

THE STANDARD

NO. 89-VOL. IV, 1

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

The "Standard" will reach its subscribers one day later than usual this week, having been held back to permit a full report of the single tax mass meeting.

THE STANDARD FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

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Mr. Cleveland's long and anxiously looked for letter of acceptance was given to the public on Monday morning, and was promptly followed by that of Mr. Harrison forty-eight hours after. The two documents, the last formal preliminaries to the great struggle, are now before the people. Attention, of course, centers on Mr. Cleveland's letter, as he represents the aggressive side of the contest. Never before in the history of the republic has the formal acceptance of a candidate been looked for with so much interest, and even anxiety. For his is a case in which the candidate has led his party—and that in large and influential part an unwilling party. And with him still remained to a considerable extent the choice of position. Would he hold firmly to the stand taken in the message with which he precipitated the tariff question into the arena of practical politics, and "turned the country into a debating club," or would he, yielding to the pressure of protectionist democrats, attempt to "hedge" by taking a less aggressive position? This was the question which his letter of acceptance alone could settle. It has settled it, and decisively. The president has not flinched a hair's breadth. On the contrary, his letter of acceptance not only reiterates and reinforces the arguments of the message, but in important respects shows a significant advance. Not only do his arguments in the message, like his arguments in the letter, go, when carried to their logical conclusions, to the utter destruction of the idea that protection can benefit the people, but they go even further—to the conclusion that all tariff taxes should be abolished and the public revenues raised by direct taxation.

But as before, Mr. Cleveland does not press his arguments to their conclusions. He throws them out in a way that makes it certain that they will take root and grow in the minds of the enormous audience he addresses, but he holds firmly to the practical issue which he has selected and his party as a whole has accepted—the abolition of the surplus by means of a reduction of tariff taxes.

Taking message and letter of acceptance together, as they will be taken, and as it is Mr. Cleveland's evident intent they should be taken, what he says to the American people, condensed into a few words, is this: "Protective tariff taxes are the most expensive of all taxes, taking from the people many times what they put into the treasury. They do not stimulate industry, they do not secure employment, they do not increase wages. On the contrary, they repress industry, lessen employment and reduce wages. My purpose, however, is not to combat a false theory or advance a true one, but to seek relief from an existing condition. These taxes have wrong from your toil and locked up in the national treasury a surplus that is, even in itself, demoralizing and dangerous. The party which I represent proposes to remedy this condition by reducing to an extent, which will get rid of the surplus, the taxes which are its cause. The amount of this reduction will still leave enough protection to do all that protectionists claim for it. It is on this practical measure that we ask your decision."

In this he is following the maxim, as important to the political as to the military leader, of selecting for giving battle that point at which he can engage the greatest number of his own followers

ag— the smallest number of his opponents. He is acting in accordance with that obvious policy, which, looking forward to what has now come about, I thus set forth in "Protection or Free Trade," before I ever dreamed that I should be a supporter of Mr. Cleveland.

The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fullness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal. But the seal of the propagandist needs to be supplemented by the skill of the politician. While the one need not fear to arouse opposition, the other should seek to minimize resistance. The political art, like the military art, consists in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance; and, to bring a principle most quickly and effectively into practical politics, the measure which presents it should be so moderate as (while involving the principle) to secure the largest support and excite the least resistance. For whether the first step be long or short is of little consequence. When a start is once made in a right direction, progress is a mere matter of keeping on.

In precision and logical arrangement Mr. Cleveland's letter might be improved. But what would be gained in a literary point of view in these respects would probably be lost in a far more important respect. The purpose of a document which, as in this case, is to serve as the practical platform for a great political campaign, is to present the issue in a way that will secure the largest following. And the general acclaim with which this letter has been received, both by the advanced and the laggard among his party supporters, is the best evidence of its fitness for its purpose. Mr. Cleveland seems, indeed, to have succeeded in putting forth the maximum of principle in such a way as to arouse the minimum of opposition. Free trade democrats and democrats as yet unreleased from the superstitions of protection can both find in the letter what suits their relative intellectual development—the argument for the one; some phrases for the other.

Mr. Cleveland's letter has been so extensively reprinted, and will be so extensively distributed, that it is not worth while to reproduce it in THE STANDARD. But it may be worth while to review its utterances on the important question. Close examination brings out a greater strength than is obvious at first reading.

The letter, though it has no formal break or division, except as indicated by the use of the personal pronoun, consists in reality of two parts. In one, as is proper, Mr. Cleveland sets forth the views which dispose him to indorse the party platform and accept the party nomination. In the other, as the now fully accredited standard bearer, he goes on to speak for the party, setting forth its programme. That part in which Mr. Cleveland speaks for himself, using the singular pronoun, is the theoretical part. That in which he speaks for the party, is the practical part—dealing with the concrete measures which, as expressed in the Mills bill, the party has, by its representatives in congress, proposed, and by its convention indorsed.

Here is a syllabus of the argument in the personal or theoretical part of the letter:

Every American citizen is [or should be] guaranteed the unrestricted use and enjoyment of his earnings, less what may be his fair contribution to necessary public expenses.

Therefore such expenses should be limited to actual public needs. And when these earnings are taken in excess of public necessities the people are robbed by their government.

Under the system we have adopted, the cost of the federal government is met by tariff duties and certain internal imposts.

