As you are aware, one form of petition is not adapted to all the states. Some will require a constitutional amendment before their legislatures can apply the single tax principle in taxation and others will not. New York state does not always glad to send a copy of the petition prepared for this state to be used so far as applicable to their requirements.

BENJ. UNKER,

Clerk Single Tax League.

New Tell Us Why Men Can Earn More

Here Than Elsewhere as Their Own Employers.

Philadelphia Record.

It is not through the good will of the employers of labor in this country that wages are any better than they are elsewhere, but simply for the reason that men cannot be hired to work for less money than they can earn when they are their own employers.

FROM RING OF TEXAS.

The Work of the Petition—How It Opens the Way for the Full Truth.

HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 1.—In THE STANDARD of the 28th inst., you say that we seem disposed to think it a mistake to present other than the fiscal side of the single tax reform. This is not the case. What we do think, however, is that it is best to present the fiscal side first. By means of our single tax reform memorial, and the arguments which show the direct advantages of a fiscal character to result from this change in the system of taxation, we approach the great body of the people in a manner which always prevails and apprehension. Everyone sees at a glance that to exempt improvements on land and personal property from taxation does not mean a violent revolution. There is nothing to be ashamed about in that proposition. The press cannot misrepresent us by saying that we propose to confiscate the land and improvements on it, as Vice Chancellor Bird did. The mere statement of the proposed amendment will preclude them from doing that. It also appeals at once to the self interest of the great majority of people who hear about it. I fully agree with you, however, that nothing less than a full realization of the moral side of the question will arouse enthusiasm, and that the question will be appreciated when it will do little work for the cause with a tax reform petition or anything else. But as a matter of expediency only I claim that the fiscal side should generally be presented first. After half or two-thirds of the people in a community have signed a single tax petition the entire community will have learned that Henry George does not propose to divide up the land or confiscate land and improvements, or do anything else which need alarm the average citizen. Meanwhile interest in the subject has been excited. Here and there a thinking man has been led to the conclusion that the subject is ably elucidated in the regulation style in other interviews contained in the same article.

As to the labor employed in the fruit business, it is mostly Chinese labor, and the price of all is regulated by their competition, though some experiments have been made lately with negro labor brought from the south under contract.

The fact is, while we may attempt to keep the fiscal side to the front, we cannot help appealing in many cases to the listener's sense of justice, and this appeal is generally, as you say, more effective than the appeal to selfishness. I think, perhaps, the advantage we have found in result from presenting the fiscal side of the question first lies as much in the fact that it is the easiest way of teaching the truth as in anything else. It only takes a few words to show any man the absurdity of a system of taxation which encourages speculators to hold land in idleness and discourages capitalists from investing their wealth in enterprises giving employment to labor. This is the first lesson, and the result of it is to incline the listener to a favorable opinion of the single tax doctrine.

H. F. KING.

Will Governor Brown Explain?

MANITOU SPRINGS, Col.—THE STANDARD of July 21 contained an article with the above heading, wherein it is shown how Governor Brown of Georgia, in his message to the legislature of that state in 1886, showed how protectionism built up the great fortunes of a few in the north at the expense of the many, and that now the Governor says "the south ought to adopt the protective policy that enriches the north."

The correspondent who brings forward the quotations asks Governor Brown to explain this discrepancy in his position. I lived in Atlanta, Ga., in 1883 and 1884 and the explanation that was given among Governor Brown's neighbors was that he had become a large owner of iron mines and iron mills and lands in Alabama. He is a very wealthy man. He bought a great deal of that kind of property and as he sells iron and employs labor he wants iron high and labor low. So he wants the United States government to maintain a policy which will insure him these two considerations; and he knows well enough that the tariff will do this for him.

But this is not the only thing that can be said about Governor Brown. I have a grievance of my own against him. When I first went to Atlanta I was delighted to see the Atlanta Constitution, one of the ablest papers in the south, come out strongly in favor of free trade, and in a series of editorial articles which are clearness of reasoning and strength of statement, showing the fraud and deception in the claim that the tariff benefited the American people as a whole, equalled any newspaper articles I ever read.

But, behold! all at once, to the astonishment of everybody who took any interest in any economical subjects, these articles suddenly ceased, and in their place appeared arguments in favor of the tariff.

The favorite amusement of a number of the other newspapers in Georgia was to present in the columns a couple of articles from the Constitution, and print out what paper was for free trade and the other when it was in favor of a tariff on iron, etc.

The explanation of the change in policy that was current in Atlanta and repeated by Governor Brown's friends was that he had bought a controlling interest in the paper, and that he intended it should advocate tariff principles because he owned large holdings of iron mines and mills.

So we free traders in Georgia, instead of being able to read free trade literature in the Atlanta Constitution were compelled to read articles in favor of a tariff, all because Governor Brown had placed his grip on a portion of the earth containing iron. It is wonderful how a man's interest will sometimes change his principles.

THOMAS HUNT.

Why New Yorkers Pay Two Prices for Raisins.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 19.—As an illustration of the way in which the land question naturally and necessarily forces itself into the tariff discussion now going on, here are some extracts from an article published in the San Francisco Call, giving opinions of leading merchants interested in the fruit trade, favoring protection to this "infant industry."

They illustrate very clearly by whom the benefits of "protection to American labor" are absorbed.

Raisins from Malaga are laid down in New York at a price of eight cents per box, while it costs thirty-five cents per box to ship California raisins by rail from here to New York.

This extract doesn't apparently bear distinctly on the land question, but suggests to me this idea: Considering the claimed right and avowed policy of our principal railroad company, in the words of its president, to charge "all the traffic will bear," doesn't it altogether likely that this charge of thirty-five cents per box would "bear" a little reduction in case it becomes necessary in order to enable California raisin growers to compete with the foreign article?

But it does have a bearing on the land question also, for the railroad monopoly is founded on the right of exclusive use of a narrow strip of land located in the most advantageous position to give an easy grade and tap the most productive country between certain points. By taxing the right of way to its full

rental value—"all the traffic will bear"—we would get the benefits of the monopoly element, leaving to the railroads the fair profits of conducting a transportation business; more the more they taxed the shippers the more we would tax them.

But here is another extract, having a still more evident bearing:

Another fact bearing on this question: Raisin land in bearing is now worth, say \$500 per acre. The grower receives on an average four cents per pound for his raisins. Now if the duty is reduced say one-half cent a pound, and the grower has to stand it, as he will, it reduces his income just one-eighth, and consequently the value of his land in like ratio, or \$62.50 per acre. If the duty were abolished entirely and it were possible for the grower to continue, the value of his land would be reduced \$100 per acre or less, as the profit lies in the amount received for his raisins in excess of two to two and one-half cents per pound.

So here we see the effect of this whole monstrous system is according to their own showing, not the protection of labor, but of land owners—the increase of rental and consequent selling value of land; but in my opinion the benefits are divided between the owners of raisin land and the transportation monopoly in such proportions as they may be able to agree upon, the lion's share going to parts of the state where there is no railroad competition being taken by the railroad company. So it amounts to just this, that consumers in the east and all over the country, nine-tenths of whom belong practically to the "laboring classes," are to be plundered to the extent of the duty in order to boom the price of California land and add to the vast incomes of railroad "magnates."

The person quoted in the above extracts forgets to make the usual protectionist claim that protection, while enabling the producer to obtain better prices, actually cheapens the cost to the consumer. This is the principle of the subject is ably elucidated in the regulation style in other interviews contained in the same article.

As to the labor employed in the fruit business, it is mostly Chinese labor, and the price of all is regulated by their competition, though some experiments have been made lately with negro labor brought from the south under contract.

In the whole article the question is viewed by the fruit growers from the standpoint of producers and land owners—never from the standpoint of consumers. They look at the benefits they think they get from protection, not at the disadvantages which they know result from it.

The only real protection, the only protection that will protect everybody while wronging nobody, is protection from imposition, not from competition; from monopoly, not for monopoly; from robbery, not by robbery.

W. G. SELLERS.

In Southern California.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—It is quite evident the temperance people and the republicans do not agree as to who should be elected president. The temperance people had a rousing open air meeting here the other evening. One of the speakers said: "They say we helped knock out the republican party four years ago. I own it. We plead guilty and we are going to do it again this year. Do you know what G. O. P. means? It means 'Got off the perch.'"

I meet many people who say they voted for Blaine four years ago, but this year they will vote the democratic ticket, as the platform of that party represents their idea of national tariff question. There is a strong sentiment among the people throughout this district in favor of a modification of the revenue. They believe wool, lumber, coal, salt, steel and drugs ought to be admitted free of duty.

THE STANDARD is an excellent paper. Its circulation will make voters for Cleveland.

SUN SET.

PERSONAL.

The Northwestern Labor Review publishes a letter from Clarence Moeller to J. H. Gooch. Mr. Moeller, who until recently supported the ticket of the united labor party, now says: "The logic of events forces me reluctantly to come over to the position of Mr. George, which you have already done. While I have felt that any hope from the democrats was largely a matter of faith, still the vote on the wool question shows that their platform in line with Mr. Cleveland's policy of reduction of the present vexatious levy by placing raw material on the free list."

Word has just been received of the safe arrival in Ireland of Mr. Henry Ancehill, for a long time connected with THE STANDARD. During the passage over he was requested to explain the single tax doctrine to the passengers assembled in the cabin, which he did, and made several converts and started many more to thinking. Men gathered together in groups day after day during the remainder of the voyage to discuss the questions.

James M. Duncan, president of Typographical union No. 6, told Elder Thompson that he is going to vote the democratic national ticket this fall. He has always been a republican, but because of the Tribune trouble he voted for Cleveland in 1884. He says the protection doesn't appear to him to have done any good, and he is willing to give the free traders a chance.

John Swinton last week had an operation performed on his right eye by Dr. Born, the well known eye specialist, for cataract, from which he has been suffering since February. The crystalline lens was extracted. No test of the vision has yet been made, but it is believed that sight will be restored. Mr. Swinton is still confined to a darkened room in Dr. Knapp's eye and ear infirmary.

Samuel A. Boyd, manager of the Keystone watch club company, celebrated his birthday on Saturday last by taking his employees and some other friends on a coaching trip down to Coney Island. Arriving there they found that he had arranged for a fine dinner. When coffee had been served, speaking was begun by Mr. Boyd called upon William J. Gorschuch to explain the single tax doctrine, which Mr. Gorschuch did very eloquently, and started several men to thinking who had never thought seriously on the subject before.

TO SINGLE TAX CLEVELAND VOTERS.

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

I authorize the enrollment of my name on the list of voters who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman in the coming election, on the ground that any step toward tariff reduction tends toward the abolition of all taxes on the products of labor, and the final transfer of such taxes to land values.

NAME,.....

ADDRESS,.....

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

PEN, PASTE AND SCISSORS.

A white marble bust of Apollo, said to be of wonderful beauty, has just arrived in Constantinople from Smyrna, where it had been excavated along with a Juno and a Roman emperor. Connoisseurs say the Apollo is of the time of Praxiteles.

Russia imports annually 360,000,000 pounds of cotton, chiefly from America and Egypt, but it is believed that recent acquisitions of the czar in central Asia are excellently adapted for cotton raising, so that the already been grown at Khiva and Bokhara, and an extensive system of irrigation is being created to develop other land for this crop.

On July 9 the atmosphere in the English channel became so rarefied that objects could be seen with extraordinary distinctness at a distance of between thirty and forty miles from Dover and Folkestone. Nature says that the light house at Cape Grizet, Calais, and the dome of the cathedral, and Napoleon's column at Boulogne, could be distinctly seen with the naked eye, and every prominent object could be picked out along the French coast. The distance from Dover to Boulogne, as the crow flies is twenty-eight miles, and the column is about two miles further inland.

Mr. F. Lugin of Geneva has discovered a method of feeding young fish of the trout and salmon varieties. Great difficulty has hitherto been experienced in carrying the young fish through the first year of their existence, the artificial food not being sufficiently nutritious, and involving constant care and attention. Mr. Lugin's invention consists in a material which, when spread on the bottom of a tank, spontaneously produces myriads of minute organisms. When the tank is depleted of these organisms, another pasture is immediately prepared. The first tank, at the end of a few weeks, is again swarming with organic life.

