

THE STANDARD

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

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The following extract from a private letter of Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York, to a relative in this city, is printed by permission of the writer:

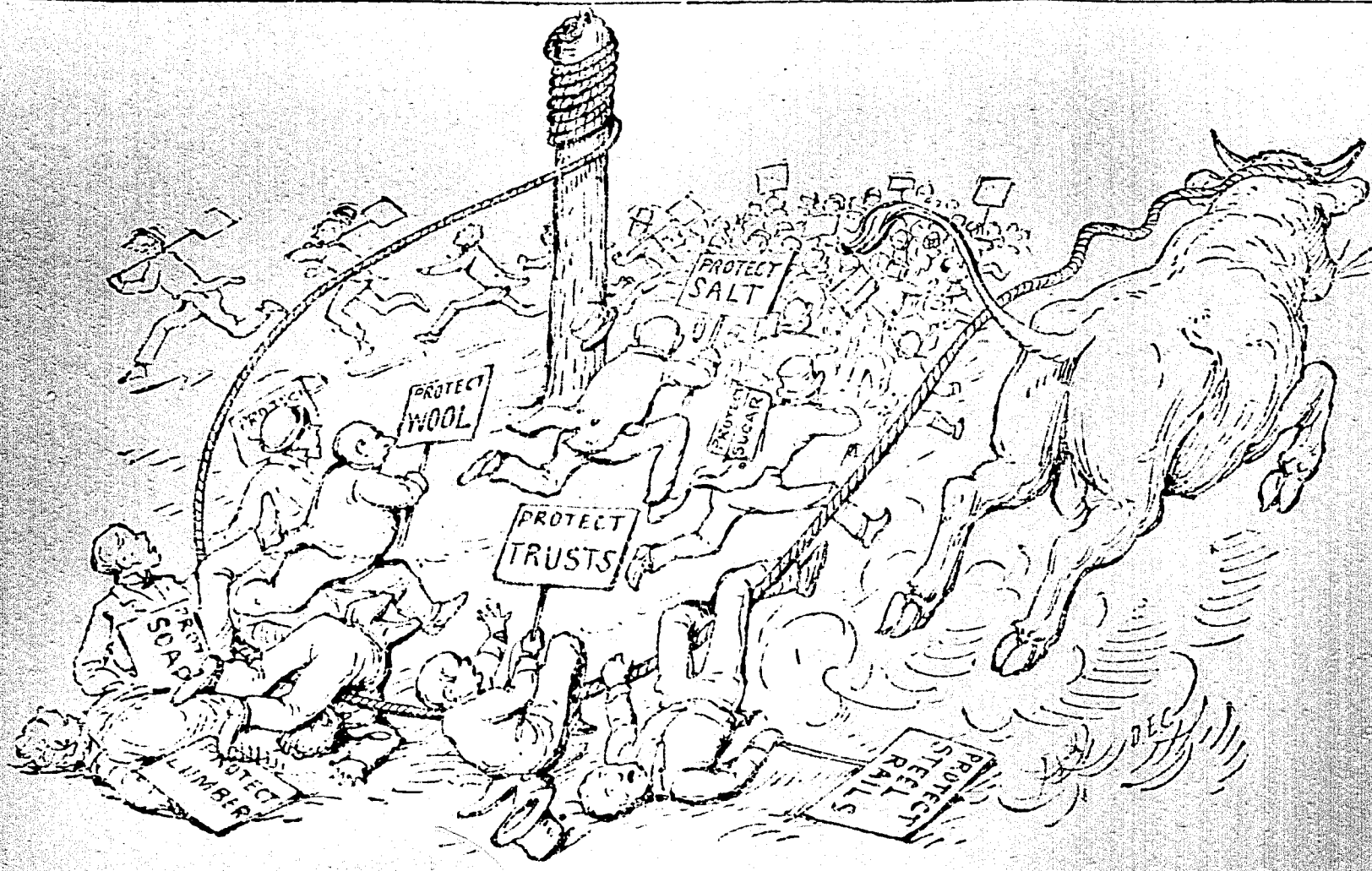
SYRACUSE, Oct. 22, 1888.
My dear — You are well aware that my convictions are and have been for years on the side of what is known as Free Trade. They rest, however, as you know equally well, on grounds of Christian morals, or the Truth of the Brotherhood of men under the Fatherhood of God, rather than on any philosophy or economy in politics. That political action, either or personal can be separated from Christian morality, or from the principles of justice and right by any Christian man, of course I do not believe. What is required by the laws of the Kingdom of God, as declared in the New Testament, must be always and everywhere best for human society, in all its conditions and nationalities, and it will so appear in the long run, whatever may happen this fall. The same standard of conduct that makes me always a "Free Trader," makes me this year in this state a voter for Electoral Reform and High License.

Yours faithfully,
F. D. HUNTINGTON.
I rejoice that such a man as Bishop Huntington puts his support of free trade upon religious grounds, and avows his belief in a Christianity which has as much to do with the social relations of men as with their personal relations. If the teaching that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us does not condemn the hostile tariffs by which nations are separated from nations, what does it condemn? If the message of peace and good will is not essentially and diametrically opposed to a doctrine which teaches us to regard all other peoples as our enemies, and which proclaims it as a natural law, and therefore a law of God, that nations can only prosper by imposing restrictions upon trade with all other nations, to what is it opposed? If it is not a violation of the command "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" to make every man and woman who passes under the statue of "Liberty enlightening the world," call on the Almighty to witness what is in their trunks and carpet bags, in what does such a violation consist? If it is not a violation of the command "Thou shalt not steal" to take a portion of his property from everyone who brings wealth into the country from foreign parts, what is it? If the essential truths of Christianity are losing their hold upon the great masses of our people, the main reason is that as it is preached it is a Sunday religion which leaves weekdays alone; a religion which ignores all the great and vital questions of the day. If this were a truly Christian country it would have no tariff and no almshouses; no monstrous fortunes on the one side, and no equally monstrous poverty on the other.

In speaking of the various candidates for the mayoralty of New York in the last issue of THE STANDARD, I said of Mr. Hewitt, among other things:
Mr. Hewitt is a man of decided though somewhat varying opinions, and has from time to time frankly expressed them. He is bitterly opposed to labor associations and other methods, while having a completely blind eye for the wrongs which provoke them.
Of this a much valued correspondent writes:

120 EAST THIRTIETH ST., Oct. 20, 1888.
EDITOR STANDARD—Dear Sir: You are certainly making a great mistake and doing a great injustice in saying that Mr. Hewitt is opposed to labor organizations. Please to read and reprint extracts from his speech on "The Emancipation of Labor," delivered April 20, 1884, in the house of representatives. Mr. Hewitt has declared his opposition to the boycott, but no friend of organized labor will claim that the two are necessarily connected, or that opposition to the former means opposition to the latter.

Truly yours,
J. S. LOWELL.
I strive to be just to everybody, and toward Mr. Hewitt I desire to be something more than just. But, even in the light of the speech, Mrs. Lowell sends me,



"UNTWISTING THE ROPE."
See Introductory Chapter "Protection or Free Trade?"

I cannot concede that I have done him injustice. If my correspondent thinks so it can only be because she has not read the speeches of Mr. Hewitt since 1881—or at least since his occupancy of the mayoralty. Taking this speech of 1884 in connection with these later expressions, the only change I could make in what I said last week would be to make the reference to the variance in his views more forcible, and style him "a man of decided but frequently entirely opposite opinions." When a man expresses diverse opinions it is only fair to take the latest as defining his present position. Mr. Hewitt's later speeches do show him, as I said, bitterly opposed to labor associations and their methods. The statement made since I wrote last week, that he is having a large edition of his speech of 1884 reprinted for circulation may, however, give some ground for thinking he has again reversed his opinion. Probably the fairest thing that can be said of Mr. Hewitt, as to this and other matters, is that he has nothing that can be called real, digested opinions, but is a pure "child of impulse," to whom a thing is altogether white or altogether black, just as at the moment he may happen to look at it.

The speech of 1884, which Mrs. Lowell sends me, was made in support of the tariff reduction bill of that year. It is entitled "The Emancipation of Labor," and in making it Mr. Hewitt stated that he addressed himself to an audience outside of the house—an audience of men who work with tools, and who govern this house by the ballot. In beginning it he made this manly declaration:

I fear that perhaps a majority of the great army of workers in this country stand where I stood in 1872, when I wrote the letter which the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Dingley) has just quoted. They are still in the bonds of prejudice, of false training, and of ignorance, where I was then myself. I have no apologies to make for having progressed out of the night of darkness into the open sunshine of truth. But I should have apologies to make, if, having reached conclusions which contradict those that I held years ago, I should fail in this house and everywhere to announce them with that frankness which belongs to an honest man and faithful representative.

In this speech Mr. Hewitt made a good many strong points against protection, which it is to be regretted that he has not found some opportunity to repeat, now that Mr. Cleveland's message and candidacy has brought the question before the masses of the people in a way which has secured it an attention altogether lacking in 1884. In fact, were it not that he declared that to abolish protective duties at once would ruin manufacturers and dislocate labor, Mr. Hewitt might have passed for a thoroughgoing free trader. And one statement he made which is worth recalling, viz.: That there had been a steady degradation in the condition of American workingmen during the previous twenty years. This declaration Mr. Hewitt supported in 1884, when he was attacking protection, by citations of official reports and by his own personal testimony. But in 1886, while he was engaged in saving society, he declared that the condition of workingmen was better than it had ever been in the history of the country, and that they were getting "a constantly increasing portion of a constantly increasing product."

No one need make any apologies for Mr. Hewitt in this matter he has progressed out of the night of darkness and into the sunshine of truth. But which he now regards as the night of darkness and which the sunshine of truth, it certainly puzzles one to say. Since he is now republishing his speech of 1884, how are we to tell? Can Mrs. Lowell see any other way of doing Mr. Hewitt justice than that of printing his contradictory statements, in parallel columns?

But to return to the matter of labor associations. The degradation of labor to which Mr. Hewitt testified in 1884, he attributed to protection, his main charge

against protection being, at that time, that it paralyzed trades unions. In this speech he set forth trades unionism as the great cure-all of labor difficulties, the true emancipator of labor. He declared emphatically and categorically for the repeal of all conspiracy laws; said trades unions were indispensable to improvement in the condition of labor; wanted the workmen of the country to comprehend the great fact that they have no means of bringing their employers to terms except through their labor associations; quoted approvingly the method of the trades unions of England, that of "selecting one concern at a time and putting the men there employed upon a strike until their demands had been acceded to;" and the declaration of one of the chief officers of the English association of amalgamated engineers that they proposed to continue this process until they secured all the net earnings of the railways, except a fair remuneration for capital actually employed, and fair salaries for administration; and asserted the organization into trades unions "whereby labor is pooled for its own protection" to be "the weapons of attack and defense which free trade has created for the protection of workingmen, and all the protection that the workingman needs." He closed by an eloquent picture of what the world would be in the day when industrial freedom should fully come: and declared that the way to reach this freedom was through the organization of labor.

But after all this indorsement and laudation of trades unions and their methods, Mr. Hewitt has passed, since he became mayor, to the very opposite extreme. He has not merely denounced boycotts, which are only an application of the principle of the strike, but he has denounced in the bitterest terms the very associations he before lauded, styling them secret organizations which seek to enslave labor and subject it to the irresponsible domination of men unknown. And when American railroad hands attempted to do the very thing for which he in 1884 commended the English railroad hands, he denounced them as worse than burglars and highwaymen, and declared them to be robbers of the whole community. In short, he has by many expressions too numerous and fresh to need special reference, indicated his bitter opposition to trades unionism and all its necessary methods.

In what I last week wrote of Mayor Hewitt and the other candidates I was endeavoring as well as I could to state facts rather than to make comments. But I am free to say that while regarding Mr. Hewitt's laudations of trades unionism in 1884 and his denunciations of them in 1887-8 as equally one-sided, I rather prefer the latter to the former. Trades unions, and all similar organizations of labor, as I have never hesitated to say when addressing men who belonged to them, are in their nature, not good, but evil. They involve coercion, and can only be effective through coercion or the fear of coercion. The organization of men into trades unions, like the organization of men into armies, must necessarily be at the sacrifice of individual liberty, and while the methods of the one are those of passive war, and those of the other of active war, they are both destructive methods—both aim at the infliction of loss and suffering upon those who oppose them, even at the expense of loss and suffering to those who belong to them. The justification of both trades unions and armies, is not their essential goodness, but the existence of other evils which make them for a time necessary for the maintenance of a partial liberty.

The indiscriminate and unqualified laudation of trades unions and trades union

methods which Mr. Hewitt made in 1884 was as unjust and as unbalanced as his later indiscriminate denunciations. And it was perhaps even more injurious, as better calculated to confuse in the public mind the ideal of freedom, and to distract attention from the means by which alone it can be attained. To organize a whole people into trades unions, to pool labor and pool capital in all branches of industry, would result, not in freedom, but in an Egyptian system of caste in which freedom, and the idea of freedom, would utterly perish. Most bitterly unjust as is the denunciation of trades unions without denunciation of the monopolies which provoke and compel workingmen to combine in these defensive associations; the railing condemnation of boycotts on the part of laborers without one word in recognition of the perpetual boycott which shuts labor out from the natural opportunities for labor—it is more likely to carry with it its own antidote than is the declaration by such a man as Mr. Hewitt that trades unionism is the way, and the only way, to the emancipation of labor.

The great fact that underlies all labor difficulties is the fundamental wrong which makes the laboring class a disinherited class, and which compels men to beg and to fight for those opportunities of employing labor in the production of wealth which the lavish bounty of a merciful Creator has provided in practically limitless abundance. It cannot be said that Mr. Hewitt is entirely ignorant of this, for in 1880, in an interview in the Brooklyn Eagle, he expressed his appreciation of the impolicy and injustice of permitting what John Stuart Mill called the unearned increment of wealth to go to individuals who happened to hold possession of land which increased in value by the growth of the community. But both in his laudation of trades unionism and in his denunciations of it, he has utterly ignored this great wrong.

All this, however, is beside the question whether Mr. Hewitt is or is not, on the whole, the best choice the ordinary citizen can make among the candidates between whom he is permitted to choose. If he had not such an unfortunate habit of bobbing out of darkness into light, and then out of the light back again into darkness, there are some expressions of his which, if uncontradicted, would give him in this campaign the enthusiastic support of every single tax man. As it is, some single tax men will vote for him, and some will vote against him, according as they fear the domination of one great machine, or think that one machine may ultimately be easier to overthrow than a number of smaller machines.

The one great lesson of this mayoralty campaign, is the necessity for the adoption of the Australian ballot system. What are considered the legitimate expenses of Mr. Hewitt's campaign will, I am informed by a friend of his who has made a conservative estimate, hardly fall short of \$100,000.

Mr. James J. Coogan, who now represents the united labor party, has announced his intention of sending three separate tickets bearing his name by registered letter to each voter. This will probably cost at least \$35,000, while at the rate he is said to be drawing checks, employing workers and buying entertainment tickets the hundred thousand dollars which he has avowed himself ready to spend in the campaign will be fully needed in addition. Hugh J. Grant, the nominee of the Tammany machine, owes his nomination to his reputation for spending enormous sums of money, and with the hope of the control of the city government before it, his machine will add to his expenditure all it possibly can. Mr. Erhardt, the nominee of the equally

corrupt little republican machine, can hardly match the expenditures of the other candidates, but must still spend a great sum if he is to have any chance.

The election of any man as mayor is of trivial and temporary importance as compared with the pressing need of changing the system of elections which thus operates to the virtual exclusion from office of any but the rich or the unscrupulous. And the only way in this election to cast a vote for the purification of our politics at their foundation for the doing away with the necessity for, and the temptation to such enormous expenditures, and the prevention of the bribery and intimidation that goes on at the polls—is to vote against David B. Hill and for Warner Miller.

