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THE HANDLE TO THE AX.

When Ferdinand Lassalle was beginning his agitation for the liberation of the workmen in Germany he tried to get Robertus, who even before Karl Marx had formulated the idea of "mehrwerth," or surplus value, to join him in the cause. Lassalle contended that "the working classes must constitute themselves an independent political party, and must make universal, equal, direct suffrage their watchword." The representation of the working classes in the legislature, he claimed, "alone could satisfy their legitimate interest in a political sense." Robertus, on the other hand, preferred that they should avoid all political agitation, and insisted that the question of their welfare was purely economic; whereupon Lassalle, in one of his letters, replied: "Without universal suffrage—that is, a practical handle by which to realize our claim—we may be a philosophical school, or a religious sect, but never a political party. Thus it appears to me that universal suffrage belongs to our social demands, as the handle to the ax."

I tell this story not because I am a follower of the great German, but because when he spoke for himself and his own cause he spoke for the cause of all great reforms whatever. With his clairvoyant logic he states the proposition which is fundamental to all true and lasting social reform. It is our boast that in this country we have universal manhood suffrage; but if the boast be true, why is it that we have as clearly marked a governing class, even though it be of variable constitution and not hereditary, as in any country in the world? And why is it that for every reform whatever we have to appeal to the representatives of this class? It is true that all citizens not under the ban of the law for cause may go to the polls and vote; but it is equally true that unless they vote for the representative of one or the other of the wings or parties into which the organization of the governing classes is divided, they have practically to vote in the air, and so to no purpose. The law, by taking only a part of the machinery of elections into its own hands, and leaving the remaining and most essential part subject to the exploitation of irresponsible individuals and associations or parties, has made the government and the offices the property of existing parties, and directly limited the suffrage to the single alternative of selecting between them. This is equivalent to placing the government in commission, and relegating all citizens whatever for their effective political action to their rights within one or the other of the old political parties, notwithstanding the fact that they are irresponsible voluntary associations; and the law imposes no obligation on them to receive or recognize any one within their ranks, and does not vest any one with the right to vote at their primary meetings without submitting to their principles. The party leaders may declare any policy they please; may and do use the offices of the people as a means of maintaining the effective working force of their organization; are enabled to raise vast sums of money from office holders and from the sale of nominations with which to print and distribute the ballots; and can, failing a secret ballot, buy votes at wholesale in an open market—and all because the law has left one-half of the machinery of elections at the mercy of men whose profession it is to disfranchise the masses when they cannot use them. The law has said to us all, "You are entitled to the suffrage, and one man's vote shall count as much as another's;" and then, with its tongue in its cheek, has added, "provided you can take care of yourselves," much as though it had said: "Every man is entitled to life, liberty and property," and had neverthe-

less failed to provide any police or any courts of justice.

It was originally believed that it was enough for the law to accord to all the right to go to the polls and vote. Our early law makers seem to have taken it for granted that this was all that was needed. They took no thought of the fact that the world is made up of the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the honest and the dishonest; and that without the safeguards and securities of the law, the strong and the rich and the dishonest "always get and keep the upper hand," and the weak and the honest

seemed to think that the law was enough. But the right to cast a ballot was accorded to all, and did not ask where the ballot was to come from, where and how the voter was to get it, and how and under what limitations of secrecy he was to deposit it. They did not foresee that some of these things involved—in fact, necessitated—a vast and expensive machinery, possession of which at once produced a hopeless inequality between those who control it and those who do not, and that the failure of enforced secrecy left free the means for organizing bribery. They did not foresee that the individual was always left at the mercy of those strong, rich and dishonest men who, acting in concert and as political organizations, could supply a part of this machinery by men paid out of the public treasury and the remainder by men paid out of the proceeds of the sale of nominations, until at last equal suffrage should become a mockery, party nominations a purchase and public elections a game of skill and chance between two or, at most, three organized parties, and in which the people have no interest except to protect themselves against the worst. They did not foresee that in according a right without supplying the guarantees of that right they were placing the unorganized majority at the mercy of the organized minority and providing the means for the growth of a class of professional politicians who believe in the voice of the people only when they can make that voice echo their purposes. Little by little the legislature learned how defective our legislation was, and some of the worst evils were cured after the persistent opposition of one of the great parties. The democratic party of the past reaped the fruit of the inefficient registration and canvassing laws, and to-day the democratic party is the chief beneficiary in the state of the absence of legal guarantees as to the right to nominate, as to the printing and distribution of the ballots, and as to the enforced secrecy of the ballot. Like the democratic party of the past, like the democratic party of to-day, which is the party of Hill, is opposed to any reform that shall make the declaration of the law that all men are politically equal something more than a mischievous lie.

In a representative government the citizen cannot govern at all. He and his fellows can issue their commission through the ballot, and there their power ends. Thenceforth, as a body and as individuals, except those of them who have been chosen or elected, none can take any official part in the government. But the whole government springs from the election. The election is the greatest and only act of government performed directly by the people, and yet it is the only act of government which has not been placed in its entirety under the control of the law, and the whole of the machinery for which is not provided for or protected by statute. The result of this anomaly is not the practical disfranchisement of the minority by the majority, but of the majority by the minority, so that in the city of New York its quarter of a million of voters, unless they are prepared to submit to the terms of an unequal and hopeless contest, are powerless to do more than select between the candidates nominated by the few thousand persons who form the active nucleus of the three local machines. This is not disfranchisement. It is worse. It is enfranchisement only on condition that we use our franchise to vote ourselves into political servitude by electing those who do not, can not and will not represent us. Is it any wonder, then, that our legislatures are venal and that our governor is corrupt—that our so-called representatives know only three motives, hope of gain, fear of punishment, and political prestige and power? Is it any wonder, then, the law prescribing no sufficient limitations to dishonest and fraudulent practices, and so offering a high premium on those practices through the possession of office and influence—is it any wonder, I say, that the offices of the people should in so many cases be in the hands of the enemies of the people, and that the rum power and the money power should take possession of the machinery of election which the law does not guarantee to the people themselves? Is it any wonder that our legislature is no longer a deliberative body? Is it any wonder that no great reform is possible of accomplishment, not only, but that even a plain letter of the constitution, like the requirement for a census, or a clear and unmistakable mandate of the people, like that for a constitutional convention, is disregarded with the most shameless impunity?

Now, whatever we want in the way of reform, whether it be tax reform, or land

reform, or reform of the law governing corporations, or municipal reform, or reform of the liquor law, there is one reform which we all want, and which we must all have before there is any hope of any of these other reforms, or any practical use, even, of their discussion, and that is electoral reform, whereby the whole machinery of elections shall be surrounded by the safeguards of law; whereby the ballots shall be printed and distributed at public expense; whereby all nominations for the same office shall be printed on the same ticket, and any respectable and representative number of citizens shall have the right to nominate; whereby an end shall be put to the assessment of candidates and the use of money in elections, and whereby the secrecy of the ballot shall be compulsory.

When we get that we shall have true representative government, and we may then abide by the consequences. To-day our evils arise out of the fact that we have the ax without the handle; and while we strike with one hand we cut off the other, instead of the evil at which we aim. We must have the handle to the ax.

WILLIAM M. IVINS.

March of the Workers.

Tune: "John Brown's Body."
Ours are the voices that for ages were unheard,
Ours are the voices of a future long deferred.
Cry all together: we shall speak the final word.

Let the Cause go marching on.
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Let the Cause go marching on.

Ours are the votes that give us the weapons we can wield,
Ours are the votes that make our proud opponents yield.
Vote all together, and our charge shall clear the field.

And the Cause go marching on.
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Let the Cause go marching on.

Ours are the millions, though it may not be in gold,
Ours are the millions who will right the wrongs of old.
More all together as the ocean waves are rolled.

When the storm goes marching on.
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Glory! glory! hallelujah!
Let the Cause go marching on.

GERALD MASSEY.

The United Labor Party.

The state convention of the united labor party was held in Cooper union in this city on Wednesday, 19th, and Thursday, 20th. The largest number of delegates present was 276, mainly from New York and Brooklyn. The united labor party paper, *The People*, filled with articles in favor of protection, was distributed among the delegates. The presidential candidates, Messrs. Cowdrey and Wakefield, were present. The convention resolved that, in addition to the regular united labor electoral ticket, democratic and republican tickets should also be printed, and the substitution of the two united labor electors-at-large. Messrs. Redpath and Walker, both protectionists, were chosen for electors-at-large. The convention also endorsed the republican candidate for governor, Warner Miller, and nominated John H. Blakeney for lieutenant governor and Lawrence J. McFarlin for judge of the court of appeals.

On Sunday night a meeting was held in Madison Square garden, where the anti-poority fair is going on, at which Dr. McGlynn declared his intention of voting for the thirty-four republican electors and the two united labor electors-at-large. But at the meeting of the executive committee on Tuesday night Dr. McGlynn introduced a resolution, which was adopted, declaring that all officers of the party must support the whole united labor party electoral ticket.

In the Eighth Congressional District.

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 21.—The Single tax club of the Eighth congressional district held its first public meeting in support of Cleveland and Thurman last evening at its headquarters, No. 412 Grand street. Owing to the stormy weather and short notice the attendance was not so large as might have been expected. But those who were present had no reason to regret having come out in the storm.

After a few introductory remarks by the chairman Mr. William J. Gorsuch was introduced. He delivered an exceedingly interesting and able speech on the subject of free trade. He had the closest attention of the audience, and received their hearty applause. Then came Mr. William McCabe, who spoke on the single land tax theory, interspersing his remarks with apt illustrations from his experience in the early golden days of California. Mr. John H. Docherty closed the meeting with a fiery attack on the principle of protection.

The club will hold public meetings at its headquarters every Thursday evening, and in order to cover the entire congressional district, will shortly arrange for one or two other meetings in the week for other parts of the district. HERMAN G. LOEW, President.

Henry George in Newark.

The single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting held in Newark on Thursday of last week, at which Henry George spoke, was a very large and successful one. Over 1,200 persons crowded into the rink, many being compelled to stand. Hugh O. Pentecost introduced Mr. George in a neat and appropriate address. There was much enthusiasm shown during Mr. George's speech, especially near the close, when he explained the land tax. Many prominent members of both parties were present. A little balcony that had been used as a band stand when the hall was a skating rink, broke down during the speech, but it caused no excitement, and no one was seriously injured.

The First Place Left for the Other Fellows.

The earth is but a shallow dust,
Around a core of heat and flame.
Some people on it don't ask much;
The crust is good enough for them.

M. K. THURBER, SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE & CO., ATTENTION.

Something for All Protectionists Distributing That Circular to Lie Awake at Night and Think About J. B. Sargent Gets Down to Facts.

Mr. Walter Carr, of Walter Carr & Co., produce commission merchants, 180 Chambers street, not long since wrote to Mr. J. B. Sargent, of Sargent & Co., New Haven, Conn., one of the largest hardware manufacturing firms in the United States, asking for comparative figures in cost of labor and materials entering into Belgian car springs and the same kind of springs made here. Accompanying his reply, Mr Sargent sent the following circular:

SIXTY CENTS A DAY.
While in Brussels, Belgium, last summer (said W. H. Perkins), I saw some skilled laborers making spiral steel springs, such as we use in our freight cars. They receive sixty cents per day, while our blacksmiths receive \$2 for the same work. I asked the Belgian proprietor why he didn't pay more. He said: "I am hindered. When I get \$100 worth of car springs into New York harbor (for I sell my car springs in America) I have to salute your Yankee flag and give up \$50."

"Where does that come from?" I asked.
"From your 'my money' wages," he replied.
"But suppose America had free trade?"
"Free trade!" he exclaimed; "why, I would flood the Yankees with car springs. I would treble my works to-morrow."
"But wouldn't that break our steel springs makers up?" I asked.
"Yes, for a while."
"How long?"

"Why, till your men worked for sixty cents per day, as our men do." (San Francisco Chronicle.)

This tells the whole story. How any wage earner in the country can vote for President Cleveland's re-election is more than I can understand. Bread, meat and clothing should be more to any man than even life long affiliation with any party whose policy becomes antagonistic to his best interests.