The drastic censorship of the press in Russia is a curious story for Americans. We have most of us seen Russian newspapers with whole columns blurred out by the censor. Carlyle's histories of "Frederick the Great" and "The French Revolution" have not been admitted to circulation. The "Quakers" thing is to take the French and Russian editions of Rambaud's "History of Russia" (London, 1875) and compare them; no one would recognize them as the same work of art, as the celebrated Olga Novikoff once said to the present writer, "You know our peasants are not allowed to know that Peter III was murdered by the Empress Catharine." The whole thing was contained in that sentence. (Belford's Magazine.)

Kuhlow's of Berlin says that the time is quickly drawing near when Hamburg, Bremen, and other German ports will enter the Zollverein. The date fixed for the transition is October 1 of the present year, and the requisite measures are being busily pushed forward at all these places, as well as on the side of the customs department. It will be long before the inhabitants of the free ports get accustomed to the changed conditions, and it is only to be expected that the alteration will give rise to heart burning, but everybody recognizes the departure as an inevitable one. The fact of these cities coming under the tariff regulations of the empire instead of having the regulation of their own trade as heretofore has not stopped them from making extensive preparations for increased commerce.

It is proposed to have a national zoological park in the suburbs of Washington. The site selected is one of the best for such a purpose in the country. Through the center of the winds Rock creek, a most picturesque little stream, from the banks of which, on either side, rise a series of beautiful hills covered with fine timber. The area of the proposed park is about one hundred and twenty-one acres. About three-fourths of it is covered with forest, and although its length is only three-fourths of a mile, the course of the stream in passing through it is more than a mile and one-third. It is believed that the entire tract can be purchased for less than two hundred thousand dollars. The distance from the White house to the proposed entrance to the park is but a little more than two miles. If congress acts promptly in authorizing the establishment of a national zoological park, specimens of animals that have already become practically extinct, although they were numerous when America was first settled by Europeans, may yet be obtained, and the entire fauna of the country may be represented.

Plans have been completed, and funds subscribed for the holding of a national exposition of the cigar and tobacco industries at New York city

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is for sale by newdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 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.

MR. SHEARMAN ON THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The "platform of principles" adopted by the republican convention of 1888 is one of the most thoroughly unprincipled declarations ever made by any great party in any civilized country. Even in the worst days of public plunder no party ever before dared to go before the people on issues almost exclusively relating to the management of state or national finances, without a single word in favor of economy, prudence, honesty or integrity in the administration of the public funds, and demanding, on the contrary, a policy of unbounded expenditure and reckless extravagance for the sake of keeping up taxation. Yet this is what the great party, which owed its origin entirely to a great moral movement and appealed only to the conscience of the people, has now done. Not one word can be found in this platform which, directly or by implication, promises for its own party or demands from their opponents the slightest economy or even honesty in public expenditures. Such promises have doubtless often been hypocritical; but it is an evil omen for the republic when vice no longer deems it necessary to pay even the homage of hypocrisy to virtue.

The omission of all reference to economy, moreover, is not a mere accident. The whole spirit of this declaration is plainly opposed to economy. It demands national aid to state schools—in other words, the Blair bill, distributing \$70,000,000 among the states; a bounty to ship builders and ship owners, to make it worth their while to run empty ships to and from foreign parts after the merchandise, which would naturally fill the ships, has been excluded by a tariff still higher than that now existing; appropriations for rebuilding the navy; for fortifications against invisible enemies; for ordnance which will be as obsolete as wooden guns long before it can be used; for scratching creeks and harbors, and finally for pensioning every soldier without regard to his real needs or merits. After such clear and unequivocal declarations in favor of squandering the public moneys in every conceivable direction, it certainly would have required greater coolness in hypocrisy than even Joseph Surface possessed to say a word in favor of economy.

It is fit that such a platform should omit all those appeals to the honor and conscience of the American people, which were such striking features of all republican platforms during the first quarter century of its existence. This omission is conclusive proof either that the party now in power has conformed and may be trusted to conform to all that is required by the public conscience, or else that the republican party, which was founded upon moral ideas, no longer cares for such things. It is entirely fit that such a platform should ignore the past pledges of the party to an honest payment of the public debt and should condemn the refusal of the present administration to degrade the currency of the country by an unlimited issue of silver, which would of course instantly banish gold from circulation. It is equally fit that in a final desperation of fear lest all possible squandering of the public funds should fail to reduce the surplus, the platform should declare for free whisky rather than that the slightest reduction should be made upon the necessities of life.

Quite irrespective of the question of protection the new platform, as a whole, is the most wicked and conscienceless declaration ever made in the history of politics. It does not at all follow that the convention which adopted this platform, without a chance to read it, was composed of conscienceless or unprincipled men. On the contrary, it is altogether probable that it contained a larger proportion of conscientious and personally honorable men than the convention which met at St. Louis. It is quite probable that even the men who framed this platform in committee are personally upright and could safely be trusted with any amount of public money, without the slightest apprehension that they would ever misappropriate one dollar for their own use. I am sure that this is true of Mr. McKinley, the only member of the committee whose name I now know, and who is, of course, the chief author of the platform.

The fact that such good men can deliberately frame such a bad platform has a deeper meaning than appears upon the surface. They are driven to it by their fanatical devotion to the cause of "protection," which they now see cannot be

maintained on any other terms. Not one of them, in all probability, is really in favor of squandering the hard earned money of the people in the various ways which they recommend. Not half of them favor any one of the schemes which they unanimously indorse. Not one member from the eastern states approves of the silver clause or the river and harbor clause. Not one-fifth of the members from northern states are at heart in favor of free whisky. Yet none of them ventured to dissent, either in committee or in convention, from a policy of unlimited silver, unlimited extravagance and unlimited whisky.

There are, of course, many excellent men who sincerely believe that silver ought to be unlimited and that whisky ought not to be made a source of revenue to the government. That is no excuse for this platform. It is perfectly well known that the mass of the republican convention held no such belief, that at least one-third of its members heartily approved of everything which the present administration has done to restrict silver coinage (in which, indeed, it has simply followed the course of three republican administrations preceding it), and that more than two-thirds of them believed that the abolition of the tax on whisky would lead to a vast increase of drunkenness and would be a national calamity. Indeed, the language of the platform makes it perfectly clear that the convention regarded the repeal of the whisky tax as an evil. If it had considered this repeal a desirable thing in itself, it would have declared plainly for it. But, by mentioning it as a last resort, only to be adopted in case it should be absolutely necessary to avoid the least reduction of the protective tariff, the convention showed that it regarded such a repeal as a disaster, which, however, it was prepared to endure rather than to surrender the smallest shred of taxation for the profit of private individuals. And it is certain that the objection of the majority of republicans to the repeal of the whisky tax is based upon moral grounds. It is because this tax is the only method by which the federal government can restrain the use of whisky that they support it. Only by an amendment to the constitution, which is practically impossible, can the federal power prohibit or limit the sale of whisky otherwise than by taxing it.

The position of the republican party, then, is precisely the same as if a convention of professing Christians should resolve that, if it should become absolutely necessary, in order to enable them to make their usual profits in business, that atheism should be taught in the public schools, atheism should be taught accordingly. There are sincere atheists, of whom Mr. Ingersoll is an example. But who, more than he, would despise Christians who were willing to sell their faith for the sake of their profits? Just so, it does not relieve the republican party from the disgrace of selling its convictions on the temperance question for the sake of "protection," to show that there are a few sincere temperance fanatics who would rather that a million men should be made drunkards by free whisky than that any remedy short of total prohibition should be adopted.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits." The fruit of a hardened faith in protective tariffs is a readiness, upon the part of men naturally honest to abandon all their principles, to consent to acts which, in their judgment, repeatedly expressed, tend to corrupt the integrity and debauch the morals of the people, and to squander, without even a pretense of economy or caution the proceeds of taxes taken mainly from the poor, rather than to submit to the smallest reduction of the profits of protected owners of mines and factories. Since, by the admission of its own champions, the protective policy cannot be maintained without such infamous results, that policy must, in itself, be essentially wicked and corrupt. No severer condemnation has ever been passed upon the whole tariff system than that which is plainly implied in the republican platform of 1888.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Luzerne, Switzerland, July, 1888.

THE TARIFF AND THE SINGLE TAX.

The Chicago Labor Enquirer—Joseph R. Buchanan's paper—is throwing itself most heartily into the fight for free trade, declaring protection to be an encroachment upon the natural rights of man and the constitutional rights of the citizen, and that the settlement of the "labor problem" involves the extermination of these privileges that carry with them the taxing power.

Even supposing they are right as to their selfish interests, which it utterly denies, it compares "wage earners like those of the union labor party who protest against a reduction of the tariff," under the supposition that it advances their interests, to the slave overseers of slaves:

Their attitude in politics toward the labor of unprotected industries is identical with that of Sambo, the lash pier, toward the cotton pickers on Levee's plantation, even supposing they get advanced wages through the tariff. Then they get the advance as reward for the votes that enable the Levees of protection to tax the multitude at their will. So Sambo got cast off garments from his master for faithful service with his rawhide in the cotton field. What, at the year's end, had Sambo to show for that, more than his fellow slaves? A brutish nature that ailed him for selection as overseer more brutalized. What else?

With the men (now happily very few) who, while declaring themselves in favor of the single tax, propose to ignore the tariff as a "trivial" question, the Enquirer has as little patience. This, it says, amounts to the declaration that the removal of taxes from labor products is of prime im-

portance, but the removal of one-third of those taxes is "trivial."

Comment is hardly needed. Taxes on personality, improvements and internal federal taxes are direct, and afford no one a bounty except as they compel a larger capital with which to conduct business; but think of our tariff taxes:

Iron ore is worth a certain sum in England (say \$10 per ton for ease of calculation). The American mine owner must sell at \$10 or the American manufacturer will buy in England. Now place a duty of 50 per cent. on iron ore; the American manufacturer must pay \$10 to the English miner and \$5 to the government—making \$15. The American miner is now in competition with \$15, instead of \$10 ore, and of course raises his price, thus making his mine worth 50 per cent more than under free trade. Is it not true that the tariff operates to intensify the "unearned increment" the private appropriation of which is the disturber of the social equilibrium, according to the land reformers. Will not the same reasoning apply to sugar lands, lumber lands, copper lands, pure landlordism itself. The tariff is too "trivial" a question to be mentioned in the united labor platform, but such economically unsound propositions as opposition to convict labor are mentioned and indorsed, and are, therefore, considered of more importance than the tariff question. No wonder reformers are usually considered dreamers.

If there is any body of men who should use their utmost strength to aid and reform, by every means in their power, the tariff reform fight, one would think the single tax men would be "that body."

Continuing the iron mine illustration: Suppose we now remove the 50 per cent duty, do we not destroy one-third of the value of the American mine? Do we not thus make plain the fact that the private ownership of "real" values is the result of legislation? Is it not clear that this value is the result of the power to deny men access to natural opportunities, as the moment the tariff is removed a broader field is open to labor, and at once the value of the ownership declines? And will it not be easy to teach that the remaining value is the result of the same power, and thus open the way for the full and tenure reform?

In short, are we not at every stage in the tariff fight teaching the same economic ideas, the same social philosophy as is taught by the clear headed land reformer? Have we not, then, prepared the minds of the people for still broader truths? Have we not made an advance that makes our farther advance easier?

LITERARY PROPERTY.

The United States judges of the northern district of California—Field, Sawyer and Ogden—have rendered a decision respecting rights of property in unpublished manuscripts which strongly marks a tendency toward first principles.

That an author has an absolute natural right of property in his arrangement of words, and that this right continues and cannot be justly limited to a period of years, has been pointed out in these columns. The right was at one time recognized in English jurisprudence, and but for a thoughtless confusion of literary property with monopoly would be fully recognized now both in England and America. In the reign of Queen Anne a copyright statute was adopted which secured to authors for a term of years the sole right of publishing their works. "Thomson's Seasons" was copyrighted under this statute, and being published without authority after the expiration of the term, a suit was brought which was finally determined on the opinions of the judges in the house of lords. It being agreed that the author's right of property was absolute at common law, the question was whether the statute of Queen Anne had merely accorded additional protection for a period or had substituted a limited right for the absolute right. Some of the judges maintained that the common law right had not been abrogated; but others were of opinion that the statutory copyright was a substitute for that at common law, and therefore advised that all rights of property in "Thomson's Seasons" were at an end. And they were strongly influenced in arriving at this conclusion by the impression that copyright was a monopoly which parliament had intended to limit pursuant to the theory, then well established, that monopolies were contrary to public policy.