The same difficulties which have made democratic government a farce in the city of New York exist in greater or less degree in every city of the union. In San Francisco, for instance, Ross Buckley, an ex-gambler and liquor saloon keeper, has through his control of nominations long been the ruler of the city government, including many of the courts. He has maintained his power by working in combination with the republican machine, so as to give to the ordinary voter but the Hobson's choice between a democratic spoilsman and a republican spoilsman. A revolt has now been organized against machine domination in the citizen's league, which has put up a ticket irrespective of political nicknames, and which includes republicans, democrats and single tax men. The chairman of the league is a man of the purest and highest character, my old friend Edward R. Taylor, whom the readers of "Progress and Poverty" will recognize by the verse from his pen which is prefaced as a motto to one of the books. Mr. Taylor was the law partner of Governor Haiglit, and though a democrat of the Jeffersonian school, has hitherto withheld himself from taking any part in practical politics. The nominee for mayor is Charles A. Sumner, late representative in congress, also a man of high character and ability; and noted for his opposition to everything that savors of machine rule. The ticket is made up of the best men of all parties, including Judges Jas. V. Coffey and James G. Maguire, who, for the very reason of their incorruptibility and impartiality, have excited the hostility of the Buckley ring. Whether this ticket can be elected or not remains to be seen. If elected it will give to San Francisco for one term good and pure government, but if nothing more is done the banded thieves will inevitably in time regain their control. The Australian ballot is the only thing that can secure good government to San Francisco, as it is the only thing that can secure good government to New York.

We use a great part of the space in this week's STANDARD for a verbatim report of the meeting in Cooper union on last Friday night, at which Mr. Thomas G. Shearman answered questions as they were addressed to him. But, as every reader will see, the speech and answers are well worthy of the space they occupy. Mr. Shearman is doing work in this campaign that nobody else could have done as well. It is one of the enormous advantages of our single tax movement that it has afforded him and other free traders an opportunity to exert an influence in this campaign that the timid policy of the democratic management would have denied them.

The great meeting in the Brooklyn rink, Tuesday evening, addressed by Thomas G. Shearman, Louis E. Post, Hugh O. Pentecost, and myself, was a remarkable demonstration of the hold that the single tax idea has taken on the people of Brooklyn, and at the same time a striking vindication of the wisdom displayed by our single tax people in going into the campaign on behalf of Cleveland as a separate organization. No one who watched the meeting from the stage could possibly doubt that the arguments advanced made converts who could never have been reached by the patry arguments of the tariff reformers who declare against free trade. The single tax and absolute free trade were presented as it would be impossible to present them from any strictly democratic platform, and the most radical utterances in behalf of a complete reform of the existing system of taxation were received with an applause that increased in volume as the meeting proceeded. Though the last speaker did not finish his address until nearly 11 o'clock, the audience held to the close, and thousands still clustered around the platform eager to hear the questions and replies, and remained there till half past 11. Many of the queries seemed to be prompted by honest doubt and called forth

illuminating replies; and at least one man, who had been vociferous in his applause of the name of the protectionist McKinley, asked of Mr. Shearman an explanation of the goods for goods theory, and at its conclusion publicly declared that he was satisfied. There were a very large number of republicans at the meeting, and it cannot be doubted that many of them went away with their belief in protection fatally shattered. The Brooklyn members of the single tax committee deserve credit for the zeal and enthusiasm which brought out so large an attendance of the people on a stormy night.

I spoke last week in Dunkirk, Lockport, Rochester and Syracuse, to large audiences, among whom in all cases were a great number of republicans. My opinion, from all I saw and heard, is that Cleveland and Thurman will carry New York. I am to speak on Thursday in Hamburg, on Friday in Ithaca, and on Saturday in Binghamton.

HENRY GEORGE.

Organized in Cambridgeport.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, Mass., Oct. 22.—The single tax people of this locality are not inactive. Sunday a meeting was held in East Cambridge for the purpose of forming a local organization, to work in concert with other societies, having Boston for a center. Mr. J. F. Harrington was elected president and William Ford secretary. Single tax men are very numerous in Cambridge, notably among the Knights of Labor, which is due in no small degree to the labor of Mr. Harrington, who is one of our most efficient workers. Meanwhile the political situation deserves our attention. The democrats have nominated for congress Thomas Wentworth Higginson, author, soldier and statesman. He will poll a large independent and colored vote in addition to the enthusiastic support of the single tax people, who are very numerous in the district and whose support will be very important. This is also the home of candidate Russell, who will poll a very large vote. He is an able supporter of the "ballot reform bill," and has won the favor of organized labor.

All citizens of Cambridge and vicinity who sympathize with the single tax movement are requested to communicate with

WILLIAM FORD, 106 Norfolk street.

From Another Pennsylvania Town.

ALLEGHENY, Pa., Oct. 18.—The outlook in this section of Pennsylvania for the cause of the single tax and the death of the protective superstition is most encouraging. Our people cannot be hoodwinked any longer as to "protection." It is encouraging to see the tactics the protectionist has to resort to in order to have a respectable hearing at all. Four years ago no one dared say that he favored free trade. But now our people are eager to cast off the cloak of darkness and embrace the light of truth. The only drawback we experience is due to the faint heartedness of men who stand in the way and who are afraid of their own convictions. I am happy to say, however, that we have some democrats who are not afraid to tell the truth, and they are eagerly listened to by the people.

JAMES F. SWEENEY.

Henry George in Syracuse.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Oct. 21.—Henry George has just addressed the largest and most enthusiastic meeting that has been held in Syracuse for many years. Shakespeare hall was crowded with 2,500 people, and hundreds were outside unable to gain admission. The Herald (republican) says the meeting was the most exciting since the days of the anti-slavery meetings. When Mr. George in the beginning of his speech announced himself in favor of free trade a storm of groans, hisses and imprecations greeted him from the many protectionists in the audience, but an hour later many of the groaners were loud in their cheers and plaudits of the convincing and clear reasoning of the economist. His vicinity has for years been a hotbed of protectionism, and there was undoubtedly an attempt made to disturb the audience, but the logic of the arguments, which effected a complete change of the scene, completely overpowered the opposition. The single tax movement is doing more good for our country than any other movement.

DUNKIRK.—The announcement that I would speak and answer questions at the Opera house on Wednesday evening, Mr. Francis Lake, mainly to whom the successful management of the meeting was due, and Mr. M. J. Smith, accompanied the speaker on the stage. The latter presided. The close attention with which Henry George's address was received and the loud cheers that greeted his most radical utterances leave little doubt of the inefficiency of the old time protection bugaboo of free trade. If a further proof were wanted that the meeting was not without fruit it may be stated that no less than seventeen men have since declared themselves out and out free traders.

A SINGLE TAX MAN.

An Organization Formed in Germany.

At a recent meeting held in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany, 118 citizens who advocated the appropriation of ground rents by the government formed an organization, to be called the "League for the reform of land holding." Michael Flurscheim, the editor of *Deutsche Land*, and the leader of the movement in Germany, was unanimously chosen president of the league, but gave reasons for declining, whereupon Dr. Wühler, of Düsseldorf, was elected to fill the position. A constitution and declaration of principles were adopted, and *Deutsche Land* was made the official organ of the organization.

To Organize in Norfolk.

There will be a single tax club started in Norfolk, Va., immediately after the November election. All who wish to join are requested to correspond with Edward K. Robertson, Marine bank, Norfolk, Va.

MORE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN STANDS UP FOR CROSS EXAMINATION.

Another Single Tax Man Meeting in Cooper Union—Protectionists Out in Big Numbers—Mr. Shearman's Plunging Replies—The Indirect Taxation Dodge—Taxes Compared with Income—Absurdity of Protection in New York—What the Mills Bill Would Do—What Free Trade Has Done for Ireland—Our Markets—Effect of Free Trade on Foreign Prices—Protection and Free Trade in Australia—Pauper Labor—The South.

The announcement that Thomas G. Shearman would answer questions attracted an unusual number of protectionists on Friday evening, October 24, to the fifth great mass meeting in Cooper union, held under the auspices of the single tax Cleveland and Thurman campaign committee, for although they "do not look with favor on joint debates" and respectfully decline to be questioned in public meeting regarding the faith which is in them, they come out in a swarm when there is any prospect of giving the "other fellows" something hard to explain. So, true to his nature, Mr. Protectionist was here, there and everywhere in the Cooper union meeting, ready with questions, and the time for questioning had hardly been announced when there arose a confusion of voices clamoring for recognition by the chair.

Mr. Shearman never appeared to better advantage. His replies were sharp, clear and logical, and more than once he convulsed his audience with some curious conceit or witticism.

Owing to a misunderstanding a large number of people left the hall after Mr. Shearman's preliminary speech, but things got warmed up to such a degree when the question and answer business got under way that the audience did not want to leave off when the regular time for adjournment arrived, and the chairman was compelled to continue the meeting for half an hour longer.

Promptly at eight o'clock Louis F. Post came forward as chairman, and after a few appropriate remarks, explaining the reason of the meeting, introduced the speaker of the evening.

Mr. Shearman's Opening Remarks.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I find all over the country that there are so many people who do not understand how they can be taxed at all when they never pay taxes themselves to the federal government, and who do not understand where and how protection comes in, that I have concluded that, even in talking to the most intelligent audience, it is right to assume that there are forty or fifty people present who do not understand this thing. (Laughter.)

In the few remarks which I am about to make my only purpose is to state facts in such a way as to draw out questions, the more questions the better. And I shall not undertake to reason or to explain in this speech, but simply state some conclusions.

THE INDIRECT TAXATION DODGE.

Most of you will perfectly understand from the beginning that the national government raises about \$400,000,000 a year in taxes without taking one cent directly from the real taxpayers. That is a remarkably clever dodge. (Laughter.) The United States government puts its hands in all your pockets and extracts therefrom \$400,000,000 a year, and yet no United States collector ever comes around to you to draw out questions, the more questions the better. And I shall not undertake to reason or to explain in this speech, but simply state some conclusions.

WHO GETS THE BENEFIT?

The manufacturers milk you, and then the owners of the natural opportunities, land, mines and lumber, milk them. (Laughter.) That is where that \$600,000,000 goes, in a good booming year. That is where the \$200,000,000 goes, in years when everybody is struggling. Because the competition of the pauper labor of Europe has reduced the wages of the workingmen in America. (Laughter.)

You pay these taxes to retailers, for instance a little trifle of 50 per cent on sugar. I think that the most intelligent man does not know what 50 per cent means, applied this way; but if the government proposed taking 50 per cent off his body, it would leave nothing there. His head (crying and laughing), which I think is a view of the millions of men who vote to have their own wages cut down for the sake of supporting a few rich men, is a superfluous part of the human body in many voters of the United States. (Applause.) You pay to the retail grocer 50 per cent on your sugar. The grocer pays all that to the refiner. But the refiner has got to be paid for attending to that little business of paying the 50 per cent, so he charges his little profit on that. And the refiner has to pay that over to the producer of the raw sugar, and he has his profit on that. Sugar, however, is one of the articles in which there is the least intermediate profit.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

The best illustration is a little piece of cloth. I know something about that. I never pretended to pay more wages than my neighbor did. The only difference between me and the protected manufacturers and land owners is that out of their generosity and large-heartedness they pay the same minimum wages which I pay out of my stinginess—because they can't help it. I am not a cloth dealer; but I have invested a little of my surplus, which I got by working for it, while Uncle Sam gets his by taking it out of your pockets, pretending he knows how to spend it better than you do. (Laughter.) I put a little of my surplus in the business of selling cloth, so I happen to know something about it. Some of that cloth is made in this country and some of it is imported. On all alike there is a tax averaging about 40 per cent. It is not more than that for this reason, that we sell it to the rich folks. If we sold it to poor folks the tax

would be from 80 to 100 per cent—that is for the better protection of the workingman. (Laughter.) Sometimes we pay that sixty per cent to Uncle Samuel; sometimes we pay it to the protected manufacturer. When we pay that 60 per cent, of course you don't object to our adding it on to the price of our goods. You wouldn't be so unreasonable as that; and if you did object, we would do it all the same. (Laughter.)

So you pay the 60 per cent joyfully. Ah, but you haven't got through yet! Before we paid the 60 per cent we bought the piece of cloth from somebody else who paid that 60 per cent, and who charges a profit of 10 per cent for doing it. But you think he only charges his profit on the original cloth, without the tax. Not a bit of it. He charges the 10 per cent profit on the 60 per cent duty as well. So we pay 66 per cent. When we get it into our shop and sell it to the gentlemen and ladies who come in, do you suppose we so tender hearted that we charge no profit at all on what the things would have cost if we had paid no tax? Oh, no! We want the small and reasonable profit of 50 per cent. Nothing mean about me. (Laughter and applause.) And we take that 50 per cent on the 66 per cent. And where does it land then? That is 90 per cent added to the original cost; and yet we could do better in our business without this extra profit, because we could sell three times as many goods if we didn't pay that 66 per cent.

Mind you, it is now 99 per cent, or rather 100 per cent. You remember the sportsman who boasted of having killed 99 ducks by one shot. Somebody asked him why he didn't say 100 ducks. He drew himself up proudly and said: "Do you think I would tell a lie for one duck?" (Laughter.) So I will admit that we charge you 100 per cent, where we pay 66 in taxes. That is a pretty fair statement of the average course of business.

There are some lines of business—for instance, in earthenware and glass—where the loss from breakage is so great that they have to charge large profits in order to reimburse themselves; and the usual profit is about 75 per cent before it gets to the consumer. That 75 per cent is added to the 60 per cent which Uncle Samuel charges on every plate which you use, unless it is a piece of blank white pottery, on that he lets you off with 50 per cent, but with the least decoration on it, it costs 60 per cent. The usual profit is 75 per cent to cover breakage, insurance, etc. That makes the tax cost you 105 per cent, instead of 60.

That is the way in which you pay your taxes. You pay large commissions to wholesale and retail dealers for the privilege of paying your tax to an agent, instead of paying it direct. If you want to get up to Uncle Samuel, you have to go to the agent, and pay your own 60 per cent, you would get off with that. But you will not do that, and prefer to pay 100 per cent instead. When all this comes to be added up, there is a very nice little bill for the American tax payer.

TAXES COMPARED WITH INCOME.

Now I see before me some of the horny handed sons of toil, the princes of American labor. (Laughter.) I see also some gentlemen who do not look any more horny handed than I do; but I should judge there are some men in this audience whose income is not more than \$500 a year. I will tell you a so-called fact about that. The man who is employed at \$15 a week, that is he gets \$750 a year, because he figures it out at fifty or fifty-two weeks, without deduction. If he would only count up the loss of time, he is a lucky man if he gets \$800 a year. The man who gets \$10 a week does not average \$450 a year. I talked lately with an intelligent workman, who was receiving wages at the rate of \$15 per week. He never lost an hour by negligence, he was a vacation taker; but when he came to the end of the year, he found that his income was considerably less than \$500.

If your income is \$500 or less, this system of indirect taxation takes out of your pockets about \$75 a year. That is nothing but a trifle to the American workman earning \$500 a year. Why shouldn't he cheerfully hand \$75 to Uncle Samuel? But wait. If there were no taxes at all, this man could live at an expense of \$100 a year and save \$400. So he has only \$100 out of which he can pay these taxes. He cannot pay it out of what he has eaten and drunk and worn. That cannot be done; it must be paid out of what you save. You could not save out of \$500 more than \$100; and then comes Uncle Samuel and says: "My dear boy, for the sake of keeping up your wages to \$500 a year, to protect you from the pauper labor of Europe—although you have worked more hours and done more work every hour of your life than any laborer of Europe, and have produced three times as much as he to your employer—still for the purpose of protecting you against the competition of this pauper labor I am going to tax you \$75. Thirty dollars of that I will get, and forty-five I will divide between your employer, the wholesale and retail dealers and a few other people, patriots all." (Laughter.)

What has the workingman left when he gets through? He is taxed 75 per cent of his average savings; but the average of the mechanic's tax is a great deal more than that; it is fully 80 per cent of what he can possibly save. How about his neighbor across the way who has an income of ten thousand dollars a year? How, for instance, about that equally respectable gentleman, Hon. Levi Grover Cleveland? (Hisses and applause.) The tax upon him is possibly 10 per cent of his savings. How about the tax on Mr. Carnegie? How about the tax on Mr. Mackay? How about the tax on Senator Stanford, who has just come back post haste from Europe for the express purpose of keeping up high wages for workmen? What tax does he pay? Mr. Stanford does not pay a tax of more than 10 per cent on his annual savings. I don't know how much he pays, but he possibly pays 10. The average workman in this audience pays about thirty times as much.

When you get to the day laborer, the real horny handed son of toil, he pays 90. But there is one class that is especially protected by all our high tariff friends, and they clean them out altogether. That is the poor sewing girls. They tax them 100 per cent on their savings. (Applause.) That is the price that the working classes pay for the maintenance of this system. They are stripped of their last dollar in order to protect them from wasting it in riotous living.