H. K. THURBER.
In reference to the foregoing Mr. Sargent says:

It is strange that such smart men as Mr. Thurber know so little of their own lines where they have never investigated.

In the first place, M. W. H. Perkins or the San Francisco Chronicle or Mr. Thurber or the Belgian proprietor lied if they intended to state that a Belgian blacksmith got only 60 cents per day for the same work for which an American blacksmith in spring making (spiral steel springs for cars) gets \$2. And there is another fib in saying that the Belgian spring-maker deducts \$50 in New York for the \$100 worth of springs sent there. And it is another fib to say it comes off the man's wages.

In the first place, the Belgian or English manufacturers are always talking to green Yankees about their cheap labor in order to dissuade the Yankees from going into the business of making the goods.

Then that spring maker buys his steel rods or large wire at not over half their cost in America, for the reason that having only ten per cent protection in Belgium the maker of the steel has rubbed up his wits and has invented and planned and studied his business so that Belgium has now the very best and most economical steel plants in the world, that will get more good solid steel out of a ton of iron ore and at a less price per pound than any other, not excepting the Englishmen, to this date. He gets his plant at a very low cost for construction, because the whole thing was made out of duty free materials. His ore is duty free, as are his fluxes and his coal. The living of his men is duty free, and all the various expenses are duty free, so that he is able, and does, produce so much better steel in his unprotected condition than the American protected and half learned steel maker, that no economical railroad manager would have springs made from the uncertain American steel at any price when he could get Belgian steel made springs.

The "protection" that forces the American consumers to put into the pockets of the American steel maker is not a protection to his laborers, but to his ignorance of the science of fine, toughest steel making, and he will never learn till he is unprotected.

The American manufacturer of good reliable steel springs must import the steel at a duty in cash of forty-five per cent. And that is about all there is to it. The forty-five per cent, with the same on expenses of freight in Europe, packing, broker's custom house fees, etc., makes the forty-five per cent equal to fifty per cent. The making of the steel into a coil spring is of very little cost. The steel is cut into proper lengths, heated in a furnace and each piece long enough for a spring is put into a machine and turned into a spring in less than half a second, and a \$3 per week boy can do the work as well as anybody. They may take long rods of steel, anneal them, and then turn them into one long spiral spring, six or eight feet long, and then saw them up into proper lengths with a circular saw, and then heat and temper—a quick job and very little labor.

If we paid eighty cents for the same amount of work that is done in Belgium for sixty cents and the living cost were the same, all the Belgian workmen would be here in two months if wages did not go up equal to ours before they all left. But the fact is that we do not pay more for the same amount of work (counting by result), not more than to make up for our higher cost for the same living. And skilled to medium Belgians almost never stay in America and only few come.

On the reverse side of the circular above quoted is printed a table of comparative wages in England and the United States, in which iron molders are quoted as getting \$7.50 in wages in England and \$15 in the United States; batters, \$6 in England and from \$12 to \$24 in the United States; machinists, \$8.50 in England and \$18 in the United States; clockmakers, \$7 in England and \$18 in the United States; shoemakers, \$6 in England and \$12 in the United States, and so on.

Mr. Sargent said in regard to this table:

In small cities of ordinary living expenses United States wages are not near the printed rates. Iron molders at hardware factories don't average over \$10 and do double the work done in English factories of the same class. How many batters in a factory earn \$24 per week? Machinists in America get from \$1.50 to \$2.75 for piece work. Clockmakers are put at \$18, but men in Connecticut clock factories do not average over \$9. Shoemakers \$12; they do not average over \$9 in shoe factories for journeymen; some fine workmen get more. Englishmen are very scarce in the United States in the employments on the card, and when they try they usually buck out of the big day's work required in the factory or shop.

Why don't the table on the card show the wages of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Italy,

Spain, France, Germany and Russia—all high tariff countries? J. B. SARGENT.

MR. JARRETT'S HARD ROAD.

Single Tax Men in Indianapolis Give Him a Little Reception and Tender Him an Address—Roger Q. Mills's Big Meeting.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Sept. 23.—The enclosed clipping from the *Sentinel* of the 21st will give you an idea of the "picnic" the single tax men down here can have with a protectionist like John Jarrett. Those mentioned in the report are all single tax men and rank free traders, and the questions we propounded to Mr. Jarrett soon led that gentleman into deep water and a strong current. In fact, the current was so strong that the chairman of the meeting was forced to come to the rescue with the excuse that the carriage was waiting, the hour late, etc. Here is the newspaper extract:

John Jarrett, the lily fingered and well fed agent of the American iron and steel ring, spoke to about three hundred people at the Virginia avenue rink last night. It was supposed to be a meeting of workmen, but for some inexplicable reason the speaker of the evening was introduced by Kelleher, whose fight against the early closing association has made him especially obnoxious to the workmen of Indianapolis.

Mr. Jarrett's speech was of the stereotyped monopoly sort. He said the Mills bill (42 per cent tariff) was free trade, and told his hearers that trusts, monopolies and combines were the "offspring of free trade ideas." Speaking of the "fabulous" wealth which he had been assured by the democratic press since he began doing the dirty work of the tariff rings, he said:

"The reports in the Indianapolis *Sentinel* and the *Brooklyn Eagle*, to the effect that I said that the tariff had nothing to do with high wages in this country, are incorrect. What I did say was, that were it not for labor organizations wages would not be so high as they are."

He closed his speech, which was about an hour and a half long, with a eulogy of Andrew Carnegie, who made \$1,500,000 in a year out of the tariff, and locks out his men whenever they ask a small share of the tariff fat.

He also praised Harrison, and said all workmen ought to support him.

Mr. John Jarrett was somewhat surprised at the close of his remarks at being approached by six gentlemen who have heretofore always voted the republican ticket, but will not do so this time.

Their names are Thomas J. Hudson, 155 Elm street; Gilbert Seibert, 363 East McCarty street; Charles H. Krause, 119 North Liberty street; John L. Gibson, 56 Fayette street; James L. LeFevre, 1 Fayette street, and John Dougherty, Jefferson avenue. Mr. Dougherty introduced the delegation and said:

"We have listened intently to your speech, Mr. Jarrett, but can't agree with your sentiments. We are all of us workmen and we have heretofore been good republicans. But we won't be with you this time—and there are dozens more like us in this city, and don't you forget it."

Mr. Mills spoke here in Tomlinson hall on Friday evening last. Standing room was at a premium even in that vast hall, without music or any unusual advertisement. This we regard as a good omen, as it goes to show that the people are thinking on economic questions, and through such rifts in the clouds we see the single tax sun shine with the light of universal brotherhood and peace.

THOS. J. HUDSON.

A Significant Straw.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., September 15.—Last night Judge Chester B. Krum of St. Louis addressed a large gathering of democrats and others in Turner hall, this city, in favor of tariff reduction. Judge Krum, as you probably know, was until recently one of the prominent republicans of this state. His speech last night was one of exceeding ability—free from all pyrotechnical, spread-eagle tinsel, moderate in tone, dignified, solid, polished. It was the effort not merely of a strong man, but of a cultured scholar. It was listened to with the closest attention throughout. He made it plain that no man of the least independence of thought, familiar with the traditions of the republican party and the utterances of its great leaders, could consistently do otherwise than support Cleveland and Thurman. It was preeminently a speech to convince—and it did convince, for I know of at least one republican protectionist who at the end admitted that he had been wholly mistaken, and that protection is a fraud and a humbug.

In showing what the tariff is, and citing the definitions of various authorities, Judge Krum said, "I assume that there are working men here to-night. . . . Has Henry George lost his right to their confidence?" When he uttered the name of Henry George there was an instantaneous, vigorous, hearty applause from all parts of the hall. This should have occurred at a democratic meeting is certainly a significant "straw."

J. P. GILMER.

Organized in Detroit.

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 21.—There is now an association here founded for the purpose of pushing tariff reform in this campaign. The name (Tax reform association) invites the cooperation of all without respect to political creed. Weekly meetings will be held for discussion. There are among its membership men of all faiths, as may be seen from the officers: President, W. G. Brownlee, free trader; vice-president, H. A. Robinson, single tax; treasurer, P. Dee, free trader; secretary, J. P. Duncan, single tax.

A fine meeting room, very central, has been secured. J. K. FRIEDHART, 45 Waterloo street.

Twelfth Congressional District Organized.

The single tax men of the Twelfth congressional district, consisting of the Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-second assembly districts, met last Monday evening, Sept. 21, at 1,621 Second avenue, and organized a Cleveland and Thurman single tax club of the Twelfth congressional district. The next meeting will be held Friday evening, Sept. 28, at the same place, at which all single tax men in the above district are requested to be present. Order of business, election of permanent officers, meeting every Monday evening.

ARTHUR FIEGEL, Chairman pro tem.

Unity Congregation.

The first meeting of Unity congregation this fall was held last Sunday morning at Masonic temple. The hall was well filled. Mr. Pentecost described the objects of the congregation and declared the entire independence of his pulpit. Services will be held every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock.

On the Highway to Jerusalem.

TORONTO, Canada, Sept. 21.—With the English liberal party advocating taxation of ground rents and the "protection" party in the States on the eve of breaking up, I feel that we are already far on the highway to Jerusalem. WILLIAM A. DOUGLASS.

EXPLAINING THINGS.

HENRY GEORGE ANSWERS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ISSUE OF THE DAY.

A Great Gathering at the Third Single Tax Meeting—Where the Protective System Originated—How the Revenue Should be Collected—The True Principles of Commerce, Etc.

The meeting at Cooper union on Friday evening, Sept. 21, was remarkable, not only for its size, but for its character. A large proportion of the audience was evidently composed of men who had come with a serious purpose to learn something concerning a great political issue, and a determination to do their own thinking—to hear the evidence and weigh it for themselves. The questions asked were no mere chance inquiries propounded on the spur of the moment. The questioners had evidently considered matters before hand, and each one in turn placed before the speaker of the evening what he considered the strongest point against the doctrine of free trade. The meeting was thoroughly orderly and thoroughly in earnest. There was little of that hurrahing for men and phrases that ordinarily distinguishes political meetings; but there was quick apprehension of argument and illustration, and applause that betokened thought. Many present had never before attended a single tax meeting; and to them the tone and temper of the proceedings were a revelation, and satisfied them that the democratic party leaders were acting foolishly in not pressing the tariff question on the attention of workmen in all its fullness.

William T. Crossdale, chairman of the single tax committee, called the meeting to order, and introduced Mr. George with the following remarks:

CHAIRMAN CROSSDALE'S REMARKS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I suppose that we all understand the nature of the meeting we are to hold here to-night. A great question has come recently into American politics about which men differ, and they differ chiefly because in the past twenty years there has been no rational discussion of the principles that underlie it. This meeting is a meeting to consider precisely what there is in the tariff for all men—not for workmen alone, but for the whole American people. (Applause.) Is it a good thing or is it a bad thing to tax commodities?

There are men here of all shades of opinion, men of all political parties and of no political party. After Mr. George has made a brief address, and after we have gone through the usual ceremony necessary to enable us to continue these meetings—taking up a collection—he will then stand before us and answer all questions that bear upon the principles underlying the tariff discussion. And to make it sure that the meeting may proceed with regularity and order it is absolutely necessary that we shall have only one man on his feet asking questions at a time. The audience wants to hear the question as well as the answer. And, therefore, no man's question will be answered unless he is first recognized by myself as chairman of the meeting. I will endeavor to be perfectly fair and recognize everybody, but I cannot recognize everybody at once, and will therefore have to recognize the particular man whose eye catches mine at the moment; but all will have a chance.

We want all men who have come here loaded with questions with which they think they can break down the speaker to have a fair chance to try. (Applause and laughter.) It is possible to conduct such a meeting as this in entire order and with perfect good nature. The fact that there are men here who are devoted adherents of the existing tariff I am glad of; and I hope that the large number of absolute free traders present will bear with patience the fallacies of their questions. (Applause and laughter.)

After announcing several meetings in different parts of the city, the chairman introduced Mr. George, who was received with long continued applause. He said:

HENRY GEORGE'S REMARKS.

