THE STANDARD

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104 Dr. Walter Hendrickson 167 179 W. [illegible]

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

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This issue of "The Standard" will be a day late in reaching its readers, having been delayed to await the action of the democratic national convention.

It has been for some time evident that Grover Cleveland would be renominated, and that without opposition, as the presidential candidate of the democratic party. But the manner of it is even more significant that could have been expected. He has been nominated not only by unanimous acclamation—something that has only twice before happened in the history of the republic, but he has been nominated before the platform on which he is supposed to stand had been agreed upon.

Nothing, however, could be more significant of the real character of the whole proceedings at St. Louis. A great gathering, mostly composed of machine politicians, have, under pressure from the ranks of their party, and with outward acclamation, though with much inward fear and trembling, nominated a man who has, within the last six months, made himself the representative of a vital and aggressive principle.

It may have been "Cleveland's luck" that made him mayor of Buffalo, and governor of New York, and once president of the United States. But it is Cleveland's courage that has made him in this fashion the nominee of the national democratic convention. This nomination, such as no man has had before, is the sequel of his message declaring war on protection. It is the response of the true democratic spirit to the call of the man who, when democratic principle seemed well nigh forgotten in the party that bears the democratic name, had courage enough to invoke it and faith enough to trust it. After Cleveland's nomination, it is only the interest of curiosity that attaches to the St. Louis platform. The enemies of what in the last six months his name has come to stand for, have made of that name a sufficient platform for this election. If he were to avow himself ready to abolish every import duty, protective or revenue, as soon as he had power, the protected interests could not fight him more bitterly than they will now. What he stands for in this campaign is free trade as against protection. In his nomination the democratic party has staked its fortunes on that fight.

Mr. Cleveland, I believe, will be elected, and elected triumphantly. The campaign will be most intense and bitter, for on one side is the strength of a great principle, on the other the power of enormous special interests appealing to prejudice, timidity and ignorance. But, however the election may go, this nomination is, of itself, a more important political event than any presidential election since that of Abraham Lincoln. It is, perhaps, the most important and significant presidential nomination that has ever yet taken place in the United States—for even the nomination of Thomas Jefferson by the republican caucus of 1800, did not mean such a complete change in the attitude of a great party—such a radical re-drawing of the lines of political issue. With this nomination, what six months ago seemed too good to hope for has become an accomplished fact. We have at last got through with the disturbing and confusing political after-effects of the struggle that abolished chattel slavery, and the struggle for the abolition of industrial slavery has now in its first stages come definitely into practical politics. The old era has passed, and the new one that we who have been counted ahead of our time have been hoping for and striving for, is no longer merely coming—it is here. Not for this campaign alone, but for the future, until they are finally settled, the questions that must dominate popular thought and engage political discussion are the economic questions—the questions of work and wages, of production and distribution; the questions that involve the ability of the citizen to get an independent living; the questions that underlie mere political questions, and on which depend, not only the future of the republic, but the future of our civilization itself. What may be the result of the first engagement is of little moment as compared with the fact that the struggle has definitely begun.

Ever since the war the economic questions have been steadily forcing themselves upon attention, and discontent with industrial conditions has been spreading and deepening among the masses of our people. The growth of trades unions, the rise of the Knights of Labor, and many other similar indications, showed that a leaven of unrest was working. Yet while the tendency was plainly to political action, and while it might be clearly seen that the improvement in general conditions, which alone could remove the causes of this discontent, could only be secured through the ballot, every attempt to bring the labor question directly into politics proved a failure. This was inevitable. The process of education, though it was going on, had not gone far enough. Of the great body of men bitterly conscious that there was a labor question, the great majority did not see what the labor question really was. They wanted reform, but what reform to ask for they did not know; and when labor organizations or labor conventions came to formulate political demands they could agree no further than on a few propositions, some good and some bad, but all utterly inadequate to excite enthusiasm or arouse hope. For years, in the United States, there has been a vague feeling that a sleeping giant was beginning to stir and stretch; that a vast political power was on the threshold of awakening. It was as though a great army ready to march stood paralyzed because it did not know what road to take. And this, indeed, has been the case. Before any intelligent movement for the emancipation of labor can begin, the question of direction must be settled. It must be decided whether labor is to look for relief to restrictions on freedom or to the abolition of restrictions on freedom. But the general acceptance of the fallacies of protection—the general fear of raising or discussing the tariff question prevented the settlement of this primary question. And, afraid to try the way of freedom, labor organizations and labor movements wasted themselves in efforts to cure the evils that spring from restriction, by a little more restriction.

In the meanwhile, however, a quiet process of education had been going on, and their numbers steadily increasing, there had come to be, every here and there, a man, or a knot of men, who realized that the labor question was really the land question—that what oppressed labor, and robbed it of its just opportunities and fair earnings, was not capital, but monopoly; and that the most important and fundamental of all monopolies was the monopoly of land.

At length, in a fortuitous combination of circumstances, a start was made on the line by which alone the emancipation of labor can be reached. In the New York city election in 1886, the labor associations went into municipal politics, and for the first time in the history of the labor movement in the United States raised the standard of freedom—the standard of equal rights to all and special privileges to none—the standard of Jeffersonian democracy. "Holding," as they said, "that the corruptions of government and the impoverishment of labor result from neglect of the self evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this republic, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with unalienable rights," they declared generally and specifically for "the abolition of all laws which give to any class of citizens advantages, either judicial, financial, industrial or political, that are not equally shared by all others."

Under this standard we beat one of the two great parties, and drove the two factions of the other into a solid phalanx that was only able to retain power by resorting to every vantage and device of entrenched corruption. The result startled the country and inspired a new hope. And well it might. It was the Lexington of a greater revolution.

I do not mean to say that all of the more than sixty-eight thousand men who in that election voted for me really understood what that platform involved, though the proportion that did was much larger than those uninformed as to the facts commonly suppose. But the result did show that the declaration for freedom, so far from repelling the masses, had power to excite enthusiasm and attract a following that nothing else could command. It disposed of the belief that the workingmen of the cities were so devoted to protection that they necessarily regarded an avowed free trader as an enemy of American labor. It showed that amid the forces of discontent there was at least a heart and a core that had a definite policy—that did know what was the cause and what the cure of the social evils which produce this discontent.

The result of the mayoralty election, though nominally a defeat, was to us a tremendous moral victory. All over the United States it begat enthusiasm among men who had been waiting for some party of principle, and everywhere forces that had been gathering for action evinced a disposition to crystallize under the standard that in New York had been raised. In spite of the enormous difficulties which our elective system puts in the way of a new party, the impulse to push out on the line of independent action held sway in our minds. Indeed, there seemed nothing else to do. For while locally the two great parties were mere office-getting machines, there was between them nationally no difference that appealed to anything more than the habit or prejudice of voters. We held the Syracuse convention, entered into a hopeless state campaign as a matter of propaganda, and looked forward this year to a union with the single tax men of other states for a similar national campaign, in which, while the old parties were contending for the offices, we might at least make a nucleus around which the pioneers of the principle of equal rights could rally.

To expect any issue on economic lines between the old parties seemed a year ago futile. The republican party maintained an unbroken front in favor of protection. The free trade element in its ranks appeared to be nothing like as numerous and as active as in 1872. The free trade sentiment that showed itself in the democracy of 1876 had practically disappeared; the national banks and railway corporations seemed every whit as powerful in the one party as in the other, and what differences there were between them served only to suggest the saying of Jay Gould, that he was a republican in republican counties and a democrat in democratic counties, but "every time an Erie man." I believed that the change that had taken place in the national administration, and the consequent decadence of phantom issues, must finally bring up economic questions. But it seemed to me then that this was most likely to come in the growth of a new party which would either break up the democracy or compel it to take its stand on democratic principles.

But our vote in New York in 1887—though really as great as under the circumstances we could reasonably have hoped, since, unlike the year before, there was no pretense of a chance of election—was to our sanguine expectation a great disappointment. It both showed and increased the difficulties of an independent movement in the national field. No sooner, however, did the way, which had appeared the only one feasible to us, seem to close, than a broader one began to open. The whole political situation was of a sudden changed, and the president of the United States, the prospective candidate and most powerful leader of the democratic party, himself hurled the first of national economic questions into the arena of political discussion.

It seemed at first almost "too good to be true." It seemed at first as if in trying to bring his party up to the avowal of democratic principle, Mr. Cleveland had essayed too herculean a task. But what is virtually a political revolution has gone on in the six months that have elapsed since the president's message was delivered. The response of the people has inspired the politicians with courage—and the impulse of contest has hurried them on. To-day the democratic party stands committed to the free trade fight, and Grover Cleveland, as the opponent of protection, is nominated by the unanimous acclamations of men who six months ago would not have dared to touch the fetish of protection with the tips of their fingers.

To me, for one, the path of duty seems plain. I shall do what, when President Cleveland's message was first issued, I said I would do if the hope it raised was fulfilled; and endeavor to the extent of my power to aid his election. And I shall do this not out of any regard for Mr. Cleveland—though I feel profoundly grateful to him for the great work he has done in the last six months—but for the very same reason that made me accept the nomination of the representatives of organized labor for the mayoralty of New York in 1886, and head the ticket of the united labor party last year. I recognize in the struggle now beginning against that form of special privilege called "protection" a phase, and a most important phase, of the struggle for equal rights—for the emancipation of labor and the doing away with degrading and stunting poverty; for the securing to men of all that a beneficent Creator has intended that they should enjoy. I recognize in it the same great cause of human freedom whose banner we raised in New York two years ago, and which a year ago we thought to carry forward by ourselves as best we could. And I know that in this I express the feeling of thousands of earnest men throughout the country whose aims are the same as mine. From single tax men, regardless of previous political affiliations, Mr. Cleveland will get an enthusiastic, a steady and efficient support.

We have, indeed, the greatest possible reason to be glad and thankful for the change that has been brought about in the political situation. The very questions which we would force upon public attention will now be pressed upon the country by the most powerful of all educational agencies, a heated presidential campaign. And two great parties will, in spite of themselves, be compelled to do our work. For not only will republican opposition be exceedingly useful in spurring the democrats on, but the arguments for protection in which the republican speakers and papers will now indulge will of themselves make many free traders.

From free trade to the single tax is but a matter of keeping on. Even so far as the discussion has already gone it shows Mr. Cleveland's supporters not only making the best kind of arguments for absolute free trade, but making the best kind of single tax arguments. Even the *Evening Post*, pressed by a correspondent as to why wages are generally higher here than in England, if it is not the protective tariff that makes them so, replies in an editorial which is an excellent popular explanation of the true law of wages, saying:

The remuneration of a hired man must be, speaking broadly, equal to what he could obtain by working for himself, and this is regulated by the cheapness or dearness of land.

Thus, thanks to the coming of the tariff question into practical politics, the great truth that we advocates of the single tax have been trying to popularize, is now proclaimed by a journal that has been our most bitter and malignant opponent. And this is only June. By November may we not expect to find every democratic stump ringing with this truth? For the democrats in reply to protectionist claims cannot effectively assert that the tariff does not maintain a higher rate of wages here than in Europe, without also showing what does. This must be the heart of the controversy.

In the meantime our friends are not idle in pushing the good work on the direct line. On another page will be found an account of what is being done in Texas—an account that is full of valuable suggestions as to the best way of pushing the work everywhere. A society similar to that of Texas has been formed here in New York, of which Mr. Benjamin Urner, No. 6 Harrison street, is clerk, and after election, if not before, it proposes to follow the example of the Texas society. In Colorado, too, energetic work of the same kind is being done, and the Colorado society is beginning to publish a library of valuable tracts of its own.

On another page will be found a communication from Rev. B. F. DeCosta, pastor of the Episcopal church of St. George the Martyr, presenting a bitter protest against the spirit and methods of charity organization societies. The conferences of representatives of organized labor, of which Dr. DeCosta somewhat indefinitely speaks, I take to have been composed largely of clergymen like himself, who sympathize deeply with the suffering they see around them, and several of whom have joined the Knights of Labor with a view of coming into personal contact with the masses, learning their views and needs, and guiding them in the movement for social reform.

The strictures made in Dr. De Costa's letter, and in the paper accompanying it, upon the methods of the charity organization societies that have sprung up not only in this city but in all the principal cities of the Union, are doubtless largely true; and, although among the supporters of these societies are many whose motives are purely philanthropic, it is also largely true that much of the support of organized charity comes from people who look upon the poor man merely as a "dangerous animal." The faults of such organizations are of their very nature, and the practical difficulty that has called them into existence, that of knowing whether the applicant for charity is deserving or is an impostor, is a real one.

Dr. De Costa and the authors of the paper which he presents justly denounce the idea that charity in any form is a cure for low wages and poverty. But what do they propose to substitute for it? It is very hard to make out, unless it be that they have a vague idea that every one who is in need has a right to be supported at the expense of the whole community!

In what they have to say about the need for justice, not charity, they are perfectly right; but they seem in this to be merely repeating in different forms a phrase which they have caught up without appreciating its real meaning. The cure for poverty and for all the social evils that spring from it, is indeed not charity, but justice. Yet to merely take from those who have and give to those who want would not be justice. The first essentials of social justice are to secure to all men the opportunities to employ their own powers for the satisfaction of their own wants, upon the elements which nature has provided for that purpose, and to secure to each the full and exclusive enjoyment of all that this labor thus produces.

Justice gives no man a right to demand that others shall supply him with work, or that others shall relieve his poverty. But it does give all men a right to demand that they shall be permitted to find work for themselves, and that they shall be secured in the possession of all that that work produces.

The cause of the social evils which Dr. De Costa and his friends recognize, is not the heartlessness of employers in "forcing overwork and giving under pay." To say that is to attribute these evils merely to the lack of charity—to the want of what in this letter and the accompanying paper is properly denounced as useless for the cure of social evils. Nor yet is the cause to be found in the oppression of capital—in any true sense of the term. The cause is monopoly—and principally and primarily that greatest of all monopolies—that monopoly of the planet itself, which makes the "working class" a disinherited class.

This communication is gratifying as showing how men are beginning to think on social questions, even though as yet blindly. But amiable as is undoubtedly the motive of Dr. De Costa and his friends, they furnish only another evidence of how such men, revolting from social injustice, rush into state socialism and even baid communism rather than recognize the obvious fact that the evils which they deplore are the necessary results of treating the element on which and from which all men must live as belonging exclusively to some men. Shrinking from attacking private property in land, they make an attack on all property rights. Paradoxical as it may seem, this course excites less prejudice. The monopolizing classes are bitter against any attack upon the right of individual ownership in what individual exertion did not produce, for they instinctively feel that such claims cannot stand discussion. But they can treat with contemptuous tolerance the man who attacks all property rights, for they know that they are sheltered against such attacks behind the first perceptions of the human mind and the sense of ownership on the part of every one who has saved a dollar. And so it is, as we see it, that in churches whose pew holders would not tolerate the slightest advocacy of the single tax, a minister may preach with impunity the wildest vagaries of state socialism and the most extreme propositions of communism.

HENRY GEORGE.

Fred M. Somers, a California journalist and magazinist of fine taste and wide ability, is to edit a new eclectic magazine called *Current Literature*, the first number of which is to be issued in this city in July. Mr. Somers was one of the founders of the *Argonaut*, and afterwards of the *Californian*, both publications which evinced high literary skill and judgment.

A Spirited Tariff Debate in Brooklyn.

John Jarrett of Pittsburg, O. F. Burton of the Manufacturers' protective tariff league, New York, and several other gentlemen, represented the protective side in a debate with Thomas G. Shearman for free trade at Avon hall, on Bedford avenue, Wednesday evening, June 6. The proceedings from the commencement to the close were very lively. Both sides were alive to the issue and were kept to their work with questions from the audience.

Mr. Jarrett was first introduced by Chairman John W. Harman, and for thirty minutes poured forth such a stream of facts, figures, and bold and unproved statements as would have bewildered most any other opponent than Mr. Shearman. Several times the contestants came to a deadlock over figures for which both claimed good authorities, but the real fight of the debate ranged around Mr. Jarrett's contention that the "low paid pauper labor of Europe" was as productive as the higher paid American labor.

Mr. Shearman answered that there could not possibly be any ground for fearing competition of the products of European pauper labor, for there were plenty of figures to prove that the American high paid laborer could, by his superior skill and inventiveness, produce far better and far more goods. It was well enough to say that European pauper labor could be had for sixty cents a day, but what manufacturers of fine china, of steel files or of any products, the making of which required the highest skill, would employ these paupers? On the contrary, to obtain the best results manufacturers employ the best labor; and the best labor demands the highest pay. He contended that high wages uniformly meant cheap labor. He produced figures pertaining to the tailor's trade, showing that in Brooklyn tailors who on the average obtained higher wages than those in Philadelphia, produce larger results, and the same condition of things was shown to exist in other cities.

Another important point in the discussion was whether the tariff was necessary to raise and sustain wages. Mr. Jarrett was making an argument much like that of the man who bet he could raise himself off the ground by tugging at his boot straps, when he spoiled it all by innocently saying that if workingmen would get high wages under a protective tariff system they must band themselves together and demand them; for, manufacturers were human, and would, if permitted, keep for themselves the large profits which the tariff enabled them to get in high prices. In short he declared that manufacturers must be forced to pay higher wages.

This created a sensation only equaled when George J. Klingler of the local single tax club arose in the audience and asked how manufacturers could be benefited by the tariff if they had to pay out in higher wages what they gained in higher prices—must they not reduce wages or import European pauper labor? Mr. Jarrett's answer may have been very profound, but it was lost on his audience, who only seemed to understand that part of it in which he explained that as far as the laborers were concerned our protective system does not work—that, in fact, it could not be complete until American laborers were protected against the competition of foreign laborers and the influx of European laborers was restricted.

There was a great uproar at this announcement, and a number of young men in the rear of the hall cheered ironically.

Mr. O. F. Burton also addressed the meeting, but his discourse was out of line with the argument, and the audience became impatient and interrupted him so often that he at length sat down, leaving his speech unfinished.

It was fully half-past ten before the meeting was closed, and it was apparent that there was a large part of the audience that would have been happy to continue the debate into the morning.

A Young Carpenter's Experience in Denver.

DENVER, Col., May 28.—Although only a boy of nineteen I was induced about a year ago to read "Progress and Poverty," and have since read "Social Problems" with the most intense interest. Belonging to the working class, in the branch of carpentering, I see daily more and more clearly the truths elucidated in those wonderful books.

Leaving New York city some two months ago I came to this town only to find "land grabbers" quite as powerful as in the east. It is not a new thing to me to see men by the dozen standing at the principal street corners out of work, but it does surprise me to see such forced idleness in a comparatively new city. Here, as east, this unnatural state of affairs, due to the monopolization of natural opportunities, can only be remedied by the restoration of those opportunities.

I have by mere chance succeeded in putting in about five weeks of work, but am now, like a great many others, out of employment.

Walking through the residential portion of the city one may see vacant lots in many directions, and in the suburbs hardly any of the valuable land is in use.

I am converted in the true sense of the word and have already taken up the "cross of the new crusade." E. B. SWINNEY.

Slavery, Then and Now.

At a recent meeting of the Cumberland, R. I., anti-poverty society, held in Forrester's hall, Dr. Garvin delivered an address on "Northern Slavery." He showed first how the abolition of negro slavery had not solved the class problem, pointing out that the ownership of the element, land, gives the owner as much or more of the earnings of labor as the ownership of flesh and blood. The speaker said that the rental value of land in a thickly settled community like Rhode Island was over $20 a year for each person, or $100 for a family of five, on the average. To tax this value for public uses would have the same effect as emancipating the slaves—that is, the selling price would disappear, but the land would be used to even greater extent, just as the freed slaves accomplish more to-day than before the war. The worker, he said, is robbed on both sides; first, the government takes from him a large portion of his produce in the form of taxes, and then the landlord takes from him another large portion under the name of rent.

Spreading the Gospel in Minneapolis.

The anti-poverty society in Minneapolis, Minn., is keeping right along in the good work. On Sunday, June 2, Rev. Kristofer Jansen addressed it on the subject of "Christ as a labor leader." He commenced by explaining the Jewish land laws as described in the books of Moses in the old testament. He told of the year of jubilee, when all land, no matter to whom it belonged, must be returned to its original owner. God did not allow the land to be sold, only its productions. He also described the communistic society which was formed by the apostles and fully described in the new testament. He showed that the teachings of the bible are against the ownership and sale of land. It was announced that Rev. Dr. W. W. Satterlee would address the society at its next meeting.

THE GOOD WORK IN TEXAS

HOW IT IS BEING PUSHED IN THE LONE STAR STATE.

Third Report of the Texas Branch of the Tax Reform Association.

Report No. 3 of the executive committee of the Texas branch of the National tax reform association is dated Houston, Texas, May 17, and is a neatly printed ten-page pamphlet. It is of such interest and furnishes such an example to our friends in other places, that we reprint as much of it as space permits:

HOUSTON, Texas, May 17, 1888.

The matter of greatest interest connected with this report relates to the progress in obtaining signatures to the tax reform memorial to the next legislature. We are becoming more and more satisfied that the immediate mission of the N. T. R. A. will prove to be the work of circulating petitions of the character of the one which we have in hand. This face to face work, by quiet, conversational methods, of plain and earnest men, with the petition in hand, beats by far the eloquence of orators. The petition which the tax reform missionary carries with him, by transforming the subject from an abstract political theory to an immediate living issue, assures as earnest attention as the hottest political campaign could excite, without arousing the passion, fear and prejudice which such a campaign on the same issue would engender.

This work in Harris county has been accomplished at an expense in wages paid canvassers of about $40, exclusive of the cost of tracts, one or more of which have been left with each of the hundreds of people approached on the subject. It has thus cost us but little over $40 to capture so far about one-fourth of the voting population of our county, exclusive of the colored vote, and it is safe to say that we have converted to the tax reform idea at least four-fifths of the people whom our canvassers have approached with the memorial. Our experience proves conclusively that it is simply a question of time in which to meet and personally explain to the people the subject, in order to obtain the signatures of an overwhelming majority of the voters; and in this assertion we are sustained by reports from the interior. In fact, getting the signatures of a majority of the voters of the state is simply a question of work and money. Let those who cannot give money, work, and let those who can give money put it up generously to pay the expenses of canvassers, and the first great victory for our cause will be achieved before the next legislature adjourns.

Seventy nine petitions have been sent out and are now in the hands of good men in thirty-seven different counties, who can be relied on as workers. We have not yet obtained systematic reports from any of these petitions, but the extracts in this report, from a few of the letters which we have received, will give an idea of what can be done if all of us will work as faithfully as some are doing:

J. C. Burge, Dallas.—Yours of the 4th inst., with more petitions, just received. It came just in time, as I had already got the first petition you sent me, petition No. 71, filled with signatures. I have over a hundred names on the petition, including the names of several business men, and I will get the names of a majority of them. I found several who strongly opposed the idea at first, but after it was explained they signed the petition, and are now among those who are strongest in favor of the movement. I have drawn up a subscription list like that you started in Houston—have some names on it already, and think I can get enough to subscribe to it to defray the expense of circulating the petition in this county.

This is the way to do it. Start such a subscription list. Get as many as you can to subscribe. Almost any one in the city interested in the cause, will give fifty cents or a dollar a month, or more, if approached rightly. When necessary in the country, let the subscription become due, say October 1st, so that it can be paid out of the first cotton money. After you have got as many subscriptions as you can easily obtain, then take the list to each man who has subscribed anything, and ask him to get one or two of his friends to subscribe something. If you can organize a county executive committee, in order to systematize the work, do so. Do not hesitate, however, to work because you may be the only man in your neighborhood, or even in your county, who knows anything about the movement. Above all things, don't hold back because of the foolish fear of its hurting your business. It will not hurt your business a particle. You will make dozens of friends where you make one enemy, by advocating this cause now. This has been our experience in Harris county. Show this report, especially that portion of it containing the extract from the Galveston *News*, to the editor of your local paper, and get him to publish the heading of the petition, with the comment that 1,483 signatures to it were obtained in Harris county in five weeks. If you will work with energy, in a very short time you will find yours the most popular side of the fence to be on in your neighborhood. It is so in this city to-day, and it is the same way also in other localities in the state, as shown by our correspondence. We have it in our power to make it this way all over the state by the time the next legislature meets.

R. J. McCollum, Harrison, McLennan county.—I have succeeded beyond expectation. This precinct only polls 235 votes, that being the highest number ever polled. I have ninety-eight names already, and could have had more, but your instructions prevented me from getting the names of several who could not write. One man here who cannot write wanted to have his name put to the petition. He owns several hundred acres of land, and he and all his family are single tax people. I think every man who favors the idea, whether he can write or not, should be allowed to put his name to that petition. I have to work hard for my living, and can't spare much time from my shop. If I canvass my own precinct thoroughly, it will be about all that I can do. All but three of the men who signed my petition are farmers.

The executive committee, on reflection, are satisfied that Mr. McCollum is right, and we think every man, white or colored, whether he can write or not, who wants his name on that petition, should have it placed there, and we have written Mr. McCollum to this effect.

James Brace, Waco.—I have experimented with the documents sent me, one day, and have obtained sixty signatures. If I could spare the time I would canvass Waco thoroughly. I think nine-tenths of the business men will readily sign the memorial. The positive expression of well defined opinion which I can overhear on the streets is evidence that the leaven is working up the minds of our common people to an extent never before witnessed in this county.

J. H. Moore, McLennan county.—I have had very good luck so far with my petition, considering the time devoted to the work. My work will be limited till after crops are laid by; then I shall be able to do considerable. I am not acquainted with a single person from here to Waco, a distance of sixteen miles, who openly opposes the single tax. People are becoming interested in the subject. I was at an eating house at Waco for dinner a few days ago and was surprised to see people so eager to get hold of single tax literature. My handful of tracts went in less than a minute. Six or eight months ago you could scarcely interest any one in the subject.

B. J. Hunter, Mart.—I have been at work out three days with the tax reform petition and have forty names of the best people in this section. Would have gotten more had I the time to go and see them. Not one man in ten refused to sign the petition, and some who had bitterly opposed the George theory signed it and said it was a good thing.

L. L. Sloss, Pearsall.—I have just returned from a visit to Zavalla county. I was out there last November and made a red hot single tax speech. This time I found the people glad to see me and eager to hear more about the single tax doctrine. I am of the opinion that ninety per cent of the voters there are ready to sign the memorial.

I. V. Eubanks, Mooreville, Falls county.—Our success in the single tax matter has been greater than we expected. At present it is not possible to approximate the number that favor the single tax idea in this neighborhood. The fact is, scarcely any oppose it. I have not had time to do much with my petition, No. 34. All have signed that I have presented it to with but two exceptions.

J. B. Wallace, Buchell county.—I have not circulated the petition at all yet. Am circulating literature and getting them prepared for it. I was an old protectionist republican, but now I am a Henry George free trade democrat.