THE ABSURDITY OF PROTECTION IN NEW YORK.

What is the object of the system? It is to prevent foreign goods from coming in here. Look at the special absurdity of it in the city of New York. The cities of New York and Brooklyn would hardly exist if it were not for foreign commerce. I do not mean to say that all of our business consists in re-exporting goods; we are the two largest manufacturing cities in the Union. More manufacturing is done in New York city than in any other city in the Union, and Brooklyn comes close after it. Why is it that these are the largest manufacturing cities? Why does not manufacturing concentrate more largely in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cincinnati, or other places which are more central in commerce. On the contrary, we are the two largest manufacturing cities in the Union, which is surrounded by population on all sides, while New York can only supply people westward, outstrip New York in manufacture? There is only one answer. New York is convenient to the ocean, convenient of access to those materials for manufacture which come from foreign countries; and it has unsurpassed, unrivaled advantages in the introduction of the raw materials of the manufacturer, which is the basis of the foundation of the life of the manufacturer in the city of New York. (Applause.)

And yet they say that there 100,000 men in the city of New York are going to vote, so far as it lies in their power, to put up a Chinese wall to prevent the entrance of materials for manufacture. For you must understand that this tariff of our countries is its force upon the materials for manufacture, not upon finished goods, not upon luxuries for the rich, but, exclusive of mere articles of food and drink, it concentrates seven-eighths of its force to exclude those materials without which manufacture in these great cities could not be carried on.

THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION.

One party proposes to raise the duties on these materials; and though Grover Cleveland (great applause)—though Grover Cleveland (renewed applause) does not go as far as we could wish, he has put up with that thick neck (cheerful music and laughter) and he has said: "Gentlemen, I will live or die, I will sink or swim, on one principle, and that is, so far as I have the power, that materials for the manufacture of American goods, materials which are to be used by American workmen, materials in the using of which American workmen will earn American wages, shall come in untaxed." (Applause.) That is why on this issue I am for Grover Cleveland. (Applause.)

When Grover Cleveland and Roger Q. Mills (applause)—he deserves your applause—succeeded in striking out this so-called protection to raw materials, that is, a protection to the land owners and the mine owners and the stumpage owners which enables them to monopolize the materials upon which American workmen alone can work, they have knocked out the keystone of the whole tariff system. (Applause.) After the keystone is pulled out, the whole structure comes down. One end of the bridge is built upon the bodies and bones of the day laborers of this country; and the other end is built upon the slender frames, the worn nerves, the toil and the tears of the sewing girls and hard worked women of this country. (Applause.)

There is still another reason. You remember the fable of the tortoise and the hare. The hare could have beaten the tortoise in the race easily, but the hare fell asleep half way, while the tortoise came crawling steadily along and got there first. They say Grover Cleveland is slow. So he is. They say he is not particularly a bright man. Perhaps he is not. But you notice there is one thing about him, he takes no notice backward. (Applause.) He went into the governor's chair in this state knowing nothing about the tariff, as ignorant of it as any man need be, and the first message he sent to the legislature was in favor of lowering the tax on personal property—about as foolish a proposition as any one could make. That was the beginning, mind you. He got such a scolding that you never heard of it again. He did not say: "I have once committed myself and I will never change;" but he dropped that scheme because he found the potato hot. (Laughter.) He went into the presidential chair knowing almost nothing about the tariff. The pressure of circumstances upon him, the steady force of his own duty, led him to study the subject for himself. Gentlemen who had labored with him, gentlemen who had understood this subject, were much discouraged at the beginning because he seemed to take so little interest in it; but he was quietly absorbing the truth; he was reading for himself. He was like an engineer, with his finger upon the pulse of the machine, he held the lever in his hands. Although he was very slow, still he learned the lesson well, and never, never will forget it. (Applause.)

They used to say that he wore a No. 6 hat and a No. 18 collar; in reply to which I say the only fault I find with him is that he doesn't wear a No. 24 collar. (Laughter.) What you need in the presidential chair is a man of honesty, good intentions, United States in his own consciousness, thick neck. They can't frighten, bamboozle or bulldoze him. (Applause.)

CLEVELAND'S COURAGE.

We are trying to get a long way ahead of when Grover Cleveland expects to land. And any one who read his message, and a brave message it was, for he had the presidential nomination and election in his pocket, as one of his friends said, as securely as his jack-knife; and he risked the hostility of the men who are making millions from the tariff system, with which they expect to barter up—the risked all that to go where his convictions carried him. Many a political hare is going to stop when a quarter of the way in the right direction and then turn around and go back; but this great old tortoise of a Grover Cleveland is going right ahead. (Great applause.) I tell you, in the very best sense, he will get there. (Applause.) Whether he is elected president or not, he will be a great man, a small matter (a voice), "He will be elected"; a much smaller matter than perhaps you think. If by the use of their money and their corrupt influences they defeat him now, there is no other man that the democratic party can afford to nominate in 1892, if he lives, than Grover Cleveland. (Applause.) And by the time Grover Cleveland has made four years, he will have four years more education (and he will get it), when 1892 comes the difference between what we want and what he wants will be so small that it will take a microscope to find it out. (Applause.)

A FEW FACTS.

Now, gentlemen, I have talked too long. (Cries of "go on, go on.") Questions stir me up more than I hope there are any of you good protectionists here, and I hope they will ask plenty of questions—the more silly the questions the better. Now then, only a word or two in the way of facts. I assert as a fact that whenever this country has approximated toward free trade there has been a great and a steady increase of prosperity. I assert as a fact that although panics have occurred under a reduction of the tariff as well as under an increase of the tariff—because we don't pretend that even absolute free trade will cure every evil in the world—I assert nevertheless, as a fact, that in proportion as the tariff was reduced the country has recovered more rapidly from these difficulties, and that panics under low tariffs have affected the wages of workmen much less than similar panics have done when they have taken place under a high tariff.

I also assert that high tariffs have always tended to repress the wages of workmen by resisting that tendency inherent in machinery and in the progress of society to raise wages; and the higher the tariff, the smaller relatively the wages of the workmen. I assert that if you have absolute free

trade declared to-night, the average price of manufactured goods in this country would be the original cost to the manufacturers. They might have to sell out their stock at cost without profit; but the whole world could not furnish enough goods to supply the demand. The demand would within one year be three times as great as the demand that exists now. Prices would rally within a month. While imports would increase, those imports would be the shape of materials for manufacture. There would be a demand within twelve months for 40 per cent more men than are now employed in this country, and the wages of manufacturing workmen would rise at least 25 per cent.

Advocate free trade because I fully believe, on principle, on theory, and from the evidence of facts, that every step toward free trade helps to raise wages (applause), and that absolute free trade would produce greater increase in wages than any money as well as in purchasing power—in manufacturing industries as well as in farm labor, than you have ever known before. That is why I am in favor of free trade.

Now let me say a word to my single tax friends. My honored and noble friend, Henry George (great applause), has, in my judgment, laid rather too much emphasis upon the abstract philosophical fact that, when the improvement came to pass in the condition of workmen under mere free trade, without the substitution of direct taxation on land values, it would be gradually taken from them by increasing rents. While I agree with him that all taxes except the one on land values should be abolished, still I want to call your attention to this fact: When a great mass of millions of workmen get a great improvement in their conditions, with the advantages of education and civilization which would come with this, let them control the government as they do here, and you give to those workmen such a grip that nothing could permanently take it away from them.

WHAT FREE TRADE HAS DONE FOR IRELAND.

What is the reason that the Irish people are now, for the first time in their history, getting a grip on the land? What is the reason, notwithstanding all that the Salisbury's and Balfours can do, that they have a grip on the land? Why is it that, if an elected member held today William P. M. Gladstone would be returned by 500,000 majority? (Applause.) There never was greater nonsense talked than that about England being the enemy of Ireland. The real England, the real English people, are the best friends that Ireland has. But if you mean by England only the aristocrats and dandies, the Tories or protectionists, that is another thing. Every protectionist in England is an enemy of Ireland, and every friend of Ireland is a friend of England and a friend of the Irish people. There never was greater nonsense talked than that about England being the enemy of Ireland. The real England, the real English people, are the best friends that Ireland has. But if you mean by England only the aristocrats and dandies, the Tories or protectionists, that is another thing. Every protectionist in England is an enemy of Ireland, and every friend of Ireland is a friend of England and a friend of the Irish people.

But what I wanted to call your attention to is that, even without the tax on land values, the Irish people have got a pretty firm grip. And it is because of free trade that they have got a better grip on the land. Free trade has raised wages of Irish laborers fourfold since the days of Daniel O'Connell. (Applause.) O'Connell himself declared that twelve cents a day was a full rate of wages for Irish field laborers in 1844, under "protection." I have the report of the United States consul at Cork showing that the average rate of wages for field laborers in the neighborhood of Cork had risen under free trade to fifty-five cents a day. That is not enough; but there is a world of difference between twelve cents and fifty-five cents. It is, first, because the laborers have got a better start under free trade, and secondly, because they have the Australian ballot. (Applause.) That is why the Irish people have got a foothold; and they will not be shaken off.

Stop paying taxes out of your small savings to your employers for the sake of having them hire you. Stop paying taxes in the proportion of eighty per cent out of your savings while the Goulds, Vanderbilts and Stanfords only pay three per cent, and you will get such a grip, such a foothold, that nobody can shake you off. (Great applause.)

When the applause had subsided, and after the collection had been taken up, the chairman said: When Mr. Morton's name was mentioned there was considerable applause. I thought that there were some protectionists here who have come to ask questions. I assume they have come to ask them in a candid manner and in a fair spirit; and I trust they will be received candidly by the rest of the audience. These protectionists who are here to-night, are here at our invitation. We have invited them to come and ask questions, not for the purpose of raising any contest between members of the audience and the speaker, but for the purpose of getting at the truth of the subject that is now agitating the American people. And let us treat those guests politely as guests. (Applause.) When a gentleman rises in his place and addresses the chair, I will recognize him, and having recognized him he will be at liberty to state his question, which I hope he will do as briefly as possible. At the same time, if his question requires some explanatory remarks, he may make them.

MR. SHEARMAN ANSWERS QUESTIONS.

The chairman had hardly the last word out of his mouth before a dozen men were on their feet, and the first man recognized asked:

Q.—Mr. Chairman, please tell me why the average wages of the working people of the city of New York are not five dollars a week the year around. Is it not because too many immigrants land upon our shores who compete with us?

Mr. Shearman—That has something to do with it. In particular places, such as the city of New York, undoubtedly there is a good deal to do with it. But I must say I do not attach so much importance to that, as even Mr. Cleveland does. I do not think that that is the solution of the whole question. I do not think that that applies to the whole country. It requires a little explanation to state just what I do think is the effect. These immigrants are brought in, sometimes by special inducements, sometimes in such unnatural numbers, that the market is unable to absorb them, and when they are poured in by the hundred thousand, undoubtedly they do very seriously depress wages. Then, if artificial efforts are made to bring them in, as they have been made again and again, they do not down wages. But if immigrants are left to come in by their own natural way and without any artificial inducements by tariff, or otherwise, they could not come in in too great numbers, naturally and of their own accord, because they would only fill up places where they were wanted.

THE COBLEN CLUB BUCARAO AGAIN.

Q.—Does not the free trade Coblen club pay your expenses here to-night?

The Chairman—This meeting was called

for the purpose of allowing gentlemen to ask gentlemanly questions of a gentlemanly way. (Great applause.) And as chairman of the meeting I shall not permit any other kind of person to insult the speaker. (Applause.)

Mr. Shearman—Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, if you will allow me, I will make an offer now which I have made frequently before. You know that the only protectionist member of congress from this end of the state is Mr. S. V. White of Brooklyn, a highly respectable gentleman, a warm personal friend of James G. Blaine (hisses and groans and applause) and a very warm protectionist. Now, I will leave it to Mr. S. V. White, with liberty to him to employ an accountant and go through all the books of the single tax Cleveland and Thurman campaign committee, with liberty to examine all my books, private and otherwise, and I think Mr. Post will give him liberty to examine his books, Mr. Crosslake's books, Mr. George's books, and if, at the end of that time, Mr. S. V. White will certify, over his signature that he honestly believes that the Coblen club or any British organization, or even any unnaturalized Englishman, has contributed as much as \$5 toward the expenses of this campaign committee which pays for this hall, I will give to the gentleman who asked that question \$1,000. (Applause.) Mr. White will guarantee that I will do what I say. (Applause.)

WOOL AND WORKMEN.

Q.—What would be the consequences if wool imported from England free should cause an over production, and could not be exported to other protected countries on account of high tariffs? Wouldn't it be detrimental to the wool engaged in such industry in this country?

A—I will answer the question seriously, presently, but it is a little amusing. It reminds me of the girl who was discovered weeping over a boiler. She was asked what she was crying for, and she said that if she should ever get married, and should have a little baby, and that little baby should fall into the boiler and be scalded to death, how unhappy she would be. (Great laughter.) The reason why it reminds me of this story is this: The question is confined to England—what will be the consequence if England should export too much wool to us. England cannot afford to export to us one single pound of wool, because she does not grow enough wool in all England, Scotland and Ireland to supply within two hundred million pounds a year, the needs of her own manufacturers. (Applause.)

The same questioner—Take Australia?

A—Very well, substitute Australia, or we will say South America for wool ought to come from Buenos Ayres in immense quantities. Suppose that causes an over production. Why should it cause an over production? I cannot see for the life of me why it should, for such a thing never happened and never can; but if it did, the consequences would be indeed calamitous. It would result in the frightful condition of every workingman in this country having one suit of clothes more than he knew what to do with. (Laughter.) You have traveled a little about this country, and gone into a good many taverns and into some houses, and it is my judgment, after considerable inquiry, that not one-third of the American people at this day have two all wool suits of clothes to their backs, and that not one-half of them have a genuine woolen blanket in the house. (Applause.) I think that it would take all the wool that all the world grows for use in this country, to the entire exclusion of other countries, before we could begin to have an over production. It is impossible that there should be an over production; and if such a ruinous state of things should occur as that the price of woolen goods should be only one-half or even one-quarter of what it is now, however ruinous it might be to those engaged in the industry, it would be beneficial to all other people in the country; and they are in the proportion of a hundred to one.

Q.—What rate per cent, independent of the tariff, would a workingman have to pay for taxes to carry on the government?

THE SINGLE TAX.

A—Under strictly direct taxation, which of course would follow the total abolition of the tariff, the workingman would not pay one penny more for the benefit of good government than he would pay if there were no government at all. (Applause.) I will tell you of course, whether there was a government or not, he must pay his rent, and direct taxation all the taxes would be taken out of rent. The workingman would not pay any more rent. Therefore, under the abolition of the tariff, the workingman—I mean the man under \$500 a year—would pay no per cent at all. The tax would fall on land and not on labor. (Applause.)

A GARBLED QUOTATION.

Q.—If free trade would be an advantage to the country—and according to the report of a speech made by Mr. Mills at St. Louis on September 25, he desired to place the workingmen of this country on an equality with European labor—how is it that we have so much immigration to this country from those countries? (Applause.)

A—I will answer that first by saying that there is a text in the bible which reads, "There is no God." That is in the bible; no mistake about it. But that is only part of the answer. (Applause.) Now, what my friend has quoted from Mr. Mills is not exactly correct, but on that I lay no stress, because he has quoted it honestly from the paper which he has in his hand. The paper which he has in his hand is not the paper which he has in his hand, but the paper which he has in his hand, and he has quoted it honestly from the paper which he has in his hand. (Applause.)

What Mr. Mills said in substance was that he wanted to give the American workingman the same opportunity to export to foreign countries as the foreign workingman has. (Applause.) Then Mr. Mills went on to show that he meant by that—which is always very fully suppressed. As things are now, American workingmen in the woolen factories are carefully prevented from making any more than is necessary to supply the people of the United States. Our exports of that commodity are now ridiculously small. His idea is to take off the tariff on wool so that the American workingman could make three times the quantity of woolen goods he makes now, get 25 per cent more for making them, and then export them to foreign countries.

IRELAND.

Q.—I would like to know why it is, if in free trade Ireland, according to your argument, wages have risen 400 per cent, contributions are sent from this high protective country to help the people of Ireland? (Laughter.)