Ladies and Gentlemen: At our first meeting, when I spoke here with William Lloyd Garrison, (applause) I was much interrupted by questions. I answered them as far as I could, but finally said that if the questioners would allow me to finish I would ask the committee to set another night, when I would stand upon this platform and answer all questions as to the principles involved in the tariff question that might be propounded by the audience. I am here to do that to-night. (Applause.)

And let me say for the sake of the audience, that those who ask questions should put them briefly and concisely, that they should not be accompanied by long comments, explanations or statements, because the audience may grow restive. I will try to answer all questions propounded as fairly as I can. I shall not, however, answer any questions relating to statistics, or to facts that are not commonly known; first, because I am not an encyclopedia (laughter), and second, because I have—and it is proper that we all should have—a great distrust of any argument upon a subject like this, founded upon facts of statistics that are not generally known. (Applause.) "Figures cannot lie," it is said; but in the collection and arrangement and invention of figures, it is easier to give a falsehood an appearance of truth than in any other way. And this great question that we are to-night to talk about does not require any knowledge of statistics, any knowledge of special facts. Anyone of ordinary intelligence and with knowledge of the great general facts that are common property, is able to settle for himself the tariff question. (Applause.)

I am a free trader (long-continued applause), a free trader not by inheritance or by education, for, like most of us, I presume, I was educated a protectionist and continued to believe in protection until I came to think for myself and examine the subject.

I stand here to-night representing the belief in free trade. (Applause.) Not in British free trade (applause), not in what those people who are in favor of a tariff for revenue only call free trade, but real free trade—trade free of all restrictions whatever. (Applause.) I believe that it is a natural right of men to trade. I believe that protection is a robbery of the many for the benefit of the few (great applause); I believe that the carrying out to its full logical conclusion of the free trade



IN CHICAGO.

PLENTY OF LIFE AND ENERGY THERE.

Men Who Will Vote for Cleveland—England's Hostile Attitude—Graphic Picture of the Horrible Things That Await Those Long Lines of Men That Wait Outside the "Daily News" Office—The "Herald" Out for Absolute Free Trade—Something About a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Concern.

CHICAGO, Sept. 21.—I send herewith list of 50 names of single-tax Cleveland voters, some of which were collected by Mr. Van Ornum. You have received many other smaller lists from Chicago, and yet it is safe to say that you have in all but a very small portion of the names of the Cleveland voters in this city. The woods are full of single tax men these days and one can scarcely walk a square in the heart of the city without running against one or two of them. Many of them, for reasons of their own, will not sign the lists, though they are heartily in sympathy with our principle; more cannot be reached, and many more still are unknown to one another. Of those approached on the subject by Mr. Van Ornum, many refused, but the refusal was because they believed in independent political action.

Now that the weather is getting cold and we are thus being reminded that winter is coming on apace, our workmen and those of our population who would be workers if they could get employment, are beginning to get alarmed at the hostile attitude of England toward the masses of this country. It makes our intelligent workmen shudder to think of the horrible reavage that is being made upon us should the nefarious free traders succeed in breaking down our great wall of protection. Picture the woful scene to yourself.

Imagine the first of December is here. Cleveland and Thurman have been elected. The Mills bill, or a much more so bill, is in a fair way to become a law despite the obstructionists in the house of lords. Coal is \$9 per ton. Blankets \$3 to \$5. Over half of our working population is out of employment. Our streets are covered with snow and ice, and the thermometer vacillates between twenty above and twenty below. The overcoats we have been wearing these two or three winters past are shabby or ragged or pawned. The printers are on a strike. The brass workers are locked out. We are just beginning to reap our annual winter crop of labor troubles. Our soup societies and other charitable institutions are full of the idle and the destitute. Theaters, parties, games, are crowded to the utmost. Theater parties, games and soirees are the rage on the boulevards—not to mention sleighing parties and champagne suppers given by the various wealthy clubs. In fact everything is lovely, and poverty and riches seem to be on the best of terms with the exception, of course, of a few crank agitators, who are paid for teaching the masses to be discontented, when down comes the British lion with a commercial war of his sore tail that Grover twisted last September, and a malevolent twinkle in his eye, to gunpowder out his last revenge upon us.

Gunpowder! O, no; he is too wise an animal to attempt the use of firearms on America a third time. Dynamite! No. He is afraid to carry such a dangerous weapon. He is more knowing than of yore, and has learned from our magnetic statesman how to use a weapon which cannot harm himself, but which is much more deadly to his enemies. No armed fleets and countless troops will be come with to break down our coast defenses and bombard our seaports. Mark the subtlety of his wickedness. He comes with an enormous fleet of merchantmen laden with blankets, coats, hats, shoes, cloths and all the countless products of his cheap foreign labor. These he relentlessly heaps upon our shores and then, with a fiendish grin, sets sail for more pauper products.

And then, the anguish, the increased misery, the weeping and gnashing of teeth of our poor masses, when they awake to the terrible realization that blankets and coats and dresses can be purchased for less than one-half their former prices! Heaven forbid that such things should come to pass in our free land! Imagine our laborer coming home on pay nights burdened with cheap necessities for his shivering family! Imagine, if you can, what a fearful deadly to his enemies. No armed fleets and countless troops will be come with to break down our coast defenses and bombard our seaports. Mark the subtlety of his wickedness. He comes with an enormous fleet of merchantmen laden with blankets, coats, hats, shoes, cloths and all the countless products of his cheap foreign labor. These he relentlessly heaps upon our shores and then, with a fiendish grin, sets sail for more pauper products.

The above truthful statement did not appear in the editorial columns of the Chicago Inter Ocean last Tuesday, but columns of much the same sort have been appearing therein for weeks past.

Appropos of idle men and would be workers. Come with me at noon time to Chicago's busiest center and I will show you a sight you will not care to see again. Calhoun place is a narrow alley running between Madison and Washington streets. The back entrance of the Daily News opens on to this court near Fifth avenue, and here the newsboys congregate for their papers. Ranged along the entire length of the rest of the alley up to La Salle street are from 100 to 300 men of all ages waiting to snatch the first papers from the press and scan the "want" columns. Some are standing or leaning against the buildings, others sitting on the steps and boxes, others are sitting on the curb and still others gathered about in little knots, or sometimes thronging the entire center of the thoroughfare. There are some of Chicago's idlers, and but a very small portion of them. Pass down through the alley, if you can push your way through. Look at the pinched and careworn faces. Note how listless and lacking of energy some of them appear. These are the ones who are losing or have already lost all hope. See their shabby renter clothes their shivering hands, their ragged, jagged edged collars and their worn neck gear. Note the fact that they are clean and tidy, though often very shabby, and note also the absence of vicious and wicked countenances. Note, too, that the only distinctive look betrayed by them as they scan the "want" columns of the News is that of eagerness. See one here and there hurriedly rise and make his way through the crowd. He has seen a "want" that he is listening to answer before his slower brother in want gets there. Finally half or more of them are gone off on similar errands. Note now how eager and hopeful the look is in some of their countenances as they hurry from the alley in search of the much needed employment. And then come back to-morrow and the day after to-morrow and see the same faces over and over again. And those that remain, or do not hurry away do we only imagine that we see the slow settle owner coats and hats, their slow fold up their papers, lounge around awhile, and finally go away. Where? Aye, where? O, yes; some of them get situations occasionally, though the want columns

are mostly filled with fraudulent employment bureau advertisements; but the crowd never diminishes.

Last Saturday the Herald, democratic, came out squarely for free trade and advised the democratic party to do likewise. This is part of what it said:

The Herald, having the truth at heart as its safest stronghold, while campaigns wax and wane, knows there is no authority, human or divine, for the taxation of one man in order that another may benefit thereby. As protection, however slight, is such a tax, then liberty, equality and fraternity demand its abolition.

The Herald has long been leaning this way. When Martin J. Russell was on its staff it used to talk, boldly for a "great daily," and now John McGovern finds it impossible to curb his truth telling propensities.

Mark the prophecy. When the single tax comes into practical politics, as come it will in "times own fullness," the Herald will be its staunchest advocate in the west. If there is one journal in Chicago that has stood nearer to the masses than all the others combined, that journal is the Herald, and the masses know it.

The Times-Mail concern, T. J. West, runs a democratic morning and a republican evening paper—sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde racket, only the changes are more rapid and regular. Wonder if the denouement will be the same as in the play.

Sept. 22.—THE STANDARD for this week has just come to hand. In it I find the following paragraph: "To a Herald reporter Mr. Cowdrey stated that he expected the party would poll 30,000 votes in Chicago alone."

It may be worth while remarking, in view of this statement, that the entire labor party will not poll 1,000 votes in the whole state of Illinois. Chicago in its balmy labor days, never polled a distinctive labor vote of even 25,000, and the last election showed a decrease to 5,000. Even the radical labor party, composed of 40 or 50 socialists, which T. J. Morgan carries around with him to break up peaceable assemblages and stop debates on live questions wherever it is possible to pack the meeting, have declared for Streeter, the union labor nominee, and it is entirely safe to assert that Mr. Cowdrey will not poll 300 votes in Chicago.

J. H. GRUFFES,
No. 905 Sawyer avenue.

COMPARING THE TARIFFS.

What the People of Various Countries Pay for the Privileges of Better Things—Facts About the Sewing Machine.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,—Frederick A. Parker of Auburn, N. Y., asks "What is the average tariff in Germany and France?" The minister of finance of France states that in 1885, the last year in which results have been published, the total value of importations of manufactured articles into France amounted to 708,000,000 francs, and the amount of duty collected on them was 50,000,000 francs. The average percentage being 6 1/2; the proportional duties on certain articles is less than 1 per cent, and in no case exceeds 25 per cent, and the latter tax is imposed only in exceptional cases.

If the calculations were made on the entire volume of French imports instead of upon manufactured articles only the average percentage of tax would be still smaller, amounting to about 3 1/2 per cent.

In the United States the average ad valorem duty amounts to 38.9 per cent, and the specific duty 61.1 per cent.

The percentage of duties on the importations of the various countries is as follows:

United States	31.54
United Kingdom	6.80
German Empire	9.02
France	7.96
Austria-Hungary	7.15
Italy	13.93
Russia	15.45

Taking the tariff tax in the United States, it will be found to bear the heaviest upon the common necessities of life. For instance, on woollen mixed cloths, the highest price cloth known in the trade, the average rate of duty is 35 per cent, while on cotton warp reversible, the cheapest grade on which our workmen have to depend, the tax is 18.7 per cent.

Take an article used in every household, the sewing machine. The tax is 45 per cent ad valorem. On needles the tax is 25 per cent; on thread, 55 per cent; on scissors, 35; on pins, 30, and so through the entire list.

No, let us see what it costs to construct a sewing machine, in detail:

Shut and low steel, cast and malleable iron, 16 pounds, at 41 cents	\$0.72
Screws, nuts, bolts, pins, collars	.18
Shuttle	.18
Bobbins (6), needles (6)	.12
Screw driver (2), direction book (2)	.04
Stand	1.50
Table, 2 drawers, cover and drop leaf	2.50
Labor—	
Turning—Shafts, needle bars, presser bars, eccentrics, hand wheel, shaft heads, etc.	.25
Jawing and ornamenting	.25
Plating	.05
Polishing	.05
Assembling	.50
Machine work—Drilling, reaming, cleaning, tapping, facing, counter boring, milling and press work	1.25
Total	\$7.90
Add incidental variations in price of labor and material	37 1/2
Grand total	\$8.33 1/2

A machine of this class will retail at \$50. It will wholesale at \$12.50, leaving a profit to manufacturer of \$1.00—a very neat profit all around. The same machine may be bought "across the pond" at about one-half the price our "highly protected" workmen are asked in order to keep our impoverished manufacturer from "going out of business."

W. S. WAUDBY.

The Period of 1840-47.

SUPREMACY, Wis., Sept. 22.—Two old men, now residents of this village, who were citizens of New York in 1840-47, tell me that for the most of the high protective period there was an extraordinary labor depression in New York and other parts of the country. One, a laborer then, says there was so little demand for labor that he, with hundreds of others from his part of the state, was forced to go to Canada and work on the Welland canal. The other, a mechanic, says that skilled mechanics (men who had served full apprenticeships under competent masters) had to work for \$18 to \$20 a month. They say an industrial revival set in about 1847 and continued throughout the low tariff period.