W. L. Buell, Weatherford, Parker county.—The single tax idea is growing rapidly here. People seem to be ready to read anything on tax reform now.

Hiram Wright, Spanish Fort, Montague county.—I have been out with the petition for a part of two days, and have met with much more success than I expected. Have obtained thirty-four signatures. I am convinced that by a thorough canvass of the county we can obtain the names of two-thirds or more of the voters.

E. J. Perego, Wichita Falls.—I find in circulating the petition a great opportunity is offered us to educate the masses.

Several parties after filling their petitions with signatures have sent them in to this office. This is a mistake. The petitions should be retained until the work of canvassing a county has been completed. Many a man who favors the idea is timid about admitting it in writing and needs to have his backbone strengthened by the exhibition of an imposing array of signatures.

As in all other matters, some people are better adapted to the work of getting signatures than others, or rather, perhaps, they can get them more easily than others. No one should be deterred, however, from working with a petition by a seeming lack of success. The presentation of the petition gives one an excuse for bringing up the subject, excites interest in regard to it, and in most cases it will secure a reading of the tract, which of course must be left with every one approached on the subject; and if we can only get people to read our literature, in nine cases out of ten they will become in a very short time our strong adherents.

We believe almost any man while circulating the petition can make fair wages out of commissions on the sale of the works of Henry George, and subscriptions to THE STANDARD and the *Labor Echo*. Our canvasser here has taken orders for over a hundred copies of George's works without making any special effort in that direction.

This office has received a donation of ten thousand copies of the tract entitled, "The Case Plainly Stated," one copy of which will be furnished free, either in English or German, for delivery to every person who signs the petition. It might be time well spent to go around again to those who have signed the petition, a few weeks after obtaining the signatures, and give each man a copy of that tract, or of some other one. This would sustain interest in the movement. It is a mistake to give out too many tracts to the same person at once. It is generally better to give them in small doses, often repeated. In this connection always bear in mind that you can get THE STANDARD sent to any new subscriber for four weeks for fifteen cents. Almost any one whom you can sufficiently interest in the subject to obtain his name to that petition, you can also interest to the extent of fifteen cents, the cost of a recruit subscription to Henry George's newspaper. Nothing will inspire enthusiastic work for the cause equal to the reading of that magnificent paper. Here in Houston we have decided to furnish a copy of it free to every person not already taking it who subscribes as much as fifty cents a month to our missionary fund.

Since February 25, 1888, disbursements were $111.24; receipts, $90.10.

What we need now more than anything else, is sufficient funds to enable us to send men out over the state for the purpose of organizing the work of circulating petitions in localities where some one is needed to start the ball. We believe every dollar spent now will insure us a hundred names by January 1. If you can only send in ten cents at a time, send it on in postage stamps; it will do the cause that much good.

Many members whose letters to the executive committee show that they are putting in effective work for the cause, have failed to send in any formal reports. A number tell us that it is impracticable to follow out the details prescribed by the by-laws in holding meetings, or in keeping an accurate account of the work done. We have found this to be almost impracticable in Harris county. The points on which the executive committee should be particularly informed, and which our reports should show, are: Number of tracts distributed, number personal letters written, number of subscriptions to tax reform papers obtained, and number of signatures to the tax reform memorial. The last point is the most important of all. Also send in statements showing how the work is progressing. Let every one having a petition in charge send in at least once a month the number of signatures obtained.

The following is a summary of the reports from clubs sent in to this office since the 25th of February last:

Number personally approached on subject of tax reform, 2,443.

Number of set interviews had for the purpose of explaining tax reform, 1,039.

Number of subscriptions to tax reform papers obtained, 28.

Number of tracts distributed, 4,956.

Number of personal letters written on subject, 99.

Number converted to tax reform, 1,134.

H. F. RING,
J. B. COCHRAN,
L. L. BEACH,
Ex. Com. Texas branch of the N. T. R. Ass'n.

LETTER FROM H. F. RING.

More Details of the Good Work Doing in Texas, and of How They Do It.

The following from a letter from H. F. Ring, gives further most interesting and suggestive details of the manner in which our Texas friends are doing their work:

We have never asked but two of our local politicians to sign our petition, and this was done without my approval. But most of the politicians are now almost tumbling over each other in their eagerness to sign, and are loudly advocating the single tax. The petition has been signed by our sheriff, tax collector and district clerk, and at least two of the aldermen. The county clerk is also ready to sign it at any time. The tax collector is on the fence and the county treasurer mildly expresses himself against the measure. The tax assessor and district clerk have both taken petitions and are circulating them for signatures as zealously as the original Henry George men. We have so far avoided the business men, yet incidentally picked up a number, including one very conservative citizen worth over $100,000. Out of thirteen delegates recently chosen for this county to the state convention at Fort Worth to nominate delegates to the national democratic convention eight had signed the memorial before they were selected, and the remaining five had not, I think, been approached on the subject. We have now about 2,000 names in this county, according to the best reports which we have from the petitions which are out in the hands of workers. This is almost a clean majority of the white voters of the county. It is no exaggeration to say that nine out of ten of those whom we are working among in this county sign the petition with eagerness, and it is becoming easier and easier every day to get signatures. There is not the slightest hostility to the movement among business men. On the contrary, almost all of them who have been approached on the subject are just as favorable to it as the mechanics and small farmers, but they are inclined to be timid about signing the memorial hence we shall leave them till the last.

We shall certainly control the next county democratic convention, not by wire pulling, but by our converts turning out in the primaries in overwhelming force. I believe the delegates sent from nearly all the primaries will be almost to a man single tax advocates. There will be a smashing of slates in the primaries never witnessed before in this county. Not a single candidate has so far opened his mouth in argument against us, including the aspirants for the congressional nomination. I have little doubt that our next democratic county convention, if it is not called before July, will pass a resolution favoring this amendment and send a solid single tax delegation to the congressional convention. I have reason to think the present incumbent, Charles Stewart, will plant himself squarely on our platform. His opponent is certainly showing strong evidences of a disposition to do so. I think it entirely practicable for us to compel our next congressmen to stand squarely on this single tax platform.

Harris county has one-fourth of the votes in the congressional convention. We have some warm friends in the out counties of the district. It is only necessary for us to send out one or two good men to start the petitions in these other counties, and then the work of canvassing each of the ten or fifteen counties in the district can be completed at an expense of not more than $25 to the county. We are paying Mr. McMahon, the man to whom we are indebted for about 2,000 signatures in this county, $25 a month and his expenses for the present.

We could send out another man to-morrow, equally as good a worker, into this and other counties of this congressional district if we could pay him $40 a month and his expenses, which would not exceed $50 a month more. In less than a month he would get things there moving as well as they are here. We should want him to be able to pay a man in each county, whom he might select, ten or fifteen or twenty dollars for as many days' work—sometimes it would cost more—and then I am satisfied the movement would have such a momentum in that particular county as to go on by itself. The politicians would then pick it up to ride into the local offices, as they are doing here.

Our great advantage is that four-fifths of the land in this congressional district, and all over the state, is unimproved and in the hands of speculators, generally non-resident, and it is assessed one-half to one-fifth of what the farmer's land is put in at. To the average farmer this tax reform movement here comes like a revelation, and they jump at it. Another advantage with us is the Farmer's alliance, which takes in a majority of the farmers all over the state. They feel bitter about something, even if they do not know what it is, and their meetings are excellent for educational purposes and for political combinations. We have had no trouble in showing the leaders of the alliance the benefit to the farming classes of the single tax doctrine, so far as we have been able to see them. The president of what is called the Alliance exchange of southern Texas, the headquarters of which are in this city, and which is the center for exchange of the alliances of some fifteen or twenty counties, is an ardent convert to the entire doctrine, and he has freely given several days' time to the circulation of a petition. This is also true of the secretary.

Our work has been done by the conversational method entirely; we have never tried to get up a public meeting. I do not think more than fifteen of us here have ever been assembled together in one room at one time. Every Sunday, at a certain hour in the day, we meet at our headquarters, all who choose to come; sometimes three or four are present, sometimes half a dozen—rarely more than eight or ten. Here the general work for the coming week is talked over and arranged. We have never made any fuss about our work, and I would give more for the services of a plain, earnest man like Mr. McMahon with that petition, and like the other plain, earnest men whom he gets to help him for nothing, than for the assistance of all the speech-makers whom you could send us if you had thousands of dollars to draw on.

This week Mr. McMahon will spend in the rural portions of the county. We would then like to send him to the adjoining county. He would go there with letters of introduction to the leading Knights of Labor, if there are any there, and to the leading men of the Farmers' alliance. He would stay in the county long enough to start the petition among the plain people. He would canvass till he found the right man to put in charge of the county, and for whose work for ten or fifteen or twenty days we ought to be able to pay. The ten or fifteen days' work which Mr. McMahon's substitute would put in would count up at such a rate that then the work would go on to completion of its own accord. In this way in a month or so Mr. McMahon could go over this congressional district. We have one or two other men here out of work whom we could send in other directions at a very small expense. In fact, I have not the slightest doubt but that a few thousand dollars would give us the signatures of a majority of the voters in most of the counties in the state.

Tax Land Values and the Dutch Company Won't Care to Claim the Land.

Boston Transcript.

Suits have been begun in the United States court at Denver, Col., against ninety-seven farmers in the best part of the San Luis valley, the lands being claimed by a Dutch company called the United States Freehold land and emigration company. The suits involve half a dozen villages, including San Luis, the county seat of Costilla county. The company purchased 500,000 acres of land in the Beaubien grant fifteen years ago from Governor Gilpin for $500,000, but have made no claim until now.

Good Advice.

Elmore Sharp of Norwich, N. Y., writes: "I find the public mind so ready to take up the free trade agitation and to adopt our views that I hasten to urge our local writers in every locality to use the columns of their newspapers for argument. It is an excellent time, as the papers are glad of the opportunity. I think the best work can be done before prejudices are aroused. I have written a series of letters to the leading democratic papers in this locality."

OPENING UP A NEW COUNTRY.

Navigation to Northeastern Siberia Practicable—Free Trade Sanctioned by Russia—The Great Resources of the Region.

An extremely interesting consular report is that entitled "The Northeast Passage," by N. W. Hornstedt, United States consul at Moscow, Russia. The report treats of three voyages of exploration made by Captain Joseph Wiggins of England. Several years ago Captain Wiggins conceived the idea that a large and lucrative trade could be established between Europe and eastern Siberia by way of the Arctic ocean, the sea of Kara, and the two extensive rivers, Obi and Yenisei, both of which penetrate for more than 2,500 miles into the interior of the country, approaching the borders of China.

With great courage he, at his own expense, chartered and fitted out the Diana, a steamer of 104 tons, and in June, 1874, sailed from Dundee, Scotland, to and along the southern coast of the Kara sea, which is but an arm of the Arctic ocean and lies south of the island of Nova Zembla. No ice was seen that could obstruct the passage.

For several weeks he cruised about the island of Lutke without any danger or difficulty; on landing the soil was found to be covered with verdure and flowers, great quantities of berries of various descriptions, and heaps of eider down were seen in many places. The small lakes in the interior were found to swarm with eider ducks, swans and wild geese; no snow was visible, except on the tops of the Ural mountains.

During July and August the temperature of the air was from thirty-seven to fifty-five degrees in the shade, and in the sun it was about sixty-five degrees. The temperature of the water was nearly the same as that of the air. These and other observations made later convinced Captain Wiggins that the sea of Kara owes its temperature to the gulf stream and equatorial currents, as similar observations made at the same time near eastern Greenland showed the temperature to be only thirty-three or thirty-four degrees, or slightly above the freezing point. After sailing up as far as the mouth of the river Obi he returned, reaching Dundee September 25.

In 1876 he again set out, reaching the mouth of the Obi in September, no ice being encountered. Contrary winds prevented him from ascending the Obi, so he sailed for the Yenisei. On the way many islands were sighted, all of them covered with verdure and alive with reindeer. The course was then continued up the river Yenisei where a good channel was found, with the aid of some of the inhabitants of the villages which were passed, and on October 17 the ship was laid up for the winter in a branch of the river. In November Captain Wiggins started on sledges for the town of Yeniseisk, passing through beautiful scenery and forests of birch, pine, plane, cedar and spruce. About Yeniseisk the gold mines are extensive, and there is considerable copper and iron. The town has a large grain, leather, tallow and tea trade. The houses of some of the mine owners are described as palatial, and the churches are handsome buildings built in the Oriental and Byzantine style, which is naturally enough associated with the national religion—that of the Greek church. Thence the party proceeded to Tumen, the principal center of navigation on the Obi, and a very busy town. Well built and handsome steamers three hundred feet long are to be seen on the river, their machinery being of the newest construction, and most of them are built at Tiumen. Extensive carpet manufactures are located in this town. From Tiumen they went across the Ural mountains and on, via Moscow and St. Petersburg, reaching London January 31.

In August, 1878, his other ship having been destroyed by the ice in his absence, Captain Wiggins made a voyage to the Obi, landing about 500 tons of salt and returning with 400 tons of wheat. He then made a number of unsuccessful attempts to form a company for trading purpose. At last, however, in 1887, a few gentlemen formed a company, purchased a powerful and fast little screw steamer, called the "Phœnix," of 279 tons, and after taking on board some 200 tons of salt and a small cargo of miscellaneous goods, she left the Tyne on August 5. She reached the Yenisei September 1. Captain Wiggins had obtained from the Russian authorities a permit to land his salt and merchandise free of duty, but this was not an exceptional case, as hitherto goods imported direct into Siberia have not been subjected to duty. Part of the cargo was sold at a village and the remainder at Yeneseisk, which is 1,000 miles up the river and was reached October 9.

Captain Wiggins maintains that the enormous cost of transport of merchandise to Siberia overland, which is at present say, from Moscow to Irkutsk, about $80 per ton, must deviate a great quantity of the traffic to the new sea route as soon as a pretty regular communication is established, and that $16 per ton from the United Kingdom to the Yenisei would leave a very handsome profit for the ship.

It is proposed that the ocean steamers should not proceed further than the mouth of the Yenisei, where a station and warehouses should be set up and small river steamers should carry the goods up the river and bring down grain for the sea going steamers.

In the opinion of the captain, a country so rich in gold, iron, copper, graphite, marble and coal; its vast forests of splendid timber (of enormous size), and extensive districts of arable land, capable of supplying the whole of western Europe with wheat, oats, barley, flax, etc., once placed within such easy access as a twelve days' journey from the more civilized and thickly populated parts of Europe, cannot fail to open out an enormous field of enterprise so largely sought for. The main thing is that the Russian government shall permit Siberia to enjoy the advantages of free commerce.

Propaganda Work in Glasgow.

THE HENRY GEORGE INSTITUTE, 8 WATSON STREET, GLASGOW, May 22—The Henry George institute, originated by workingmen "to spread the principles of political economy as taught by Henry George and others of that school," is doing good work. A reading room has been opened, a political economy class has been started and a course of lectures have been delivered on Sunday evenings. During the summer months several of the members betake themselves to the open air propaganda, and in this way the work of the institute is carried on during the whole year.

The third yearly course of lectures has just terminated and the summer campaign has commenced in real earnest. In previous years our lecturers have for the most part been workingmen, but this year our list has included at least one clergyman, three teachers, one member of parliament and one town councilor, besides several other gentlemen occupying influential positions in the city. Several of the lectures delivered to the institute have by special request been re-delivered to various political associations, Christian institutes, young men's guilds and kindred societies in Glasgow and its neighborhood.

In connection with the dissemination of literature, I may mention that during the year close on two thousand copies of THE STANDARD have been distributed, upward of three thousand of your "Land and Labor Library" tracts have found ready purchasers, and that nearly two thousand other pamphlets have been put into the hands of the public.

Our membership roll continues steadily to increase, our finances are in a satisfactory condition, and we look forward to a very successful season next year.

With kindly feelings to yourself and to all the brethren in America as well, and best wishes for the success of that movement which we here feel to be the dawn of that

"Brighter day which awaits the human morn,
When every transfer of earth's natural gifts
Shall be a commerce of good words and works,"

I am yours in freedom's cause,
JOHN MILLER, Secretary.

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Condition and Feeling of the Protected Workingmen in the Mining Districts.

A correspondent of ours—a professional man in one of the largest of the Pennsylvania mining centers, who is so situated that he cannot afford to be known as entertaining a disrespectful thought of the protective fetish, sends us the following careful summary of the physical and mental condition of the "protected workingmen" in his vicinty. He adds that single tax ideas are beginning to quietly but rapidly make their way, and that if the democrats had courage enough to attack the protective idea from base, and advocate the full free trade involved in the single tax idea they could work a political revolution and redeem the Keystone state from protection in one campaign:

From repeated conversations and close observations I have reached the following conclusions:

1. Workingmen who are not removed from competition with unemployed labor by membership in some close organization are about as badly off to-day as they could be.

2. They realize their impoverished condition but do not understand the underlying principle or cause. They look upon protection as a good thing, and attribute low wages to the influx of foreign cheap labor. The necessary result of this belief is a deep-seated and rapidly intensifying antagonism against the Italians and Hungarians who are displacing them, and pauperizing them, and a demand that immigration shall be prohibited, coupled with threats of violence against imported laborers and the men who employ them.

3. The condition of the great mass of unskilled labor is rapidly growing worse and will soon be as severe as that of "the pauper labor of Europe" at the present time. This tendency is clearly discerned and is exciting inquiry as to causes.

4. While wages seem to be high the actual cost of production to employers is lower than ever before in the history of the nation.

5. During the five years from 1850 to 1855, taking as a standard the relative comfort or satisfaction of wants of the individual, workingmen were in easier circumstances than they are now. During the same period of time, from 1865 to 1870, they were vastly more prosperous than they are to-day, i. e., from 1883 to 1888.

6. The struggle for subsistence is so intense, and the realization of injustice so keen (though its cause be not understood), that men are losing interest in governmental affairs, love for our peculiar institutions, and are adopting the motto, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The prevailing sentiment seems to be that the government at Washington is run in the interest of monopolists, and it is expressed in something like this form: "What good does the government do me?"

7. Because of a long course of special and unjust legislation in favor of the classes the ballot has very largely been shorn of its secret character. The feeling is that it makes no difference which party is successful. There is no confidence in political leaders. There is no hope of relief for the toilers. A vote is of no consequence only as it helps to elect one set of monopolists as against another—hence it is not considered a crime or a disgrace to sell that vote to the highest bidder. "There is nothing in politics for us!" is a common exclamation. When a man feels that the best interests of himself and family depend upon his vote he will treasure it, but when he assumes that he is called upon by one set of demagogues to help unseat another set of demagogues he will wait till he sees the color of some man's money before he exerts himself to go to the polls. The struggle over a great issue is an aid to political morality.

8. When the masses are convinced that "there is something for them in politics" they will sweep the land from ocean to ocean, and statesman-like qualities will be more influential than a "barl."

Card from Mr. Gaybert Barnes.

28 COOPER UNION, NEW YORK CITY, June 1.

Editor STANDARD: In THE STANDARD of June 2 you republish an article from the *Star* of May 29, commenting upon which article you editorially say: "Mr. Gaybert Barnes, the secretary, has denied the report which the *Star* gives of a difference between himself and Dr. McGlynn, and it is probable that the only ground for it is the fact, asserted by other prominent men in what is left of the united labor party, that the nomination of a separate candidate at Cincinnati was by Dr. McGlynn's influence and against the views of Mr. Barnes."

Although reported in several papers to have denied the *Star's* account, I never did deny it, and for just such reasons as governed you when in THE STANDARD of October 15 last you refused to deny the allegation of the same paper, the *Star*, that you had once been a "pirate."

In answer to the assertion which you make on the authority of "prominent men" that the nomination of a separate candidate at Cincinnati was against my "views," it will be enough to say that but one delegate in the convention opposed a separate nomination, and that among those who took the floor to urge a separate nomination was myself. I ask space in your columns for this letter.

GAYBERT BARNES.

The *Herald* and *World* in alleged interviews with Mr. Barnes, were authorities for the "denial" which Mr. Barnes disclaims. Mr. Michael Clarke, secretary of the New York anti-poverty society, is authority for the other statement.—ED. STANDARD.

The Indianapolis Organization Changes Its Name.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., May 31—At its last Sunday night's meeting, the anti-poverty society, by a unanimous vote, changed the name of the organization to "The tax reform league," and elected the following officers: President, L. P. Custer; vice-president, Thomas J. Hudson; secretary, Charles H. Krause; treasurer, Gilbert Seibert.

Colonel J. B. Maynard, formerly editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, was with us the last two meeting nights and took great interest in the proceedings, and joined in the discussions with vigor and great logic. While not indorsing the doctrine in its entirety as fundamentally right, yet he is not combatting it, but rather biding his time and learning all the points before committing himself. The significent feature of these visits lies in the fact that the colonel not long ago expressed himself as very emphatically opposed to the "Henry George fallacy," and now he is as near a Henry George "crank" as he can be and still not be. We will get him sooner or later.

L. P. CUSTER.

Hammering Away at the Tariff in Brooklyn.

The Brooklyn revenue reform club is doing excellent work. Another one of their interesting meetings was held last Monday evening in Avon hall, Bedford avenue. Thomas G. Sherman was the chief speaker. He took pig iron for his text, and argued that if 2,000,000 tons of pig iron were prevented by a tariff from importation, 150,000 workingmen engaged in manufacturing it for use in the country would be thrown out of employment until the pig iron furnaces were started. When started, English workmen, thrown out of their labor by the stoppage of the exportation, would come to the country, and where could any increase of wages result? In exchange for the 2,000,000 tons of pig iron, wheat was shipped to Europe. This supply would be cut off by the tariff, for Europe would not send for wheat because they would have nothing to give in exchange. The farmers' supply of wheat was more than home consumption demanded, and instead of higher wages farm labor would necessarily be cheaper. Mr. Shearman also showed that workers on cotton in Massachusetts received $2.58 as wages, while in Georgia they only received $1.80, and in North Carolina $1.36; yet Massachusetts, with higher wages, prospered more than the lower wage sections.

No Place for a Poor Man Forty or One Hundred Miles Away from a Railroad.

A boom article in the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* says that "Oregon has as much, if not more, public lands open to entry to-day than the territories to the east of her. It is true that these lands are away from railroads, but so was all Oregon when the present wealthy men of the state first came here. The lands now open to entry are from 40 to 100 miles from railways, but roads are now projected through some of these unoccupied countries, and ere five years, it is safe to say, nearly all these counties will be contiguous to railways."

Weighting the Safety Valve.

BALTIMORE, Md., June 2—I clip the following from the Baltimore *Sun:*

Four young women, the eldest of whom was twenty-five years of age, called at the city hall yesterday and stated to Colonel Love, the mayor's secretary, that they had been employed at one of the concert halls which the mayor had deprived of its license. They had been paid $1.25 per night, but now their "occupation is gone," and they wanted aid in getting other employment. They had not been raised to any particular kind of work, and did not know what to do to keep the wolf from the door. One of them said she had supported her mother the past eight years. Two of them had infants in arms, and one of them said her husband had gone to Atlantic City to find employment at piano playing. They were rather prepossessing looking girls. Colonel Love gave them a card of the Charity relief association, which directed an agent to inquire into the cases.

This is an outcome of a local crusade against certain dives by a certain class of social reformers who find remedies for what is politely "the social evil" in repressive measures. They never think of freedom; their sole remedy lies through repression. Not a few of them, meanwhile, see no harm in "standing in" with Uncle Sam to "skin" the public. Others sit back in respectable ease and wait for their corner in land to bear its fruits. In the words of Hudebras they

Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to.

WILLIAM N. HILL, M. D.

If the "Evening Post" Would Study Its Own Editorials It Would See the Cat.

New York Evening Post.

The remuneration of a hired man must be, speaking broadly, equal to what he could obtain by working for himself, and this is regulated by the cheapness or dearness of land. Professor Sumner has illustrated this point by citing a well known fact in the history of Massachusetts. "In the good old colony times, when we lived under the king," it was customary for the general court of Massachusetts to fix the wages of carpenters and masons. The aim of the public authorities was to fix the rate so that the house builders' earnings would be about equal to those of the farmers, but one year they put the rate a little too low. So the carpenters and masons said, "We know that we can build our own houses, and we know that we can make better wages than you allow us by going out to Springfield and taking up land of our own; and that is what we will do." Some of them accordingly started with their families for Springfield. House building in Boston came to an end, or would have come to an end had not the general court rescinded their action and put the rate of wages up to the standard that the men could obtain by working for themselves.

The true regulator of wages in this country is the farm. What a man can make by going to the west and becoming a homesteader he must be paid on the average by any employer of labor, whether in protected or in unprotected employments. This silent regulator of wages is performing its office under our eyes all the time. Twelve hundred immigrants arrive here from Europe every day. Some of them go the western states and territories and engage in agriculture. Others hire themselves out to work as miners, railroad builders, domestic servants, or what not, some in protected and others in non-protected trades. Individual cases there are where the new comer has not the option of taking up land or hiring out to an employer. He may not have the small amount of capital needed to become a homesteader. He may not have the price of a ticket to the west. But so large a portion do have the means to decide whether they will work for hire or work for themselves that the rate of wages is regulated for the one as well as for the other by an influence in which the protective tariff cuts no figure whatever, except so far as it increases the price of the protected articles and the cost of living, and thus reduces the effective wages of all laborers.

The Sort of a Monster We Are So Carefully Rearing.

Philadelphia Record.

Another evidence of the tendency of the times toward consolidation is to be found in the contemplated merger of the St. Louis and San Francisco railroad company with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad company, which would make the proposed system the largest in the world and give it the control of about 8,000 miles of trade and render tributary to it the territory extending from Chicago and St. Louis on the the east to San Diego on the west and the gulf of Mexico on the south. At a similar rate of combination not many years would be required to weld all the railroad lines of the United States into one concern, which in business magnitude would stand in about the same position toward the public as that now occupied by the Western union telegraph company to the telegraph service of the country.

Among English speaking nations, it is now an accepted doctrine that there is no such thing as a vested right "in the perpetuation of a public wrong."—[Christian Union.

PLAIN TALK TO PROTECTIONISTS.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN HAS SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT PRACTICAL MEN.

Also About the Way Protection Kills Manufactures, and About Pauper Labor.