Following this adjudication it has ever since been held that an author's property in his published work can be secured only by statutory copyright; but it is also well settled that until an author publishes his work by distributing copies to the general public his common law right of property continues. This, however, is of little benefit to any but dramatic authors and lecturers, since others can make no profit without distributing copies of what they write. And it is chiefly in cases of dramatic compositions and lectures that the right of "first publication," as it is now called, has been established.

When foreign plays were in vogue here American managers bought rights of American representatives. Such plays could not be copyrighted because they were written by foreign authors, but the exclusive right of representation was protected by holding that the author, whether native or alien, had an unqualified property in his manuscript until he published it, and that until he did publish it no one could read it or represent it on the stage without his permission. It is a case of this kind that the California court has just decided. A firm of managers, Conreid & Goldmark, bought from the foreign author, "Nanon," in the United States. After their purchase the piano score was pub-

lished by the authors as alleged, and Joseph Kreling, the defendant in the suit, claiming that the score was common property by virtue of its authorized publication, arranged an orchestration from it. It was to enjoin him from producing the opera, thus prepared, that Conreid & Goldmark brought the suit.

Proceeding logically from the accepted theory as to common law right and copyright, already explained, Conreid & Goldmark were not entitled to their injunction. They had not bought the manuscript. If they had, its publication by the authors would have been in violation of their right as owners and of no more effect in dedicating it to public use than unauthorized publication by any other disinterested party. But what Conreid & Goldmark bought, and all they bought, was a license to put the manuscript to stage use in the United States—the right of first publication still remaining with the authors. This right of first publication the authors exercised, and when they did so, according to the current of decisions, the right was exhausted, the manuscript became common property, and any license to use it, such as Conreid & Goldmark's, merged in the broader rights of the public.

But the California court protected Conreid & Goldmark. It said: "They were the owners for America, and in possession of the manuscript before there was any publication of any part in Europe or America. The authors certainly could not have sold and conveyed any right to a third party to perform their opera in America so as to cut off the prior, exclusive right conveyed to Goldmark & Conreid. If they could not cut them off by subsequent sale, we do not see how they could do it by subsequent dedication to the public by publication. In our judgment, the defendants had no right to use the piano score, even if it had been published by the authors in Europe after the right of complainants had attached."

This decision proceeds upon the theory that the right of first publication in an unpublished manuscript may be parceled out so that dedication by an owner for one territory shall not destroy the property right of an owner for another territory. In other words, that the right of first publication may be in several people at the same time, and that its exercise by one shall affect only his property, leaving the others each for himself to make a second, third, fourth or fifth first publication at pleasure. That theory is inconsistent with the irrational doctrine that any authorized publication is dedicative, and if sustained, will go a long way toward overthrowing it and re-establishing the author's absolute property right in his arrangement of words, which is by nature as clear as the property right of a shoemaker in his arrangement of leather and thread.

A LAW BREAKER IN OFFICE.

The echoes of the letter carriers' congratulatory parade have scarcely died away, when Mr. Postmaster Pearson coolly announces that he intends, not indeed to set the eight hour law at defiance, but to obey it after such fashion that the letter carriers shall curse the day that ever it was enacted. "It is apparent," says Mr. Pearson in a statement he has issued to the public, "that the carriers made a great mistake. They saw fit to take the matter into their own hands, ignoring the responsible head of the service with whom all proposals for postal legislation properly originate; sent delegates from various cities to Washington, maintaining there as a lobby, and finally secured the passage of their bill. The embarrassment and disturbance it has caused, both here and at other cities, were foreseen; but we have honestly endeavored to make the best of the situation. In arranging schedules to meet its requirements the most laborious and careful study was necessary and was given to the matter, in order to give the carriers all possible consideration and at the same time furnish and maintain a good service. This could not be done without such an apportionment of the time which is covered by deliveries and collections as leaves the carriers with varying and irregular intervals between their tours of actual service, and the inevitable consequence is that many of them are worse off than before."

To say that many of the carriers "are worse off than they were before," is to put the matter very euphemistically indeed. Here is the story of a single branch office—Station F. It employs three carriers and two collectors, who spend their days as follows:

One carrier reports for duty at 6 a. m. and works continuously till 9.15 a. m. Then he takes a "swing" of nearly seven hours, returning to duty at 4 p. m. and working till 8.45.

The second carrier works from 6.15 a. m. to 11 a. m., when he "swings" to noon; works from noon to 2.15 p. m., "swings" to 5.45 p. m., and finishes his day at 6.45 p. m.

The third carrier begins the day at 7.15 a. m., works till noon, "swings" to 3 p. m., works till 5.15 p. m., "swings" to 7.30 p. m. and works till 8.30 p. m.

The first collector works from 5.15 a. m. to 6.15 a. m., "swings" to 7.15 a. m., works till 10.15 a. m., "swings" to 3.15 p. m. and works till 7.15 p. m.

The second collector works from 10 a. m. till 3 p. m.; "swings" to 8.40 p. m. and works till 11.40 p. m.

Bear in mind that these men, if they want to visit their homes during their "swings," must travel to and fro in their own time; remember, also, that besides their regular daily duty it is exacted of them that they should hunt up obscure addresses, and enter and forward removals, using their own time for the work,

if necessary, and it is pretty evident that if they are not "worse off than before," their previous condition must have been bad indeed. To say that they are in any way getting the benefit of an eight hour law is to insult them with stones for bread.

Mr. Pearson apparently thinks it his paramount duty to make a certain number of letter deliveries daily; and proposes to obey the spirit of the eight hour law only as far as can conveniently be done without neglecting the more important duty. What he should do is directly the reverse. It were better that the deliveries should be cut down to any extent than that any citizen should be deprived of any jot or tittle of his legal rights. The intent of the law clearly and unmistakably is that the letter carriers shall work eight hours daily, and no more. That law was made for Mr. Pearson's government; and his first duty is to obey it. He should arrange his delivery system as best he can without breaking the law; and if he finds that an extra force of carriers is needed for the full efficiency of the system, the remedy is in an application to congress.

But the fact is that there is no difficulty in arranging a perfectly satisfactory system of letter delivery, and at the same time observing both the letter and the spirit of the law. It is being done in Philadelphia; it is being done in Brooklyn, and other cities. And what is being done elsewhere can be done here. It is only the desire to do that is wanting.

And it is remarkable that Mr. Pearson's anxiety for efficiency by no means extends to every department of the office under his control. He prefers to flagrantly defy the spirit of a statute rather than permit the slightest delay in the delivery of a letter. But it happens, not occasionally, but week after week, that THE STANDARD, mailed in New York on Wednesday afternoon, does not reach towns twenty miles distant by trunk railways until Friday or Saturday. Unless Mr. Pearson is guilty of discriminating against THE STANDARD, what happens in the case of all other papers must also happen in the case of all others; and an important function of the post office is thus neglected, apparently with no better excuse than that the neglect is not apt to excite attention. Mr. Pearson is less anxious to be a good postmaster than to seem a good postmaster, and the rights of the letter carriers are sacrificed to his seeming.

Mr. Pearson would be a good man to dismiss. A flagrant law breaker has no business at the head of a great public office. Or if President Cleveland should find it necessary to retain him in the public service, as a concession to the Evening Post, we respectfully suggest that he be transferred to Brooklyn or Philadelphia, where the problem that he finds insoluble has already been solved, and that Mr. Harry or Mr. Hendricks be given his position here.

WORKINGMEN SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

The single tax men of Indianapolis turned the tables neatly on the protectionists last Thursday. It had become apparent to the protectionist managers that the workmen of Indiana were not to be misled by the lies and sophistries of protection, and these managers attempted to make a decoy duck of ex-Governor Porter, a man of great popularity with Indiana workmen, by nominating him for governor. To help along this purpose they called a workmen's mass meeting in the state house yard to consider the propriety of urging ex-Governor Porter to become a candidate for governor. If this meeting had gone smoothly the telegraph would no doubt have carried the news in all directions that the workmen of Indianapolis had declared for Porter and Harrison. But the meeting did not go smoothly according to the notions of the schemers who called it, though it went smoothly enough according to the views of the meeting itself. The organized laborers of Indiana turned out in large numbers, and after electing for chairman L. P. Custer, who is well known to STANDARD readers as an energetic single tax advocate, adopted the following resolutions:

Under a call from the political friends of Benjamin Harrison, published in the daily papers of Indianapolis, for a mass meeting of laboring men for the purpose of considering the propriety of urging ex-Governor A. G. Reilly to become a candidate for governor of the republican party of Indiana, and to give an honest expression of their feelings upon that subject: Now, therefore, we, a popular gathering of workmen, representing the several industries of the city of Indianapolis, irrespective of party, here assembled, declare

First—We are unalterably opposed to the election of Benjamin Harrison to the presidency of the United States, because his life and official record fully demonstrate that he is blindly wedded to the corporate powers of the country, and has no proper regard for the interests of labor.

Second—That we are not to be longer deceived by a system of extortionate "war taxation," although denominated "protection," which demands tribute from the millions of wage workers for the benefit of the wealthy trusts and combines.

Third—That we demand cheaper necessities of life, a wider market for our products, and that the American home shall not be transformed into a grog shop and our people debauched by cheap whisky.

Fourth—That to become a candidate on the republican state ticket is to adopt Benjamin Harrison's record and the platform on which he stands, and we now pledge our votes and influence in opposition both to said candidate and platform, and likewise to any person who shall espouse them. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we sincerely advise Albert G. Porter, who has heretofore evinced a spirit of friendship toward the workingmen of Indiana, that he shall not, at this late day in his life, place himself in an attitude of hostility to their interest or lend himself to his personal enemies, who would thus use him in an hour of dire extremity for their own

selfish purposes, and bring upon his own head final humiliation and defeat.

After the adoption of the resolutions a committee of ninety-five men who had never voted any but a republican ticket, with Mr. Custer at their head, was appointed to wait upon ex-Governor Porter and present the resolutions to him.

That stanch protection organ, the Philadelphia Press, denounces the callers of this meeting as "meddlers," and admits that the meeting "pretty effectually ended the talk of Porter, at least for the time being." As the Press states in the same article that until the meeting "there was no doubt in the minds of any one that Porter would be nominated, and that when nominated he would accept," the single tax men of Indianapolis may congratulate themselves.

The Indiana state federation of trades has also, in spite of the efforts of the republican managers, adopted resolutions denouncing Gen. Harrison's candidacy, and calling on workmen in that and other states to vote against him.

The Philadelphia Record has been making investigations into the condition of "protected American labor" in the Wyoming coal fields of Pennsylvania. It finds that there are 3,000 Hungarians and Poles, and 1,500 or 2,000 Italians in the valley—about one-third of the entire number of laborers. Last year 2,000 Hungarians and Poles came into the region directly from Castle garden. To show that this influx of population consists largely of imported laborers, the Record publishes the statement of a member of the coal pool, who stated that in 1887 the coal operators of the anthracite region, after consultation, decided that in order to keep the labor in the coal fields in subject it was necessary to do two things; first, to make twice as many coal openings as were necessary to supply the demand, and second, to get a supply of cheap foreign labor large enough to overstock the region, so that when any trouble should arise there would be plenty of surplus labor on hand, and if a strike should occur at one point the supply of coal could be kept up at another point.

The result of this policy has already been to reduce wages 25 per cent and to crowd into houses owned by the operators and formerly occupied by one family, as many as thirty or forty Hungarians, each paying \$1 a month for lodging.

That free trade would do away with this infamous condition is not pretended. Nothing short of the single tax upon land values, which would make labor free, will do that. But free trade would meliorate the condition of the miner and it is the falsest kind of pretense to claim that tariff duties is of the slightest benefit to him.

The Press has discovered another mare's nest. This time it is in the manufacture of labels. Hinds, Ketcham & Co., label manufacturers of Brooklyn, E. D., find that they cannot manufacture labels for canned salmon for less than \$1.35 per thousand, but a German house offers such labels for 84 cents a thousand. The tariff is 25 per cent, which enables the German house to deliver their labels in New York for about \$1.05, and the senior member of the Brooklyn firm says that if the tariff on labels were taken off "he would have to pay his laborers starvation wages or shut down altogether." Taking his own figures there is nothing mysterious about his conclusion; but what is mysterious about the whole affair is why he doesn't have to shut down now. How can he compete with a house that delivers labels here for \$1.05 when he is compelled to charge \$1.35.

Mr. Hinds says that "these facts show a condition of affairs that he would like to see the free traders explain." We frankly admit that free traders cannot explain how Mr. Hinds gets \$1.35 a thousand for labels when the same goods can be bought in the same market for \$1.05. Can Mr. Hinds explain it?