E. R. OTIS.

The "Standard" Among Baltimore Democrats.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Your papers and tracts were gladly received. I took them to our democratic ward meeting and all the men grabbed for them. The next day all the talk was the George doctrine. I think some of the men will go over to the Standard. Maryland will give Cleveland at least 3,000 majority.

GEO. H. MCPHAIL.

THE BLACK COUNTRY.

SOME FACTS THAT THE PRESS AND NAT. MAY FORGET TO STATE.

Rev. Harold Rylett Shows How Our Protectionist Friends Gather their Material About England—The Actual Condition of Things Among the Miners and Chain Makers—The People are "Protected" to a State of Starvation.

DUDLEY, ENGLAND, Sept. 3.—I see from references in THE STANDARD that Mr. McKay has wasted no time in putting to what I suppose he would call "good use" the information which he obtained in England. This gentleman was in the Black country for a few days, and while at Cradley Heath he arranged for some photographs to be taken. He was very anxious to have them taken in a particular way. For instance, he wanted some of the female miners to have their portraits taken in their most ragged attire and with chains round their necks. Having been consulted upon the matter, I advised that the people should be photographed with chains in their hands—for neither the men nor the women ever work with chains around their necks.

It is rather amusing to us here to find that the condition of our poor chain makers and nail makers should be laid at the door of free trade. The fact is it is due to protection, for there is no work in the world more strictly protected district. The land is strictly monopolized. The railways are strictly monopolized. If the land values were appropriated to state purposes by means of a tax upon them, and if the railways were run in the interest of the community, instead of in the interest of a corporation of shareholders, there would be no poverty in the Black country. Chain making and nail making are strictly domestic industries—that is to say, the people work at them in their shops which are attached to their dwellings. If at the same time they could have land attached to their houses—which at present they cannot have—they would be able to subsist upon the land and would be in a position to refuse to make either chain or nails unless they were better paid for doing so. There are cases, though they are very few in number, where small gardens are attached to the cottages, and in every instance that I have seen these gardens are admirably cultivated, and this is proof that what is wanted to improve the condition of the poor chain and nail makers is the alternative—opportunity of working the land; which, however, they are at present denied, because it is to the interest of the land owners to hold the land while the people cut each other's throats in a desperate competition or struggle for life.

This view of the matter I shall more carefully elaborate in the series of articles which I am at this moment contributing to the Labor Tribune as "Industrial Life in the Black Country," but as I have several articles yet to write upon the actual condition of things before I deal with its causes and its remedy, I have thought it might be well to discount the use which may be made of these articles by telling you that I have no doubt that the real cause of the poverty of the people in the Black country is land and mineral and railway monopoly, and that the remedy lies in the direction of the overthrow of these monopolies by a tax on land and mineral values and the appropriating of the railways by the state. I am much interested in your presidential election, for the victory of either party will be fraught with very serious consequences to England. The commercial classes here are anxious for a democratic victory, because they think that will mean money in their pockets. But for my part I have no doubt that if America adopts a free trade policy, England would have to bid a long farewell to her commercial greatness. I wonder rather that the American people do not see this more clearly. It was solely by our free trade policy that we commanded the commerce of the world, and under that policy we have reached almost the limit of our available natural resources; and unless the landed interest in England loosened their grip upon our remaining natural resource, you, with your much greater resources, by a free trade policy, could be beyond a doubt compel the center of commercial gravity to move west. Our landed interest, however, is not at all likely to loosen its grip except at the imperious mandate of a starving nation. And if you adopt a free trade policy, it will be all over with the commerce of England before we learn sense. A republican victory would give us breathing space.

I rather think this view is entertained, *sub rosa*, by many of our editors who advocate Cleveland and election. They understand that their advocates in Cleveland are the best way of securing his defeat. And they also know that a democratic victory with a free trade policy in America would mean a commercial crisis here in a very short time, and a very rapid and drastic dealing with the landed interest.

I suppose there is no doubt that free trade will triumph in America, if not in November, still at no distant date. For the protectionism of the republicans—to judge by some recent experiences of mine—is a very hollow business. I have had a young Bostonian republican staying here with me quite lately. He was apparently on the same errand as Mr. McKay. I took him all over the Black country, and as he is a very determined protectionist, he did his best to convince me that all the misery we saw was due to free trade. But as I found that one of the main objects of his visit was to secure for himself and wife a three years' supply of clothing at free trade prices—which clothing, by wearing once or twice, he told me, should get past the custom-house officials duty free—you may be sure I was not convinced of the superior advantages of American protection.

The fact is, as I have already said, whatever poverty we have in England is due to the fact that in the landed and railway monopolies we have what are practically tariffs on production and distribution. When we can bring the people to see that trade is exchange, and that anything that hampers production or hinders distribution is the best way of trade, then we shall witness a development of the facilities to labor, and we shall have such a demand for labor, that a product wage will take the place of a subsistence or competitive wage, and none but the idle and thriftless will starve.

However, we are working away on the lines laid down by Mr. George on his last visit, but the Irish question blocks the way. My own opinion is that that question will not be settled on its merits, after all. The present has been a most disastrous year for agriculture, and a "condition of England question" of enormous proportions is beginning to make itself felt. Altogether I fear that we shall have a bad winter. I don't know what the very poor will do. I suppose we shall have soup kitchens everywhere. But this I am confident of: We shall not return to protection. Our workmen—at all events the most intelligent among them—see clearly that their poverty is due to the fact that the land of the country is out of their reach, and they will go for the land with a vengeance if hunger becomes acute.

And, accordingly, I shall not be surprised to find the home rule question dealt with under the stress of a great wave of popular agitation against the landed interest.

HAROLD RYLETT.

THE NEW YORK FARMER AND THE TARIFF

The republican party in the ensuing presidential election confidently expects to come down to Harlem river with a majority of 65,000 or thereabouts, sufficient to overcome any possible democratic majority in the cities of New York and Brooklyn; and in this manner it is hoped that New York will cast thirty-six electoral votes for Harrison and Morton, and thereby secure their election. This expectation is based upon the belief that the New York farmer will vote the republican ticket now, as in the past. But, however much the republican party may have reasonably felt the superiority of the farmer vote hitherto, the great issue raised in this campaign renders it by no means certain that a continuance of this support will be maintained.

The tariff issue overshadows all others this year, since the question of taxation affects peculiarly every voter in the state, and the farmer is quite as wide awake to his own interests as the mechanic.

What the tariff has been the effect of the tariff upon the New York farmer?

The stock republican argument produced for the benefit of the farmer is that, while it is true that the farmer competes with the entire world on a free and equal basis, and that while the value of his products cannot be directly enhanced by a protective tariff, nevertheless his share of the benefits accruing from the blessed tariff arises from the great value of the home market thus produced, and the fact that the farmer's share of the market over that pernicious fallacy, the "foreign market," will be found demonstrated in any issue of the Tribune or the Press, and requires no demonstration here.

What the New York farmer has gained under protection, as compared with the nearest approach this country has had to free trade, will be shown by the favorite protectionist method—that is, by a resort to statistics.

The decade from 1850 to 1860 was a low tariff period, and from 1860 to 1880 and since then the New York farmer, as well as the rest of us, have enjoyed the blessing of a high protective tariff.

The following tables are taken from the United States census reports:

TABLE I.
Number of farmers in New York state:
1850..... 176,323
1860..... 176,590
1870..... 182,101
1880..... 211,093

TABLE II.
Average number of improved acres in each farm:
1850..... 72.7
1860..... 72.7
1870..... 73.3
1880..... 73.3

TABLE III.
Total valuation of farm lands, buildings, improvements, agricultural implements, and live stock:
1850..... \$650,227,180
1860..... \$650,227,180
1870..... \$1,173,800,236
1880..... \$2,066,294,180

TABLE IV.
Value of all farm products for the year prior to the census:
1849..... not taken
1859..... 202,821,223
1869..... not taken
1879..... 175,025,695

TABLE V.
Average value of each farm:
1850..... \$4.81
1860..... 4.79
1870..... 5.45
1880..... 5.47

TABLE VI.
Average value of products for each farm:
1850..... \$6.37
1860..... 6.37
1870..... 7.08
1880..... 7.08

TABLE VII.
Average value of products for each acre under cultivation:
1850..... \$12.56
1860..... 12.56
1870..... 12.56
1880..... 12.56

The deductions from these tables are self-evident. According to table II, the number of acres under cultivation in each farm was substantially the same at each period. Under ten years of our nearest approach to free trade the value of each farm increased \$608, or at the rate of almost \$70 a year. Under twenty years of protection the increase in value of each farm was \$298, or at the rate of not quite \$30 a year; while under the last ten years of protection, when its beneficial effects had time to manifest themselves, each farm decreased in value at the rate of \$41 a year. Instead of a gain of \$70 a year, each farmer has lost \$41 a year, so that his total annual loss as the result of protection has been \$111. That is, each New York farmer is at the end of a year \$111 worse off under protection than he would have been under a low tariff.

So much for the effect of protection upon the value of the farmer's property. What has been to him the value of his home market, for the higher prices he is obliged to pay for everything he buys, owing to protective duties?

The only way the farmer can be compensated by obtaining higher prices for products, which under the theory of protection he should obtain, since the protectionists agree that protection brings consumers to the farmer's door and offers employment for men who otherwise would become farmers and enter into competition with them. But that the "home market" of the protectionist is a myth is shown by tables IV, V, and VI.

The aggregate value of the yearly products of the New York farmer was less in 1880 than in 1870 by over ten per cent. And, there being 30,000 more farms in 1880, the value of the products for each farm decreased in the same period \$190, or over twenty per cent. No wonder that the value of each farm decreased over \$400 in ten years' time.

That this aggregate decrease is due to decreased value of the products of the farm, and not to a fall in the value of the home market, is shown by the increased production in 1880 over 1870. For example, the total number of bushels of wheat, corn, oats, barley, buckwheat, rye and potatoes in 1870, was 106,299,381, and in 1880, was 123,398,125. Pounds of tobacco in 1870 were 2,349,798; in 1880 were 6,481,421. And the number of milk cows in 1870 was 1,349,661, and in 1880 was 1,437,833.

A perusal of these tables will show to the New York farmer that he is not a sharer in the benefits of protection, and will explain to him where the money comes from which enriches the millionaire beneficiaries of protective tariff extortion and robbery. An annual contribution of \$111 from each New York farmer through the instrumentality of protection suffices to furnish tariff monopolists with castles in Scotland and the means to lobby bills through congress which weave closer fetters about the wealth producers of New York.

ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

(1) The values given for 1870 in tables III, IV, V, and VI are gold values, so that a uniform standard of value is given throughout the tables for the several periods. The census figures for 1870 are: Value of farms, improvements, buildings, implements and live stock, \$1,474,033,900; value of products, \$253,324,153. The average value of a gold dollar in the census year was \$1.25, and the figures given in the tables are deduced from the census figures on this basis. If any protectionist farmer can get any comfort out of using the census figures he is at liberty to use them. He will find that the average value of a farm in New York was \$6,820 in 1870, and its product was \$1,171. Adopting these figures, each farm diminished in value in ten years \$1,773, or \$177 a year; and the annual product of each farm was reduced \$111, or \$11 a year. He will find, between Sept. and Oct. 1880, and may be sure, while he trusts his property in the bank "Protection," that shipwreck will be the inevitable result.

LITTLE HOMES AND LITTLE FARMS.

How the Single Tax Would Effect Them—A New England Man Who Knows What He Is Talking About—He Produces Facts and Figures.

OXFORD, Mass.—Just after the election last fall the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, after congratulating itself that the result "practically disposed of Henry George as a political factor of moment for some time to come," went on in another long editorial to show how little it really understood of the principles of the author of "Progress and Poverty." "Think," the Republican said, "what a heavy land tax would mean to the already overburdened New England farmer; think what it would mean if carried to the point of confiscating these little farms and these little homes about which cluster the tenderest memories of New England life."