Last week we gave the first part of Thomas G. Shearman's speech before the Providence commercial club—a club composed entirely of manufacturers (mostly of cotton and woolen goods) and of business men dealing with them. This week we give the other half, which is no less trenchant:

And this leads me to speak upon the argument so commonly advanced, that none but practical business men, having actual experience in those branches of manufacture which are affected by the tariff, have any right or ability to form an opinion upon the subject. Manufacturers are never weary of asserting their superior, and, indeed, exclusive power to judge of what is best for their business, and for the interests of the whole country. Yet, as a matter of fact, what manufacturers have contributed largely to the public enlightenment on these questions? What manufacturers have even contributed materially to the improvement of their own manufactures? What has been the share of so-called practical men in invention and the advancement of the world in these practical things? Who was the man who made it possible for you cotton manufacturers to make your great fortunes and to expand the cotton manufacture to its present gigantic proportions? It was Arkwright. And who was Arkwright? Was he a practical manufacturer, of large experience and solid fortune, when he made his wonderful inventions? Nothing of the sort. He was a barber and a sort of jack of all trades until he invented the spinning jenny, and so laid the foundation of all this tremendous development in the cotton manufacture. Who were the inventors of the modern looms and knitting machines? Crompton, who was an English clergyman, and Hargreave, who was a small school master. Who was Henry Bessemer, who has transformed the face of the civilized world by his invention of a cheap and speedy method of making steel? He was a man who never had any practical experience whatever, either in iron or steel, and his testimony is that while many small improvements are made in manufacture by operators engaged in them, yet all the great inventions of the age are made by persons wholly unconnected with the particular business to which these inventions relate. Who were Thomas and Gilchrist, whose improvements upon the invention of Bessemer have been attended with results almost as great as those of the Bessemer process? Were they practical iron or steel men? Thomas was a plain clerk in one of the British government offices, and Gilchrist was a small druggist in the west of England. In fact, there is but one man in the brilliant array of inventors connected with the iron and steel business whose name is worth mentioning who was a practical manufacturer. His name, that of George J. Snelus, is probably unknown to nearly every one of you here.

Who was Siemens, who also made wonderful inventions in steel and iron, whose invention of the regenerating furnace has transformed the face of business in this and in many other departments of mechanics, and who has revolutionized the glass manufacture? He was a civil engineer, who never had anything to do with glass before he began his series of remarkable inventions, and he was not in any proper sense a manufacturer of iron or steel when he made inventions with regard to them. If you practical gentlemen are not able to make inventions in your business, and are dependent, as you are, upon unpractical men to point out the defects in your methods and to suggest remedies, is it any wonder that it is reserved for unpractical men also to discern errors in the antiquated methods of legislation which you are accustomed to think essential to your business prosperity?

You practical gentlemen met in convention in 1866 and framed the wool and woolen tariff, which was adopted by congress, precisely as you gave it to them, in 1867. The unpractical secretary of the treasury, Robert J. Walker, framed a tariff in 1846, which was adopted in spite of the clamors of all the practical men who predicted it would bring them all to ruin within eighteen months. Now look at the contrast between the results. You are told over and over again that the tariff of 1846, after a lapse of eleven years, brought about a panic in 1857. Nobody pretends that the country did not prosper and grow with immense rapidity in manufactures as well as in every other direction during the first ten years of the tariff of 1846. How was it with your practical men's tariff of 1867? You know very well that it was a dead failure during the first ten or twelve years of its existence. The number of sheep in the country actually decreased and the production of wool did not increase between 1867 and 1877, while the woolen manufacture was in the most depressed condition which it has ever known during ten out of the twelve years following the enactment of that glorious practical tariff of 1867. Taking your own statements to be true, it took the free trade tariff of 1846, eleven years to do any harm, and it took the protectionist tariff of 1867, twelve years to do any good.

So the practical men in the iron trade asserted with one voice, that the reduction of the tax upon iron in 1846, which took off fully half of the duties imposed by the tariff of 1842, would be ruinous to the iron manufacture. Was there any such result? The great apostle of protection, Henry C. Carey, himself tells us that during the first two years in which the tariff of 1846 was in operation, the production of American iron enormously increased beyond what had ever been known before; so that out of his own mouth, it is proved that it takes at least three years for a free trade tariff to do any harm. When, however, we look into the actual facts, as shown by the census of 1850 and 1860, we find that the production of American iron continually increased, and that the lower the tariff became the larger was the production of American iron, until, in 1860, when the duties were at the lowest, the production of iron was nearly one million tons, being twice as much as it had been at any time under the tariff of 1842 and greater than it ever was during the first six years of the Morrill tariff. So that we see again that while, according to the admission of its enemies, it took at least three years for a free trade tariff to do any harm, it took at least six years for a protective tariff to do any good. Consider again the best test of the success of all your practical schemes for the development of the iron industry. What is the object of your protective system? Is it not, so far as iron is concerned, to bring about a state of things under which the proportion of foreign iron as compared with domestic iron used in this country, shall constantly decrease? Yet in 1860, under the lowest tariff which you have ever known the importations of foreign iron constituted only one-fourteenth per cent of the whole amount used in this country, whereas in 1860, under the highest tariff which you have ever known, the proportion of foreign iron consumed here was one-fifth per cent.

The tariff, in fact, has killed so many of your manufactures and buried them so long and so effectually that you have entirely forgotten them. You have forgotten that you used to build ships in Maine, which were the swiftest and finest in the world, although you always paid higher wages to ship builders than were paid anywhere else in the world. You were able then to compete with foreign ship builders and to sell your ships abroad. How was it? Not because wages were low in Maine, for they were not. It was because Maine had then cheap materials and paid high wages to quick and skillful workmen. When ship building changed from wood to iron, and you maintained, as you always did, even in 1860, a duty of 24 per cent upon foreign iron, Maine lost the advantage of cheap materials. When you doubled and quadrupled this duty, Maine was still worse off than ever. If you had been willing to admit Scotch iron into Maine, free of duty, the ship builders of Maine would have built their ships of iron just as readily as of wood, and all the skill which they had acquired in building wooden ships would have been equally available to them in building iron ships. But you would not let iron come in from the Clyde, and so now you find all the finest ships for the world's use built on the Clyde while ship building in Maine has absolutely perished.

You used to have iron manufactures in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, but these always depended upon having pig iron as their basis from other districts. If you had chosen to let in foreign pig iron there is nothing in the wages of your workmen which would have hindered Massachusetts and Rhode Island from manufacturing the higher grades of iron on a large scale. But you shut your doors against the pig iron of other countries; as you did not produce any yourselves you have destroyed your iron manufacture. If you would have let iron come in free you might have built ships at Providence and Boston, but with your tariff you have made this impossible.

Look on the other hand at the results which have followed even a single measure of free trade slipped into your protective tariff. Prior to 1870, there was a duty of ten per cent upon foreign hides, and high as that duty was, and although a drawback of nine-tenths of the amount was allowed on the leather made from foreign hides, yet the practical difficulties in the way of identifying the leather and the necessity of mingling in export various kinds of leather, some of which must be made from domestic hides, made this drawback of no use. The consequence was that American imports of leather were large notwithstanding the high duty, while American exports were exceedingly small. When this heavy duty was repealed, not only did a large trade develop between the hide producing countries and the United States previously unknown, but American leather began to flow outward, and within a very short time the export of American leather amounted to millions of dollars, as it does still.

But you say that you want to maintain this high tariff for the sake of keeping up American wages. How generous you are! how unselfish!

The manufacturers have shown their devotion to the cause of wages, in connection with the tariff, in many instances. I have spoken of Siemens and his inventions in the glass manufacture. In 1882 the duty on common glass bottles was thirty per cent. Siemens invented an improvement in the manufacture of such bottles, which reduced the cost of their production very greatly; and his agent offered that invention for sale to the bottle manufacturers of America; they refused to buy it. His agent then threatened to have bottles made under the new process and imported into the country, in spite of the tariff. The bottle makers rushed to congress and appealed for an increase of the duty to protect American bottle buyers against the benefit of Siemens's invention. Both houses of congress refused to grant the request. But the midnight conference committee did grant it, increasing the duty nearly 300 per cent. It was promised that this enormous increase would cheapen bottles, protect American industry and increase American wages. What followed this enactment? The manufacturers instantly cut down the wages of their workmen twenty per cent below what they had been under the low tariff. The workmen struck and stayed out six months, without work or wages, until the manufacturers were willing to resume work at the old rates. Meanwhile the price of bottles rose largely; the manufacturers made a handsome profit by getting rid of their old stock; they imported bottles, even under the increased duties, so far as was necessary to fulfill their contracts, and then the workmen went back at the same wages which they had before. Generous men were these employers! But you are all alike. I do not blame those employers. I do not blame you. It is the system itself, which, being maintained by the votes of your workmen and clamored for by ignorant and selfish men of every grade, constantly places these temptations before you, and so long as this abominable system exists, the employers who alone can be benefited by it will grind the faces of their working men to the utmost possible extent.

Let us look, however, at the manufacture of cotton, which is more interesting to you. The tariff commission of 1882 reported to congress, with some chagrin, that they were unable to get any of the cotton manufacturers to appear before them and represent their case. But, although not a single cotton manufacturer appeared in public, somehow or other the tariff commission was supplied with an elaborate schedule of new duties on cotton, and you got an increase upon all the duties which you really cared anything about, although publicly you stated that you did not want any change and were willing to have many duties reduced. On the lower grades of goods, no doubt, duties were reduced, but those duties, which were prohibitory before, remained prohibitory still. Duties were reduced upon goods which had not been imported at all for many years and which could not possibly be imported, even after the nominal reduction was made. But upon the great mass of cotton goods which really were imported you had a duty of thirty-five per cent, and you had this raised to forty per cent. Upon some higher grades of goods, where you had a duty of about fifty per cent, you caused it to be increased to fully seventy-five per cent. There was no reduction upon anything which was actually imported, or which ever came into competition with your manufactures; and there was a large increase upon everything which did thus come into competition. This, of course, was done for the sake of the American workman and to secure him higher wages. Did you increase your wages after this? Not by one cent. Immediately after the passage of the bill the cotton manufacturers in all New England cut down wages.

The truth is that the high wages, of which you complain as such a hindrance to your competition with foreigners, are no hindrance at all. High wages mean cheap labor. Your labor costs you more per week, but less per piece, than that of any labor in the world. You pay less wages here in Rhode Island for making each yard of cloth than are paid in England or anywhere else.

You talk about protection against the pauper labor of Europe. That is the last kind of labor against which you or anyone else needs protection.

I happened to be in London one winter, when there was a great snowstorm and the streets were blockaded. The various parish authorities met in a large council, in order to consider how the streets should be cleared. One of them stated that it would be pefectly easy to get ten thousand able bodied paupers out of the workhouses and set them to work clearing the streets, and as they now had to be supported while doing nothing, this would be clear gain. The proposition for a moment met with some favor and seemed very plausible. But an experienced guardian of the poor rose and said that ten thousand paupers, however able bodied they might be, would never clear the streets before summer came on, and that the more paupers were set to work the less work would be accomplished. He declared that one thousand regular paid laborers who had never been inside a workhouse would accomplish more than ten thousand paupers; and, indeed, that the more paupers were employed the less would be done, and thirty thousand of them would accomplish even less than ten thousand. The meeting was unanimously of this mind, and not a single pauper was employed upon the work. Now that little instance simply illustrates the fact, which you all know perfectly well, that pauper labor is absolutely worthless in comparison with the paid labor of intelligent men. The more you pay to your laborers the more certain you are to receive a greater value in proportion for your money. The higher your wages the cheaper will be your product and the greater your profits. The very fact that you pay high wages is the best proof that you are doing a profitable business and that you would be able to compete with the whole world if only you had your materials free and were unshackled by this oppressive and delusive tariff.

THE TEXAS PRIZE POEM.

First Prize Taken by Mrs. Fred. C. Wagner of Houston, Texas—The Lists Still Open for Second and Third Prizes.

HOUSTON, May 25.—The judges selected by Tax reform club No. 21 of Houston, Texas, to award prizes to competitors in the prize song contest, sent in the following report:

We think it advisable to award only one of the three prizes now, and continue the contest sixty days from June 1, as a great many entered without complying with the conditions, on account of a short notice in THE STANDARD that did not give the conditions.

We have concluded to award the first prize and let the remaining songs enter for the other prizes, and we suggest that Mr. George be requested to publish the judge's decision and the conditions of the contest. Songs must be written on the subject of tax reform and must not contain less than three or more than five verses, and must be written to some well known popular air, and must have inclosed an entry fee of fifty cents, and must be addressed to Tax reform club No. 21, corner Austin and Pease streets, Houston, Texas. The prize for the second best is $5, and for third best $2.50.

The first prize has been taken by Mrs. Fred. C. Wagner for a poem entitled, "The Land that God Created for Us All."

ED. HARTUNG,
A. B. BROWNE,
JOHN F. IVY,
} Judges.

The Land that God Created for Us All.

Air: Log Cabin in the Lane.

We see a glorious victory, the dawn of brighter day,
In the cause that tax reformers all sustain;
We've the love of man and Master to help us on our way,
And the fray of right is never fought in vain.
Oh! the tears of homeless women, the cries of children pale;
Enough! our hearts are waking at the call!
The Stars and Stripes of Liberty are drooping in the gale,
In the land that God created for us all.

CHORUS.

Then work with heart undaunted, tho' clouds seem gath'ring fast,
And mighty rocks obstruct the rugged way;
The earnest and the faithful will overcome at last,
And tax reform will bring a brighter day.

Old Poverty has reached our shore—his touch brings grief and sin,
He drives the heart of purity to shame;
Thro' manhood's highest temple his breath comes rudely in,
And honor burns to ashes in the flame.
He's the offspring of Oppression, his life is fed by wrong,
By unjust laws his fiery strength is fanned;
And yet, dear friends, we may disarm this enemy so strong
By placing all the taxes on the land.

Chorus.

Oh! what a glorious promise! Then labor shall be free,
And all who toil shall have a home of rest,
The flag of peace be waving in joy o'er you and me—
And the workers shall no longer be oppress't!
From the billows of Lake Erie to Mexia's gentle wave
Shall rise the voice of Plenty o'er the strand,
For God, our common Father, His choicest blessing gave
When He made us heirs-in-equal to the land.

Chorus.

MRS. FRED C. WAGNER.

The Truth Coming to the Front in Various Ways in Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 31—Missouri is steadily moving toward the light. A fine of $300 has just been imposed on the Bell telephone company by Judge Cady for charging a rental for an instrument in excess of the maximum sum fixed by law. The law fixes the price at $50, but the company demanded $100. The case has excited considerable public attention, and it is beginning to be questioned whether we are under any special obligations to make sacrifices to enrich any particular individuals or corporations.

Another instance of this has come up over the discussion of the gas supply. The question of whether the city shall continue to permit a private concern to control the supply is vigorously questioned, and a sentiment in favor of the city taking the business into its own hands is growing.

Apart from this agitation the yeast is at work. A city ordinance carried by a large majority vote at a special election, gets in the thin end of the wedge of the single tax idea. It is an ordinance levying a tax on land per front foot value, regardless of improvements, to pay the expense of sprinkling streets.

J. W. STEELE.

Enactment: All the Earth That's Under Water Belongs to the Whole People.

Bradstreet's

According to the decision of the supreme court of Minnesota in the case of the Lake Superior land company vs. Emerson et al., a deed of the owner of the abutting shore of the navigable lakes in the state purporting only to convey the soil under the water below the low water mark is inoperative; the title to the soil under the low water mark in the navigable lakes is in the state.

THE PRESS ON VICE-CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION.

No decision of a court since Shelley was denied the care of his children because of his agnosticism has gone farther than this in its revocation of a legacy. It may serve in time to come as the top water line in our courts left by the floods of monopoly.—[Chicago Labor Enquirer.

Does New Jersey law limit educational bequests to the promulgation of such doctrines, political or religious, as the judge may consider orthodox? Does it authorize him to stop the publication of books which he deems heretical, whether they are immoral or not?—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

A decision of this kind in the Cannibal islands might be all right, but in free America its author should be voted an ass.—[Albany Independent Citizen.

If law is common sense, we don't see how this decision is to stand. Prohibition is against the law of the land, in Indiana, for instance. Yet would it be held that a legacy left to a prohibitionist to further that doctrine could not be received by him? The history of slavery affords illustrations of the attempt to carry out the doctrine propounded by this judge in this decision. Henry George's proposition of no private ownership in land is not so radical as the proposition of no private ownership in human beings. Yet such ownership was once the law of the land as private land ownership is now.—[Indianapolis News.

This is a radical and startling interference with the right of disposing of property by will; and inasmuch as the power of Mr. Hutchins to spend his money in behalf of Georgeism while he lived could not have been questioned, we doubt the expediency of the decision rendered. There is no real question that the funds which would have been put in Mr. George's hands, had the will stood, would have been used to delude the credulous, increase the unrest and bitterness of the discontented, and pave the way for more or less serious disturbances, but in the prevention of such misfortunes the rights of individuals must not be infringed. Socialism must not be met with the tyranny to which it would inevitably lead.—[Cleveland Leader.

This decision appears to have been reached by the court, not because the testator's mind was unsound, but because the legatee's teaching was unsound. This is queer.—[Philadelphia Record.

The court of chancery of this state has held up a sort of looking glass for Henry George to gaze into and try and realize what he looks like to other people from a mental point of view.—[Newark, N. J., News.

If there are any more wealthy Jerseymen who want to leave their money to aid in disseminating the land doctrines of Henry George they are notified by Vice-Chancellor Bird that it will be necessary to give Mr. George the money before they die. The heirs will get the money and Mr. George and his cranky land theory will get left.—[Philadelphia Times.

The discretion of a judge in a court of equity is very large, but the latitude which Vice-Chancellor Bird has allowed himself is probably without precedent. Although he personally makes no claim to infallibility in any respect, he has done apparently with a light heart what even the pope of Rome cannot be persuaded to undertake. His off-hand dismissal of Mr. George's theories as contrary to public policy would be amusing were it not in all it involves a matter of too much seriousness to be merely entertaining. It has always been one of the privileges of the American citizen to think and speak for himself and to advocate any and every such theory not inconsistent with common decency and public morals as commended itself to his judgment. A strict application of the principle underlying Vice-Chancellor Bird's decision would deprive that right of very much of its value and importance and is therefore a proper subject for protest.—[Philadelphia North American.

The decision of Vice-Chancellor Bird of New Jersey that a bequest to Henry George for the promotion of his doctrines is illegal, because George's views are opposed to laws and contrary to public policy, is the sublimest sample of bourbonism and barbarism that this free country has seen for some time. The spirit of the freedom of the press demands the utmost liberty of legal protection of the right of free discussion, and it is easy to see why such a policy works for good. Such extreme doctrines as those of Mr. George, when wrong, call out much prompter and more vigorous presentations of the right than would have been made but for the original publication.—[New York Press.

Every fair minded man, no matter whether he agrees with Mr. George or not, must condemn such a decision as this, for it strikes directly at the right of free speech; in fact the constitution of New Jersey distinctly states that "every person may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects.—[Philadelphia Justice.

According to this ruling, the peculiar views of the sitting judge are to be taken as law, and if he were specially narrow minded, a bequest to what most people regarded as a great, charitable, benevolent or religious enterprise might be set aside. A law which permits any judge to enforce his own peculiar notion is a dangerous law, and it occurs to us that the vice-chancellor of New Jersey exceeded his authority in the decision referred to. Mr. George's views may be immoral, but it is scarcely unlawful to hold or to advocate them.—[Altoona, Pa., Times.

Truly it would be hard to say where such decisions would stop. A dying man is supposed to have the right to leave his property as he pleases, subject to the legal exemption in favor of his widow. If he leaves it for public purposes, as did this Jerseyman, is it for the judge to say whether it was wisely left? If the judge's private opinion of the merit of an idea is to weigh against the validity of a bequest in its favor, we can imagine that able lawyer, Colonel Robert Ingersoll, elevated to the bench and deciding against the validity of a bequest to a Christian church, on the ground that, in his judgment, the church is engaged in spreading an hallucination.

Besides, how does Vice-Chancellor Bird know that the purpose of the bequest was "neither charitable, benevolent nor educational?" The ideas advanced in the books are all three, in the opinion of those who believe in them, and that includes many college professors, and, it is said, at least eleven members of congress.

As to the vice-chancellor's statement that Mr. George's doctrines are at variance with the laws which the courts are every day called upon to uphold, why, so are the doctrines of the prohibitionists in New Jersey and the license party in Maine; so are the doctrines of the free traders and the monometalists; so is the doctrine of Mayor Hewitt and Edward Atkinson, that taxes should be levied exclusively on real estate. Mr. George does not propose to violate the law, but to change the law, which surely is not a crime in a free country. It would be strange indeed if a bequest of money to propagate the idea of prohibition should be declared illegal because prohibition is at variance with the liquor laws "which the courts are every day called upon to uphold." The logic of the Jersey chancellor's decision is that it is illegal to agitate for a change in the law. If the decision has been correctly reported in the newspapers, Mr. George's epithet of "immortal ass" is not exaggerated. This is a free country, and every kind of an idea should have a free chance on equal terms with every other idea.—[Boston Globe.

We believe Mr. George's theories to be communistic in their tendency, and false, but doubt whether any legal power exists in this country to suppress them.—[Pittsburg Chronicle.

The vice-chancellor does not set aside the will because the maker of it was not a crank, and the will so entirely an improvident one that it is not fit to stand against the very plain interests of the wife and children, but because he does not like Henry George's doctrines, and regards their promulgation as improper. This kind of equity is a good deal more dangerous to the community upon which it is imposed that the George land theories are or are ever likely to be.—[Philadelphia Telegraph.

The vice-chancellor may not be aware of the fact that there are millions of books in this world that express views that are opposed to existing laws. Or if he is, he must be of the opinion that a man has no right to spend his money to publish books that express views in opposition to existing laws. He is probably entirely innocent of all knowledge of the fact that half of humanity, if not all of it, is constantly engaged in the business of expressing views in opposition to existing laws, and that, as an effect of these views, the laws are constantly changing. If he is aware of things of which we suspect he is unaware, then he must, nevertheless, be blissfully unconscious of the fact that he has delivered an opinion which is a unique specimen of crankiness that is not justified even for the purpose of breaking the will of a crank.—[Philadelphia Inquirer.

People who don't indorse Georgeism will not regard favorably such an extension as this of the function of courts. A man who has money has a right to give to whom he pleases. This is common sense and, we have no doubt, is good law.—[Hamilton, Ohio, News.

The reproach of mediævalism which has occasionally been directed against New Jersey seems to be again justified by the decision of Vice-Chancellor Bird. . . . There is no more potent civilizing agency than the possibility of individual possession of a share of the soil. But inasmuch as Mr. George does not advocate the violation of the laws, but only their modification by due legislative process, does it not appear a dangerous impeachment of the right of bequest to say that a man shall not leave a portion of his money for the peaceful propagation of the opposite doctrine? It would seem that Vice-Chancellor Bird must have forgotten this other right of property, the right of bequest, which, in spite of a good many assaults upon it, is still undeniably a principle of our legal procedure.

Vice-Chancellor Bird, in summing up, bases his decision against the legacy upon a single sentence in Henry George's works, which is as follows: "It is not merely a robbery that deprives of their birthright the infants that are coming into the world."

It is apparent enough that Mr. George did not mean, in writing this sentence, so fatal to the late Mr. Hutchins's bequest, to intimate that land owners should be prosecuted for grand and petit larceny. He used the expression in its literary or argumentative sense. Some of the documents of a free trade league might, no doubt, denounce protective tariff laws as a form of robbery, and yet, if we are not mistaken, bequests have more than once been made without hindrance to disseminate free trade literature. We are inclined to think, if Mr. George takes this legacy into the federal circuit or supreme courts—either of which he may do, the former by virtue of his citizenship of another state than New Jersey, and the latter upon appeal—that Vice-Chancellor Bird's decision will not stand. We are afraid, too, that it will tend directly to popularize the George doctrine; so that Mr. Hutchins's bequest, whether Henry George gets the money or not, will have its effect, not merely in spite of, but on account of the decision against its legality. It would hardly do to establish an impression that money might be left by will to assist in the argument of one side of a public question, but not to assist in the argument of the other side.—[Boston Transcript.

Such a rule of law might have held good in the reign of King James, but the world has advanced some since then. Any theory or policy is open to discussion. Even anarchy may be advocated, so long as it is done peacefully; and why the teachings of Henry George should be considered unlawful we fail to see. Is it wrong to say there should be no private ownership of land? If so, we had better begin to look sharply lest we have enacted the old alien and sedition laws.—[Rockville, Ind., Tribune.

New Jersey has a judge that should be embalmed and placed on exhibition. His name is Bird, and he is vice-chancellor of the state courts. . . . One such narrow headed ass as Bird is about as much in that line as one state is likely to have in responsible judicial position, and no doubt the chancellor will reverse his decision. The idea that the advocacy of a theory in economics which is intended to be put in practice by peaceful means is illegal is so superlatively asinine as to beggar the language to criticise in adequate terms. Such men as Bird, were they generally prevalent, would clap a stopper on the dial of time, and not rest satisfied until the earth should reverse its diurnal motion. However, he has his uses, one of which is to attract attention to Henry George's theory, which theory, defective as it may be, is better than the practices in vogue.—[Pittsburg Labor Tribune.

This eminent jurist of the state of New Jersey may have read a book written by Herr Most from which such a conclusion might possibly be drawn, but from a book written by Henry George—never.—[Junction City, Kan., Tribune.

The opinion rendered by Vice-Chancellor Bird at Trenton, N. J., concerning Henry George's land theories is simply ludicrous.

A man named Hutchins left a liberal bequest to be used in circulating George's works. The heirs contested the will. The vice-chancellor holds that the bequest is invalid on the ground that George's theories are "in opposition to the laws," and hence that the court will not aid in disseminating them by upholding the will.

Such a ruling is absurd. To defeat the will of a testator in that way is a judicial abuse. Whether the doctrines advocated by Mr. George are sound or unsound, whether their adoption would be a public good or a public evil, is a question with which a court has nothing to do in a case of this kind.

This is a free country. The people govern themselves, make their own laws and unmake them. Every person has a right to advocate any change in our laws, to advance any theories, however visionary. The people have a right to adopt them if they choose to. It would be perfectly lawful to argue in favor of changing the form of government from a republic to a despotism. The people are their own rulers and hold the power to make any change they please in the laws, constitution or system of government. If they want to adopt Mr. George's theories they can do so.

There is no law against the dissemination of these theories nor any reason why a man may not will money for their dissemination if he wants to. Whether such a bequest is wise or politic is not for a court to inquire. It is for a lawful purpose and should be enforced.—[New York Herald.

The Testimony of a Lumberman.

The Cincinnati *Enquirer* publishes a dispatch from Grand Rapids, Mich., announcing that Hon. A. V. Mann, a wealthy lumberman of Muskegon, has astonished his friends by proclaiming himself unreservedly in favor of free trade:

"It is all nonsense," said Mr. Mann, "to claim that putting lumber on the free list will bring ruin to the Michigan lumber interests. I am in favor of free trade. It is my candid opinion to-day that had lumber never been protected it would have been a good thing, not only for the lumber men but also for the state. The resources of Michigan have in many sections been exhausted. We have endeavored to supply the demands of the entire country instead of sharing the burden with Canada. We have grown rich in the business, a feature to which, of course, I do not particularly object. It will be necessary when our forests are gone to import from Canada, and the Canadian lumber men of the next generation will reap all the benefits, where, had a wiser policy been pursued in this country, the Michigan timber wealth would still be in existence."