If he can he might, while he is about it, also explain what effect it would have on his business if there were no protective duty on paper and the machinery and materials entering into the manufacture of paper, on inks and the machinery and materials entering into their manufacture, and on his own machinery and materials other than paper and inks. Although some of these things are not protected, yet many of them are, and with a proper schedule before them his workmen might be able to figure out how much he would have to cut down their wages if free trade were established.

And inasmuch as he says that he "employs several hundred laborers and pays fair wages," will he kindly state how much higher wages he pays than he is compelled to pay, and whether he would pay higher or lower wages if an embargo were laid on the importation of labels.

The Recorder of Americas, Ga., wants some inventive genius to discover a method by which the latent force that is wrapped up in street loafers can be made active, and thinks he could make a pile of money and fame that would carry his name to posterity as one of the great of earth. But nothing is said about the good it would do the street loafers, because, perhaps, it is obvious that so far at least as getting a living is concerned it wouldn't do them any good. That latent force, like every other latent force when released, would be applied to the raising of land values.

There is a method, however, by which the latent force wrapped up in street

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loafers can be made active and at the same time secure to the "loafers" themselves all the benefit of its activity. The principle reason why it is not active is because the "loafers" cannot get anything to do without begging for it as a privilege, and they are so far philosophers that they do not regard the privilege as one worth begging for. If they are to beg at all, they prefer to beg for the products of work instead of the privilege of working, deeming it quite as profitable and not so irksome. But if land values were taxed to the full, so that public expenses could be met from the public fund that is now devoted to private uses, and business be relieved of all burdens, all land that had no present rental value would be in common, and any one could put it to use. Such a condition would make industry the only source of wealth, and so stimulate enterprise that men, instead of begging for work to do, would be begged of to do work at rates of wages which would secure to them the products of their labor. That this would be the effect is proved by the fact that when opportunities to work are very scarce there are plenty of tramps, but when it is comparatively plentiful the tramps are few.

Before the American revolution, the colonists had made such progress in iron manufacture that they were exporting both pig and bar iron to England. England was then a high protective country, and for the benefit of her iron manufacturers a colonial export duty was imposed on American iron. The duty was subsequently repealed, but in the face of a perfect storm of opposition from the English iron manufacturers, who whined, much after the fashion of our protected monopolists of to-day, that if they had to compete with American makers of iron they would be ruined, the English and Welsh furnaces would have to be closed, and "a great number of families reduced to beggary." Since those days we have become a protective country, while England has become a free trade country, and now it is our manufacturers who want to keep English iron out of our market, instead of English manufacturers wanting, as then, to keep American iron out of their market. Is not the inference obvious?

Frank Hurd's zeal got ahead of his discretion when in his recent article on tariff reform in *Belford's Magazine* he said:

You may reduce as much as you please the taxes on whisky, and tobacco, and I will have to pay just as much for the cigar which I buy from the tobacconist, or for the glass of whisky I buy at the bar.

If the tax on tobacco and the tax on whisky do not enhance prices to the consumer then it must also be true that the tax on wool and the tax on lumber do not, and indirect taxation does, indeed, afford a means for making governments rich without making the people poor.

The Nashville American (Dem.), which was much disturbed by Judge Reid's announcement that he, as a single tax man, would support Cleveland and Thurman, is still more disturbed by Judge Reid's speech. It says:

The speech of Judge Reid, the main points of which we published yesterday morning, fully confirms the view we took of his change when it was announced. Now that Judge Reid's position is fully stated, in favor of taxing land up to its rental value, in order to take the Henry George idea, the democrats who were so ready to rejoice over his conversion had better take time by the forelock and overrule their hasty decision.

If Judge Reid had not announced his purpose to support Mr. Cleveland because he thought that was the road to his desired destiny, the handshaking when he came over would have been all right.

A proposition to do away with impost duties and rely for revenue alone on a land tax—a land tax equal to the rental value—is simply communism, as we see it. Our dispatches from Washington a few days ago gave us to understand that there were thirty members of congress who had accepted this Henry George theory.

Judge Reid is a brilliant man and is going to press this doctrine. We hope he will not do it as a democrat. The democratic party is by no means communistic. The disturbance of rights is not in the democratic creed. The fundamental doctrine of the democratic party is that every man shall be protected in his liberty and his property. This doctrine of collecting all the revenue by a land tax equal to the rental value could not be enforced by the United States army. It is the wildest communism, and it is to be regretted that Henry George and his followers are trying on to Mr. Cleveland.

The Western Watchman of Eureka, California, undertakes to refute the assertion of the Anata Union that in every state where there has been effective temperance legislation it has been secured by the republican party in the face of the most persistent democratic opposition. First gently chiding the Union man as "a bacchanalian editor" who has been taking "post graduate courses in the Sagurac lying club," it opens a ledger account with the two old parties, crediting each with the states which have adopted prohibitory legislation while under their control and debiting them with the states which, while under their control, have discarded it. The accounts foot up as follows:

DEMOCRATIC SUMMARY.	
Cr.—By prohibitory enactments in 11 states (duplicated in 2)	11
Dr.—By repealing prohibition in 4 states and changing law in Texas	5
Balance to credit of party	5
REPUBLICAN SUMMARY.	
Cr.—By prohibitory enactments in 10 states (duplicated in 2)	10
Dr.—By repealing prohibition in 10 states (duplicated in 2)	10
Balance to credit of party	0

Henry G. Hubbard, who sent the president a pair of suspenders and an announcement that he, the manufacturer thereof, was not afraid of the Mills bill, is said by the Middle-

town, Conn.; Herald to have reduced the wages of the employees of the Russell manufacturing company every year since 1867, without reducing dividends a single time. The Herald adds that his employees are now ground down to the English wage standard. No wonder he is not afraid of the Mills bill. He would reduce wages still further if necessary.

We clip the above from the Press, and respectfully ask if the employees of the Russell manufacturing company have not had the benefit of the protective tariff since 1867? Also, if the said employees are already ground down to the "English wage standard," wouldn't it be an act of mercy to give their wages the English purchasing power? And, by the way, is it only when a manufacturer isn't "afraid of the Mills bill" that he acquires the power to oppress his workmen?

There is a strong movement among the Minnesota democrats to nominate for governor Albert Scheffer, who has been spoken of for the republican candidacy and who is a strong tariff reformer. This would be wise. There are now but two real parties in the country—the protection and anti-protectionist parties.

That stanch single tax paper, the Houston Labor Echo, has dropped the word labor and become the Houston Echo. It does this, as it explains—

For the simple reason that the word "Labor" always arouses not only bitter opposition from narrow-minded bigots, but because it induces the impression even with intelligent people that the reforms demanded by the working classes would be narrow in their operation and result in injury to every class save the wage workers, when in reality they are of vital importance to and would benefit every class save the monopolists.

The Press remarks: The Post is having lots of fun over the republican welcome to Blaine. Bless you, esteemed contemporary, Harrison can stand it. A fruitful tree is not jealous of the admiration paid to a gorgeous rosebush.

Is Mr. Blaine the rosebush?—or, is he the fruitful tree?

"Our 60,000,000 people," said General Harrison at Indianapolis, "are the best buyers in the world." And so the general puts himself at the head of the men who refuse to let them buy.

NOTES FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

H. Martin Williams, writing from St. Louis, says there are abundant indications that the two great parties, in the tariff discussion, are doing our work for us, and that "our cause will receive such an impetus during this campaign that it will assume the proportions of a tidal wave in a twelve-month."

Henry Ash, Minneapolis, Minn.—Please correct a few errors in a letter in your issue of July 25, signed Hamlin Garland. The president of the anti-poverty society is C. J. Buell, the vice-president is Henry Ash, the secretary, Mrs. Florence Sears (and not O. F. Erickson or Mr. M. Daniels as reported), treasurer, Mr. Gooch.

William T. Green of Toronto writes to say that the single tax men of that city propose to have a bill exempting dwellings from taxation to the amount of \$600, introduced at the next session of the legislature. This would be a good move, as it would bring up the question of why all dwellings, and in fact all products of labor, should not be exempt from taxation.

A. Hilton, Alexandria, La.—While passing a grocery store a few days ago I was attracted by a conversation between an Irishman and a negro on the tariff question. I heard the negro say: "I wish they would take the tariff off the land. If they would reduce the rent of land that brings, say, \$4.50 or \$5 per acre to \$2 or \$2.50 per acre they would interest me."

William H. Voose, writing from Indianapolis, says that he finds everywhere he goes evidences of the wisdom of the policy pursued by single tax men in supporting Cleveland, and believes that should Cleveland win there will be an advance all along the democratic line to the single tax idea. He adds: "I am running a two hundred acre farm eight miles south of this city, upon which I am putting many improvements, and am bringing it up to a much higher state of cultivation, and for so doing my tax line will be increased. After the present campaign is over it will be an easy matter to show working farmers the injustice of taxing their improvements."

J. G. Malcolm, Hutchinson, Kansas.—As one who has worked almost daily and to the best of my ability for about seven years for the single tax upon land values, I wish to say that the hope of personal gain has not been thought of. How often we risk our lives to save others who are in danger! We do not stop to think of remuneration. The abolitionists were of the same mind. The impelling force is the hope of bettering the condition of humanity. We see so much injustice, so much wretchedness, misery and crime, caused by depriving a large portion of the people of their natural rights that we cannot cease to work until these evils are abolished. I know that I lose friends and make enemies by working for what I believe is right, but yet I cannot cease to work. I would not work another day for this cause if I could see nothing but personal gain in it; for I believe I can do fully as well with things as they are. But this is a great moral question and it is a moral duty for every man to work for what he believes is right and just.

Sol Levy, New York.—The Press in a recent issue said: "Great Britain is trying to conquer America this time with golden bullets. Americans will answer them with red, white and blue ballots." I have no special love for the British. I am prejudiced against no race, but I cannot succeed in cultivating admiration for their policy. It smacks too much of greed, gain and selfishness. It reminds me too much of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Of late, however, according to protectionists' statements, I lose friends and make enemies by working for what I believe is right, but yet I cannot cease to work. I would not work another day for this cause if I could see nothing but personal gain in it; for I believe I can do fully as well with things as they are. But this is a great moral question and it is a moral duty for every man to work for what he believes is right and just.

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MEN AND THINGS.

Though there are no signs of Edison's latest invention being placed at the service of the general public, yet the phonograph has commenced its career. The first of the little cylinders, scored with the sound waves of human speech, has crossed the Atlantic and delivered its message. This is what it said to its English auditors, in the voice of the Rev. Dr. Powers of Hudson, New York:

I seize the palpitating air. I heard Music and speech. All lips that breathe are mine. I speak, and the invisible word Authenticates its origin and sign.

I am a tomb, a paradise, a throne: An angel, prophet, slave, immortal friend. My living records, in their native tone, Convict the knave, and disputations end.

In me are souls embalmed. I am an ear Flawless as truth, and truth's own tongue am I.

I am a resurrection: men may hear The quick and dead converse, as I reply.

Hail English shores and homes and marts of peace! New trophies, Goudard, yet are to be won. May sweetness, light, and brotherhood increase—

I am 'the latest born of Edison.

Mr. Barrett, the manager of the Peas' soap corporation, made a statement lately of his advertising expenses. It appears that he pays out yearly \$55,000 in Great Britain, \$15,000 on the continent of Europe, and \$30,000 in the United States. It would be interesting to be told how much of this last named sum is received by journals who are constantly warning their readers to be on their guard against the teachings of newspapers subsidized by British gold.

A recent experience of the British post office illustrates the tendency of trade to flow along the line of least resistance, in defiance of national boundaries and prejudices. The postage on newspapers from England to India is much heavier than from France. The effect has been, it is now discovered, to induce a large firm of newspaper dealers to send all the papers for their East Indian subscribers over to France and mail them there. The firm saved something like \$1,000 a year, and the British post office, of course, lost a much larger sum. The best part of the story, however, is not told officially, but only whispered by the tongue of rumor. It is said that the "large firm of newspaper dealers" is no other than W. H. Smith & Son, whose head is a leading member of the British cabinet.

Justice is sharp and swift in England, and the way of the transgressor is hard indeed. A boy near the village of Dronfield, out for a holiday, wickedly stole a minnow from a brook, with the aid of a hook and line and worm. For the striking of this blow at the foundations of society the worthy magistrate fined him twenty shillings, which, of course, he couldn't pay. So as the next best way of atoning for his crime he went to prison, and there he is.