Now I hate to see the Republican make a fool of itself, because I like the paper. I have taken it for over sixteen years, ever since I was seventeen years old. It is right on almost all political questions, and is even now doing the best work in behalf of tariff reform and free trade of any paper I know, save only THE STANDARD. Accordingly, when it makes such assertions as the above or, nullifying the teachings of all the great political economists, declares that a tax on land values could be turned over by the landlord to the tenant and charged for in an extravagant, it is all the more to be regretted.

Let us see about these "little homes" and these "already overburdened New England farmers." I assert that the great majority of all the little homes known to me would be worth more in cash the morning after Henry George's principles were put in practice than they ever were before. I assert that the realization of those principles would lift the load off the overburdened New England farmer, so that the half idle or vacant farms now so common even here in densely populated Massachusetts could be brought into use again.

Facts and figures will talk to us if we use them aright. Let us look at some of the "little homes" that I know of here in Oxford. Here is a description and inventory of one a mile from the village, copied from our last printed valuation book, owned by an old gentleman who is unable to see anything but the "Progress and Poverty" view of the matter. "House valued at \$500, barn \$200, house lot, two acres, \$250—total \$950." This lot was originally cut off from the adjoining pasture, overrun with blackberry briars and sweet fern bushes. The land of the farm to which the pasture belongs is assessed, improved and all, at less than \$20 an acre. Most of the \$250 valuation of this two-acre house lot belongs to the thirty vigorous bearing apple trees that are growing upon it. The record of actual sales shows that real estate in this town is generally assessed for every dollar it is worth, save only an occasional wood lot which may be worth more. The taxes will average nearly one and one-half per cent; the town has within a few years been able to borrow money on long time for three and one-half per cent. There is a relation here which would show that the tax on land values ought to be five per cent. This old gentleman paid a tax of \$10.21, including his poll tax and the tax on his cow. The tax on the homestead was \$13.78. Now we have something to figure with.

Leaving the valuation of the lot at \$250, the George tax on this place at five per cent would be but \$12.50, or \$13.88 less than the present homestead tax, or \$3.71 less than all his present taxes. Deduct the value of the apple trees at \$5 each and the land would be worth but \$100, and the tax on this would be but \$5, and at this rate of taxation this place ought to sell for \$200 or \$300 more than it will now.

Let us take another homestead, this time in the village, owned by another old gentleman who "dies up" when anything is said about Henry George. "House \$1,300, barn \$150, house lot one acre, \$700—total \$2,150. The tax on this place was \$21.18, so that, leaving the land value at \$700, the rate of five per cent would make the taxes about \$4 more than the present tax on the other hand, and all new improvements would go for nothing.

Let us next take one of the best places in town as follows: "House \$8,000, barn \$300, house lot one and one-eighth acres \$2,000." The land tax at five per cent would reduce the taxes on this place by some \$50; and so it goes with every grade of homesteads, not including extensive grounds. Of course, if we can "supplse" a little \$300 house on a \$10,000 lot we shall meet with a different result, but we are not figuring in "supposition" to-day, we are figuring with facts.

To be sure, there are cases where the taxes would be increased. Here is one of the worst cases: "House \$2,300, barn \$200, house lot four acres \$2,200." The taxes here would be increased from \$8.15 to \$11.0 if we allow nothing for improvements on the lot; this is the result of holding four acres of vacant land in the center of the village. Restrict the house lot to one acre, and the taxes would be reduced \$4 to \$2.40. Instead of a gain of \$70 a year, each farmer has lost \$41 a year, so that his total annual loss as the result of protection has been \$111. That is, each New York farmer is at the end of a year \$111 worse off under protection than he would have been under a low tariff.

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A perusal of these tables will show to the New York farmer that he is not a sharer in the benefits of protection, and will explain to him where the money comes from which enriches the millionaire beneficiaries of protective tariff extortion and robbery. An annual contribution of \$111 from each New York farmer through the instrumentality of protection suffices to furnish tariff monopolists with castles in Scotland and the means to lobby bills through congress which weave closer fetters about the wealth producers of New York.

ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

(1) The values given for 1870 in tables III, IV, V, and VI are gold values, so that a uniform standard of value is given throughout the tables for the several periods. The census figures for 1870 are: Value of farms, improvements, buildings, implements and live stock, \$1,474,033,900; value of products, \$253,324,153. The average value of a gold dollar in the census year was \$1.25, and the figures given in the tables are deduced from the census figures on this basis. If any protectionist farmer can get any comfort out of using the census figures he is at liberty to use them. He will find that the average value of a farm in New York was \$6,820 in 1870, and its product was \$1,171. Adopting these figures, each farm diminished in value in ten years \$1,773, or \$177 a year; and the annual product of each farm was reduced \$111, or \$11 a year. He will find, between Sept. and Oct. 1880, and may be sure, while he trusts his property in the bank "Protection," that shipwreck will be the inevitable result.

Look through our valuation book from end to end and I defy any one to find any confiscation of homesteads in the

THE STANDARD.

BERRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

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

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

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

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

GOODS FOR GOLD.

Protectionists are ostentatiously parading what they call the "goods for gold" theory in support of their doctrine. The theory, like the doctrine, is both antique and grotesque. Before political economy was seriously studied there was a current delusion, now known as the mercantile theory, that profitable commerce consists in the importation of precious metals in return for the exportation of other commodities; but since the time of Adam Smith it has been gradually conceded by serious students of the subject that it consists in the importation of goods of high home value in return for the exportation of goods of low home value. The latter idea is the "goods for goods" theory, though it is an axiom rather than a theory, and it is to it that protectionists expose the old mercantile delusion of "goods for gold."

The form in which the "goods for gold" theory is stated holds out a temptation to disguise it with the self evident proposition that a trade of goods for gold is a trade of goods for goods, inasmuch as gold, being a labor product, is goods. But such summary treatment of the "goods for gold" theory would not be fair; it would be taking advantage of a habit the protectionist has of saying what he doesn't mean, and meaning what he doesn't say. By this use here of the term "gold" he does not intend to describe a product of labor—goods; but something that, according to his philosophy, is the employer of labor, namely, money. Gold being generally regarded as in itself money, the term is wholly dissociated in his mind from the material which human labor extracts from quartz, and relates exclusively to the money function of that material. The "goods for gold" theory is, therefore, a "goods for money" theory, inculcating that goods are not exchanged for goods, but for money.

What is money? It is not the employer of labor, but a common measure of values and medium of trading labor products. It is not goods, but something by means of which goods may be conveniently bartered. It is not what men work for or consume, but an evidence in their hands that they have worked, and a draft upon the store houses of the world for the value of their work in forms to suit their desire. It bears the same relation to goods that bank checks bear to it. It has no function but that of a medium and measure to facilitate the trade of goods for goods. And unless there be such trade money is nothing. The material of which it is composed, gold, for instance, is something; but as material it is not money, but goods. While, therefore, trading goods for the material of which money is composed is trading goods for goods, trading which ends with the exchange of goods for money—for a mere medium of trade—is trading goods for nothing. Hence the "goods for gold," or more correctly, the "goods for money" theory may be formulated as follows:

Goods—money—nothing;
or, eliminating the common medium,
Goods—nothing.

which expresses precisely what happens when goods are lost, burned, stolen, given away, or exchanged for counterfeit money or the bills of a broken bank.

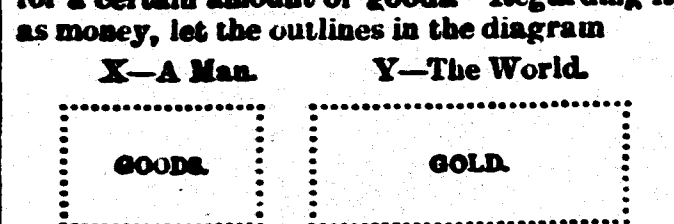
But if the transaction involves not only the selling of goods for money by one party, but also the purchase of other goods with that money, both of which are essen-

tial to trade—no trade being complete without them—the formula is as follows:

Goods—money—goods;
or,
Goods—goods.

Mr George White of Brooklyn illustrates the same point in this way:

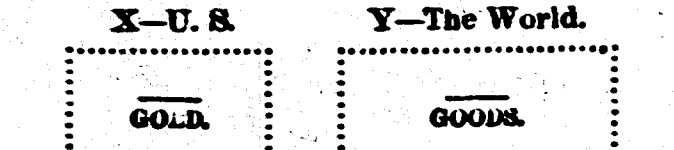
Gold may be called international money, provided it be used as money. Just as long as it is used as money, however, it is nothing more than a counter, a ticket, good anywhere for a certain amount of goods. Regarding it as money, let the outlines in the diagram



represent a fence around a man and another around the rest of the world. X has goods, Y gold. If an exchange is made the case stands thus:



It is all very fine for X to exchange goods for gold, but is he not poorer until he lets the gold go outside his fence in exchange for other goods? Certainly he is. Then let X represent the United States and examine whether the case is any different:



The gold is a mere counter of exchange while used as money, and its receipt within the X fence does not add to the wealth enclosed by it, while the fence Y has gained in wealth by receipt of goods.

Therefore, when Americans buy of the world commodities for gold, the United States and not the world has most profited by the transaction; the very opposite of the protectionist idea. And when Americans sell commodities for foreign gold, the foreigners get the best of the transaction; the very opposite of the protectionist's claim. To part with good things for gold is to be put exactly in the position of the boy who trades a rose apple for a circus ticket; and for us to keep the gold here is just as nonsensical as for the boy to keep his ticket. To get pay for his apple, he must go to the show; to get real pay for our goods we must import good things.

Of course, it is not disputed that gold, unlike the circus ticket, has intrinsic value; but when goods are traded for gold for its own sake, as to make it into jewelry, the trade is a trade of goods for goods.

The demonstration could stop here, but if it did protectionists might say, "That may be as between man and man, but as between nation and nation it is different," for the protectionist has not yet learned that trade is nowhere carried on between nation and nation, but everywhere between man and man.

To protectionists there is an esoteric meaning in the phrase "goods for gold," which, if brought to light, could be fairly stated as follows:

"When one man trades with another in the same country, the transaction is in effect a trade of goods for goods; but when the people of one country trade with the people of another country, balances occur which are settled by the delivery by the debtor country to the creditor country of the common medium of trade—gold, and to the extent of such deliveries the trade is not a trade of goods for goods but of goods for gold. If, then, one of these countries long continues to be the creditor country its receipts of money will so facilitate its production and domestic trade as to make it more prosperous than the debtor country."

Consider, first, the proposition that in trade between nations balances are paid with money, and therefore, to the extent of those balances, is a trade of goods for gold, and not of goods for goods.

How can trade between nations differ from trade between individuals? Are there not balances between individuals, and are not those balances settled with money? Does not the farmer sell to the storekeeper and buy from the storekeeper, and upon the adjustment of their accounts does not the debtor pay his balance in money? But can it, therefore, be said of this storekeeper and that farmer that the balance represents a trade of goods for money? If the creditor lost the money, it would; and in that case he, to the extent of the balance, would be giving goods for nothing. So, if the farmer and the storekeeper traded only with each other, and one of them was continuously the creditor, the settlement of balances between them would represent a trade of goods for money, and would be as unprofitable to the creditor as if he lost the money; for if they traded only with each other he would be compelled in future to sell less or buy more, thereby becoming the debtor when balances were settled. If he did neither his money would be useless.

But the trade of the farmer and the storekeeper is not confined to each other. The money paid one of them in settlement of balances in his favor goes to settle balances in favor of others, so that in the long run every balance is settled with goods; and when a surplus of money remains in the hands of any man in the circle of trade, he promptly seeks what he calls an "investment," which, when analyzed, is an opportunity to exchange his money for something else.

As with individuals, so with nations. One country may import more from another than it exports to the other, thus leaving a balance between those countries. But the trade of nations is no more confined to two nations than the trade of individuals is confined to a farmer and a storekeeper. A nation which is debtor to one country is creditor to another, and the mutual debts and credits are, in the long run, balanced with goods. The

theory is illustrated by Mr. Robert P. Porter, when he says that if we pay \$32.50 per ton to American manufacturers for steel rails we have the rails and the \$32.50, while if we send \$22.50 abroad for steel rails, we have only the rails! Even Mr. Porter must have smiled at his joke when he asked whether it is not cheaper for us to buy the rails of an American manufacturer for the higher price than to buy them of England for the lower.