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The Houston *Post* has announced the publication of a series of articles on the single tax by H. F. Ring.

If the tariff on foreign products is levied for the "protection" of American laborers, why don't they get as much for making the article as the tariff on it amounts to?—[Grand Rapids Workman.

The burden of labor is that while it must perforce sustain the expenditure of the world, the social organization forbids it free access to the "means of life," the springs of wealth production. It must not only support the world but pay for the privilege of doing it.—[Chicago Labor Enquirer.

The Australian system which is being introduced in some states should be universally adopted. We hope some one will introduce a bill in our legislature this winter compelling the adoption of this method of elections. It will do more good than any election law we have.—[Nickerson, Kan., Argosy.

Nothing is a more barefaced humbug than the supposed assessment of personal property. While this kind of property has been for years keeping pace with population, it is gradually disappearing from the assessment rolls of the country, so that now about all that is assessed belongs to widows and orphans.—[Menominee Laborer.

Henry George says there is no escape from the dilemma that the "state must own the railroads or the railroads will own the state," and the country is day by day coming nearer his way of thinking on this and many other questions. If we must have monopolies, let them be government monopolies, managed in the interest of the entire people.—[Buena Vista, Col., Democrat.

Taxing improvements on land is a burden upon labor, and means fewer good homes for our wives, children and ourselves. To exempt all improvements on land and all personal property from taxation means an invitation for capital to come into Texas and make us rich. Manufactories would be built all over this state if they were exempt from taxation.—[Pearsall (Tex.) Sun.

The platform of the California democracy demands government postal telegraphy. There is a very simple rule by which the propriety of government enterprises as distinguished from private is tested, and it is this: Services whose economical or efficient performance makes a monopoly desirable or necessary should be undertaken by the government.—[San Francisco Examiner.

Taxation destroys business. High license, which is a tax upon the liquor business, cut down the applications for licenses one-half. This was the expected result. But the protectionists proceed upon the theory that business may be benefited by taxation. They point to the prosperity of those persons who are allowed to tax other persons as a proof that taxation is a beneficence.—[Philadelphia Record.

The rights of individuals in all lines of business are entitled to protection against corporate aggression. There should be remedy for every oppressed or defrauded workingman. All that is needful in these directions may be provided without yielding to the socialist his wild demands, or treating all the achievements of capital in this age as if they were but monuments of wrong and oppression.—[Chicago Standard.

The mortgage indebtedness of our farms, it is perfectly safe to say, is at the very least fifty per cent more to-day than it would be if the farmer had not suffered from evils which never should have been permitted to exist. Every industry has received consideration from the government except the industry of agriculture. No wonder there are mortgages. The only wonder is that there are not more.—[Decatur, Ill., Labor Bulletin.

As society is organized the average citizen pays more money out in the form of taxes than he is able to keep for himself; the greater part of the fruits of his labor are taken up and absorbed in some form of taxes, whether these be paid to the state directly, for the support of the government, or paid in the form of indirect taxes, excise duties, or for the protection of the so-called "infant industries" of the country.—[Jackson (Tenn.) State Wheel.

The attempt to secure greater purity in our elections by means of a secret ballot is a reform which all good men should support. It is only in this way that the free, untrammeled voice of the people can be expressed. So long as one man is richer or more powerful than another, so long as he occupies a position where that other may suffer by incurring his displeasure, there is danger of the ballot and the voter being subjected to bad and corrupt influences.—[Oneida, N. Y., Post.

If the creator has given to each man an equal right to the source of all wealth, why should he not have all that his labor draws from that source? To effect a just distribution of wealth we must establish a just relation between labor and land; between man and the great storehouse from which he draws wealth; from which he must draw it. We must secure to each his equal right to the common heritage of all. Nothing short of this can solve the problem.—[Topeka Post.

The Toronto *Globe* has a great deal of curiosity. It now wants to know why coal that sells in Buffalo at $4.75 a ton cannot be purchased for less than $6 a ton in Toronto. Evidently our Toronto contemporary does not understand the methods of the coal ring. If it did it would know that distance has little to do with price. In some towns not half the distance of Buffalo from the coal fields coal is higher than in Buffalo. So is transportation. The coal combination works in a mysterious way its income to enlarge, and some consumers are obliged to pay out of all proportion toward it.—[Rochester Herald.

We have, after the creation of our debt, changed the standard of value, a monstrous crime, by which we increased the debt to be paid and diminished the power of the people to pay, so that it would take more wheat, corn or any product of labor to pay our debt to-day than in 1865. Handicapped with all this, we continue by a vicious system of tariff taxation, established for war purposes and perpetuated by a greed of special interests, to pour into the treasury a surplus of $150,000,000 a year, and hold locked up from use by the people nearly $700,000,000 of the people's money.—[J. Burrows, President National Farmers' Alliance.

There probably are not over 40,000 persons in the United States who are as sanguine as Mr. George concerning the benefits to be derived from the adoption of this plan of taxation. But the real growth of the single tax movement cannot be measured by this. The vital and starting point of Mr. George's philosophy is gaining ground among practical, business men and among thinkers. The Chicago and Minneapolis papers have been interviewing many of their leading business and professional men concerning the single tax and nearly fifty per cent understood and approved it. Those who read the daily papers carefully know that Mayor Hewitt of New York city advocates the adoption of a modified form of Henry George's scheme of taxation. The movement is having a wonderful growth in Texas, where the legislature will be urged by a powerful influence to consider the subject.—[Ann Arbor (Mich.) Register.

What Can They Do, Save Jabber Like Idiots?

Chicago Tribune (rep.).

We are told many times a day that the enormous duties on consumers are required to maintain the difference between American and European rates of wages! But as the total amount paid to labor by all the manufactories of the United States is only eighteen per cent on the output, why is forty-seven per cent of tariff wanted to protect labor?

The only reply we can extract from the forty-seven per cent war tax organs is: "O, you are a free trader!"

Any jabbering idiot can say that; but it doesn't answer what several millions of men would like to have explained.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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A SHORT TARIFF HISTORY.

Protectionists say that in this country prosperity has invariably followed in the wake of high protective tariff and depression as invariably followed on free trade legislation. Thus: 1788, tariff followed by prosperity; 1812, higher tariff, greater prosperity; 1816, tariff reduction followed by depression of trade; 1824, high tariff, immediately followed by prosperity; 1832, free trade followed by a panic; 1842, protective tariff followed by revival of trade; 1850, free trade, result, stagnation in business; 1861, protection followed by twenty-seven years of prosperity.

The above statement, taken from a correspondent's letter, is one which, with very little variation, has been the stock argument of protectionists for many years. The correspondent who quotes it is naturally very much puzzled, for although he cannot see any reason why an increase of the tariff should produce prosperity, he is nevertheless staggered by the assertion that this has always been the case. The simple truth is that this statement is a tissue of falsehoods. Against it I will put in very brief form the actual facts:

1789.—Abolition of all interstate tariffs and reduction of state tariffs on foreign goods, followed by rapid increase of prosperity.

1808.—Absolute prohibition of all importations, followed by universal disaster.

1809.—Repeal of prohibition, followed by renewal of prosperity.

1812.—The tariff doubled and all importations stopped by the war. Result, hard times over the whole country; general suspension of banks, and such suffering in New England that secession was threatened.

1816.—A protective tariff adopted—in some things higher than that of 1812; although in some things lower. This was the first tariff which was framed all through upon the principle of protection. The protectionists themselves always say that it was followed by great depression of trade.

1818.—This tariff made still more protective; and the protectionists always refer to the year 1819 as one of great disaster.

1824.—A higher tariff; followed by great depression in the protected manufactures, and certainly without one cent of increase in wages.

1828.—A very high protective tariff, immediately followed by hard times in 1829, and low wages so long as this tariff existed.

1832.—No "free trade" at all; but a slight reduction of the tariff, followed by improvement in business.

1833.—A gradual reduction of the tariff, leaving it still so high that an enormous surplus accumulated in the treasury, which was distributed among the states in 1837. This distribution was immediately followed by the famous panic of 1837, which was the direct result of wild land speculation all over the country, brought about largely by the surplus.

1842.—Protective tariff restored, followed by one year (1843) of the greatest stagnation of business ever known; while during the whole existence of this tariff farm wages were cut down about one-half from what they had been even after the panic of 1837, and wheat, corn and cotton sold at prices disastrous to farmers and planters. Good times and fat profits for iron, cotten and woolen mill owners; bad times for every one else.

1846.—The tariff cut down by about one-third to one-half. Result, an immense increase in commerce and shipping, a rapid increase in manufactures, unprecedented prosperity in agriculture, and the most rapid advance in wages ever known in the history of the country, before or since.

1857.—Even under the low tariff of 1846 the revenue had become excessive, and a surplus accumulated. In order to get rid of this surplus the tariff was reduced in July; but in September, before the new tariff could have the least effect, the short panic of 1857 occurred, as the result of another wild land speculation, combined partially with the failure of crops. By 1858, however, almost the whole effect of this panic had passed away; and in 1859 and 1860 agriculture, commerce and manufactures were all more prosperous than they ever had been before.

1861.—A protective tariff, constantly increasing until 1867. According to protectionist logic, the result was our terrible civil war, because this, as a matter of fact, immediately followed the new tariff. For more than a year after the adoption of this protective tariff, the business of the country was in a fearfully depressed condition.

1864.—Tariff raised fifty per cent. Manufacturers made fortunes for three years. Wages, in gold, lower than ever.

1867.—Great increase in tariff on wool. Result, immediate slaughter of 400,000 sheep, reduction of wool product and ruin of many woolen factories. The years 1867, 1868 and 1869 were periods of great depression in business, and especially in manufactures. In 1868, the protectionists themselves declared that there were more unemployed workmen than had ever before been known.

1870.—Slight reduction in the tariff and considerable reduction in taxation generally. As a result, business improved considerably. But, the tariff being still maintained in all its protective features, the great panic of 1873 ensued, which was far worse than the panic of 1857, and which lasted for more than five times as long a period. From September, 1873, until January, 1879, the business of the country was more depressed, and more laborers were driven out of employment, than in any previous period of the country's history. So far from there being "twenty-seven years of prosperity" under the last protective tariff, fully half of that time has been a period of extraordinary business depression, especially marked by falling wages and the wholesale discharge of laborers from employment. This was especially the case in 1861, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878.

1883.—Pretended reduction, but real increase in tariff. Wages cut down everywhere in factories and mines. Great panic of May, 1884, leaving depression for two years.

The most extraordinary fact about this whole story is that men of sense who have lived through the fearful period of depression, extending from 1873 to 1879, when, for the first time, legislation against "tramps" was needed, should yet listen gravely to the assertion of protectionists that nothing is needed to secure prosperity except just such a high tariff as we have now and had then.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

THE FIVE MINUTES DEBATE.

The five minutes debate on the Mills bill has been even more interesting than the speech making that preceded it because it has partaken more of the character of a true debate. The real difference of principle that underlies the whole dispute is brought out more clearly, and it has been quite common for the republicans to refer to the "free trade" side of the house without protest from the democrats.

The republicans showed very clearly that it is their intention to use every possible device to protract the debate unreasonably, but the democrats, in turn, showed that they have the power to prevent the success of this attempt. The whole of the first day of the discussion was taken up with the nominal consideration of five lines in the first paragraph of the bill, and the republican members manifested a disposition to prolong the debate on these lines, but, on motion of Mr. Mills, the committee rose, and before the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole for considering the tariff bill next day it made an order limiting debate on the lines already considered to forty minutes. The vote by which the house rose on the first day with a view to accomplishing this result was 122 to 83, showing a good working majority against the tactics of unreasonable delay. It appears from this that though the opponents of the bill may greatly prolong the debate they have not the power to prevent the forcing of a vote when the majority determine that it shall be done.

Though the discussion took a wide range, involving the whole question of protection, it was ostensibly confined to the proposal to put lumber on the free list, and the opposition came chiefly from the Maine members and others having constituents largely interested in lumber operations. The lack of real union among the republicans was curiously illustrated. The venerable representative of Pennsylvania pig iron, Mr. Kelley, made an appeal to the southern members to remember the large lumber interests of the south and not vote for a measure that would reduce the price obtainable for the product of southern forests. Mr. Reed of Maine, on the other hand, insisted that the proposed change would bring about no reduction in the price of lumber, while other republicans denounced the provision as a sectional one, some of them saying that the south had no lumber interests, and others that the cost of transportation was so great that southern lumber is practically out of the market.

Mr. Breckinridge of Arkansas called attention to these clashing statements, and, while declaring that his state produced large quantities of excellent timber and had a large and growing demand for it from Chicago and the west, said that his constituents did not ask congress to tax the farmers and builders of the south and west for the benefit of the owners of Arkansas timber. Mr. Holman of Indiana thought it most fortunate that this debate should have opened on the lumber clause of the bill, as it admirably illustrated the attitude of the two great parties on the question of tariff reform. He quoted the existing law to show that all woods that are exclusively used in the manufactures of articles of luxury are now on the free list, as are also railway ties for the benefit of the great railway corporations, while a duty is levied on all lumber suitable for building houses, fences and barns. Mr. Weaver of Iowa made a strong speech in support of the bill, and was interrupted by a member who sneered at his greenback views, eliciting the following retort:

> The gentleman's lack of knowledge concerning the lumber trust is only equaled by his lack of knowledge concerning finance. I am somewhat older than he, perhaps. I saw this great government, by an exercise of its sovereign power, create money and with it preserve the life of this nation. The gentleman twits me with believing that the government can make money out of paper. It is not a matter of faith. I know it. The whole country knows it; and the supreme court have declared it lawful in war and constitutional in peace; and I am not only opposed to the lumber trust, but to the national bank trust, and to all other trusts as well.

Mr. Outhwaite of Ohio and Mr. Wilson of Minnesota pressed home this matter of the lumber trust in a way that was apparently uncomfortable to the republicans, who did not dare to deny that there is such a trust, though several of them, like the Irishman's twenty witnesses, who swore that they had never seen him steal a pig, insisted that they had never heard of a lumber trust.

Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky quoted, in the course of the debate, a speech by Mr. Blaine protesting against the imposition of any tax on an article so necessary to everybody as lumber. The speech had been made when an internal revenue bill was pending, and the republican members now insisted that there was a great difference between levying a tax on American lumber and putting a tariff on imported lumber. When confronted with their own admissions that the latter was intended to enhance the cost of lumber, and asked what difference it made to the consumer how this increase in price was brought about, they ran off as usual into loose statements concerning the great benefits derived by everybody else through the putting of money into the pockets of a favored few. They were cornered constantly and their attitude throughout the whole discussion was little short of ludicrous. One of the best things said by a republican in the course of the debate was said by Mr. Guenther of Wisconsin, who confessed his respect for the out-and-out free trader, but spoke with contempt of the Mills bill. If the democrats insisted on putting lumber and wool on the free list, he declared that they ought, by way of compensation, to "give us, at least, free sugar, free rice, free woolens and free medicines." Some day, when Mr. Guenther finds it necessary to consider the interests of the consumer and has no longer a protected lumber trust at his back, he may recall this utterance with pride, and, with a judgment and regard for the public welfare no longer perverted, help compel the democrats to put the articles he names on the free list. The free traders will help pass the pending bill against the wishes of Mr. Guenther and his fellow defenders of monopoly; but if any of its advocates imagine that any free trader looks on such a measure as the Mills bill as a finality, or even as a reasonable measure of reduction, they will find that they are gravely mistaken.

In the course of debate Mr. Randall found opportunity to further indicate his hostility to the present policy and past traditions of his party by taking sides with the protectionists against free lumber, but his defection was balanced by that of Mr. Lind, a republican from Minnesota, who made a strong speech in favor of its admission. These changes are not important, looking no further than the vote on the pending bill, but they are of great importance as indications that political parties must soon divide on this question alone, the democratic party having no room for a protectionist, and the republican party no room for any but protectionists.

As is now customary, and probably inevitable, when any great economic topic is under discussion, the land question bobbed up serenely during the debate. In response to a statement that the lumbermen were making enormous fortunes, Mr. Guenther interposed a statement that the money was made, not on the operations, but from "stumpage;" that is, from the royalty charged by land owners as the condition on which they will permit labor and capital to go to work on the northwestern forests. Mr. Wilson of Minnesota, who also represents a lumber region, but not as the agent of the lumber trust, said it was within his own knowledge that, in the lumber region in part represented by himself and Mr. Guenther, pine lands had risen in value within the past fifteen years from 300 to 500, and in some instances 1,000 per cent, while the value of farming lands in the same region had not risen one per cent. These farmers, he truly said, were taxed to enrich millionaire owners of timber lands, and he declared that the issue before the country today is "whether the agriculturists and the mass of the people generally shall be compelled to contribute, not for the support of the government, but for the enrichment of these prosperous protected industries." Turning to the republican members from the northwest, he told them that they would have to answer to their constituents the question why poverty should protect wealth.

The obstructive tactics of the protectionists did not prevent the adoption by the committee of the whole of the clause putting lumber on the free list, but on Monday the republicans made a determined effort to get rid of the existing surplus by forcing the consideration of the pending bill and, being successfully resisted by Mr. Mills, they broke the quorum by abstaining from voting and thereby prevented further progress of the tariff bill. The consideration of the bill was resumed on Tuesday, however, and some slight progress made.

It is impossible to say at present how long a time will be occupied in the consideration of the bill, but there appears no reason to doubt that the democrats will force the house to remain in session until a vote can be taken on the bill as perfected by the committee of the whole; and the republicans may, in view of a result that is inevitable, consult their own comfort by refraining from further obstruction. There is a general belief that the senate will reject the house bill and pass a measure of its own that will offer no basis of compromise, but the Washington correspondence of the New York *Herald* intimates that there are enough republican senators who desire a reduction of the tariff and the surplus to bring about a compromise that will reduce the present revenue derived from the tariff. Such a bill may pass, but it is not likely to prove satisfactory to either side and will leave the door open for a new struggle at the next session of congress. The outlook is not a happy one for those "statesmen" who ardently wish to get the whole troublesome question out of the way. The tariff question has come to stay.

WHY SHIPS ARE LOST.

The latest issue of the *North American Review* contains an article by W. H. Rideing, in which an effort is made to decide whether with the increase of speed of the great transatlantic liners there has arisen any increase of danger. Letters are quoted from the commanders of a number of ships of the different lines, as well as from a distinguished ship building firm. On the whole, the burden of the testimony is that, with proper care, fast ships are quite as safe as slow ones. While their rate of speed may augment certain dangers, it undeniably lessens the duration of all danger. A ship which crosses the Atlantic in twelve days is exposed to the dangers of the seas just twice as long as one making the passage in six days. Mr. Rideing, therefore, announces the cautious conclusion that "speed does not necessarily increase peril."

But after all, why should there be any such discussion as this? Why should ship masters and experts be invited to give their opinions as to whether fast ships or slow ships are the safer? Why should one ship be in any degree less safe than another? Why should not all ships be absolutely safe?

The answer is easy to any one familiar with maritime affairs. It is because of the survival of an ancient superstition that the Almighty exercises peculiar power upon the sea, and by special decrees provides for the safety of one vessel and the destruction of another. Let a railway train be wrecked by a collision, by a breaking bridge, or by a misplaced switch, and it would be thought a blasphemy to say that God did it. It is justly assumed that it is *somebody's* fault; and the law doesn't wait to ascertain on what particular somebody the blame should rest, but makes the railway corporation, one of whose employes must have been at fault, pecuniarily responsible for the loss of property and the damage to life and limb. But when a great steamer founders in midocean, her owners are relieved from all liability in respect of the goods they have contracted to deliver, and the human beings they have undertaken to transport, specifically upon the ground that the foundering was the act of God—that the Almighty, in his wisdom, saw fit that the ship should sink, and she had to sink accordingly. The same superstition survives in our churches. The Episcopal prayer book contains a special form of petition for persons going to sea, in which the "eternal God, who alone spreadest out the heavens and rulest the raging of the sea," is besought to "conduct them in safety to the haven where they would be, with a grateful sense of thy mercies." No such form of prayer is thought necessary on behalf of those who travel by railway train.

Now, it is safe to say that for every danger a steamship has to encounter on a voyage between New York and Liverpool, a railway train running from New York to Chicago has to encounter fifty. Yet in proportion to the number at risk, the lives lost by disasters at sea, as compared with those lost in railway accidents, are at least as a thousand to one. The reason is, that when a railway company destroys or damages a case of goods, or breaks a limb, or loses a life, they have to pay roundly for their carelessness; but when a ship owner does the same thing, he may rub his hands and refer the claimant to the chancery of heaven.

How great is the carelessness which this lack of responsibility breeds in ship owners, men who follow the sea know full well. Time and again steamers carrying passengers have been sent to sea when they were in actual need of repairs to hull and machinery, simply that the extra expense of repairs in a foreign port might be saved. The unseaworthiness of the "tramp" steamers has passed into proverb. Careless lading, insufficient manning, rotten timbers, leaky boilers, flawed machinery and spars, deficient ground tackle—what sailorman is there who is not familiar with these inviters of disaster? Why should the owner care so long as by hook or crook he can maintain the insurance rating of his vessel? If evil come of it, the result is generally a positive gain to him. His vessel is insured for a good price, and for the lives and cargo on board he has no responsibility.

There is no reason under heaven why every steamer that sails the sea should not be so constructed and fitted that only gross carelessness could involve her loss. This will never be done so long as we persist in insulting providence by clinging to the superstition of "the act of God." But when ship owners are made responsible for their own laches, and the carelessness of those in their employ—when the whole murdering system of marine insurance, general average, particular average, and bill of lading exceptions, is swept into the dust bin of the middle ages, where it properly belongs—it will be done very quickly.

THE "PRESS" AND ITS LOOKING GLASS.

That the United States is a country in which all who are willing to work can secure employment at exceptionally high wages; that every American who chooses to be ordinarily economical in his expenditures may be assured of a home and rear his family in peace and comfort; that food, clothing and shelter are sold for less money here than in England, while those who produce them get vastly more for their labor; and that these blessings are due entirely to protection, and would vanish from the land if the protective tariffs were repealed; these are the ideas which, in its editorial columns and its tariff talks, the *Press* of this city is tireless in inculcating. Manufacturer after manufacturer has told us through the tariff talker of the horror that fills his mind as he contemplates the possibility of having to cut down the wages of his hands if the dreadful Mills bill should be passed. And day after day the editorial writer has pointed the finger of illustration toward the pauper laborer of Europe, and warned us, now entreatingly, now scornfully, to desist from following after the abomination of free trade, lest we become even as that wretched being.

But in its news columns the *Press* is a different paper altogether. There it holds the mirror up to nature and shows us American workingmen and women, not as evolved from the depths of its own inner consciousness, but as they really are. The high wages, the happy homes and the steady employment which adorn the editorial page are nowhere to be seen; and in their place we gaze upon the sweater, the tenement house and the desperate, despairing scramble for work. The *Press*, indeed, reminds us of nothing so much as a philosopher sitting behind a looking glass and moralizing over what he fancies he can see by looking through its back. We congratulate it on its deft handling of the looking glass, but cannot help wishing it would occasionally step round to the front and study the pictures it presents to other people.

On Sunday last the *Press* turned its mirror in the direction of South Fifth avenue in the city of New York, and gave its readers a chance to catch a hasty glimpse of workingwomen's life on that thoroughfare. To drop the metaphor, it described the visit of certain ladies to two factories in which protected industries are carried on—the one a paper box establishment, protected by a duty of thirty-five per cent, and the other a manufactory of ladies underclothing, also protected by a duty of thirty-five per cent.

The box factory was visited first:

> The name of "Wiemer" on the sign board was familiar as being that of an employer who was thoughtful of the people working for him, and ready to do what was in his power to change and better their condition.
>
> But it does not depend upon the employers to accomplish the change—at least, not upon the one or two who recognize that there is a wrong to be righted. It depends upon the women themselves. They alone can free themselves from bondage. The time is surely coming when they will comprehend it, but they are timid and hopeless as yet. One hundred women work at Weimer's. An employer who is willing to have his employes "organize" is not to be met with every day. This man has kindness and consideration marked in strong lines on his face, and looks as if he means it when he says that he shall be glad to see women's wages augmented, and will be among the first to join in the reform.
>
> As it is he does better by his employes than most men in the trade; but to give the women the wages they ought to receive would be impossible for any one employer at present. He could not enter into competition with other manufacturers, his profits would be entirely swallowed up, and he would be a ruined man. Meantime Mr. Wiemer is willing to have the women he employs go to organization meetings, and, indeed, some of the sturdiest and most earnest of the workers in the only society yet formed solely for women come from this very factory. The more expert the women become in the business of making boxes the more time they have to think out the problem and dream of something better in days to come, for it is twice as easy to work hard if there is something absorbing to think about.
>
> The deftness with which the hands fold the cardbord, cover it over with fancy paper and ornament it with gilt, calling it a flower box, or a muff box, or a hat box, as the case may be! What days and weeks and months it must have taken to gain that deftness of fingers! And what patience and willingness to work. Employers pay by the piece, because if time is loitered or not spent to their advantage they lose nothing by it, whereas if the women worked by the day or week the case would be different. In any way of looking at it, how nervous the women must sometimes become that they cannot work faster and accomplish more. Paste and paper, paper and paste, all the day long. But there is a charm about work after all, of no matter what kind; there is a charm about being paid for it, too; and there's the rub.

What wages these hundred women earn, the visiting ladies do not say. But it is evident from the context that they are insufficient for a decent support. Yet the employer is by no means an oppressor, but on the contrary, a good hearted man, who sympathizes with his employes, and would gladly pay them more if he could afford to.

And pray why can't he afford to? What is the beneficent protective tariff for, if not for the very purpose of enabling employers to pay high wages? When the *Press*, a week or two ago, exposed the horrible treatment of hotel servants, it explained that the tariff didn't do its work in that case because the oppression was carried on in a corner, and it required to be re-enforced by public opinion. But here in this box factory the tariff is so re-enforced. Public opinion has done all it can possibly do, since it has converted the employer himself, and made him as anxious to pay high wages as the girls are to get them. Ah! but there is one thing lacking still. The girls must organize and strike for higher pay. Alas! poor creatures! let them overhaul the files of the *Press*, and learn from the story of the Edgar Thomson works at Braddock, Pa., how little organization can do for wage workers when outside the organization stands an army of hungry seekers after work at any price.

