

# THE STANDARD

NO. 87-VOL. IV, NO. 9.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

**THE STANDARD FOR THE CAMPAIGN.**  
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Single subscription . . . 40c  
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The single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting on Monday night was a great success. It showed not merely the ardor with which the men, whose aim is the emancipation of labor and the abolition of poverty, are rallying to the support of the candidates who in this campaign represent the side of freedom, but it proves how enthusiastically men of the very kind to whom the timid democratic politicians most dread to whisper them, welcome the words "free trade." The burst of applause that rang through the hall, packed to the last inch of available space, when Mr. Archibald—an Irishman, a "workingman" a prominent representative of organized labor—declared for absolute free trade, and the enthusiasm with which every reference to the total abolition of tariffs was greeted must have been a revelation to the politicians who imagine that it will be fatal to democratic hopes to let it be known that the democratic candidates are more than mere "tariff reformers."

Whatever in this issue of THE STANDARD any reader passes by, let him not pass by the speech of William Lloyd Garrison. For vigor of thought, for loftiness of sentiment, for clearness and grace of diction, it is worthy of the cause. No stronger testimony could be borne to the value of Mr. Garrison's accession to our ranks than the fact that the *Evening Post*, for so long the meanest and most malignant of all the journalistic opponents of the single tax, prints his speech in full, though with an editorial disclaimer of his principles.

A short note from August Lewis, who, besides a liberal contribution to the funds of the single tax Cleveland campaign committee, sends a thousand dollars to the campaign STANDARD fund, also speaks for itself. Mr. Lewis, as it may be worth the while of timid democrats to know, is head of the house of August Lewis & Co., protected manufacturers of straw goods. That there are at least some protected American manufacturers who, because of their belief in the single tax, are not only willing but anxious that our whole tariff should be swept away, is shown by the fact that the largest contributors to THE STANDARD campaign fund are protected manufacturers. W. J. Atkinson, Tom L. Johnson and A. J. Moxham are all "protected" Pennsylvania manufacturers, the first of Keystone watches and the other two of steel rails. They are not for tariff reform; they are for tariff abolition. Mr. Johnson voted for Cleveland last time. Messrs. Lewis, Atkinson and Moxham voted for Blaine. Not one of the four would this year vote for Mr. Cleveland if it were not for his stand on the tariff question.

The old Keystone state, shackled as she has been for almost a generation by monopolies and corporations, may yet be indeed the keystone of the true democratic arch. Readers of THE STANDARD know how the leaves of the single tax idea is working among the toilers of Pennsylvania. And it is significant that the paper that has probably, in late years, exerted the strongest influence on the side of free trade, though it repudiates the name—the Philadelphia *Record*—is published in Pennsylvania; that the most radical free trade speech made in congress during the tariff debate was by a Pennsylvania congressman, William L. Scott; and that the most ringing assertion of

democratic ideas yet made by any regular democratic speaker in this campaign is from a Pennsylvania democrat, Chauncey F. Black.

This most significant speech which we print in this issue is that of the president of the Pennsylvania democratic society, the head of the national association of democratic clubs. Chauncey F. Black, son of the famous democrat, Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black, has once served the commonwealth of Pennsylvania as lieutenant governor, and at the last gubernatorial election headed the democratic state ticket. He certainly did not care for the office as much as he cared for democratic principle, for the man had actually the audacity not only to arraign before the people the ring rule which disgraces his state, but even to denounce in no measured terms the Pennsylvania edition of the Royal Irish constabulary—the Coal and Iron police and the toleration in an American commonwealth of Pinkerton detectives. He was of course beaten by 40,000 votes. The wonder was that he came so near election, for democratic monopolists, like republican monopolists, threw their money and their terrorism into the scale against him. But times have changed and are changing fast, and even in Pennsylvania—perhaps faster in Pennsylvania than anywhere else—the spirit of Jeffersonian democracy is beginning to rattle the dry bones of a so-called democracy devoid of true democratic principle.

How strong the traditions of the better days of the democracy are in the mind of the president of the democratic society of Pennsylvania may be seen even in the phraseology of the speech we reprint. In the appeal, "Let there be no trimming, no mean and cowardly evasions, to catch the favor of monopoly in any of its protean shapes," there is the spirit that is certain if invoked to carry the democratic national ticket this year to certain victory. And no more concise arraignment of protective robbery was ever framed than is involved in the question "Shall the government take the earnings of the many and confer them upon the few without even the ceremony of passing them through its own treasury?"

Here is what Mr. Black has to say in the Philadelphia *Record* of the democratic societies, and the hope and aim of their organizations:

The Democratic society of Pennsylvania was established by the unanimous judgment of the best minds of the party. It contemplated the formation of primary democratic societies in all the political subdivisions of the state.

But why shall these primary organizations be called "societies" instead of "clubs"? Briefly, because the "Democratic society" was the original organization of the democratic party in the United States; because the democratic societies elected Jefferson and seated him, notwithstanding the federalists' plot to defraud the people of their choice; because the name is historic, patriotic, and is intimately associated with the first great triumph of the constitutional party; because it implies doctrine, not less than work; because it is Jeffersonian, and, accepting the paramount authority of Jefferson, every such society must, by the very law of its existence, favor a strict construction of the constitution, taxes only for specified objects, uniformly and equally laid, with justice to all and bounties to none. Jefferson having been the greatest of all merely human anti-monopolists, the democratic societies must necessarily become the natural political homes of the granger and workingman, and of all who hold that taxes should be moderate and expenses limited "that labor may be lightly burdened." And because "democratic society" is ours, not merely by right of adoption, but by right of inheritance. It is not shared like "club" and "league" and divers other names and styles, with monopolist fanatics and base ball players. It does not, as "club" too frequently does, imply dissipation; but gravity, deliberation, doctrine, sturdy and enlightened patriotism.

The greatest of all the democratic societies of last century was that of Philadelphia, of which the illustrious Rittenhouse was the president, and Duponceau the secretary. Its deliberations were watched with intense interest, and the results were notified to all sister societies and to all the people. The public records of the time are filled with its glorious work. Mr. Jefferson said the democratic societies were "the nurseries of republicanism;" and it is well known that the democratic societies of Pennsylvania, headed by the great society of Philadelphia, were the most powerful of all the agencies which contributed to make and to keep this state for so many years what the fathers designated it, "Our ever faithful Pennsylvania."

Nothing, then, could be more appropriate than the lead which Pennsylvania has taken in the establishment of democratic societies. Let them be instituted in every school district in the state; and nothing can be more certain than that, sooner or later, they will bring Pennsylvania to her proper place—the keystone state of the democratic arch.

No more efficient scheme could be devised for the education of the democratic masses in democratic principles than such societies as Mr. Black is endeavoring to found. With these and with the Australian ballot reform, we can rely on what Jefferson relied on, the common sense and the generous patriotism of the masses to make this indeed the republic of which he dreamed. Mr. Black, follower of Jefferson though he is, has perhaps not yet realized all that the Jeffersonian philosophy involves. But for

the present that is of minor moment. In time he will. The truth grows and grows upon him who embraces it. In the meantime he represents a democracy with which we single tax men, we democrats of democrats, can cordially work.

Judge Thurman's speech at Port Huron has made clear even to Mr. Dana that the democracy is headed toward the destruction of protection. I would suggest to that most able journalist that he might possibly do as much toward beating Mr. Cleveland if he would resume his place in the republican party as if he continues to call himself a democrat.

The republican convention of New York has nominated Warner Miller of Herkimer for governor. What is much more important, it has followed the lead of the republican convention of Connecticut in pledging the candidates and the party to the Australian ballot reform. Here is the plank. The rest of the republican platform counts for nothing to us as compared with this:

*Fifth*—The purity of the ballot, the security of elections and the guarantee of honest returns are the foundation of our free institutions, and good citizens of all parties should gladly aid in all practical measures for promoting these conditions and for checking all hostile and corrupting influences. The republican party favors the payment by the state of the legitimate expenses for ballots and their distribution, and the punishment by disfranchisement and other severe penalties of bribery and fraud at elections. The efforts of the last legislature in this direction deserve commendation, while Governor Hill merits censure and rebuke for his veto of a measure aiming to purify the ballot and to assure absolute independence to vote at the polls. The time has come for an appeal to the people and for action for elections free from the control of money, and guaranteeing to every elector the right to vote as he pleases, and to have that vote honestly counted.

In view of the fact that the republicans in the last legislature did carry through both branches a ballot reform bill which was vetoed by Governor Hill, they are certainly to be trusted in this. Mr. Miller is a double-dyed protectionist, but I shall certainly vote for him as against Governor Hill or any other democratic candidate not sound on the question which in state politics is the greatest of all issues. And from the interviews already published in THE STANDARD it is certain that this will be the attitude of a great number of men who will earnestly support Mr. Cleveland.

The New York *Herald* is vigorously urging the nomination of Mr. Hewitt on the democratic side. Whatever may be said against him, is trivial as compared to three most important things that may be said for him. He is, I am informed, warmly in favor of the ballot reform bill. He is in favor of local self government, a primary democratic principle outraged in New York; he has pronounced in favor of abolishing the taxation of personal property.

The message of the president which so quickly followed the rejection by the senate of the fishery treaty is the event of last week. It has so promptly and so completely checkmated the design of the republicans in refusing assent to the treaty by a strict party vote, that both by friends and opponents, and in Canada and England as well as in the United States, the first impulse is to regard it as a shrewd political move. The republican majority in the senate have deliberately rejected a treaty negotiated by the executive for the settlement of our difficulties with Canada, with the obvious purpose of giving color to the charge that the president of the United States is too susceptible to British influence and has consented to give up too easily the rights of American citizens. At once, the president responds by asking congress for power to assert those rights by retaliatory measures. At one stroke the object of this partisan treatment of a question of international moment is destroyed, and the effect upon the promoters of the precious scheme to make political capital by appealing to miserable prejudices and dangerous passions can only be described by the expressive, if not classical word, "flabbergasted." If this were the motive of the message, while it would be exceedingly creditable to Grover Cleveland the politician it would be disgraceful to Grover Cleveland the president; and the occupant of that high office who could even defensively use its powers to suggest retaliatory measures against another nation for the purpose of political effect at home, ought to be distrusted by thinking men.

There is, however, nothing to bear out such an assumption.

In his tariff message Mr. Cleveland gave evidence that it is as president, not as candidate, that he occupies the executive chair. From the standpoint of the politician, he had everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by raising the tariff question. As William Lloyd Garrison said on Monday night, "any politician of shrewdness would have predicted personal and party defeat from the message which has turned the whole country into a debating club." And as a matter of fact, the "flabbergasting" of the republican politicians by the fishery message was as

nothing compared with the "flabbergasting" of the democratic politicians by the tariff message. It is safe to say that for ten days the mail rained into the White house a perfect storm of protests and appeals from democratic politicians who believed that a sure success would be converted into a sure defeat if the leader of their party maintained his attitude of defiance to the Mumbo Jumbo of protection, of which they had long been in such craven fear.

And just as the tariff message bears the unmistakable stamp of a man who prefers to be right rather than polite, so does the fishery message bear the same impress of an honest conviction of duty. If it has shattered the plans of those who proposed to keep open an international sore for the purpose of playing before the groundlings the cheap act of bearding the British lion, it is only because they have put themselves in the wrong.

The president has tried to adjust our differences with our northern neighbors by the rational method of friendly discussion and mutual agreement. The senate, which under our constitution is a necessary part of the treaty making power, and thus holds an absolute veto upon what the president may do to adjust international differences, definitely and finally refused concurrence in the treaty. It did not seek to amend it; it flatly rejected it, leaving the president no ground on which to reopen negotiations.

What in such case was he to do? To do nothing, and leave the international sore, still more inflamed by our rejection of the treaty, to the dangerous irritation that might be produced at any moment by the action of some individual or minor official? Or to exercise the powers conferred on him last year by congress, of forbidding Canadian vessels entrance into our waters and Dominion products from crossing our boundaries? For him to take the one course would have been to neglect a clear duty. To take the other would have been to declare a passive war. The president, avoiding both alternatives, has taken a course at once dignified and moderate in asking congress to give him power to adopt, if needed to secure fair treatment of our citizens, that minimum of retaliation which consists in refusing to Canadians the same privileges in this country which are refused to our citizens by them. And he has asked this power in a way well calculated to bring before congress and the people of both countries the mingled gravity and absurdity of the situation in which the failure of the attempt to settle amicably these trivial disputes has left us. He could hardly have done less without disregard of official duty. He could hardly have done more without disregard of conscience.

The president in addressing a co-ordinate branch of the government on the subject of a difficulty with a foreign power does not, of course, allude to the greater meanness on our part which is in reality the provoking cause of the little meannesses of the Canadians. But it is none the less obvious. We need have no differences with our Canadian neighbors—there need be no more jarring nor friction between us and them than there is between New York and Pennsylvania, if we did not insist on keeping a lot of utterly useless men in uniform at the American end of the suspension bridge, with authority first to swear and then search, any one who comes across it, and to confiscate any merchandise he may bring, from a hand-saw to a bible, unless he ransom it by the payment of a fine. If we would only forego the luxury of paying these gentlemen, who, however high their private characters, are economically considered, merely destructive loafers, exercising by authority of a great nation the functions, sometimes of pickpockets and sometimes of highwaymen, there would be nothing to prevent our virtually adding Canada, fishing banks and all, to the United States. For there is no question that the Canadians would give us free ingress and egress to and from all the territory and waters of the Dominion and all commercial, industrial and social privileges therein, if we would but extend to them like courtesies.

How queerly inverted everything is when viewed by logical eyes through protectionist spectacles may be seen if we but look in that way at some of the things suggested by the president's message. If Senator Edmunds and Patrick Ford will only have the courage of their convictions they may find abundant reason to denounce President Cleveland as designing to enrich Canada at the expense of the United States and scheming to build up Dominion industries at the expense of those of his own country. For what is it that this unpatriotic free trader proposes? He proposes to coerce Canada by refusing to let her imports from other countries pass through our territory without becoming subject to our tariff duties as well as her own. What would this be but to give to Canada the benefit of two tariffs instead of one? If American prosperity is due to one protective tariff, would not two tariffs give Canada double that prosperity? If one tariff makes wages here so high, would not two tariffs make wages in Canada twice as high? If one tariff makes goods cheap, would not two tariffs make goods cheaper still? Who but Mr. Robert

Porter could figure out how cheaply a suit of clothes might be had in a country blessed with two tariffs?

Surely, any protectionist could prove that under pretense of retaliating on Canada, President Cleveland, bribed, of course, with enormous sums raised by the Beaver club, is trying to secure her an additional blessing. How, indeed, upon the protectionist theory, could our levying on goods sent to Canada hurt the Canadians, when every protectionist knows that duties levied on goods which go into a country are always paid by those foreign producers whose sole aim in life is to lay waste other countries by deluging them with goods. Clearly, on all protectionist principles, the effect of granting President Cleveland the power he asks would simply be to enable him to so increase profits in Canada, to so augment wages there, to so doubly secure to Canadians their own home market, to so reduce the cost of Canadian goods, to so stimulate the prosperity of the Dominion, that every American who could travel would want to leave this country of only one tariff to share in the blessings of that which rejoiced in two. And besides this double tariff on the one side, it must be remembered the British dominions in North America are secured on the other side by what is still more protective even than a tariff—desolate wastes and eternal ice.

And then how queerly must protectionists, if true to protection principles, view the idea of the possible war which President Cleveland's message suggests. A war with England, viewed through protectionist spectacles, would certainly hurt American industry in one way, for the people of the United States, in the headlong passion which war would arouse, and which would overcome their good sense, would certainly take the whole of British North America and annex it to the Union, thus destroying for Canada the certain blessing of one tariff and the possible blessing of two. And think of the dreadful consequences on our side of the line! Canadian lumber, Canadian coal, Canadian potatoes and wheat and oats, and everything else that Canadian labor produces, would then come into the United States as freely as Canadian cheap labor does now. The dire results that would clearly ensue ought to make a patriotic American protectionist shudder to think of. On the other hand we should certainly gain from a protectionist standpoint by the destruction of what is left of the little American shipping that custom house protection has not driven off the ocean. And a war with England would surely secure for us such thorough protection of all our seaboard as the north gave to the south during the civil war. On the other hand, it is certain that England, in spite of all her ironclads and big guns, could not throw a shell into an American city, for electricity and torpedoes handled by American ingenuity would certainly keep those ships and guns at such a distance from our cities that no shells could reach them. This would be a matter of great regret to Mr. Powderly in contemplating a possible war, if he is logical enough to follow his premises to their legitimate conclusion. For all the breaking of ginger beer bottles that he could do in a lifetime would not "make so much work" as one big shell falling into the center of a city such as New York or San Francisco. It would be doing injustice to Mr. Powderly's heart to imagine that he could contemplate with indifference the effusion of blood that might result from a war. But, then, leaving the dictates of the heart aside, how satisfactory to his protectionist head would be the diminution of what he evidently regards as the great curse both of America and Europe—surplus population.

Altogether, the more it is thought about, the more it seems as though the simple straightforwardness of Mr. Cleveland had indeed landed the republicans in the pit they dug for him.

We send two copies of this issue of THE STANDARD to each of our mail subscribers. We do this in order that each one of them may hand or send the extra copy to a friend or political opponent, selecting the one whom it is most likely to benefit, and marking what may seem the most telling article for him. We also forward a large number of copies to those whose names have been sent us for that purpose. We urge our friends who can to swell the campaign fund, and those who cannot help with money, to at least send us names of persons to whom STANDARDS may with advantage be sent.

Above all, we urge that the enrollment blank, published again in THE STANDARD, be used. We want to know our friends.

It was announced at Monday night's single tax meeting that another meeting would be held on September 10. But it is said that Judge Thurman will speak in New York on that night. Though two halls could easily be filled to overflowing, our committee does not wish to incur the appearance of discourtesy that would be involved in holding another meeting on the same night. And they want moreover, if possible, to testify by their presence to the esteem in which they hold the sturdy old democratic free trader and anti-monopolist. So the meeting thus announced has been postponed to a time hereafter to be stated.

HENRY GEORGE.

## FOR CLEVELAND AND FOR FREEDOM.

### THE SINGLE TAX MEN TO THE FRONT.

A Rousing Ratification Meeting at Cooper Union—Speeches by William Lloyd Garrison, James P. Archibald, William T. Crossdale and Henry George—Free Trade Principles Cheered to the Echo—Questions and Answers—A Revelation to the Democratic Politicians.

The first public mass meeting of the single tax men of New York in support of Cleveland and Thurman, on Monday night, was a magnificent success. The large hall of Cooper Union was crowded to the doors, and enough persons were turned away to have filled another hall of the same size.

At quarter past seven a side door was opened for the admission of those bearing tickets, and fifteen minutes later the front doors were flung apart and the crowd surged in, filling up every seat and every square foot of available standing room long before the hour set for the proceedings to commence. Every one was handed a tract entitled "A Republican's Reasons for Supporting Cleveland"—an interview with Judge Frank T. Reid of Tennessee—and a large committee was kept busy circulating blanks for the enrollment of single tax Cleveland voters.

The platform was tastefully adorned with flags and streamers, and overhead stretched a banner bearing the legend:

FREE TRADE, FREE LAND, FREE MEN.

The assemblage was a most intelligent one and many ladies were to be seen. That some persons not in sympathy with the aims of the meeting were present was apparent from questions asked. Their interruptions, however, but added zest to the proceedings, so that the old time enthusiasm prevailed and the enunciation of a radical sentiment was a signal for a demonstration.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Garrison, in consequence of a severe cold, could not be heard by the great mass of the audience standing packed together in the rear and at the sides of the big hall, not a man stirred out of his place.

Promptly at 8 o'clock William T. Crossdale, chairman of the single tax Cleveland campaign committee, stepped to the front of the platform and called the meeting to order. In a few well chosen words he explained how the meeting came to be called and what its object was. He said:

The plan sketched out by the conference held in this building a few weeks ago aims simply to secure the co-operation in this campaign of those men who two years ago were denounced as outcasts and branded as enemies of society, to help elect a man, not because we have for him any personal sympathy, not because he is a democrat, but because he is right. (Applause.)

With a view to best accomplishing that object the conference decided to confine the action in this campaign solely to national issues. On state and municipal tickets we propose to take no action, and every individual engaged in this movement will vote according to the dictates of his own conscience. It is probable from present appearances that Mr. Hill will be the gubernatorial candidate of the democrats. (Long interruption by loud hissing and groaning and some cheering.) This is a sufficient demonstration of the wisdom of the committee in confining the policy of this meeting to the tariff, but I have no doubt whatever from what I know of the men before me, that the Australian system of voting is also going to enter into this campaign. (Applause.)

Mr. Crossdale then presented James P. Archibald, master workman of the national paper hangers' district of the Knights of Labor, who was the secretary and a prime mover in the organization of trades and labor associations that nominated Mr. George for the majority two years ago, as chairman of the meeting. Mr. Archibald said:

I feel profoundly grateful for the honor done me to-night in being called upon to preside at this meeting, chiefly for the reason that I had the pleasure of presiding at the meeting that gave birth to the Henry George movement. (Applause.) In this campaign, as Mr. Crossdale has suggested to you, we have nothing whatever to do with state politics outside of the election of two men who are likely to advance the principle of the single tax on land values. We expect, every man of us by his vote and every woman by her influence, to elect these men and to make the way clear for the accomplishment of free trade. (Applause.)