There are several ways of looking at that joke.

If we look at it from the point of view of the American steel rail manufacturer who is empowered by the government to charge his fellow citizen \$10 more for rails than they are worth, it is no doubt entertaining.

If we look at it from the point of view of the fellow citizen, however, the humor is not so apparent; for though he may habitually accept the "goods for gold" theory, and realize the importance of keeping money in the country, he will be apt in lucid intervals to remember that the extra \$10 he pays for those rails is received from the sale of goods which he is at considerable pains to produce, and to wonder why the country wouldn't be as rich if himself, instead of the American steel rail manufacturer, were the custodian of the extra ten dollars.

If we look at it from the point of view of the steel rail employee we shall be tempted to inquire whether his share of the extra ten dollars is deducted from his wages or added to his expenses!

But supposing for the moment that the exportation of gold is a national calamity, let us see what happens when an American buys a ton of steel rails from an English manufacturer for \$22.50. Does he put \$22.50 into a package and express it across the water? No. He does \$22.50 worth of work, with the proceeds of which he buys a draft on England from a New York bank and mails that draft—a mere piece of paper, the loss of which does not diminish our wealth, for any of our paper mills can reproduce it in an instant—to the English manufacturer. The English manufacturer deposits this draft in his bank, from which it finds its way to the English bank on which it is drawn, where it is paid, not with American gold—God forbid!—but with English money, probably a Bank of England note. The bank on which it is drawn then charges the New York bank with its amount. Does the New York bank pay this debt by shipping gold? No. It is paid by a counter entry in the books of both banks, caused by a draft drawn in England on New York, or a draft drawn in France, Germany, Brazil, or some other country, on New York, and which has found its way into the English banks. And what does this counter draft mean? It means, no matter what country draws it, that some American has produced \$22.50 worth of goods which he has sold to somebody in that country. Then, so far as this country is concerned, an exchange of goods for goods has been made and the American consumer of steel rails gets his rails at an expenditure of \$22.50 worth of labor, while we have in the country both the rails and the money.

But, says the protectionist, "while this may be true of one transaction, the result of the multitude of transactions is a balance which we owe and must pay by a shipment of money." As the balance does not run that way the criticism is without foundation. But aside from that, the real trade balance never can run that way. When it appears to, and we are shipping gold to settle balances, it is either because it is then profitable to export gold as goods, or because we are paying rents, bonds, corporation dividends, or donations to foreigners, for none of which do we receive either money or goods.

And now let us see what happens when an American buys a ton of steel rails of an American manufacturer for \$32.50. First, he must do \$32.50 worth of work, instead of \$22.50, and that \$32.50 he forwards to the American manufacturer, who returns the rails. Here, too, there is an exchange of goods for goods; but whereas before it was an exchange of \$22.50 worth of goods for \$22.50 worth, it is now an exchange of \$32.50 worth for \$22.50 worth. The American consumer pays \$10 more for his rails, and, just as in the case of the foreign trade, we have in the country both the rails and the money.

The only difference between the two transactions is the bonus our consumers are in the latter case compelled to pay to our monopoly manufacturers, a bonus which the manufacturer is disposed to distribute among his workmen, but never does, as his workmen well know.

Is it cheaper for us to buy of an American manufacturer for the higher price than to buy of England for the lower? Assuming that this is not a joke, after all, let us inquire. It might be, if it were not for the fact that our labor must be diverted from other and more profitable pursuits to make the rails. If by rubbing money between our thumb and forefinger and saying "presto," we could conjure up steel rails, then, indeed, would it be cheaper for the country, as a whole, to keep the money at home than to send it to England, even though it circulated at home at the rate of \$32.50 per ton of rails, when the covetous Englishman was willing to give a ton for \$22.50. It would be cheaper for the country, as a whole, mind you, but not for the buyer of rails, if he had to drop \$32.50 of his magical money into Mr. Carnegie's hat every time he did the trick, when an Englishman would do the trick for him for \$22.50.

But since money does not conjure up steel rails in any such way, and has no more to do with steel rails than to bring

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about trades between the man who makes them and men who make other things, it is not cheaper either for the country or for the rail consumer to pay an American manufacturer more than the English price. For if we buy rails abroad we must pay for them in goods of our own production or (in deference to the "goods for gold" theory) with money. If we pay for them in goods the country has the rails, while its supply of money is undiminished; if we pay for them in money the labor released from rail making produces for us other goods equal in value to the money exported, and in such case the country has the rails and the other goods. In either event the country, without considering how much richer it may be, is fully as rich as if an exorbitant price were paid to the American manufacturer.

If it were cheaper by the amount of money kept in the country, to buy rails of an American manufacturer at a high price than to buy them abroad at a low price, we should save \$22.50 if that were the English price, and \$10 if the English price fell to that sum; while we should strike an equilibrium if the Englishman should give them to us for nothing. I suggest, therefore, that Mr. Porter vary his question. Instead of asking if it is not cheaper for us to buy rails of American manufacturers for \$32.50 than to buy them of England for \$22.50, let him ask if it is not just as cheap to buy them of American manufacturers for \$32.50 as to get them of England for nothing. The answer to one question answers the other.

Could anything be more absurd than this "goods for gold" theory, unless it be its favored citizen that it is more profitable for a citizen and cheaper for his country to pay a fellow citizen high prices for domestic goods than to pay a foreigner low prices for the same quantity and quality of goods?

By the "goods for gold" theory, receiving without giving impoverishes, and giving without receiving enriches; while its corollary makes greater labor for a less result preferable to less labor for a greater result.

LOUIS F. POST.

A POSER FOR PROTECTIONISTS.

Senator George's proposed amendments to Senator Sherman's anti-trust bill have scarcely reached from the press, and especially from the protectionist press, the attention they deserve. Mr. George proposes:

That when any action or suit in law or equity shall be commenced or shall be pending in any court of the United States, it shall be the duty of any defendant therein to except to the jurisdiction of such court upon the ground that the cause of action or suit is for the enforcement of a right based on a contract for the sale, exchange, or transportation, or on any damage arising from any wrong committed in respect to any article of merchandise manufactured, transported, imported, or sold in violation of the provisions of the first section of this act, and if such ground of exception shall be proven to the satisfaction of the court, judgment of dismissal shall be entered with double costs to the defendant, and with such reasonable sum for the attorney's fees for the defense thereof as may be allowed by the court.

That when the president of the United States shall be satisfied that any arrangement, trust, contract, agreement, or combination, as described in the first section of this act, has been formed and that in consequence thereof there has been a rise in the price of any article of merchandise, he shall have power and it is hereby made his duty to issue his proclamation suspending the collection of all customs duties or import taxes on similar articles when imported into the United States from any foreign country. Such suspension shall continue for ninety days after the president, upon being satisfied that such arrangement, trust, contract, agreement, or combination no longer exists, shall issue his proclamation withdrawing his former proclamation of suspension, and the president of the United States may from time to time, as may in his judgment be proper, reissue or withdraw any proclamation he may have issued.

That when any article of merchandise shall have been raised in price, by reason of the unlawful means described in the first section of this act, such article, when owned by any of the persons, companies or corporations mentioned in the first section of this act, or by any person, corporation or company claiming or holding, either directly or through any number of successive transfers under any of the first named persons, companies or corporations, shall not be the lawful subjects of interstate or foreign commerce, and such commerce or transportation is hereby prohibited. It shall be the duty of the president of the United States, through the interstate commerce commission and such other agencies as he may see proper to employ, to make such investigations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section. To the end every officer of the United States who may be employed in such investigation is hereby authorized to summon witnesses and to examine and take evidence under oath, and the said interstate commerce commission shall make all such needful rules and regulations as may be deemed proper to carry out the provisions of this section, which rules and regulations shall, before they go into effect, be approved by the president of the United States. When such commerce and transportation as to any article of merchandise shall have become unlawful under the provisions of this act, the aforesaid interdiction on the same may be removed whenever the president of the United States shall so proclaim, upon his being satisfied that the enhanced price, as herein provided against, shall no longer exist, and that continued in such article is free and not restrained or affected in any way by reason of the matters mentioned in the first section of this act.

That whenever it shall appear to the president of the United States that the manufacturers or producers of any article of merchandise or a majority of them in the United States shall not pay in regular weekly wages, in lawful money, to the workmen, artisans, and laborers, excluding superintendents and officials engaged in such manufacture or production, the full sum realized by them in excess of the wholesale price in the city of New York, after deducting therefrom the cost of the material and competing articles manufactured or produced in any foreign country, such wholesale price being diminished by a reduction therefrom of the customs duties on said foreign articles, it shall be his duty to issue his proclamation suspending all duties on such similar articles when imported in excess of 30 per cent ad valorem, and such suspension shall continue till otherwise ordered by congress, but no act of congress shall have the effect to allow the collection of the sus-

pended duties on articles which shall have been imported during the time of such suspension under the proclamation of the president of the United States. He shall also have in respect to the matters of this section all the powers of investigation through officers of the United States provided for in section 6 of this act.

Here is a splendid opportunity for our protectionist statesmen to demonstrate to the whole country, beyond possibility of doubt or cavil, the sincerity of the professions made in the platform of their party. They have placed on record their unalterable hostility "to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens." They have affirmed, from platform and from stump, their eager affection for labor, and have asserted, again and again, that they love the protective tariff only in so far as it secures higher wages for American workmen. Of these professions wicked free traders have dared to speak in terms of doubt and even of derision. The more blasphemous have gone so far as to say that protectionists don't really hate the trusts, and only pretend to attack them because they think that the best way to really defend them. They have quoted Mr. Blaine's unfortunate slip of the tongue—made when the poor man had just come from Europe and before he had grasped the situation—and pretended that it expressed the real protectionist view of the trust question. They have not scrupled to cast doubts on the protectionist affection for the workingman, saying openly that it was all humbug, and that protectionists loved protection because it enabled them to rob the workingman. They have said these things, and have even gone so far as to support them with facts and figures, to say nothing of arguments ingeniously contrived to appear founded on common sense and justice. All this has hurt the good protectionists, and may injure them still more before the campaign is over.

But now, at last, the enemies of protection have made a fatal blunder. Senator George has proposed legislation to secure the doing of the very things that protectionists are most anxious to see done. All that the protectionist friends of high wages and no trusts have to do is to enact Mr. George's amendments into law, and the dearest wishes of their hearts will be fulfilled, and the wretched assailants of the great protective system be forever put to shame.

Will not Mr. George's amendments do all that we have claimed? Just look and see. The sugar trust, for instance—we name the sugar trust because it is the one that the protectionist leaders are attacking with most especial sound and fury. How long could the sugar trust survive such legislation? A vessel arrives here from Cuba with a cargo of raw sugar for, say, the Havemeyer refinery. The master can enter the sugar as his own property, sell it, and pocket the proceeds, and the Havemeyers cannot say him nay. The refinery sells a hundred barrels of sugar to a Philadelphia grocer. The sugar cannot go to Philadelphia; the railroads are forbidden to transport it. And as if all this were not enough, out comes an emancipation proclamation by the president of the United States, granting everybody in the country permission to buy refined sugar in France, in Germany, anywhere he pleases, without let or hindrance. And as if even this were not enough, along comes an officer, under the provisions of Mr. Sherman's original bill, and claps the Havemeyers and all the other members of the sugar trust into jail, there to languish till they shall have paid each a fine not exceeding \$10,000, or suffered imprisonment for not more than five years, or both. The man who could continue to operate a sugar trust in the face of such obstacles as these, must have more than mortal powers of action and endurance.

So, too, with regard to wages in protected industries. The good protectionist says to the worker in the sugar refinery: "Son, all this protection is imposed for your benefit. The extra three or four cents that the fainting sewing woman pays for the weekly half pound of sugar that sweetens her tea, is yours." And when, at the end of the week, the worker goes to get his pay, if the sewing woman's pennies are not in his envelope, Mr. George's legislation gives him satisfaction, if not positive relief. If he doesn't get the three cents, the sewing woman needn't pay them. This, at all events, will be an indirect benefit to him, especially if, as is very apt to be the case, the sewing woman happens to be his wife or sister.