From the box factory the visitors proceeded to the underwear establishment, which is described as one of the largest, if not the largest, in the city. The governing powers here were by no means as benevolently disposed as Mr. Wiemer. In fact, they were rather discourteous than otherwise, and turned the ladies out of doors without permitting them to visit the work rooms. Nevertheless some things were seen and other things were learned from girls who had worked in the factory:

> Supervision such as convicts receive is apparently the motto of the proprietors. It is not difficult to find girls who have been in Mr. Siegel's employ, but who have left their places as soon as they have been able to get something better to do. Such a one told the writer that she was able to earn at best only $3 per week—$2 and $2.50 were the wages she usually received. Payments were made every two weeks, and the earnings of the oldest and most untiring and skillful workers were $16 and $18 for the two weeks.
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> And what were the demands made? Every woman was to pay for her own thread. She must buy it in the establishment, and the price charged was forty-five cents and twenty cents per spool. She must pay for her own needles, and each needle costs three cents. The oil cloth cover for her machine was twelve cents, and the price of that must be taken out of her wages. For each drop of oil that she got on her work she was fined fifteen cents, although when the work passed through the hands of the presser the oil was taken out. The fifteen cents was then the clear profit of the employer. If the box became broken, in which the finished work was piled thick and fast, a charge for it was made to the girl in whose presence the accident occurred. The women could not laugh or sing, and if by chance they forgot themselves another fine of fifteen cents was imposed.
>
> There did not lack forewomen to take note of all that passed. There was no notice posted that the girls might know what was expected of them, but the information was sprung upon them at the unfortunate time when they had given way to a happy mood. There was placed upon the walls one sole notice. It was that no girl should comb her hair before 6 o'clock. A little time would be lost if a woman left her work before the hour struck. Just one-half hour was allowed for dinner, although section 14 of the factory inspection law says: "Not less than forty-five minutes shall be allowed for the noonday meal in any manufacturing establishment in this state."
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> Two other interesting things were discovered concerning this establishment. One, that it employs children under thirteen years of age in spite of the statute to the contrary; and another, that the four hundred girls who work it in by no means represent the most wretched class of its employes, since at least half and perhaps three-quarters of its work is done outside and passes through the hands of sweaters.

Now, why won't the *Press* walk round, for just one moment, take a peep into its own looking glass, and see things as they really are, and as its own columns show them? Here are two sets of wage workers, one under a kindly employer, the other under a tyrannical and brutal one, both shielded by protection, and neither getting decent wages. Cannot the *Press* see that what these women need is not a selfish organization to prevent other women getting employment, not mere factory inspection or other statutory protection, but simply and solely more opportunity to go to work? These women crowd into New York from farms and villages, clamoring for the privilege of making boxes and underwear at starvation prices, and by the pressure of their competition forcing wages down, and down, and downward still. Why don't they stay at home and buy underwear, instead of starving to death making it? Why don't they keep bees, or raise poultry, or grow roses, or write, or teach, or in some way follow the line of their natural talents and inclinations? Why don't they obey the law of nature and become wives and mothers?—there is a man born into the world for every one of them. Simply because industry of every kind is so fettered and weighed down with taxes—rent tax to landlord, tariff tax to protected manufacturer, tax to township, tax to county, tax to state, license tax, internal revenue tax, tax upon everything taxable—that neither can they themselves afford the outlay—principally taxes of one of the kinds named—necessary to engage in these occupations, nor could those around them afford to buy of their products; while as for getting married—the men who by rights should be their sweethearts and their husbands, are as badly off as themselves, and as little able to support families.

Cannot the *Press* understand that in this nineteenth century, on this richly stored earth, in this land that boasts of freedom, amid the harnessed forces of nature, it is a blasphemy against God that girls should be wearing their lives out making underwear at $2 and $2.50 a week? Does not the *Press* know that since the world was, not the millionth

part of a mill's worth of wealth has ever been produced save by the application of labor to the natural elements of production? Will the *Press* deny that to increase wealth to any desired extent it is only necessary to apply sufficient labor to sufficient of the raw material of nature? Must not the *Press* admit, then, that all that labor needs to solve for itself the problem of its own poverty is to have the barriers that fence it out from nature thrown down—the shackles broken that now bind its eager hands? The protective tariff that the *Press* so blindly worships—what is it but a cruel wall, shutting men out from access to the material on which they would gladly exercise their industry and forbidding them to accept in exchange for the products of their labor the things that they most want? Behind this wall there rises a higher and a stronger one, the wall of private land ownership; but is that a reason why the *Press* should strive to build higher and stronger the wicked outer barrier? Let the *Press* look in its own mirror, and it will see the folly of its course.

In a summary of the tariff debate, published in THE STANDARD of May 26, an extract from a speech delivered by J. H. O'Neall of Indiana, was inadvertently credited to J. J. O'Neill of Missouri. The latter writes to ask us to correct the mistake. We beg the pardon of the Indiana representative for attributing so excellent a speech to another; and we compliment the Missouri member on his prompt refusal to profit by a mistake that attributed to him a speech that he might well be proud of.

They are building a tunnel under the St. Clair river, between the United States and Canada, at Port Huron, Michigan, and the other day the workmen at both ends struck for an increase of pay to $2 a day. It is easy enough to understand why the paupers at the Canadian end should be getting low wages; but it seems a little strange, on protectionist principles, that the American workers should have to strike too.

SOCIETY NOTES.

At Augusta, Ga., a tramp in the police station astonished the officers by repeating from memory several chapters from the Bible.

A New York broker made $42,000 in two days. He put $50,000 with it to make $150,000 in three days, and lost the entire sum in six hours' turn of the market. In the morning he lived in a palace. In the evening he was out looking for apartments.

The body of an unknown woman was found the other morning on the dairy farm of Lewis Lafferty, at Stone house and Jones's lanes, in Philadelphia. An investigation by the police and coroner's officials showed that she had committed suicide by taking poison. The woman was first seen in the neighborhood on Saturday. She applied to several persons for work, and in each case was soon afterward followed by a man, who also offered to work for a meal.—[Philadelphia Record.

The famous dinner which was described in detail by the London *Court Journal* as an example of American extravagance was an engagement dinner given by Mr. Rhinelander on the occasion of his engagement to Miss Kipp, and was designed and served by Louis Sherry. This dinner, or, rather, one similar to it, with a little change in the menu and slight diversity in the decoration, has been served several times by this caterer, and though an elaborate affair, has been frequently exceeded in expense. In the center of the polished table a miniature table was arranged, above which ferns and lilies nodded and swayed, and in which fishes of varied colors darted, the whole surrounded by tropical plants and glowing parterres of flowers. Small electric lights were arranged about the lake, and in the center a fountain tossed its spray, while a colored glass ball lighted by electricity rose and fell in the crystal jet. A wealth of tropical foliage and bloom transformed the banqueting hall into a bower of beauty in which tiny colored electric lights flashed and glowed, and each of the twenty courses was placed before the guests on a natural palm leaf. Amid the tropical bloom small orange trees here and there were laden with their golden fruit, which, when served from the branches, were found to contain Roman punch, their pulp having been deftly removed through a small opening near the top. The truffles came from France, and the fruit was worth its weight in gold. Beside each plate was an artistically decorated satin souvenir, costing $6, and a painted menu card valued at $10 each. Dinners of yet greater cost are often given, for sometimes the favors consist of a piece of jewelry cunningly concealed in the bonbonnieres, and vary in value according to the number and size of the precious stones used.

Menus, too, are often thirty and forty and even fifty dollars each, engraved on gold or silver plate, or beautifully painted on satin or ivory. A quaint and original menu used at a gentleman's dinner had no printed work, but the picture of each viand was used in stead of the name. Frequently meat pieces, ornamented with truffles, elaborately constructed in architectural designs, with statuettes of gum paste or stearine, requiring an artist to design and fashion, and several days and even weeks to complete, cost fabulous sums, and beautiful center pieces of glace fruit or nougat are arranged at considerable expense. It is no new fancy to serve Roman punch in oranges or even hanging on the natural trees, for Delmonico has had for some time trees for this purpose. Roman punch is also served in shells of ice, in ice roses, and in small goblets of frozen water as clear as crystal, but the latest fancy is to discard all these quaint conceits and devices of the confectioner's skill and serve the ice in beautiful and rare cut glass cups or wine glasses.

The latest decoration for the table is a satin table cover of blue, scarlet, pink, or gold, over which a lace spread is thrown with a border of very open meshes. In the center a large parterre of rare and expensive flowers follows the outline of the table. At each lady's plate a corsage bouquet of the choicest flowers is placed, the style of the dinner decorations in general being costly and uncommon rather than elaborate.

Louis Kanauwitz, a Frenchman, seventy years old, who was proprietor of a small candy shop and soda water fountain at 1,932 Catharine street, committed suicide at his home early yesterday morning by hanging himself. The cause of the suicide is believed to have been despondency, by a fear that he would lose his business.—[Philadelphia North American.

Killing the Goose that Lays the Golden Eggs.

A. J. Kintz contributes to the Canton, Ohio, *Democrat* an article in which he shows that the over production of capital which is said to exist while men are out of work is imaginary, and that idle men means really restriction of production, not over production. He says:

We are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, and unless there is a change in this arrangement of things, bankruptcy, repudiation and ruin is our certain doom, sooner or later.

MEN AND THINGS.

If, whenever a New York housekeeper buys a peck of potatoes, she were compelled, besides paying for the potatoes, to contribute five cents to a charitable fund, what an outcry there would be! Yet this is precisely what the New York housekeeper really does. Only instead of charging so much for the potatoes and so much for the charity, the dealer simply lumps the two together and increases the price of his potatoes by five cents or more a peck. He doesn't make anything by it, poor fellow! The trifling commission which he is allowed to keep as a reward for collecting the contributions is a poor compensation for the reduction in his sales of potatoes. What then becomes of the myriads of nickels that New York housekeepers thus generously bestow? Partly they are used to increase the surplus in the United States treasury; partly they are distributed among the Americans and foreigners—many of them resident abroad—who are lucky enough to own land in the United States on which potatoes can be grown; and partly they are given to the men who pay the contributions in advance as profit upon the capital required.

Within the last eight months there have been imported into this city from Great Britain 1,365,000 barrels of potatoes, on which forced contributions have been paid, through the custom house, to the amount of $511,875. Counting in the profits to the merchants who advanced the money for the tax, it is safe to say that the housekeepers of New York have paid $600,000 more for these potatoes than they were worth in open market. How much they paid during the same time by way of forced gratuity on American raised potatoes there are no means of knowing; but it must certainly have been enough to bring the total up to $1,000,000.

Why are potatoes sent from England to this country? "Pauper labor," shouts some protectionist. Nonsense! If cheap labor were the reason we should have them sending wheat and oats, instead of buying those grains from us. The simple truth is that the British islands, with their moist climate and almost daily rains, are peculiarly adapted to the growth of potatoes. On land of equal fertility the same labor will produce in England more than twice as great a crop as in the United States. The English people buy from us immense quantities of our products—they would buy twice as much if we would only let them—and by an inevitable law of trade they take from us those things that we produce more cheaply than they can, and pay for them in things that they produce more cheaply than we can. The result is that both parties profit by the transaction. They get wheat at less cost of labor than if they raised it for themselves; and we get potatoes and other things ditto ditto. They profit more than we, because they really get what we send them, whereas we take a goodly portion of what they send us and throw it into the sea—or what is the same thing, into the custom house. As in the case of these potatoes.

We suggest to any New York housekeeper who wants to get a realizing sense of what protection is to buy a child's savings bank and drop a nickel into it every time she buys a peck of potatoes. And when, at the end of six months or so, she turns out and counts the hoard, let her reflect that this potato tax is but the least of the protective duties—the runt, so to speak, of the whole accursed litter.

A land owners' convention assembled at Findlay, Ohio, June 1, at which twelve hundred delegates from the principal towns and cities of Ohio and Indiana were present. The object of the convention was very simple. Its members have got control of the natural opportunities of Ohio and Indiana—the gas wells, and the coal lands, and the iron mines, and the town sites—and now they want to get people to come and pay for the privilege of using them. The mere ownership of a gas well is in itself no security against starvation. It is only when some man comes along who wants to apply labor to the natural gas, and, sooner than not apply it, is willing to pay backsheesh to the well owner, that the well becomes valuable. So the problems to which the convention addressed themselves were: first, how to induce manufacturing establishments to remove from the east and locate in the oil and gas sections of Ohio and Indiana; and, second, "to induce capitalists to come to these localities and invest money in buildings to rent to the workmen who will be employed by the new manufacturing institutions which may be secured by such inducements as the land owners may offer them." To put it more briefly, these land owners, having become possessed of a franchise to tax production, assembled to consider how they could most effectually exploit it.

Of course it didn't take them long to decide what to do. A few large manufacturing establishments will be tempted to come by the offer of free land and free fuel; perhaps still farther by the offer of land on which to erect houses to rent to their workmen, which, of course, will be equivalent to a guarantee of lower wages. These establishments, enjoying these exceptional facilities, will compete with their rivals at an advantage. Other establishments will seek to secure the same opportunities. Thus land values will be developed, and after that all will be plain sailing—for the land owners. Cities will grow, rents will increase, manufacturers will make some money, land owners will make a great deal more, and the men who will derive least benefit will be the workingmen, whose labor applied to the gas wells and coal and iron will be the foundation of all the wealth produced. However, they will have speeches made to them about God's bounty to their country, and doubtless will find sufficient compensation in listening to them.

But it was hardly worth while for the Ohio and Indiana land owners to assemble in convention for the sake of settling such an elementary programme as this.

The Brooklyn city railroad company are experimenting with an electric motor, and seem to have very little doubt of complete success. Should their expectations be fulfilled, the running time will be so shortened that the service of the road can be performed with one-third the number of cars now required. This will enable the company to dispense with two out of every three drivers and conductors now in their employ, besides greatly reducing the number of hands required to keep the cars in order, and dispensing with the stable help altogether.

This ought to be a distinctly good thing for Brooklyn. That work which now requires the labor of 3,000 men should be so simplified as to need the labor of but 1,000, ought to mean that 2,000 men would be left free to devote themselves to some other form of production and thus increase the wealth of the community. There is plenty for them to do. There are thousands of acres of land near Brooklyn and New York uncultivated on which they might go to work with scarcely more capital than a spade and a hoe. There are people wanting houses who would gladly employ these men to build houses for them. There are rocks and hills to be be removed, ravines to be filled up, swamps to be drained—a hundred things to be done, for the doing of which the unskilled labor of these men would be sufficient. And the more work they might do the higher should wages rise, because the greater would be the wealth product out of which wages are paid. Brooklyn should be better off if two-thirds of her car drivers and conductors should be dispensed with, and better off still if the City railroad company could run its road without any men at all.

But as a matter of fact nothing of this sort will happen. When these drivers and conductors are discharged they will have to hunt around for somebody to hire them to work. And by the very fact of their hunting they will make work more difficult to get. For they will be earning no wages, and will consequently have no money to spend. The butchers and bakers and grocers whom they now deal with will sell less meat and bread and vegetables; the clothiers and shoemakers will have fewer customers; the industrial system of the whole country will be, to a certain extent, paralyzed. And when at last they do succeed in finding work, the average rate of wages will be slightly lower than when they first began to hunt for it.

The latest complication of the great fisheries question is a curious one. It seems that certain American fishermen have been buying bait in Canadian ports and selling some of it to French fishermen at advanced prices. The Canadians are grumblingly willing to sell Americans what bait they actually need, but they are firmly resolved not to let the French fishermen have any. So the Canadian government is considering the policy of "sizing up" every American bait buyer, making a close estimate of the quantity of bait he actually needs for his own fishing, and allowing him to buy just that quantity and no more. As for the Frenchmen, it is hoped that, being forced into a position where they can neither fish nor cut bait, they will go ashore for good and all and buy their codfish instead of sinfully trying to catch them.

What these Canadian statesmen are trying to do is to take some bread out of the mouths of American fishermen and all the bread out of the mouths of French fishermen. They would unquestionably look with horror on a proposition to descend on the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, burn the houses and the fishing boats, and leave the inhabitants to starve. Yet between such an act of open war and the attempt to prevent by legislation the same inhabitants from catching fish, there is a difference only of degree.

The Wood yard association of the city of New York is in trouble again. They want $1,000—$500 to make up what they have lost during the past year, and another $500 to enable them to get the use of more land, buy larger lots of wood, and do a bigger business next year. They have given out 3,598 days' work during the past year, and consider that they have helped the objects of their charity in a way "less demoralizing to them than the direct receipt of alms."

Of course, it is a very dreadful thing for anybody to be assisted in his life struggle by "the direct receipt of alms;" and it is doubtless highly conducive to the self respect of an American citizen, temporarily hard up, to be allowed to give a wood sawing exhibition as an evidence of his own humility and for the greater glory of the founders of the wood yard. But the scheme is open to the objection that it takes work away from non-charity wood sawyers, and thus increases the destitution it is meant to relieve.

The Wood yard association people mean well; but they aren't logical. They try to relieve men who can't find any work to do, by taking work away from other people and giving it to them; just as the Irishman tried to lengthen his blanket by cutting a strip off one end and sewing it on to the other—the result being that the blanket was shortened by the width of the seam. But if they would sit down and think awhile they would see their way out of the difficulty.

These poor devils who wander round New York looking for work and finding none, are simply American citizens whom the great American protective system somehow hasn't protected. The problem to be solved is, how shall we secure the blessings of protection—steady work and high wages—for them, without reducing other people's work and wages. The solution is simple—when you think of it. Put them in the temple of protection, and let the god of protection do his duty by them. Make them custom house officers—collectors, naval officers, spies, women searchers, inspectors, tide waiters, etc. In that way they would be supported at the public expense, just as they are now; and as they would do no useful or productive work of any sort, there would be no danger of their interfering, as at present, with the employments of men who have been lucky enough to find masters without going to a charity wood yard to look for them.

Of course there is another way out of the difficulty. We might relieve distress by widening the field of employment—throwing down the tariff wall, and the landlord wall, and letting men out of work go direct to the raw material of nature and transform it into wealth by applying their labor to it. But we doubt if the members of the Wood yard association would be willing to accept this alternative.

The bridge over the Arthur kill, between Staten island and the mainland of New Jersey, is being energetically pushed toward completion. Before the summer ends not only will a new highway be opened between New York and the southwest, but a vast area of land hitherto utilized to but the very slightest extent will be rendered available for commerce. The foundations will be laid of a new city upon the shores of New York bay.

The evils of the system which permits private individuals to control the opportunities of nature and the great highways of transportation have rarely been more forcibly illustrated than they will be in this case. For it is undeniable that Erastus Wiman and those connected with him in this enterprise will be able, simply by virtue of knowing positively what was about to be done—by reason of their ability to control the work and direct the course of improvement in this direction or in that—not only to recoup the cost of building the Arthur Kill bridge and the expense of lobbying in congress for permission to build it, but to make themselves immensely rich besides. There is scarcely a limit to the money they will gain, if they have been wise enough to buy sufficient Staten island land, and to avail themselves sufficiently of the condemnation privilege which the railroad corporation they control enjoys.

Every once in a while a war scare thrills the country, and we are told of the tremendous ransom tax an enemy's fleet could lay upon our seacoast cities. Yet here is a single foreigner, without a ship, or a gun, or an armed man to back him, comes quietly forward and lays a tax upon the commerce of New York for all time to come. Capitalize the increased yearly rental which Staten island lands will bring by reason of these improvements, and see to what a vast tribute in ready cash it is equivalent.

We are to have a line of steamers to the Argentine republic after all, and notwithstanding the fact that congress continues to refuse the subsidy so often asked for. A set of unprincipled free trade Englishmen are going to run it, and the vessels are reported to be now building in the ship yards of Britain.

There are few things more comic about the protection foolishness than the zeal of its advocates for foreign trade. They want to run with the elusive hare and hunt with the pursuing hounds at one and the same time. They build a tariff wall around us to prevent foreigners sending us anything in exchange for our products, and at the same time they howl for foreigners to come and buy. They pass elaborate laws to prevent ships having anything to do, and then urge that we build up an American marine by paying bounties to it out of our own pockets.

If we really want a line of steamers between New York and Buenos Ayres there need be no trouble about getting it. All that is needed is to provide something for it to do. The Argentines have been ready and anxious to trade with us for years past. They want our manufactures—our cloths, and agricultural tools, and books, and organs, and carpets, and pianos. And they have plenty of wool to pay for them with—wool that they can afford to give us more cheaply than we can raise it, and that we can manufacture into cloth more cheaply than they can. But we refuse their wool with scorn, and the consequence is that we don't sell them any pianos and other things to speak of, and when we do get the wool it comes to us in the shape of English cloth, on which we have lost the profit of manufacture,

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Now that the British government, by its county government bill, is proposing to amend the system of public house licenses, some remarkable facts are being unearthed with regard to the value which a license confers upon the premises for which it is granted. For it is to be remembered that the license is part of the house, and is charged for in the rent as much as are the location and the use of land or house. An English statistician has collected some hundreds of examples of the value of public houses, before and after being licensed, from which it appears that the rental values are never less than trebled, and often increased by 700 per cent and more. Mr. Caine estimates that if the principle of vested interests embodied in the new law be allowed to stand, the capitalized value of the public house licenses in England and Wales alone will be found to be at least $1,000,000,000. Such figures almost take away one's breath.

There is a lesson in all this that some of our vehement temperance reformers might study to advantage. The English public houses, under this system, are practically subjected to a high license tax, imposed, not by the state, but by the landlords. An English liquor dealer when he begins business must pay either a bonus of $10,000 to $50,000 for the lease of a licensed house, or a rental increased in proportion. Moreover, if he is for any reason—police complaint or otherwise—compelled to abandon the business, it generally rests with the landlord to say whether he shall be allowed to sell the lease he has bought and paid for. His rent-license tax is, in fact, a heavy security for good behavior. Yet the only result is that in the cities the liquor dealers carefully avoid offending the police; while in the villages they avoid offending the local magistrates. There is neither any marked diminution of drunkenness, nor any improvement in the quality of the liquor sold. Indeed, in the last respect, it is evident that the high license encourages the sale of poorer liquor by diminishing the risk of competition.

Archbishop Corrigan Has Not Denounced "Progress and Poverty" at Rome.

A dispatch dated Rome, states that it is semi officially denied that Archbishop Corrigan of New York has referred the works of Henry George to the congregation of the holy office.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

Rev. B. F. De Costa Presents a Protest Against It.

The following paper is the result of several conferences lately held by representatives of organized labor. It has also been read in labor assemblies, and fully and earnestly discussed by most intelligent wage earners whose opinions it reflects, having in every case received unanimous indorsement. Arrangements have been made to submit its propositions to organized labor throughout the country. The issue between what is called "charity organization" and labor is now so clear that we can anticipate but one result from the discussion. Charity organization is a device of capital, not to save the poor, but to save itself. While the paper does not cover the entire ground, it deals with the salient points, and indicates the falsity underlying the principles and methods of charity organization, which is weak where it fondly fancies itself strong; as, for instance, the connection with the "friendly visitor" who, being generally a lady educated in certain traditions, does not always at first appreciate the purpose for which she is being used by designing men, though ere long it dawns upon her mind, as in the case of that wealthy philanthropist, Count Tolstoi, that in seeking to "improve the people's bread," she is really attending to her own cake. The "friendly visitor" belongs to a class of people engaged in the melancholy business of sitting down upon the poor, and this theory might appear somewhat amusing if it were not so dangerous.

"Charity" organizers would do well to be warned in season, for with all their arts they cannot succeed in obscuring the real issue. What labor demands, and is going to have, is justice, not charity. The paper also contains a word specially suited to the case of the church, which is invited to adopt the Charity organization society as its guide, counselor and friend. To toy with this thing, however, would prove suicidal, especially on the part of that society which is now girding itself anew for religious effort among the neglected people of New York. The class in question already know the methods of this kind of "charity," and any religious body favoring its principles will sacrifice its power for good, and become a hissing and a by-word among the poor. The labor of the country is now too intelligent to fancy for a moment that men can gather grapes from charity organization thorns, or figs from its thistles. In fact the word "charity" itself has become empty and stale, being rejected by the authors of the new translation of the bible. Considering the enormous abuse which it represents, we may well regard it as a cast out, reprobate thing; in fact, a worthy decoration and catch-word of the new capitalistic conspiracy against the poor.

B. F. DE COSTA.

With the growth of population there is a corresponding increase in the volume of distress while the suffering poor are composed mainly of wage earners out of work or disabled by sickness. The most prosperous workers are thus liable to find themselves reduced to poverty. Accordingly it becomes us, as working men and working women, to maintain a watchful and tender care for those in adversity or to make ourselves acquainted with the methods employed in dealing with persons in want. We have, therefore, inquired with respect to the principles and methods of the so-called "charity" organization societies which capital is now seeking to establish all over the land and of which the syndicate known as the "New York charity organization society" forms one of the most reprehensive examples, being distinguished for its cold, heartless selfishness and cruel tyranny. We find that the system operates practically to substitute "charity" for justice. We find that the managers look upon the poor man as a dangerous animal, who is to be dealt with judiciously, and that the system is intended to placate the animal and effect insurance upon a false system of political economy for the advantage and security of the rich. We find further that the whole system of so-called "charity," which "charity organization" is ambitious to control and administer, is every way unfriendly to the workingman and tends to his degradation. Still again, we find that the entire administration of "charity" operates powerfully to obscure the great issue between labor and capital, seeking, as it does, to pacify the laborer out of work and in distress by means of the dole. What labor demands is not "charity," but justice, and in our judgment the interests of labor require that we should discourage and repudiate every device of capital that tends to obscure or postpone the issue. This attempt to substitute a pittance as alms for right and justice, being pursued with fresh zeal at a time when the poor are struggling from social asphyxia, we recognize that we are confronted with a new duty and a well defined issue, and therefore we desire to put on record the following statement as in part expressing our views in connection with this subject:

1. Under the present social order the claim of the needy to help is based, not simply on the philanthropic sentiment, but upon right and justice; and, inasmuch as under this order, the prosperity and success of the rich involves the poverty and degradation of a large proportion of wage earners, the latter, when unable to work, or to obtain work, are entitled to the means of subsistence.

2. While opposed to careless giving, and imperatively insisting upon the practice of industry, we recognize that pauperism is not the result of indiscriminate liberality, but mainly comes from ignorance and the law of heredity, in conjunction with the oppression of capital, enforcing over work and giving under pay.

3. We hold that the word charity has no proper application in connection with relief for those in want, being simply the cover of a base detective system lately inaugurated and which is wholly at war with that feeling of brotherly love that ought to prevail among the children of a common creator; and, as members of organized labor, we offer it as our deliberate judgment, that the adoption of the methods of the charity organization society by those who represent religion would serve powerfully to encourage the belief, now rapidly becoming prevalent, that religion is more or less an unreality, and that a large portion of its advocates are hypocrites and knaves. Therefore we express the hope that ministers of religion may not commit the error of lending their support to such organizations, unless they desire to create a class issue and drive away the entire body of the wage earning population from religion and the church.