A—Two men starved to death at the same time. (Laughter.) One man starved to death because he could only get one ounce of bread a day, and the other starved to death because he was only able to get two ounces. The man who gets two ounces is better off than the man who gets one; but two ounces are not enough to live upon. Ireland has improved very greatly by the introduction of free trade; but Ireland has been in the grip of the landlords all this time, notwithstanding free trade, and the landlords have managed up to this time to extract from the poor people the greater part of the advantages which free trade gave them. (Applause.) But if it had not been for free trade you would have had to contribute far more to Ireland than you have done.

OUR MARKETS.

Q.—From which quarter of the globe are

we to expect this extra demand for our goods if free trade should be adopted?

A—I will tell you by starting a little book of that. In every round numbers—these numbers are not accurate, but they will do in round numbers we send on an average \$250,000,000 worth of goods every year to Great Britain; and we only receive back from it \$150,000,000 worth. Do you think that Britain does not pay us for what we send? Do you think that she pays those other \$80,000,000 in gold? You are all of it. We get paid for those extra \$200,000,000 in coffee, sugar, and other things, which come from South America, the Indies, Germany, France, Italy and other countries, and we don't pay those countries for the goods we get from them. Who does? John Bull. He pays them with his manufactures. If we had absolutely raw materials we would make those goods at home, and we would send them to Cuba and South America, and all those other countries, and at our doors waiting and hungry for at least two hundred millions of our exports. (Applause.)

So great is our hatred of England that, in order to punish her, we insist in sending all this trade around through England, instead of doing it ourselves. We employ English ships and pay them freight, and pay 2½ per cent commission to their merchants on all this commerce, and pay 2 per cent insurance to their companies on all this commerce, and pay them a banking commission of 1 per cent, and give them a little profit to boot. All this because we hate England so. (Laughter.) If we had free trade, our bankers would get that 1 per cent commission, our merchants would get that 2½ per cent commission, our insurance companies would get that 2 per cent insurance, and our workmen would be employed in making these things which are now made by John Bull.

TAXES ON MATERIALS.

Q.—Mr. George said that this country has only been protected. Wouldn't it be better to encourage the scattering of the factories by putting taxes on the material that comes out of the land, and abolishing the tariff on materials that cannot be produced in this country?

A—You know we are nothing but moon struck theorists; that the practical men are on the other side. (Laughter.) But let us be practical. Let us try lumber. Lumber is produced in this country. I wish all the gentlemen present who own standing forests which are desirable for lumber would please rise. Who is there that owns a forest here? Please stand up. (Continuous laughter as Mr. Shearman paused for a full minute while no one arose.) Oh, I see it is because you are all great lumber owners. You all own standing forests in Maine, and Michigan, and Georgia, and Oregon, and so on, don't you? If you do, certainly, by all means, tax all the foreign lumber that comes in this country; because then the people outside of this hall, the few millions who do not own the lumber forests, will have to pay you the stumpage, which is from one dollar and a half to two dollars a thousand feet. One or two United States senators are said to have made about five million dollars each on stumpage. Mr. Rogers, who has a barrel was talked of for the presidency, has made about two millions. An excellent gentleman, who is a personal friend of mine and who I shall not name, has made over seven millions in that way; and all without turning their hands or doing a single stroke of work.

If you want to put more money into the pockets of the millionaires who own the lands on which these forests stand, by all means, tax the tariff on lumber. (Laughter.) But if you don't, don't. (Laughter.)

This leads me to speak of it from another point of view. If the whole people of this country owned the forests and the mines, should we then put an import duty on things from abroad? No. It is an injury to this country to have these forests cut down, except where they are a nuisance; but they are no longer a nuisance. It is a permanent injury that never cuts be healed, to take away the iron and other ores under the soil. It is a necessary evil. We must have the metals, and yet we destroy the soil in getting them. If you have ever been in a mining district and seen how the country is covered for miles and miles with slag and refuse, you will see how the country is desolated and destroyed by what is called "developing its resources." It is a necessary evil; but why shouldn't we let other countries exhaust themselves first and we get the benefit of it?

In the next place, unfortunately, we should have to continue mining here, for the reason that there is not iron enough or copper enough or material enough in the whole world outside to supply our wants. We could not get one-third iron enough from abroad even if we had free trade.

Q.—Admitting that free trade would be for the best interests of the people of the United States, and that we have decided that the establishment of free trade would close some industries here and transfer them to Europe? If so, how are the workers in those industries to be made to see that free trade is for their interest?

A—I will answer that there are a few such industries. They are very few; and they are industries of such a kind that about once in every five years they do close up anyhow, and the men are all turned out and have to find other work. It is generally assumed by protectionists that people in every kind of industry are always at work under this tariff.

I don't like to read from any but a protectionist paper, and here, there, a pretty protectionist story from the New York Sun. "Elk Garden, West Virginia. This is two years old, but the tariff was just as high then. For the last year nothing has been done.

That is a protected industry; so well protected that never a ton of foreign coal ever reached West Virginia or ever will. It is protected by the tariff and protected by nature. The business of building railroads in this country is not protected by the tariff, but you cannot build them in foreign countries; so there is no foreign competition. Yet every four years from 100,000 to 300,000 men are turned out from this work to seek some other industry. As late as 1885 almost 400,000 men were turned out.

produced on a large scale in this country. On the contrary, the manufacturer at home only adds as much of that duty to his price as he can get. In the case of coffee and tea every cent of duty was added to the price; and yet, when the duty was taken off both coffee and tea, it is a fact that the price of tea in China went up a little, and of coffee in Brazil a good deal, and that the price in this country was not for a considerable time reduced by the amount of the duty.

The same questioner (interrupting)—Why did the coffee rise in Brazil at the very time that the duty was taken off here?

A.—It happened then as it would happen now. A cable message was sent to Brazil, to the principal merchants there, announcing that the duty on coffee was repealed, and they knew that the price would fall in this country. They knew that if that fell there would be an increased demand for coffee. They knew that even before the price fell very shrewd merchants here would rush into the market and speculate in coffee, expecting that they would get it cheap in Brazil. Hence orders were sent to Brazil—orders that could be filled at once. The demand was expected to increase because the price fell somewhat, say a cent a pound. Brazil was not ready to supply us with all the coffee we wanted. Coffee cannot be grown in a day. It took at least a year to supply the new demand. Until that could be supplied, there being an increased consumption in America and no increased production in Brazil, the price in Brazil necessarily went up.

Then the Brazilian government said to the merchants: "You shall now pay a tax of two cents a pound for the privilege of allowing coffee to go out of the country." This discouraged the growth of coffee in Brazil. Therefore there was not as much coffee raised in Brazil as there would have been if coffee had not been taxed; and, again, we did not get all the coffee we wanted. So for the time we had to pay a higher price by reason of the export tax. It was first paid by the Brazilian producers and part of it refunded by us.

That lasted but two years. Ever since then the Brazilian government has gone on taxing the Brazilian merchants. The Brazilians have paid that, and they have got two cents less a pound than exporters in other countries, and we do not have to pay one single cent of that export tax. (Applause.)

The same questioner—Why do you state that the Brazilian government put an export tax on coffee, when the Brazilian minister wrote an article which appeared in the *Notion* and in the *Evening Post*, and a personal letter to me, denying that the Brazilian government had put an export duty on coffee?

A.—Assuming your statement to be correct, the Brazilian minister was more likely to know and tell the truth than the protectionist newspaper from which I took my figures. I know that these papers often contain untrue statements, but I prefer to take their own figures, and confute their own conclusions with them. (Applause.)

If the whole tariff were abolished to-night—(A cry to that effect, some of which I must have heard)—it would be abolished to-night, the cable would be loaded with messages from merchants in this country ordering the purchase of goods all over Europe at the prices which prevailed this morning; and they could not get them filled. When the market opened in the morning European prices would go up about one-half of the duties. Why? Because the merchants abroad would not be able to supply at once the immense quantities that we should want.

What would be the result? Prices of all articles would fall, not by the full amount of the duty, but by about one-third of it. What next would happen? I can tell you what happened in woolen goods. A large concern, thinking that the Mills bill might pass, sent out a circular, announcing that the price of woolen goods would be reduced by one-fourth. Within less than two weeks that concern was selling three times as many goods as it had been selling before. (Applause.)

The tariff removed, the demand would be so great, not only on the part of the other side of the water, that we should mutually add to each other's wealth. Prices would equalize like two bodies of water when the dam between them is taken away (applause); and there would be more than twice as much wealth produced.

Q.—When and where did the free trade system originate?

A.—When Cain emigrated to the land of Nod and Seth traded with him. (Laughter and applause.) Now, shall I tell you when the protectionist system originated? When the devil came to Cain and whispered: "You cannot afford to trade with your brother Seth, but you must put a high protective tariff against him to make him poor." (Laughter.)

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE IN AUSTRALIA.
Q.—In the two colonies of Australia, in one of which protection and in the other free trade—what is the relative condition of these two colonies?

A.—These two colonies—one called New South Wales and the other Victoria—were originally all one. After gold was discovered in them in 1851, they were divided. For years they went along side by side under what the protectionists call free trade, that is, low revenue tariffs, and they made the most wonderful progress that has ever been known in the history of countries so distant from the mother country and from civilization.

In 1856 the colony of Victoria, being then the larger of the two and more prosperous, having more manufactures, its people took it into their heads to establish protection. At the end of twenty-two years there are more manufactures in New South Wales under free trade than in Victoria under protection. (Applause.) The emigrants who are told free from free trade countries, are not doing anything of the sort there. They flee from the blight of protection in Victoria to get under free trade in New South Wales.

The reason why wages are not much higher in New South Wales is that the protected Victoria workmen go over to New South Wales, and so keep wages down to a level. In shipping, in manufactures, in wealth, in population, in every element of prosperity, the free trade colony is ahead.

Now let me branch off a little to illustrate a protectionist trick. A paper, owned by the tariff league in this country, which is the anti-Golden Rule of America, reported while I was in Europe that John Jarrett had crushed me in debate by his statement that there were lately 6,000 men in New South Wales who were going about and calling for bread or blood. In that debate Mr. Jarrett had been accorded the last word, after having opened and I had answered; and he reserved this last piece of comment until he had his last word, which I was not allowed to answer. The truth of the matter is that about four years ago New South Wales adopted a protective tariff, and before this protective

tariff had lasted twelve months people in Sydney were going about calling for bread or blood. (Laughter and applause.) In two years they had another parliamentary election, and by a tremendous majority they made Sir Henry Parkes prime minister, who swept away that protective tariff; and they have heard nothing more about bread or blood since. (Applause.)

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.
Q.—Are there any industries now in this country which have the establishment or existence entirely to a protective tariff? If so, is it a good thing for the country to have those industries or not?

A.—I should say no to both questions. I do not believe that there are any such industries; and if there are any, we do not want them. They are paupers. (Applause.) We do not want pauper industry anywhere; and if we must unfortunately have it in any part of the world, for heaven's sake let the paupers and the pauper industries stay in Europe. (Applause.)

Q.—What is the proportion of the protected industries and the industries not protected in the United States?

A.—I heard Secretary Fairchild state, as the result of a very careful examination which he had just caused to be made, that not more than four protected men of all classes, manufacturers, workmen, and all, were to be found in this country as compared with ninety-six unprotected; and I think that is a fair statement. (Applause.)

Q.—If a seventy per cent tariff were imposed on tin plates, how would that increase the wages of the men who are carrying tin dinner pails? (Laughter.)

A.—Exactly in the same way in which any tariff increases the wages of any workingmen whatever—that is, by making the employers of one-twentieth of their number so much richer, that, if they chose to, they could pay better wages—but they won't. (Laughter and applause.)

Q.—What benefit did the workmen in this country derive from the tax on tea and coffee?

A.—Well, you know I don't think he derived any; but I do say this, that if the workingman is to be taxed on what he eats and drinks and wears, and if he is to go on paying 20 per cent, while the millionaire only pays 1 per cent, and he likes it as he seems to do, he had better pay that tax all to the State, and he did on tea and coffee, than to put it in the pockets of even so excellent a man as Mr. Corneio.

Q.—When you want to buy a machine here, don't you have to pay \$40 to the manufacturer who exports the same machine for only \$30?

A.—Of course my friend will not ask me to assume that that is the case upon everything; but it is the fact that in a very large class of manufactures you can buy for \$30 for export what you can buy only for \$40 if you buy it to use at home. I can well conceive that, in such articles as steel beams, it might be as \$0 to \$20. But the principle of the question is sound.

For example, take cordage. The great cordage manufacturers of Brooklyn have just been appealing to congress to increase duties, do a large business by selling for export those things at a very much lower price than they do at home. Why is that? It is because a drawback of duties has been provided. Our protectionist friends first undertook to kill commerce by a tariff; and then they tried to revive it by the drawback. And if the American manufacturer has worked over partly foreign material for export, he can get back from Uncle Samuel ten per cent of the duties he has paid.

If you workmen want a piece of twine to tie up your groceries, you have got to pay the full price and tax; but if the pauper laborer of Europe wants it to tie up his groceries, he gets nine-tenths of the tax paid back. That is for the better protection of the American workingman. (Great applause.)

THE RENT TAX.
Q.—If you take the tax off all other commodities and place it on land how are you to prevent the landlord from raising the rent of the workman by adding on the tax? (Laughter.)

A.—If you deal with a landlord who does not now charge you as much rent as he can get out of somebody else, then if he were taxed he would raise his rent on you; but I am not acquainted with any such landlords. (Laughter.) The landlords I know—and I am one myself—charge all the rent they can get. If John Smith goes into my house at \$500 and at the end of his term John Jones offers \$600, John Jones gets the house. I am getting now all that anybody can afford to pay. Take good care of that. (Laughter.) I want you to understand that I am a land owner, and I am going to make money out of it as long as I can. Why shouldn't I? When I have taken my share I can afford to give some back—perhaps to help you to think about it.

The same questioner—If the burden is placed on you, and you are charging me now the full value of the house, do you lose it or do I get it?

A.—You are stating a different case now. You said "land" before, and now you say "house."

The same questioner—We don't live on land, but in houses. (Great laughter.)

A.—They are building some tall houses now, but I never saw one that did not rest on land. My friend does not understand the distinction between land and houses. Whether the tax be put on land or houses, I am now getting all I can. But here is the distinction, which most of this audience perfectly understand. If the tax is only put on the value of the land—for example, if the lot would sell for \$4,000 and no more, and the annual rental of that would be, say \$200—the tax might be \$200, and yet I could not increase the rental, because I am already getting all that it is worth; and I can neither make nor unmake the land. If I get disgusted with the legislature and say, "I cannot pay this tax on the land," the tax assessor says, "I will sell it to somebody you will." If they tax the house, I shall put that on you; and if it is not paid, I could afford to keep it empty for a year, because all the other landlords would do the same and no one would increase the number of houses by building in that locality until the tenants were willing to pay the tax. In a very short time the tenants would agree to pay the tax on the houses. But if you try to add the land tax to the tenant's rent, and houses are not taxed, hundreds of men will be glad to put up houses and rent them at a fair interest on the cost of the houses, the tenants paying nothing for the land except the tax. So I should be forced to let my houses upon the same terms.

BRICKS AND WAGES.
Q.—The New York *Star* states that a question was asked Mr. George W. Williams, of which he did not answer; and this is the question: The weekly wages of brickmakers in England is \$3.54, in the United States is \$1.86 per week. Bricks are put on the free list in the Mills bill. What would be the effect on the brickmakers at Haverstraw if that bill goes through? (Applause.)

A.—As usual with protectionist statistics, this reminds me of Josh Billings's question: "Whether it is better not to know so many things, or to know so many things that ain't so." (Laughter.) That statement of the difference of wages is not true. I know precisely where that is taken from. I have the book at home. It is taken from one of Car-

roll Wright's reports, in which he does not pretend that \$3.54 is the average rate of wages of brickmakers in England at all, but that that is the average rate of wages of a very inferior class of workmen, mere boys. And \$1.86 is not the average rate of wages in Haverstraw, as they all know very well, but the wages of the best men engaged in that industry. There is no comparison between those two things. The real statement of Mr. Wright is: American average, men's wages, \$8.68; English, \$4.54. (Mass. Labor Rep. 1881, p. 148.)

Now I have learned of people who are engaged in certain industries in this country who only receive twenty-five cents a day, and I know of people engaged in the same industry in England who receive \$2.50 a day. (A voice, "What industry is it?") It is the tailoring business. But it is inexperienced girls who get twenty-five cents a day here, and are employed in the sweating shops, which you know in England; but in England those getting \$2.50 per day are very superior workmen.