Very many years ago (many men in this hall may remember it well) there was a movement for the abolition of chattel slavery. Many of the original supporters of that movement were humiliated, belied and belittled in the name of the cause for which they strove. Every one of them bore his share of the ignominy which was heaped upon them by those who did not know what they were thinking or what they were speaking of. But after many years their victory came—the total abolition of chattel slavery was accomplished. (Applause.) Our efforts are solely directed to the abolition of another kind of slavery (applause), more widespread, more disastrous to the prosperity of the people of this great republic than ever chattel slavery was. (Applause.)

This is the task to which we set ourselves, and with us in this task, I rejoice to say, we have the son and the successor of the man to whom more than to any other belongs the honor of leading that anti-slavery movement that has accomplished its noble work. It gives me great pleasure to be the medium through which you shall become acquainted with him. I introduce to you William Lloyd Garrison.

When Mr. Garrison came forward he was saluted with loud and prolonged cheering. When at length silence had been restored, he began his speech, every point he made being taken with a quickness which showed the close sympathy of the audience, and being followed by a surge of applause or a roar of laughter.

No man who follows his own convictions can foresee the path his steps must take, or the companionship that he must share. What previous impulse has brought me into your camp is not of moment now. Suffice it that I am here. The philanthropist and thinker whose leadership in social reform you recognize has touched me also with his potent wand. Starting with antipathy and prejudice, I come to acknowledge to-night my in-



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brought over here for other people. (Applause.) I do not object to his going over to that terrible country that he talks about, and getting himself dressed in the pauper's rags, and then coming back here and telling us, who have not money enough to go abroad and enjoy all these things, and bring trunks full of good things home, that we cannot have any of the things that are made on the other side of the water without paying 40 or 50 or 70, and in some cases over 100 per cent of a duty, and all the profits upon it. (Applause.) Look at this theory that labor must be protected; that we must keep people from coming into the United States that we want of American people to buy what they want of American manufacturers, in order to give employment to labor—(Cries of "That is right!" "That is the doctrine!" "Sound sense!" etc.)

Did you ever ask yourself who employed labor? (A voice, "Capital.") Capital, some one says—capital employs labor! Which was here first, labor or capital? (Applause.) But that is the protective theory! They are very vague about it, and never dare to put it into words; but under all the appeals to justice and ignorance and protection, the fact is making is the notion that labor is a poor, helpless thing that somebody or something else must employ or it will starve; the notion that there is only a fixed quantity of work in the country, and, therefore, if anybody else does our work we won't have any work to do; the notion that wages are a fixed quantity given to labor by the classes that furnish labor with employment. Now, as a matter of fact, what is labor paid for? What does the laboring man get, when after his work, he gets his pay? (Cries of "Labor.") Yes, he gets the results of labor. (Applause.) Money is a mere counter which the laborer exchanges for goods. Labor is paid in the products of labor. The wages of labor are really a part of what labor itself brings into being. What is the demand for labor? (A voice, "Somebody's wants.")

Yes, somebody's wants—or, rather, to make the demand what the economists call an effective demand—somebody's wants coupled by somebody's willingness to satisfy his wants by the proceeds of his work. Thus, the only limit to the demand for labor is the ability of labor to do work. Is the amount of work to be done in this country fixed? (A voice, "No.")

Have we need for any more work? (Cries of "Yes!") Are our cities well enough built? Are we all well enough housed? Are we all well enough clothed? Have we all our wants satisfied? (Cries of "No, no!")

So long then, as wants exist, there exists a demand for work. And so long as the natural opportunities abound, so long as there is raw material of nature that can be worked up by the hands of labor into cloth, into houses, into anything that satisfies man's desires, there is employment for labor. (Applause.) The difficulty is simply in restriction, in the shutting out of labor from the opportunity to satisfy wants. But taking advantage of the very difficulties—the very suffering created by restriction, by the denial of natural rights—protectionism cries, "Do some more fencing, make some more restrictions!" And men, suffering from monopoly, are led in their ignorance to create more monopolies! (Applause.) So we see such men as Mr. Foster seeking to keep those who are suffering from restriction to ask for more restrictions still; and urging us to go back on American traditions and shut out those who seek what we have so long boasted was the safe asylum of the oppressed, the sure refuge of the down-trodden! (Applause.)

What reason is there that any man willing to earn his living by his toil should view with jealousy another man coming to this country willing to do the same thing? Why should labor be afraid of labor? Open to labor the natural opportunities for labor and we can welcome from all Europe those who choose to come. They will not only not hurt us, they will help us. The more who come the better. Just as one thousand men working together can produce more than a thousand times as much as one man, so every additional laborer who comes to this country ought to add not merely to our aggregate wealth, but ought to make easier the opportunity for every one of us to get a living. If this is so, now, is it simply from the restrictions imposed upon the exertions of labor. (Applause.)

In the interests of labor we want to abolish these restrictions wherever they may be. And the quicker we abolish such restrictions as those imposed by the tariff, the quicker we destroy the protective superstition, the sooner we shall bring men to face the fact that the only thing that makes labor fear labor is this disheartening of men from what their Creator intended they should enjoy. (Applause.)

(A voice, "Are you in favor of importing contract labor?")

I am not in favor of importing contract labor, but I would not shut out any man who comes here to make a living by honest work and is capable of assimilating with us. And I do not think your contract labor law amounts to a row of pins. It is a mere tub to the whale. We single tax men are not afraid of freedom. We trust her and would follow her. We are free traders because we seek freedom. We are not "British free traders," who would have a tax for revenue only, but free traders of an older and higher school. This very appellation that we give ourselves of "single tax men" embodies what was first proposed by that school of great Frenchmen who were the predecessors of Adam Smith, and whose idea of free trade was not a revenue tariff, but no tariff at all—the abolition of all restrictions upon production and the raising of public revenue from that value which arises from the growth and progress of the community. We cannot hope to attain our end at one step; but in each step that gives greater freedom we know that we are moving toward the emancipation of labor. And in supporting in this campaign the man who was bold enough, even when he had the presidential nomination in his grasp, to raise an issue that the mere politicians were afraid of, we know that we are on the side of right, of truth, of justice, that we are working for the highest good of the nation and of the race. We know that his triumphant election will advance the cause of liberty and of the people. (Applause.)

This robbing tariff of ours, this restriction of trade that is called protection, is not merely an absurdity, it is an infringement of the natural rights of man. The right to trade freely is as truly a natural right as the right to speak freely, and it is as important. What is trade? Simply the last and final step in production—simply that step which brings to those who want them the various articles that have been produced by the labor of others; that step which multiplies the powers of man and adds most enormously to his resources. Trade has ever been the civilizer, the enricher—the great promoter of progress. To check it, to restrict it, is to turn our faces toward barbarism. To strike off restrictions, to make it fully free, is to turn our faces toward the light, to increase all the forces that make for a higher and nobler civilization. (Applause.)

We single tax men have, in this campaign, an important work to do. Let us do our best to support the man who in the issue that is raised represents the side of freedom. (Applause.)

plause). Not apologizing for free trade, but advocating it and demanding it—declaring wherever we can that it is in freedom, not in restriction, that the emancipation of labor is to be sought, that the rights of man are to be regained, that the reign of peace and plenty is to be brought about. (Applause.) Meanest and vilest of all the prejudices that have been utilized to enslave men are the prejudices of creed, nationality and race. Whoever appeals to men by these prejudices, whoever tells us that our prosperity is dependent upon keeping back the prosperity of other peoples, is no friend of labor. (Applause.) The spirit that alone can emancipate labor is the spirit that accepts the brotherhood of all men—that seeks the good of each in the advancement of all, and sees in an injury to one the concern of all! (Applause.)

Protection! It has been under that plea that the greatest crimes of history have been perpetrated. It was under the plea of protecting the masses from heresy that the fagot was laid and the rack was strung; it was under the plea of protecting them from evil teachers that the liberty of the press, the liberty of speech, was trodden down. Restriction in its nature enslaving, and the march of men from oppression toward liberty has always been in the tearing down of restrictions imposed in the name of their protection. Protection! So far from being an American system, it is the reverse—the negation of everything that is truly American. The true American spirit is not that of restriction, but that of freedom. That we to-day speak the English tongue, and not the Spanish or the French, is due to the fact that the English colonies were the freest, the least protected. All our great restrictions point to freedom. The American Declaration of Independence contains in its grandest of its clauses the very epitome of freedom, the most concise declaration, not merely of the rights of Americans, but the rights of man. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness!" (Great applause.)

We have grown because of our freedom, not because of our restrictions. That we have so rapidly increased is due to the fact not merely that our institutions were the freest, but that we had here in this vast expanse of unused land more ready access to natural opportunities than was possessed by the nations on the other side of the Atlantic. But with all our boasts of devotion to liberty we have installed here the great curse that on the other side of the Atlantic has brought forth aristocracy on the one hand and pauperism on the other. While asserting in words the equal rights of all men, we have made the very land itself—the natural element indispensable to all—the private property of some. And American citizens must pay tribute to other American citizens, to foreign corporations or subjects, for the privilege of living and working in the land of their birth. (Applause.) And American children are daily coming into life with as little legal right to live or to work in their own country as any child born in England or Ireland or Germany! Copying again other restrictions that belong to old world despotism, we have surrounded ourselves with a Chinese wall to hamper our intercourse with other nations, and to build up servile vassalage and burdensome monopolies. We who can see within our own borders the advantages of free trade, we who glory in the union whose greatest blessing is that it forbids the erection of any tariff barriers between state and state, what should we have to do with tariffs between nation and nation! (Applause.)

How these restrictions have hampered our growth and lessened our wealth; how they have diminished our enterprise and destroyed the self-reliance of our people, we can see in many ways; but there is one example so striking as to be worth dwelling on for a moment.

Thirty years ago, when I was a boy, a little white schooner was the fleetest and best that clove the seas. In every port of the world the American flag was known. American sailors deemed themselves and were deemed by their countrymen the very best seamen that sailed the ocean. We built not merely for ourselves, but for other nations. No one then thought of crossing the Atlantic in a British vessel. We had almost become the first commercial nation in the world, and a few years it seemed certain would put us at the head of the list. How is it to-day? Why, in the seaports of the world an American ship is almost as rare as a Chinese junk. (Applause.) Who crosses the Atlantic on an American vessel? No matter how much you may hate England, if you don't want to cross on an English vessel, you must travel on a French or a German or a Dutch vessel. In a little while, who once deemed ourselves the first of the sea-going nations will not be known on the high seas. And now comes up the complaint that even in our coasting trade foreigners are running American seamen out. The very character of our seamanship has deteriorated. Why, an American naval officer told me a week ago of a three-masted schooner coming home from Aspinwall to Philadelphia. At night the captain told his men to keep a good lookout for the Delaware light, and before morning that schooner was an adrift on the Bahama's. (Applause.) We build yachts for our millaires, but they are for the most part manned by Scandinavians and Danes, and the complaint came before the Ford investigating committee that even what few ships we have are sailed by foreigners (applause), and to protect American seamanship a "foreigner" has been arrested in Chicago for acting as captain of a coal barge. (Laughter.) What is the cause of this? Thirty years ago no one would have dreamed it possible. (Applause and cries of "Iron!" "Steel!" "Cheap capital!" "Cheap labor!")

No; nothing of the kind. Thirty years ago our shipwrights got more wages than they do to-day (applause); thirty years ago there was a greater difference between wages on one side of the Atlantic and the other than there is now; thirty years ago there was a greater difference in interest. Many of the vessels that are sailing to-day under the English and other foreign flags are owned by American capitalists, and are simply being protection—the applying of a great nation. (Applause.) It is because these men speak rather as reformers—the cause of labor than as political partisans that their words have influence with the workmen beyond that ordinarily exercised by campaign speakers.

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Coal rings! Aye, rings of all sorts; you know them, and they are too numerous for me to mention. (Applause.) These tariff duties can no more benefit the employer who has no monopoly than they

can benefit the laborer. They benefit the men who can make trusts and combinations, or who through the monopoly of natural opportunities have some advantage. And it is in restriction, that the monopoly of man is to be sought, that the rights of man are to be regained, that the reign of peace and plenty is to be brought about. (Applause.) Meanest and vilest of all the prejudices that have been utilized to enslave men are the prejudices of creed, nationality and race. Whoever appeals to men by these prejudices, whoever tells us that our prosperity is dependent upon keeping back the prosperity of other peoples, is no friend of labor. (Applause.) The spirit that alone can emancipate labor is the spirit that accepts the brotherhood of all men—that seeks the good of each in the advancement of all, and sees in an injury to one the concern of all! (Applause.)

Protection! It has been under that plea that the greatest crimes of history have been perpetrated. It was under the plea of protecting the masses from heresy that the fagot was laid and the rack was strung; it was under the plea of protecting them from evil teachers that the liberty of the press, the liberty of speech, was trodden down. Restriction in its nature enslaving, and the march of men from oppression toward liberty has always been in the tearing down of restrictions imposed in the name of their protection. Protection! So far from being an American system, it is the reverse—the negation of everything that is truly American. The true American spirit is not that of restriction, but that of freedom. That we to-day speak the English tongue, and not the Spanish or the French, is due to the fact that the English colonies were the freest, the least protected. All our great restrictions point to freedom. The American Declaration of Independence contains in its grandest of its clauses the very epitome of freedom, the most concise declaration, not merely of the rights of Americans, but the rights of man. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness!" (Great applause.)

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## THE TRUE RING.

### SPEECH OF CHAUNCEY F. BLACK AT THE CONVENTION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF NEW JERSEY.

The Standard of Jeffersonian Republicanism Raised in the Democratic Line—"Let There be No Trimming; No Mean and Cowardly Evasions."

The state convention of the democratic clubs of New Jersey was held in Trenton, on Wednesday, Aug. 23. Chauncey F. Black, president of the democratic society of Pennsylvania, and president of the national association of democratic clubs, made a ringing address which we reproduce from the Trenton True American:

The democracy of New Jersey, intelligent, true and sturdy, as it has ever been, has never been assembled for the transaction of more important business than that which you are here to do. The establishment of a perfect system of democratic societies—the embodiment of the rank and file in local popular assemblies—informed and inspired by the gospel of free government and pure, as we have it from the fathers, at once of our Union and our party, and which, whenever and wherever received, has secured every blessing of liberty, order and peace, is an achievement of the highest moment to every citizen of this state. I designate these primary associations of sound hearted and sound minded freemen, for the support of republican principles, "democratic societies," because the designation comprehends every other. I personally prefer it to any other, because it was the glorious name under which our forefathers accomplished "the civil revolution of 1800;" replaced Adams, Hamilton and the monarchs, with Jefferson, Madison and the democrats, and instead of the tyranny, corruption and monopoly of British despotism, gave us sixty years of democratic liberty, home rule, light taxes and administrative purity.

But you cannot go wrong. However you shall designate yourselves you are the political descendants of Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of democracy, the emancipator of labor, the greatest of all merely human anti-monopolists. Whether following the less orthodox nomenclature of the day, you call your primary organizations "clubs," or following the example of our fathers in the first great struggle with Bourbon federalism, you call them democratic societies, rejoicing in all that the historic name implies, these voluntary associations of true democrats must, nevertheless, be what Mr. Jefferson so aptly described them, "the very nurseries of republicanism." A glance at the several clear and comprehensive propositions, constitutional and economic, unanimously adopted by the Baltimore convention and incorporated in the charter of the national association, will reveal the important fact that the entire democratic club system of the United States is built upon Jefferson. Upon that broad rock it stands, and the storms of all the future will beat against it in vain. The people must be permitted to extend to the impairment of the trusts, which, whether "advantageous or disadvantageous," must stand forever, above and beyond the reach of the law.

Did the man who thus rushed to the rescue of the trusts merely Burchardize, that is, blurt out what was deep down in his inner heart without calculating its legitimate consequences? I do not believe it. He spoke what he was required to speak. The so-called republican party is wholly and entirely dependent upon the monopolies. They—the aggregation of trusts—are the party. They own it, control it, and profit by it. In Chicago convention they brought it up to the point of declaring in favor of an eternal maintenance of prohibitory tariff duties, and against all practical relief for the overburdened people by a revision eliminating from the system even the plainest swindles. But the convention paused at trusts. It shrank from indorsing them. On the contrary, it mildly intimated that they were not entirely "advantageous," and might possibly be dispensed with if the tariff were kept high enough. And now, as the price of their further support, the consideration of the enormous outlay demanded by the trusts in this wretched campaign of rich men's money against honest men's votes, the monopolists require that a greater than the convention, a greater than Harrison—the "uncrowned king" of the half breeds, whose baleful shadow is projected over the party from the Penobscot to the Wabash, and on to the Pacific, shall unequivocally declare in favor of the sanctity and perpetuity of trusts. There can be no other explanation. This man knows the meaning of words, and he knows also—none know better than he—how combinations in restraint of trade, conspiracies to forestall, to advance commodities and to lower wages, have been unlawful ever since the race to which we belong learned the first elementary principles of human freedom. He spoke, as he felt himself compelled to speak, for those who have made him what he is, and are to-day the backbone of his party.

Nor was it the first time that he has received their command with reluctance, and obeyed it with fatal consequences. Four years ago he sat down to the Bolshazzer feast with the lords of the trusts, begging to be spared the public exposure of his dependence, and timidly intimating the inevitable results of their imprudence. But they were merciless then, and they are merciless again. With them he is no king; he is but a royal puppet, decked out in mock purple and used, like the captive Montezuma, to delude and enslave his own people. It is only among the treacherous half breeds that he is a real king. Under Garfield he decreed the exile of Grant, and Conkling, and Logan, and Cameron and all the historic chiefs of the old republican party. He decreed the ruthless slaughter of Polger in New York and of Beaver in Pennsylvania. He decreed, in pursuance of personal revenge, the rending of the republican party into warring factions. And all these decrees his obedient subjects executed to the last letter. Do decent republicans—do self-respecting stalwarts—sign for another reign of this remorseless king, and another carnival of the perfidious half-breeds? He is at present confessedly "uncrowned," though his sovereignty is freely acknowledged by the republican party, from Chauncey F. Black down to the last laborer hired to lay a board on a bridge. Their alleged workmen's processions. Shall he be actually crowned? Shall the only hand in America that is openly raised to defend the rapacious and infamous trusts be accepted and armed to make that defense effectual?

For one thing we have reason to be grateful. The federalists no longer try to disguise the issue. They boldly declare that, under their construction of the constitution, congress may exercise the power of taxation, not for the purpose of raising revenue to support the government, but for the sole purpose of "protecting" the Annidowns, the Carnegies, and the whole list of the beneficiaries of tariff subsidies, and of huge trusts in the possession of a monopolized American market, so that they may, at pleasure, raise prices on the one hand and reduce wages on the other. It is the most monstrous proposition ever advanced in American politics. Until recently even the most besotted federalist, the most blindest advocate of Bourbon paternalism, hesitated to assert it. Like other people, they insisted that protection was an "incident" in the use of the power to raise money for public purposes and that the monopolies which grew out of it were evils to be deprecated and corrected. Their presidents and their secretaries of the treasury, their tariff commissions; even their Blaines and their Harrisons—to say nothing of their national conventions—have solemnly declared, time and again, in favor of tariff revision, to relieve in some measure the needless burdens of the people, and above all to eliminate the most palpable of the monopolies. But all that has changed. The tariff now must not be touched unless it be to raise duties where at present they fall a little short of being prohibitory. They propose not merely to maintain the

monopoly system, but to enlarge and perfect it. Incredible as this may seem it is literally true—the attitude of the so-called republican party deliberately maintained! Now, if this power exists in the general government, and is to be exercised—this discrimination in favor of the few against the many—this gigantic scooping of the earnings of labor into the coffers of monopoly by a gross and plainly unconstitutional perversion of the taxing power—what becomes of our free institutions? If they do not protect us in the enjoyment of that which we produce, or that which we earn, what are they worth? And if we submit, what, in God's name, are we? Are we the sovereign citizens of a free country, or the slaves of monopolies, combined, and still combining in mighty trusts, for the restraint of trade, the advance of prices, the reduction of wages? When you lay a hand successfully upon a man's earnings, you have made him a serf. And this is precisely what the so-called republican party seeks to do by means of prohibitory tariffs and great trusts. The tariff excludes competition; the trust puts up prices to the consumer and puts down wages to the workman. The tariff makes the trust possible, and the trust turns in a percentage of its fabulous profits to swell the corruption funds in support of the tariff.

But workmen, in these alleged "protected" industries, how do they fare? Surely they are well cared for by their benevolent and highly subsidized employers! Well, when the trust concludes to close an establishment, the men wait until it suits the royal pleasure of the trust to start it. When the trust puts up prices, and the men foolishly imagine themselves entitled to a share in the advance, do they get it? Once in a while, under very peculiar circumstances, they do, but in almost every instance they learn, in want and sorrow, the bitter lesson that he who places his wages under the control of another has no resource in the last resort but the submission. When they strike—the last desperate remedy—they are too often simply turned adrift, their families evicted and their places occupied by imported laborers. Such is the "protection" which the republican tariff and the trusts award to "American labor" in the "protected" industries. Meanwhile the monopolists fatten, and logically enough yield layer after layer of the accumulated fat, to the party which enables them to accumulate it.

How long shall this process go on? How long will the mass of men submit to be openly needed to enrich the subsidized few? Into what further depths do they depend upon the lords of the trusts will the intelligently workingmen of America consent to bask?

They will answer for themselves in November. They have the power to determine the whole matter if they will. And they are so very likely to determine it in the right way, in their own interest and that of the country, that already the subsidy party has summoned its "leader of leaders" to put in a defense of the trusts as private business concerns, with which neither the president nor any one else has any right or power to intermeddle. This is the royal caveat entered in advance of the verdict of the ballot boxes. No judgment of the people must be permitted to extend to the impairment of the trusts, which, whether "advantageous or disadvantageous," must stand forever, above and beyond the reach of the law.