4. We also suggest that the system under consideration is not only cruel and unfeeling, in that it offers the wrong doer no chance to recover his character, the brand of condemnation used by this society being practically indelible, but is also patronizing and offensive to a self respecting people; that its espionage and inquisition, whether by volunteer "visitor" or paid detective, is at war with the peace and honor of the family and not to be tolerated, especially at a time when the society is boasting that it already has a hundred thousand poor families tabulated for the inspection of the "charitable," and is establishing a system of communication between the societies in different portions of the country by which men and women may be systematically hunted and prescribed.

5. We hold that the issue of "confidential" bulletins and black lists, sent far and wide among subscribers, many of whom do not understand the secret working of the society, forms a gross abuse of the rights of the press and an outrage upon the individual.

6. We hold that the action of such societies, in visiting with severity the shortcomings of the needy, stands in marked contrast with the obsequious respect paid by them to the dishonest rich, thereby enacting poverty into a crime and exhibiting a profound insensibility to moral distinctions.

7. Moreover, we find in "charity" organizations a dangerous class movement, in that the promoters officiously come forward to do the work of the police in the streets, seeking to banish the evidences of the fact that capital has reduced the wage earners of the United States to the European condition, teaching thereby that the constituted authorities are no longer to be trusted, and, therefore, that we have already entered upon the first stage of anarchy.

8. We likewise object that societies of this kind, supported at an expense of from thirty to forty thousand dollars per annum, are not needed to secure work for wage earners, since, in the overstocked condition of the market, wage earners are in excess of the demand, naturally finding and filling every available opening.

9. We maintain that the so called "friendly visitors," being drawn from the wealthy classes, who live by the sweat and life blood of the poor, can do no real work in cementing the bonds of society, there being a natural antagonism between the oppressor and the oppressed. This is soon discovered by the "visitors" themselves, who are difficult to obtain and swift to desert the work, leaving the paid agents of the society, for whose benefit the society exists, to "investigate" the poor and decorate the bulletin with trophies. Indeed, under any circumstances, the substitution of these "visitors" for simple justice, from the lack of which the wage earner now suffers, must be resented, inasmuch as "advice and counsel" put in the place of fair dealing is inconsistent and hypocritical, adding insult to injury and forming an attempt to put unavailing and harmful plasters upon an ulcerous civilization.

We, therefore, resolve as follows:

1. Resolved, That "charity organization," representing a class movement, seeking to render a false social order safe, and obscure the issue, which demands justice, not "charity," an equitable proportion of the product of human industry instead of a dole, we pronounce that it is hostile to personal liberty, inimical to religion and dangerous to the peace of society; forming, in fact, all over the country a conspiracy against the interests of labor; and we pledge ourselves to use every proper and lawful means in our power to oppose such organizations, together with all persons, and especially those in public stations, who favor their operations among our impoverished and suffering people; and, furthermore, we will use our best efforts with all who come within the reach of our influence to make them acquainted with the unjust methods of "charity" organization societies, and to warn them against receiving the agents into their homes, or giving information about themselves or their neighbors.

2. Resolved, That we request labor journals and other publications favorable to our cause, which demands justice instead of charity, to publish the foregoing statement.

He Sees the Light.

TRENTON, N. J.—I can now say that I fully and heartily approve of the course pursued by you since Grover Cleveland brought the labor question into politics by issuing his now famous message. For four years I have been a believer in the "single tax" and at the same time an ardent protectionist, never for a moment thinking that it would be impossible to have a "single" and "double" tax at the same time; and when you first came out for Cleveland and free trade I was not ready to follow you. But the hot shot poured into the camp of the protectionists by THE STANDARD was more than I could stand. I at once set out to study the tariff question. I first read the president's message and the answer sent by Mr. Blaine to the New York *Tribune*. I also read THE STANDARD every week, and by the time I read Mr. Shearman's admirable address before the Nineteenth century club, and Mr. Mills's speech opening the debate in congress, which the New York *Sun* published in full, I was thoroughly conscious of the sham of "protection."

THE STANDARD is doing splendid work, and I can now see the motives which prompted you to leave the men who wished to make us a tail to Mr. Blaine's kite. I am now an unqualified free trader, and so I find are all the men who have accepted your politico-economic teachings. Just so soon as men see that the tariff is unjust, just so soon will they accept the single tax on land values—the only tax that cannot be shifted from the one on whom it should justly fall. When once the masses see that they cannot get rich by taxing themselves they will soon see the justice of the tax on the value of land, which, created by the community, belongs by right to its creator.

JOHN MCALLIFFE.

The Science of Legislation.

The evil you so well portrayed in your leader of last week—the evil of laws flagrantly violated by every authority in the state, even by those who are called upon to expound and enforce them, is but part of an evil far deeper seated than is generally known. The utter incapacity of all our law makers to formulate and keep constantly in view the proper objects of legislation, and, those objects determined, to provide means adapted to secure them, lies at the root of so much evil legislation. The very measure you so strongly and wisely advocated as a step in the line of reform is made necessary because of the mass of evil legislation which, though the outcome of the civilization (or barbarism?) of its enactors, has reacted most injuriously on our civilization.

Ignorance of the science of legislation is a cause of this evil legislation, an ignorance not only common to all our law makers, but so universal that were we to search the land through for the fittest men for that office how many could be found able even to recognize that such a science exists?

You may search the curricula of all our schools and colleges, not omitting our law schools and schools of political science (so called) and nowhere will you find any attempt at supplying this ignorance, thus demonstrating, on the part of those who organized and of those who direct those institutions, the like lack of knowledge of this most important science.

MONTAGUE R. LEVERSON.

Not Naturally Brilliant.

Lewiston Journal.

Mr. Cutting of Lewiston remarked to his friend Slyboy, in the Cabinet club, the other night, "What a dull fellow Lankins is!"

Mr. Slyboy—"But he's getting up in the world. Look at him tilted back there with his feet on the table."

"Oh, I didn't refer to his feet. They're bright enough; but the bookblack, unfortunately, can't make the rest of him shine."

A Blighting Little Monster.

Louisville Courier-Journal.

But from the standpoint of capital, one plain, little tariff bred monster blights it all—$19.55 invested to the spindle in the United States and $9.48 to the spindle in England; under that handicap foreign competition in cotton products is wholly impossible, and so we shall continue to ship our annual 2,200,000,000 pounds of raw cotton for $200,000,000, instead of its product for $840,000,000.

The Souls of the Children.

Burton Hadley.

"Who bids for the little children—
Body and soul, and brain—
Who bids for the little children—
Young, and without stain?
Will no one bid," said England,
"For their souls so pure and white,
And fit for all good or evil,
The world on their page may write?"

"We bid," said Pest and Famine,
"We bid for life and limb;
Fever and pain and squalor
Their bright young eyes shall dim.
When the children grow too many,
We'll nurse them as our own,
And hide them in secret places,
Where none may hear their moan."

"I bid," said Beggary, howling,
"I bid for them, one and all!
I'll teach them a thousand lessons—
To lie, to skulk, to crawl!
They shall sleep in my lair, like maggots,
They shall rot in the fair sunshine;
And if they serve my purpose,
I hope they'll answer thine."

"And I'll bid higher and higher,"
Said Crime, with wolfish grin,
"For I love to lead the children
Through the pleasant paths of sin.
They shall swarm in the streets to pilfer,
They shall plague the broad highway,
Till they grow too old for pity,
And ripe for the law to slay.

"Prison and hulk and gallows,
Are many in the land,
'Twere folly not to use them,
So proudly as they stand.
Give me the little children—
I'll take them as they're born,
And feed their evil passions
With misery and scorn.

"Give me the little children,
Ye good, ye rich, ye wise,
And let the busy world spin round,
While ye shut your idle eyes:
And your judges shall have work,
And your lawyers wag the tongue,
And your gaolers and policemen
Shall be fathers to the young.

"I and the Law, for pastime,
Shall struggle day and night;
And the Law shall gain, but I shall win,
And we'll still renew the fight;
And ever and aye we'll wrestle,
Till Law grow sick and sad,
And fall, in its desperation,
The incorrigibly bad.

"I, and the Law, and Justice,
Shall thwart each other still;
And hearts shall break to see it;
And innocent blood shall spill!
So leave—oh, leave the children
To ignorance and woe—
And I'll come in and teach them
The way that they should go."

"Oh, shame!" said true religion,
"Oh, shame that this should be!
I'll take the little children,
I'll take them all to me;
I'll raise them up with kindness
From the mire in which they're trod;
I'll teach them words of blessing;
I'll lead them up to God."

"You're not the true religion,"
Said a sect with flashing eyes;
"Nor thou," said another, scowling,
"But heresy and lies."
"You shall not have the children,"
Said a third, with shout and yell;
"You're Antichrist and bigot—
You'll train them up for hell."

And England, sorely puzzled,
To see such battle strong,
Exclaim'd, with voice of pity,
"Oh, friends, you do me wrong!
Oh, cease your bitter wrangling;
For, till you all agree,
I fear the little children
Will plague both you and me."

But all refused to listen;
Quoth they—"We'll bide our time:
And the bidders seized the children—
Beggary, filth, and crime:
And the prisons teem'd with victims,
And the gallows rock'd on high;
And the thick abomination
Spread reeking to the sky.

TWO SELF MADE MEN.

They came here early in the sixties—two broad faced, red cheeked, stolid looking Saxons, with plenty of health and strength, but with a somewhat scanty allowance of brains and an ignorance of the world's ways that was phenomenal. How could it be otherwise? Until they started for the United States they had never been twenty miles away from their little native village in Saxony. A pair of simple minded agriculturists, their lives had been passed in steadily going round and round in the same track, ending up on the 31st of each December at the self same point whence they had started on the New Year's day preceding. Somebody hired them to work and paid them so much, or, rather, so little, every month for working. Out of what mysterious fund their wages came; by what rule the rate of wages was settled; what their employer did with the products of their labor; these were questions that they never thought of asking, much less of answering. It seemed to them a very wise provision of providence that one man should live in a castle on the hill and others in the little houses in the valley. The man on the hill gave the dwellers in the valley work to do; were it not for this benevolence the valley dwellers would be apt to starve.

One day there was an immense excitement in the little village where Carl Hensen and Adam Schmidt lived. The man on the hill sent for George Krause and read him a wonderful letter from the consul in New York, announcing that Krause's uncle Emil, who had disappeared from the village fifty years before, and had long since been forgotten, was dead in New York and had left all his property to George. How much was the property? Ach, himmel! it was beyond computation; thalers by the million! The master had given George a double pocketful of gold, had addressed him as Herr Krause, had with his own well-born hand poured out wine for him to drink and had advised him to depart for New York immediately. There was George to tell the story, and the gold spoke for itself. The villagers could talk of nothing else. That night everybody dreamed about America and rich uncles dying there.

And who was Emil Krause, this wonderful testator, who had gone away a poor boy and died worth millions? The younger villagers had never even heard of him. But the gray headed old men remembered him, or thought they did. A good for nothing—a lazy, shiftless ne'er-do-well, whom everybody had been glad to get rid of when he left the village. How was it possible that such a fellow should have made so great a fortune? The old men wagged their heads sagely. "It is nothing. In America gold lies in the streets!" The simple peasants heard and marveled as they drank their beer. Then George Krause went away to claim his fortune, and gradually the village settled back into its normal condition of tranquillity.

But Carl Hensen and Adam Schmidt began thinking. The exercise was novel and somewhat difficult at first, but they encouraged each other at it, by comparing notes and discussing ideas, so that after a time their thoughts took definite shape, somewhat after this fashion: Emil Krause had evidently been a very inferior sort of man, yet by simply going to America he had become rich. What could be clearer than that if two hard working, steady, honest young fellows like Carl and Adam should go to America, they must infallibly become rich even more quickly than Emil had done. It took the two simple Saxons some months to get all this reduced to a syllogism; and even then, though they understood it themselves, they had no confidence in their ability to state it to other people. So they said nothing about it to anybody, but made up their minds to emigrate as soon as they could save money enough to pay their passages, and on this they shook hands and swore to be true partners to each other in their venture after fortune. And this was how it happened that on that bright spring morning, early in the sixties, they stood together in Castle garden, answering the questions of the registering clerk and eager to rush out upon the gold paved streets.

Carl Hensen and Adam Schmidt were not long in discovering that, whatever might have been Emil Krause's experience, they themselves were not likely to get rich by picking up gold in the streets. In America, as in Saxony, they found society divided into men on the hill and men in the valley; the former beneficently giving the latter work to do, and the latter doing it with more or less thankfulness and straining after better wages. The valley was rather crowded, too, and they found it a somewhat hard matter to keep soul and body together, especially as they couldn't speak the language of the country. If they could have raised the money probably they would have gone back to Saxony repentant. As it was they had nothing to do but to make the best of things. They got work, one in a beer saloon, the other in a little grocery store, and wished themselves back in Saxony with all their hearts.

But before Carl and Adam had been in the country many months, a new industry began to develop with great rapidity—the industry of killing and getting killed. The war had been going on for some time; the first enthusiasm of volunteering had abated, and the bounty system had come into being. One day the two Saxons were accosted by a fellow countryman, a native of a village near their own. He was recruiting for a new regiment, in which his zeal was to be rewarded by a commission, and he left no argument unused that might induce Carl and Adam to enlist. They listened attentively, but without emotion, while their new friend spoke of patriotism, of the evils of slavery, and of the duty they owed to the government of their adopted country; it was only when he stated the rate of pay and the amount of state and federal bounties that their interest was keenly excited. Thirteen dollars a month, rations, clothing, blankets, shelter, state bounty, government bounty—their devotion to their adopted country grew apace as they listened to the list. And so, before they had hardly more than shaken the dust of Castle garden from their feet, before they could speak a dozen words of English, or had any idea of the institutions of the country they were living in, Carl Hensen and Adam Schmidt had taken the oath of enlistment without understanding a word of it, and become full fledged soldiers of the republic, out of pure love of bounty, pay and rations.

The two Saxons had a hard time of it at first. In the quarters of the company to which they were assigned they were as isolated as they might have been in a desert. Nobody could speak their language, or had anything in common with them. The drill corporal could do nothing with them. The company officers cursed their stupidity and awkwardness; and the upshot was that after a vain attempt to learn the first rudiments of the manual of arms, Carl and Adam were put to duty in the cook house, where they did scullions' work for the company. But after a time, when they had got accustomed to their work and commenced to feel at home amid their new surroundings, somebody overheard them singing among the pots and pans; and it was discovered that "those confounded Dutchmen" had fine voices. A cross examination followed, and it appeared that they were instrumentalists as well as vocalists. This opened a new career to them. When a regimental band was formed they were among the first to be enrolled in it; and after that they found their lines cast in pleasant places enough. They served their term with credit, reenlisted, and after the close of the war were discharged, and found themselves in the little city of A——, in Texas, with nearly a thousand dollars each in their pockets.

A thousand dollars wasn't much of a fortune in the United States, but in their native village it would mean a life long independence. So Carl and Adam at once made up their minds to tramp down to Galveston and take the first ship that sailed for any German port. Unfortunately for this resolution, however, they couldn't resist the temptation to celebrate their new found freedom from military restraint. The consequence was that in company with a few choice citizens of A——, they went on a howling spree, from which they wakened at the end of three days to find themselves penniless, but possessed somehow of a small collection of legal looking documents, which they were utterly unable to read. These they took to a German saloon keeper of their acquaintance, who first became indignant, then roared with laughter, then got indignant again, and finally explained to them that they had been shamelessly robbed, though in a perfectly legal manner. A real estate sharper had got their money, and had given them in exchange the title deeds to a worthless block of land outside the city limits that would have been dear at $200. A cute trick, the saloon keeper called it; if he'd stolen the money outright he might have been arrested and made to refund, but as it was, it would be impossible to get anything out of him; still they might try. They did try. The saloon keeper and some other Germans went with them, and with threats and prayers they first demanded and then entreated the return of the money. The real estate man declined to yield to threats, and when threats were changed to wailings and entreaties he simply said that for him to yield would be to acknowledge that he had done wrong. Evidently he meant to keep the money. Their friend the saloon keeper advised them to resign themselves to the inevitable and make the best of it. They took his advice, because they couldn't help themselves, and with many a sigh and groan over their hard luck, recommenced their struggle with the world. They had to stop in A—— simply because they couldn't get away; it was seventy-five miles to the nearest railway station, and many miles more to the coast.

Well, they got work to do from people to whom their friend, the saloon keeper, told their story—not much at first, but enough to keep them going. Their musical talents were noised abroad, too, and they began to pick up stray dollars playing for dances and at other gatherings. Gradually they became identified with the town, and though they had no prospect of ever getting rich again, still they made a comfortable living. As the war days receded, and commerce began to revive, the little city began to grow. New stores were opened, new houses were built—it was clear that A—— was a city with a future.

One day a small theatrical troupe, who were barn storming their way through Texas, came to A—— to test the patience of the people. They lacked an orchestra, and Carl and Adam got the job. Somehow the little troupe made a big success. Either their acting had real merit, or the appetite of the citizens of A—— for theatricals was strong. The season that had been intended to last six nights only, lengthened into a month; the month became three months; when they left it was with a full treasury and under the promise to return the following year. A scheme was set on foot to build a little theater; the necessary funds were easily raised by subscription, and a committee, of which, because of their position in the orchestra, Messrs. Hensen and Schmidt were both made members, was appointed to arrange for the erection and fitting up of the building. A happy inspiration induced Carl and Adam to tender the committee the free use of a portion of their land; and when the troupe returned for the next season, they opened in the new theater amid a perfect blaze of popular enthusiasm.

The city of A—— kept on growing, and by degrees the little theater became a sort of center round which other buildings gathered. A saloon first, of course. The saloon keeper didn't have money enough to pay the very moderate price that the two Saxons asked for one of their lots, so he rented one on a five years' lease, and thus taught them a valuable lesson in the management of landed property. Next a hotel man negotiated for the privilege of putting up a building. The Saxons meditated, wouldn't sell, but gave a favorable lease, with the privilege of renewal on a revaluation of the land. Then a merchant put up a store on the same terms; and after that the dwelling houses rose thick and fast. All this time the railway was creeping toward A——, and as it came nearer the value of city lots rose higher and higher. The surveyors reached the town at last, and located the depot within a stone's throw of the Hensen-Schmidt tract. Then the working parties came along; the track was laid; and one bright day, amid blare of music, booming of cannon, waving of flags and shouting of people, the first train rolled into A——, and the railway officials were welcomed to the city in a short but pithy speech by Mayor Carl Hensen, with Alderman Schmidt standing by his side and sharing in his glory.

Last year Congressman Hensen and State Senator Schmidt paid a visit to their little native village in Saxony. Of course they had an ovation. The town council assembled to welcome them. The man on the hill came down into the valley to increase the glory of their reception. Speeches were made in laudation of German thrift and enterprise. Herren Member-of-United-States-Congress Hensen and Senator-of-State-of-Texas Schmidt made speeches descriptive of their career in their adopted country. They had landed there with nothing but their good strong arms and stout German hearts. They had had a struggle. But frugality, and temperance, and hard work had triumphed in the end, and they had achieved wealth and social standing. (Deafening applause.) Were there any there who felt stirring in them the wander fever—the old Germanic instinct to go forth and conquer the world? Let them be of good heart, gird up their loins and go forth in the name of God! To a true German nothing was impossible! The audience went wild with cheering.

"And my son, Herr United States congress member? You advise then that he should forth go, his fortune to try in the new world of which you have told us?"

It was a middle aged peasant who was speaking. He and Congressman Hensen had been playmates in their boyhood. Now he stood bareheaded and humble as in the presence of a superior, while the congressman sat and talked patronizingly to him.

"Look you, Max. Can he make a living here, this son of thine?"

"Surely! Such a living as it is."

"Let him then remain. The time is not propitious for migration. America is getting crowded overmuch."

"But in this city of Texas, where you have yourself, Herr Congressman, so hard worked and so greatly prospered? Is there no chance for him there?"

The congressman laughed out. "No, no, Max. Not unless you have money. If there are chances there, think you that I and other men of substance will not take them?"

"Yet you began there without means?"

"Ahem—yes—but it was different. The place was smaller. There were fewer people."

"I see. One succeeds best in smaller towns, then? Yet that seems strange. There should be less work to do in such."

"My poor Max," said the congressman, "you will never understand. It isn't work altogether that brings riches. It is foresight; the getting control in advance of what other people——"

But at this moment the state senator was announced to be waiting for the congressman, and the peasant's audience was abruptly terminated. To this day poor Max is wondering what it is one must get hold of to insure success in life.

WILLIAM MCCABE.

THE PARABLE OF THE UNJUST BROTHERS.

Joseph Leggett of San Francisco Relates a Striking Allegory at an Anti-Poverty Meeting.

At a recent Sunday evening meeting of the anti-poverty society of San Francisco, Joseph Leggett, a prominent lawyer of that city, delivered a remarkably able address, in the course of which he introduced the following parable of the unjust brothers:

There was a certain man in the land of Buzz, who was very rich in flocks and herds, and had great possessions in lands. He had many beautiful meadows also, and grain fields, and orchards, and vineyards of almost boundless extent. Beautiful rivers, and lakes, and ponds filled with all kinds of fish, were in his possessions. And all kinds of minerals were to be found in the mountains upon his estate. Now this man had twelve sons, and being about to travel into a far country, he called all his children unto him, and thus he spake unto them: "My beloved children, I am now about to leave you for a season. Behold I have bountifully provided for all the needs of all of you. Be ye, therefore, kind and just one to another, and never forget to practice the golden rule, to do unto others what ye would that they should do unto you. Do this and ye shall want no good thing." So this good man having blessed all his children, departed on his journey. But behold the two oldest sons, being stronger and craftier than any of their brethren, and being thereto moved by the spirit of God, as soon as their father had departed began to conspire against their younger and feebler brethren. And they said one to the other, "Go to, now, let us combine together and make our younger brothers our servants. So shall we be able to live without toil and care, and thereby secure for ourselves leisure and means for the cultivation of our mental powers and the improvement of our social life." First of all then they divided their father's land into two parts. And having cast lots to determine which part should fall to the lot of each, they wrote out on two parchment rolls a full description of the part allotted to each, and each granted to the other the exclusive right to that part, "to him, his heirs and assigns forever."

Then they chose out from their other brethren the one that came next to themselves in strength and craft, and him they dressed in scarlet raiment, decked with gold and silver braid and adorned with buttons of brass. And in his hands they placed a gun, and by his side they hung a sword, and imposed upon him the duty of keeping his feebler brothers in subjection and of compelling them to obey their commands. Then they chose out from the remaining brothers the one in whom they discovered the strongest intellectual powers, and upon him they imposed the task of teaching the remaining brothers how necessary to the existence of a well regulated family were the beneficent arrangements which they had made. While these things were in progress the other brothers were all unsuspicious of the evil web which their cruel brothers were weaving around them. But when their plans of spoliation and subjugation were completed they began by degrees to unfold them to their unfortunate brethren. First, then, they told them that they could no longer remain in their father's house, but that they must seek for themselves homes elsewhere. The announcement of this order was variously received by different members of the family affected by it. The more spirited ones resolved to resist, but their resistance was soon overcome by the appearance on the scene of their brother in scarlet coat, armed with sword and gun. Others lifted up their voices and wept sore at being thus thrust out of the home of their childhood. The younger and less adventurous spirits implored their tyrant brothers to permit them to remain in the cellar or garret of the old home, or even in the out houses connected therewith, and promised that if so permitted to remain, they would be their servants for ever and perform for them the most menial offices. Those who were expelled from their house went each to that part of his father's estate that seemed good in his eyes and collected building material with which to erect a new home for himself. But as each was about to build, one or the other of the wicked brothers, who had divided the land between them, came unto him and unrolled the parchment before his eyes and told him that the land upon which he proposed to build was his absolutely, and that he could not build upon or use any part of it without first buying it of him.

Now, inasmuch as none of the disinherited brothers had anything with which to pay for the land, most of them were compelled to become the tenants of the unjust brothers who had despoiled and disinherited them. But a few of the more ambitious ones bought their lands outright and gave back a mortgage thereon to the despoilers, to secure to them the payment of the purchase price. If any refractory disinherited one revolted against this system and claimed that as the land belonged to his father he had as good a right to it as the holder of the parchment roll, the unjust brothers sent the intellectual brother to reason with him and to point out to him from learned treatises that he had written, how necessary it was that all land should be owned by some one in order to insure its proper use and improvement.

This learned brother also pointed out the sin and folly of resisting the lawfully constituted authority, and assured him that obedience was the only means by which he could escape endless tortures in the world to come. Nearly all the refractory brothers were convinced by these arguments, and became good tenants or mortgagees. But to those who still remained obdurate the scarlet-clad brother was sent to awe them into submission by his sword and gun. Now it came to pass that when the unjust brothers had fully established their authority, the disinherited brothers had to rise up early in the morning and toil all day and sometimes even far into the night. But the unjust brothers did no work at all. Yet, strange to say, the harder the disinherited ones worked the less they had at the end of the year, and the less the unjust ones did the more they received.

What think ye of the conduct of the unjust brothers?

A REMINISCENCE.

I had a "real good time" last summer up at a hotel on a mountain in Sullivan county, New York. The hotel wasn't much, but the mountain was glorious. It was 2,400 feet above sea level, the southerly end of a ridge, commanding a very extensive view of mountains, hills, valleys, lakes, villages and farms, and the air was exhilarating and delightful. There was good company, too; most of it of the highly respectable, conventional pattern of people with whom I felt "bottled up," and so uncorked my conversation to them only on the trifling topics of the hour, the weather, the scenery, the fishing parties, the amusements, who were coming and who were going. But there were a few people to whom I felt it safe to broach the one great topic that lay nearest my heart—the necessity to make free to men the natural opportunities which the Creator has bestowed upon all as a means of evolving not only a complete natural life, but a higher mental and moral life as well, to all His human creatures. At the time Henry George and Hugh O. Pentecost and Louis F. Post and Dr. McGlynn and others were stirring up the dust of the centuries with a mighty breeze, and making the dry bones of old political, social and religious creeds rattle at a great rate, at the anti-poverty society meetings at the Academy of Music, in New York city, and I had the opportunity to mingle a little of this mental atmosphere with the salubrious air of the mountains by letting copies of THE STANDARD, containing reports of those meetings, lie around, loose like, that any one might pick them up in blissful ignorance but that they might be as soporific as the non-irritating, mild and harmless sheets which seemed to beguile the time of most of the boarders. It came to be known that I was a Henry George crank. Most people were extremely courteous and polite in not offending me by an opposing remark, but I occasionally heard an expression not intended for my ears, indicating that the speaker thought that these "new fangled notions" were all bosh, and that the agitators who taught them were communists or anarchists who ought to be suppressed. Some spoke openly to me, however, wanted to know what the new theory was, and entertained my explanations courteously.