These taxes are all added to the prices of the articles on which they are levied, and thus rest upon the final purchasers or consumers of those articles.

The tariff taxes, however, differ from the internal revenue taxes, in this: They not only add to the prices of the imported articles on which they are levied, but also add to the prices of articles of the same kind produced within the country, constituting a burden as certain and inevitable as though annually collected from each individual by the tax gatherer.

This extra taxation—which takes their earnings from the people without enriching the government—is inseparable from the plan we have adopted for collecting revenue by tariff duties.

This is not mentioned to discredit the system of tariff taxes, "but by way of preface to the statement that every million of dollars collected at our custom houses for duties upon imported articles, and paid into the public treasury, represents many millions more, which, though never reaching the national treasury, are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from our tariff laws."

Since this is the effect of the tariff taxes, the duty of limiting them to the necessities of a frugal and economical administration of the government is plain.

But we are now collecting, partly by such taxes, and partly by internal revenue taxes, many millions in excess of pub-

lic needs, and as a consequence there is in the national treasury a surplus of over \$130,000,000. Saying nothing of the sums taken from the people which do not go to the government, this surplus represents a burden of taxation equivalent to more than \$108,000 in each county of 50,000 inhabitants.

Direct taxation is in itself a safeguard against unnecessary taxation. When direct taxes are increased the people will demand good reasons for such increase. But the far greater burdens of the insidious indirect taxation involved in our tariff duties the people are expected to regard with indifference, if not with favor.

The surplus created by the maintenance of these insidious taxes not merely represents unnecessary and therefore unjust burdens on the people, but involves a contraction of the currency, which checks enterprise, lessens production, brings business stagnation, and provokes panics which throw men out of work and reduce wages. The rich, seeing the approach of such industrial disarrangements, may guard against them. But those who earn their daily bread by their daily toil cannot. The cessation of labor they produce is not like the cessation of labor produced by strikes or lockouts. It does not depend upon the volition of either employed or employers, but is enforced on both by causes they cannot control.

Besides the evils resulting from the hoarding in government vaults of the surplus produced by these tariff taxes, there is another independent evil, in the tendency toward gross and scandalous extravagance which a congested treasury induces.

Various plans have been suggested for the return of this dangerous and demoralizing surplus to the channels of trade. Some of these plans are at variance with all rules of good finance; some are delusive; some absurd; some so recklessly extravagant as of themselves to show how demoralizing such a surplus is.

But the distribution of one surplus would only be succeeded by the accumulation of another surplus, if the flow of redundant income were not checked at its source by the reform of our tariff laws.

At this point Mr. Cleveland passes from the personal or theoretical part of his letter, and adopting the plural pronoun, goes on to speak for the party and of the practical measures which it has proposed. As to this—at least in the parts which most please protectionists—I prefer to quote his own language, italicizing a few words, and interpolating a few parentheses when reference is made to previous parts of the message not quoted in full:

We do not propose to deal with these conditions—i. e., a congested treasury filled by taxation which takes from the people far more than it puts in the treasury—by merely attempting to satisfy the people of the truth of abstract theories, nor by alone urging their assent to political doctrines.

We present to them the propositions that they are unjustly treated in the extent of present federal taxation; that, as a result, a condition of extreme danger exists; and that it is for them to demand a remedy and that defense and safety promised in the guarantees of their free government—[i. e., the unrestricted enjoyment of the rewards of toil except a fair contribution to necessary public expenses].

We believe that the same means which are adopted to relieve the treasury of its present surplus and prevent its recurrence should cheapen to our people the cost of supplying their daily wants. Both of these objects we seek in part to gain by reducing the present tariff rates upon the necessities of life.

Mr. Cleveland then proceeds to defend the democratic party and the practical measures it has proposed in the Mills bill from the charges of hostility to domestic industries and ruthless disregard of the interests of workmen employed in them. He declares that—

We fully appreciate the importance to the country of our domestic industrial enterprises. In the rectification of existing wrongs, their maintenance and prosperity should be carefully and in a friendly spirit considered. Even such reliance upon present revenue arrangements as have been invited or encouraged should be fairly and justly regarded. Abrupt and radical changes which might endanger such enterprises, and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent upon their success and continuance, are not contemplated or intended.

All this is certainly but a fair statement of the temper of the party, the spirit of the Mills bill, and the disposition of Mr. Cleveland himself. Indeed, even we absolute free traders would have no difficulty in subscribing to such propositions. We, too, "fully appreciate the importance of our domestic industrial enterprises," propose to treat them fairly and justly, and do not contemplate any changes "which might endanger such enterprises and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent upon their success and continuance." For we hold that the sweeping away of restrictions would be for the benefit of industrial enterprises and the benefit of labor.

And so does Mr. Cleveland. For in advocating and defending the mild reductions of outrageous taxes proposed by his party in the Mills bill, he goes on to declare their purpose to be to stimulate industry and create a greater demand for labor:

But we know the cost of our domestic manufactured products is increased and their

price to the consumer enhanced by the duty imposed upon the raw material used in their manufacture. We know that this increased cost prevents the sale of our productions at foreign markets in competition with those countries which have the advantage of free raw material. We know that, confined to a home market, our manufacturing operations are curtailed, their demand for labor irregular and the rate of wages paid uncertain. We propose, therefore, to stimulate our domestic industrial enterprises by freeing from duty the imported raw materials which, by the employment of labor, are used in our home manufactures, thus extending the markets for their sale and permitting an increased and steady production with the allowance of abundant profits.