However, to get to the spirit of the question, undoubtedly the workmen in English brick yards do not get as much as the American brickmakers. The American workman may get 50 or even 100 per cent more than the English workman. But the Haverstraw brickmaker makes about three times as many bricks as the English brickmaker.

I like to read from protectionist authorities, as you know. (Laughter.) I read from the New York *Press* of Saturday, October 18, Robert Porter, editor, who was until lately an officer of the great American tariff league, to which all rich protectionist manufacturers belong, and which spends thousands and scores of thousands of dollars in this campaign purely for the sake of keeping up the wages of American workmen. (Laughter.)

What says the New York *Press*, apropos of a question just like that in the shoe business, where the English wage worker gets \$5.80 per week and the American \$10.75? It says: "The explanation is very simple. The better paid American workmen make three times as many shoes as the English workmen do. This increased effectiveness of labor makes the country three times as rich. The same effectiveness of American labor includes other products in the same way." That is, bricks included; and then it winds up: "This is how the workman gets more for his labor here than in England." You told the truth, Mr. Porter, just exactly (great applause)—wages less than double, production more than threefold. (Applause.) High wages one-third cheaper to the employer than low wages.

"AMERICAN" SEAMEN.
Q.—Please let me know why American seamen get \$30 to \$35 and Germans about \$12 per month?

A.—There are no American seamen. (Laughter and applause.) Under your protective tariff you have ruined them. The ocean. There are no American fishermen; they are all blues. You are going to war with Canada and England for the privilege of bringing foreign blues to ruin American fishing boats with blues captains. You have blighted American shipping and nearly destroyed American seamen. I know that three-fourths of the crews in our ships make oath that they are native born or naturalized citizens, they don't know which. Most of them are willing to swear that they are native born, because they do not know the difference in their language between "native born" and "naturalized." (Laughter.) But few of them are Americans at all.

Thirty years ago, when we owned three-fourths of the ships crossing the ocean—because we had approximate free trade—we did have genuine American seamen and paid them from twice to three the wages which English seamen received, for the same reason as in the case of the bootmaker and the brickmaker—they did three times the work and received twice the pay. If we had absolute free trade we would control an absolute majority of the shipping and commerce of the world. (Applause.)

Q.—If a protected article is sold here as a native article, is it not a proof that no protective tariff is needed on that article. (Applause.)

A.—I should say it was; but the protectionists don't think so; they want protection just as much as ever. They profess that they are able to make many things here as cheaply as abroad; and they do it in many cases, even though they are actually taxed on the materials they use.

That reminds me of the clever little *Press* again. It has been exhibiting for some time suits of clothes which it says are as cheap as those made in England. The suit is a whole, and I will concede, for the sake of the argument, though I do not believe it. If it is true, then the American manufacturer, who has paid fifty per cent more than the English manufacturer for his material, must have reduced the cost of labor so much more than the cost of English labor on the finished article as to save out of wages what he paid in taxes.

PAUPER LABOR.
A young man arose and shouted: "There is a man sitting near me who says you won't give a direct answer to a question he can ask."

The chairman said: "Let us hear the question—and an old man put the following question in an I-I have got him now tone: Q.—Does your being protected, Mr. Shearman, make a pauper of you? (Laughter.)

A.—It has not thus far; but I wasn't aware that I was protected. I have been petitioning the legislature for years past to grant me one favor, as I have often told you. I want to be protected against all other kinds of labor except pauper labor. I want to compete with pauper laborers and no others. What I object to is the competition of rich lawyers like Mr. Everts. (Laughter.)

Q.—Can labor be a pauper?

A.—A man is a pauper if he does not labor. If he does honest labor he is not a pauper. (Applause.) The paupers of Europe do not labor and do not compete with you at all. There is no such thing as pauper labor.

Q.—Wouldn't the farm laborer be benefited under free trade, he producing bread and meat, which are literally cheaper in this country than in Europe? And wouldn't it be unfair for him to have this benefit while the mechanic and manufacturing workman would be thrown into competition with the cheaper labor of Europe, not being able to produce as cheaply as they can be produced abroad? (Applause.)

A.—That sums up the whole protectionist argument in a nutshell; and I think the gentleman for the question. Because the farmer earns his own living, without begging for protection, he is to be taxed for the support of others, who can earn their own living as well as he can. The competition between farm laborers here and abroad, so far as wages is concerned, is more unfair than the competition between American mechanics and European mechanics. There are many of these in Europe who get as much as Americans are received in many parts of America. The average wages of cotton operatives in England are higher than their average wages in the United States, outside of New England. The average wages of the coal miners of England are larger than the average wages of miners of the same kind of coal in Pennsylvania. That is not true all around. Generally,

mechanics and miners' wages are higher here than in Europe.

But the American farm laborer's wages are much higher than in Europe, and yet they compete with the farm laborers of Europe and beat them out of the field. (Applause.) Why? I have here the speech of Senator William F. Frye, in which he says he has traveled all over Europe and watched the laborers at work; and that the farm laborers there do not do one-sixth of the work done by farm laborers here in the same time.

There is not as high a duty on the import of wheat and grain and other farm products, as on manufactures; and that duty is confessed to be a humbug and only imposed in order to catch the farmers' votes.

DIRECT TAXATION.
Q.—Under the present social system, if there were no tariff, what rate would the workmen have to pay for government revenue? You claim he now pays 80 per cent. I doubt it.

A.—Do you also mean no indirect tax? When I say no tariff I mean that which would be a necessary consequence—the total abolition of all indirect taxation. (Applause.) When that is done I would like to see any system under which any government could get a large amount in direct taxation from the average laboring man in this community.

We had an income tax during the war. There never was a time in which an income of at least \$500 was not exempted under the income tax. How many mechanics, how many small farmers get \$500 a year? In the second year the exemption was increased by allowing house rent also. How many mechanics came under that provision? If you raise all your taxes by an income tax, the mechanics and laboring classes would not be touched at all and would not pay a cent.

Mr. Post suggests that this would only be so if we make an exemption. But there is not a country in the world which does not make an exemption, even Germany. England makes an exemption of \$800. No workman would pay one cent of income tax. That is why, for one reason, you cannot get the income tax. (Laughter.) That is why the income tax was abolished. Still, I am not in favor of restoring the income tax, for another reason. You cannot collect it honestly; only the honest man would pay, and the dishonest man would swear off. (Applause.)

THE SOUTH.
Q.—How is it that the greatest advocates of free trade in this country never paid labor anything? I refer to the southern slaveholders.

A.—I should like to know by what right the gentleman calls the southern slaveholders the greatest advocates of free trade?

The same questioner—Because their constitution provided for it?

A.—They were out of the Union then; and so they were not the greatest advocates in the Union. In the next place, the south has never been the advocate of real and absolute free trade. They never wanted it. They wanted a tariff for revenue only, and a uniform tariff of 20 per cent on everything.

Among the greatest advocates of free trade, absolute and entire free trade, was a man whom I never supposed was a southerner and ever loved by the south. His name happened to be William Lloyd Garrison. (Great applause.)

I try to meet the spirit of all questions, and though I may wander a little at times, it is only to illustrate some important points suggested by the subject. It is true that since 1824 the bulk of the southern vote has been in favor of a tariff for revenue only, and is getting more and more so all the time.

Was it because they had slavery? (A voice, "They loved England.") (Laughter.) When the south governed this country we were quarreling with England all the time, on the verge of a war with England half a dozen times, and actually made war once. (Laughter.) The war of 1812 was forced on by the south. The reason why the south was in favor of a tariff for revenue only is perfectly simple. They were an agricultural people. They did not know how to manufacture. They did not care to manufacture. Their climate was unfavorable for manufacture; but it was favorable for the raising of cotton and similar raw materials. Their interests were on the side of having a large export trade and buying their goods as cheaply as possible. They did not have among them thirty or forty thousand manufacturers making money out of the system, as the north did.

But the south was in favor of many other things. South Carolina was the only state in the Union which before the war never had any divorce laws. The south as a whole was in favor of very stringent rules of morality. The south as a whole was very devoted to the Christian religion. Louisiana and Maryland were the best Catholic states in the Union. Does that make Catholicism a bad thing? Some of the other southern states were among the most devoted Protestant states in the Union. Does that make Protestantism a bad thing?

But the south had one evil thing; it had slavery. Some of the men who compelled the south to relinquish slavery, the black men are anxious to impose upon the slavery of the white man. (Great applause and cheering continued for several minutes.) I am against slavery, whether white or black. The Lord be praised that he makes the wrath of the wicked to praise him. The Lord be praised that he sets one kind of evil over against another, and that one set of sinners is disposed to fight another. When rogues fall out, honest men get their dues.

Our friend wouldn't have one thief fall out with another. I would. That is our only chance. That is the only chance we had in the world. While the south was seeking one kind of labor it fought against the man who was stealing another kind. I helped the north to stop the stealing of one kind of labor and would do it again, and now I will help the south to stop the stealing of another kind of labor. What I want is freedom—free trade, free land, and free men. (Great applause.)

WAGES AGAIN.
Q.—Under a lower tariff, in 1857, what were the wages of cotton weavers as compared with the high wages of 1857 under a high protective tariff, and why the difference?

A.—I lived in both those periods. You couldn't have selected two more unlucky years for the protection theory if you tried. The wages of the cotton employees in 1857, when estimated in gold and in purchasing power as compared with the prices of their goods, were not only uniformly and unquestionably lower than they were in 1857, that being a free trade year and the other a high protectionist year. (Applause.)

[NOTE.—The increase in cotton weavers' wages in New York between 1850 and 1857 was 3 per cent in gold, but the increase in the cost of living was 27 per cent in gold. See Governor, 315, 325.]

Q.—Isn't it the fact that the tariff produced a large increase in the price of many industries—the industry of the trusts? (Laughter.)

A.—Notoriously.

Q.—If the tax were placed on the land, how could we get sufficient taxes to govern this city, provided this city was valued at the sum of \$25, its original cost. (Laughter.)

A.—Give it up. (Laughter.)

Q.—Is not the competition among manu-

facturers here in the United States great enough to keep the goods at such prices that they only make a very small margin of profit? If so, how much of the consumers contribute to the support of the government, assuming that we all use American goods?

A.—If we all used only American goods, the national government would go into bankruptcy. I sat at a table on the 25th of March with the Commercial club at Providence. Senator Aldrich sat on one side of me, Senator Chase on the other. Senator Aldrich was displeased because there were some half dozen women manufacturers there who would have paid free wool; and he informed the audience that they were making \$500,000 a year apiece. They were getting a little margin of profit, weren't they?

You know that Mr. Carnegie has acknowledged to making \$1,500,000 in one year. He has indeed given largely of this to the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny and to charities, but he has some margin left over and above that. Mr. Hewitt demonstrated that the Edgar Thompson steel works had earned on their capital and had secretly divided over three millions of dollars among a few stockholders. The thirteen steel rail companies made a profit of over \$20,000,000 a year for several years.

When consumers buy American goods they contribute nothing to the support of the government; but the whole of their contributions go into the pockets of protected manufacturers, mine owners and stumpage owners.

The meeting closed with cheers, several men crowding around Mr. Shearman to ply him with further questions, which he courteously answered.

LITTLE HOMES.
A Washington Man, Who Owns a Small Piece of Property, Figures Out Just How Shifting All Taxes to Land Values Would Affect Him.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A point raised in a discussion not long since in the rooms of the Young men's Christian association of this city between members of that organization and single tax advocates, upon the merits of the single tax, set me to thinking. It was not the charge of "immorality," nor the cries of "communism" or "socialism," nor yet the fear of public officials making any greater misuse of their power or of public moneys than at present that affected me. They had long since been answered to my satisfaction. What disturbed me was the question as to what would be the effect of exempting from taxation "all the magnificent residences of Washington, its costly warehouses, its immense stocks of merchandise, its banks with their hoards of wealth; its street railways, its gas works—in short, everything that constitutes a city as distinguished from the land itself on which the city rests—exempting all these and placing the whole burden of taxation upon landowners—many of them persons in very moderate circumstances, who by years of hard work and close economy have managed to secure little homes, the present tax on which they can hardly pay."

Exactly what the financial result of piling up all taxes upon the owners of the soil would be was a question which, as I returned home from the discussion, I could not answer.

The point simply stated was here: My home, consisting of a lot assessed (much below its market value) at \$300 and a home assessed (also much below its market value) at \$1,300, cost me in taxes, at the rate of one and a half per cent, \$24 a year.

It will be seen that more than three-fourths of the tax fell upon the house. Considering the matter as an original proposition, it would have argued that for working hard during all the years from boyhood till the prime of life, for having by self-denial and frugality saved up nickels, and dimes enough to have got my home, and then by giving employment to cellar diggers, brick layers, plasterers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, furniture dealers and many other workmen—I really deserved a bounty, not a tax, and that I should, at least, have been free of the tax of almost twenty dollars which fell upon my house. But while I reflected the time worn simile of the fish in the frying pan occurred to me. Might not the adoption of the single tax work a still worse effect upon me? In other words, if all the taxes which, under the present system, are paid by men who live in residences a hundred fold more costly than mine—by the merchants and bankers and bond holders and other wealthy men of this rich city—were all concentrated upon land values, would not my share of the tax amount to more than the sum which I was already paying?

Not until very recently have I been able to obtain the data that would enable me to answer this question. But the officials of the district have just made public the statistics of the assessed valuation of property within their jurisdiction. They are as follows:

Washington city—value of ground, \$10,483,333—improvements, \$3,237,659

Total value of real estate, \$13,720,993

Georgetown is to Washington city what Brooklyn is to New York—being separated by Rock creek, which is only from twenty to fifty feet wide. Here are the figures given for

Georgetown—value of ground, \$2,281,822—improvements, \$3,009,350

Total value of real estate, \$5,291,172

Besides Washington and Georgetown there are in the district a number of suburban villages—

Smaller villages—value of ground, \$2,047,620—improvements, \$1,750,650

Total value of real estate, \$3,798,270

Summing up the above, we find the value of the city and village real estate to be \$112,670,000, and the tax levied thereon, at the rate of 1 1/2 per cent, would amount to \$1,690,000.

There is in this district certain land not wholly covered by cities or villages that is called "agricultural land." Such land is assessed at a low price and taxed at only one per cent. This is done ostensibly out of consideration for the farmers; but, bless you, there is no farming in the proper sense of the word carried on in the District of Columbia. This land is nearly all owned by real estate speculators or syndicates, who are "holding it for rise," and it is for their benefit, and not that of the farmers, that it is taxed as "agricultural lands."

Agricultural land—value of ground, \$2,667,955—improvements, \$705,550

Total, \$3,373,505

The revenue from this land at one per cent would be \$33,735.

All the personal property that can be found in the district amounts to \$117,728,672; the revenue from which, at 1 1/2 per cent, would be \$1,765,930.

Adding together the revenue from the several sources above mentioned, we find the aggregate revenue expected would, in round numbers, amount to \$1,401,000.

Now the question is: In order to raise this \$1,401,000 by a tax on land alone, what would the rate of taxation need to be?

The value of the ground alone in the District of Columbia amounts to: Washington, \$10,483,333; Georgetown, \$2,281,822; other villages, \$2,047,620; total, \$14,812,775.

The proportion which the revenue to be raised, \$1,401,000, bears to the value of the land in the district, \$14,812,775, is a little less than 1 per cent.

So if the single tax plan were in operation here, the tax upon my lot, assessed at \$300, would be \$2.98, a little less than \$3.

And now, in view of the objections raised by my young Christian association friends to the single tax, I would like to inquire:

(1) If it would be "communism" for me to pay into the common treasury \$30 a year tax for the use of this land, which I did not make nor hire any one to make for me, what is the correct name for it now when I pay into the common treasury \$24 a year, principally for a house which I built or hired some one to build?

(2) If the payment of \$30

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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

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

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

MR. WANAMAKER'S RIBBONS.

Mr. John Wanamaker is a candidate for presidential elector on the republican ticket in Pennsylvania. He is also a storekeeper in Philadelphia, where by dint of courtesy, fair dealing and strict attention to business, he has succeeded in building up an establishment of which the Quaker City is justly proud.