The English landlords fight hard, and so far fight successfully; but it is a matter for congratulation that they are obliged to fight at all. In the debate on the new local government bill an amendment was offered providing that owners of houses built on leased lands should be allowed to charge one-half their taxes against the land owners from whom they rented. The amendment was defeated; but the tory government's reason for refusing to accept it was significant. The question of the land owners' position, they asserted, was too large a one to be dealt with otherwise than in a separate bill.

The Sioux Indians still stubbornly refuse to consent to the sale of their reservation land in Dakota; and it is a curious commentary on their experience in past dealings with the whites that they are unwilling to affix their marks to a paper of any kind, even to one which expresses their rejection of the proposed treaty.

Whether twenty odd thousand Indians really need 22,000,000 acres to live on or not, is a question as to which there may easily be two opinions. But one thing is absolutely certain: The territory of Dakota has no need of any of the reservation land. She has land enough, and to spare, for fifty times her present population. And if settlers find a scarcity of desirable locations it would be far more proper to insist that white monopolists should surrender the acres they will neither use themselves nor allow others to use, than to endeavor to rob the Indians of lands whose possession has been solemnly guaranteed to them by treaty.

Once in a while an advertisement tells the truth. Here is an extract from a "reading notice" of a sale of vacant lots at Edgewater, on Staten island, which contains as much truth to the thousand as Euclid's Elements:

"Watching the career of many men," said Erasmus Wiman, "as it is my business to do, the conviction has grown upon me that there has been more money made in real estate than in any other single article of barter and sale. There is something very tempting in a real estate venture, especially when one considers the enormous innate value of land in and about large centers of population, which increases in value in the most startling manner, without the slightest effort on the part of the owners, save and except the payment of the tax. In the fable, King Midas, with his mere touch, turned everything into gold. On Manhattan island the Astors, the Goets, the Livingstones, the Gebbards and a score of other great families have gained wealth beyond the dreams of avarice by the simple possession of barren, rocky soil, unfit even to grow grass, in the upper portion of New York city."

The workmen's meeting at Indianapolis on Aug. 2 was considerable of a surprise to the protectionist managers. The programme was that the meeting should pass resolutions praying for protection to American labor, and denouncing everybody who should venture to say that an American citizen can be trusted to go to market without a string tied to him. Unfortunately, however, the workmen

proved restive, and passed the following resolutions, among others:

That we are not to be longer deceived by a system of extortionate "war taxation," although denominated "protection," which demands tribute from the millions of wage workers for the benefit of the wealthy trusts and combines.

That we demand cheaper necessities of life, a wider market for our products, and that the American home shall not be transformed into a grog shop and our people debauched by cheap whisky.

Apparently the American workman needs to be protected, not only when he goes to buy anything, but when he attends a public meeting as well. If this spirit of insubordination spreads, goodness only knows what may happen.

The Standard oil company's new pipe line from Lima, Ohio, to Chicago is completed, and will begin transporting oil within a few days. Chicago manufacturers, who are paying trust prices for coal, seem to have indulged the hope that the new pipe line would enable them at least to threaten that they would abandon coal and use crude oil for fuel. But corbies don't pick out corbises' e'en in any such way as that. The Standard oil company, it is announced, will only sell crude petroleum for fuel to the rolling mills—and the rolling mills own and work their own coal mines.

The senate committee on appropriations has before it an amendment to the general deficiency bill, providing for the payment by the secretary of the treasury to the United States and Congo navigation company, of \$100 for every colored man who may desire to emigrate to Africa by the company's steamers. If the amendment should be adopted, colored citizens visiting Africa will be provided free transportation, while colored citizens desiring merely to visit some part of their native country will have to pay their fares.

This overpopulated country of ours is not the only one that finds itself embarrassed by the advent of foreigners who ask for work when there is no work to give them. Canada has the same trouble. Dispatches from Toronto announce that gangs of Italian laborers are arriving there from all quarters and taxing the resources of the Italian society and other charitable organizations to feed them. The Italian consul at Toronto announces that he has made such representations to the Italian government as will secure the fitting punishment of the wretches who have been telling Italians that Canada would allow them to go to work.

The prohibitionists of Connecticut held their state convention at Hartford Aug. 1. The platform adopted affirms allegiance to the national prohibition party and its candidates, indorses woman suffrage, and demands the abolition of the internal revenue tax on liquors by the immediate prohibition of the traffic. A full state ticket was nominated, headed by Hiram Camp of New Haven for governor. Two thousand dollars were subscribed by the audience and delegates for the expenses of the state campaign.

That was a laughable mistake in the public printer's office at Washington by which the name "McKinley" was mis-read as "McMillen," and a hundred thousand copies of the Tennessee congressman's free trade speech were distributed throughout Pennsylvania as "protection" documents and at a protectionist's expense.

The county general committee of the united labor party held its regular meeting August 2. The full membership of the committee is 288, but only 89 answered to the roll call, 309 members, or more than three-fourths of the committee, being conspicuous by their absence.

The most important business transacted was the striking from the constitution of the clause providing that:

This party or any member thereof, or any candidate or other person acting for any candidate of the united labor party, must not have any fusion or clieking with the democratic or republican parties, or those acting for them.

This was not accomplished without some opposition. Patrick H. Dooly, in particular, denounced the measure in strong terms, and expressed his conviction that the abrogation of the no-dicker clause meant purely and simply the sale of the organization to the protectionist managers. He refused to be a party to such a disgraceful act, and both he and his brother announced their intention to withdraw from the organization.

A resolution was received from one of the assembly districts recommending that the state convention should make no nomination for governor, but leave members of the party free to support any candidate favoring electoral reform. The resolution was laid on the table.

A Protectionist Discovery.

San Francisco Examiner.

In the office of a protectionist organ: Editor (to office boy)—Patsy, have you ever studied political economy?

Patsy (hesitates)—No, sir.

"Well, you should. I find it very interesting. Here's a book I picked up at a second-hand stand the other day that seems to have been written by a pretty well posted man, though he's dangerously inclined to free trade views. It's called the 'Wealth of Nations.'"

"Written by anybody in town, sir?"

"No; no, I think not, Patsy. The author (referring to the title page) is one Smith—Adam Smith. If I can find his address I'll drop him a note and have him do some articles for us."

The Wage Hoister Fails to Work in Pennsylvania.

Chicago Herald.

The protective tariff which the iron manufacturers of Pennsylvania demanded and got in order to pay good wages does not seem to be in good working order. Their men are poorly paid, and no class of labor is more often locked out or on strike. For Iron Kelley and Mr. Randall should at once see what is the matter with the tariff, and set it to going as they claim it would go, or American labor will lose faith in it as a means of obtaining good wages.

Balaam Was the Man That Took Counsel With an Ass.

New York Tribune.

Dr. Cuyler called upon Dr. Storrs to cure the republican party for him; and, lo! lo! Balaam, he has blessed it altogether.

CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

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

Thomas Briggs, London, Eng.	\$25 50
John Rix, Illinois	5 00
Mark W. Cross, Boston, Mass.	20 00
S. B. Ruggen, Portland, Oregon, (monthly contribution)	2 50
Edward Ferguson, Brooklyn (monthly contribution)	2 50
A. W. Ryan, Toledo, Ohio	1 00
Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y., (monthly contribution)	1 00
Frank S. Churchill, Burlington, Iowa	25 00
S. & W. Henderson, New York, (monthly contribution)	10 00
O. M. & L. O. M., New York	5 00
Louis Lesautier, Red Bank, Ill.	5 00
Cartwright, Toronto, Can. (for July and August)	5 00
N. B. Dresser, Rock Springs, W. T.	4 00
E. B. Shearman and John Oberlin, Ind.	5 00
Pa	5 00

Previously acknowledged \$52 16
Total to date \$1,702 72

[The sum of \$70 credited to Dunham and Leavens in THE STANDARD of July 25, should have been credited to "Friends at Webotoc farm, Sharon, Conn.," among whom Messrs. Dunham and Leavens are included.]

Here is a letter from a democratic lawyer of Ohio, which is a testimony to the missionary effort of THE STANDARD:

Your paper has been reaching my hands through a friend for two months. I am not a "practical" politician in that I am not immeasurably more to me than offices, and I am always ready to hospitably entertain "princes of the house of the late President" when introduced by sincere lovers of men. THE STANDARD entertains me more than any paper I read, and the truths you teach find a ready lodgement in my mind, along with the whole family of democratic ideas to which I am wedded. In truth, you are ideally democratic, and perhaps my party is not really so very far behind you. All democratic ideas are cognate, and you address yourself to the party composed (as Parton truly says) of "the many who suffer and the few who think." I salute you, captain. Lead on.

WM. ST. CLAIR CREIGHTON.

NEW FORT BARRACKS, Toronto.—Inclosed find a post office order for \$5, my subscription for the months of July and August toward the campaign fund. I wish it was more, but there is work to be done here, too.

ROBERT CARTWRIGHT.

ROCK SPRINGS, Wyoming, Ter., July 28.—Being a resident of a territory I am disfranchised at our presidential elections, but if I cannot vote I can help make votes for our cause, and for this purpose I inclose \$5 to THE STANDARD campaign fund. Will repeat the contribution as often as possible.

I know of no better way to help the cause of land and labor reform than by the distribution of STANDARDS and STANDARD tracts. To make them accomplish the most practical good it seems to me they should be circulated largely in the so called doubtful states, and in those sections and among industries where wages are lowest and times the hardest.

I find that people who are fairly well off—workmen who have comparatively steady work and living wages are not generally in favor of any change. Through some mental delusion they attribute whatever blessings they enjoy to "protection," and argue on the "laissez faire" principle. But it doesn't take much argument to convince the man who is out of work or working for starvation wages that protection is of no benefit to him and that free trade cannot possibly make his position any worse than it now is.

I also think many of the farmers in the middle and western states would, if approached, become easy converts, first to free trade and then to the single tax. With their arms under mortgage, their products "unprotected" and all that they buy heavily taxed their continued belief in tariff taxation can only be because they have not examined the question for themselves.

This community is better off than the majority of towns even in the west. It is a coal mining town; work is steady the year around and wages are better than the average in mining camps. Consequently people don't bother their heads much about either free trade or the single tax, but I do what I can to throw light on these questions through my newspaper, *The Independent*, and will continue pegging away whether I see any results or not.

I am so thoroughly convinced that the single tax is the solution of the social and industrial troubles from which we suffer that I could not hold my peace, though I knew the truth would not win for a thousand years. But our faith is more hopeful than this. We look for victory in our day and generation.

NORMAN B. DRESSER.

Editor Rock Springs Independent.

INDIAN CREEK, Pa., Aug. 1.—Inclosed find express order for five dollars, our contribution to the campaign STANDARD fund. We hope the state of our finances will be such that you will hear from us again before the end of the campaign.

E. H. SHEARMAN, JOHN OBERLIN.

The Single Tax is Simpler and Easier.

Corn Island, Erie, Pa.

"Nationalization of the land" is coming to the front slowly but surely. It is the main plank in the labor reformers' programme. It has too many disciples now to allow it to be laughed at longer as visionary by the monopolists. It has the advantage of being almost simplicity itself. Its meaning is that the state, as the trustee and representative of the people, is to administer the laws of the land by leasing it out to tenants who will work the land free from any rent charge for their own improvements. What the Irish tenants down is that they have always paid rent for their own improvements. Under nationalization, rents to the state will be for supporting the public administration, and will not be much greater than what is known as "prairie" rent. The laborers and mechanics, under such a system, would be freed from many oppressive taxes. For them a peasant proprietary would be little better than landlordism. The latter "is a tax upon the industry of the farmer, the laborer, and the entire community." Peasant proprietary differs from it only that the present landlords will vanish, but to be succeeded by a vastly increased body of the same class. By choosing peasant proprietary now we try to rob the community at large of their right to share in the benefits of the land; but we only succeed in postponing the final settlement for a generation or two, and making it hard for posterity to accomplish a thing which is comparatively easy now. Michael Davitt is the man of men on whom the question of choice devolves for decision, and that he is alive to the gravity of the situation into which the matter is drifting his recent speeches conclusively show.

A Question for Workmen.

San Francisco Examiner.

You are supposed to be the chief beneficiaries of the tariff.

There are, on a generous estimate, perhaps 20,000 workers in protected industries in California. Of these 20,000 fully 15,000 are Chinese.