Then follows a paragraph which reiterates in other words the same idea, with the addition of a strong dash of "tariff" for those yet in the bondage of protectionist superstition:

True to the undeviating course of the democratic party, we will not neglect the interests of labor and our workmen. In all efforts to remedy existing evils, we will furnish no excuse for the loss of employment or the reduction of the wage of honest toil. On the contrary, we propose in any adjustment of our revenue laws to concede such encouragement and advantage to the employers of domestic labor as will easily compensate for any difference that may exist between the standard of wages which should be paid to our laboring men and the rate allowed in other countries. We propose, too, by extending the markets for manufacturers to promote the steady employment of labor, while by cheapening the cost of the necessities of life we increase the purchasing power of the workman's wages and add to the comforts of his home.

To "concede such encouragement and advantage to the employers of domestic labor as will easily compensate for any difference between the standard of wages which should be paid to our laboring men and the rate allowed in other countries" is of course nonsense. But it is nonsense which was conceded in framing the Mills bill, and which has as yet a very solid and reassuring sound to great masses of the democratic party. And it is of the bill, and for the party, that Mr. Cleveland is here speaking.

Quoting the declaration of the democratic platform against trusts, declaring that they are the natural result of a market restricted by inordinately high tariff taxes, and that the checking of their operations is among the results promised by revenue reform, Mr. Cleveland proceeds to dwell upon the unreasonableness of the republican party in refusing co-operation in the moderate measures proposed by the democrats, and shouting free trade at the slight reductions of the Mills bill. He says:

While we cannot avoid partisan misrepresentation our position upon the question of revenue reform should be so plainly stated as to admit of no misunderstanding. We have entered upon no crusade of free trade. The reform we seek to inaugurate is predicated upon the utmost care for established industries and enterprises, a jealous regard for the interests of American labor, and a sincere desire to relieve the country from the injustice and danger of a condition which threatens evil to all the people of the land. We are dealing with no imaginary danger. Its existence has been repeatedly confessed by all political parties, and pledges of a remedy have been made on all sides.

Yet when in the legislative body, where under the constitution all remedial measures applicable to this subject must originate, the democratic majority were attempting with extreme moderation to redeem the pledge common to both parties, they were met by determined opposition and obstruction; and the minority refusing to co-operate in the house of representatives, or propose another remedy, have remitted the redemption of their party pledge to the doubtful power of the senate. The people will hardly be deceived by their abandonment of the field of legislative action to meet in political convention and flippantly declare in their party platform that our conservative and careful effort to relieve the situation is destructive to the "American system of protection." Nor will the people be misled by the appeal to prejudice contained in the absurd allegation that we "serve the interests of Europe," while they will "support the interests of America."

Then dealing specifically with the republican propositions for the reduction of the revenue, Mr. Cleveland declares that: 1.—To make such revision of our tariff laws as shall tend to check the importation of such articles as are produced here would be to travel backward in the road of civilization, to deprive our people of markets for their products, and to abandon them to the unrestrained oppression of the domestic trusts and combinations, which the same republican platform perfunctorily condemns. 2.—To release entirely from import duties all articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced in this country, would be of no use to the plain people who scarcely use articles of any description produced exclusively abroad and not already free, and who need in their homes cheaper domestic necessities. 3.—To abolish the internal revenue taxation rather than (he quotes the republican platform) "surrender any part of our protective system," would be to offer free tobacco and whisky to people who ask relief from the undue and unnecessary burden of tariff taxation.

It will be observed by the careful reader of the letter that Mr. Cleveland nowhere uses the terms "our protective system," "our American system of protection,"

save as quoting the name by which the republicans call the thing he has so clearly shown to be a system of robbery. He thus goes on:

The implication contained in this party declaration that desperate measures are justified or necessary to save from destruction or surrender what is termed "our protective system," should confuse no one. The existence of such a system is entirely consistent with the regulation of the extent to which it should be applied and the correction of its abuses.

In this Mr. Cleveland suggests a most important truth. Not only is the existence of such a system as that termed "our protective system" entirely consistent with such reduction of tariff taxes as the democratic party in its campaign proposes, but it is consistent with an utter abolition of all duties on imports, and the raising of all revenues from direct taxation. For all we would then have to do would be pay to our protected infants directly from the public treasury what we now allow them to filch from the people. This would not only be the most economical and efficient way of "protecting," those who are now protected, but it would make it possible to attempt to give something like equality of protection, by taxing everybody to subsidize everybody, instead of, as under the present plan, taxing all to subsidize some. I commend the president's suggestion to the democratic campaign speakers. They will find the point more elaborately worked out in chapter IX of "Protection or Free Trade?"

And in the next sentence Mr. Cleveland makes another fruitful suggestion:

Of course in a country as great as ours, with such wonderful variety of interests, often leading in entirely different directions, it is difficult if not impossible to settle upon a perfect tariff plan.

If any honest protectionist will only endeavor in his own mind to settle upon a perfect tariff plan, in accordance with any protective theory, he will see that it is not merely difficult, but impossible.