It is strange that the protectionists should have left it for one of their opponents to suggest these simple methods of removing the blemishes that still mar the symmetry and smoothness of the protective system. Now, however, that Senator George has thoughtlessly pointed them out they will of course adopt them promptly. Otherwise people will be apt to say that the protective system is a humbug.

News item from the Age of Steel:

The snath and cradle makers' union, comprising all of the manufacturers in the United States, held their annual meeting at Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 17. Ten concerns were represented, and W. H. Withington presided. After a thorough discussion of the situation it was determined to organize the Central snath and cradle company, with H. F. Sullivan, commissioner. Each factory becomes an agent of the Central company, a considerable amount of money being deposited with the commissioner as a guarantee of good faith. Prices were advanced to fifty per cent discount off the standard list. The terms are sixty days, or two per cent discount for cash in ten days.

Certainly. The manufacturers have con-

Free Consultation

Wages of Carnegie's Workmen.

Protection and Hard Times

Confusion.

LOUIS F. POST.

BROOKLYN SINGLE TAX CLUB,

The moral tendency of legislation on economic matters depends largely on the underlying principles recognized by that legislation. We think that an unbiased study of the moral tendency of protective tariffs as opposed to unrestricted trade will lead you to the conviction at which we have arrived. The central thought of the protective system is selfish. Its inquiry is, "How shall we keep

JOHN W. DAVIS, Democrat,
of Pawtucket.

GEORGE W. GOULD, Prohibition,
of North Providence.

1. A compulsory secret ballot.
2. The printing and distribution of ballots all nominations made and blank spaces who voting if he chooses for one of the nominees b

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2. A secret ballot secures the voter against

At the May session of the general assembly with the reform law enacted in Massachusetts. Its early enactment by the general assembly is a distinction of being the first state to be so distinguished to immediate general adoption.

The Rhode Island ballot reform association and his aid in favor of this indispensable reform for signatures.

TE FOR O	OSCAR LAPHAM, Democrat.	
	ANDREW J. CROSSMAN, Prohib.	

1

at public expense, one official ballot containing the names of the candidates, and the voter can fill by writing his own choice, and indicate his choice by a **X** mark.

plan, interposes the most effectual preventive
at the coercion or undue solicitation of others

much discussed in the United States for several years, and is now being
recognized after careful scrutiny as a practical
method of Rhode Island, a bill substantially identical
to the one introduced in the house of representa-
tives, was introduced into the house of repre-
sentatives, and will give to Rhode Island the honor
of actually conducting an election under the system
proposed. It is the duty of every good citizen to give his influence
freely and as widely as possible to the petition.
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IN CHICAGO.

PLENTY OF LIFE AND ENERGY THERE.

Men Who Will Vote for Cleveland—England's Hostile Attitude—Graphic Picture of the Horrible Things That Await Those Long Lines of Men That Wait Outside the "Daily News" Office—The "Herald" Out for Absolute Free Trade—Something About a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Concern.

CHICAGO, Sept. 21.—I send herewith list of 50 names of single-tax Cleveland voters, some of which were collected by Mr. Van Ornum. You have received many other smaller lists from Chicago, and yet it is safe to say that you have in all but a very small portion of the names of the Cleveland voters in this city. The woods are full of single tax men these days and one can scarcely walk a square in the heart of the city without running against one or two of them. Many of them, for reasons of their own, will not sign the lists, though they are heartily in sympathy with our principle; more cannot be reached, and many more still are unknown to one another. Of those approached on the subject by Mr. Van Ornum, many refused, but the refusal was because they believed in independent political action.

Now that the weather is getting cold and we are thus being reminded that winter is coming on apace, our workmen and those of our population who would be workers if they could get employment, are beginning to get alarmed at the hostile attitude of England toward the masses of this country. It makes our intelligent workmen shudder to think of the horrible reavage that is being made upon us should the nefarious free traders succeed in breaking down our great wall of protection. Picture the woful scene to yourself.

Imagine the first of December is here. Cleveland and Thurman have been elected. The Mills bill, or a much more so bill, is in a fair way to become a law despite the obstructionists in the house of lords. Coal is \$9 per ton. Blankets \$3 to \$5. Over half of our working population is out of employment. Our streets are covered with snow and ice, and the thermometer vacillates between twenty above and twenty below. The overcoats we have been wearing these two or three winters past are shabby or ragged or pawned. The printers are on a strike. The brass workers are locked out. We are just beginning to reap our annual winter crop of labor troubles. Our soup societies and other charitable institutions are full of the idle and the destitute. Theaters, parties, games, are crowded to the utmost. Theater parties, games and sores are the rage on the boulevards—not to mention sleighing parties and champagne suppers given by the various wealthy clubs. In fact everything is lovely, and poverty and riches seem to be on the best of terms with the exception, of course, of a few crank agitators, who are paid for teaching the masses to be discontented, when down comes the British lion with a commercial war of his sore tail that Grover twisted last September, and a malevolent twinkle in his eye, to gunpowder out his last revenge upon us.

Gunpowder! O, no; he is too wise an animal to attempt the use of firearms on America a third time. Dynamite! No. He is afraid to carry such a dangerous weapon. He is more knowing than of yore, and has learned from our magnetic statesman how to use a weapon which cannot harm himself, but which is much more deadly to his enemies. No armed fleets and countless troops will be come with to break down our coast defenses and bombard our seaports. Mark the subtlety of his wickedness. He comes with an enormous fleet of merchantmen laden with blankets, coats, hats, shoes, cloths and all the countless products of his cheap foreign labor. These he relentlessly heaps upon our shores and then, with a fiendish grin, sets sail for more pauper products.

And then, the anguish, the increased misery, the weeping and gnashing of teeth of our poor masses, when they awake to the terrible realization that blankets and coats and dresses can be purchased for less than one-half their former prices! Heaven forbid that such things should come to pass in our free land! Imagine our laborer coming home on pay nights burdened with cheap necessities for his shivering family! Imagine, if you can, what a fearful deadly to his enemies. No armed fleets and countless troops will be come with to break down our coast defenses and bombard our seaports. Mark the subtlety of his wickedness. He comes with an enormous fleet of merchantmen laden with blankets, coats, hats, shoes, cloths and all the countless products of his cheap foreign labor. These he relentlessly heaps upon our shores and then, with a fiendish grin, sets sail for more pauper products.

The above truthful statement did not appear in the editorial columns of the Chicago Inter Ocean last Tuesday, but columns of much the same sort have been appearing therein for weeks past.

Appropos of idle men and would be workers. Come with me at noon time to Chicago's busiest center and I will show you a sight you will not care to see again. Calhoun place is a narrow alley running between Madison and Washington streets. The back entrance of the Daily News opens on to this court near Fifth avenue, and here the newsboys congregate for their papers. Ranged along the entire length of the rest of the alley up to La Salle street are from 100 to 300 men of all ages waiting to snatch the first papers from the press and scan the "want" columns. Some are standing or leaning against the buildings, others sitting on the steps and boxes, others are sitting on the curb and still others gathered about in little knots, or sometimes thronging the entire center of the thoroughfare. These are some of Chicago's idlers, and but a very small portion of them. Pass down through the alley, if you can push your way through. Look at the pinched and careworn faces. Note how listless and lacking of energy some of them appear. These are the ones who are losing or have already lost all hope. See their shabby renter clothes their shivering hands, their ragged, jagged edged collars and their worn neck gear. Note the fact that they are clean and tidy, though often very shabby, and note also the absence of vicious and wicked countenances. Note, too, that the only distinctive look betrayed by them as they scan the "want" columns of the News is that of eagerness. See one here and there hurriedly rise and make his way through the crowd. He has seen a "want" that he is listening to answer before his slower brother in want gets there. Finally half or more of them are zone off on similar errands. Note now how eager and hopeful the look is in some of their countenances as they hurry from the alley in search of the much needed employment. And then come back to-morrow and the day after to-morrow and see the same faces over and over again. And those that remain, or do not hurry away do we only imagine that we see the slow settle owner coats and hats, their slow fold up their papers, lounge around awhile, and finally go away. Where? Aye, where? O, yes; some of them get situations occasionally, though the want columns

are mostly filled with fraudulent employment bureau advertisements; but the crowd never diminishes.

Last Saturday the Herald, democratic, came out squarely for free trade and advised the democratic party to do likewise. This is part of what it said:

The Herald, having the truth at heart as its safest stronghold, while campaigns wax and wane, knows there is no authority, human or divine, for the taxation of one man in order that another may benefit thereby. As protection, however slight, is such a tax, then liberty, equality and fraternity demand its abolition.

The Herald has long been leaning this way. When Martin J. Russell was on its staff it used to talk about a "great daily," and now John McGovern finds it impossible to curb his truth telling propensities.

Mark the prophecy. When the single tax comes into practical politics, as come it will in "times own fullness," the Herald will be its staunchest advocate in the west. If there is one journal in Chicago that has stood nearer to the masses than all the others combined, that journal is the Herald, and the masses know it.

The Times-Mail concern, T. J. West, runs a democratic morning and a republican evening paper—sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde racket, only the changes are more rapid and regular. Wonder if the denouement will be the same as in the play.

Sept. 22.—THE STANDARD for this week has just come to hand. In it I find the following paragraph: "To a Herald reporter Mr. Cowdrey stated that he expected the party would poll 30,000 votes in Chicago alone."

It may be worth while remarking, in view of this statement, that the entire labor party will not poll 1,000 votes in the whole state of Illinois. Chicago in its balmy labor days, never polled a distinctive labor vote of even 25,000, and the last election showed a decrease to 5,000. Even the radical labor party, composed of 40 or 50 socialists, which T. J. Morgan carries around with him to break up peaceable assemblages and stop debates on live questions wherever it is possible to pack the meeting, have declared for Streeter, the union labor nominee, and it is entirely safe to assert that Mr. Cowdrey will not poll 300 votes in Chicago.

J. H. GRUFFES,
No. 905 Sawyer avenue.

COMPARING THE TARIFFS.

What the People of Various Countries Pay for the Privileges of Better Things—Facts About the Sewing Machine.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,—Frederick A. Parker of Auburn, N. Y., asks "What is the average tariff in Germany and France?" The minister of finance of France states that in 1885, the last year in which results have been published, the total value of importations of manufactured articles into France amounted to 708,000,000 francs, and the amount of duty collected on them was 50,000,000 francs. The average percentage being 6 1/2; the proportional duties on certain articles is less than 1 per cent, and in no case exceeds 25 per cent, and the latter tax is imposed only in exceptional cases.

If the calculations were made on the entire volume of French imports instead of upon manufactured articles only the average percentage of tax would be still smaller, amounting to about 3 1/2 per cent.

In the United States the average ad valorem duty amounts to 38.9 per cent, and the specific duty 61.1 per cent.

The percentage of duties on the importations of the various countries is as follows:

United States	31.54
United Kingdom	6.80
German Empire	9.02
France	7.96
Austria-Hungary	7.15
Italy	13.93
Russia	15.45

Taking the tariff tax in the United States, it will be found to bear the heaviest upon the common necessities of life. For instance, on woollen mixed cloths, the highest price cloth known in the trade, the average rate of duty is 35 per cent, while on cotton warp reversible, the cheapest grade on which our workmen have to depend, the tax is 18.7 per cent.

Take an article used in every household, the sewing machine. The tax is 45 per cent ad valorem. On needles the tax is 25 per cent; on thread, 55 per cent; on scissors, 35; on pins, 30, and so through the entire list.

No, let us see what it costs to construct a sewing machine, in detail:

Materials—

Sheet and low steel, cast and malleable iron, 16 pounds, at 41 cents	\$0.72
Screws, nuts, bolts, pins, collars	.35
Shuttle	.18
Bobbins (6), needles (6)	.12
Screw driver (2), direction block (2)	.04
Stand	1.50
Table, 2 drawers, cover and drop leaf	2.50
Labor—	
Turning—Shafts, needle bars, presser bars, eccentrics, hand wheel, shaft heads, etc.	.25
Jawing and ornamenting	.25
Plating	.05
Polishing	.05
Assembling	.50
Machine work—Drilling, reaming, cleaning, tapping, facing, counter boring, milling and press work	1.25
Total	\$7.90

Add incidental variations in price of labor and material
 37 1/2 || Grand total | \$8.33 1/2 |

A machine of this class will retail at \$50. It will wholesale at \$12.50, leaving a profit to manufacturer of \$1.00—a very neat profit all around. The same machine may be bought "across the pond" at about one-half the price our "highly protected" workmen are asked in order to keep our impoverished manufacturer from "going out of business."