One evening I was discussing the subject with a gentleman on the broad veranda of the hotel when another joined in and upheld my argument with much ability. I let him do most of the talking, and he did it well. I afterward asked whether he had read "Progress and Poverty." He replied that he had never had an idea on the subject until he heard my statement in the conversation. But he no sooner heard it than he "caught on." My few words happened to be the key that opened the door of a new philosophy to him, and his logical mind saw the scheme and many of its bearings at a single glance.

Out toward the point of the mountain top, looking to the west, were some smooth jutting rocks upon which a small party of us generally reclined after supper to enjoy the sunset skies. We called them the "sunset rocks." Here the mountain fell off by a steep descent to the average level of country some thousand feet below. Its side was grassy, with massive bowlders and trees interspersed, upon the tops of many of which we looked down; and quite far below was an orchard, the trees of which seemed to us like little shrubs. There was a farm house there next door, alongside a field with haycocks in rows. And we could see the farmer let the cows into the barn and then go in himself, and after awhile come out with a pail of milk in each hand, which he carried to the spring house. Then he let the cows out into the field and went back for his horses, which he led to drink at a spring under a tree in the edge of a piece of woods. We saw this routine repeated many evenings. And after it children came out of the house into the road, boys and girls to romp and play, and their singing and shouting reached us faintly.

I noticed that from this high point of view we looked down upon the birds. They seemed to live mostly below, and their highest flight was seldom above our elevation. I became greatly interested in them, in their happy freedom, graceful movements and their songs and chirpings. I found that one could almost distinguish—not a language, but a means of conveying—not thought, but feeling in their voices. Mostly they expressed simply a joyous happiness, but sometimes enticement, and sometimes scolding. One evening I lay on the grass just below these rocks, a party of ladies and gentlemen sitting near by conversing. The red sun was just passing behind the distant Delaware county hills, a long shaft of cloud above blazed along its lower edges with golden light, while the sky was suffused with a tint as delicate as the blush on a maiden's cheek. A soft air fanned our faces and gently stirred the grass blades and the leaves. Faint on the ear came the sound of a cow bell from far below in a meadow.

The quiet and the beauty sinking into me, I was falling into a very nirvana of revery, when I observed a bird rise from midway of the height of the mountain's slope in a way in which I never saw bird rise or fly before—in almost straight perpendicular. Fluttering his wings and tilting from side to side, he rose straight upward, and as he rose he sang, as it were to call attention to his strange gymnastics, a song which seemed to me to say:

See! see! see! Look at me! look at me!
Can you do this? Can you do this?

And then, having reached the height of his desire, he swooped down in an undulating, curving motion to the top of a small tree near where he started from, and after a little rose again and repeated his performance. This episode, trifling as it was, did not seem out of place or unfitting to the lovely quietude and beauty of the scene, indeed, rather enhancing the charm, but it diverted my thoughts and started a current of philosophic speculation flowing through my mind.

How happy are the birds, I thought. What a round of joyous life they live. Busy all the merry hours; no idleness, no unfilled moments, and yet really no labor; their occupations a delight, all thoughts of toil lost in a realization and enjoyment of the fruits of it. And what a glorious, what a beneficent mother nature is to them. They seem to follow her outstretched hand as she casts their food before them, her beckoning finger now leading them southward, anon northward, to follow the course of the all propitious sun. The sun! oh, it must be a god to them! How their notes begin to twitter from the boughs as the first streaks of dawn illume the eastern sky, how the chorus swells as the light increases; how vocal seems the very air as his rays gleam through the tree tops; and then how the choristers disperse to enjoy their daily occupations, only breaking the silence with an occasional note of satisfied gladness until the evening comes; and as the light wanes, how they will meet to sing a vesper hymn and watch their deity sink below the western hills before retiring to their nests, their eyes heavy with sleep; the last to go, the sentinel robin, like that one there on the topmost twig, who sings in the gloaming:

Farewell! farewell! He is gone; he is gone,
To-morrow! to-morrow! Good night!

But is it all so gladsome as it seems? Ah, there in the grass lies the jewel-eyed serpent. And hark, that hoot, the plundering owl! And far away there, sailing and balancing in the now amber sky, see the sharp-beaked, needle-taloned hawk. Why do these enemies not disturb your tranquil souls, ye birds? Is it sport to you to avoid by keen-eyed watchfulness and agile movements their attacks? Does joy in your self-reliance compensate the danger? Give me the secret of your happiness amid such vicissitudes. Tell me, that I may carry to human kind the knowledge that they lack. How different seems their lot from yours. With you no high, no low; all on a par of absolute equality. Not one of you rests in idleness, while many toil for him. Not one of you sits in gorgeous plumage in fancied ease and security while many of his brothers gather for him the choicest seeds and add them to his store, hungering themselves or partaking of poorer food. Not one of you ceases labor while others build a nest for him of rarest fabrics, they sleeping on hard twigs that ache their bones. Not a few of you seize the field of life and compel your brothers to pay you tribute ere you permit them to live. Not some of you, when summer heats grow strong, flit away at will to mountain top or shore of sea while others slave in darksome mine, or toil in heated piles, or burn their feet in the hot soil to gather the best of all earth yields to send to you, they languishing in poverty. With you no mitred priest gathers in the sad eyed multitudes, to condone the ills of life with dreams of bliss beyond the grave. Not some of you beguile the weary lot of others with fancied knowledge, false as hell, of evil mortal lot the wish of heavenly power. Not some of you gather in ease the "spoils of time" from history's page, from book of song, or tale of chivalry, or scroll of science, to ease their souls of guilt in human wrong by telling all that justice is a dream, that some must grind in toil that others by that toil may scale the battlements of knowledge.

Much wiser ye than men, ye birds. Though equally to them as you our common mother opes her bounteous hand, though more to them than you the father has imparted intellect and power, yet more to you than them is wisdom given to lead your happy lives unfraught with care. No thought of greed in you to shut your brother from the bounteous store. No doubt in you that nature's benisons will constant fall. No crying to you from the ground the voice of brother's blood or wrong. No spur of conscious guilt to bar by stores from seasons past against the anger of offended heaven because its laws of love ye've scorned. Oh, happy birds!—

Now, whether I should have lain there dreaming until the sounds from the distant parlor told that the evening games and music had begun I know not, for just then a peal of laughter from the rocks disturbed me and a lady's voice said, "What a pretty pair." I had been dimly conscious of something soft and furry rubbing against my back for some time, and now I felt behind me and there I found the playful pet donkey baby some four weeks old, that had the run of the place, snugly lying on the grass against my back with his nose ensconced in my pocket.

BOB WHITE.

PEN, PASTE AND SCISSORS.

Fifty thousand tons of soot are taken annually from the chimneys of London. It is used for fertilizing.

At Argentine, Mo., a billy goat broke into the council chamber and devoured all the city ordinances and records.

London *Society* says that in five or six years 18,000 Irish girls who had been assisted to emigrate sent home £250,000 sterling, "a great part of which has gone in payment of impossible rents to absentee landlords."

A queer flower which grows in Yucatan is the manito (little hand) of the guarumo. It is in the exact shape of the human hand, with four fingers, thumb, nails and knuckles all complete.

In India the finest grades of cigars can be bought for half a cent apiece, and cigars are considered a rather expensive luxury at that. In that country a man who has ten cents in cash is looked upon as comparatively well-to-do.

Both in China and Japan, soapstone has long been largely used for protecting structures built of soft stone and other materials specially liable to atmospheric influences. It has been found that powdered soapstone in the form of paint has preserved obelisks formed of stone for hundreds of years which would, unprotected, have long ago crumbled away. For the inside painting of steel and iron ships it is found to be excellent. It has no anti-fouling quality, but is anti-corrosive.

John Aitken, a well known investigator of the atmosphere, has recently made a series of experiments on the number of dust particles in ordinary air. So far his results show that outside air, after a wet night, contained 521,000 dust particles per cubic inch; outside air in fair weather contained 2,119,000 particles in the same space, showing that rain is a great purifier of the atmosphere. The air of a room was found to contain over thirty million particles in the same space: that near the ceiling containing over eighty-eight million particles per cubic inch. The numbers for a room were got with gas burning in the room, and at a height of four feet from the floor.

The manager of a tool company in Vineland, N. J., claims that wood shavings and sweepings if moist and piled in heaps or kept in barrels are liable to grow very hot and char and even take fire by spontaneous combustion. He says that one day last year they removed a box of oiled wood, chips and shavings from beneath the saw, and, noticing that it was very hot, placed it outside the building. A light rain set in during the night, and in the morning the wood was burning. It was extinguished, but, the rain increasing, it was burning again by noon. In another case the shavings were placed under an iron boiler top. When the top was removed the shavings were charred and on being disturbed they burst out into flames.

A society with $1,000,000 capital has been formed in New York city which proposes to do a business similar to that of the pawnbrokers, offering to the poor who have to resort to such institutions a safe, fair and reasonable accommodation. The intention is to establish about twenty offices in New York and ten in Brooklyn. It will be operated upon the plan of the "Mont de Piete," which is conducted by the French government. Interest upon loans will be ten per cent per annum. The society will also aid poor people who are known to the managers, or when unredeemed goods are sold, if the price realized is more than the loan and interest amount to, the amount received in excess will be paid over to the pledger.

Glasgow has a system of automatic telephone call boxes. There are seventy-six of the boxes scattered about the city, and every subscriber has a key to them. A non-subscriber wanting to use them must first ring up the exchange and ask if the connection he desires can be made. If it can, he drops the fee, which is either three pennies or six, according to the distance he wants to talk, into a hole in the box. The pennies as they fall break a circuit and ring a bell at the central office. When the bell has rung the required number of times the central office makes the connection. At the end of the three minutes allowed for conversation the connection is broken automatically. The average time taken to put two persons in telephonic communication in Glasgow is thirty-five seconds, in Birmingham forty, in Liverpool thirty-two, and in Dundee twenty. This was ascertained from the results of ten calls in each town.

A VISIT TO A RAJAH.

A Picture of Life at the Court of One of India's Native Princes.

Pall Mall Gazette.

The simple life of the chief among his clansmen is still to be found in the old fortress palaces of the Rajputs, but as railways and newspapers are fast making an end of it, I was very glad to accept an invitation from my pupil, the Maharajah of C——, to stay with him at his old home of Rajnagar. It lies in a wild country more than a hundred miles from the railway, but the rajah lent me his carriage and an escort of two turbaned swashbucklers, and I fortified myself against a long journey with a luncheon basket and a stout novel. The road was good, and we bowled smoothly along for thirty or forty miles through stretches of waste land and past quiet villages that turned out to wonder at my imposing progress. Suddenly the coachman pulled up and pointed to a number of parallel ruts at right angles to the high road. "That," he explained, "is the way to Rajnagar, and if the sahib will transfer his honored person to the elephant our maharajah has sent, he will reach the palace perhaps in three or four hours. The distance is about ten miles." As it was clear that the carriage could not go along this track I got out ruefully. A ride on an elephant is a pastime for kings in India, not for nurses and giggling children; an atmosphere of royalty hangs perpetually about the majestic brute, and I knew that I should seriously compromise my dignity by declining the hard conditions twin born with greatness. But I was anxious to avoid being rocked from side to side for several long hours in the sun, and cast about for a valid excuse for preferring to ride a horse. Suddenly the intelligent elephant in the background made a demonstration in my favor. She got up briskly and shook the howdah off her back. I lost no time in pointing out that I should be seriously delayed if I were exposed to frequent casualties of this sort, and that as I was in a hurry I would put up with a horse. A battered Rosinante was led with reluctant steps from a neighboring stall, and with polite consideration of a sahib's requirements an old military saddle placed on his back. The holsters dangled by a bit of string, and the stirrup leathers had been replaced by knotted cords. At first Rosinante refused to move, but the owner presently handed me a whip resembling a mighty flail, between which and my steed I soon discovered that there existed a close and probably long standing intimacy. I no sooner flourished the one than I produced a repousive flounder in the other, and so we started across country.

My way lay across a plain uncultivated for the most part, for the population is scanty in Bundelkand, and only round the villages is there a belt of cultivation; the rest of the land is left to the gazelles and jackals. Half of the territory of the rajah of C—— is thus left idle, in spite of his attempts to induce tenants to come across his borders. But the simple cultivator loves the field which his father and forefathers tilled before him, and will not migrate to a new country, and five to six hundred Hindus tax the earth for a subsistence on every square mile round Allahabad.

I was getting tired of Rosinante's gambols, and, being chafed by the narrow saddle, had fallen to pondering on the superior qualifications of cherubs for this style of horsemanship, when I came in sight of Rajnagar. It is an old fortress perched on a steep stony hill; the stout bastions growing out of the rock towered above green gardens and cool tanks in the hot, trembling air. From this fastness the robber chiefs of old days used to sally with their clan to lift their neighbors' cattle and harry their villages. It was a strong fort, too, that could stand a siege when the chief's depredations became so troublesome as to draw upon him a visitation from the mogul army. A little village had nestled close beneath it, and the women drew water at the well beneath its shadow. Since the mutiny, however, it has been crumbling into ruins, and the great iron studded door has been taken off its hinges, because the present rajah tore his silk robes as he went to and fro beneath the gates. Nowadays the degenerate cattle lifters hang about the courts and yawn and gossip through these tedious days of peace, but they still nurse their rusting swords in their arms and talk of the great deeds that they will do "when the next mutiny comes." Meanwhile, the scribe, busy with the details of tax and toll and revenue, is supplanting them.

When I had dismounted (a favor which Rosinante acknowledged with a grateful sigh), I exchanged greetings with several of the court, for many were old friends with whom I had been hunting, and a Rajput can admire a man who has a good rifle and knows how to hold it straight, for all his clerkly learning. Presently a favorite servant appeared, with a conscious smile of welcome and importance, and said that his highness would see me at once. I went through a labyrinth of dark corridors and frowning gateways, and found the king in a little room with a mud floor and whitewashed walls. He had not thought it necessary to put on his brilliant robes and jewels of state for an old friend, so I found him sitting on a bed with a blanket wrapped about him and his turban by his side; but as his servants approached him they took up the dust from the earth and placed it against their foreheads, and even a portly uncle who came in with me touched the king's feet by way of salutation. When I had taken my seat I offered him a cigarette: he watched his servants leave the room before he accepted, adding, by way of explanation, "These people think that I ought not to put into my mouth anything that you have touched." The rajah was fond of smoking and he made an arbitrary distinction between cigarettes and anything else that passed his lips. He would have been horrified if I had laid my finger on his hookah or touched his drinking vessel, but to the unclean hands that had fingered the Egyptian cigarette that he was smoking he paid no heed. Such exceptions to caste rules are growing more numerous every day. All drugs and medicines have long been taken by Hindus without blame, and in some places ice and soda water are consumed by Rajputs who would not drink water drawn for them by an Englishman from the well. Caste prejudices have always been capable of adapting themselves to necessities or very strong desires. If they were enforced with a rigid regard for logic, the system would be impossible and would have broken down, but caste, in some aspects, is nothing more than public opinion among the Hindus, generally tyrannical and backward, but much more capable of improvement than a rigid code of rules based upon a principle. The Hindus are an exclusive people, and many caste observances are devices to exclude foreigners. Even if a Hindu leave his home and settle in another province, his family will not always receive him back into caste, though he has kept all the observances; his sojourn among a strange people has made him a foreigner in their eyes.

As I was talking about these things with the rajah an ancient nurse hobbled out of the women's apartments toward us. Her bent back and wizened, suspicious face would have made her fortune as a witch on the London stage, but the age[d] dame had not outgrown her taste for ornament. Enormous gold earrings hung at the side of her face, and in her nose was a large gold ring, through which the withered lips smiled me a welcome. She brought me a plate of spices and perfumes with a pretty speech from the Maharani, saying that everything in the place was mine, and hoping that I should not be put to any discomfort in their poor home. She added that she had never seen a European and was very anxious to, so that if I would walk into the court yard she would have much pleasure in watching me through the trellis. So the rajah led me to the court yard. Behind the pierced stone work I could hear the little ladies tittering, and the hurry of small feet, but could not catch sight of anything more than the deep reds and golds of their shawls. I displayed myself for a few minutes from every point of view, but found it difficult to maintain a proper look of unconcern and natural dignity, for the rajah was twisting and shaking with suppressed laughter. At last he fairly bolted and roared immoderately, and I left leave the stage precipitately for fear of compromising the dignity of the British nation of which I was at that moment the accepted type.

The Maharani sent down to say that she had been charmed, but could not help wondering why a rich Englishman should put on clothes "like an ass's skin." I tried to excuse my grey tweed coat by saying that our poor northern complexions would not bear the gorgeous colors which looked so lovely upon her countrymen, but I found out afterward that I had struck a wrong note, for she would rather have been told that her own complexion was as fair as mine.

As I was taking my leave of the Rajah I offered to shake hands with him, as we usually did, but he drew back, saying, "I have just bathed, and am going to eat my dinner. If I were to shake hands with you I should have to bathe again before eating. You won't mind."

An Old London Inn.

London Echo.

When Barnard's inn falls under the hammer—as it will do in the course of next month—another link between London of the past and London of to-day will be broken. It is perhaps the least known—on account of its out of the way situation—of all the old inns of court. None but the most observant of pedestrians would notice the narrow archway close by the far more picturesque exterior of Staples' inn in Holborn. But at the end of the tiny passage is one of those spots which seem surprisingly quiet after the bustle of the great thoroughfare. In the quadrangle of the inn are some charming fragments of architecture, and some fine old trees, on which, in the warm spring days, the London sparrow hops and chirps merrily, while the rooks from the greater range of Gray's inn just pay flying visits to them. Its other frontage is into the narrow gloom of Fetter lane, and its whole superficial area is 28,000 square feet. Not the least interesting feature about it is the fact that it constitutes an ecclesiastical parish in itself, though to what purpose the funds formerly available for this distinction were diverted even the omniscient "Old and New London" does not say. In 1874 its annual value was assessed at £1,031.

The legal description of Barnard's inn is that "It is an inn of chancery appertaining to Gray's inn." Among its earliest records are that it belonged in the days of Henry VI to Dr. John Mackworth, dean of Lincoln. But when it became an inn of chancery, it was held by a man named Barnard, whose designation it has since retained. In the time of Elizabeth it was a popular inn, and had 136 students, but in 1855 these had dwindled down to eighteen, including the principal and companions. The hall is the smallest of any belonging to either of the inns, and is only thirty-six feet long. It still contains one or two fragments of good old stained glass, but all the pictures have been removed. During the "no popery" riots of 1780, Barnard's inn had a very narrow escape from being wrecked by the infuriated populace. It stood next to Langdale's distillery, the burning of which Dickens has described so vividly. Among the documents regarding its management one remains which shows something of the drinking habits of our forefathers. An order referring to the ceremony of "initiation," dated 1706, names two quarts of wine to every four men as an extra privilege for the occasion, in addition to the usual amount of wine and beer allowed with the meals.

Barnard's inn was the home of the last man who made alchemy a serious study. He was a Mr. Woulfe, and a fellow of the royal society. Judging from the records preserved of him in Timbs's "Century of Anecdote," he was a curious character. The walls of his room were decorated with written prayers and recommendations of his processes to providence, and the chamber itself was so filled with furnaces and apparatus that it was difficult to reach the fireside. His breakfast hour was four in the morning, to which he occasionally invited a few friends, whom he admitted after they had used a code of signals he had taught them. He attributed his failures to discover the elixir to the want of due preparation by charitable and pious acts. Whenever he wished to break with an acquaintance he used to send the person a handsome present and refuse to see him again. His medicine in illness was a journey to Edinburgh and back by the stage coach. He had one friend and contemporary—who was, by the way, the editor of an evening paper of the period—who felt certain of evolving the elixir if he could only keep his materials digested in a lamp furnace for the space of seven years. He succeeded in keeping it alight for six years, eleven months and some odd days, and then, for some wholly inexplicable cause, it went out. However, he had the pleasure of imagining that his experiment would have been successful could he only have fulfilled his septenary period of cooking. Thus Barnard's inn has played its part in the social life of London of the past, and deserves a word of remembrance ere, perhaps, it be destroyed.

A Goodly Collection of Industries Not Afraid of the Mills Bill.

Philadelphia Record.

Among the industries just started and to be established in Alabama are a stove factory at Anniston, trunk factory at Birmingham, saw mill at Decatur, ice factory and electric light plant at Tuskaloosa. In Arkansas an iron foundry has been established at Camden. In Florida there are a new shingle mill and brick yard at Bridgeport, saw mill at Hampton, broom factory at Jacksonville, and cigar factory at Quitman. In Georgia there are a new furniture and coffin mill at Cartersville, planing mill at Cedartown, saw and planing mill at Dowdy, oil mill and guano factory at Monroe, packing factory, planing mill and mattress factory at Rome, ice mill at Savannah, guano works at Senoia, and a candy mill at Washington. In Kentucky there are a stave factory at Fordsville, coffin factory at Louisville, and a flour mill at Sturgis. In Maryland an envelope factory and a clothing factory at Baltimore, electric plant at Hagerstown, cigar works at Jefferson, canning and can mill at Sharon Station, and canning works at Wilna. A cotton mill will be established at Holly Springs, Miss. The following operations are reported from North Carolina: Asheville, candy factory; New Berne, furniture works; Tarboro, cotton mill, and the Fries cotton factory at Salem will add 720 spindles, 14 cards and 15 plaid looms. These from South Carolina: At Baldock timber lands will be cleared, the gold mine at Brewer worked, and an eighty stamp mill erected. At Charleston a creosoting factory and box factory are new. In Tennessee there have just been built, at Crossville, a saw mill; Knoxville, cracker works, and at McMinnville a jean clothing mill. In Texas these industries are projected; Dallas, small oil works; Galveston, canning mill; McKinney, cotton compress; Seymour, flour mill, and a cotton compress at Terrell. In Virginia they propose a canning mill at Brugh's Mills, wood pulp mill at Green Forest, artificial ice works at Norfolk, canning factory at Staunton. Scale works will be put up at Charleston, W. Va., and a bung factory at Elizabeth, in the same state.

Thinking is Working.

A. L. M. in New Church Messenger.

It is not so much the visible and tangible deed that sets the current of progress forward, as it is the undertow of earnest, fervent love which is irresistible in its force. Therefore the world may count it nothing when an effort at reform fails. So long as the spirit of the reformer lives, so long will his work go on. I tell you, what a man thinks, that is his profoundest work; and we who weigh and measure his influence will find that his love inspired thought is the deep under current which swings the real life force of him. He may vote this way or that, and he will count one; but ever and beyond these surface reckonings he is exercising a power much more subtle and far reaching than the boasted power of the ballot.

Land Speculation an Enemy of Improvements.

Milwaukee Journal.

"One trouble with our town," said a business man yesterday, "is that a few old fogies own so much good business property on the best streets of the city which they will neither improve nor sell to others who would improve it. Take Wisconsin street, for example. There have been but three buildings—business blocks, I mean—erected on that street in fifteen years and more." "A few years ago," continued the speaker, "Colonel Brodhead wanted to buy the northwest corner of Wisconsin street and Broadway, where that old dead colored building used as a railroad ticket office now stands. It was about the time the Northwestern built the new insurance building, and Colonel Brodhead wanted to put up a fine business block adjoining it and extending it to the corner. He offered $150,000 for it, but was refused. The owner will not sell or build himself. Colonel Brodhead also wanted the two little buildings adjoining the store of T. L. Kelly & Co., which are owned by Chicago parties, but was unable to get them."

How Many Acres Can be Had in Portland for the Trouble of Coming to Get Them?

Portland Oregonian.

You of the east who are bawling "land monopoly," just look this way. Here are millions of acres you can have just for the trouble of coming to get them. Come right along. No sense in squatting down in the eastern cities and yelling "land monopoly." Come out here and become "monopolists" yourselves. (Henry George's paper please copy).

The Actual Surplus.

National Republican (Rep).

There is now in the United States treasury $201,976,866, held for the redemption of legal tender and national bank notes which no one wants redeemed. In addition to this there is also in the treasury $355,672,817 in gold, silver, and legal tender notes, and $25,898,288 in fractional and minor coin, making a total of $583,548,071 withdrawn from circulation and crippling the business of the country to an extent never before known. This represents the actual "surplus."

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CURRENT THOUGHT.

Belford's Magazine for June opens with an article by Thomas G. Shearman, entitled, "Protection the Enemy of Wages," of which it is scarcely too much to say that it is the most concise and at the same time the most destructive expose of the fallacies of protection that has yet appeared. The writer takes the Pennsylvania idol by the throat and so shakes and belabors it—so smites it with indisputable fact, so rends it with unanswerable logic—that the wretched thing, when he finally flings it contemptuously to the ground, lies exposed in all its emptiness, a miserable bundle of rags of long worn out notions, deformed with darns and patches, smelling aloud to heaven, and fit only to be buried and forgotten. Could there be, for instance, a more complete annihilation of the fallacy that protection maintains wages than this:

Nature built a protective wall between the eastern and western states of the Union, in a range of mountains and a broad expanse of forests. Sixty years ago, Pittsburg was protected against Philadelphia pig iron by a cost of $80 per ton for transportation, and Chicago by a like cost of $150. By that abominable invention of British free trade, known as Bessemer steel rails, these protective duties have been reduced almost to nothing, say to $2 or $3 a ton. The west had ten times more reason to dread the competition of the east than either east or west had to dread the competition of Great Britain. The east had all the capital, all the experience, low rates of interest, cheaper labor, and every other advantage which makes our chicken hearted manufacturers turn pale when they look across the Atlantic. If ever an infant industry needed protection against pauper labor and superior capital, it was the iron manufacture of the west as against that of the east. It did not get it; on the contrary, the protection which it had has been ruthlessly destroyed. Within the last twenty years the last shred has been taken away. Railroad rates have been so greatly reduced that the actual cost of sending Scotch iron to Chicago, including the duty, which has been trebled since 1860, is now less than half what it was under the low tariff of 1860. The poor west has been thrown open to the piratical incursions of both Great Britain and the Atlantic states.

Well, what has ensued? Has the western iron manufacture been crushed, as Judge Kelley and Mr. Randall would have predicted that it must be? Have western wages been cut down to meet the pauper labor of the east? Nothing of the sort. "Westward the star of iron bends its way." At least two-thirds of all American iron is made in the west. Pittsburg has crushed out Philadelphia and New York; and Chicago is threatening to crush Pittsburg. With every reduction of its natural "protection," the west has gained enormously, and even in 1880 the greater part of American iron was made west of the Allegheny mountains. The eastern miners are being ruined by the competition of the west, and the western mine owners now declare publicly and arrogantly that eastern men have no business to make iron at all! Has this result been attained by paying lower wages than in the east? No; the western wages have been continuously one-third higher than those paid in the east. Indeed, in 1886 we heard the owners of eastern iron mines state, before congress, that they paid only eighty to ninety cents a day, while the owners of western mines reluctantly admitted that they had "cut down" their wages to $1.75 a day.