The president does not say this. The democratic party, as he says, has entered on no crusade of free trade. Only the single tax men have done that. Like the sagacious political leader that he is, he sticks close to the practical issue, on which he has chosen to give battle. And in a few quiet words, which show how much of strong meaning can be packed into moderate expression, he thus recapitulates:

In accomplishing the reform we have entered upon, the necessity of which is so obvious, I believe we should not be content with a reduction of revenue involving the prohibition of importations and the removal of the internal tax upon whisky. It can be better and more safely done within the lines of granting actual relief to the people in their means of living, and at the same time giving an impetus to our domestic enterprises and furthering our national welfare.

Mr. Cleveland thus concludes:

If misrepresentations of our purposes and motives are to gain credence and defeat our present effort in this direction, there seems to be no reason why every endeavor in the future to accomplish revenue reform should not be likewise attacked and with like result. And yet no thoughtful man can fail to see in the continuance of the present burdens of the people and the abstraction by the government of the currency of the country inevitable distress and disaster. All danger will be averted by timely action. The difficulty of applying the remedy will never be less, and the blame should not be laid at the door of the democratic party if it is applied too late.

With firm faith in the intelligence and patriotism of our countrymen, and relying upon the conviction that misrepresentation will not influence them, prejudice will not cloud their understanding, and that menace will not intimidate them, let us urge the people's interest and public duty for the vindication of our attempt to inaugurate a righteous and beneficent reform.

Such is Grover Cleveland's letter of acceptance. It is a letter worth the waiting for. Further comment is unnecessary. It is needless to point out to THE STANDARD readers that two plus two means four. Protection democrats profess to be reassured by it. Let us heartily congratulate them. For our part we could reasonably ask nothing more.

Mr. Harrison's letter of acceptance is befitting the candidate of such a party as the republican party has come to be, standing upon such a platform as that adopted at Chicago. It is a good complement to Mr. Cleveland's letter, and clearly and finally draws the issue. Mr. Harrison proposes to get rid of the surplus by buying up bonds at a premium, and writes as though he really believed the preposterous nonsense that but for our tariff taxes American industry could not live or American laborers find work. Yet he has wit enough to see that two plus two means four. He says:

The issue cannot now be obscured. It is not a contest between schedules, but between wide apart principles. . . . The Mills bill is only a step, but it is toward an object that the leaders of democratic thought and legislation have clearly in mind.

The important question is not so much the length of the step as the direction of it.

Judged by the executive message of December last, by the Mills bill, by the debates in congress, and by the St. Louis platform—the democratic party will, if supported by the country, place the tariff laws upon a purely revenue basis. This is practical free trade—free trade in the English sense. The legend upon the banner may not be "free trade," it may be the more obscure motto "tariff reform," but neither the banner nor the inscription is conclusive, or, indeed, very important. The assault itself is the important fact.

Those who teach that the import duty upon foreign goods sold in our market is paid by the consumer, and that the price of the domestic competing article is enhanced to the amount of the duty on the imported article; that every million of dollars collected for customs duties represents many millions more which do not reach the treasury, but are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from the tariff laws—may not intend to discredit in the minds of others our system of levying duties on competing foreign products, but it is clearly already discredited in their own.

With the wind southerly, Mr. Harrison certainly knows a hawk from a handsaw.

Says Mr. Harrison:

I do not stop to refute this theory as to the effect of our tariff duties. Those who advance it are students of maxims and not of the markets. . . . We believe it to be one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation to preserve the American market for American producers, and to maintain the American scale of wages by adequate discriminating duties upon foreign competing products. Less work and lower wages must be accepted as the inevitable result of the increased offering of foreign goods in our market.

The best comment upon this, and much else in Mr. Harrison's letter, is that conveyed in the following little story, sent us by a correspondent:

THE FARMER AND THE ROAD AGENT.

A farmer, bringing home from market the clothing, lumber and other things for which he had exchanged his grain, encountered a road agent disguised as a philanthropist.

"I am the protector of your industry," said the road agent, "and I want forty-seven per cent of all you have in your wagon."

"You are a queer protector," said the farmer; "pray explain."

"Why," replied the road agent, "you want the things I am taking from you, don't you?"

"I certainly do," replied the farmer.

"Very well," said the road agent, "go home and raise some more grain and I will sell them to you. This will give you more work to do, and preserve the home market for us both."

"You are very kind," said the bewildered farmer, "and I have no doubt you mean well, though I don't clearly understand it. But cannot I induce you to be content with forty per cent of my load? You should leave the sheep some of his skin, even if you do take his fleece."

"You may not intend," broke in the road agent impatiently, "to discredit my system in the minds of others, but it is clearly already discredited in your own. You have been studying maxims instead of markets. However, I will not stop to refute your theory; and, besides, I think I hear something coming."

With these words the road agent took his forty-seven per cent and hurriedly departed.

This story teaches us to wait till November.

Pursuant to the machine programme, Governor Hill was, on Wednesday, renominated by acclamation in the democratic convention at Buffalo on a platform which contains a plank approving of his veto of the electoral reform bill.

The issue is now clearly made. A vote for Warner Miller, the republican nominee, means a vote for the measure which will prevent intimidation at elections, make bribery impossible and break up machine rule. A vote for David B. Hill means a vote for the postponement of this most important of all political reforms during his incumbency of the gubernatorial chair.