In his capacity of candidate Mr. Wanamaker regards the purchase of things from foreigners as sinful. The man who buys a suit of clothes from an Englishman when, by merely paying a few more dollars, he could buy almost as good a suit from an American, is guilty of an offense against public policy, and ought to be restrained by law. But in his capacity of storekeeper Mr. Wanamaker adjusts his conduct to an altogether different code of ethics. His storekeeping conscience permits him to do freely those things which his political conscience denounces as crimes. He actually sends men over to France and England and Germany every year, and sometimes twice a year, on purpose to purchase things for him. And when he gets the things he promptly puts them on sale in his store, and by cunning advertisements and otherwise does his best to induce his fellow citizens to buy them; thus, on well known protectionist principles, striking deadly blows, day by day, at American labor.

In one of his storekeeping moments Mr. Wanamaker bought a lot of ribbons from a European pauper, and brought them to this country. He didn't do it in any underhanded way. He went up to the custom house and confessed the crime. He told them what he had paid for the ribbons, and produced a certificate from an American consul in Europe to show he wasn't lying. The custom house men thought a fine of half the value of the ribbons would be about right. Mr. Wanamaker protested that they were really too hard on him; but nevertheless paid the fine and took away the goods. Then he added a profit to the cost of the ribbons, and another profit to the duty on the ribbons, and stuck an advertisement in a protectionist newspaper urging Philadelphia femininity to come and buy a magnificent lot of imported ribbons, offered at prices far below their real value. The Philadelphia fair responded with a rush, and the ribbons sold like hot cakes.

Then, when the ribbons were all gone and he had got back all the money he had paid in fines, and a profit on it besides, Mr. Wanamaker the storekeeper, consulted a lawyer, and brought suit against the head custom house man of Philadelphia, claiming that the proper punishment for importing the ribbons should have been a fine of twenty per cent instead of fifty. And the court has decided in Mr. Wanamaker's favor, so that, unless the case is appealed and the decision reversed, he will get back sixty cents out of every dollar he paid in custom house fine. His account with each dollar's worth of that lot of ribbons will then stand thus:

To cost of ribbon	\$1 00
To duty paid on same	50
Total	\$1 50
By sale of ribbon at, say 20 per cent profit, on cost and duty	\$1 80
By duty refunded	20
Net profit on transaction	\$0 60

So that Mr. Wanamaker the store

keeper, as the result of his pauper labor transaction, will pocket a profit of sixty per cent on the cost of the goods, or forty per cent on the price paid for them by consumers; and has done it so deftly, and in such a roundabout, hocus pocus kind of a way, that he can actually defy competition by smaller store keepers while realizing this enormous profit. No wonder Mr. Wanamaker the candidate should support a system that enables Mr. Wanamaker the store keeper to exploit his customers in such glorious fashion.

But where Mr. Wanamaker the candidate makes a mistake, is in supposing that the American people are willing to keep on sacrificing themselves for the sake of Mr. Wanamaker the storekeeper. Women who want French ribbons are actually beginning to ask themselves if they couldn't be bought, on the whole, in some more economical fashion than by paying Mr. Wanamaker the storekeeper \$1.80 for every dollar's worth of them. Storekeepers who are being crowded out of existence by Mr. Wanamaker's great bazaar are beginning to see that if it were not for the protective duty juggle they could do more business on less capital and thus make the crowding out process more difficult. Farmers who find the prices of their products regulated by the competition of foreign farmers in foreign markets are inquiring if it might not be a good thing to subject Mr. Wanamaker to a little of that same competition. And lastly, the men and women who work in "protected" silk mills and other industries are observing that while they grow poor producing "protected" goods, Mr. Wanamaker gets rich by selling the very foreign "pauper made" things he is pretending to protect them against. In short, the American people are discovering that the "protection" Mr. Wanamaker the candidate is so anxious to secure is protection for Mr. Wanamaker the store keeper; and that his anxiety about pauper made goods is not by any means that the people shouldn't buy them, but only that his establishment should have a monopoly of selling them.

WET THROUGH AND DON'T KNOW IT.

The truth soaks into some people without their knowledge or intent, just as excited men get wet with rain without knowing it. Here is a little story which the Press published on Sunday last with no more perception of its real meaning than an expert parrot would be likely to have of the Sermon on the Mount. To the Press the story is nothing but a moderately good joke. It reads it, "A new kind of brick. An inquisitive little boy and a puzzled father's dialogue. Translated from the German." As a matter of fact, it is a single tax tract, which was first printed about six years ago:

A rich man was taking a walk in his brick yard with his little boy one morning, when the following conversation took place:

Tommy—What sort of a place is this, pa?
"This, my boy, is a brick yard."
"Who does it belong to?"
"It belongs to me, my son."
"Does that big pile of brick belong to you, too, pa?"
"Yes, Tommy, it belongs to me.""Do those dirty looking men belong to you, too, pa?"
"No, my son; in this glorious land of liberty there can be no slavery. They are free men.""Why do they work so hard?"
"I don't know, my son."
"Does anybody steal what they make?"
"Of course not, Tommy. How do you come to ask such questions?""But, pa, don't the bricks belong to those men who make them?"
"Yes, my son, they belong to me."
"What are the bricks made of, pa?"
"Of clay, Tommy.""What? Out of that dirt?"
"Yes, Tommy."
"And nothing else?"
"No, Tommy.""Who does the clay belong to?"
"To me."
"Did you make it?"
"No, my son; God made it.""Did God make the clay especially for you?"
"No, I bought it."
"Well, pa, did you buy the clay from God?"
"No! I bought it just as I buy anything else.""Did God sell the clay to the man you bought it from?"
"I don't know, Tommy. You ask more silly questions than I can ever answer.""It's a good thing you own the clay, ain't it, pa?"
"Why, Tommy?"
"Because if you didn't you would have to work like those dirty men. Will I have to work when I get to be a man?""No! I will leave you all my property when I die."
"When these men die won't they all turn to clay?"
"Yes, we all return to clay when we die.""When are you going to die, pa—pretty soon?"
"I don't know, my son. Why do you ask?"
"I was just thinking what a nice lot of bricks you would make after you are dead."

We are anxiously watching the columns of the Press for the second part of this little dialogue, in which Tommy, observing the stream of buyers for his father's bricks, inquires:

"Why do they come to buy of you, pa?"
"Because they can not help themselves, my son."
"But are there not other people who make bricks as well as you?"
"Yes, my son; but my customers are not allowed to buy from anybody else. If they should do so they would be fined or imprisoned.""Is that right, pa?"
"Quite right, my son. Because if they were allowed to buy elsewhere I should have to sell bricks cheaper, and my industry of owning a clay bed would be discouraged."

Then if there were no clay bed here, your customers would get bricks cheaper than they do now?"

"Yes, my son; but in that case I should have to go to work like any common man. As it is, the Tariff protects my industry and enables me to live without work."

"Pa, did God make the Tariff?"
"No, my boy; the men who buy bricks from me made it.""But did God make them?"
"Yes, my son. Why do you ask?"
"Because I think he didn't make 'em very smart."

The man who drew the resolutions adopted at Tammany hall last week ought to try his hand at such work once more and then have a statue erected to his memory. The resolutions "especially approve of the principle recognized in the Mills bill," and would have been a model for brevity and good sense had they stopped there. But they went on to define the principle recognized in the Mills bill, and oh, what a definition! "That all tariff laws should be based as far as possible upon the difference in the rate of wages in the United States and in European countries"—this part of the definition, all things considered, is not so bad; but keep your face straight and read the continuation—"while admitting free of duty those raw materials which are essential to the development of our manufactures, and in the production of which labor is not an essential element!" Does Tammany hall suppose that the Mills bill admits mineral deposits and lumber forests free? These are indeed raw materials "in the production of which labor is not an essential element," and so are all other kinds of land; but they are a kind of raw material that we do not, and are never likely, to import. And aside from land in its natural state, or possibly the brains of a Tammany revolutionist, we should very much like to know what "raw materials" there are "in the production of which labor is not an essential element."

The democrats of Colonel Merriman's district have refused to renominate him on the ground that he voted against the Mills bill, and he threatens to run as an independent candidate. We hope he will. Let him go before his constituents with his record. If they are protectionists he ought to be returned; if they are not he should be defeated. His independent candidacy is to be welcomed. It will make the canvass in that district, which is colorless, turn upon the tariff question, and force the democratic candidate to take a more radical position than otherwise can be expected.

THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

Here are two more "sowing society" letters:

NEWARK, N. J.—I hereby join the "sowing society." I see no reason why the roll of membership should not soon surpass Credo's expectations.

NEWARK, N. J.—Credo's idea for sowing the seed has my hearty approbation. I inclose twenty-five cents, and take pleasure in joining the sowing society. May its members become legion.

The campaign fund has only a little while longer to live. Scarcely more than a week remains during which we can hope to influence men's votes by STANDARD arguments and single tax literature.

But a great deal can be done in a week. A great deal can be done, if only the means to do it are forthcoming. It rests with you, STANDARD readers, to say whether it shall be done or not.

Here are one or two stories of what some STANDARD readers have been doing:

DUNKIN, N. Y.—Inclosed find \$1, for which send THE STANDARD to the address below until the close of the campaign, and use the balance for spreading the light.

I feel very happy to-day after your lecture of last night. I only wish that those republicans that came there to trouble you could feel as happy. You have my best wishes that you may succeed in the gigantic work you have undertaken. God bless you.

MRS. F. LEAKE.

WINCHESTER, Cal.—I send you \$1 for the campaign fund. I wish I were able to send more. It would give me great pleasure to do so. I am a single tax man, a free trader, and will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. I send you the name of another single tax man that will do the same. JOHN NICHOLSON.

NEW YORK CITY.—Inclosed find check for \$25, a contribution to THE STANDARD fund from my father, S. Mendelson.

WALTER MENDELSON.

Here is the story of the fund for the past week:

J. McDonough, City	\$5 00
A. T. Ford, Birmingham, N. Y.	5 00
W. E. Dorn, Newark, N. J.	5 00
W. E. Dorn, Newark, N. J.	5 00
A. Granger, City	1 00
G. A. McFarlane, Jasper, Ark.	2 00
C. A. Cronch, Barlow on Sound, N. Y.	2 00
Herman Kuehn, Indianapolis, Ind.	2 00
R. G. Kent, Indianapolis, Ind.	2 00
F. S. Briggs, New Hamilton, Iowa	1 00
Benjamin Bradley, City	1 00
James McKinley and G. Harwell, Whitestone, N. Y.	2 00
L. J. Williams, West New York, N. J.	2 00
E. F. Lako, Dunfermline, N. Y.	1 00
S. A. Schmidt, Augusta, Ga.	50 00
Dr. W. W. Shady, Augusta, Ga.	1 00
George Haines, Augusta, Ga.	1 00
A. F. Allen, Bradford, Pa.	50 00
John Nicholson, Winchester, Cal.	1 00
P. Knip, Baltimore, Md.	1 00
S. Mendelson, New York City	25 00
W. H. Sellers, San Francisco, Cal.	3 00
Wm. H. Matlow, New York City	4 00
Magnus Gross, Jr., New York City	4 00
F. J. Miller, Plainfield, N. J.	2 00
Total for the week	\$85 15
Previously acknowledged	3,583 66
Total to date	\$3,668 81

Influence of the Single Tax Men in New York.

A gentleman who is traveling through the state of New York writes: "I thought it of interest to you to hear from me that you have educated at least 70,000 men how to vote on Nov. 6 next. Before I started out on my tour I felt sure that the republican cry of 'The Mills bill means free trade' had scared the workmen and that they would surely vote the other way. Well, I have discussed the question with all the workmen I could reach, and I have been surprised to find that they don't scare worth a cent. To draw them out I have argued from the republican standpoint, but in the twinkling of an eye my adversaries have doubled me up and wiped the floor with me and my arguments. Wherever I meet THE STANDARD and I meet it everywhere! I find men who do not hesitate to call themselves free traders, and who are playing the mischief with the notion that labor needs 'protection.' Judging from the parts of the state I have so far visited Cleveland is sure to carry New York."

MEN AND THINGS.

William, Thomas and Norman Gubbins and James Godfrey are four stalwart young farmers, of whom the youngest is twenty-six years old and the oldest thirty. They were born and brought up in the principality of Wales, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and are, so far as is known, honest, hard working, respectable, God-fearing young men, who would be a credit to any country. But not long ago his grace the duke of Buckingham, who owns that part of the earth in which these Welshmen then resided, made up his mind that he had too many Welshmen on his estates, and decided to thin them out. Perhaps he wanted more room for partridges; perhaps he reckoned it would pay better to raise sheep than human beings; anyway, he resolved to "weed out" his stock of men. So he shipped off the Gubbins boys and Godfrey to this country, paid their passages to New York, gave them \$30 in money, and told them to make their way to Manitoba, and go to work there raising wheat for use in England, 4,000 miles away. And on Wednesday of last week the young fellows arrived here by the steamship Wyoming and were landed at Castle garden.

Then a complication arose. It was, of course, evident to the Castle garden authorities that there was no room in this country for four able bodied young men, if they expected to make a living by work. This is no place for men who only want to work, no matter how able bodied and willing they may be. We are glad to see tourists or gentlemen immigrants like Mr. Scully, for example—who want to buy pieces of our country and then charge us for the privilege of living on them; but when it comes to mere workmen—fellows who have an insane idea that they can get rich by just going to work and making things—why it behooves us to be careful. So when it appeared that these four young men had only thirty dollars in money amongst them, the inspector at once became suspicious, and sent word in hot haste to Collector Magone that perdition Albion was trying to shove off some more of her paupers on us.

Of course this was very disagreeable to the four young Welshmen. The rotunda of Castle garden is by no means as pleasant a place as the rotunda of the Astor house, and existence there becomes monotonously disagreeable after the first twenty-four hours. But, curiously enough, what affected these Welshmen most was not the insult to their own manhood, but the insult to the duke of Buckingham. To them his grace was, if not exactly a fourth person in the Godhead, at all events a good deal higher than any mere archangel; and when they saw mere ordinary men, and custom house men at that, contravening his expressed wishes, they shuddered, just as the protectionists did when Mr. Cleveland sent in his message, and whispered, awe-strickenly, that "his grace would be much offended."

And his grace was much offended, too; for as soon as he heard of the outrage he telegraphed to the consul general of Great Britain that he would pay the four men's passage to Manitoba. Which fact the consul general officially communicated to Superintendent Jackson at Castle garden. And it being thus made certain, under duress of guarantee, that these four hardy, industrious young men would make no effort to embarrass the United States by settling within its territory, they were allowed to proceed without further question, and the superintendent resumed his every day work of passing Italian and Hungarian laborers.

Speaking of immigration, it is interesting to note that the arrivals at Castle garden for the first nine months of the present year have been 323,014 against 306,613 for the same period in 1887. The time was, and not so very long ago either, when these figures would have been quoted with approving delight all over the country, and Fourth of July orators would have pasted them carefully in their hats for use when expatiating on the grandeur and hospitality of the Great Republic. In those days the school books used to tell the children that the Mississippi valley alone was destined to support a free and happy population of 500,000,000 souls. The great valley is there still, but its capacity somehow seems to have sadly narrowed.

Louis Keitowitch is a tailor resident in Bayard street, this city, who has been having a pretty hard time. His wife died some six weeks ago, leaving him with four little children, the youngest two years old. Naturally these little ones took up a good deal of Louis Keitowitch's time, and very possibly they hampered him somewhat in his work—keeping him at home when he ought to be hunting jobs abroad, and hindering his steady application to needle and goose after the jobs had been secured. It's a way that children have, to interfere with grown people's occupations; and under proper social conditions, of course, only people who could afford to knock off work now and again would be allowed to have any children. However, there was Louis Keitowitch and there were his children, and the children had to be attended to. So Louis Keitowitch did the best he could, with the net result that when the police broke into the Keitowitch apartment one night last week, the whole family was found starving to death.

Of course they fed Louis Keitowitch and his tribe. Our humanitarian civilization prohibits people from absolutely dying of starvation, in public. So they gave them food. And what next? Did they clap Louis Keitowitch on the back and bid him cheer up, and tell him the world was wide enough for all the people in it, and the God who made the world was wise enough and good enough to provide food for everybody? Well, no; they didn't do that exactly, but they provided for Louis Keitowitch in another way quite as efficiently. They took his children away from him and sent them to the Five Points house of industry. Louis is all right now. Death has taken his wife, and man has taken his children. He can recommence the world with this advantage over his fellows, that he has learned from experience to avoid making a fool of himself again with any sentimental nonsense.