Did the man who thus rushed to the rescue of the trusts merely Burchardize, that is, blurt out what was deep down in his inner heart without calculating its legitimate consequences? I do not believe it. He spoke what he was required to speak. The so-called republican party is wholly and entirely dependent upon the monopolies. They—the aggregation of trusts—are the party. They own it, control it, and profit by it. In Chicago convention they brought it up to the point of declaring in favor of an eternal maintenance of prohibitory tariff duties, and against all practical relief for the overburdened people by a revision eliminating from the system even the plainest swindles. But the convention paused at trusts. It shrank from indorsing them. On the contrary, it mildly intimated that they were not entirely "advantageous," and might possibly be dispensed with if the tariff were kept high enough. And now, as the price of their further support, the consideration of the enormous outlay demanded by the trusts in this wretched campaign of rich men's money against honest men's votes, the monopolists require that a greater than the convention, a greater than Harrison—the "uncrowned king" of the half breeds, whose baleful shadow is projected over the party from the Penobscot to the Wabash, and on to the Pacific, shall unequivocally declare in favor of the sanctity and perpetuity of trusts. There can be no other explanation. This man knows the meaning of words, and he knows also—none know better than he—how combinations in restraint of trade, conspiracies to forestall, to advance commodities and to lower wages, have been unlawful ever since the race to which we belong learned the first elementary principles of human freedom. He spoke, as he felt himself compelled to speak, for those who have made him what he is, and are to-day the backbone of his party.

Nor was it the first time that he has received their command with reluctance, and obeyed it with fatal consequences. Four years ago he sat down to the Bolshazzer feast with the lords of the trusts, begging to be spared the public exposure of his dependence, and timidly intimating the inevitable results of their imprudence. But they were merciless then, and they are merciless again. With them he is no king; he is but a royal puppet, decked out in mock purple and used, like the captive Montezuma, to delude and enslave his own people. It is only among the treacherous half breeds that he is a real king. Under Garfield he decreed the exile of Grant, and Conkling, and Logan, and Cameron and all the historic chiefs of the old republican party. He decreed the ruthless slaughter of Polger in New York and of Beaver in Pennsylvania. He decreed, in pursuance of personal revenge, the rending of the republican party into warring factions. And all these decrees his obedient subjects executed to the last letter. Do decent republicans—do self-respecting stalwarts—sign for another reign of this remorseless king, and another carnival of the perfidious half-breeds? He is at present confessedly "uncrowned," though his sovereignty is freely acknowledged by the republican party, from Chauncey F. Black down to the last laborer hired to lay a board on a bridge. Their alleged workmen's processions. Shall he be actually crowned? Shall the only hand in America that is openly raised to defend the rapacious and infamous trusts be accepted and armed to make that defense effectual?

The Way to Become Rich in this Country is to be Industrious and to Work Hard.

A dispatch from Athens, Ga., in a recent issue of the Atlanta Constitution says: We have in the southern portion of Athens a most striking example of the increase in the value of real estate. About forty years ago Governor Lumpkin sold to Mr. Lilly, of the one hundred and fifty acres of land near Athens at three dollars per acre. To-day Mr. Lilly would not sell the place for \$150 per acre, or fifty times as much. This land has not been improved and is in the same primeval forest as when purchased.

## THE REFORM CLUB MEETING.

Ex-Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain Talks Straight Out for Free Trade.

The New York reform club is doing a great educational work on the economic questions of the day. At its weekly meetings the living political questions are discussed by able men on the high plane of clean-cut reason, and with a boldness and honesty which present a striking contrast to the cringing, dishonest methods employed usually on the political stump. The club rooms at 12 East Thirty-third street were crowded last Friday night to hear a telling free trade speech by ex-Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain.

Among those present were Louis F. Post, J. Hinman, Edgar M. Johnson, Nelson Smith, General Hermann Leib, E. J. Suriver, R. G. Munro, and E. R. Whitney. In beginning his talk, Mr. Chamberlain referred to the encouraging fact that the American people are considering the tariff question as they never did before. Taking up his subject, "Political Aspects of the Tariff with some Special Reference to Wages," he said that the world moves toward free trade as surely and necessarily as it moves toward other forms of freedom. Free trade was a normal condition, protection a temporary expedient at best. Is an import duty a tax? Is a tariff a method of taxation? It is rather a sum of money laid on and collected on the private property of a citizen for the public use. It must be paid by the man who buys the imported goods, for the object of laying it is to increase the price of the cloth manufactured here by my neighbor. It is a tax. When, after the Boston fire of 1872, the legislature authorized the city to tax herself to rebuild or help rebuild the waste places, the supreme court of Massachusetts promptly declared the act unconstitutional, because it was using taxation for private ends, contrary to common justice, equity and law.

Commenting on the Mills bill, Mr. Chamberlain said it is inadequate even for the reduction of the surplus, as its whole estimated reduction in revenue is only fifty and a half millions annually. So far from being a free trade measure it is scarcely more than a beginning of the tariff reduction necessary to remove the surplus. The great features of this measure are free wool, free tin plates, free lumber and free salt.

Referring to steel rails, he said: They were produced here as cheap as, or cheaper, than in England from 1875 to 1878. Will some protectionist say why they cannot be made in 1888? The average price of steel rails in England in 1887 was \$20.16, and the average price of steel rails in America was \$27.13, a difference of just \$6.97, and the tariff duty was just \$17. This tariff was a pure and simple gift of \$10.97 per ton to steel rail manufacturers, and it was, of course, robbing you and me to put money directly into the pockets of Andrew Carnegie and other steel rail makers.

Colonel Ingersoll Has Not Yet Accepted. Marlton, Wis., Daily Zephyr.

Colonel R. G. Ingersoll will discuss the issue of free trade or protection with Henry George at Cooper union, in New York city, some time during the coming month. As it is declared, so it will be, "a battle of the giants." Colonel Ingersoll is by far the most florid orator, but Henry George is much the closest reasoner. It will pay to get New York papers containing full reports of this debate, for it will be one of the great events of the present campaign.

The debate will take place in New York city some time in September. As Henry George is perhaps the most plausible talker on the subject of free trade in America, and Colonel Ingersoll is one of our greatest all-around orators, we may expect something rich.

Probably True. Marlton, Wis., Eagle.

Henry George talks of committing suicide. He wants to meet James G. Blaine in political discussion. —Chicago Journal.

If Henry George never dies until he commits suicide by discussing economic questions publicly with James G. Blaine on the same platform, where Blaine is considered unable to live until he is older than Methuselah.

Why Does Not Mr. Blaine Accept? New York Telegram.

Why does not James G. Blaine accept the challenge Henry George made a short time ago to meet him on the subject of free trade? Mr. Blaine is the acknowledged spokesman of the republican party, and that party asks the suffrage of the people on the ground that a protective tariff is essential to the welfare of the country.

The republican newspapers have not yet explained the situation, or demonstrated the republican theories. The people have simply been asked to take the republican word for it, that protection is a better thing for them than free trade.

Henry George goes even further than the democratic party in his views upon tariff revision. He declares for free trade, and out, so that a duty on imports, and Mr. Blaine might bring about an exposition of the abstract principles of the question at issue more clearly than if the discussion was carried on by Mr. Blaine and an antagonist who takes the position of a free trader.

It would also simplify matters for Mr. Blaine and make things easier for him.

And Mr. Blaine need not decline to meet Mr. George on the ground that he is not of sufficient caliber. It is Mr. Blaine and Mr. George a foeman worthy of his steel.

And what a grand feature of this educational campaign a debate between these two men would be!

Why would Mr. Blaine be afraid to meet Mr. George?

Conspiracy Laws.

Matthew Barry, delegate of the tin and slate roofers, has, on behalf of the Central labor union, issued a call to all labor organizations in the state of New York for a convention to be held in Troy, Sept. 17, for the purpose of taking action with regard to the conspiracy laws. The call says:

Our highest courts have decided that under the present laws it is a crime to organize for the purpose of shortening the hours of labor, regulating the employment of apprentices, and that until those laws are repealed any of us may be sent to a felon's cell for refusing to work with a person who is objectionable to us, and that we cannot take united action in refusing to purchase the goods of an unfair employer, in showing a strike, or in any purpose except that of maintaining or raising wages. Some of our most active members are now under indictment and liable at any time to be sent to jail for exercising what we have always considered to be our rights as men and American citizens. Well, I shall not venture to say that they are altogether "advantageous or disadvantageous." They are largely private affairs, with which neither president nor any private citizen has any particular right to interfere.



## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.  
Published weekly at  
11 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.  
One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.50; single copies, 5 cents.  
Entered at the postoffice, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient postage is sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, 11 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY. All communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every postoffice in the United States, to whom special terms will be given.

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

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 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.

## SUNLIGHT ON TRUSTS.

True to its protectionist principles, the *Sun* rushes to the defense of trusts, and in a leading editorial advises its readers that there is no use making a fuss about this latest form of monopoly; first, because the trust is a perfectly legitimate business evolution, to interfere with which would be to infringe the law of equal freedom; and second, because no legal enactment could do more than to force the trust managers to change the form of their organizations without in any way changing their essential purposes and methods. "The denunciation of trusts," says the *Sun*, "is perhaps the greatest humbug of the hour." And then the *Sun* goes on to explain wherein the humbug consists:

A trust is a vast partnership, a combination in trade or manufacture. The objects of trade being to buy as cheap as possible, to sell as dear as possible, and to get control of the market as far as possible, the formation for these purposes of these gigantic and widely extended partnerships is just as natural and regular as the partnership of two shoemakers or two blacksmiths.

At present these great combinations are usually confined to business in one community or in one country; but the immense copper trust, with Mr. Secor of Paris at its head, shows that with capital enough the management can be extended as far as to take in all the countries of the world. International trusts may become as plenty hereafter as those that are confined to a single state.

Against this new and enlarged form of commercial partnership ordinary legislation is pretty sure to be powerless, because in itself the thing is consistent with the principles of civilization. Penal statutes cannot prevent it, neither can political blatherers arrest its development.

Just as laboring people have the right to form unions to keep up and regulate wages, so merchants and manufacturers have the right to form trusts to keep up and regulate the prices of their merchandise.

Liberty is the true law for all. If a trust makes very much money, other trusts will rise up to compete with it. A big capital may be requisite, but the experience of this country demonstrates that where there is free competition the thing will be done. The West Shore railroad required a big capital, but it was forthcoming.

Trust statutes and prosecutions cannot suppress commercial enterprise. Take the sugar trust, for instance; how is that going to be broken down or its extension prevented by such a petty attack as the attorney general of New York has set on foot? Suppose it is proved that this trust has made use of a corporate seal when it had no right to do so, and that it is liable to be mulct on that account, what then? They will pay the fine, and change the method of their combination, and go on in business without the seal; or they will move their headquarters to some place where they will be free from such annoyance, and where the principle that men can go into partnership with each other for wholesale business as well as for retail will be respected.

When the rights of individual property are once recognized, the right to organize partnerships and associations on the largest possible scale follows as a necessary consequence.

When two shoemakers—say in the village of Podunk—agree to combine their two businesses into one, what they are really doing is to economize production—to make shoes cheaper. They use one store where they formerly used two, one set of salespeople where two were formerly needed. They have less dead stock, fewer bad debts, and less expense for advertising, and by working together they avoid that utterly useless form of competition which consists in selling certain goods below cost for the sake of attracting custom; a competition the cost of which falls in the end upon the whole shoe buying community. The object of their partnership is, not to get higher prices for their shoes, but to sell shoes at lower prices and make more money by doing it. They attract trade from surrounding villages; and as their business grows they introduce further economies and supply better goods at lower prices. Their partnership is a distinct gain to Podunk; the inhabitants are better shod at less cost. The shoemakers act in this way because self-interest forces them to. They know perfectly well that if they ask higher prices for their shoes they will only drive the Podunk people away from their store and encourage some other shoemaker to settle in the village.

But suppose the people of Podunk Four Shavers were compelled by law to buy their shoes in Podunk and forbidden to do any shopping outside the village limits under penalty of fine. How different would be the interest and action of the two shoemakers in such a case? They wouldn't form a partnership; they would come to an agreement. Shoemaker A would say to Shoemaker B: "What's the use of our cutting each other's throats with competition. Every man in Podunk must buy his shoes from one or the other of us. Let us

agree to stop all advertising and foolishness of that kind, mark our goods up, and agree that if one sells more shoes than the other the profit on the excess shall be equally divided. And if any outsider tries to start an opposition shoe store in Podunk, we'll ruin him by competition if he's a poor man, or take him into our combination if he's a rich man." To such a proposition Shoemaker B would sooner or later agree, simply because it would be to his interest to do so.

Now, what we have supposed the two Podunk shoemakers to do in this second case is precisely what the protected manufacturers of this country are doing when they organize themselves into trusts. They are not seeking to develop trade by reducing the cost of production and so increasing the demand. They don't want to make sugar, and oilcloth, and jute bagging, and other things cheaper; they distinctly want to make them dearer. They are striving by combination to reap the full advantage of the monopoly which the protective tariff confers on them. They aim to plunder the people of the United States by taking advantage of the laws which forbid them to buy in the markets of the world. This is what the *Sun* would have its readers believe is an illustration of the grand truth that "liberty is the true law for all."

Consider the genesis and strength of any one of the trusts that now afflict us. The sugar refiners' trust, for example. How was it born? What are its purposes? How does it maintain its strength?

When congress in its wisdom decided that Americans were too feeble to do any work unless their industries were "protected," a heavy tariff tax was imposed upon refined sugar with the avowed purpose of compelling consumers to buy only sugars that were refined in the United States. This, it was said, would induce people to go into the sugar refining business, and when once the sugar refiners were established, we were told, competition between them would drag down the price of sugar to the level at which it would have stood had the tariff never been enacted. The American sugar refiner would have control of the home market, but the American consumer wouldn't have to pay any more for his sugar. The whole ridiculous theory can be found in the editorial columns of the *Tribune* or the *Press* almost any day.

Well, the sugar refiners were established; and being established, they began to compete among themselves, first, by cutting prices, and then by smuggling, using deleterious chemical processes, and reducing the wages of their laborers. And when they found that in spite of starvation wages, in spite of chemistry, in spite of bribery and false swearing at the custom house, the friction of competition was likely to make their business profitless, why they followed the example of the two protected shoemakers of Podunk, and came to an agreement. The price of sugar was put up, the production of sugar was lessened, the laborers in the refineries were brought under more perfect subjection. And if Mr. Claus Spreckles, or anybody else, should start a new sugar refinery, the trust will either fight him to extinction or take him in as a partner.

And how completely the power of the trust depends on the protective tariff no one can fail to see who will take the trouble to look and think. If it were not for the tariff every trust in the country would collapse within twenty-four hours. The mere fact that American citizens could buy sugar, bagging, oil cloth, or anything else, in any market they chose, without let or hindrance, would render any plundering combination of protected manufacturers impossible. Liberty is, indeed, "the true law for all." And it is to the denial of liberty, and to that alone, that the trusts, whose existence the *Sun* so complacently contemplates, owe their birth and their strength.

And as it is with the local trusts, whose operations are confined within the limits of a national tariff wall, so it is with those larger combinations that take the entire planet for their field. Injustice—the denial of liberty—the abridgment of natural rights—is in every case the sole source of their strength. The copper trust, to which the *Sun* refers—how long could it exist were men not denied the right of access to the vast stores of copper contained in the bowels of the earth? Were the holders of natural opportunities taxed to the full extent of the opportunities they control, the quick result of a rise in the price of copper would be an increase in the value of all copper bearing lands, and consequently in the taxes their controllers would have to pay. Under such conditions the copper trust not only couldn't make any money, but it could not even maintain its existence for an hour. As well might men attempt to establish a monopoly of fresh air on an open, wind swept prairie.

The *Sun* mistakes talk for argument; or, rather it believes its readers will.

## A BRITISH INSTITUTION.

The approaching trial of the Rev. Eliphalet G. Thinkstone on the charge of heresy is of more than merely ecclesiastical interest. Technically, of course, there is no doubt that the reverend gentleman is guilty. It were vain for him to deny—and, indeed, he does not attempt it—that he has promulgated from his pulpit ideas and sentiments utterly at variance with the canons of his church and with the principles of Christianity. Had he done this after the fashion of an ordinary infidel, his case would excite only a passing sentiment of pity or disgust. But Mr. Thinkstone claims, many of his parishion-

ers think justly, that his so-called apostasy is in reality a reversion to the true principles of religion; and he gives as his reason for standing a trial, of which the result is absolutely a foregone conclusion, his desire to secure greater publicity for the doctrines he has embraced. "The church," says Mr. Thinkstone, "is on trial; not me. And though the verdict of the court may be against me, the verdict of the public will, I hope, be in my favor." The case has come into prominence so suddenly that many people are still ignorant of its details, and while it would be improper for us to pass an opinion on its merits, *pendente lite*, we can have no hesitation in telling the story of Mr. Thinkstone's offense, condensed from the printed brief in the hands of his counsel.

The reverend gentleman is the pastor of a church in southern Ohio, over which he has presided for the best part of a generation. Until within the past few months no doubt of his thorough orthodoxy was ever entertained. He was not specially noted for eloquence, but preached good old fashioned sermons, whose chief characteristic was their common sense. He was fond of insisting on consistency. Whatever was right, he would insist, was right from top to bottom and all the way through; what was true in church was true out of church. On the whole, he seems to have been rather a commonplace man, of kindly heart and good impulses, but the last man in the world from whom anything original was to be expected.

Mr. Thinkstone had always been a republican. It would have seemed like blasphemy to him to be anything else. Republicanism and Christianity were to him almost convertible terms. He subscribed to the weekly *Tribune* and read its pages with unquestioning faith. Whatever the *Tribune* said, he felt sure, was true; whatever the *Tribune* advised was right. With the *Tribune* and the bible to guide his feet, he felt sure of never going astray.

So, when Cleveland sent in his free trade message, Mr. Thinkstone read about it in the *Tribune* and was horrified; when the Mills bill was introduced he felt that the liberties of the country were in danger; when the democratic convention met, indorsed the message and renominated the president, it seemed to him that the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah impended over the United States. Each week the *Tribune* painted the situation in blacker and still blacker colors, and the Rev. Eliphalet G. Thinkstone grew more and more unhappy. At last he couldn't stand it any longer. He felt that he must speak. He called his chief parishioners together, got them to write him a letter requesting a sermon on the questions of the day, and preached in response a thrilling, political discourse.

The sermon was a very successful one, and sounded like an extended *Tribune* editorial. Mr. Thinkstone began by giving his hearers a synopsis of English history. He told how England had oppressed Ireland, how she had enslaved India, how she had goaded our forefathers into rebellion, how she had forced opium upon the Chinese, introduced rum among the savages of Africa, and well nigh exterminated the bushmen of Australia. He worked himself up into a fever of anglophobic patriotism and so excited his audience that they several times broke out into a tumult of applause. Then he described the Cobden club, their deadly machinations and deep-laid schemes for enslaving other nations by persuading them to buy things; and in a wild burst of eloquence he asked his hearers if they were willing to undo the work of their fathers and degrade their country into a dependency of the hated Britisher. "Whatever comes from England," he shouted, "must be wicked. It should be enough for us to know that England is a free trade country to make us scorn and reject the doctrines of free trade." The sermon, as we have said, was a great success, and the republican club of the neighborhood held a meeting in the church porch and resolved to publish it as a campaign document.

But that afternoon a dreadful thing happened to the Rev. Eliphalet G. Thinkstone. We cannot do better than to let him tell the story in his own words:

I was sitting in my study endeavoring to prepare myself for the services of the evening. My mind was still agitated with the excitement of the day's discourse, and I sought to quiet it, as I had often done before, by reading a portion of scripture. My bible lay close at hand. It was a venerable volume, my honored father's family bible, printed in the early part of the century. As I drew it toward me it opened at the title page, and I saw the dedication to King James. It seemed to me as though I had never read it before. My sermon of the morning was still ringing in my ears; and here, confronting me, was the deadly, damning proof that the religion I had been preaching all my life was a religion that had come to us from England.

I spent the next week in careful study. I procured a list of the members of the Cobden club. Judge of my horror when I found on it the names of English bishops and of English clergymen. I read a number of the publications of the club and was amazed and disgusted to find that the wretched English free trade doctrine was only English Christianity in disguise—that the golden rule I had been reverencing for so many years was really the foundation and justification of free trade. Re-reading my New Testament by the new light that had come to me, I quickly saw how closely free trade and what we call Christianity are bound together so that it is impossible to accept the latter without believing in the former. The whole terrible truth became clear to me. I saw that our Christianity was a fraudulent system of ecclesiastical flatterers of the sycophantic and the sycophantic of King James I, for the sole purpose of spreading the free trade heresy and thus ultimately bringing the world beneath the British yoke.

Of course, after making this discovery, the Rev. Eliphalet G. Thinkstone

could not conscientiously keep quiet about it. Having made sure he was right, he went ahead, and preached that now famous sermon that has brought him into trouble. It was an exact duplicate of the political discourse already referred to, save that instead of the Cobden club he spoke of the society for promoting the gospel in foreign parts, and wherever in the earlier sermon the term "British free trade" was used, he substituted "British Christianity." It did not excite as much enthusiasm as had been evoked by his protectionist sermon, and it will not be published as a republican campaign document. But it set many of the reverend gentleman's congregation to thinking, and it broke the church all to pieces. The members who were convinced by Mr. Thinkstone's arguments of course couldn't attend a service where the English liturgy was used; and the rest of the congregation refused to continue their connection with a church where the religion they loved was denounced from the pulpit.