There are other reasons why Governor Hill should not be re-elected. But this one is sufficient. If Governor Hill were the purest man who ever sat in the gubernatorial chair he ought to be beaten on this issue. The men who most desire Mr. Cleveland's election because he represents reform in the national government, have no alternative, if they would be consistent, save to endeavor to defeat Governor Hill, because he represents the opposition to reform in the state.

There is, however, one good thing about this nomination. It will bring the question of ballot reform fairly before the people. If the republicans will only push this issue in New York with half the vigor they are throwing into the national campaign they can secure some compensation for the defeat that awaits them in the national field.

Assemblyman Charles T. Saxton, who introduced and successfully carried through the assembly the ballot reform bill which Governor Hill refused to sign, has been renominated by acclamation by the republicans of Wayne county. This is a deserved compliment. He ought, irrespective of party considerations, to receive the vote of every man in his district who desires this great reform.

The meeting of supporters of Cleveland and Thurman opposed to the re-election of

Governor Hill, which was held at Cooper union on Friday night last, was a very great one, and thousands who desired to join in the protest could not obtain admission. It was also a very disorderly one.

As was given out in advance, an organized crowd of "heelers," said to belong to the Purroy gang, were present with the intent of disturbing the meeting. But if this had been all, there would have been no disorder, for Captain McCullagh, of the precinct in which Cooper union is situated, was also present with a detail of seventy-five policemen. The disorder was entirely due to the presence of Inspector Williams, who, as his actions showed, came there and superseded Captain McCullagh for the purpose of protecting and encouraging the disturbers. The great body of the audience were evidently in thorough sympathy with the purpose of the call, and the disturbers seemed hardly in number as many as the police. They were however, without the slightest objection on the part of the police, who were thick in the parts of the hall from which the disturbance came, permitted to insult and interrupt the speakers in such a way that by provoking opposing shouts, as to prevent at times for considerable intervals anything from being heard. Inspector Williams all this time looked placidly on, and though appealed to by the committee in charge of the meeting to preserve order, persistently refused.

During the speech that I made, which was one of the last, I publicly demanded of Inspector Williams that he do his duty and preserve order, telling him that the meeting was being interrupted by a few men, while the great majority wished to hear. But he still, for some time, refused. At length Captain McCullagh, whether by the inspector's permission or because his instincts as a peace officer would allow him to stand it no longer, walked down the main aisle and said a word to a policeman, when the disturbance ceased. Had the sympathizers with the purpose of the call not been present in such numbers, or had the Hill "rounders" succeeded in getting more men into the hall, the meeting would probably have been broken up.

Inspector Williams attempted to justify himself, and one of the vile papers of the city has attempted to justify him, on the ground that he had no authority to interfere except in the case of an attempt to interrupt the meeting by physical violence. This is preposterous. For, this admitted, it would be within the power of twenty or thirty men to make it impossible for any one to hear at the largest meeting that could be held in New York. The rights of public meeting are plain, and were tersely stated to the audience by Captain McCullagh before the opening of the meeting held in Cooper union on Monday night, when (unembarrassed by the presence of Inspector Williams) he declared that he was there to preserve order, and that if any one was present who did not like the meeting he could leave. When men hire a hall and invite their fellow citizens for specified purposes, no one has the right to come there and act in such a way as to interrupt and break up the proceedings. Technically, in public meetings as in deliberative bodies, no one has the right to speak unless recognized by the chairman. And if the police are not present for the purpose of keeping order they should not be there at all, as their presence, as in this case, serves merely to prevent the body of the meeting from keeping order for themselves.

Although our single tax Cleveland campaign committee had nothing to do with the anti-Hill meeting, Chairman Crossdale called upon the police commissioners on Monday and requested to be informed whether the course adopted by Inspector Williams at the anti-Hill meeting was to govern the police in the future, declaring that if that was the case he wished the commissioners to keep the police away from such meetings as we might in the future hold, and that he would organize a committee from our own body who would keep order for themselves. He was finally informed that the police would in future preserve order. But this matter ought not to be lightly passed by. The commissioners owe it to themselves and to the public to teach Inspector Williams his duty.

I am to speak for Cleveland and Thurman from single tax platforms on Thursday night of this week in Jersey City; on Friday night at Elizabeth, New Jersey; on Saturday night at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia; on Monday night at the Athenaeum, Brooklyn. Next Thursday I will speak in Newark. On the following Friday night I will make a brief speech at Cooper union, and then in pursuance of a promise made at a previous meeting answer such questions relating to the principles involved in the tariff controversy, as may be put from the audience.

HENRY GEORGE.

The West Harlem Campaign Club.

The West Harlem Cleveland and Thurman campaign club, which has headquarters at 230 West 155th street, has already had several good meetings and is doing good work among the Harlemites. A ratification meeting and

banner raising at which Hon. Ashbel P. Fitch and Henry George are to speak, will take place on Tuesday evening, Sept. 18, at the corner of Seventh avenue and 125th street.

IN CHICAGO.

Mr. Griffin Describes the Situation—What the Radical Labor Party, the Industrial Labor Party, and All the Rest of the Labor Parties Are Going to Do—Joseph E. Buchanan's Sturdy Work—Ferventness of the Cat-A Startling Sight at the Labor Day Parade—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton on the Injustice of Land Monopoly—Glean from a Speech by a Protectionist.