It was always held the worst feature of chattel slavery that it parted parents and children so remorselessly. How thankful we should be that in these happy days of ours chattel slavery is unknown and workmen are never parted from their children—except, of course, when they happen to be out of work.

The Bugle is Blown.

We wait for the bugle; the night dew is cold. The limbs of the soldiers feel jaded and old; The field of our bivouac is windy and bare; There is lead in our joints, there is frost in our hair.

The future is veiled and its fortunes unknown, As we lie with hushed breath till the bugle is blown.

—T. W. Higginson.

The bugle is blown, is blown! Up, comrades! it calls to the fray; The tremulous dark is all sown With gleams of the swift coming day. What matter the bivouac dreary? Like a dream of the night, it has sped. What matter limbs stiffened and weary? They thrill to new life as we tread.

The bugle is blown, is blown! Fall in! for the battle is on; No quarter to error be shown. No trace till the gaudion is won. The mighty the serried forces, The marshaled our steps to oppose, We kneel to the stars in their courses, Fight still against liberty's foes.

The bugle is blown, is blown! On the wings of the wind it hath flown— O, heart! that was heard in your youth, O, soul! that once leaped in reply, Do ye hearken the summons repeating: The mandate of liberty's cry!

The bugle is blown, is blown! How thought ye its strain could be stilled? Oh! clear as of old it was blown: The pulse of the world it hath thrilled. While a wrong yet remains for redressing, While brotherhood's claim is denied, To hope and to anguish confessing: That clarion note hath replied.

The bugle is blown, is blown! Up, comrades! it calls to the fray; Strong soul, there is need that is shown, For loyalty's valor to-day. Oh, hearken! for fuller and higher It swells on the ambient air— The summons to souls that aspire For freedom to do and to dare.

San Luis Obispo, Cal. FRANCES M. MILNE.

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In a business correspondence with THE STANDARD, Mr. Thomas Williamson writes under date of the 21st: "I spoke before a democratic club last night at Madison, Va., a little village opposite Lynchburg, and prepared some ground for single tax seed. I find men every day who see portions of the cat."

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Why a Mine Owner Wants Free Trade.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Oct. 16.—I own several low grade gold and silver mines in the state of Colorado, but they are closed now owing to the great cost of mining. I can work them profitably if not compelled to go through the numerous toll-gates of protection to purchase the powder, fuse, steel, tools, machinery, cars, building and lumber required in developing them, and in addition give to each of my laborers extra pay in order that they may get by another string of gates to buy their food, clothing and housing; also recompense the smelters and railroad companies with whom I deal for the toll they have paid in building and running their mills and roads. My business is not protected. I must seek the competition markets of the world when I dispose of my mineral. I wish to purchase in the same market my needed supplies. The laws of my ignorant countrymen force me, like the farmer, to sell in the cheapest market, and buy in the dearest. Give us free trade, and the tens of thousands of low grade gold and silver mines now idle, from one end of the Rocky mountains to the other, can be operated, furnishing profitable employment for millions of men not only digging ore but manufacturing mine machinery and tools, building mills, smelters and railroads.

What the owners of low grade mines want is not protection, but freedom to exchange their mineral for all needed commodities produced on any part of this earth, and the liberty to bring them home without passing through the great American squeeze room known as the custom house.

Voters! Unchain us so that we can go to work. F. A. TAPPAN.

Keeping at It in Indianapolis.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Oct. 13.—Herman Kuehn has returned to this city and will remain awhile, and we expect to reassemble our society, which was adjourned over the heated season and accelerate our progress toward the great reform. Many of us have been active, dropping the good seed here, there and yonder, and I am satisfied it has not all fallen on stony ground.

We are about to have an independent campaign meeting next week and give the way-farer in the east and a taste of real democracy.

H. Martin Williams went home to Missouri yesterday after hard work in the southern part of the state.

Hudson is doing much good. He is to have a joint discussion next week with a bold advocate of protection, north of the city. I have no doubt of a good outcome. He will simply make the gentleman weary before he gets fairly started.

I am working up a sentiment in favor of ballot reform, and have promise of some influential assistance in the near future. Petitions will be circulated. L. P. CESTER.

Here's a Candidate for Congress Who's Not Afraid.

The democrats of the Eleventh congressional district of Massachusetts have nominated William Skinner of Holyoke, one of the largest silk manufacturers of New England. His platform, according to the Boston Herald, is a belief in "the ability of American industries to hold their own against the competition of the world."

vantage over his fellows, that he has learned from experience to avoid making a fool of himself again with any sentimental nonsense.

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CLOSING UP.

CAMPAIGN WORK NEARING ITS END.

Meetings Held During the Past Week—
Meetings for the Future—The Single Tax
Being Everywhere Thrust Into Public
Notice—Extracts from Correspondence.

As the election draws near the single tax meetings become, if possible, even more interesting. The politicians in this city have so often been shocked by the doings of "these land tax cranks" that they have become used to it; indeed, some of them are so thoroughly galvanized that they are now prepared to shock other people. But the out-of-town meetings have astonished the natives. Items which appear in THE STANDARD give some idea of what is being accomplished here and elsewhere, and a condensed account of the week's work is given below:

Henry George spoke on Wednesday of last week at Danbury, Thursday at Lockport, Friday at Rochester and Saturday at Syracuse—on all occasions to crowded audiences. His answering of questions was a feature at each meeting. Mr. George also spoke at the Brooklyn rink on Thursday of this week.

Hugh O. Pentecost had a successful meeting in Philadelphia, at Music Hall, on Wednesday of last week, and L. F. Post spoke before a great meeting in Passaic, N. J. On the same day the Tenth congressional district single tax club met at Grocers' hall in East Twenty-third street, and had a general debate. The protectionists who took part got a pretty lively shaking up.

On Thursday, Oct. 19, W. J. Gorsuch and L. F. Post spoke at Wendell's hall, in West Forty-fourth street, Mr. Post answering questions. After adjournment the question and answer debate was continued on the sidewalk by some of the audience until long after midnight.

The same night A. J. Steers and J. R. Abanance spoke before a good meeting at New Windsor hall, 412 Grand street.

On Friday, the 19th, Thomas G. Shearman answered questions at Cooper union. A full report will be found in another column.

The Eighth congressional district men had a meeting at Goodfellow's hall, 97 Essex street, on Saturday, the 20th, at which Everett Glavin and F. C. Leubuscher spoke; and the Ninth congressional branch of the free trade club met at 105 Second avenue, L. F. Post being the speaker of the evening.

On Monday of this week a great east side meeting was held in Parkersville hall, 125 Madison street, and Third avenue, in the Twelfth congressional district. Hugh O. Pentecost and L. F. Post spoke. It was a crowded and very successful meeting.

On Tuesday the grand rally in the Brooklyn rink was held, at which Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, L. F. Post and Hugh O. Pentecost spoke. This was a big and enthusiastic meeting, and brought together men from all parts of that city and New York.

The meetings for Wednesday were at Cooper union in this city where Hugh O. Pentecost and W. B. Estell were the speakers; at Arthur hall, 126th street and Sixth avenue, where Henry George and W. J. Gorsuch were the speakers; at Medina, N. Y., where L. F. Post spoke, and at Philadelphia, where Thomas G. Shearman spoke.

On Thursday of this week W. J. Gorsuch and W. B. Estell will speak at Middletown, N. Y., and L. F. Post will speak at Auburn, N. Y.

In this city on the same day there will be a debate between representatives of the Tenth congressional district, organization of single tax men and of the Harrison and Morton club which has headquarters at the Chimney corner, corner of Sixth avenue and Twenty-fifth street, where the debate will take place. All single tax men are invited.

The Harlem branch of the New York free trade club will hold a public meeting at Temperance hall, Lexington avenue and 125th street, Friday, October 28. Hon. D. H. Chamberlain is expected to make the address.

On the same date L. F. Post and William T. Crossdale will speak at the German club room in Stapleton, Staten island.

Thomas G. Shearman speaks at Middletown, N. Y., on Saturday the 27th.

On Monday, Oct. 29, Thomas G. Shearman and Hugh O. Pentecost will address a mass meeting of the single tax voters of the Sixth congressional district at the Bleeker building, corner of Bleeker and Morton streets. Mr. Shearman will give special attention to the assertion recently made to the voters of that district by Senator Fry that free trade has ruined Ireland.

On Tuesday, Oct. 30, Thomas G. Shearman and Louis F. Post will speak at Arion hall in Brooklyn.

On Wednesday, Oct. 31, Henry George will speak at some hall yet to be designated on Staten island.

On November 1 there will be a grand final rally at Cooper union, when Thomas G. Shearman, Hugh O. Pentecost, L. F. Post and Henry George will speak.

L. F. Post will speak at Ellenville, N. Y., on Friday, Nov. 2.

Henry George speaks on Thursday, Oct. 25, Harrisburg, Pa. Friday, Oct. 26, Idaho, N. Y.

Saturday, Oct. 27, Binghamton, N. Y. Monday, Oct. 28, Morrisstown, N. J. Friday, Nov. 1, New York city. Thursday, Nov. 2, Pawtucket, R. I.

These are all the extracts from the correspondence of the single tax campaign committee which the crowded condition of THE STANDARD columns will permit us to publish:

A. E. K., Milwaukee, Wis.—Inclosed find the names of my father and mother for enrollment. Four years ago I cast my first vote for James G. Blaine because there was then no principle at stake, but this year I vote for Cleveland because "he is right." Whenever the opportunity offers I announce myself a free trader and a red hot debate follows. I have led many men, all of them republicans, to consider the land tax and free trade.

A. D. Strong, Ashtabula, O.—When THE STANDARD started I was the only single tax man that I know of in Ashtabula. Now I think, although we have no organization, we have at least 30 more and the number is rapidly increasing. Put me down for Cleveland and Thurman, although I have never voted for a democratic president.

Charles W. Grove, Louisville, Ky.—I send you a list of eight single tax tax men who have been in the Standard since it was first issued and think it the very best paper in the United States. After reading a copy I generally give it to some of my friends.

L. O. Bishop, Clinton, Ind.—Inclosed find Cleveland and Thurman pledge. I supported Blaine four years ago, and voted the republican ticket two years ago. But this year I am advocating the election of Cleveland because I recognize in this election a firm advance toward free trade and the single tax.

Warren Danner, Bonham, Tex.—I send you inclosed blank cut from STANDARD. Some people here say that I am so good a democrat, I should not recognize Henry George or his paper. "Progress and Poverty," THE

STANDARD, common sense, good health and Texas have made me a convert.

F. A. Tappan, Kansas City, Mo.—Herewith my name for enrollment. I am a republican desserter.

Moses Gingrich, Detroit, Mich.—Put me and my two friends down as single tax Cleveland and Thurman voters.

John H. McCormack, Key West, Fla.—Inclosed please find the names of our single tax Cleveland men. Two of us will cast our first democratic ticket. The other two are democrats who have recently seen the cat. Our newspaper sells eight STANDARDS where a month ago he sold only one, and that one to me. He is going to raise the order to twelve next week, as I secure him against all loss. We single tax men here are working slowly but surely, and you will yet hear from Key West.

Thomas B. Moore, Fassel, Pa.—I have voted the republican ticket since 1856, but will not this year vote with the party that nominated the innocent gentleman of Indiana. The single tax is as yet new here, though it cannot do so a pretty low class. Brush, Canada thistles and rag weeds are spreading over the fields while men anxious and willing to work, but unable to pay the high price asked for the land, are compelled to stand idle.

Charles A. Crouch, Bartow on Sound, N. Y.—Inclosed find pledge. The reason why I am so late in sending it in is because although I believed myself a single tax man I was blind to the presence of the "animal" which all true single tax men are supposed to have seen. A close study of "Protection or Free Trade" and attendance at the Cooper union meeting opened my eyes and caused me to see the quadruped at last. Like a good many other signers of the pledge I marched with the Blaine cohorts in 1884, but I march no more.

J. W. Avery, Peoria, Ill.—I cannot say or approximate very nearly to the number of single tax men here, but the few whose names I send are prominent, active and intelligent men. We have a society for discussion of all subjects, which meets every Sunday afternoon, two and a half hours' time being allotted. This society is a permanent fixture of many years' standing and is supported by some of the brightest minds, legal and professional, in our city. Last meeting the discussion was on the tariff; the essayist, a chosen champion of protection, acknowledged the system of free trade or fair trade to be right, but utopian and impossible of realization. The protectionists had their best backers on hand, but free traders and Henry George men made them haul their flag down to about half mast. I am sixty-five years old and never voted the democratic ticket before. I shall vote for tax reform this time.

R. W. Kersey, Los Angeles, Cal.—The republicans are having up hill work here since they tried the operation of swapping horses in the middle of the stream. Their papers only recently declared that there was no surplus. Now they advocate the senate idea of reducing what they didn't have. Altogether their work is a dreary bore.

Wm. Baumgartel, Holland, Mich.—I send you herewith five names, including my own, to be placed on your list. I am a single tax man from my feet up and will not be satisfied until I see it in operation, and will support any movement that in my judgment will reach the desired result the quickest.

Wm. Spalding, Chicago, Ill.—Enroll my name among the single tax Cleveland and Thurman voters. It will be my first democratic vote—not because it is democratic but because it is right. I have been a republican for thirty years, but the party has departed from its traditions of freedom and I cannot follow. "Free trade, free land, free men" is my political creed.

John C. Rehling, Newport, Ky.—Four Knights of Labor want their names placed on the enrollment list. They will vote for Cleveland because he is going our way. Two of them will cast their first vote. My assembly of the K. of L. discusses political economy and every Thursday night the single tax is preached.

A. Severance, Saginaw, La.—Inclosed I send slips for enrollment, containing my own name and others who authorized me to forward them. I have always been a democrat, but with a decided leaning toward absolute free trade. I could never see clearly, if all revenue tariffs were abolished, how money could be raised for the expenses of the government except by direct taxation. But a friend having sent me some sample copies of THE STANDARD I soon saw the point, and am now an advocate of absolute free trade and the "single tax" doctrine. Give us free trade and it will lead us at once to the single tax question.

John McAniff, Unionville, Conn.—The tracts and sample copies of THE STANDARD which I got from you some time ago were distributed with a result that many men who were going to vote for Cleveland "because he is a democrat" will work and vote for him because he is for tariff reform. Workmen here have advanced wonderfully since the campaign began. They are all convinced that the tariff has nothing to do with wages, but that wages are regulated by competition. I have an old copy of "Progress and Poverty" which during the past two months I have in turn handed to four different men, all of whom read it and accepted its teachings.

W. B. McCain, Cherokee, Kan.—I send you my name and four others to be added to the list of single tax voters who will cast their ballots for Cleveland and Thurman. I voted for Blaine in 1884, but am now an absolute free trader in the broadest sense of the term.

H. Reggio, New Orleans, La.—Inclosed find names of twenty-one single tax Cleveland voters. When I started out on the work of conversion there seemed little hope of accomplishing much.

J. R. Barry (and indorsed by B. B. Robbins), Philadelphia, Pa.—I am an old time radical and abolitionist, having voted in the interest of universal freedom before the formation of the once great and grand republican party. My vote has since been cast with that party, but I am free to confess that for over a year I have been convinced that this great party, having accomplished the mission that called it into existence, has of late allowed itself to become the mere tool of the aristocratic and monopolistic class, and as such is no longer the party of progress and reform. And hence, for the same reason that I entered it and worked and voted for its success, I find myself obliged to leave it and cast my vote where I think it will do the most good. I cheerfully announce myself as fully convinced that the positions now so ably maintained are reasonable and right, and for the good of all humanity, I sincerely believe that a vote now for Cleveland is a vote for progress and reform that will not stop until every vestige of the present system of wage slavery shall have been wiped out as thoroughly as has been its twin sister, chattel slavery. And I am more sanguine of living to see that day than I was of living to see negro slavery abolished when I first voted for the party that was moving in that direction over forty years ago.

T. E. Malone, New Castle, Pa.—Inclosed find an enrollment blank properly filled out. We have in this town several advocates of

the single tax, and they will all vote for Cleveland on the 6th of November.

John A. Moley, Jersey City, N. J.—Here are seven signatures for your enrollment list. One of these men has heretofore been a republican. Protectionists here do not like to meet "those Henry George men" and once a George man gets interested in a debate between a democrat and a republican the democrat generally gives the floor to the George man, as he fears nothing and the result is knock down arguments.