What the ultimate outcome of this extraordinary case will be, it is impossible to say. When the Rev. Eliphalet G. Thinkstone's trial shall have been concluded, we may revert to the subject.

"The soil, out of which comes the food of the people, ought to belong to those who owe allegiance to the government." So says the *Press* of this city. Samson's riddle is as pertinent to-day as when he tried to pose the Philistines with it.

The free trade club of Cleveland is doing good work in Ohio. Among other things it is distributing a large envelope containing free trade documents. Around the edges of the envelope are printed such pithy sentences as these:

Free trade is a natural right.  
Protection is a theory that the natural law should be repealed by congress.  
The center of the envelope contains this in large type:  
This envelope is from the envelope trust.  
Tax on \$100 of envelopes, \$25.  
Labor on \$100 of envelopes, \$11.  
Who gets the difference?  
Who pays it all?

Mr. C. C. Shayne, a gentleman who has accumulated a fortune by advertising and selling London dyed sealskins and other furs, made a speech in his native town of Galway, N. Y., the other day, in which he presented this terse statement of the tariff question, quoted with applause by the *Tribune*:

Suppose a man can make two pairs of shoes a day. It costs \$1.20 to make them in this country and only forty cents to make them in Europe. Take off the protective tariff and every manufacturer and merchant in America will have his shoes made on the other side, bring them over here and sell them until our people are too poor to buy.

So, according to Mr. Shayne the American laborer can get for his day's work two pairs of American shoes, or six pairs of English. His prosperity depends on his contenting himself with the two pairs. If he takes the six pairs he is to be ruined. Because in the latter case he will have to buy shoes until he becomes too poor to buy any more. It is a pity Mr. Shayne has not explained to us what would happen if the American laborer went barefoot, and got no shoes at all for his day's work.

We would like to make a suggestion to Mr. Shayne. Let him make a canvass of his fur sewers, and find out how many of them really think they would be irretrievably ruined by being flooded with \$1.20 shoes at forty cents a pair. And having collected their suffrages on that question, let him go round among them again and see how it would suit them to have the importation of London dyed sealskins absolutely prohibited, and the Shayne factory shut up.

A new eight-page paper, *The Union*, has made its appearance in Cleveland, Ohio. It leads off by forcibly reminding the democratic party that the votes of men who work for wages can never be won by the cowardly policy of fighting the principle of protection when compelled to, and at the same time denying the justice and wisdom of free trade. The *Union* says:

If the tariff is purely a question of wages, and to reduce it would benefit wage earners proportionately, to abolish it altogether, they reason, should be still better for them. Hence they question the sincerity of that party's claim to being their especial champion and friend.

Why should they chance for so trifling an advantage, and ally themselves with a party which attempts to show that they are being robbed and yet insists upon temporizing with the robber? A bold stand for the principle which it has been compelled by anti-reductionists to so loudly defend, would attract seeders from the enemy and swell its ranks with men eager to reward a consistent champion with continued power.

The old tactics are played out. Labor is thinking out loud. The time has come for democracy to prove its claim as labor's champion by taking up the gauntlet flung arrogantly to its very feet. Does it lack the courage? Half heartedness invites defeat; the bull may be thrown if taken by the horns.

The same issue contains a vigorous article a column long, by Milton Allen, showing how free trade leads to the single tax, and finishing with these encouraging words:  
Knights of Labor assemblies are boldly coming over to the single tax idea as the only rational remedy for labor's wrongs; and hundreds of newspapers are molding public sentiment in the same general direction. When all these rivers of economic thought blend into one common stream, which ultimately they must do, who can forecast the result? Will democracy go back to the Jeffersonian doctrine that the land belongs to the people in usufruct (use well living) and thus perpetuate itself, or will the party which boasts of its achievements in freedom's cause be first to absorb the resistless tide and fly the banner of universal liberty?

## THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

BURLINGTON, IOWA.—Please use the enclosed where it will do the most good. New York is the great battle ground. The plumed knight has mounted his war horse Tariff, armed with his burnished sword Austerity and his painted lance Mendacity; his equities are beating the Chinese gong to drown the cries of distress that rise from the protected miners of Pennsylvania, and the free imported non-strikers of Mulberry street. The powers of darkness expect to defeat the "men-afraid-of-the-horse" and will do so, unless the single tax men, under their STANDARD, spread the light of truth broadcast, with tracts and papers, among the voters. "Truth is mighty and will prevail," even though Cleveland be beaten by the timidity of democrats, education will have gained a victory. No single tax man has doubts of the final issue. Yours for the cause.  
J. HAGERTY.

SHARON, CONN.—Please find herewith check for \$5.50 for campaign STANDARD fund from "Friends of the single tax of Sharon, Conn." I also send a list of names to whom THE STANDARD might be sent with advantage whenever your STANDARD fund will admit.  
SP. J. LEAVENS.

GRAND VIEW, near Nyack, N. Y.—Nothing has made me appreciate the opportunities of this campaign to make through single tax converts so much as the starting of the campaign STANDARD fund. I have found that the tariff discussion has put thinking caps on most people; at least it is so with those I have met, and they are only too glad to get hold of any economic writings. I live in a democratic election district of 260 votes. Last year I organized a land and labor club. We polled 49 votes for the labor party, giving the district to Grant. Now I will organize for Cleveland and Thurman. As soon as we get well organized I will start a subscription to THE STANDARD fund, even though it may be a small one. I will soon send you a lot of signatures to the single tax Cleveland and Thurman enrollment.  
E. STUART HINTON.

NEW YORK CITY.—I thoroughly enjoyed the single tax campaign meeting on Monday night. It was delightful to find the single tax men rallying again with all the old-time enthusiasm. I inclose check for \$1,000 for THE STANDARD campaign fund. Push on the work. Yours,  
AUGUST LEWIS.

So the letters and subscriptions come pouring in. The fire of enthusiasm is fairly started, and the flame bids fair to spread. All over the country the men and women who love and long for freedom, whose souls are eager for the day when man's birthright shall be restored and the phrase "our country" cease to be a mockery, are awaiting the fact that the present offers an opportunity which it were treason to neglect. And results are justifying their confidence. Men who never thought before are thinking now. Men who have heretofore regarded the doctrine of the single tax as a mere idle speculation, are being forced by circumstances to consider it, and discover with astonished delight that it contains the bottom principle of freedom. Our cause is gaining ground as it never gained it before; and every day increases its momentum.

The fund is growing! But the work it has to do is growing faster still. We want to give to every one willing to listen the opportunity to know the truth. We are broadcasting tracts and STANDARDS, but the field is widening daily, and if the work is to be efficiently done, the means at our disposal must be proportionately increased. Were they doubled, tripled or quadrupled they could still be insufficient.

The receipts for the current week have been:  
F. S. Churchill, Iowa, \$8.44  
J. Hagerty, Burlington, Ia., 1.00  
Friends of the single tax of Sharon, Conn., 5.50  
H. C. Winkler, New York, 5.00  
G. H. Winslow, New York, 1.00  
J. S. Atwood, Brooklyn, 1.00  
F. H. Marquis, Bellefonte, Pa., 1.00  
W. T. Waters, New York, 1.00  
J. B. Haworth, Detroit, Mich., 1.70  
L. E. Sienon, Cleveland, Ohio, 5.00  
W. J. Atkinson, Philadelphia, 4.20  
J. E. Dunlap, Brooklyn, 10.00  
G. H. Moll, St. Louis, Mo., 50  
W. J. Atkinson, New York, 1.00  
John T. Lutterell, Brooklyn, 1.00  
A Volunteer New York, 2.00  
R. McLaughlin, Chaucalua, La., 10.00  
August Lewis, New York, 1.00  
Total to date, \$72.89 32

Have you forwarded your subscription yet? If not, remember it is needed NOW.

## The Canadian Plan.

On August 21, at a meeting of Hand-in-Haft assembly, K. of L. (book-binders of Toronto, Canada), the following resolution was unanimously adopted and forwarded to the forthcoming labor congress at London: "Whereas, in the judgment of this assembly, the only effectual remedy for labor troubles and true solution of the labor problem is presented in the George plan of appropriating land values for public use, thereby destroying monopoly, that great blackmailer of industry which discourages labor and makes the free born workman a serf; therefore be it resolved, that Hand-in-Haft assembly support the demand for a 8000 exemption on dwelling houses as a step in that direction."

The next day these resolutions of the book-binders' association were indorsed by the Central land tax club as being a step toward the single tax.

## Single Tax Men and the Democratic Party.

New York Star, Sunday, Aug. 26.  
The single tax people, or, as they are more commonly called, the George men, intend to hold a mass meeting in Cooper union on Monday next to indorse Cleveland and Thurman. The George men believe in the abolition of all taxes on the products of industry and the shifting of such taxes to land values. They further insist that the single tax on land values shall be gradually increased until it absorbs the whole rental value of bare land without improvements. Their theory is that such a system will relieve labor of all burdens now imposed on production, and that by depositing all the proceeds of the tax in a fund to hold any more land than he can actually use to labor for self-employment.

Such being their doctrine, the single tax men propose to take any tax on commodities very much like that of the traditional Irish man at Donnybrook fair. When they see a tax they hit it. The tariff is a tax on commodities, and the democratic party proposes some restriction of that tax. No other party proposes any such policy, and hence the single tax men say that they will help the party that proposes to reduce any one of the taxes to which they object. They do not claim that the democratic party agree with their views or that they are members of it. On the contrary, they take some pains to repudiate any such idea.

Under these circumstances their support of Cleveland and Thurman comes to the democratic party unsolicited, and it can be accepted without embarrassment. The democratic party does not accept Mr. George's land theories or his radical free trade views, but they propose to take taxes off the necessities of life, while maintaining a tariff to protect labor; and if Mr. George and his co-believers in the single tax want to help reduce taxes, and propose to do so by voting the democratic ticket, democrats have neither the desire nor the power to prevent them.  
Some of our republican contemporaries ap-

pear to be distressed because the democratic party does not get out an injunction to prevent any George man from voting for Cleveland. We are not doing that this year. We are engaged in politics, and accepting cheerfully all the votes that are freely offered to us.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

Mrs. George Wastingshouse is credited with an income of \$7,000 a month from natural gas stocks alone.

It is said that in New York city alone 36,000 families were fed by charity last winter, and in Chicago there are 10,000 children that live on the street without shelter or food except what they can beg or steal.

Mr. J. J. Van Allen, who is the son-in-law of William B. Astor, has just completed an English wall seven feet high and 3,500 feet long around his grounds at Newport. Mr. Van Allen is a great admirer of English customs, and his house is built in English style and furnished throughout with English furniture. The house and wall are said to have cost him \$500,000.

When Herman Stein, the shirt contractor, testified before the Ford congressional committee the other day he admitted that he had reduced the wages of the employees and would do it again. Mr. Stein is a man of his word, and accordingly last Saturday he took a reef in the wages of his button hole makers. The button hole makers formerly received ten cents per 100. They were reduced to nine cents, and they now get eight cents. The present reduction takes from their average wages about twenty-two cents a day, or about \$1.50 a week.

Dowager Empress Victoria, widow of Frederick III, has an annual income of \$200,000, \$40,000 of which is derived from England. She will be obliged to make Germany her nominal residence and to visit Berlin every year.

Many object to all indications of bereavement in a child's clothes, but the fashion is nevertheless followed in many cases. When entire black is worn the material may be India silk, cashmere or pure velvet, but never ermine. Clear and entire white means mourning, if it be a bluish white. Cream white is more indicative of mourning than pink would be, according to usage. It must be a blue shade of white. Nainsook white dresses are tucked and hemstitched, or with tucks hemstitched in, but never with a bit of embroidery or lace. Mourning hats for children are trimmed with blue-white gros grain ribbon or dead white flowers. The stockings with these toilets must be plain black, or white and black striped.—New York Sun.

Sally Dowd, twenty years old, a homeless woman was removed from the East Thirty-fifth street station to Bellevue hospital this morning, suffering from insanity.—New York Mail and Express.

Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Dobbins and family are occupying the Swiss cottage adjoining the Howland hotel at Long Branch. Mr. Dobbins is one of Philadelphia's millionaires, having made his fortune there as a contractor and builder. He is a self made man, having begun in the Quaker city as a laboring man. In Long Branch he owns five hotels, about thirty-five cottages and a great amount of land, all of which is managed by his son, Mr. R. J. Dobbins, who is one of the commissioners of Long Branch. Mr. Dobbins owns a large number of houses in Philadelphia and vicinity.—New York Herald.

A sad instance of destitution and bereavement is presented in the case of Mrs. Robert Toole, of No. 301 1/2 Elizabeth street. Her youngest child, a boy ten months old, died yesterday morning, and she had no money to defray the expense of burial. The family occupy two rooms in the basement of the rear building, and although entirely without means of support, everything is neat and clean. Mr. Toole has earned his living as a ticket speculator and an employer of circus troupes. He has been troubled with a disease of the eyes, and recently spent seven months in a hospital. The circus he was with disbanded recently, and Mr. Toole claims that he was thrown out of work with five weeks' pay owing to him. Mrs. Toole had supported herself and the three children in the meantime by working in a restaurant for \$2.50 a week. When the youngest child became ill she was obliged to leave her work to nurse it, and was thus cut off from her only means of support. Mr. Toole says that he is willing to work at anything, but is unable to obtain employment. The two children have been sent to the orphanage by the Fresh Air fund society. The remains of the child are on ice in the larger of the two rooms occupied by the family. Mrs. Toole, in company with a couple of kind-hearted women who live in the neighborhood, is sitting in the room awaiting assistance from the charitable inclined. The St. Michael's Missionary society has given her a grave in Cypress hills cemetery, in Brooklyn, but she has no money whatever to pay for it, and is trying to obtain the necessary means, but up to noon had not met with success.—New York Mail and Express.

## AS OTHERS SEE US.

The followers of Henry George, made up of a few extremists who still stand by him in the decadence of his political fortunes, held a meeting in New York last night and indorsed Cleveland, because his candidacy and platform are a long step toward the abolition of the president's playing in hard luck, surely.—Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph.

The *Journal* cites Henry George as "good democratic authority" for saying that the Mills bill is a free trade bill. There are only two things wrong about this. Mr. George is "good democratic authority," and he has exactly declared that the Mills bill is not a free trade bill. He likes it because it is a general free trader himself, he thinks it "promotes free trade discussion." But what really promotes free trade discussion is not the Mills bill, but republican misrepresentations of it.—Boston Globe.

The most zealous advocate of Cleveland's reelection among the New York papers is Henry George's STANDARD. The daily free trade paper in the United States is THE STANDARD. THE STANDARD was originally started to promulgate Henry George's single tax ideas, but it is devoting most of its space now to showing how free trade will benefit the workingman, and urging the election of Cleveland on that ground. Henry George and the English free traders recognize Cleveland as an exponent of the free trade idea, and they ought to know what his proposition lead to, notwithstanding the vigorous protest that he is not a free trader.—Minneapolis Journal.

Henry George wants to meet Blaine on the stump. George is a rank free trader and he is fierce for Cleveland because he says that Blaine is a free trader at heart as much of a free trader as he is.—Record.

Mr. George has never said any such thing. On the contrary, he has emphatically declared that Mr. Cleveland is not a free trader at all. Mr. George is the ablest free trader in this country, and he certainly ought to know a free trader when he sees one. He does say that he is for Cleveland because this campaign "promotes free trade discussion" and so does—in the republican papers.—Boston Globe.

## He Struck It Rich.

Stone—Hello, Upson, old man, you're looking fine; you must have struck luck since I last saw you.

Dowens—Yes, old boy; I've struck the boss fake; no more poverty for me, no more small salaries; I've written a book and my fortune is made.

Stone—I'd like to know what you could write about.

Dowens—Hush! don't give it away; great snip; have written on "How to live comfortably on ten dollars a week."

Stone—But you never could.

Dowens—Nor anyone else—that's why they all buy the book to find out.

Stone—Hm, yes—I see.

The r for the present figures. United States 181,317,000 lbs 49,438 sh 10,195 swt 8,290,199 cw 6,000,275 lb 1,555,485 cw valued at \$484,801 gr Total... In ro and Ireel \$300,000 they cot at home United I to labor lacks is bring la fields a pastures and the and wicl into the emigra It wou human involved British I The Brit with hov ings of t But he d cheap la him. British I with the have a doesn't produce acre as I that labe Dakota. wheat. is charges while E alongside know," can we land for could rai if they i what co swears t the dem ants out into past And if he cannily a of that s he wants ing so f wants to privilege lord will eration c back j long. W enough it he will i very si American But wh 000,000 I within t must pr \$200,000( above, he rice, suga tobacco. come fro spect Mr beef and ting paid of the P won't I report a no inform six month to the twiclar th Living am Food and Raw materi Manufactur Foreign met Total... Say I and besid and drink 000,000 fo for boots things of use. Hi for the s Paid for f Paid for raw Paid for m Less totala Deficit... A prett and one made go bankrupt as though fits on his hypothesis ber that l own reso great pa sent abnro manufact Well, t collecting ing in tril states an less, in fe lot of m to the S Schenley burg, and pay them Mr. Sull remittan their love honor's i vicounts the accou as per i Pennsylv that Mr. pay for h The ship ways la Ing, divi bogus se tariff has ury; outl ury again United S



## MEN AND THINGS.

The report of the British board of trade for the six months ending June 30, 1888, presents some interesting and instructive figures. During the period named the United Kingdom bought from other countries:

|                                                               |             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 181,917 beehives and calves, valued at.....                   | \$2,800,000 |
| 400,453 sheep and lambs, valued at.....                       | 760,150     |
| 10,198 swine, valued at.....                                  | 34,193      |
| 2,500,109 cwt of dead meat, valued at.....                    | 7,139,651   |
| \$4,010,387 cwt of grain and flour, valued at.....            | 21,496,517  |
| 1,575,365 cwt of butter, margarine and cheese, valued at..... | 7,556,542   |
| 4,541,801 great hundreds of eggs.....                         | 1,503,535   |

In round numbers, England, Scotland and Ireland have paid the other countries \$300,000,000 in six months for food which they could more economically have raised at home. There is no lack of land in the United Kingdom. There is no lack of men to labor on the land. The only thing that lacks is the permission of the landlord to bring land and labor together. Wheat fields are being converted into pastures; pastures are being turned into deer forests; and the men who should guide the plow and wield the sickle are being crowded into the great cities, or forced on board of emigrant ships.

It would be amusing, were it not that human happiness and human lives are involved, to listen to the wailing of the British landlord over this state of affairs. The British landlord howls for protection with howlings that are like unto the howlings of the American infant industry man. But he doesn't howl for protection against cheap labor. It's cheap land that troubles him. "Look at Dakota," wails the British landlord. "How can we compete with the wheat fields of Dakota unless we have a protective tariff on corn?" He doesn't dispute that English land will produce as many bushels of wheat to the acre as Dakota land. He doesn't dispute that labor is cheaper in England than in Dakota. He doesn't dispute that Dakota wheat is burdened with transportation charges for 4,000 miles of rail and ocean, while English wheat finds its market alongside the field. "But, hang it, you know," says the British landlord, "what can we do against fellows that get their land for nothing? Of course my tenants could raise wheat and make money by it if they had no rent to pay. But then, what would become of me?" And so he swears that English agriculture is gone to the demimion bowwows, turns his tenants out of doors, converts his arable land into pasture, and clamors for protection. And if he has any money to spare he slips cannily across the Atlantic and buys a lot of that same Dakota land. Not because he wants to raise wheat—bless you! nothing so foolish as that—but because he wants to blackmail other people for the privilege of raising it. The British landlord will come out all right within a generation or so. He's having a little setback just at present, but it won't last long. When once he gets control of enough land on this side of the Atlantic he will revive British agriculture by a very simple method. He'll raise his American rents.

But where does John Bull get this \$200,000,000 that he has paid out for food within the last six months? Indeed, he must provide a good deal more than \$200,000,000, for besides the list quoted above, he has spent nearly \$150,000,000 for rice, sugar, tea, coffee, wine, brandy and tobacco. Where does the \$350,000,000 come from? Much as they admire and respect Mr. Bull, foreigners won't give him bread and brandy without getting paid for it in some way. Mr. Porter of the Press thinks they will, but they won't. Let us dig into the board of trade report a little more, and see if we can get no information from that. During the six months mentioned Mr. Bull has sold to the world at large, outside his own particular three kingdoms:

|                                                 |             |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Living animals, valued at.....                  | \$284,576   |
| Food and drink, valued at.....                  | 4,676,696   |
| Raw materials, valued at.....                   | 6,241,168   |
| Manufactured articles, valued at.....           | 10,571,529  |
| Foreign merchandise re-exported, valued at..... | \$2,072,238 |

Say, in round numbers, \$710,000,000, and besides the \$350,000,000 for his food and drink supply, he has had to pay \$400,000,000 for raw materials, and \$710,000,000 for boots and shoes, gloves, watches and things of that sort that he has seen fit to use. His account with the outside world for the six months, then, stands:

|                                  |                 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Paid for food and drink.....     | \$350,000,000   |
| Paid for raw materials.....      | 400,000,000     |
| Paid for manufactured goods..... | 1,710,000,000   |
| Total expenses.....              | \$2,460,000,000 |
| Less total sales.....            | 710,000,000     |
| Deficit.....                     | \$1,750,000,000 |

A pretty heavy balance against Mr. Bull and one which he somehow must have made good, or he would have gone into bankruptcy. It might seem at first sight as though this represented Mr. Bull's profits on his manufacturing labor; but that hypothesis is overturned when we remember that he has had to provide from his own resources all the coal and iron and a great part of the tin and copper he has sent abroad. But if he didn't earn it by manufacturing, where did he get it?