CHICAGO Sept. 7.—The radical labor party and the union labor party and the united labor party and the industrial labor party and the but that's all I can think of at present, though it's more than likely that there's half a dozen more of 'em wandering around town these pleasant September days—all of Chicago, Ill., are not going to vote for tariff reduction this fall.

Cook county contains 30,000 possible labor voters. Something less than three-thirds of this vote will, in all human probability, go to Cleveland in the coming election. It is quite possible, however, that the labor parties of this county may poll a combined vote of 300. This allowance, though, is based on the supposition that between now and election no more converts will be made by the tariff reformers and free traders.

Joseph R. Buchanan, editor of the *Labor Enquirer*, has been expelled by the Chicago socialists from the radical labor party—if there be such a party. Why? Because he has seen the cat, and as he commenced to write himself, he began to draw pen pictures of it in his paper that his readers might see it also. And many were thus induced to examine the theories they had hitherto ignorantly scouted. Buchanan has much influence in Chicago, and his paper has been doing yeoman's service for true free trade. The *Labor Enquirer* has expired. Why? Because its editor was fearless and outspoken; did his own thinking; was not afraid to say what he thought, and because those to whom it appealed for support were too blind or too indifferent to their best friend. As a matter of fact, one will have to travel many miles to find a manlier man than Joe Buchanan, or an abler labor paper than the *Enquirer* was.

This cat of ours, metaphorical and figurative as it may be, has been perambulating in this section of the country quite extensively of late and has been caught sight of, if not fairly and squarely viewed, by numerous and sundry labor leaders and their constituencies. Here is the case of Joe Greenhut, for instance, a man of no little influence, and one of the oldest labor leaders in Chicago. Said he at the "town meeting" a week ago: "These George men, who want to place all taxation on land values, thus relieving production of its present burdens, and placing the competitive system on a fair and legitimate basis, are more than half right." Continuing, he said he thought the initial step in the consummation of this reform was the abolition of all tariffs, and that the first step toward the abolition of all tariffs was the reduction of import duties.

Yesterday was labor's holiday. The most instructive feature of the great parade and the one which should furnish the most food for reflection was a carriage load of street urchins, who had been picked up here and there from the back streets and alleys in all their filth and rags. They carried over them a banner which read, "Our future citizens."

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was in town last Saturday, and spoke thus to a *Daily News* reporter: "This idea of monopoly in land is all wrong. There is no more justice in it than there would be in monopolizing the air we breathe. You young men are the sufferers by the acts of these great land holders. They purchase vast tracts and hold them until the neighborhood around is settled and increases the value of their property. Then they sell the land at a high price and the poor man purchases and is ground down. If we have millionaires we must have poverty."

If our friends in Pennsylvania could send us out about a dozen good smart protectionists we could make things whoop at our land and labor club meetings for as many weeks, for nothing draws the unconvinced sinners to our club rooms like the announcement of a tariff debate, but the crop of Chicago high taxers are willing to debate the subject in public as readily as in private.

The other night Colonel James P. Root, one of Chicago's leading protectionists, stood to be heard in his den, or, to use the colonel's own eloquent language, he "came to call sinners to repentance." The debate had been announced in the papers, and many high tariff men were present. Our good sized club room was crowded.

Here are a few gems from his utterances: Protection vs. free trade is not a moral question.

Government is organized for protection. Government is a corporation. A corporation is to do for society what society could not do for itself.

An agricultural country will always be poor, therefore we must protect our manufacturers. We must distribute our taxation so as not to benefit foreign countries, but our own people. Keep foreign goods out and thus raise the price of land and increase the prosperity of the (landlord) people thereby.

And thus the speech went merrily along. There was some contention over one point. Here it is:

Brazil sends her hides to Europe to be manufactured into boots and shoes and Brazil is a free trade country. There is not a boot and shoe factory in all its length and breadth. [A voice—Brazilians get their shoes cheaper.]

The speaker—But they have no money to buy them with, cheap as they are.

Here the chair very properly rapped for order. Such interruptions are very annoying to a protectionist speaker and should not be allowed.

John Z. White, Clinton Furbish and others took the floor to answer and, to draw it mildly, Colonel Root and his protectionist friends had their eyes opened, and when the club adjourned, tracts and books disappeared from the table and found their way into the pockets of strangers.

When the colonel rose to end the debate this was his first sentence:

If it be conceded that sufficient revenue could be raised by a single tax on land values, then I acknowledge that all other taxes and tariffs are vicious. (Prolonged applause.) But don't concede it. How can you get the value of a vacant house or lot? How could you tell the value of the ground occupied by a depot?

Thus we were crushed. J. H. GRIZZLE.

The Canadian Labor Congress Makes a Move in the Right Direction.

At its session on Friday, September 7, the labor congress assembled at London, Ontario, passed the following resolution:

Whereas, all wealth is produced by the application of labor to land, and by the facilities afforded to mankind to obtain access to the soil, the prosperity of the producing classes is determined; therefore, be it resolved, that these petitioners to the legislature for the repeal of all laws tending to the monopolization of land, and for the gradual abolition of private ownership of land and for the substitution for our present sys-

tem of indirect taxation of a system of taxing land values, whereby the people will be reinstated in their inherent rights as possessors of the land; and further, that the primary move in this direction, that this congress petition the Ontario legislative assembly to amend the assessment act by exempting from taxation on dwellings to the value of \$600, with no corresponding exemption on land values.