The people of California pay at least \$30,000,000 a year to "protect" American labor." That means to protect you, the 5,000 white workers in the protected industries of California—for of course the workers in other states are supposed to be cared for by the taxes paid by their neighbors.

Suppose the 15,000 Chinamen average \$10 a week apiece, their total wages amount to \$7,500,000 a year. That leaves \$22,500,000 for you, or about \$2,500 apiece.

Do you get it? You help to pay the bills, but do you get the reward?

Unless the average "protected" worker in California is receiving \$2,500 a year, somebody is swindled.

The Tariff Harp.

I ask your patience, citizens, and trust you'll hear me through. While I point out the beauties of this harp I have on view. We've christened it the Tariff Harp, for workmen it's made. It's music makes quite plain to them our modern laws of trade. Political economy, dressed up in chords and trills.

They swallow and digest as well as sugar coated pills. This little string on this side, which squeaks upon high "G." Is made to represent to you an Infant Industry; Then comes a scale chromatic, all like the first, you note. And each string shrieks for tariff laws as if 'twould crack its throat. This other one is Government, it trembles and cries out. Whenever Infant Industries begin to yell and shout.

High Tariff Tax this represents, fierce epithets it rolls. Against all importations—both Italians and Poles. These others are Statistics and nicely cooked up Facts. Which every good protectionist from history extracts. The little strings that follow will be dispensed with soon. They are Reason, Justice, Honor, and are just now out of tune.

This harp is recommended by men of wealth and brain—Carnegie, Chauncey M. Depew, Jones, Stanford and Jim Blaine. Its dulcet tones has soothed them here, and whilst abroad they roam. They want the workmen to have its benefits—its strains will stimulate each man to be good, its wail and great. The owner of an iron mine, a railroad or a state.

In playing tunes upon this harp, be circumspect, have care. Of all subordinate effects assist your high "G" air. Of all Fair Arguments and Truth, steer clear, they're not the thing. But bump on Infant Industries and this High Tariff string; Then harmonies Wagnerian and melodies divine. Will make your reputation as a harpist Raj binstein.

W. B. S.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Cora Eldridge, an eighteen-year-old Poughkeepsie girl, has been sentenced to a year in the house of refuge for the larceny of a canary bird worth \$2.

Mrs. William Laytin, who is attracting so much attention on account of her many and marvelous works, is staying at Saratoga. One of her newest wraps is of white moire, embroidered with 3,000 seed pearls and cut crystals in a design of clusters of grapes, twined around a rose.

The congressional committee appointed to inquire into the immigration question, went into the New York slums the other night. Here are a few of the sights they saw: The first house visited was the notorious boarding house at No. 116 Mulberry street, kept by Antonio Resarte. The rooms were filled with sleeping laborers, who pay five cents apiece for the privilege of sleeping on the floor. There were forty-two men packed in on this floor. On the floor above that were found a woman and two men in an intolerably close living room. An eight months' old infant was lying in a rude cradle, placed as it were dead, and it was undoubtedly dying from inhaling the putrid atmosphere. In the rear room were five women, three children and fifteen men. A pile of new clothing lay on the floor, which the women make for the night-garments of ten cents a dozen. They were afraid to tell the congressmen who employed them for fear of losing their meagre and ill paid work. Three of the women were emaciated, and were in a terrible condition from want of proper care.

At Lenox, Mass., William D. Sloane of New York has twenty driving horses. Capt. J. S.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

Two weeks ago I laid before the readers of THE STANDARD the story of what I ventured to call my exile; in which I told how, having been driven from my native city by the owners thereof, I had found a refuge in New Jersey, in a town where mosquitoes and other local inconveniences render it still possible for a man of moderate means to find a home. The moral that, in my feeble way, I tried to point was this: That with advancing civilization the privilege of living on the earth grows every day more valuable, while the opportunities for earning a living by work are, if anything, diminishing. The pressure of population tends at once to make land more valuable and work more difficult to get; the result being that men like myself, who depend on their labor for a living, are compelled either to sink in the social scale or to endure discomforts and annoyances to which their fathers were strangers. We are like housekeepers when meat doubles in price. They have to content themselves with the poorer parts of beef; and we are obliged to be satisfied with the poorer parts of land. I spend four hours daily traveling forth and back between my home and my work, and endure mosquitoes and flies, because I can't avoid these unpleasantnesses without paying a tax altogether beyond my means, to the men who have secured control of the land nearer to my work and free from the insect pests which now annoy me. I use poorer land than my father did; and I am compelled to thank heaven that there is poorer land for me to use, or I might not be able to live at all, but find myself squeezed off the earth altogether, just as thousands of innocent little citizens of New York are squeezed off every year.

And now a correspondent writes:

I have read "The Story of My Exile" carefully and I cannot think of any possible device by which the facts narrated could be prevented from being facts.

So long as there is a choice of places to live in, and so long as only a given number of people can live in a given place, must not some people who desire to live in that particular place (presumably the best) be prevented from living there? If houses are to belong to individuals, even though the land belongs to the community, rent will still have to be paid and advantages of situation will raise the rent. And as some men will be able to pay higher rents they will necessarily secure better houses and neighborhoods than other men. Even if all property, houses as well as land, should belong to the community, yet all men could not possibly occupy the best situation.

I am curious to see how you could devise a plan by which advantages should not add to rent, if rent is to be paid; or by which some men, if only by lot, should not have some advantages which others could not have. If everybody who wants to come to New York is to be made welcome, it must be only a question of time—since the territory available is limited—when some of the people must be "squeezed." Two bodies cannot at one time occupy a given space; if there is to be in New York room for everybody who wants to be in New York, how can we decide who shall and who shall not stay? You may say that there is room now, if all the land were free; but the time would come very quickly when there would not be. I agree that it is hard. But I can see no way to escape the difficulty.

I put this letter in my pocket as I was leaving THE STANDARD office one evening; and the next day, alone in my room, I pulled it out and read it again and again. I don't know how it may strike you, but to me it is sadly interesting. For between its lines I read the creed of the pessimist, that humanity is either the plavthing of a heartless, mocking god, or the sport of cruel chance. "It is true," the writer seems to say, "that advancing civilization does nothing for the mass of mankind. It is true that the increasing wealth of the few involves increasing hardship to the many. It is true that men born in New York, hard working and honest, are being driven from the city of their birth to mosquito infested and malarial lands, and think themselves lucky that mosquitoes and malaria exist. It's true. And it is hard. But there is no help for it; and the only thing to be done is to persuade the lucky rich, out of their superabundance, to judiciously relieve the distress of the deserving poor." This is what, as it seemed to me, I saw in the mind of my correspondent by the light of that letter.

And as I sat and mused with that letter before me, I fell a-dreaming. I looked back over the years of my life, filled with struggles and to get out of the poverty slough and to get far enough away from its slippery edge to make sure that neither I nor mine should run the risk of falling into its horrid depths. I thought of the many efforts I had made—some futile, some successful, not to produce wealth—I was never fool enough to look for gain in that direction—but to get it. And as I recalled the misery of it all—the lies, and deceptions, and oppressions that I had been forced to employ—the way in which I had found it necessary to avoid Christ's precepts, to steel my heart against the cry of the afflicted, to take constant thought for the morrow, to strive to lay up treasures upon earth—as I thought of all this, slowly there came to me the vision of What might have been, the story of the life I might have led, had I indeed enjoyed those rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that my forefathers asserted to be the inalienable heritage of every man. May I tell you the story? It was only a dream, I know, yet not a baseless, incoherent vision of the night. If it wasn't true, at least it might have been:

My father was a physician in New York, and at the time I first remember him he must have been, I think, in very moderate practice. I know his patients were chiefly poor people, and I can remember hearing him speak of the difficulty of getting money, and the necessity for economy in our household expenditures. We lived in a pleasant old fashioned house in what is now one of the busiest business streets of the city, though then it was well up town. Father had bought the house, paying a small amount in cash and giving a mortgage for the rest. I believe—for the house was bought before my memory began to store up facts—that he was largely influenced to make the purchase by his confidence in the city's future. He expected that the lot on which the house stood would more than double in value within a

few years, and so unhesitatingly invested his savings in it.

Whether this was so or not, I know my father was bitterly opposed to the policy of levying all taxes upon land values. One of my earliest recollections is of hearing him inveigh against the wickedness of such a plan. It was, he said, nothing less than downright confiscation, and would surely bring ruin upon the country. This must have been about the time when the single tax men, having secured a clear majority in congress, were forcing the abolition of the custom houses and the raising of the federal revenue by direct apportionment among the states. My mother, I remember indistinctly, took a different view of the situation. She was as far off as my father from understanding the philosophy of the single tax, but she administered the family revenues, and had a very clear idea of what absolutely free trade would do for her. I recall a dispute between her and my father, in which he told her that if those single tax men got their way he would lose all the money he had put into his house and lot and have to pay the mortgage besides, and all for worse than nothing at all. He could never sell the place, he said, and would have to pay heavy taxes on it all his life long. My mother, for her part, didn't believe the single tax men would ever be quite as wicked as all that, and was enthusiastic over the prospect of getting rid of the custom house. She rattled off a list of clothing and furniture, and heaven knows what, and showed how much cheaper she would be able to get them all when once the free trade bill should be passed. I know I sided with my father, and in my boyish way thought what a shame it was to turn our markets over to England, and that the single tax men must be a precious pack of scoundrels.

Well, the free trade bill was passed, the custom houses were done away with, and the states were called on to provide the federal revenue. Everybody knew that this meant the concentration of all taxes into one on land values, and everybody was either vowing that the country was irretrievably ruined, or predicting an era of unexampled prosperity. I think the people who were most astonished were the foreign manufacturers, many of whom really thought that free trade would give them control of our markets. Of course, we all know now how bitterly they were disappointed, but there were precious few people at the time who weren't surprised at the turn things took. The foreign manufacturers not only couldn't undersell the Americans, but the latter actually shipped their goods abroad and beat the foreigners in their own markets.

I didn't understand this then, being but a boy; but as I look back on it now I can see the reasons for it well enough. The tumble in prices commenced in coal and iron. People who owned mines saw that they were going to be taxed upon their values and judged quite correctly that it wouldn't be many years before all the values of the mines would be taken in taxation. Men who owned coal and iron lands were glad to sell them for pretty much anything they could get; and the folks who bought them did so with a thorough knowledge that the only way to make any money out of them was to work them. In six months the coal production of the Lehigh valley was doubled; within a year it had doubled again. The iron furnaces sprang up as if by magic. I remember a cartoon in Harper's Weekly which illustrated the situation beautifully. John Bull was represented driving up to Uncle Sam's door with a loaded cart. "Don't you want to buy some coal to-day?" says Mr. Bull. "Oh, d—n your coal!" answers Uncle Sam, "I've got plenty of my own in the cellar. But I'll give you good wages to come in and help carry it upstairs."

There were plenty of wisacres who, when the boom began in coal and iron, were certain it would end up in a smash very shortly. The country never could stand such an over production, they said. But somehow the more coal and iron were turned out, the more the country seemed to want. For the same causes that made the miners busy made men in other trades busy, too. Men who owned building lands and quarries and brick fields saw clearly that they could only hold their properties idle at a dead loss, without the slightest prospect of any future gain. Those who could command capital brought their lands into use themselves; the others sold for the best prices they could get. Throughout all the building trades there was a ferment of activity. In all the great cities of the Union houses grew like mushrooms; and somehow a tenant was always ready for the house before the house was ready for the tenant. "What on earth do you expect to do with all these houses?" asked the correspondent of a western paper, of a contractor who was putting up a full block of modest dwellings on one of the streets beyond the Harlem. "Faith! then," spoke up one of the brick layers beside him, "We'll live in 'em!" And so, the correspondent found, they did; and reason good. For rents were down and wages up; and the man who worked could afford to hire a house to live in, and commit no such great extravagance either.

It was amazing how throughout the whole country, all of a sudden, men seemed to go to work at once. Just as, when a line of men stand hand in hand, if the two end ones touch each pole of an electric battery, a shock runs through the entire line, so it seemed as if even the imperceptible access to the earth which the mere prospect of the single tax secured to labor sufficed to send a thrill of industry through the whole community and set every wheel and hand in motion. The farmers and the market gardeners could have sold double the crops they did; and fields that had been lying fallow for a generation were brought into use as fast as horse and man and plow could do their work. The mills and factories were all working full time, and would have worked nights too if they could have got the hands. The railroads were blocked with goods waiting transportation. It is easy to understand how the activity spread. For each industry developed all the rest. The miners, and the furnace hands, and the men in the building trades, and the farmers, and the mill hands, and all the other workers, were

all getting big wages and wanted to buy things. They used more meat, and bread, and vegetables. They needed more furniture, and more and better clothes. They bought books, and went on excursions, and visited the theaters. In short, they spent their money rationally as they earned it, and so set other people to work, who made work for them in turn.