Well, the truth is, Mr. Bull has been collecting his rents. He has been gathering in tribute from the various countries, states and cities which he owns, more or less, in fee simple. Pittsburg sent him a lot of money in the shape of remittances to the Schenley family. Because the Schenley family own a good deal of Pittsburg, and a good many Americans have to pay them for the privilege of living there. Mr. Scully's tenants have sent their little remittances, doubtless accompanied with their love and duty, and best wishes for his honor's health. Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and simple gentry have received the accounts of their agents, with balances as per statement. The coal miners of Pennsylvania have stinted themselves that Mr. Bull might have wherewithal to pay for his bread and butter or margarine. The shippers and passengers on our railways have done their share by providing dividends on watered stocks and bogus securities. Our sacred protective tariff has thrown millions into our treasury only that Mr. Bull might draw them out again in the shape of interest on his United States bonds. The whole Ameri-

can people, it may be said, have worked together for the greater glory and emolument of Mr. Bull, and so long as we keep on doing it he can regard the situation with equanimity and keep on forwarding his surplus population to our shores, in the well justified faith that they will work for him as efficiently in Dakota or in New York as ever they could in England. And on each successive Fourth of July we can read a Declaration of Independence and tell our children how nobly their ancestors fought to shake off the yoke of Britain. John Bull won't mind.

Christ church, in the borough of Southwark, London, is one of the oldest religious foundations in England; and like many other old English churches, it has in bygone centuries received numerous requests of money and land to be applied in doles to the poor of the parish, the total amounting to about £350 yearly. Lately a queer thing has come to light. It appears that tenement house property in the neighborhood of Christ church is abnormally valuable, the tenants competing for the privilege of living within reaching distance of the weekly doles. The dead and gone Englishmen who fondly imagined they were providing for the relief of future generations have really succeeded in doing nothing more than putting a lot of money into the pockets of the Southwark landlords.

According to evidence given before a parliamentary committee, the value of the bareland within the "metropolitan area" of London is £418,000,000, and of the buildings £212,000,000. The rates and taxes paid by the land amount in all to £500,000 yearly, while the buildings pay £7,000,000.

The advertising columns of the English papers are now displaying lengthy announcements of the issue of \$2,500,000 worth of first mortgage bonds of the Hudson tunnel company of New York, being the first installment of a total issue of \$10,000,000. The bonds are offered at a discount of 12½ per cent, bear five per cent interest, and are secured by pledge of the entire property of the company, present and prospective—franchise, tunnels, railways, terminal land and buildings, and rolling stock.

The prospectus which accompanies the announcement is interesting reading. We learn from it that the share capital of the tunnel company is \$10,000,000. Out of this the cost of building the tunnels as far as they have already gone is to be defrayed. The rest of the \$10,000,000 is apparently to be absorbed by the holders of the franchise without anything given in return, as, according to the prospectus, the money realized from the bonds will be sufficient to complete the tunnels and put them in working order. About \$900,000, the prospectus states, will complete and equip the north tunnel, whose operation, it is estimated, will from the start produce a net revenue of more than \$200,000. As for the earnings of the two completed tunnels, the prospectus figures them out after this fashion:

It is next to impossible to determine the magnitude of the traffic passing between New York city and the railways terminating at Jersey City, or of the local traffic which crosses the river; but it is estimated that the total passenger traffic now carried by the ferries exceeds 75,000,000, and the total freight traffic 60,000,000 tons yearly. About seventy-five per cent of the meats, vegetables, milk and other food and garden products consumed in New York city go from the lines of the railways terminating at Jersey City.

The uses of the tunnels and the conveniences which they will render to the public, with large profit to the company, are so numerous and apparent as to leave no doubt that they will be employed to their full capacity, fourteen hours by day for passenger traffic, and ten hours at night conveying food supplies, market products and miscellaneous quick freight.

It is proposed to charge for hauling the through passenger trains of the railways five cents per passenger, and the same for local passenger traffic carried by the company's trains running every few minutes, which is the rate now charged by the elevated railways and tramways of New York city for any distance. It has been carefully estimated that the working expenses will not exceed thirty per cent of the gross returns, as the tunnels will require but little care and expense to keep them in order, the tracks being protected from the elements and subject to little or no variation of temperature.

Estimating that the tunnels only accommodate thirty per cent of the passengers (say 22,500,000), and five per cent of the freight which now crosses the river, the yearly traffic returns would yield a net profit of more than three times the amount required (\$500,000) for interest on the total issue of \$10,000,000 of bonds.

It is interesting to trace the genesis of a monopoly of this kind. New York and New Jersey bestow on certain individuals the right to run a brace of tunnels under the Hudson river. The hypothesis is that these people will build the tunnels and then content themselves with such traffic charges as will pay them a liberal interest on their outlay. But the individuals in question don't build the tunnels. They build only a small portion of them, and then they turn over to England, explain what a magnificent taxing franchise they've got, and propose that the Englishmen should build the tunnels and furnish the equipment for five per cent yearly interest on the cost, leaving the original owners of the franchise to pocket whatever they can squeeze out of the public over and above the interest on the bonds. Then if the tunnels prove successful an additional issue of stock can easily be made, or a second mortgage can be placed, or a new company organized to lease the tunnels; in one way or another the golden stream can be kept flowing into the pockets of the lucky fellows who were smart enough to induce the people of two states to bestow on them the power of taxation which is supposed to be, and ought to be, inalienable from the people themselves.

A railway tunnel between New York and New Jersey is unquestionably a good thing; but the people of the two states, who are to use the tunnel, ought to build it and operate it for themselves. They have the necessary money. They have the men standing idle in the streets. To allow private individuals to build and operate it is to grant away the liberties of the people.

Another ocean tragedy comes to em-

phasize the lesson of the Thingvalla-Geiser collision. The steamer City of Chester is feeling her way, through a thick fog, outward from the harbor of San Francisco, while the Oceanic from Yokohama is cautiously working in. There is an interchange of whistles, a misunderstanding, a collision, and the City of Chester goes down, carrying with her a considerable part of her passengers and crew.

It is nonsense to say that disasters of this kind are unavoidable. There is no difficulty about arranging an intelligent code of fog signals. There is no difficulty about building ships that cannot be sunk by collision. The only trouble is that it pays ship owners better to neglect precautions than to take them. As a rule, the most profitable thing that can be done with a vessel is to lose her—in ship owners' parlance, to "sell her to the underwriters."

The Sun draws attention to the manner in which the railway lines to the west discriminate against American travelers. An immigrant, for example, passing through Castle garden, can purchase a ticket to St. Paul for \$10, or to Chicago for \$5, while outside the garden the lowest fares to the same point are \$27 and \$17, respectively. The result is that the public lands in the far west are really more accessible to Europeans than they are to Americans of the eastern states. It is rather amusing, in the face of a fact like this, to listen to the parrot talk of the advantages possessed by the American pauper over his European brother.

Mr. Blaine has risen to explain. He did it at Bangor, in the state of Maine, and the substance of his explanation was that when he asserted that the wage workers of Massachusetts had more money in the savings banks than the wage workers of Great Britain and Ireland, he meant what he said, and was prepared to prove it. His demonstration was ingenious.

The total deposits in the savings banks of Great Britain and Ireland, says Mr. Blaine, amount to \$330,000,000, while those in the Massachusetts savings banks amount to \$217,000,000. Apparently this shows a heavy balance in favor of the Britishers; but, says Mr. Blaine, "the best authorities" estimate the wage workers' share of the British deposits at only twenty-five per cent, while another set of "best authorities" certify that the Massachusetts wage workers' share is at least seventy-five per cent. This proves that one workingman in Massachusetts is able to save as much as twelve workingmen in Britain, all on account of the protective tariff. Then the Bangor audience applauded, and the newspaper correspondents rushed to the telegraph office to spread the news.

It is a pity that Mr. Blaine, instead of dropping into the poetry of figures, and inventing "best authorities" to certify to imaginary percentages, could not have taken his Bangor audience on a little excursion to some Massachusetts manufacturing town, and shown them how the protected wage workers of Massachusetts really do live, and how much chance they actually have to save anything. He might have shown them a village of French Canadians, living in their employers' houses, trading at their employers' store, working or standing idle at their employers' bidding, and receiving at the end of each month an amount barely sufficient to pay their debts for the month preceding. He might have shown them parents perjuring themselves as to their children's ages, and employers conniving at the perjury. He might have shown them families to whom the sacred word "home" conveys no more meaning than to a tribe of Hottentots—girls growing into womanhood with no trace of womanly grace or culture, boys growing to manhood ignorant of the rights and duties of citizenship, fathers and mothers with no conception of parental responsibilities. But he would have been puzzled to find the savings bank, or the line of eager depositors before its doors.

Such statistics as Mr. Blaine cites, and as the protectionist press broadcasts over the land, have no more bearing upon the condition of wage workers than the weekly statements of the New York banks. The Pennsylvania miner's hovel, the New England factory boarding house, the New York tenement, the tramps that throng the roads, are not to be wiped away by a set of figures and a hypothesis. They tell the story of the wage worker in language that he who runs may read. And the story is one of injustice, extortion and robbery.

The Austrian government believes in sitting on the safety valve. A recent decree suspends for one year the right of trial by jury in the case of persons accused of socialistic offenses.

Charles Mackay's admirers—and who is there who loves freedom and believes in the future of humanity who doesn't admire him?—Charles Mackay is in broken health and in actual want. His English friends are striving to raise a fund sufficient to insure the comfort of his declining years. Dr. L. C. Alexander, of Holly lodge, Putney, England, is the treasurer of the fund.

Mayor Hewitt has declined to be the candidate of the "American" party for president; less, apparently, because of the absurdity of the new party's notions, than because he thinks the issue of the present campaign is revenue reform, and no other question would have any chance of serious consideration. Then Mr. Hewitt goes on to say:

The time will come, however, when the question of home rule will have to be settled, and I have no doubt that it will be settled in favor of the doctrine that "America should be governed by Americans."

Talk of this kind is the veriest claptrap. Who are the "Americans" by whom America should be governed? Has a man who lives by the labor of other men, who spends a great part of his life abroad, and in his life at home uses the usages of a foreign aristocracy—has such a man, merely because he happens to have been born in this country and is mighty sorry for it—a better right to the franchise than a European who comes here to make a home for himself and his family? Has Mayor

Hewitt himself any more right to vote than the poorest of the serfs who toil for him at Ringwood? If God has made one set of men to rule and another to be governed, by what canon will Mayor Hewitt separate the two classes?

The "American" party is a good five hundred years behind the age; and Mayor Hewitt when he addresses them should write in monkish Latin, with a gray goose quill, on a palimpsest.

Coal is to be twenty-five cents a ton dearer after September! There is, for all practical purposes, just as much coal in the ground as ever, it is just as easy to mine it, it costs no more to bring it to market, and the miners get no better wages. But the men who own the railway franchises, and the men who own the coal mines, have settled that people ought to pay the extra twenty-five cents, and that ends it. Taxation without representation was what our forefathers fought against, but we of the present generation don't seem to mind it much.

The Irish commissioners of national education have established an "agricultural and dairy school" at Cork, and are devoting special attention to butter making. The report just issued shows that 450 pupils have graduated from the school within the past year. The commissioners assert that the value of the Irish butter product can be raised from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000 by improved methods of manufacture.

The marquis of Lansdowne has been speaking and writing considerably of late of the advantage of peasant proprietorship of land. A company was recently formed to carry out the idea practically; and one of the first things it did was to pay Lord Lansdowne £30 an acre for a farm which he had before vainly offered to sell for £20. Lord Lansdowne is now a stronger advocate of peasant proprietorship than ever.

His grace the archbishop of York, who is supposed to be somehow on more intimate terms with heaven than most other Englishmen, has been delivering his mind on the subject of the problem of poverty. He did it at the closing of the Lambeth conference, in a sermon to the Episcopal bishops of the British empire and the United States.

"We cannot," said this prince of the church, "shut our eyes to the terrible problem of the poor. Never was wealth so enormous and poverty so prevalent. In the west end we see palaces fitted from roof to basement with every appliance of luxury. In the east end are buildings with hardly any conveniences, where women barely keep off starvation with the few daily pence their work produces." And so on. It was a terrible picture of modern civilization.

Then the archbishop spoke of the duty of the church in the matter. The evils of poverty, he told the assembled bishops, are mainly caused by thoughtless marriages, intemperance and want of thrift. The church ought to preach against these things. The rich, also, should be preached to. They should be told that avarice is a deadly sin, and that luxury must pay its dues. With this, and a sufficiency of well administered charities, poverty might in time be overcome. At all events, the church would have done her duty.

Well, it is some satisfaction that a chief priest of a great church has progressed so far as to confess that poverty is an evil that ought to be overcome. It really is a great thing that an archbishop should admit that want and misery are not divinely ordained factors of salvation. Perhaps, after a time, his grace may condescend to study the sayings and precepts of one Jesus, called the Christ, to see if in them can be found no hint of the cause and cure of poverty. It may astonish him a little to find that the founder of Christianity didn't, on the whole, disapprove of marriage, and instead of preaching thrift, urged his followers to take no thought for the morrow.

One inquiry begets another. Since the refiners of sugar have banded together to force the price of their product up to an abnormal figure, the middlemen who stand between the refiners and the people have no choice but to follow suit. The wholesale grocers of New York and vicinity have effected a permanent organization and mutually agreed that the price of sugar to retail dealers shall hereafter never be less than one-quarter of a cent of pound above the prices fixed by the refiners. It only remains now for the retail grocers to make a similar agreement, and the chain of monopoly will be complete.

But now suppose that a paterfamilias who objected to paying ten cents a pound for sugar worth seven and a half could write a note to a grocer in England, France or Germany, and have a barrel of sugar sent to him by return steamer, burdened with no extra expenses save the trifle of freight? How long would the sugar refiners' trust, and the wholesale grocers' association hold together?

When the A. B. C. of Free Trade Has Been Taught the D. E. F. of Single Tax Will Follow.

NEWARK, N. J.—In 1884 I voted for Grover Cleveland, and I will vote for him again because I believe in the principles of democracy, because I am a free trader and because Mr. Cleveland has proven himself worthy of the support of the people.

Free trade beyond any question is growing among the people. All single tax men whom I know are free traders. Many of them were republicans in 1884. When the A. B. C. of free trade has been taught the D. E. F. of single tax will follow. Absolute free trade is possible only under single tax. Single tax should be taught first to have best results; but as free trade was talked about first the single tax must get in where it can. I am in favor of electoral reform. I have no friend who is not.

ALBERT C. BATES,  
108 Belleville avenue.

Let Mr. Dana Take Notice.  
St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The truth is, the republicans know they are in a bad hole on the tariff question and want to get the democrats into it. But the game will not work. It was tried successfully on General Hancock with disastrous results to that gallant leader and his party. This was too good a lesson to be soon forgot, and the republicans will find they cannot "Hancock" Grover Cleveland.

## CAMPAIGN LETTERS.

H. C. Watson and Charles E. Ohlenslager, New York.—We have seen the cat from the tip of the nose to the end of the tail.

A. E. Todd, Providence, R. I.—Write me down a single tax man who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. I was a Blaine protectionist in 1884.

Edward Ferguson, Brooklyn.—I send the names of nine men who will cast their votes for Cleveland and Thurman. They are nearly all old republicans.

Henry Rose, Paterson, N. J.—I shall vote for Cleveland and Thurman, but mindingly; for I hate those old parties as the devil does holy water. The choice is a nasty pile. I am a single tax man.

C. B. Boyle, New York.—I always voted the republican ticket until Garfield was nominated. That made me sick of it. From that time I "just went sloshin' round" until the George revelation of the single tax theory brought me something worth voting for.

J. A., Memphis, Tenn.—At the last presidential election I voted the republican ticket. It was the same year that Judge Reid was nominated by the republicans for governor. I shall vote for Cleveland this year for president.

James G. Hayden, Junction City, Ohio.—I authorize the enrollment of my name on the list of single tax voters who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman, and would further say that I have always heretofore voted the republican ticket.

M. A. Washburn, Evanston, Ill.—Find inclosed list of names to be added to the single tax Cleveland voters. There are a great many earnest single tax workers in our village, and a great many more among the workmen who are in favor of a reduction of the tariff.

C. Rembe, M. D., Fayetteville, Ill.—Please add the above names to the roll of single tax Cleveland voters. There are five more such men in our little community, all of them formerly strong supporters, like myself, of the republican party, and we will have lots more before the 6th of November.

W. B. Mendum, Boston, Mass.—I send you my name and address as one who will always support the cause of free trade and single tax to the extent of my power. I have been an unequivocal free trader for over forty years, but have always voted with the republican party until four years ago, when I voted for Cleveland.

John H. Stone, Philadelphia, Pa.—I have been reading THE STANDARD about ten months. I never voted the democratic ticket in my life, and I am now forty-one years of age, but if I live I will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. I believe you to be the workman's friend, and if they take your advice they will not be left.

W. J. Atkinson, Philadelphia, Pa.—Inclosed find signatures of myself and brother, George H. Atkinson. Four years ago there were three votes for Blaine from our house; this year there are three single tax votes for Cleveland, and we all believe that if the father was home enough we could convert him, but he is constantly traveling. Ninety per cent of our Henry George club were republicans.

Albert S. Cushman, Oxford, Mass.—Inclosed herewith a signed blank for enrollment in your single tax Cleveland list. I voted for Blaine in 1884, but the study of Henry George's books and THE STANDARD have radically changed my political beliefs, and I shall cheerfully vote for Mr. Cleveland in the hope that his election may advance our cause.

S. J. Dennis, Arlington, N. J.—Inclosed blank with my name attached is respectfully submitted for enrollment on the single tax list. I am far from being a raw recruit. I was converted long ago, in California, where I read "Progress and Poverty" when it was first published there. I have been a true believer ever since, and may God speed the cause and hasten the day when taxing land values will be made a national issue.

T. Tideman, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Please find inclosed list of signatures for enrollment as Cleveland and Thurman voters. One of the subscribers on it is my latest convert. He never cared for politics before, but now he is the most earnest political missionary you can find. There are many George men here, "the woods are full of 'em," but there is not much shop of work as we have no organization yet. Our splendid labor paper, THE WORKMAN, of which Mr. Hathaway is editor, is doing a great deal of good for the cause.

Alfred C. Swain, New York.—Please add my name to the list of single tax voters who will support Cleveland and Thurman. In my opinion Cleveland's re-election is the beginning of the end of the long struggle for equal rights and justice to all. With the Mills bill a law the people will be convinced that "protection" never did protect any one but the monopolist, and will demand a still further reduction of the tariff until the entire system is banished. And then when we have real free trade let us ask the platform makers what they think of the single tax.

Frank Norris, Brooklyn.—Inclosed you will find my signature for the Cleveland enrollment. Two years ago I was a democrat holding a position under Surveyor Beattie as a laborer, but by attending the anti-poverty meetings and reading THE STANDARD I soon saw the cat jump, and not being a Republican, I resigned from the democratic party and joined the united labor party. By doing so I lost my position. And now because I have said I would vote for Cleveland I am charged with wanting to go back to the democrats. I stamp it as a lie.

Ph. D. Lafayette, Middletown, Conn.—You may count me as one of those who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman next November. Four years ago I voted for James G. Blaine because I believed that the tariff protected the workmen and that any reduction of the tariff would cause a reduction of wages. But since then I have read "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade" and have come to the conclusion that a tariff does not protect the workmen at all, and that the only true solution of the industrial problem is through the principle of the single tax.

David Mogey, New York.—Please enroll my name as a single tax voter for Cleveland and Thurman. I voted twice for Henry George, and as this is my first vote for president, I look forward with pleasure in casting it for Cleveland as a great step toward the single tax. Indeed, this seems to me the greatest opportunity we single tax advocates can have of advancing our principles. We should hold a number of public meetings with strong single tax speakers, and keep literature afloat. In this way we will catch the eyes or ears of those who are willing to learn the true economy of taxation.

A. A. Orcutt, Rutland, Vt.—Inclosed I hand you a list of names of men who will support Cleveland and Thurman on the ground that a reduction of the tariff is a step in advance that will lead to a tax on land values only. We have a goodly number of single tax men here who are working diligently in the cause. District Master Workman K. of L. Thomas H. Brown is doing the best work of any laboring man in the state. He is out lecturing in support of Cleveland and Thurman. In closing his speech here in

the town hall, Aug. 19, he said, in effect: "Our object this fall is to elect Cleveland and Thurman; but our work will not be done until all over our land, from north to south, from east to west, wherever the American flag floats, it shall float over the heads of no starving poor."

Wm. L. Keefe, New Orleans.—Inclosed please find blank clipped from THE STANDARD with my signature attached. Please mark me down as an humble and earnest worker in this cause of humanity. I shall feel proud to know my name will find a place among so many whose object is the elevation of mankind, furthering the pure principles of a god-like civilization, and upon whose banner shall be inscribed "Freedom forever." Would that I could send on a thousand names to swell the rising tide of so noble an army. We workmen of the south have many obstacles to encounter, but we march onward as our northern brothers, and the greatest obstruction, I think, is universal ignorance and opposition to a change ever so beneficial. However, the south is solid for Cleveland and Thurman. Their pictures adorn many households, and the people appear confident of a democratic success. I would like to suggest that Henry George visit New Orleans, as he would create quite a stir amid the icebergs. Also that the single tax men of New Orleans come together for the purpose of organizing a single tax club, and making preparations for Mr. George's visit.

Be Brave, My Heart.