Resolutions were also passed declaring that all railway and telegraph lines should be controlled by the federal government.

AN ABOLITIONIST ON THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Chattel Slavery and Industrial Slavery—Freedom to Trade a Natural Right—The Fiscal Argument and the Moral Argument—Something About Religion.

To the Editor of The Standard:

I have read all your editorials in THE STANDARD, and with uncommon interest that one in the issue of July 25, in which you contrast the value of the moral with the fiscal argument in the great controversy which has now begun on the tariff and tax questions.

I was a humble soldier in the ranks of the abolitionists from the beginning of the struggle in 1839 down to 1868, when the system of slavery was abolished by law. The anti-slavery men had two main arguments, and two in order of precedence: First, the justice and cruelty of the slave system. Theodore Weld's book, "Slavery as It Is," by the testimony of a thousand witnesses, all southern men, was a magazine of facts and weapons which were constantly used in the strife. I have often seen the faces of a large audience, made up of pro-slavery men and indifferentists, blanched into whiteness by a speaker who would take up and describe a particular case, showing the iniquities which were the essence of the system. Men who had been a prejudice against color, but who admitted that the slave was a man, were compelled to feel, under the speaker's power, that slavery was a wrong and dishonor, inflicted on human nature in the persons of its victims, and forthwith enlisted and served in the cause of justice and mercy. Our lecturers were all brave and devoted men and women, and knowing that a sense of justice lay slumbering in the bosoms of the people, although a mass of prejudice and selfish interest, one of them in argument, could chase a thousand of their opponents, and could put ten thousand to flight. After convincing the consciences of their hearers of the wrong and cruelty of the system, they boldly announced the remedy, which was, "immediate and unconditional emancipation." Then, secondly, there was, as now, the fiscal argument, in using which it was shown, what time and experience have proved was true, that the raising of cotton, the great staple of the south, and all the rest of her industries, could be more profitably carried on by free trade than by slave labor, and that the slaveholders were mistaken in their logic and stood in their own light in believing that slavery was indispensable to their prosperity.

But when at Appomattox the demon of slavery was cast out of the southern slaveholders and their houses left swept and garnished, it entered into and took possession of the northern monopolists, who soon managed the public affairs with such sagacity and such to-day the laboring man of the north, in shop and field are as much slave labor, in thing but the name and legal status, as the negroes were before the war. This bondage was brought about by taking advantage of the ignorance of the common people on the economic questions in which their interests were so deeply concerned and making them believe that a perpetual protective tariff on foreign imports was a good thing for the whole country.

Now the fundamental truth which gives the lie to this absurd assumption is that every man who can use his hands and the sweat of his own brow, has a natural and inalienable right to lay out that money by buying in a market where he can buy at the lowest and fairest price. This right is so sacred with others of the same family that governments are instituted among men—so say the founders of our republic—for the very purpose of securing to the individual citizen, who repays the government, not by paying necessary taxes only, but by his patriotism and loyalty in times of peace and war. But if a government discriminates between the citizens and compels one class to give more for an article than it is worth in the markets of the world, that government is thus far an odious despotism. It robs the majority of the people who by their labor create the wealth and gives it to a small minority who are already rich, and do not labor at all. This it does by that mean, indirect method of taxation called a protective tariff, a method which shows two things: First, that congress, the law making power, did not believe that the people were patriotic enough to support their government by direct taxation, but must be cheated into doing it, as a nurse cheats a child by giving him a dose of medicine in a spoonful of jelly; and secondly, in getting the authority of the people, by the forms of law, to rob themselves of a large part of their earnings and put the plunder into the pockets of a small favored class. Hence, the anomaly of a country of such vast resources as ours having within its limits thousands of citizens who are out of work and poverty stricken, and who are so ignorant that they vote on election day they go to the polls and vote to keep up a policy which robs and dishonors their fellow the masses of voters only had the intelligence to understand their own interests, and see how they are plundered, a congress would be elected next November that, in another year, would free the nation from the bondage of the robbers.

The only thing I dislike in your editorial advocacy of the cause of free trade is the use you make of that indefinite term "religion." No one knows better than yourself that in all ages the crimes against justice and human rights have been perpetrated in the name of religion. During the whole struggle between liberty and slavery in this country, which lasted for thirty years, and caused the destruction of so much life and property before the question was settled, the religion of the country, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, was used by the slaveholders as a divine institution, and that the abolitionists, in denying it to be such, were infidels. Then, when it has got, deservedly, such a bad name, and since no man is able to give a definition of it that is satisfactory to others, why use it in this discussion which is now going on, and which is to last till free trade and single tax becomes the policy of the country? I am glad to see that the phrase, "the cross of the new crusade," has silently gone into innocuous desuetude. It is painfully reminded of the time when it was in vogue, of those dark centuries of folly and crime when the deluded Christians of Europe, believing that the second coming of Christ was at hand, marched their embattled hosts, under the inspiration of religion, to Palestine, to rescue the sepulchre of Christ from the Moslems, and held it, and still hold it, in possession. How much better it would be, in our great continent now inaugurated, and appeal for success to the consciences and their sense of justice and right, and not mention religion at all, at least till we can have the term defined and agreed upon.