What puzzled people most was that while prices dropped lower and lower, wages mounted higher and higher. This was just what the leaders of the single tax movement had predicted; but I think even they were half frightened at the quick fulfillment of their own prophecies, while to an immense number of people the condition of things seemed portentous. Coal dropped nearly fifty per cent in price, while miners' wages were more than trebled. Cloth and calicos were never so cheap before, yet the mill hands got without difficulty the wages they asked for. Houses became cheaper and cheaper, yet masons, bricklayers, carpenters and all the rest of them, even to the plumbers, earned more and more money every day. The columns of "Situations Wanted" in the daily papers shrank to almost nothing, while page after page told of help required and liberal salaries for competent men. Immigrants landed by scores of thousands; but come as fast as they would there seemed to be work of some kind for them all. Men said we were going heading to ruin; that the laboring classes would own the whole country before long, and capital be driven off to foreign lands. But even those who feared the most for the future were compelled to own that for the present, at least, we certainly were doing splendidly.

At last the truth began to dawn upon men's minds. The giant Labor was beginning to be relieved of the frightful burden that had been crushing him down. He was just beginning to use his muscles and give some faint signs of the tremendous strength he would attain to when once perfect freedom should be granted. The fall in prices was chiefly due to the lifting of the enormous taxes formerly paid to the government, to protected monopolists, and to land owners; and partly also to the extraordinary improvements in machinery. It seemed as though the genius of invention had but just awakened and were only beginning to learn what amazing mastery he could assert over the forces of nature. Where a hundred men had formerly been employed in a mill, working long hours for scanty wages, ten men now turned out a greater and a better product, working short hours and at treble pay. And the ninety men were by no means thrown out of work. There were plenty of new mills starting—plenty of enterprises of all kinds springing up which cried aloud for labor! labor! and lingered for the lack of it. A man out of work was a man to be run after quickly and secured before somebody else should capture him. And if every man in the country had been able and willing to labor twenty-four hours every day, there would have been work enough and to spare for all of them. For the more each man earned, the more he wanted to buy of the products of other men's labor. On the other hand, save for a fast vanishing rent tax to the landlords (out of which, so soon as the single tax was imposed, they had to pay the entire state and federal taxes), and a fair royalty to investors, scarcely any portion of the product of industry went to any man who didn't work for it; and every man received exactly in proportion to his production. The captains of industry—the men who ran the mills, and operated the mines, and superintended the great commercial establishments—had to understand their work and perform it efficiently, or get no pay. The man who employed a hundred hands had to pay them the full sum of what they could have made by working without his superintendence and capital, and even a trifle more. If by his energy, business knowledge and economical management he could add to the value of their product, he got the added value as his own wages; otherwise, he was very soon driven out of business or forced to trench upon his capital while gaining experience. Even the railway monopolists were curbed and bridled. The courts that had been their subservient allies were now their vigilant overseers; state and federal laws held them in check; and the fear of worse things befalling them kept them on their good behavior.

I remember the gradual change that took place in my father's opinions—how his dread of the single tax system grew less and less, until at last it turned to eager advocacy. True, he lost the money he had paid for his lot of land and growled a little when he satisfied the mortgage. "But after all," he said, "if the taxes on it get too heavy for me, I can always trade it off for another piece; and really land speculation wasn't wholesome." And on the other hand his income, like every other worker's, increased from year to year, both positively and relatively to the cost of living. His patients paid him. They could afford to do it. They called upon him far more frequently. And his profession was no longer crowded with incompetents who had rushed into medicine, not because of any special vocation for it, but simply because they could find nothing else to do. In fact, I used to hear him and other physicians lamenting because young men were not coming into the profession fast enough and too heavy a burden of work was laid upon the old practitioners.

I write of these things as though I had seen and understood them all as they occurred. Indeed, I feel as if I had done so; and yet I fancy that my knowledge is largely second hand, and that the marvelous social changes that took place in my boyhood really impressed me very little at the time. I have no distinct recollection of the evil days when men stood idle in the market places and begged other men to let them go to work. I know there were such days, but the knowledge is not a realizing sense. I cannot imagine to myself American citizens so degraded and so careless of their birthright. I can remember seeing beggars, and indistinctly I recall the great charitable institutions where able bodied men received food and shelter with thankful humility, and helpless women and children were given alms and patronizing good advice. But when

I try to realize that those poor creatures were of the same race as myself, that some of them may have been connected with me by ties of blood, my imagination refuses duty. And I find it harder still to realize that in those old days—to me they seem as distant as the days of Caesar—there were actually men who pretended to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and yet denied his precepts. The fact is historic. The whole world knows it. Men were told that they could secure an eternity of bliss by simply asking Christ to give it them, but that the less attention they paid to Christ's clearly uttered rules of life in this world the better it would be for them. It seems to me—and to millions of other men, doubtless—ridiculous that men should have worshiped a deity of whom the best they could say was that he was a pretty good God for heaven, but a mighty unreliable God for earth.

The fact is that I grew up with the great reform; and just as to a child whose mind first awakens amid war and tumult, war and tumult seem normal conditions of humanity, so to me the successive stages of development through which society passed so rapidly in my boyhood seemed each a perfect matter of course, and excited no astonishment—not even any special interest—in my mind. I remember that year by year the rate of taxation upon land values was increased, until finally the whole was absorbed, save only the narrow margin which now rewards the nominal owners for the trouble of collecting it. I can recall the passage of the law for the nationalization of the railroads, and I remember the roar of laughter that shook the whole nation when a few valentian stock and bond holders suggested that they ought to be paid, not only the value of their lands, and ties, and bridges, and rolling stock, and other material property, but also of the rights of way and franchises! I remember these things, but only as I remember going fishing. They were matters of course, as to which there was no division of public opinion; and to save my life I couldn't name the dates when they occurred. Of course I could refer to any school history for information, but as I am simply trying to dig out of my own mind the story of my personal recollections and impressions, I forbear.

It was not till I was sixteen years old, and almost ready for college, that we moved away from the old house in which I had been born. Most of our neighbors had gone up town long before, and all around us were stately office buildings and busy warehouses. The value of the land had risen enormously, and if I am not mistaken, the yearly tax was well nigh half the price my father had originally paid for both house and lot. But we had an attachment for the old home, and year after year, when the question of moving came up for discussion in the family congress, it was tabled for another twelve-month, and we still hung on.

In fact, we might have stayed there ten years longer had it not been for the merchant who occupied the warehouse next door. This worthy man wanted to extend his building, and could only do it by using our lot. It was just one of those cases in which a particular piece of land has a special value for one particular man. No other lot in the whole city would answer our neighbor's purpose; he must have our lot or none. The end of it all was that after some negotiation he offered to give my father a far better house and larger lot in the upper part of the city if father would surrender the lot to him. A proposal so advantageous turned the scale in favor of removal, and it was decided that we should go.

Our new house was delightfully situated on Washington heights, overlooking the Hudson, and really, it wasn't until we were established in it that we fairly realized what comforts and conveniences New York was providing for her citizens. The free electric light and free telephone and pneumatic services, of course, we had had down town. We were quite accustomed to telephoning for our household supplies to the butcher and baker and grocer, and seeing the things come tumbling into the receiver five minutes later; and I well remember how my sisters would ring up all the dry goods stores in the city, get a lot of samples and prices of each, make their selections, send out their money, and get their goods home, all within a half an hour. But the new house, standing in the residential part of the city, had a dozen other advantages, all paid for out of the magnificent revenue which the single tax yearly poured into the city treasury. Of course we knew all about them before, but it was only when we commenced to enjoy them that we really began to appreciate them.

If we wanted to go anywhere there were the three great viaduct roads, with their cross-town branches, at our service. We could go to the Battery in twenty minutes from the house, and be most remote part of the city was not more than half an hour distant. Then in summer time there were the swift city steamers running from Yonkers clear around to New Rochelle, stopping at every twentieth street and landing close to our house every ten minutes. Many a pleasant summer evening have we passed on board of them making the round trip with the cool breezes fanning us and a public band to make music for us. But indeed it wasn't necessary to take to the water to get cool in the hottest weather, for the public cooling and heating services were laid through the entire house, and we had but to set the automatic regulator to keep a room at any temperature desired. The electric power was supplied us, too, from the central ward station, and whether we wanted to run the elevator, or to drive a sewing machine, it was only necessary to touch a button and the thing was done. In fact, housekeeping was pure pleasure, and involved scarcely any work. The streets were kept so beautifully clean that dust was almost a curiosity, and with the patent brooms the whole house could be swept in an hour. We had a kitchen, of course, with the heating service in the range, but it was seldom we did any cooking there, preferring the luxury of a table d'hôte near by. A widow lady and her daughters (one of whom afterward became my sister-in-law) attended to our washing, so that there really was scarcely any

housework to be done. My mother used to make us laugh by telling us stories of the old days of menial servants, with their awkwardness and carelessness, and petty deceptions. Poor things, I don't wonder they were hard to get along with, treated as they were as a class apart, refused admission into society, and denied every opportunity for culture.

We found a pleasant lot of neighbors ready to welcome us to our new abode—mostly young people with tastes refined by the culture of the public schools. Pretty much every trade and calling was represented. There were shoemakers, seamstresses, blacksmiths, printers, sign painters, engineers, editors, lithographers, cigar makers, carpenters, stenographers, and goodness only knows what besides. When we assembled at each others' houses it was a regular federation of trades; and whenever a boy was making ready to earn his own living he had the advantages of fifty different vocations explained to him by men who knew what they were talking about. There was a pretty park of some thirty acres near where we lived, and every pleasant afternoon, at three o'clock, when the work of the day was over, the whole neighborhood would gather there in a sort of local congress, and twice a week an amateur band performed. The result was that everybody knew everybody else, and though, of course we had our likes and dislikes, we really got to be like members of one great family.

One thing we very soon discovered—that we were getting a great deal more out of the public treasury than we put into it. Down town, where we had persisted in occupying land that had become immensely valuable for business purposes, we had paid a very heavy tax and enjoyed comparatively few public conveniences; but in our new home the taxes were comparatively light, and the conveniences were many. The simple fact was that the merchants down town were using land vastly more valuable than that we occupied, and practically they were paying us the difference. The tax was assessed on every man according to the value of the natural opportunities he enjoyed, but its benefits were distributed equally to all. Had we been contented to remove to the outskirts of the city, where building lots were still vacant, we could still have enjoyed many privileges without paying any tax at all; the drawbacks being distance from the center of population, lack of neighbors, higher store prices, and things of that sort. But we were very well satisfied where we were, and my father acknowledged that he had made a mistake in remaining so long in a neighborhood which, when it was invaded by business, had ceased to be a good location for a physician.

I am getting garrulous, and shall weary out your patience if I don't get over the ground more rapidly. I need say nothing about the years of my college life, which passed uneventfully enough. If I didn't distinguish myself, at least I maintained a fair standing in my class; and when I graduated I felt honestly certain that I really had laid a solid foundation for an education. Then the question to be settled was, What should I do for a living?

I had a strong bias toward literature, but a thorough disinclination to depend on it for support. I wanted to study, and to write only when I had something to say. As for mere money making work, my taste tended toward printing, and I had already taken a couple of courses in the public school of technology, and could operate a type setting machine pretty rapidly, and had a fair knowledge of the other details of the business. Of course, I had no difficulty in finding employment. Like every other industry, the printing business was increasing every day, with the marvelous growth of New York's wealth and population. The trouble was, not to find "sits," but to get men to fill them. Journeymen printers were setting up in business for themselves, or dropping work to spend a year or two in travel, or turning to other occupations, and there was scarcely an office in the city that wouldn't have been glad to employ additional men. It was the same in all other trades. Demand always kept ahead of supply in the labor market, and we young men used to be vastly amused at the stories the oldsters would tell us of the days when men organized themselves into unions and assemblies to guard the privilege of work and make sure that men shouldn't take the bread out of each others' mouths by offering to sell their labor for lower wages. It required quite a mental effort for us to realize that in those times men were forced to flock from the country to the cities, begging other men to buy their labor, and not only leaving unused fields and mines behind them, but actually standing idle, praying for the privilege of work with vacant lots and garden lands and natural opportunities of other kinds all around them. How they stood it, when they had the ballot and might have put an end to it all at a single election, I cannot for the life of me understand.