Edith Sessions Tupper.  
Be brave, my heart, through every ill  
That cruel fate to thee doth send,  
To every struggle comes an end,  
And so to thine there surely will.

Be brave, my heart, remember all  
The brave hearts that have lived before—  
Their hard-fought combats now are o'er—  
No more they start at trumpet call.

Be brave, my heart—thy battles fight  
With steady nerve, unflinching hand,  
And hope that thou the promised land  
May one day view from some far height.

Be brave, my heart, and should'st thou know  
Thyself defeated—done to death—  
Be brave—be brave till thy last breath,  
And die—thy face turned toward the foe.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The country owes a debt of gratitude to the tariff discussion for one thing, at least. It appears to have wrung out the bloody shirt and laid it on the shelf to dry.—Cleveland, O. Union.

The democratic state convention of Minnesota declared: "We favor a reform of our methods of voting, based upon the principle of the Australian system, thus making impossible the coercion or purchase of voters."

The way to get at the trusts is to first determine what circumstances enable them to control production. If it is a tax, as it probably is, repeal the tax. Nature creates no monopolies or trusts. Law does. What is wanted is a thorough revision of the laws and the repeal of all which enable such combinations to exist.—(Houston, Texas, Echo.)

If land values were taxed the man who has a lot of unproductive real property would either let it go to a tax sale, or else he will build on it or garden it. He will have to make it produce something. Instead of hunting out objects for taxation, strike the shingles off both capital and labor by making them free from taxation.—(Royallton, Minn., Banner.)

How have the millionaires acquired their enormous wealth? By grinding down the wages of the toilers, often to starvation point. By speculating in lands and properties that by right should belong to the people. By availing themselves of the advantages given them through the operation of unjust and oppressive laws.—(Montreal Canadian Worker.)

Those people who own the lands own the people, from whom the rents must come. To cultivate the soil, one-third of a hard working man's labor must be paid for the privilege to build a home or a business house a large cash consideration must be forthcoming. So long as land remains a subject of speculation and accumulation, so long will a landed aristocracy be a menace to our republican institutions and the laborer will be enslaved.—(San Antonio, Texas, Tribune.)

The coal trust has fixed the price of freight to Chicago at \$4.35 by rail, and will levy a new tax the 1st of September. There is no economical reason for the new tax. Householders should not forget that when labor was better paid than it is now, coal sold in the cellars of Chicago residences for less money than the cost of freight under the present private despotism. Our forefathers cast the tax on the harbor. What would they do with the coal engrossers were the pilgrims and puritans to come back to power?—(Chicago Herald.)

The Beaumont, Tex., Free Press is putting a series of questions to Messrs. Swinford, Pedigo and Dark, candidates for state representatives and senator in its district, among which is the following: "Are you in favor of changing the present system of taxation which fines the industrious man for his industry and lets the speculator who does not create any values go free?" It then makes this request: "Please answer the above questions, gentlemen, 'yes' or 'no,' and give good reasons for opposing any of these questions. If you do not answer them, we will put you down as being opposed to reform. We will give you space free."

There is this about Henry George and his theories. He is a closer reasoner than those who oppose him, and however impracticable his single tax doctrine may appear to his opponents, that theory cannot be put down by simple assertion. To say that the adoption of this theory would drive house-holders from their homes, and drop the subject right there, is not argument. The News does not see its way clear to admit that the single tax is a simple assertion. To say that the adoption of this theory would drive house-holders from their homes, and drop the subject right there, is not argument. The News does not see its way clear to admit that the single tax is a simple assertion. To say that the adoption of this theory would drive house-holders from their homes, and drop the subject right there, is not argument. The News does not see its way clear to admit that the single tax is a simple assertion.

For Canadian Readers.  
TORONTO, Aug. 23.—The members of the Toronto anti-poverty society decided to petition the Ontario legislature at the next session to exempt all dwellings valued at \$600 or less from taxation of values; those worth more than \$600 to be taxed only on the excess over that sum, while the assessment of the land will remain unchanged. By this means we expect to make a step toward getting taxes removed to land values. It was also decided to present another petition asking for the removal of all taxation from improvements and the concentration of taxation on land values. We are anxious to obtain the co-operation of every land tax reformer in the province, and, therefore, we ask all Canadian readers of THE STANDARD to write to our secretary, Mr. S. T. Wood, 59 Temperance street, Toronto, for one or both of these petitions. We have found a great advantage in agitation for the \$600 exemption. Many people fight shy of the full land tax reform as too remote, others who cannot see the justice of moving all taxes on to the land, yet can yet see the wisdom of this exemption, and house holders and encouraging mechanics to secure their own homes. It gives us also facility in discussions by showing how easily we can bring the subject into active politics. So far as we have had time to canvass the citizens a large majority of those spoken for favor the \$600 exemption.  
W. A. DOUGLASS.



## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

## Customs Receipts and Expenditures.

**CUBA, N. Y.**—Will you please answer through THE STANDARD what the receipts of the customs house are, and what the expense of collecting the same for the last year reported? A friend claims only one per cent of the receipts. I contend a great deal more.

GEO. FORBES.

The report of the secretary of the treasury for 1886 puts the customs revenue of 1885 at \$181,771,933.34, and for 1886 at \$182,905,023.44.

It is impossible to say exactly what the expenses of these years were, for they are "lumped" with other expense. Thus for 1885, "customs, lighthouses, public buildings, etc.," are charged with \$27,125,972.67, and in 1886 with \$24,163,246.36. This makes the proportion of expense a little short of 15 per cent in 1885 and 12 1/2 per cent in 1886. An approximate deduction of the cost of "lighthouses, public buildings, etc.," from these percentages will give the approximate expense of collecting duties for the two years, relatively to the duties collected. It must be considerably more than one per cent.

## Question of Wages.

**BUFFALO.**—Please answer the following questions in your next issue, giving authority for figures so far as possible:

(1) What year did our nation have the least protective tariff?

(2) What was the average yearly earnings of a day laborer on farms in this (New York) state; also factory operatives in the non-protected industries; also mechanics (as building trades, machinists, molders, etc.); also in coal mining, etc?

(3) What are the yearly average wages in the same industries now under a high protective tariff?

I am hammering away at every chance I can get, and I want the best information that I can get on the above points, though I am aware that it will be difficult to give full information on all the points. L. H. YOUNG.

You must not expect to be able to meet the protectionists with figures on every point. They have a figure factory and we have not. Respecting the questions you ask, statistical information is very meager, and for that reason, if for no other, very untrustworthy. You will do better to make inquiries among your elder neighbors than to attempt to meet cooked protection figures by hunting for reliable statistics which cannot be found in sufficient volume and with sufficient definiteness to make them useful in forming conclusions.

(1) The highest protection we ever enjoyed was during the operation of the embargo prior to the war of 1812, when foreign commerce was prohibited. The lowest after that period was 1857 to 1860, when the average duty, as computed by Taussig in his "Tariff History of the United States," was 12.47 per cent.

(2) I know of no statistics of farm wages. They were probably at some point between \$10 and \$15 a month, with board. In 1860, according to the census, the number of hands employed in the Middle states in manufactures was, males, 432,436; females, 113,519; total, 545,955; and the total annual cost of labor was \$132,235,841. This would give an average of \$758 per year for each hand employed, and as the total value of their products was \$802,338,392, the proportion of wages to value of product, the most important consideration, was 19 per cent.

I am unable to give you statistics of miners' wages prior to 1860.

(3) By the census of 1880 it appears that the number of hands employed in manufactures in the United States was, males over sixteen, 2,019,033; females over fifteen, 581,539; children, 151,921; total, 2,752,593; and the total amount paid in wages was \$947,953,795. This gives an average of \$283 per year or an increase of \$105 per annum over the wages of 1860. But as the value of products in 1880 was \$3,390,579,191, the proportion of wages to product was 17 1/2 per cent. So you will see that though the wages were nominally lower in 1860 than in 1880, yet the workman in 1860 was able with his wages to buy 19 per cent of what he produced, while in 1880 he could buy only 17 1/2 per cent.

## Taxing Churches.

**NEW YORK.**—In a recent argument on taxation I said that real estate owned by churches was free from taxation whether there were buildings upon it or not. Was I right?

JOS. F. WERRE.

If the property is used for public worship you are right. But the real estate that a church may own is not lawfully exempt unless so used.

## Percentage of Mechanics.

**TOLDO, Ohio.**—What percentage of our population is engaged in manufactures? A READER.

In 1880 the number of persons in the United States engaged in "manufactures and mechanical and mining industries" was \$387,112, or something over 7 1/2 per cent.

## Protection and Prices.

**St. JOSEPH, Mo.**—Please say if there is any truth in the contention of some protectionists that the ultimate effect of removing the duty from any article has always been the rendering of that article more expensive. The statement is that as soon as English competition has crushed the home industry the English manufacturers have invariably raised the price of the production to double its former amount. Was this the case in regard to steel rails when the duty was removed, I think, in 1879? This is the assertion of my protectionist informant. The whole statement seems so highly improbable that I cannot give it credence. To be true it would have been necessary at that time for a "trust" or "combine" to have been formed among English manufacturers, even if it would not need have included those of some continental nations. A. K. MAYNARD.

The statement about steel rails is not only improbable, but false. The history of this product is given by Mr. Taussig, in his work on the history of the tariff, in substance as follows: Prior to 1870 steel rails were taxed as "manufactures of steel not otherwise provided for" at forty-five per cent ad valorem. The price in England then was about \$50 per ton, so that the duty amounted to about \$22.50 a ton. In 1870 the duty was made specific at \$23 per ton; and as the English price advanced between 1870 and 1873 there was not much

difference between the old ad valorem rate and the specific duty. But after 1873 the English price went down until, in 1877, it was as low as \$31; this made the specific duty of \$28 a very high ad valorem duty—nearly 100 per cent, and reduced our imports from 160,000 tons in 1873 to 101,000 in 1874, 18,000 in 1875, and none in 1876, 1877 and 1878. In 1879 this great demand for steel rails set in in this country that 25,000 tons were imported in 1879, 158,000 in 1880 and 249,000 in 1881, during which time the price in England was from \$30 to \$31, while here it was from \$67 to \$61. For domestic rails, therefore, the entire tariff rate of \$28 a ton was pocketed by our protected manufacturers. Their profits were enormous, and they invested more largely in steel making establishments, until, what with increase in supply and a check in demand, prices here fell almost to the English rates, and imports fell off to 132,000 tons in 1882, 39,000 in 1883, 3,000 in 1884 and 2,400 in 1885. In 1883, which is the year to which your friend probably refers, the tariff was reduced from \$28 a ton to \$17, where it has ever since remained. The difference between the English and American price at that time, by reason of the relative over supply, was only about \$12. Now to show that your friend is wholly wrong when he says that the effect of removing the duty on steel rails was to increase the price, I quote from Mr. Taussig the English and American prices from 1881, the time of highest importation:

| Year.     | American Price. | English Price. | Difference. |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1881..... | \$50 10         | \$31 20        | \$18 90     |
| 1882..... | 48 50           | 30 00          | 18 50       |
| 1883..... | 37 75           | 22 00          | 15 75       |
| 1884..... | 37 75           | 22 00          | 15 75       |
| 1885..... | 35 50           | 23 00          | 12 50       |
| 1886..... | 34 50           | 20 00          | 14 50       |
| 1887..... | 37 10           | 20 00          | 17 10       |

Here you see that the English price has continually fallen from the time of our reduction of the tariff, except for a slight fluctuation in 1884-5, while the price in this country has fluctuated from \$4.85 to \$16.45 above the English rate, but always within the limits of the tariff duty.

It is absurd to say that the ultimate effect of removing duties on competitive products is to increase prices. That is not true, and cannot be true of anything that is not a monopoly. When a tariff is laid on a monopoly the foreign monopolists may reduce prices to prevent greater loss from a breaking up of their trade, just as a railway monopoly will often reduce fares to attract business to the territory through which it passes; and in these cases a removal of the tariff may be followed by a rise of prices. But these are cases in which the doctrine of "all the traffic will bear" applies. In competitive industry that doctrine has no application.

A monopolist fixes his prices at the highest profitable point, and from that point he descends as government fixes taxes on his goods, and to it he returns as the taxes are removed; while a competitive producer fixes his prices at the lowest profitable point, and from that point he rises as taxes are imposed, and to that point he returns as they are removed. This is the law; and by remembering it you will readily understand any actual instances of a rise in prices following a reduction of taxes.

LOUIS F. POST.

## "What Might Have Been."

**T. L. McCARDY, Esq.**—Dear Sir: I was very glad indeed to see in last week's STANDARD your answer to my criticism of "The Story of My Exile," and of course your explanation is very satisfactory and presents a picture of what we may all hope with you will be at least approximately reached at no very distant day. I had totally misapprehended the ground of your complaint in the former article, which I had supposed to be the fact that you were obliged to leave your native city, whereas you really meant to say that that was not the point, and therefore my comments were not applicable.

I wish, however, to ask for space to disown for myself the opinions which you found beneath your answer to my criticism of "The Story of My Exile," and of course your opinions are of no consequence to the readers of THE STANDARD, but for my own satisfaction I must protest against your extracting from an honest inquiry, written under a misapprehension, such hostile and therefore senseless views as you say you discovered in it. I am no pessimist, but believe absolutely in the possible and certainty of future improvements in the condition of the human race as great and greater than any you have ever expressed. I object as earnestly as you do to the condition of society which gives "a superabundance to the lucky rich," and I think that there are probably very few worse uses to which that unfortunate surplus of wealth can be put than the relieving therewith "the distress of the deserving poor," if by that phrase you mean anything approaching alms-giving, though I believe that there are many channels through which wealth may be better socially, the superabundance of the rich may be made useful to those who have neither superabundance nor abundance. Truly yours,

August 14, 1888.

I am sorry to have misunderstood my correspondent, and I am equally sorry that my correspondent should have misunderstood me. When I wrote "The Story of My Exile" I certainly did intend to point out how, under existing social conditions, a man is liable, without any fault of his own and against his own wishes, to be driven from the city of his birth. My correspondent acknowledged the hardship, but did not see any way in which it could possibly be avoided. In "What Might Have Been" I tried to show how industrial emancipation, by throwing open the use of natural opportunities to labor, and securing to each the full reward of his exertions, would enable a man to live wherever he might choose to live. And I tried to illustrate the way in which men's divergent tastes would lead them to prefer different localities and prevent that crowding toward one central point which my correspondent seemed to think would be inevitable.

The injustice of which I complain is not that it costs more money to live in New York than in a country town twenty miles from New York; it is that the rent tax for living in New York is diverted into private pockets, and that while a blackmail is demanded of me as a condition of living in my native city, the opportunities of applying my labor are so narrowed, and the reward of my labor so unjustly diminished, that there is nothing left for me to do but to give up my citizenship and move away, *volens volens*. Surely, it ought to be a good thing for New York's citizens that she should grow in wealth and importance, and undeniably there is many a family stilling in a tenement house to-day who, if New York had increased less rapidly, would be occupying a happy home.

T. L. McCARDY.

## TO TACKLE THE MAN FROM MAINE.

## Chicago Bingle Tax Men Planning a "Reception"—A Granger and a Car Constructor.

CHICAGO, Aug. 24.—Single tax men in Chicago are not idle. At least three-fourths of them will support Cleveland and Thurman. It must be confessed, though, that many of us could not follow a course in that direction for some time, but "Protection or Free Trade" has proved the clincher, and many who otherwise would have gone with the united labor party have, only after reading that book, become awakened to the importance of the issue. It is indeed surprising to meet so many who claim to have "seen the cat" who are yet so blind to the significance of the first step in the right direction.

Single tax men are now in constant requisition at democratic meetings, and the democratic managers are alive to the fact that it takes our men to give a sound argument against protection.

There are in this city some 20,000 labor votes which have hitherto been pulled here and there by a half dozen leaders who, though men of high purposes, had no definite principle to offer. Joseph R. Buchanan, George Schilling and John Z. White are doing more to bring the labor constituency to a proper understanding of their grievances. They are instilling first principles into them, and with no little success are showing them that free trade is a live issue.

"Town meetings" are being held here every Sunday afternoon, which are attended by men of all shades of political belief. Free trade and protection are the themes most debated, and many of the most radical advocates of independent political action are becoming convinced of the folly.

Land and labor club No. 1 of Illinois passed resolutions at its last meeting provided for a committee of three to visit upon Mr. Blaine and other prominent protectionists who are to speak here next month and propound a series of questions for their workshops to answer. Of course it is perfectly ridiculous that a few ordinary men, who have not had the advantage of European travel nor the experience of a long term in congress, should expect to corner the most prominent and realistic statesman in the United States, but they're going to try.

Verily, these free traders are cheeky. One can easily imagine how the possessor of such a gigantic intellect as the man from Maine will in a few neatly arranged phrases and a majestic wave of the hand dissipate to the four winds any free trade argument which such humble citizens as Mr. Van Ornum and his committee may dare to advance.

The probabilities are, however, that Mr. Blaine and his companions will prefer to treat our committee with dignified silence and contempt. If they do, though, "well" wishful to see him, and every voter in Chicago should know that Mr. Blaine could not or would not answer a few simple questions propounded by three common workmen.

I met a man in a restaurant last week who handed me Thomas G. Shearman's tract, and commenced to tell me how to cure poverty. Before he spoke twenty words I discovered that he was one of those "George cranks."

During the republican convention here a friend, who by no means a free trader or single tax advocate, related the following: As he was riding home on the rear end of a street car he overheard a free trade discussion between the conductor and a Wisconsin granger who had evidently come to town to see the sights. The conductor seemed to be a pretty intelligent fellow, and well read up on protection; but the granger was more than a match for him on the free trade side. It was an early hour in the morning, the conductor had little else to do but talk, and the battle was waged, and used the granger's destination had been reached. As the car started on its way the granger drew from the innermost depths of a seemingly bottomless pocket a silver quarter and handed it to the conductor, saying, "Young man, you just add 'another quarter to that' and buy Henry George's 'Protection or Free Trade' and if that don't knock some of your pesky notions about protection out'n your head I'll give you a month's board in Wisconsin this summer for nothing."

The friend who related this incident is now a single tax man and a free trader.

J. H. GRIFFIS.

## They Have an Organization in St. Louis, Too.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Aug. 19.—The St. Louis single tax league held its first meeting since organization last night at Excelsior hall, Ninth and Franklin avenue, under the most favorable auspices. The audience, though small, was very enthusiastic, and the spirit manifested showed that really serious work was not so much talk as a determined effort to do effective work in the coming campaign for free trade and the single tax.

A resolution was passed endorsing THE STANDARD's course in supporting Cleveland. The resolutions of the New York league were adopted as our own platform.

To be able to do effective and particularly aggressive work we concluded to rent an office downtown for permanent headquarters. Indeed, these few men might order for tracts. We shall send for money right away, as our revenue increases. It also includes the names of the members who signed the roll, and will continue to send all that are added. We have sent out challenges through the public press to any and all protectionists to come before the league to discuss the tariff question.

I was instructed to request you to insert in your issue notice of the next meeting, and so by all means in your next issue, and if there is any charge for it please send the bill to me. BENJAMIN E. BLOOM, Secretary.

3255 Lucky street.

## A Straw.

**NEW YORK.**—At the corner of Sixtieth street and First avenue on most any pleasant evening may be seen a congregation of workmen; these are most all temperate men, in religion Catholic, and by no means Irish. I asked some of them to tell me how they were going to vote; they most all told me they were for Cleveland, and while they seem not to grasp the subject of real free trade, they understood enough of it to say that by free law material we could control the markets of the world and give more employment to the unemployed. They also told me that "Patrick Ford could not fool them as they thoroughly understood him."

I. S.

## Chicago Night as Well Enjoy the Rental of All the Land Within Her Limits.

Council Grove, Kan., Anti-Monopoly.

While in Chicago last week we were shown a practical application of the rental value tax. We looked the new office building, said to be the finest on any of the continent, built entirely of granite, marble, iron and brass, twelve stories high and cost over a million and a half dollars. This building stands on a lot belonging to the school fund of the city of Chicago, which is leased for ninety-nine years to the owners of the building at an annual cash rental of \$35,000 per year. In addition to the \$35,000 yearly paid for rental, the value of the lot, and the value of the building at the end of ninety-nine years, or an average of \$15,000 per year to be added to the \$35,000, making the total rental value of the lot and building, which now goes to relieve the indebtedness of the school, but which otherwise would go to enrich a landlord.

## THE LAND QUESTION ON THE HIGH SEAS.

**BELFAST, Ireland.**—I shall not easily forget my ten days' existence on board the steamship which sailed from New York in July for Glasgow and Belfast.

In the saloon we numbered some 130 passengers, the major portion of whom were of Scotch nationality, and bitterly opposed to any and every species of reform which in their selfish calculations might in any way interfere with the tangible grip they possessed of this world's good things. We had among others six clergymen on board and one Roman Catholic student, four medical doctors, one judge from Cincinnati and several lawyers. Then there were merchants, farmers, store keepers, mechanics—altogether a most representative body of visitors en route for the old country.

From the start to the finish the weather was very cold, and consequently we smokers kept up a full attendance in the little deck cabin devoted to lovers of the weed.

Our discussions at first were, of course, of that general and artificial character which men pursue when thrown together for the first time, but by and by became more interesting, and on the second day I managed to guide them into an economical channel by the introduction of queries bearing upon the industrial problem.

Two ex-military officers (one of whom I subsequently learned had been for years manager of an estate) immediately smelt a rat, and the senior, whom I may call Colonel Jones, a bilious looking, overbearing bully, with the natural instinct of a slave driver, sort of a two ignorant and impotent remarks to try and turn the channel of the discussion.