In view of these facts we are ready for a theory which will fit the facts. A tariff is simply a barrier to exchange, and every such barrier directly reduces wages. If a flood of goods comes in from foreign countries, a flood of our goods must go out to pay for them, and a flood of wages must go to the workman to pay him for producing those goods. When the tariff stops the foreign goods from coming in, it necessarily stops an equal amount of our goods from going out and so throws out of employment all the men engaged in making these goods. The things which we were importing were things which we did not want and could not use. The whole country is poorer, because we have refused bread and keep a stone. It will be said, "The men thrown out of employment on our exports will be employed in making the things which we used to import." Suppose they are! still they are no better off. They only change one employment for another. But they are worse off. They cannot produce as much value in a business to which they are unused as they could at their old trade; and therefore they cannot earn as much wages. The very reason why a tariff has been put upon the imported goods is that our country is not yet ready to make them as well and as cheaply as other countries. So long as this is the case, workmen employed in making such things cannot earn as much as they would at another trade, because they cannot produce as much value; and the value of the product necessarily limits wages. Moreover, years pass before the new industry is fairly settled here, and can give employment to as many workmen as the tariff has thrown out. Just as long, therefore, as a tariff has any protective effect at all, it cuts down wages.

Not less strong than this forceful demonstration of the depressing effect of the tariff upon wages, is Mr. Shearman's showing of the manner in which protection hinders production by imposing a tax which, practically, falls exclusively upon the material of manufacture:

Now the nature of things, which is too strong even for an all-wise congress, makes it practically impossible that really finished manufactures should ever be very largely imported. Under absolute free trade it would be utterly impossible. The best proof of the inherent difficulty in the way is the fact that, under our present tariff, which seems as if it were framed for the very purpose of encouraging the importation of finished goods rather than of materials for manufacture, they still do not come in. Thus, in 1881, out of $23,000,000 of iron imported, $28,000,000 worth was used exclusively in manufacturing, and only $75,000 worth for family purposes; $24,000,000 worth was used in the iron manufacture itself! Reckoning railroad building as a branch of manufacture—and why not?—ninety-nine per cent of the duties on iron fell upon manufacturers in the first instance. Tin was taxed $4,195,000, of which $4,148,000 fell upon tin manufacturers. Wood was taxed $1,536,000, of which $1,145,000 were paid by wood workers. Wool and woolens paid taxes to the amount of $27,285,000, of which tailors and other manufacturers paid $24,612,000, or over nine-tenths of the whole. Excluding food, drink, and tobacco, the whole amount of articles imported in a state ready for family or personal use amounted to less than one-sixteenth part of all the imports. The proportion remains much the same now, and has varied but little ever since statistics have been kept which enable the facts to be ascertained.

Now how can a tariff, which thus spends its whole force in adding to the cost of manufacturing materials, help to raise the wages of men engaged in working up those materials! How can it fail to reduce those wages! It deprives the manufacturer of ability to pay natural wages, by making the cost of his materials so high that the margin between the cost and the price which he can get for his goods is too small to leave him the power of paying high wages. If he raises the price of his productions to correspond with the cost of his materials, his market shrinks; and he cannot sell as many articles as he could at a lower price. The man who would have bought two suits of clothes in a year, at $10 each, must be content with one, if it costs $20. The result is, obviously, that his tailor employs only half as many workmen as he would do if prices were lower. And no one needs to be told that, if the tailor could make the goods at half the price and thus employ twice as many workmen, he would have to pay higher wages whether he wanted to or not. It is never to the interest of workmen that prices should be high. Low prices, in the long run, mean a much greater sale of goods, and the wider sale the more numerous the articles made, and therefore the greater demand for men to make them.

Mr. Shearman's article should be studied by every advocate of freedom. It is a perfect armory of argument and illustration. Its effect upon protectionist readers will depend upon whether they happen to be victims or professional defenders of the protectionist delusion.

To the June issue of the *Forum*, Mr. W. H. Mallock contributes a characteristic essay under the title "Poverty, Sympathy and Economics," the apparent object of which is to demonstrate the duty of every man to study statistics until he reaches conclusions agreeable to W. H. Mallock.

Mr. Mallock's method of essay construction is peculiar. He demonstrates with well balanced, albeit somewhat trite, argument, some principle which few persons would feel inclined to dispute; and from the scaffolding thus erected, he bounds, in curious *non sequitur* fashion, to some airy fallacy, on top of which he balances himself, and triumphantly invites attention to it as a demonstrated truth. Or, to change the metaphor, he argues as a magician juggles; ostentatiously drawing attention to one part of his performance, in order to divert it from another; striving by sheer sleight of hand to make his audience believe that a ball is flung into the air, when in reality it has been safely palmed into his coat sleeve. It is a tribute to Mr. Mallock's intellectual dexterity that his literary prestidigitation is still received with favor, and even regarded by many who agree with his notions, as genuine and convincing argument.

Mr. Mallock begins his discourse on "Poverty, Sympathy and Economics" with a somewhat diffuse assertion of the not altogether novel truth that a knowledge of political and social science is essential to the consideration of political and social phenomena:

Many see that economic knowledge is a desirable thing, but they do not see how desirable. They do not see that it is desirable before all other things, and at the present moment beyond all other things. That it is so, and why it is so, is what I shall now endeavor to show.

And he does "endeavor to show" accordingly, through nearly seven pages of the *Forum*, reaching the conclusion that in regard to the truths of political economy, men's minds are in a woful condition of indetermination:

Of what is settled in this science and what is debatable, there is no general, efficient, practical knowledge. Consequently every kind of speculation is able to put itself before the public with sufficient plausibility to wear an air of science to those whose sympathies may dispose them to assent to it. I said just now that with many of the intellectual leaders of the labor movement philanthropy and moral emotion come first, and science, though they recognize its authority, comes second; and such being the case, emotion becomes the judge of what scientific theory is reasonable, not scientific theory the judge of what emotion is reasonable. Everything is topsy-turvy, and why? I answered the question a moment ago. I answer it now again. Because general knowledge with regard to this particular subject is far behind general knowledge with regard to any other subject of equal general importance.

Here is the scaffolding erected—the truth which nobody thinks of disputing elaborately stated and defended—the bait flung into the air to attract the eyes of the audience. Now observe with what agility Mr. Mallock does the trick:

Let me give instances, and I will take them not from any theories (properly so called) of the economists, but from the ascertainable facts of industrial life, by which all theories must be tested. One of the most specious and widely read works on political economy which has appeared for many years is Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." Now this work, as many of its readers may remember, endeavored to explain the existence of poverty by the constant increase of rent, which, according to Mr. George's demonstrations, not only was always increasing absolutely, but was always having a greater and greater *proportion* of the total income of the community; so much so that Mr. George declared that its ultimate tendency was to absorb the whole of that income, except such a portion of it as would yield a bare subsistence to those who were not land owners. And nowhere was this doctrine received with greater favor than in England. Now, had the thinking classes in England possessed, as a body, the commonest knowledge of statistics, and had Mr. George himself thought it worth his while to consult authorities as accessible as parliamentary blue books, it would have been utterly impossible for such a work as "Progress and Poverty" ever to have been written, or, if written, to have commanded a moment's attention. For its whole main assumption with regard to the increase of rent is not only not true, but is the absolute reverse of the truth; nor is there, when once the statistics of the subject are studied, the smallest room for dispute or doubt about the question. Rent in England, as the country has grown in wealth, though it has, of course, grown greater absolutely, has been growing constantly smaller relatively; and instead of rent tending to absorb all other sources of income, the other sources of income are tending to outstrip rent and to dwarf it into comparative insignificance. Nor is this tendency due to any recent depression in agriculture. It has steadily shown itself through the whole period for which we possess any exact records of our industrial progress.

Again, what statement can be commoner than that "the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, and the middle classes are being crushed out?" . . . And yet when once statistics are consulted—and they are ample and unimpeachable—the whole of this statement is found to be, just like Mr. George's, not only wide of the truth, but literally and absolutely an inversion of it. . . . Yet again, how constantly are we presented with appalling pictures of the destitution of the poor! . . . But let us apply to this dark picture the test of authoritative statistics, and what do we find then? We do not find that the details of the picture are false; on the contrary, we find that we could go on adding to them; but we do find this: that the extent of this disheartening and alarming misery, though vast in itself, is small when compared with the extent of the community. In England the darker pictures of distress and poverty do not apply to more than one-eighth of the population. It is true that the eighth of the population would people the whole of Scotland, people it from end to end with want and misery; but, appalling as this fact is, it should not blind our eyes to the other fact, that for one miserable population there are seven populations progressively prosperous, and that misery of the kind spoken of is, in spite of the millions of the miserable, not the rule, but the exception. But of this fact our philanthropic economists seem for the most part in utter ignorance. They go on taking the exception for the rule, and by their very way of approaching the problem disqualify themselves for explaining it.

So! Here we have the nub and point of Mr. Mallock's essay. The labored argument in support of a proposition which nobody disputes—that economic science ought to be more generally and more thoughtfully studied—has been built up for no other purpose than to trick the reader into accepting as facts a few utterly unsupported assertions of Mr. W. H. Mallock—namely, that the economic doctrines advanced in "Progress and Poverty" are unworthy of serious attention; that land values in England have "for the whole period for which we possess any exact records" been growing smaller in proportion to "other sources of income" (one becomes curious to know what proportion they started with); that the rich are growing poorer and the poor richer, and mankind tending toward a general level of wealth; and that since in England only one family in every eight is in daily danger of starvation, therefore there really isn't anything very serious the matter. Mr. Mallock's demonstration that two and two make four is as complete as it is unnecessary. But he will find some difficulty in persuading men that because two and two make four, therefore twelve and twelve are twenty-five.

That stanch upholder of toryism and believer in "things as they are," the London *Spectator*, has been considering the problem of the sweaters and their victims which is now agitating Britain and disturbing the noble placidity of the house of lords. For it is the peers of England, the dukes, and earls, and marquises, and viscounts, the lofty creatures who toil not neither do they spin, but are selected by a wise providence and a discerning sovereign to make laws for the people who support them in idleness—it is these ermined and coroneted beings who are looking into things, and trying by stenographically reported question and answer to find out how the rank and file of the London industrial army really live.

That the lords will succeed in finding a cure for the evils into which they are inquiring, the *Spectator* thinks, is "not probable, though we believe that it will not be impossible to suggest a palliative:"

But even if it should prove impossible, the appointment of the committee would still be justified. Whatever else the report may do, it will furnish us with a great body of information. We shall know much more about the kind of lives that are led by the lowest class of the London poor than we did before the inquiry began. We shall see what are the obstacles that lie in the way of any attempt to make these lives tolerable. We shall have some notion of the directions in which it is useless to look for improvement, and therefore of those in which it is best to go on seeking.

And then the *Spectator* goes on to apply this method of exclusion to the remedies that are being urged for the "sweating" evil, and to show how little is to be hoped from any of them. It takes up the oft repeated proposal so often echoed by philanthropists on this side of the Atlantic, that consumers should solve the problem by refusing to purchase low priced goods made at starvation wages, and thus explodes it:

The first remark that presents itself on this aspect of the question is that this very attack has been made already, and made without result. Where Maurice and Kingsley failed, who are we that we should expect to succeed? We are not likely to get hold of a more effective weapon than "Alton Locke." If "cheap clothes and nasty" proved a useless war cry when it was first uttered, it is not likely to be more effectual after it has been addressed to deaf ears for more than a generation. The mistake of "Parson Lot" and his fellow workers lay in this—they expected people who, as regards their business lives, at all events, were not Christians, to be influenced by Christian motives. No doubt if you could make them Christians they would behave like Christians to the laborers they directly or indirectly employ. But you do not propose to do this; on the contrary, you propose to make them behave like Christians to the laborers they employ, while leaving them what they are in all other respects. You detach a single motive from the group to which it belongs, and expect it to retain, when standing alone, the efficacy which it had when associated with others.

What a confession is involved in these sentences! "People who, as regards their business lives, at all events, are not Christians." Can a man be a Christian in his family and at church and a non-Christian in his business hours? Most believers would indignantly deny it. Yet to whomsoever will, as this writer in the *Spectator* has done, attentively consider our social system, it will be evident that a man must do that very thing, if he would be anything of a Christian at all. Men *can't* obey Christ and earn a living for themselves and their families. They *must* worship mammon as well as God, or starve. Not because of any inherent impossibility of serving God and getting food and shelter at the same time, but simply because, having allowed their rightful privilege of access to the raw material of wealth to be filched away from them, the vast majority of men can only regain any share of their birthright by cunning and device.

But, as the *Spectator* points out, were it even possible to induce every purchaser in the country to refuse to buy abnormally low priced products, so as to leave no excuse for the sweater's industry, still nothing would be accomplished. For the sweater flourishes, not in the least because the public insist on having cheap goods, but because the disinherited poor are flogged by starvation into a competition for employment which forces wages down to the level of the barest subsistence:

No doubt customers who proclaimed their wish to pay a fair price for everything they buy, would find no lack of dear goods. The tradesmen who now rival each other at the lower end of the scale, would then rival each other at the higher end. But what security would the conscientious buyer have that the additional money he laid out went into the pockets for which it was intended? The evidence taken by this very committee shows that sweating is not an incident only of the lowest class of shops. On the contrary, it breaks out in quite unexpected places, and in businesses which have earned social position as well as wealth for those who reap the ultimate profits. A smart appearance, high pretensions to quality, extensive advertising—all, in short, that is calculated to impress the average purchaser with the sense that here at least the best price is paid for the best labor, are no proofs at all that the sweating system is not in full force.

There is a lesson in this for those among us who foolishly imagine that it is possible to secure high wages for labor by artificially increasing the prices of products.

Henry Ward Beecher on Free Trade.

Bolton Smith of Memphis, Tenn., sends the following extracts from speeches delivered by Henry Ward Beecher in Great Britain in 1863:

The things required for prosperous labor, prosperous manufactures, and prosperous commerce are three: First, liberty; second, liberty; third, liberty—though these are not merely the same liberty, as I shall show you. First, there must be liberty to follow those laws of business without imposts or restrictions, or governmental intrusions. Business simply wants to be let alone. Then, secondly, there must be liberty to distribute and exchange products of industry in any market without burdensome tariffs, without imposts, and without vexatious regulations. There must be these two liberties—liberty to create wealth as the makers of it think best according to the light and experience which business has given them; and their liberty to distribute what they have created without unnecessary vexatious burdens. The comprehensive law of the ideal industrial condition of the world is free manufacture and free trade. I have said there were three elements of liberty. The third is the necessity of an intelligent and free race of customers. . . . Here, then, are the three liberties—liberty of the producer, liberty of the distributor and liberty of the consumer. The first two need no discussion, they have been long thoroughly and brilliantly illustrated by the political economists of Great Britain. . . .

I have lived to see the time when, just before the war broke out, it might be said that the thinking men of America were ready for free trade. There has been a steady progress throughout America for free trade ideas. . . . Just as soon as we begin to have peace again . . . the same cause that worked before will begin to work again, and there is nothing more certain in the future than that the American is bound to join with Great Britain in the world wide doctrine of free trade.

A WORKINGMAN ON FOREIGN PAUPER LABOR.

The Condition of the British Working Class Compared With the Same Class Here.

F. Cambensy in American Lithographer and Printer.

Protection is a sham. It piles up the rich man's plenty, but leaves the fellow in shirt sleeves just where he was, to shift for himself. As for the worn out scare crow, the alleged miserable condition of the British working class as compared with the same class in America, I'll cite what I know from many years' observation and study. To start with, the American tenement house horror, with its refuse heaps as a "front garden" to its occupants of twenty families, and a dozen other horrors, is not known in Great Britain. All around London in the suburbs there are miles of "workingmen's cottages" with a little garden attached to each one and every reasonable convenience in addition, that let from $1.50 per week upward; they are two story, brick built and contain five rooms, or more. "Workingmen's trains" carry the occupier to and from the city (morning and evening) for two cents the whole distance. No sane workingman would want to live in a tenement house, even at $1.00 per week rent with the above commodity in reach.

For three cents the British laborer can get his pint of wholesome porter-beer, and while every glass of beer costs here five cents there it is two cents, and the English beer is said to contain more nutritious matter than the American. A good suit of clothes (such as tweed, serge, etc.,) and very serviceable is to be gotten for just one-half of what is charged here. On my last visit to London (December, 1885) I paid $25 for a heavy overcoat which never could be bought under $50 here, and I wore it three seasons; boots and shoes are about the same price there as here. Men's hats, women's dress stuff and millinery are one-third cheaper there. Fruit, fresh or dry; vegetables; fresh, salt and dry fish; salt, rice, and some other groceries, are also lower than here; bread and fuel are lower; the poor person can send for 1¼ cents worth of wholesome beer while here the smallest quantity given out of the house is eight cents' worth. Any amount of decent six roomed brick houses, with good sized gardens to grow vegetables in and with all conveniences, can be had in the city of London from $2.50 per week upward; every room in these houses has windows opening into spaces for light and air; all ashes, refuse, etc., too, are put in a closed "dust bin," built of brick in every back yard and so as to not emit any bad smells. When the "dust bin" wants emptying you put a small card with the lettering on it in your window and the dustman (who by the way does not by a long way look such a scavenger as his New York confrere) will stop in his regular rounds and empty said "dust bin."

In the way of civic conveniences you can't teach the London municipal board much. Such nuisances as stationary dirty trucks and telegraph poles are unknown there. Medical and legal fees, moving expenses, etc., are about three times as much here. True, fresh meat is cheaper here than there. From these authentic figures it will be seen that taking all circumstances into consideration there is no real difference in the status of the British and the American working classes worth dwelling upon.

To this the protectionist will, of course, reply with the old "chestnut:" (the Indians gave it first to the first white immigrants) "Why do they come here?" Well, to tell the truth, that is the question a great many immigrants get asking themselves as soon as they have found out how little difference there is in the general prospects for them here and where they came from. "Yes, but why don't they go back, then?" is the other "chestnut." One reason is, that most of their money being spent, they rather resolve to stay than spend the rest for another change, considering they fare about the same in either country, taking all into consideration. Also, unless they return rich, their friends on the other side, might make fun at them about their disappointing trip to the great "land of plenty." But the protectionists will point out to you a batch of Russian or Roumelian refugees at Castle garden and exclaim: "Look what people must be in Europe!" True, friend; but you forget the several millions of native tramps, that infest your public highways in summer and the city slums in winter to such an extent that it is a serious problem for the authorities from Maine to California to deal with effectually, and that in alleged "flush" times of protection!

Indirect Taxation Robs Consumers Without Their Knowing It.

Chicago Tribune.

Nothing could be more absurd than the assertion of ultra protectionists that the present tariff cannot levy a heavy tax on consumers since they "never feel it" or "don't know it." For the reason that excessive tariff robbery is so insidious and masked that the consumer is fleeced without his knowledge it ought to be specially guarded against and the public kept alive to the abuses of high tariffism. If the tariff operated like the special internal revenue war taxes and the purchaser of manufactured goods was required to spend as much for government stamps as for the articles he bought, or if a tax collector stood ready demanding a tribute of forty-seven per cent on the purchase, there would be no claim that the people did not know what was being taken from them and did not feel their loss. When, however, the tax is incorporated into the cost of the article and the people have been long accustomed to excessive prices it is possible to rob consumers without their knowledge, and a powerful instrumentality is provided for spoliation under the forms of law.

Like the bat of Indian lakes,
Whose pinions fan the wound she makes,
And, soothing thus the dreamer's pain,
Drinks out the life blood from his vein.

The Republican Party Away Off Its Base.

Boston Herald (Rep.)

There is not the least reason why a republican should favor protection rather than a democrat, or vice versa. It is not only arbitrary but unnatural for the republican party to be committed to Bourbonism on this subject. The republican party is, in its normal condition, a progressive party, and its instincts are all toward freedom, rather than privilege and monopoly. Get politics away from the consideration, and let the tariff rest on its merits, and we have no doubt that the large majority of the republicans would be for a liberal tariff to-day, just as Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner were when the party was founded. As it is, the republican party of Massachusetts is honeycombed with liberal tariff sentiment, and among those who believe in it are nearly every man who has read and thought upon the subject. Only the iron rule of party makes them untrue to their convictions here.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

It makes little difference what either party, in congress or in their platforms do upon the tariff question, its revision will be the issue during the coming campaign.—[Allerton, Iowa, News.

Don't agitate the tariff. No, don't! It injures the Edgar Thompson steel works, whose profits are only five million dollars a year. Of course the proprietors are satisfied with the tariff just as it is, and their cry is, don't even agitate the tariff!—[Mauch Chunk, Pa., Democrat.

No presidential year since 1856, when Fremont, the first republican candidate, was put forward, has witnessed such a letting-go and taking hold of political parties and opinions—such a disposition to break away from old leading strings and put influence and votes where they will do the most good—as has begun and will continue this year.

Over fifty high tariff congressmen have spoken elaborately, but no explanation is yet offered why a forty-seven per cent war tariff, which is much more than double the total percentage of labor cost in American manufactures is necessary to "protect" American wages from English competition. This is the great unexplained congressional cryptogram—forty-seven per cent of tariff to secure nine per cent of wages.—[Chicago Tribune (rep.)

The labor cost of producing a dollar's worth of goods in Britain averages thirty-three per cent; in America it averages seventeen per cent. Why do we need a tariff to shut out a dollar's worth of goods from abroad where they pay more to produce it, by about one-half than we do here? We have better resources, machinery and skill in the mechanical arts than can be found in any other country. Just give us a show and we can ruin England's commerce in less than five years.—[Grand Rapids Workman.

The drift of public sentiment on the leading issue is witnessed by the organization of a tariff reform club in Cleveland, Ohio, composed of members from each political party. The president of the club is a prominent republican. In asserting that he represents the sentiments of his constituents in opposing the Mills tariff bill Martin A. Foran was evidently much mistaken. It is probable that the Mills bill lags far behind the real sentiment of the people of the Cleveland district in favor of tariff reform.—[Philadelphia Record.

With the moderate Tom Browne of Indiana on the one hand objecting to added duties on wool, and the extreme Judge Kelley on the other refusing to admit the taking of duties from sugar, poor Mr. McKinley of the ways and means committee is in a bad way in his attempt to formulate a tariff bill. Not the least significant feature of the tariff discussion in its present state is the number of republicans who refuse to be Bourbons at the behest of Pennsylvania and Ohio. And they are increasing.—[Boston Herald (Rep.)

Wilkins's district has more sheep than any other in Ohio, and Wilkins himself was a follower of Sam Randall and a strong advocate of high duties on wool and clothing. He repudiated Cleveland's recommendations and the provisions of the Mills bill, and is now knocked out by his wool growing constituents, who have determined to send a free wool man to represent them in congress! Why shouldn't they? Fine Ohio wool now sells for thirty cents a pound—the lowest price ever known in this country, and but little more than half what was received before the high wool tariff was enacted.—[Chicago Tribune (Rep.)

The attempt of some democratic members of congress to amend the Mills bill, so as to make it conform to every local prejudice, is a most disheartening exhibition of political folly and insincerity. It is to be supposed that the democrats will lose control of some congressional districts on the issue as presented in the Mills bill; but that issue must be made so clear, so intelligent, so intelligible that taxpayers everywhere may understand that it is not a juggle, not a net, not a trap, but an honest attempt to reform the tariff. Stand by the Mills bill; it is the limit of wise concession.—[Louisville Courier-Journal.

California takes a high rank as a wool producing state, but it is a noteworthy fact despite a high protective tariff the clip has steadily decreased since 1876, the period of highest production. The wool crop of 1876 was 56,550,970 pounds; for 1887, thirteen years later it was 31,564,231 pounds—a decrease of 24,986,749 pounds. It is clear that there are economic causes at work to produce this result outside the tariff. The explanation is that land has become valuable for other purposes, and the unfenced area over which the sheep ranged has been greatly diminished.—[San Francisco Examiner.

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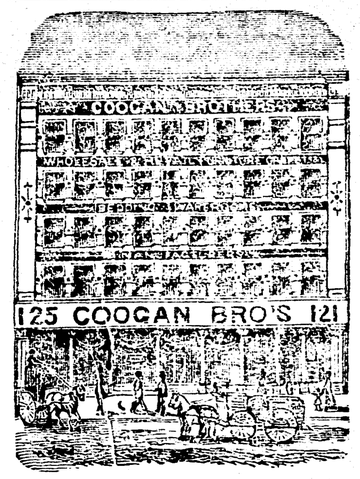

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CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 6, 1888.—To Single Tax Advocates, Greeting—By virtue of the authority invested in me by letters on file in my office from the several states and territories, a call is hereby issued for a national conference of the single tax advocates of the several states and territories and the district of Columbia of the United States, to convene in the city of CHICAGO, Ill., at ten o'clock a. m., on WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1888.
All persons who believe that the public revenues should be raised by a single and direct tax upon relative land values are invited to attend and take part in the deliberations.
The following is the general committee on arrangements:
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Secretary, M. K. Lasselle, Times building, Chicago.
Treasurer, Robert H. Cowdrey, 160 Quincy street, Chicago.
Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco, Cal.
H. F. Ring, Houston, Tex.
H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo.
L. P. Custer, Indianapolis, Ind.
Benjamin Adams, Charleston, S. C.
Freeman Knowles, Ceresco, Neb.
C. A. S. Higley, Minneapolis, Minn.
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Richard L. Atkinson, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. Q. Norton, Mobile, Ala.
WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Chairman Provisional Committee.
Chicago, April 8.—All those who contemplate attending the national conference of single tax advocates, to be held in this city July 4 will confer a great favor on the committee by notifying the secretary of their intentions as soon as possible. The work of the committee will be made much easier if it may know about how many visitors to expect. Where a number of persons will come from any club or organization let the names be given. Where there is no concerted action it is requested that each person will write, saying that he will come. This will enable the committee to proceed in its arrangements intelligently, and also be a great aid in bringing the conference prominently before the local public.
Address all letters to M. K. LA SHELLE, Secretary Provisional Committee, Times Building, Chicago, Ill.

KANSAS STATE LECTURER.—THE undersigned state lecturer and member of the state central committee is now ready to respond to calls for work anywhere in the state of Kansas. Address Rev. W. M. GOODNER, box 233, Larned, Kan.

REGULAR MEETINGS OF THE CLEVELAND land and labor club are held on Monday evenings at 8 o'clock, room 6, No. 56 Public square. Everyone is cordially invited to attend our meetings.