Phil Smith, Schellburg, Pa.—I herewith send my signature to be enrolled with the Cleveland and Thurman single tax voters. I was a protectionist in 1884, and voted for Blaine but have since seen "the cat." A short time since, in a friendly discussion with a Quaker minister, I led up to the single tax, and explained as best I could the teachings of "Progress and Poverty." When I was through he said: "Then you are not a Henry George man?" "That," said I, "is Georgism." He was surprised, and wished to know more. I did the best I could to make him understand the ultimatum of the single tax. "If that is Georgism," said he, "then I am a George man." He saw part of "the cat." But I could not quite get him to abandon the worship of the fetish—protection. However, I loaned him "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and "The Land Question." There are plenty of men here tired of things as they are, but wonderfully slow to change. I lose no opportunity to talk free trade and single tax. I loan my STANDARDS and such other literature as I have, and in time my efforts will have a good result.

J. H. Hinkle, Gurnison, Col.—Inclosed I hand you my name to be added to those who pledge themselves to vote for Cleveland and Thurman on the ground that they are going our way, i. e., toward the abolition of the infernal system of indirect taxation that so paralyzes all who have no opportunity to shift it. The "Old Roman" may pass over the river—as he is now quite old—ere he comes to see the beauty of a single tax on land values; but if Grover continues to learn in the future as he has in the past, I doubt not that in four years more he will be fit to lead a single tax national campaign. I voted for Blaine in 1884, and, like many other fools, believed that the salvation of the country depended upon his election. I am heartily glad now to know that there were not enough fools in the country to do it.

Follow It Up.

We're going to vote for Cleveland.
I'll tell you the reason why—
He slugged the fetich on the jaw
Which made the humbug.

We're going to vote free freedom;
That's just the thing we "made."
And if it works to suit us,
Next time we'll vote free trade.

Reduction first, next free trade,
You bet your bottom cent;
And if they go on nicely,
We'll vote to tax ground rent.

Bellefontaine, O. F. M. MARQUIS.

An Echo from Oakland.

Not long ago THE STANDARD published a letter from a friend in Oakland, California, in which he told how a great land owner named Adams was, by his money and influence, preventing the city from extending its limits so as to take in his great tract of 122 acres, which is now outside of the city. Mr. Adams knows that if it were within the limits it would be assessed as city property, whereas now it is assessed as suburban or farm land. The tract is said to be worth at the very lowest \$500,000. The other small owners near by want to have the city limits extended so as to take their places in and give them the benefit of the city lights, police, etc., which city enjoys. On this matter the Oakland Echo has this to say:

A well known Oaklander went to Adams once and asked the price per acre of a portion of this land. The price asked was \$1,200 per acre. Adams agreed to pay it. Adams raised the price to \$1,500. Adams refused to pay. Adams immediately raised his price to \$1,800. Adams raised his figure to meet Adams's. Adams again and again advanced his price, until he reached \$5,000 an acre, and when Adams refused to sell at any price. Yet a few short years ago, before railroads girdled western Alameda and the ferry facilities built up a city only second in the state to San Francisco, the land would have been dear at \$20 an acre. The readers of THE STANDARD may ask how much this son of Adam did toward building up the city whose wealth and power he has made him a millionaire. Not a dollar. The only buildings on this tract are one or two broken, rotten, shanties unfit for pigsties, near the water front, on which the assessor placed no value. But Adams owns also certain city property, and these lots have an aggregate value in the city assessor's books of \$185,000. But not one cent of this large sum is for improvements. Not one brick, not one stick of timber has Edison Adams laid on another on his half million dollars' worth of land in Oakland city any more than he has outside of it.

Mr. Adams, however, resides near Oakland on another property, and there the assessor placed something to tax besides land. Adams's assessment on his home place is \$30,000 for land, \$8,500 for improvements and \$5,000 for personal property. As the improvements consist of an old clap board frame house, which would not sell for \$800 to move, a small servant's cottage and a fine stable, the assessor appears to have done his whole duty when he succeeded in finding something to tax besides land. Mr. Adams's conscience does not trouble him on the contrary, he and many of his fellow citizens who have obtained wealth by similar means, consider that he did his whole duty to society, and are as ready with their city lights, and down and watched others work and toil while he made the profit.

Billy Radcliffe Gets There.

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Oct. 16.—Mr. Arnold Hughes and myself dropped in at Warren, this state, on Saturday night and gave them the usual surprise party. We got a good crowd and held them two hours in rain and mud, riveting them free trade and single tax. We handed out tracts and STANDARDS, and left them with something to read and think over for Sunday.

I inclose you the names of three gentlemen who wish to take THE STANDARD, and I also send you the money for the same. You may hear from others there who may want to take the paper after reading the sample papers we left with them.

I also inclose a few more names of Cleveland and Thurman single tax voters gathered by Thomas Taylor. Yours in the cause,
BILLY RADCLIFFE.

Single Tax Men in Baltimore Take Notice.

BALTIMORE, Md.—A meeting of all believers in the single tax on land values is called to meet at 306 West Fayette street, Friday, October 26, 1888. It is important for everyone to be present. By order of

COMMITTEE.

The superiority of artificial pisciculture to the natural method is illustrated in the case of shad. Of the 100,000 eggs which a shad produces only 500,000 are hatched naturally, while 95,000,000 are to be the number developed into fish by the artificial process. The cost of this delicate food can thus be kept within reasonable limits.

FROM THE HUB.

Loss of Life There—An Open-Air Single Tax Meeting That Lasted All Day—Indoor Meetings—Worrying a Protectionist Candidate—What Made Mr. Roche's Tent and Stop to Think—Denny, the Office Boy's Father.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 15.—I send you a list of sixty-three single tax free traders, all employed in the composing room of the Boston Herald, and one other, who is the chairman of the ward and city committee of the labor party here in Boston.

The Single Tax League of Boston, formerly the anti-poverty society, is still doing good work during the summer months. It has held weekly meetings on the common Sunday afternoons, at which we have had very attentive and fair sized audiences and have sold many copies of "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade" etc., and distributed many free tracts. Our last open air meeting occurred two weeks ago yesterday, and lasted from 10:30 in the morning till 8 o'clock in the evening, and we had a good audience all day—some of the city papers estimated the attendance at 200.

A week ago yesterday we held our first indoor meeting for the season at Wells' memorial hall, where we will continue to hold similar meetings every Sunday evening during the winter. At the first meeting Professor Garland gave an interesting account of his western trip in a telling speech, and Rev. John Hayes made one of his forcible arguments in favor of free trade and the single tax. At the meeting last night, Mr. Brown, Mayor, Rev. J. W. Stinson, Brazier and Mr. J. W. Stillman were the speakers, and all three devoted themselves to the free trade issue. Most of us are free traders, and will vote the democratic national ticket for that reason, but there are a very few among us who have not yet seen the tail of the "cat."

Alanson W. Beard, the "old republican war horse," as he is called, is the protectionist candidate for congress in the Third congressional district against John F. Andrews, one of our old war governors, and a true blue reformer. The old "war horse" has been doing considerable prancing lately, and quoting statistics and "forty years' experience" till you can't rest. A few weeks ago he spoke before the Malden deliberative assembly, which has devoted many of its meetings lately to discussions of the tariff question, pro and con. The chairman announced that after the lecture Mr. Beard would answer questions from the audience, and a cyclone of questions almost lifted the old "war horse" off his feet when the time came. Mr. Beard started out in life as a "farm help" at \$10 a month, "and look at me now"—that was the burden of his remarks. Several mechanics in the audience took notes during the speech, and at its close they laid some tough questions ready for the speaker. I remember one or two. Mr. Beard had dwelt at considerable length on the "balance of trade" hunting, and as a cluecher, exclaimed: "Why in the year (I forget the year) the balance of trade under a low tariff was so heavily against us that we were obliged to ship our gold direct from the mines to London." One of the audience asked the speaker, at the close, referring to this statement, what was the difference between shipping one of our products, gold, from our mines, and another, wheat, from our fields? Mr. Beard did not attempt to answer the question, but took some documents from his breast pocket and gave a lot of figures relating to outputs of gold and wheat, and many other products, in different years, winding up with the old chestnut that has been roasted and found hollow long ago, that unless we send more goods away than we receive in return we are going to lose business. But Mr. Beard stopped in a much deeper hole when he spoke of the wool question. "I have had an experience of over forty years in the clothing business," he said in effect, "and never have I seen woolen clothing sold so cheap as it is today." Then, later on in his speech, in refutation of the claim that free wool would be of benefit to the manufacturer and consumer, he triumphantly produced a sample of "all wool" cloth made in a New England woolen mill, accompanied by a letter from the superintendent of said mill stating that but one thread in ten in the cloth was of wool and the rest were of shoddy and cotton. One of the note takers had got these two statements together and floored Mr. Beard with the question as to whether this was the "woolen cloth" he had spoken of as being so cheap. Altogether, the meeting was a great success from a free trade standpoint, and I don't think Mr. Beard went away feeling he had made much of an impression on his audience. The fact is the "old war horse" of politics are getting left way behind in the study of political economy that is going on among ordinary men.

I have a tenant (for you must know that I am a blotted land monopolist myself, with a big mortgage, and often during the summer evenings of the past summer my tenant and myself have sat on the veranda and smoked and discussed the land and the tariff questions. My tenant is a nice fellow and is a rising young merchant of Boston, but he believes in protection as he believes in his religion, and by no argument have I been able to convince him of his fallacy, and on the land question he couldn't or wouldn't see the cat if it was held up by the neck before his very eyes. But he has caught a glimpse of the head and ears, and perhaps a claw or two, and it will not be long before he'll be able to see the whole body of the animal in all its sleekness. We met on the horse car one evening, bound for home, and talking of the slow time made by the horse cars led us to talk of elevated roads, and more especially of the proposed elevated road to run near my house.

"That will be of great benefit to the people of Malden," he said, and then he went on to expatiate at great length about how it would add to the value of property and give rapid transportation to and from the city.

I asked him if he meant it would benefit all the people of Malden.

"Well, how would it benefit you, for instance?" I asked.

"Why, I wouldn't have to waste so much time getting to and from the city," he answered.

"That means," said I, "that my house would be a much more desirable place to live in; in other words, that the value of my property would be enhanced, and therefore that I, while getting my own share of the benefit that ought to come to the people of Malden in rapid transit, could make you pay me for your share in increased rent, for the increased demand for houses in Malden would give me that privilege."

"Yes, that's so," he said, "but you know I don't want that kind of a life."

"I don't know it," said I, "and that's what I have been trying all summer to make you know."

He did not answer, but sat in a study. I had said enough; the seed was sowed and harrowed. Now the thing was to leave it undisturbed to grow. We talked a little more on the way home, only a few remarks on indifferent subjects. I have not chatted with

my tenant since, but I feel sure that "he's all right."

"May I take some of those old papers, sir?" said Danny one evening before leaving the office. "I want them for the old man—they keep him quiet," he added.

"What old man, Danny?"

"My father," he answered; but I knew he was a stepfather. I told him to help himself to all he wanted, and took a STANDARD from my pocket and gave him that also. Next morning I asked Danny if he had succeeded in keeping the "old man" quiet the night before.

"Oh, yes," said Danny. "He staid in the house and smoked his pipe and read. But he got clean sick on that last one you gave me. The STANDARD—and mother had hard work to get him to bed."

The following week I gave Danny another STANDARD to take home. Next morning I heard from it.

"Mother says that STANDARD must be the devil's own paper," said Danny. "The 'old man' has to get up at four in the morning to go to work, and last night it was one o'clock before she could get him to bed."

The following week I gave Danny another STANDARD to take home, and next morning "McKeever raised the devil in our house last night," said he. On questioning him I learned that the said McKeever was one of the "old man's" cronies; and perhaps missing him from his accustomed evening haunts, had dropped in to see what was the matter. The "old man" looked up from THE STANDARD and bid McKeever the "time of day" with a sort of superior air—"in a high-toned way," Danny said—and then resumed his reading.

"What paper have ye there?" ventured McKeever.

"The New York STANDARD," answered the old man blantly, with a flourish on the New York.

"Isn't that Henry George's paper?" question McKeever.

"Not much," answered the "old man."

"Oh, but it is, though," persisted McKeever. Danny here came forward and showed them how they could find out, and sure enough, there on the fourth page was the legend, "THE STANDARD—Henry George, editor and proprietor."

As soon as the "old man" realized the awful truth he exclaimed, "Take it away! take it away!" And with that he flung it clean across the room," said Danny.

But listen to the last chapter. The morning following Danny had another story to tell. The "old man" after supper the night before lit his pipe, and picked up first one paper and then another of the ones Danny had supplied, and seemed to be very restless and of sorts. Finally, "Danny, have ye any idea whatever comes of that STANDARD?"

"Yes, sir," answered Danny.

"I laid it up on the shelf last night," he explained to me. "I knew he'd want it again."

JOHN R. ROCHE.

Oh, Yes! They Mean What They Say.

BRANFORD—Benjamin Harrison, the soul of bluntness, explains the Press: "When he says 'protection' he means 'protection,' without evasion or apology. When one thinks of Levi P. Morton there is neither doubt nor hesitation in the meaning of his utterances."

We suppose the editor means to assert that these gentlemen mean what they say, when they advocate high tariff. No one doubts it. But when he asserts that when Mr. Harrison says "protection" he means "protection," he ought to define. Does he mean the workingman or the monopolist? It does not protect the workingman against competition from abroad; it does not secure him a share of the extra profits. It taxes the clothes he wears, the tools he uses, the materials of his trade, the furniture he needs. He cannot touch a good thing from his cradle to his grave that does not cost him more in consequence of the tariff, but it never puts a cent into his pocket.

It does protect the monopolist from healthy competition; while it shuts out foreign competition it enables him to crush home competition by means of trusts. It has allowed the iron barons to blackmail the nation within twenty-five years \$700,000,000 on rails alone, and as much more on machinery and building materials. Oh, yes! no doubt they both mean what they say when they advocate high tariff.

S. W. LADLER.

The Declaration of Independence on Free Trade and Immigration.

NEFOSSET, Mass.—As the protectionists are fond of referring to the "British free trade" that we rid ourselves of when the Declaration of Independence was drawn up, it may perhaps be worth while quoting a passage or two. In the complaints prefaced against the king of Great Britain the first and following: "He has combined with others for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world."

What an indictment against the republican party. Is it not trying to cut off our trade with foreign ports? If any comparison is to be made between these times and those at the penning of the Declaration of Independence, then the free traders of to-day certainly represent the "spirit of '76," and the protectionists (to use the Boston Echo's new word) stand in the shoes of George III.

It may also be in order to submit the following passage to the consideration of Mr. T. V. Powderly:

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

Q. A. LOTHROP.

On the Pacific Coast.

FARMINGTON, Cal.—On my way here from Chicago I had an opportunity to see how the land lay. In Vancouver, B. C., the greater part of the land was given to the railroad as a subsidy. In return the road to-day sells the land back to the people in city lots. They will only sell a couple of lots on each block, and the purchasers must build one thousand dollar houses immediately after buying. The rest of the land the road holds for a rise. In Seattle and Tacoma, W. T., the land speculators are misrepresenting the conditions so as to induce eastern men to come and settle. They say there is a great demand for labor and good pay, whereas on the streets are able-bodied men asking for a job. I distributed twenty copies of "Progress and Poverty" and several of "Protection or Free Trade" on my journey.

Our men in San Francisco are doing splendid work. Judge Magnusson addressed great democratic meetings on the tariff question. We have a lot of fine, intelligent men there. E. EFFTING.

This Helps Tom L. Johnson.

District assembly 47, Knights of Labor, which includes all local assemblies of Cayahoga, Lorain Lake and Geauga counties, Ohio (the Cleveland district), have adopted resolutions calling on all the local assemblies to actively oppose the election of T. E. Burton, the republican candidate for congress, and opponent of Tom L. Johnson. The reason for their opposition is that as a member of the city council, Burton voted against an ordinance fixing eight hours as a day's work in all city departments, which was in direct opposition to the twenty-first plank in the declaration of principles of the Knights of Labor.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

No workman should be galled into the belief that the tariff has been the means of better wages in this country.—(Williamsport, Pa. Labor Record.)

It is said that at the present time there are seventy-two protected mill-masters in Pittsburgh and 35,000 idle "protected" workmen.—(Rhode Island Democrat.)

Cutting down the protective tax on ribbons, Mr. Wainmaker, from 50 per