Metaphorically I let him have it straight from the shoulder and silenced him. From that moment he looked upon me with the same characteristic affection that a rat bestows upon a weasel, and forthwith he began to poison the minds of every passenger on the ship against me, and sneaked round to the captain, who was a timid, narrow minded Scotchman, to tell that officer that I was a dangerous man, probably an emissary of the dynamite and nitro-glycerine faction of America!

To an extent and for a time he succeeded, and it was exceedingly amusing to me to note the change of manner toward myself shown by some of the passengers.

The smoking room debates, however, went on just the same, and single hand I wrangled and fought for the good faith.

It was hard work, but splendid practice. The whole magnetic current of sympathy turned on full flood against me, the odds being as a rule one to twenty. We all kept our temper fairly well, and the idiosyncrasies of the individual participants made matters at times lively and amusing.

One gentleman, who, from the character of his dress, we nicknamed the "Cowboy," was singularly obtuse. It seemed impossible to convince him. His command of political language was very small, but his knowledge of the rudimentary Saxon was almost, I might say, phenomenal. He was rough in his way, and I am sure an honest fellow, but he had absolutely no power of co-ordinating facts or understanding logical sequence. He would listen to my arguments with a ludicrous expression of mixed puzzlement, and invariably settle the whole question entirely to his satisfaction, thus: "My good fellow, you don't say anything about the tariff. When I had drawn out temporarily from the land of the battle, he would buttonhole me to give me the very facts on which I had based my arguments, describing with simple, truthful accuracy the land grabbing of the west and the increasing poverty, the decline of wages, etc., etc., but ever winding up somewhat in this fashion: "You may have very fine theories, but they won't work, and I tell you, my good friend, you don't know a," etc., etc.

One evening I ran foul of the most argumentative member of the club, a clerical order on board. He was a D.D. and a kind of inspired real estate agent for an American missionary society. Our conversation grew from whispered generalities to loud and applauded debate. As an orthodox Christian he quoted the bible, and I answered him out of the same book and made his quotations boomerang home to smite himself. For an hour the war raged, every one against me except one little Irishman who attacked our anti-poverty meetings in New York, and who had a thorough knowledge of the justice of our remedy. The smoking room was full, and the doors and passages lined with passengers listening to the doctor of divinity wiping the floor with the Henry George man.

Next day an intelligent Scotch gentleman came to me. There were, he said, several passengers on board who really wanted to know exactly what Henry George's theories were. Would I consent to give an address at 10 A. M. the following day in the state room? A student and a veteran were present. Meanwhile the bilious colonel and my other enemies spent their time going about the ship saying I was a superficial fellow and could not put two sentences together and tried to dissuade as many as possible from coming to hear me. But in spite of this, at the appointed time, the state room was packed.

I spoke for an hour and a half, entirely without notes, or indeed any comprehensive preparation, for I had not a single book or paper at hand. I gave first a sketch of Mr. George's life, then history of "Progress and Poverty," then dwelt on the subject of chattel slavery and its abolition and then attacked industrial slavery. I then returned to Mr. George and defined his position. I explained, by comparison and full definition, the terms socialist, anarchist, communist. Then I passed on to explain the economical definitions, forces of production, etc., etc., and reviewed the present condition of industrial life in America and elsewhere. I showed how the new world was growing with the very rapidity of the old, and after a general description of monopoly and the great remedy, I would have spoken longer but we had to move for the stewards to prepare dinner. But the effect of the address was far beyond my expectations. I received great applause and a vote of thanks was tendered me. I had my arm nearly shaken off by dozens of the passengers at the conclusion, who for the most part began to question me as to where they could get Mr. George's works.

It was very encouraging the following day for an opportunity to reply should be given and questions asked. At 10 A. M. we met accordingly in the same place, and they fired away at me for an hour and a half. The objections were of the usual character, mixed occasionally with some stormy vituperation and an ingenious blending of my individuality by one caustic ecclesiastic servant of the Lord with anarchists, socialists, demagogues and radicals, whom he said he would settle with one line and that should have a nose at the end of it.

Two clergymen, however, nobly defended me and stated that my arguments were convincing, and that since they now heard Mr. George's views they believed he was right. A young lawyer mystified the whole company by astounding statistics of the Arksonian character tending to prove that there was nothing the matter with the condition of the working classes was steadily improving. As for the other objects, they were of the usual chestnuty character.

I found no difficulty in answering the

reasonable objections, and for the rest of our journey the whole topic of conversation was the land question. HENRY ANCELTILL.

## THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

The protective principle is to turn by burdensome taxation every natural advantage in a country into a disadvantage, and to make the necessities of life dearer to consumers in order to enrich a small class of parasites.—[Richmond, Va., State.

Labor is a commodity, and its price is regulated by the law of supply and demand, hence a lower tariff, or even free trade, will not reduce wages; but it will reduce the price of the articles consumed by labor.—[Cedar County, Neb., Nonpareil.

To reduce the present tariff is to reduce a war tax which is producing a ruinous surplus. Opposition to it must take the ground that a people will be harmed by low taxation. That is like saying that a man will starve if he has a plenty to eat.—[Indianapolis News (Harrison supporter.)

The trust system cannot exist without its complement. The socialism which takes from the many to give to the few cannot be successful without producing the socialism which takes from the few to give to the many. The liberty they deny others will surely be denied them.—[St. Louis Republic.

The protectionist game: First clap a heavy duty on imported stuffs in order to "protect labor." Then import cheap labor to manufacture home made stuffs. Nothing further will remain to be done but to keep showing for "protection to labor" and pocket the swag.—[Philadelphia Record.

The tariff question is one upon which locality, avocation and personal interest naturally lead to differences of opinion; but the more the matter is discussed the more evident it becomes that the tariff is a heavy tax paid by the farmer and the laborer, and receives no benefit in return.—[Portland, Or., World.

The essence of high protection, as a recent writer said, is the placing of obstacles in the way of trade. People are expected to build ships, to promote importations, invent machinery to increase and cheapen production; the tariff steps in to prevent the "one and done" of the other.—[Memphis Appeal.

The protective tariff is misnamed; it should be the robbery tariff. It does not protect, but does rob, American labor of its "protection" of this sort the better off will American labor be. As for us, we have no patience with those who prate about the tariff being a protection to labor.—[Cedar County, Neb., Nonpareil.

Trusts and tariff protection go together. Neither without the other would have made Mr. Carnegie the millionaire he is. Hence the Portland speech declaring that trusts are largely private affairs, with which neither the government nor any private citizen has any right to interfere.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The protectionists of this country claim that protection tends to increase wages. Workingmen, stop for a moment and consider this. Why is it true, why is it that the monopolists who import pauper labor from the country are in favor of this protection system? The simple fact of the matter is plain to be seen—it is all a humbug.—[Cleveland, N. H., News.

The tax on thread is one of the meanest of all forms of taxation. It is a tax on the worst part of the laborer; but the beneficiaries of protection are not satisfied with dividing among themselves a part of the wages of poor sewing women; they insist also on cutting down the wages of thread makers as well as thread users. These are the persons who are steadily crying out against the Mills bill lest wages be reduced.—[Philadelphia Record.

## Workingmen and the Tariff.

Chicago Democrat.

A great many democrats are spending more time than they should in discussing free trade than they are in exposing the sophistries of protection. Are they wise in so doing? Since the parties have adopted their platform, the writer has attended probably one hundred meetings of laboring men, and seen greenbackers, and non-political societies in Chicago where political economy has been discussed. At these meetings men from rolling mills, foundries and all sorts of factories in the city, and in the country, are present, and the laboring men of Chicago are overwhelmingly in favor of free trade. And they are posted on the question. Many of them claim that the tariff is not really for free trade, but wedded to the protection feitch.

In but a dozen instances did any laboring man speak for a protective tariff, and they were quickly routed by the free traders. If any republican orator desires to test this matter, let him go before any organized labor society in Chicago and rattle about pauper free trade labor and he will find himself completely routed. He will be surrounded by a rolling mill man, who can give him more facts about the tariff and wages than he ever dreamed. The workmen know that protection only enriches the price of goods after the tariff is added.

They deny in toto that the high tariff is the cause of better wages in America than in Europe. They say with great reason that the manufacturers are only selfish about their own wages, and that they are ever ready to hire the cheapest pauper labor they can get.

The workmen maintain that the present scale of labor is wholly due to organization among the laboring men—that the manufacturers are the cause of the low wages, and that they are the cause of the high wages. They say that the influence of the federation of trades, pay higher wages, treat their men better, and dare not import pauper labor.

This being so, the labor societies jealously resent the proposition that the tariff is the cause of better wages in America than in Europe.

The democrats are wasting their time by attempting to prove that they are not free traders, because the workingmen of Chicago are for free trade beyond all doubt.

## Immigration and the K. of L.

Boston Labor Leader.

It is true, Mr. Knight of Labor, that the globe is the symbol of your organization, the people of all countries your brothers, the barriers of bigotry and race broken down. If it is true, what right have you to try to keep for yourself this star spangled country? What right have you to say, "I am here first. I am got my seat at the table. Let the less fortunate and eat grass?"

Restrict immigration if you want to. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if you really think you are going to starve if your cousin from Ireland, or Germany, or Italy comes here, why slam the door in his face, but don't be a hypocrite about it and pretend to believe in the "solidarity of the labor of the world."

## To Help Single Tax Strangers.

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

Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 221 E street, N. W. St. Louis, Mo.—J. H. Griffis, 3255 Lucky street. Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, Secretary Land and labor club, 100 W. 2d. Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery. Arkansas City, Kas.—James B. Hassett. Hutchinson, Kan.—J. B. Ballou. Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 45 Elliott street. Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, Pres. anti-poverty society. St. Louis, Mo.—Benj. E. Bloom, Single tax league, 3255 Lucky street. New York, N. Y.—R. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street. Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 13 Mulken avenue. Brooklyn, N. Y.—J. B. Hickling, 41 Sidney place, Free. Single tax club. Frank L. Carter, 182 Chestnut street, Youngstown, O.—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house. Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm. J. Albano, 28 Chestnut street, or R. B. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, Sec. Henry George club. Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, Sec. Tariff reform club. Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N. High street, Sec. American land league. New York, N. Y.—E. P. King. Freshwater, Tex.—William M. Buell.

## NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

A resolution has been introduced in congress authorizing the appointment by the post office department of a commission to examine the question of the advisability of the employment of pneumatic tubes in connection with the service of the post office in New York city. It is understood that the intention is not only to secure an examination and report upon the various systems which have been brought forward, but of the extent to which such facilities are employed by the postoffices in foreign cities and the methods of operation.

The Age of Steel says: Several mornings during last



## FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE SOUTH.

The Chairman of the Labor Party of Alabama reads the following statement of the Republican Press—The Mammals Not Afraid of Free Trade.

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 24.—The assertion made by republican papers throughout the north and west, that freedom of opinion and speech is not allowed in the south, is absolutely false. The writer has traveled all over the south for the last twelve years, and has lived south continuously the last three years, and has never known of any case where there was not the same liberty of expression as would be allowed anywhere in the United States. When the labor party was organized in this state last March, there were the fullest reports given by the democratic papers of our proceedings, and the labor convention was treated fairly and invited by the Montgomery press to make that city the yearly meeting place. Only one paper in this state spoke disparagingly of any person who took part in that convention, and even that paper has seen its mistake and has so intimated. The men who composed that convention were not after office, but after needed reforms, and the managers of the democratic party in this state were impressed with that fact, and are now disposed to deal justly with the labor question, as they understand it; and it only remains for the real friends of reform to educate the leaders, and thus bring them to the support of the masses. Because I know the south to be as free to-day as in my own native state of Maine, I wish to deny the lies that are circulated for campaign purposes.

So long as one is law abiding, he is left to express his opinion freely upon any subject, and where one meets with opposition, it is because his conduct or speech is such as would excite trouble north or west. If the republican campaign committee wish to send speakers into what they call the "solid south" they will be listened to attentively and treated respectfully, but may be asked some knotty questions upon the benefits to the workingmen of a protective tariff.

The more I go among the farmers and working (trades) people, the more I see that they are not afraid of the "free trade" scare. They are in this state doing their own thinking, and at our last election, Aug. 6, the labor element elected several county judges, also commissioners. In Baldwin county, the largest in the state, they elected their ticket by a two-third majority.

E. Q. NORTON,  
Chairman Executive Committee Labor Party of Alabama.

Which is \$2.75 a Week for His Wife and Children.

New York World, Aug. 28.  
Painter—A painter with paper hanger wanted, salary \$15 a month, with board, room and washing. Goodway's retail rubber warehouse, 484 Grand street, New York.

## "DEMOCRATS." ATTENTION!

It is proposed to organize an "INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION," through which true "democrats" the world over, without regard to national lines, may effectively co-operate to promote the reform of government (town, county, state, national and international) in accordance with the following principles:

1. Guarantee to every one of government is to guarantee to every one his just freedom: i. e., the largest liberty compatible with justice to all.
2. That in order adequately to "guarantee to every one his just freedom," government must, as fully as practicable—
- (a) Guarantee to every one, by adequate legal sanctions, the following civil rights:
  - (a) The right to share equally with all others in the benefit of all naturally existing materials, liberties and opportunities, by personal use, occupation or control, where such use, occupation or control can be specifically had or enjoyed by all in common; and in all other cases by receiving, or otherwise using, by the current rent of all such "materials, liberties or opportunities," the specific use, occupation or control of which cannot properly be had or enjoyed by all in common.
  - (b) The right to immunity from all encroachments on either person or property—whether direct, by violence, or indirect, by fraud, neglect, extortion, or breach of contract.
3. Guarantee to every one and non-criminal adult in the community to be governed by an appropriate political constitution—a really equal participation in the government function; directly, where their personal action is practicable and expedient; and indirectly, through really "representative" and "representative" agencies, wherever the personal action of the citizens themselves is either impracticable or inexpedient.
4. That the reforms involved in, and which would constitute the democratization of society, may be most efficiently, properly, and conveniently advocated, tested and introduced by the organization of the International Democracy, itself upon democratic principles, and therefore under a constitution substantially similar to the political one recommended for society.

As, in some countries for all, and in all countries for some, it might be dangerous to allow membership of this body, the names of all desiring it will be kept secret.

A "Constitutional Convention," representing the entire Federation, is called to meet in Washington, D. C., on the first Monday of May, 1889. It is to consist of one \$50 (or fewer) candidates who shall have been named as proxies by more actual or intending members of the Federation than any other candidates not included in the number; no member to have more than one casting proxy (though each may name alternates), and each proxy to have in the convention not a single vote only, but precisely as many votes as he has principles to represent.

Every true democrat desiring to be represented is invited to send his or her designation of a proxy (and alternates), and every candidate for appointment as proxy, his name, address and personal policy (for publication, or private communication to inquirers, as he may choose). The results of the voting will be announced from time to time, the polls closing on the 1st of February, 1889.

Address, without delay, to D. F., Box 11, New York City.

## FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Much effective work in the campaign can be done by the publication of a local paper. Even men who are opposed to our ideas will read a little paper which is published at home. We have made arrangements by which we can furnish 500 7-column papers, containing much free trade, single tax matter, for \$2.50 per issue. These will be headed and dated at any place or city. At a little extra expense items of local interest, making points against local protectionism, will be inserted. The publisher will have complete control over his own paper; he can insert in it any reading matter or advertisements he pleases, collecting his own subscription, sales and advertising. All we have to do with the plan is to furnish the work from a central office and divide the expense among the publishers. These papers can be entered at local post offices as second class matter, and can then be mailed at the rate of four cents per 100 copies for postage. This is a very important item for clubs and groups to consider.

We ask immediate orders, or requests, for sample copies, etc. We can furnish any number of papers at once. We are single tax free traders, and our object is to help the cause. Address

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BY HENRY GEORGE.

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## CURRENT THOUGHT.

Harper's Magazine for September.

Elizabeth Pennell's first installment of "Our Journey to the Hebrides" is one of those somewhat exasperating pieces of work that is so good one cannot help wishing it were better. Here and there the author shows such genuine power of seeing and describing that the reader performs a little of the work of the author, and she had not exercised the faculty more freely, even at the cost of expanding her "first paper" into a first and second. One would like to know of so good an observer not only that she visited Inverary, but also what she saw there and what she thought there. It annoys the sense of fitness to have Inverary mentioned as a round on a ladder instead of being shown as a terrace.

And that Mrs. Pennell can observe closely and describe faithfully she gives ample evidence. What can be more like-like than this picture of a highland village:

But the cottages which to the right of our road straggled down to a rocky stream below had no redeeming whiteness, no vines about their doors. The turf around them was worn away. Some were chimneyless; on others, the thatch, where weeds did not hold it together, had broken through, leaving the great beams of the roof. On a bench tilted up against the wall of the lowest of these cottages sat an old gray haired man in a Tam o' Shanter, his head bent low, his clasped hands falling between his knees. It was a picturesque place, and we camped out awhile under an old eart near the road side. Perhaps it would have been wise if, like Mr. Hamerton, we could have seen only the picturesqueness of the highland clack, only the color and sublimity of the hills, only the fine women who live within them. But how could we sit there and not see that the picturesqueness was that of misery, that whatever color and sublimity there might be—and to the sublimity I must confess we were blind—were but outward signs of poverty and squalor, and that the huts sheltered not only strong young women, but feeble old men like that pathetic figure with the clasped hands and bent head? We have seen the old age of the poor when we thought it but a peaceful rest after the work of years. In English almshouses we have found it in our hearts to envy the old men and women their homes. But here despair and sadness seemed the portion of old age. I do not know why it was, but as we watched that gray haired man, though there was a space of blue sky just above him, and the day was warm and the air sweet, it was of the winter he made us think, of the time soon to come when the cold winds would roar through the pass, and snow would lie on the hills, and he would shiver alone in the chimneyless cottage with its one tiny window. A few miles away, men in a fortnight throw away on their fishing more than these people can make in years. Scotch landlords rent their wild unencultivated acres for fabulous sums, while villages like this grow desolate. If when you are in the highlands you would still see as they are in the romance of Scott or in the sickly sentiment of Landseer, or as a more pleasure ground for tourists and sportsmen, you must get the people out of your mind, just as the laird gets them out of his estate. Go everywhere, by stage and steamboat, and when you come to a chieftain or to a lonely cottage, shut your eyes and pass on. Else you must realize as we did—and more strongly as we went further—that this land, which holiday makers have come to look upon as their own, is the saddest on God's earth.

Before we left the shade of the cart a little girl went by, and we asked her the name of the village.

"Kilbrannan," she said, with impossible gutters, and then she smiled at us.

It was a good sign, we thought. If highland children to-day are taught to spell, highland men and women to-morrow may learn to think; then, let the landlord remember, they will begin to act.

And here is what Mrs. Pennell saw on the duke of Argyll's property in the Hebrides:

Just in front of us, close to the inn, a handful of bare black cottages rose from the mud in among rocks and boulders. No paths led to the doors; nothing green grew about the walls. Women with pinched, careworn faces came and went, busy with household work, and they were silent as the people we had met on the coast. Beyond was barrenness, not another tree, not another bit of pasture land, was in sight. And yet, before the people were brought unto desolation, almost all the island was green as the meadows about the laird's house; and so it could be again if men were not allowed to cultivate the ground. Where weeds and rushes and ferns now cover the hills and the level places were once fields of grain and grass. To-day only the laird's crops are sown and reaped. Once there could be heard the many voices of men and women and children at work or at play, where now the only sounds are the roarings of the waters and the crack of the rifle. Of all the many townships that were scattered from one end of the island to the other, there remains but this wretched group of hovels. The people have been driven from the land they loved, and sent hither and thither, some across the narrow sound, others far over the broad Atlantic.

The highlands and Hebrides are the home of romance. The island is a land of almost every step you take. But the cruellest of these are not so cruel as, and none have the paths of, the tales of their own and their fathers' wrongs and wretchedness which the people tell to-day. The old stories of the battlefield and of clan meeting clan in deadly feud have given way to stories of the clearing of the land, that the laird or the stranger might have his shooting and fishing as well as his crops. At first the people could not understand it. The evicted went to the laird, as they would have gone of old, and asked for a new home. And what was his answer? "I am not the father of your family." And then, when frightened women ran and hid themselves at his coming, he broke the kettle they left by the well, or tore into shreds the clothes bleaching on the heather. And as the people themselves have it, "in these and similar ways he succeeded too well in clearing the island of its once numerous inhabitants, scattering them over the face of the globe." There must have been cruelty indeed before the western islander, who once loved his chief better than his own life, could tell such tales as these, even in his hunger and despair. I know it is pleasant to read of bloodshed in the past than starvation in the present. A lately published book on Ireland has been welcomed by critics, and I suppose by readers, because in it is no mention of evictions and crowbar make good capital. I have never been to Ireland and it may be you can travel there and forget the people. But in the Hebrides the human silence and the ruined homes and the almost unbroken moorland would let us, as foreigners, think of nothing else. Since our return we have read Scott and Mr. Hamerton and Miss Gordon

Cumming and the duke of Argyll and many others who have helped to make or mar the romance and history of the highlands. But the true story of the highlands as they are, we learned for ourselves when we looked, as we did at Ulva, from the laird's mansion to the crofter's hovel. It is the story of the tyranny of the few, the slavery of the many, which can be learned still more fully from the reports of the royal commission, published by the English government.

Mrs. Pennell sees the highlands and Hebrides as they really are, and has the rare art of enabling her readers to see them too.