W. S. WAUDBY.

The Period of 1840-47.

SUPERIOR, Wis., Sept. 22.—Two old men, now residents of this village, who were citizens of New York in 1840-47, tell me that for the most of the high protective period there was an extraordinary labor depression in New York and other parts of the country. One, a laborer then, says there was so little demand for labor that he, with hundreds of others from his part of the state, was forced to go to Canada and work on the Welland canal. The other, a mechanic, says that skilled mechanics (men who had served full apprenticeships under competent masters) had to work for \$18 to \$20 a month. They say an industrial revival set in about 1847 and continued throughout the low tariff period.

E. R. OTIS.

The "Standard" Among Baltimore Democrats.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Your papers and tracts were gladly received. I took them to our democratic ward meeting and all the men grabbed for them. The next day all the talk was the George doctrine. I think some of the men will go over to the Standard. Maryland will give Cleveland at least 3,000 majority.

GEO. H. MCPHAIL.

THE BLACK COUNTRY.

SOME FACTS THAT THE PRESS AND NAT. MAY FORGET TO STATE.

Rev. Harold Rylett Shows How Our Protectionist Friends Gather their Material About England—The Actual Condition of Things Among the Miners and Chain Makers—The People are "Protected" to a State of Starvation.

DUDLEY, ENGLAND, Sept. 3.—I see from references in THE STANDARD that Mr. McKay has wasted no time in putting to what I suppose he would call "good use" the information which he obtained in England. This gentleman was in the Black country for a few days, and while at Cradley Keath he arranged for some photographs to be taken. He was very anxious to have them taken in a particular way. For instance, he wanted some of the female miners to have their portraits taken in their most ragged attire and with chains round their necks. Having been consulted upon the matter, I advised that the people should be photographed with chains in their hands—for neither the men nor the women ever work with chains around their necks.

It is rather amusing to us here to find that the condition of our poor chain makers and nail makers should be laid at the door of free trade. The fact is it is due to protection, for there is no work in the world more strictly protected district. The land is strictly monopolized. The railways are strictly monopolized. If the land values were appropriated to state purposes by means of a tax upon them, and if the railways were run in the interest of the community, instead of in the interest of a corporation of shareholders, there would be no poverty in the Black country. Chain making and nail making are strictly domestic industries—that is to say, the people work at them in their shops which are attached to their dwellings. If at the same time they could have land attached to their houses—which at present they cannot have—they would be able to subsist upon the land and would be in a position to refuse to make either chain or nails unless they were better paid for doing so. There are cases, though they are very few in number, where small gardens are attached to the cottages, and in every garden that I have seen these gardens are admirably cultivated, and this is proof that what is wanted to improve the condition of the poor chain and nail makers is the alternative—opportunity of working the land; which, however, they are at present denied, because it is to the interest of the land owners to hold the land while the people cut each other's throats in a desperate competition or struggle for life.

This view of the matter I shall more carefully elaborate in the series of articles which I am at this moment contributing to the Labor Tribune as "Industrial Life in the Black Country," but as I have several articles yet to write upon the actual condition of things before I deal with its causes and its remedy, I have thought it might be well to discount the use which may be made of these articles by telling you that I have no doubt that the real cause of the poverty of the people in the Black country is land and mineral and railway monopoly, and that the remedy lies in the direction of the overthrow of these monopolies by a tax on land and mineral values and the appropriating of the railways by the state. I am much interested in your presidential election, for the victory of either party will be fraught with very serious consequences to England. The commercial classes here are anxious for a democratic victory, because they think that will mean money in their pockets. But for my part I have no doubt that if America adopts a free trade policy, England would have to bid a long farewell to her commercial greatness. I wonder rather that the American people do not see this more clearly. It was solely by our free trade policy that we commanded the commerce of the world, and under that policy we have reached almost the limit of our available natural resources; and unless the landed interest in England loosened their grip upon our remaining natural resource, you, with your much greater resources, by a free trade policy, could be beyond a doubt compel the center of commercial gravity to move west. Our landed interest, however, is not at all likely to loosen its grip except at the imperious mandate of a starving nation. And if you adopt a free trade policy, it will be all over with the commerce of England before we learn sense. A republican victory would give us breathing space.

I rather think this view is entertained, *sub rosa*, by many of our editors who advocate Cleveland and election. They understand that their advocates in Cleveland are the best way of securing his defeat. And they also know that a democratic victory with a free trade policy in America would mean a commercial crisis here in a very short time, and a very rapid and drastic dealing with the landed interest.

I suppose there is no doubt that free trade will triumph in America, if not in November, still at no distant date. For the protectionism of the republicans—to judge by some recent experiences of mine—is a very hollow business. I have had a young Bostonian republican staying here with me quite lately. He was apparently on the same errand as Mr. McKay. I took him all over the Black country, and as he is a very determined protectionist, he did his best to convince me that all the misery we saw was due to free trade. But as I found that one of the main objects of his visit was to secure for himself and wife a three years' supply of clothing at free trade prices—which clothing, by wearing once or twice, he told me, should get past the customhouse officials duty free—you may be sure I was not convinced of the superior advantages of American protection.

The fact is, as I have already said, whatever poverty we have in England is due to the fact that in the landed and railway monopolies we have what are practically tariffs on production and distribution. When we can bring the people to see that trade is exchange, and that anything that hampers production or hinders distribution is the best way of trade, then we shall witness a development of the facilities to labor, and we shall have such a demand for labor, that a product wage will take the place of a subsistence or competitive wage, and none but the idle and thriftless will starve.

However, we are working away on the lines laid down by Mr. George on his last visit, but the Irish question blocks the way. My own opinion is that that question will not be settled on its merits, after all. The present has been a most disastrous year for agriculture, and a "condition of England question" of ominous proportions is beginning to make itself felt. Altogether I fear that we shall have a bad winter. I don't know what the very poor will do. I suppose we shall have soup kitchens everywhere. But this I am confident of: We shall not return to protection. Our workmen—at all events the most intelligent among them—see clearly that their poverty is due to the fact that the land of the country is out of their reach, and they will go for the land with a vengeance if hunger becomes acute.

And, accordingly, I shall not be surprised to find the home rule question dealt with under the stress of a great wave of popular agitation against the landed interest.

HAROLD RYLETT.

THE NEW YORK FARMER AND THE TARIFF

The republican party in the ensuing presidential election confidently expects to come down to Harlem river with a majority of 65,000 or thereabouts, sufficient to overcome any possible democratic majority in the cities of New York and Brooklyn; and in this manner it is hoped that New York will cast thirty-six electoral votes for Harrison and Morton, and thereby secure their election. This expectation is based upon the belief that the New York farmer will vote the republican ticket now, as in the past. But, however much the republican party may have reasonably felt the superiority of the farmer vote hitherto, the great issue raised in this campaign renders it by no means certain that a continuance of this support will be maintained.

The tariff issue overshadows all others this year, since the question of taxation affects peculiarly every voter in the state, and the farmer is quite as wide awake to his own interests as the mechanic.

What the tariff has been the effect of the tariff upon the New York farmer?

The stock republican argument produced for the benefit of the farmer is that, while it is true that the farmer competes with the entire world on a free and equal basis, and that while the value of his products cannot be directly enhanced by a protective tariff, nevertheless his share of the benefits accruing from the blessed tariff arises from the great value of the home market thus produced, and the fact that the farmer's share of the market over that pernicious fallacy, the "foreign market," will be found demonstrated in any issue of the Tribune or the Press, and requires no demonstration here.

What the New York farmer has gained under protection, as compared with the nearest approach this country has had to free trade, will be shown by the favorite protectionist method—that is, by a resort to statistics.

The decade from 1850 to 1860 was a low tariff period, and from 1860 to 1880 and since then the New York farmer, as well as the rest of us, have enjoyed the blessing of a high protective tariff.

The following tables are taken from the United States census reports:

TABLE I.
Number of farmers in New York state:
1850.....716,233
1860.....716,233
1870.....716,233
1880.....716,233

TABLE II.
Average number of improved acres in each farm:
1850.....72.7
1860.....72.7
1870.....72.7
1880.....72.7

TABLE III.
Total valuation of farm lands, buildings, improvements, agricultural implements, and live stock:
1850.....\$650,000,000
1860.....\$650,000,000
1870.....\$650,000,000
1880.....\$650,000,000

TABLE IV.
Value of all farm products for the year prior to the census:
1849.....\$20,821,223
1859.....\$20,821,223
1869.....\$20,821,223
1879.....\$20,821,223

TABLE V.
Average value of each farm:
1850.....\$8.81
1860.....\$8.81
1870.....\$8.81
1880.....\$8.81

TABLE VI.
Average value of products for each farm:
1850.....\$8.81
1860.....\$8.81
1870.....\$8.81
1880.....\$8.81

TABLE VII.
Average value of products for each acre under cultivation:
1850.....\$1.08
1860.....\$1.08
1870.....\$1.08
1880.....\$1.08

The deductions from these tables are self-evident. According to table II, the number of acres under cultivation in each farm was substantially the same at each period. Under ten years of our nearest approach to free trade the value of each farm increased \$698, or at the rate of almost \$70 a year. Under twenty years of protection the increase in value of each farm was \$298, or at the rate of not quite \$30 a year; while under the last ten years of protection, when its beneficial effects had time to manifest themselves, each farm decreased in value at the rate of \$41 a year. Instead of a gain of \$70 a year, each farmer has lost \$41 a year, so that his total annual loss as the result of protection has been \$111. That is, each New York farmer is at the end of a year \$111 worse off under protection than he would have been under a low tariff.

So much for the effect of protection upon the value of the farmer's property. What has been to him the value of his home market, for the higher prices he is obliged to pay for everything he buys, owing to protective duties?

The only way the farmer can be compensated by obtaining higher prices for products, which under the theory of protection he should obtain, since the protectionists agree that protection brings consumers to the farmer's door and offers employment for men who otherwise would become farmers and enter into competition with them. But that the "home market" of the protectionist is a myth is shown by tables IV, V, and VI.

The aggregate value of the yearly products of the New York farmer was less in 1880 than in 1870 by over ten per cent. And, there being 30,000 more farms in 1880, the value of the products for each farm decreased in the same period \$199, or over twenty per cent. No wonder that the value of each farm decreased over \$400 in ten years' time.

That this aggregate decrease is due to decreased value of the products of the farm, and not to a fall in the value of the home market, is shown by the increased production in 1880 over 1870. For example, the total number of bushels of wheat, corn, oats, barley, buckwheat, rye and potatoes in 1870, was 106,299,381, and in 1880 was 123,398,125. Pounds of tobacco in 1870 were 2,349,798; in 1880 were 6,481,421. And the number of milk cows in 1870 was 1,349,661, and in 1880 was 1,437,833.

A perusal of these tables will show to the New York farmer that he is not a sharer in the benefits of protection, and will explain to him where the money comes from which enriches the millionaire beneficiaries of protective tariff extortion and robbery. An annual contribution of \$111 from each New York farmer through the instrumentality of protection suffices to furnish tariff monopolists with castles in Scotland and the means to lobby bills through congress which weave closer fetters about the wealth producers of New York.

ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

(1) The values given for 1870 in tables III, IV, V and VI are gold values, so that a uniform standard of value is given throughout the tables for the several periods. The census figures for 1870 are: Value of farms, improvements, buildings, implements and live stock, \$1,474,033,900; value of products, \$253,324,153. The average value of a gold dollar in the census year was \$1.25, and the figures given in the tables are deduced from the census figures on this basis. If any protectionist farmer can get any comfort out of using the census figures he is at liberty to use them. He will find that the average value of a farm in New York was \$8,820 in 1870, and its product was \$1,171. Adopting these figures, each farm diminished in value in ten years \$1,773, or \$177 a year; and the annual product of each farm was reduced \$1,773, or \$177 a year. 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