Well, I started out as a journeyman printer, first in a job office, for the sake of the experience, next with a book publisher, and finally in the office of the *Daily New Era*. And a journeyman printer I have been for well nigh twenty years. I have never thought of going into business for myself. I might have done it any time, for men with capital are eager to find workers who will consent to use it. And I dare say I should have succeeded well enough, since there is always plenty of work to do at prices that leave good wages for the labor of superintendence. But why should I? As a journeyman, I am just as well thought of and received in society as I should be if I were at the head of the biggest establishment in the country. I earn all I need for my expenses, and could easily earn more if I wanted to spend more or had a taste for avarice. I have plenty of leisure for my books and writing. I have no responsibilities to worry me; when I leave the office in the afternoon it is as though I had said good bye to it forever; if it should burn down some night, or the paper discontinue publication, it would make no difference to me. I work three hours every day, go off for two or three months in the summer, and except for the health

of my family and myself, I haven't a care in the world. There are men who are ambitious to be great printers—to invent new labor saving devices, to rule over great establishments, to distinguish themselves in their art. I thoroughly understand the feelings of such men, and love to see them succeed. But with me, finger-ing a type setting machine is nothing more than the way in which I produce food and clothes, and shelter and other things needful for myself and those dependent on me. The work I love is done at home in my study; and I pursue it, not for the sake of any wealth to be gained by it—though it brings me in a few dollars all the same—but because, in that direction, I have an ambition to distinguish myself, and a hope to benefit humanity. Is not my life a consistent one?

And now a word or two about my family and home, and this little story of my life will be finished—doubtless to your great relief. I have been married for sixteen years, and have three children, two girls and a boy. My wife's tastes are much the same as my own, and as her household cares take but two or three hours daily of her time, she has plenty of leisure to indulge them. We read together, dispute a good deal, make fun of one another's foibles, and are every bit as much in love with each other as on the day when we were married. We have a large circle of friends, who seem always glad to see us, and whom we certainly are glad to see. There is always an extra plate at our dinner table, and the days are rare when it isn't put in use. And if another friend drops in, and another and another still, why there are more plates in the cupboard, and generally enough for them to eat.

Our children are stout and healthy, and, we think, good looking. Of course they are being well educated at the public schools, and their characters are beginning to develop. The boy, I fancy, will become a merchant, and I am vain enough to think a great one. He has the trading instinct strongly developed, has a better knowledge of our railroad system than I can boast of, and is forever inquiring about the products of the different parts of the world. The eldest girl takes after her mother and myself, and vows she will live just such a life as we do. She is studying stenography and proposes to earn her living in that vocation, and devote her leisure to pen and ink and books. The younger is a born cook, and means to win fame and fortune in the kitchen. My own belief is that neither the stenographer nor the cook will ever work for wages. Good girls are not scarce by any means, but somehow the supply never seems to catch up to the demand. In our happy days young men can marry.

For ten years after our marriage we lived at Washington heights. We had a pleasant little eight-roomed house which we rented from the owner at \$350 a year, and which suited us exactly. It was within reasonable distance of the park, not more than five minutes' walk from either the viaduct depot or the steamboat landing, and surrounded by the houses of our friends. When first we rented it we certainly thought we were settled for life. I admit that for my own part it was considerable of a wrench to move. The truth is, that since it has become possible for men to have homes they have learned to love them and hate the mere idea of abandoning them. It puzzles us when old fellows of the last generation tell us how, in their early days, men used to go house hunting every year and shift about from flat to flat and tenement to tenement as unconcernedly as so many wild Arabs changing their camping grounds.

However, I think upon the whole that we were wise to move. As New York widened her bounds, naturally land values on the heights went up, and the rise was made more rapid by the coming of several large store keepers. Our rent rose by degrees until it reached \$500 a year. Of course we could have paid this easily enough. If a man wanted more money he had only to work a little harder and the money came. But neither my wife nor myself were partial to work. We wanted leisure. And when it came to a question of my setting type for an extra half hour every day merely that we might live on Washington heights, instead of in some other place that would be just as convenient for us, why we weren't long in making up our minds. I dropped my trade for a couple of months, and we spent the time in house hunting, visiting different neighborhoods in succession, and stopping for a few days in each to see how we liked the natural surroundings and the people.

Finally we decided to pitch our tent in Plainfield, New Jersey, and here we have lived ever since. The natural advantages of the place for residences—it has absolutely none for manufacturing purposes, and there isn't a mill or factory within ten miles of us—are very great. It enjoys deliciously pure water, the best, we think, on the Atlantic coast. The air is pure, the climate mild, and the well drained gravelly soil free from any taint of malaria. A range of hills is close at hand, from whose summits we can catch glimpses of New York bay and see at night the giant statue of Liberty holding up her torch. In former times, I understand, the town was plagued with mosquitoes and flies, but since the Newark marshes were redeemed and the land generally brought into use, these insect pests have vanished for the lack of breeding grounds.

For all practical purposes, I am as much in New York, out here in Plainfield, as if I had never left the city. The only difference is that I have given up a few special natural advantages which I didn't want while other people did. We have our free heating and cooling services, our free telephones and pneumatic tubes, our free electric power, just as they have them in the city. A magnificent six track railway, run at the public expense, connects us and the country beyond us with New York, crossing the Hudson on the great suspension bridge. Local trains stopping at stations a mile apart are run at five minute intervals, while fast expresses stopping every ten miles succeed each other every twenty minutes. In half an hour from the time I leave my house in the morning I am in the office ready for

works or if I prefer I can mount my electric bicycle and do the distance in less than two hours. I am thoroughly contented with my home and my surroundings. I live here, not because I must, but because I like to. There is nothing of the exile about me!

Ah! well! The dream is over. The vision fades away; and here I sit, in my study out in Plainfield, with a lot of written sheets before me, and the flies and mosquitoes buzzing about my ears. And yet, it might have been. It might have been! And it surely shall be. Not in my day, perhaps. Not even, possibly, in my children's day. But sooner or later, the time must come when men will realize that God made the earth for him to be happy in, not miserable; that He is not a mocking fiend, but a wise and loving father; and that the prize of freedom belongs to them, and to them only, who are willing to put forth their hands and grasp it.

T. L. MCCREARY.

Kreuscher's Millennium.

I was trying to explain the thing to Kreuscher. Kreuscher—Kroysher, Kroosher or Cruscher as his friends call him, according as the spelling of the name which is over the door strikes them—is a German groceryman. We were sitting on some empty boxes in the back of his store.

"But," I was saying, "don't you see that if we tax the vacant lots and make the owners use them and build stores and buildings, then rents will be smaller and it will be easier for new men to start in business?"

"Lieber Herr Gott! More easier to start in business. It is already too easy. Here is a gross of street under a grocery store; don't you see one on the next street already, and on the next street already. For you want more? Die Konkurrenz—how you say dot—konkurrenz?"

"Competition," I suggested.

"Ya, die competition is already too much; more stores dot means more competition. Ach, my young friend, had nothing to do with that. Now I tell you once you see it der matter," and he raised his arm and shook his forefinger at me. "You had here in der city too many peobles; and dose peobles are here too free; you haf here no koferment, no Bismarck."

"But suppose we had a Bismarck, what would he do? How would he get rid of the people?"

"Vell, I tell you vot he do. First he take dose Henry Georges and he send dem away to Australia. Den he gets rid of dose temperanzers—how you say temperanzers?"

"Prohibitionists?"

"Ya, dose prohibitionists. Den he would make all dose rich men, dose Chay Gouls and Hootingtons and all to pay much money every year to dot koferment. Den he make all dose peobles in der city vot has no work to go out west on dose farms; and he haf schools unferfies and—"

"And a big army," I ventured.

"Ach nein! Vot for you want an army? Kreuscher had served six years in the German army."

"I don't want one. I only thought Bismarck would want one. But tell me, how would Bismarck give these farms to all the idle people? He don't own them."

"Lieber Herr! He take dem. Dey are now no use; nobody use dem except a few gowboys, maybe. Dose farms could millionen of peobles support; and den dose peobles could buy from die cities, and pizness would be goot, and die konkurrenz—"

"And then your landlord would raise your rent and make lots of money without doing anything, hey?"

"Ya, den everybody makes money. You are always so against dot landlord. For vot He is a goot man. Dot is his profession, and he will haf a goot chance to succeed by dot profession; grocery geschaff is my profession and I will succeed by dot profession. Everybody must haf a profession and everybody must respect dot profession of everybody else. But nobody must come to dose cities; dot is die hauptsache—die—die—die! Den you haf no more Henry Georges."

W. B. S.

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Belford's for August.

Time was the history of our government when a contention between parties as to the administration of the general government turned on purely political matters of an abstract sort. Of course, they affected one way or another the policy of the administration, and let what party soever succeed, the success had no other result than a defeat of the opposite organization's idea of the better sort of a political administration. Since the late civil war all this has changed. A change of policy directly affects all the moneyed and material interests of the country. In other words, the government erected by the fathers has passed from a political structure built mainly to keep the peace between states, into a nation from a foreign nation, and to secure a fair limit to justice, and to secure a fair limit to justice, and the lawful use of its property, to a commercial affair that undertakes to not only influence but directly guide the moneyed and material business of the people. The government has come to be, what the monarchies of Europe are, paternal. It seeks to do something for everybody, with the natural result of great benefit to a few and a grave injury to all.

A change of policy then, especially one that looks to a restoration of the government to the political basis of its framers, involves,

To rob the farmer and the people the first step was, to use the language of the republican platform, to "check imports of such articles [made by foreign paupers] as could be produced by our people," and to force our workmen to enter into competition with foreign pauper labor. To do this a series of heavy fines, ranging from 25 to 325 per cent,

A Panorama of Words

But the sense of awe inspired by the view of a tropical forest is unutterably greater than any mystical fear which any wooded wilderness of the north could ever have inspired. The very brilliancy of these colors—as seen preternaturally to northern eyes—is terrifying; but the vastness of the mile broad mile high masses of frondage, their impenetrability, the violet blackness of the few rare apertures in their perpendicular facades, where mountain torrents break through to sun, and their enormous murmur, made more inexplicable crawling, creeping, crumbling sound—a combination, to express the conception of a creative, that appalls. Man feels here like an insect, stars an insect ever on the alert for merciless enemies. To enter these green abysses without a guide were madness; even with the best

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a large number of compositors. A child, as it is claimed, can operate the perforator card and tape system, and even a child can be an expert typesetter can work. One justification is estimated, could revise the tape of the perforators, and one workman at the machine could be trained to operate the machine everything going. As the type now in use are of varying and arbitrary widths, necessitating the insertion of "leads," "spaces" or "leads," it is not suited for the machine. Manual composition is a system of types, based upon inches of setting, which enables the machine to set types to fill each line to the width of the page. The machine can be used at a low cost, but once in operation it will incur little or no expense for maintenance or repairs. The claim is made that with three men it may be prepared up to within three

Address of the Anti-Poverty Society of Toronto.

In answer to this question we ask attention to the following particulars:

7. Amid the thunders of Sinai there came the command: "Thou shalt not steal." And

The land restoration league has been reformed and will engage in active work. Mr. Verinder, its secretary, is a very young man. Its president, Mr. Will Saunders, late M. P. from Hall, has organized a series of Saturday afternoon lectures. The first square, it is to be remembered that public speaking here for some months been prohibited. Printed resolutions are distributed, and when St. Mark's church clock strikes certain hours, they are voted on. Thus public meetings are virtually held, and their decisions registered, though no speeches are made. How long this will go on is doubtful, as the police authorities are getting very restive.

Just think what this arrangement involves. Two children are born—one heir to that

How They Came to Spell It Smythe.

Grand Old Man's Opinion of Our Tariff
which by the Hon. William E. Gladstone at Leeds, England, 1881.

will say this, that as long as America adds to the protective system your commercial supremacy is secure. Nothing in the world can wrest it from you while America continues to fetter her own strong hands and aid as with these fettered arms is content to compete with you, who are free, in neutral markets. And as long as America follows the tariff policies known as those of fair trade, she is perfectly safe and your best interests. Many of you, even your lightest slumbers are disturbed by the fear that America will

Mr. Cleveland