Is "Annie Kilburn" the coming novel? Has Howells learned that instead of all the stories having been told, the story has not yet been attempted? It begins to look like it. Into the little fictional world of Hawthorne are crowding the types of the characters that through the great real world and illustrate our nineteenth century civilization. Miss Kilburn, the woman of wealth and leisure, clear brained, introspective, eager to do something for humanity, but bewildered to find that between herself and her neighbors who live by working there is a great gulf which she may pass, indeed, but across which she can never stretch her arm; Gerrish, the "self made" storekeeper, mistaking the blot of degeneration for healthy growth; Putney, the cynic, keeping closer touch with humanity because of his moral infirmity; Peck, the preacher, refusing to be humbugged even by himself; the coarse fibered fashionable and would-be fashionable women who make up Hawthorne "society" and treat themselves to philanthropy as to caramels; out of the blending, divergent, conflicting interests and thoughts and actions of these, how true a picture of modern life may be woven! And so far Mr. Howells handles the shuttle deftly. Listen to this bit of dialogue. Miss Kilburn, eager to do something, has persuaded a mother to take an ailing child to the seaside at her expense. The child dies; and the mother, returning, shows by her manner that she feels as if the little one had been trifled out of the world that a rich young woman might enjoy the satisfaction of "doing good." Miss Kilburn distressfully tells the story to Mr. Peck:

"I want to tell you something, Mr. Peck—an experience of mine," she said, abruptly, and without trying to connect it obviously with what had gone before she told him the story of her ill fated beneficence to the Savors. He listened intently, and at the end he said: "Understand. But that is sorrow you have caused, not evil; and what we intend in good will must not rest a burden on the conscience, no matter how it turns out. Otherwise the moral world is no better than a crazy dream, without plan or sequence. You might as well rejoice in an evil deed because good happened to come of it."

"Oh, I thank you," she gasped. "You don't know what a load you have lifted from me!" Her words feebly expressed the sense of deliverance which overpowered her heart. Her strength failed her like that of a person suddenly relieved from some great physical stress or peril; but she felt that he had given her the truth, and she held fast by it while she went on.

"If you knew, or if any one knew, how difficult it is, what a responsibility, to do the least thing for others! And once it seemed so simple! And it seems all the more difficult, the more means you have of doing good. The poor people seem to help one another without doing any harm; but if I try it—"

"Yes," said the minister, "it is difficult to help others when we cease to need help ourselves. A man begins poor, or his father or grandfather before him—it doesn't matter how far back he begins—and then he is in accord and full understanding with all the other poor folk in the world; but as he prospers he withdraws from them and loses their point of view. Then, when he offers help, it is not as a brother of those who need it, but a patron, and agent of the false state of things in which we live; and his help is not an impulse of the love that ought to bind us all together, but a compromise proposed by iniquitous social conditions, a peace offering to his own guilty consciousness of his share in the wrong."

"Yes," said Annie, too grateful for the comfort she had given her to question words whose full purport had not perhaps reached her. "And I assure you, Mr. Peck, I feel very differently about these things since I first talked with you. And I wish to tell you, in justice to myself, that I had no idea then—that that—you were speaking from your own experience when you said how working people looked at things. I didn't know that you had been—that is, that—"

"Yes," said the minister, coming to her relief, "I once worked in a cotton mill. Then," he continued, dismissing the personal concern, "it seems to me that I saw things in their right light, as I have never been able to see them since—"

"And how brutal," she broke in, "how cruel and vulgar, what I said must have seemed to you!"

"I fancied," he continued, evasively, "that I had authority to set myself apart from my fellow workmen, to be a teacher and guide to the true life. But it was a great error. The true life was the life of work, and no one ever had authority to turn from it. Christ himself came as a laboring man."

"That is true," said Annie; and the words transfused the man who spoke them, so that her heart turned reverently toward him. "But if you had been meant to work in a mill all your life," she pursued, "would you have been given the powers you have, and that you have just used to save me from despair?"

The minister rose, and said, with a sigh: "No one was meant to work in a mill all his life. Good night."

Tolstoi? Oh! yes. But Tolstoi, let us hope, with a difference. Blinded by the mists of aristocratic education the Russian apostle sees no way of bringing mankind into touch and sympathy with each other, save that all should work in the mill together. Mr. Howells, we think, will avoid that error.

"Two Montana Cities," by Edwards Roberts, is a well written account of the cities of Helena and Butte, illustrated in the style which has made Harper's Magazine famous. It is mainly a story of wealth—of magnificent buildings, rapid fortune making, glowing prospects—to read which one might suppose that at last a land had been discovered in which wealth followed work, and where only the persistently idle need ever come to want. But alas! right at the end of the story comes this passage:

Our hotel at Butte was in nearly the center of the city. Close by ran the main street, with its ever changing pictures, and from the upper end of which we could look down upon the famous camp. The sight was novel in the extreme. On every hand were tall smoke

stacks pouring forth smoke and flames like miniature volcanoes, and great heaps of mineral refuse were scattered around promiscuously. There was nothing to see but stamp mills and smelters, nothing to do but visit them. Mines and mining were the talk of the hour. No one thought of anything else. The very ground seemed honeycombed, and we knew that by day and night an army of men was at work in the dimly lighted "cross cuts," industriously searching for the treasures nature so long refused to disclose. Rough looking, pale, worn and haggard are these miners of Butte. Many of them have lived the greater part of their lives in the horrible chambers that, lined as they are with precious metals, have still no charm for their inmates. Life in the mines is modern slavery. The looks of the men prove this; the wan faces of the children bear painful evidence of the fact.

Above the city proper, on the road to Waller, were grouped the cabins of these laborers. Nothing more desolate than their appearance can be imagined. Perched on rocky ledges, crowded into narrow gulches, unpainted, blacked by the smoke, unrelieved by tree or shrub or grass plot, they bore not even the suggestion of home, but were more like hovels—untidy, neglected and oppressive to look upon.

This is discouraging. It would almost seem as though the easiest way to make money in Montana were by getting other people to work.

**Prohibitory Law and Personal Liberty.**

This is the question discussed in the *North American Review* for August by President Seelye, Rev. I. K. Funk, Neal Dow, President Bascom, Rev. Charles F. Deems, Hon. G. F. Stewart, and Senator Blair. In every case the verdict is in favor of prohibition. The accused thing should be put away utterly and completely. Men should be forbidden to make it, to buy it, to sell it, to use it. It is the parent of pauperism and crime, the enemy of thrift, the deadly foe of religion and morality. Without a dissenting voice the gentlemen whose names we quote assert that the foremost need of the age is the suppression of the use and traffic in intoxicants.

That these men are sincere goes without saying. That the end they have in view is a righteous one is equally indisputable. Mankind would be better off, the future of humanity would be more hopeful, if drunkenness were utterly abolished. But the question remains, Can intemperance be abolished by statute?—in other words, Will prohibition prohibit? And this is really the question to which the essays in the *North American Review* are devoted.

The weakness of the prohibition argument is that it is, in great measure, not an argument at all, but a succession of undemonstrated and unaxiomatic postulates, which, however readily they may be accepted by those who only seek to justify their faith, do not commend themselves to men who want to build the edifice of their belief from the foundation up, instead of from the roof tree down. Dr. Funk, for example, tells the readers of the *North American Review* that "the strongest argument for prohibition" is that "with the masses that which the law permits is right and that which the law forbids is wrong"—ergo, if drinking is prohibited by law, the masses will come to believe drinking morally wrong. But if Dr. Funk would think a moment he would see that this is utter nonsense. The law prohibits smuggling; yet people not only refuse to consider smuggling immoral, but actually justify false swearing because smuggling can't be carried on without it. Scarce a day passes that hundreds of otherwise honest and reputable men and women, many of them active and sincere Christians, do not solemnly call God to witness falsehood, and excuse the deed on the ground of "mere legal formality." The law forbids usury; but nobody objects either to paying or receiving usury. The law forbids the employment of young children in factories; and parents unhesitatingly lie about their children's ages. So far from its being true that men regard as immoral that which the law forbids, the converse is the rule, and men unhesitatingly defy or evade laws which forbid actions not in themselves immoral. The sympathy of civilization is with the Irish members of parliament imprisoned for addressing prohibited meetings; yet in the eye of the law the imprisoned members are as criminal as any other misdoers. If Dr. Funk's "strongest argument for prohibition" is really his strongest argument, his cause is in a bad way indeed.

Here, too, it, the Rev. Charles F. Deems damaging the cause he seeks to benefit with this amazing series of statements:

The result of the spending of those six hundred millions of dollars [the estimated "drink bill" of the United States] was the causing of the death of more people than all other causes combined. The country lost a host of men who might be working in mines and factories, who might be engaged in a thousand productive arts. Each dollar spent in intoxicant beverages represents a dollar lost from the wealth of the country, in the sense that the dollar failed to be added to the general wealth. And every one knows that that is a very small part of the pecuniary loss. There were seven hundred thousands of drinking men who did not die, but who "lost" whole months of time by the inability and the diminution of ability wrought in them by the drink. If each lost six days only in the whole year, it would aggregate the loss of labor of a thousand men for thirteen years. The question of the tariff is insignificant when compared with the question of the rum traffic, if this question be regarded only in a financial light.

This appears more clearly if we take into account the army of about 400,000 men who are engaged in the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicants. These are grown, able-bodied men. They are removed from all the profitable pursuits of human beings. They are engaged in a business which adds nothing to the bodily, intellectual or spiritual advancement of a single human being. The world would have been no worse, the country no poorer, if every man of them had been on the first of January of the preceding year. Is there any other business in which these hundreds of thousands of men could have been engaged which would not have added, at least, one dollar to the general wealth of the country? But that great body of workers did not enhance the property of the country by the amount of one solitary dime! Their business was such that they could not.

It is a ticked business, even where it is lawful. This is shown by the fact that none but the lower class of men can engage in it.

Search the groggshops of New York, and see if you will find a single respectable Israelite engaged as a saloonist. His religion would forbid. Is there a Protestant church in the city that would permit a grog seller to remain in its membership? Would public opinion outside the church tolerate such a communion? Is that a proper business to be allowed to exist, a business in which no Mohammedan, Jew or Christian can engage without violating the sanctions of his religion?

If Dr. Deems would use his senses to observe facts, and his understanding to digest them, he would not write thus. The men who now make a living by the liquor traffic couldn't get work in mines and factories, and in a thousand productive arts, if they wanted to. There are thousands of idle men, not liquor dealers, nor liquor makers, nor liquor drinkers, who are looking for work in mines and factories and productive arts, and can't find it. There are other thousands who make liquor, or sell liquor, because they are denied the privilege of doing any other kind of work. The "seven hundred thousands" of drinking men who lost whole months of time simply yielded their places in the work army to other hundreds of thousands who must otherwise have stood idle. The chief and proper business of workers is not to "enhance the property of the country," but to provide their own comfortable subsistence. And as for the amazing assertion that none but the lower class of men can engage in the liquor traffic, it is the very blindness of reckless misstatement. Are no hotel keepers, church members? Are all importers and dealers in alcoholic beverages disreputable men? Dr. Deems knows better.

Through six out of the seven essays in the *North American Review* there runs this recklessness of misstatement—the assumption that certain things must be true because they make for righteousness. Senator Blair informs us that "science has proven alcohol to be a poison as indisputably as strychnine," which if it were true would be a queer argument for prohibition, since strychnine, in moderate doses, is one of the safest and most commonly used of tonics. General Dow asserts that "prohibition has failed nowhere that it has been adopted," yet admits in a succeeding paragraph that "the liquor traffic, so far as its interests are concerned, controls absolutely the legislation of the nation and of the states and cities; so we find it difficult everywhere, and in Maine impossible, for the moment, to obtain such legislation as we require for the extermination of the fraction of the liquor traffic yet remaining." President Bascom urges us to "dry up the streams of intoxicants that flow into our cities, and appetite will no more create beer and whisky than thirst furnishes water, or than hunger supplies food;" an argument which, to say the least, is as strong against the efficacy of prohibition as for it. And the Hon. G. F. Stewart, calmly assuming, as a proposition which none will deny "whose minds are not clouded by personal participation in the evil," that the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in any form is a moral crime—which is a sheer begging of the question—goes on to argue that to license or regulate the liquor traffic would be as absurd as the licensing or regulation of petit larceny.

President Seelye, alone, discusses the subject with anything like judicial calmness. He sums up his conclusion in these temperate words:

The presence of the prohibitory party in our national politics is itself a moral education. I hold that the end it seeks is wise statesmanship and sound ethics, and while I do not anticipate an immediate victory from the use of this weapon, nor an ultimate victory, if we do not employ other weapons also; while I do not believe that prohibition alone will stop the sale of strong drink any more than it will stop the continuance of gambling, or of theft, or of any other crime, I would make it clear by statute that it is a crime, believing, with Mr. Gladstone, that "it is the duty of government to make it as hard as possible for a man to go wrong, and as easy as possible for him to go right."

The presence of the prohibition party in politics is a moral education. It is distinctly a good thing, a glorious thing, a hopeful thing, that men should be willing to work as the prohibitionists are working, for a great moral principle. And their labors are, we think, destined to achieve a result nobler and more lasting by far than the mere passage of a sumptuary law. For the prohibitionists are bringing men by thousands to see the evils of intemperance and to investigate its causes; they are forcing men to see that beneath the polished surface of our civilization lies a festering mass of misery and corruption. They are causing men to think. That they will succeed in securing the legislation they desire, or that such legislation, if they should secure it, will produce the effects they hope for, we cannot believe. But all the same they are working toward the elevation of humanity; and labor of that kind is never wasted. Only their leaders will do well to remember that intemperate statements, rash assumptions and false arguments are weapons apt to injure those who use them.

**Addressed a Republican Meeting and Spoke 'Em Up.**

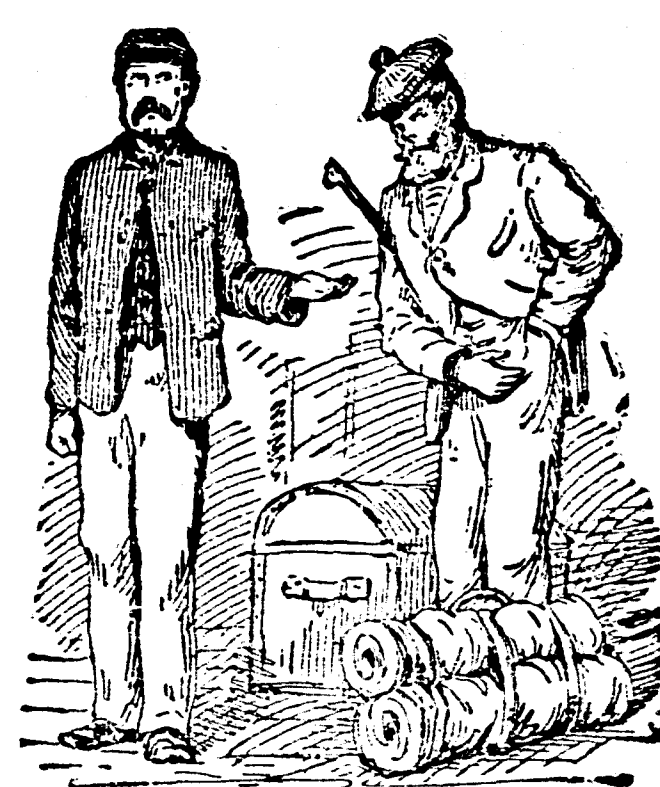
HARTFORD, Conn., Aug. 19.—I wrote you a few weeks ago explaining how things were in South Manchester. I was there last week. I was invited to attend a republican meeting, which I did. One of the Cheneys, silk manufacturers, was in the chair. I was allowed the privilege of the floor for half an hour, to show how protection injured the American workman. I made them a good, square free trade speech, giving numerous illustrations of the benefits of free trade and answering several questions put to me by men in the audience. I rounded off my speech with an explanation of the single tax, declaring that this was the only true, lasting remedy for social ills, and I used Dr. Wood's illustration of the boys and the marbles in Mr. Brown's meadow. The effect was very gratifying, for men whom I am sure were never before out of the house after nine o'clock were still standing in knots at eleven o'clock discussing my speech. It was a revelation to some of them. I since addressed an open air meeting in North Manchester, with similar results. This is what the *Heard*, a non-partisan paper of that place, had to say about it:

A dispatch of Henry George, turning an honest penny by the sale of campaign badges, gave local politicians a few points, at the depot square, last Tuesday evening.

Selling campaign badges is a good way for opening up discussion. I will send a roll of voters next week.

JOSEY CAIRNS.

## THE STORY OF TWO BLANKETS.



1.—United States custom house inspector and foreign tourist just arrived in New York Bay.

Inspector.—Hold on! You have a couple of new blankets there and must pay duty on them.

Tourist.—They are for my own use.

Inspector.—No matter. They are new.

Tourist.—How much duty must I pay?

Inspector.—Let me see. I know those goods. They are made in Glasgow and weigh fully eight pounds apiece. They cost you fifteen shillings, or say \$3.75 each. There is an ad valorem duty of 35 per cent. Then there is a duty on wool of 35 cents a pound. The duty on those blankets is \$4.12½ apiece, or \$8.25 for both. Pay it or the goods will be confiscated. (Tourist pays.)



2.—Where the \$8.25 goes to.

Uncle Sam.—Really, I don't need this. Have you now than I know what to do with the masses are being skinned for the benefit of a few. If the few can't make a living at the business they are in, without the aid of charitable contributions from the masses, then the few ought to get into some kind of business that they can make a living at. Theirs my sentiments.



3.—American infant manufacturer and confidential bookkeeper.

Bookkeeper.—Here's a couple of blankets from the factory. The foreman left them here as samples of the new grade you ordered him to make. How shall I price and grade them on the books.

American infant manufacturer.—Well I must admit that they are of inferior quality to the eight pound blankets that sell abroad for fifteen shillings or about \$3.75 apiece. But you may price them at \$4, as that will give me a fair profit. Then there is the protective duty of \$4.12½ each—so you may add that to the \$4, and make the price \$8.12½. That protective duty gives me a chance to accumulate something, and my heart is set on buying a Scotch castle.



4.—Foreign Tourist Ashore. (He strolls along the streets until he sees the sign of a mercantile house; enters and accosts the proprietor.)

Tourist.—I have just arrived in this queer

country—just to take a look about. I fetched a couple of new blankets with me, but I notice you have ins here just as we have at home. So, as I shall not have to sleep in the woods, I do not particularly need the blankets. I want to sell them.

Merchant.—What is your price?

Tourist.—Eight dollars and twenty-five cents apiece.

Merchant (examining them)—They are of a finer quality than I generally sell; but I have a customer who has been inquiring for just such a pair. I will take them at the price you name, as I would have to pay an American manufacturer \$8.12½ for an inferior pair.

Now, who pays the protective duty, 35 importers' blankets? The foreign manufacturer for the American consumer? And who pays for the American manufacturer's Scotch castle?

See his portrait above.

DAVID EDWARD CHORIN.



5.—Portrait of the Sleepy American Consumer.

Now, who pays the protective duty, 35 importers' blankets? The foreign manufacturer for the American consumer? And who pays for the American manufacturer's Scotch castle?

See his portrait above.

DAVID EDWARD CHORIN.

**Making Plate Glass.**

Lecture Hour.

A lofty, gloomy shed, with a few flickering gas jets. Noise there is none except the patter of the rain against the panes overhead from which the semi-darkness is admitted that the gaslights help. All the light worth mentioning comes from the furnace at the far end. One of its five doors is open, and in a cave of flame so vivid with heat that even the broad tongues of fire are colorless, we can just make out a glowing crucible—ten with no other clothing than canvas trousers and a shirt hung loosely over them, come past us with a two-wheeled trolley, fitted with a pair of long projecting nipples, the carriage runs up to the furnace, the long arms plunge into the cave, embrace the crucible, and drag it out into the shed. Our eyes can see nothing but the crucible, the darkness around is so deepened by the glare of the furnace. The carriage near us gets a peep into the huge incandescent fire-clay vat, in which the whitest dough is rapidly darkening into redness and covering itself with scale. As it disappears under one of the arches we follow it, and find ourselves in a better lighted shed, in which there at first sight seems to be a series of billiard tables. The tables are of iron, some twenty feet broad and thirty feet long, built up of many slabs, true and square, and they can be planned, and fitted with a full width roller at one end.

The trolley runs the glowing crucible under a crane; the crane stops and seizes it, and slowly swings it round so that the trolley is in front of one of the rollers. Steadily the crucible is turned over, and out of it on to the table a thick cataract pours the glowing dough. At the same instant the roller begins to move; like a rolling pin it squeezes the fiery viscous glass into a thin slab, and when it reaches the end the plate is made. The waste squeezed out, now cooling into transparency, is cut away; the annealing furnace opens at the back of the table, and with a roar as of sheet iron, the still flexible glass is pushed in to cool. When the kiln is cool enough a workman will have to enter it to examine the plates, and the cases of such as are cracked, to lead the cracks with a red-hot iron in the way to do least harm. The side of the plate over which the roller passed is undulating, that on the casting table is rough; the roller is slightly convex, otherwise it would not work the glass properly; the reason of the table being in separate blocks is, that if it were in one piece it would curve upward with the heat, and make the plate curved. Even as it is, no sheet of glass the true until it is in front of one of the rollers. Steadily the crucible is turned over, and out of it on to the table a thick cataract pours the glowing dough. At the same instant the roller begins to move; like a rolling pin it squeezes the fiery viscous glass into a thin slab, and when it reaches the end the plate is made. The waste squeezed out, now cooling into transparency, is cut away; the annealing furnace opens at the back of the table, and with a roar as of sheet iron, the still flexible glass is pushed in to cool. 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