AGAINST HILL.

THREE MEETINGS HELD IN OPPOSITION TO HIS NOMINATION.

Cooper Union Crowded—Scandalous Conduct of Hill "Heelers"—While the Police Stand Passively By—Action of the Reform Club—Wholesale Dry Goods Men Aroused—Hill's Action in Vetoing the Electoral Reform Bill Hotly Denounced.

On Friday night of last week a large mass meeting to protest against the renomination of Governor Hill was held in Cooper union. The meeting was called by a number of prominent democrats, with whom were associated independents who intend to vote for Cleveland and Thurman. Wheeler H. Peckham, a well known democrat, was made chairman of the meeting. The vice-presidents were Anson Phelps Stokes, Everett P. Wheeler, Everett Glackin, Daniel H. Chamberlain, William Haxtun, Charles Condert, Walter S. Logan, William J. Gibson and Michael Murray; and among the secretaries were John DeWitt Warner, Matthew Barr, Franklin Edson, Jr., William McCabe and Calvin Tompkins.

Secretary Warner read an address in which the renomination of Governor Hill was opposed on various grounds, chief among which was his veto of the Saxton electoral reform bill, and moved the adoption of the address and that it be forwarded to the democratic convention as the opinion of the meeting.

Chairman Peckham then spoke to the address. When he referred to the dishonest political methods of Governor Hill he was greeted with applause mingled with a few hisses. As he proceeded it became evident that there was a party of seventy-five or a hundred of Hill's "heelers" in one part of the hall, who, under the leadership of a few loud voiced men, were trying to prevent his being heard. The party kept up a round of insulting remarks, cheers for Hill, and cat calls during the rest of the meeting, and were most noisy during Mr. George's speech.

Continuing his speech, Mr. Peckham said: We have called our national convention and it has formulated our principles, and charged us with the duty of electing to the presidency of the United States at the next election a republican. (Prolonged applause.) It is not only that. It has charged us with the duty, and we have responded and will undertake it, of electing to congress and the senate men pledged to overthrow the monopoly of tariff and trusts. (Cheers.)

He went on to exhort Mr. Blaine and spoke of how his bad character had lost the election for the republicans in 1884. "What of the Hill crowd, at this point, yelled, 'What's the matter with Governor Hill?' 'I will tell you what is the matter with Governor Hill,' said Mr. Peckham, catching up his interpreter. 'He stands in exactly the same relation to the democratic party to-day as Blaine did in 1884 to the republican party.'

After concluding, Mr. Peckham introduced John D. Kernan, ex-railroad commissioner of New York, during whose speech the interruptions were so frequent that it looked as if a riot would take place. Police Inspector Williams, who was present, refused to interfere with the speaker. Mr. George, who spoke next, received an ovation. He began by saying he should vote for Cleveland because he represented democratic principles, because he was taking the first step towards that freedom which would emancipate labor and restore purity and simplicity to government.

And for the very same reasons that I propose to vote and to work for the election of Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman (cheers), for the very same reasons: I propose to vote against David B. Hill. (Great applause, lasting for some minutes.) I am for Grover Cleveland because I am a free trader (cheers), because I want to see barriers against the free intercourse of people with people swept away; because I want to see all the restrictions that hamper industry, that fetter production, removed; because I want to end that system of protection which has made the monopoly of the market the monopoly of the few. (Applause.) Governor Hill last night made a speech, and in that speech he made the old hackneyed argument for protection. (Interruption from the Hillites.) That is not the sort of a democracy we want for this year. (Applause.) But the main reason why I am against Hill in this election is that he has stood in the way of the greatest of all political reforms—the ballot reform. (Tremendous cheering.) He it is that has despised the Empire State of the honor of leading the reformers in this great reform. He vetoed that bill, not because of any accidental error or weakness; but in the memorandum which he filed he set himself against the ballot reform. The people will put him in the background.

The noise here compelled Mr. George to stop speaking, and he walked to the end of the platform where Inspector Williams stood and demanded that he preserve order. The inspector made no response nor any attempt to keep order, except that he once raised his club and motioned a specially noisy crowd to be quiet. The remainder of Mr. George's speech was devoted mostly to an exposition of how the Australian ballot bill would have prevented bribery, intimidation and machine rule. At one point when he said he would vote for Cleveland, a man in the crowd, who was a Hillite, called out, "You can't elect him without me, for I am going to vote for him," said Mr. George.

Walter S. Logan, a prominent democrat of Brooklyn, followed, and at the conclusion of his speech the address was adopted by a practically unanimous vote. Mr. Logan was at first much interrupted, but finally Captain McCullagh walked down the aisle, and then the disturbance stopped.

Copies of the address were placed in the hands of each delegate to the state convention.

At the adjourned meeting of the Reform club on Saturday there were about one hundred members present. Speeches in opposition to the resolutions against Hill were made by Messrs. Stapler, Doyle, Whitney and Byrne, and in favor of the resolutions by Messrs. Bowker, Crossdale, Warner and Sturges. Of fifty-five letters from absent members fifty-three were in favor and only two against the resolutions. When the vote was taken nineteen members opposed their adoption mainly, it is said on the ground of policy. These resolutions, which were printed in last week's STANDARD, were also put in the hands of every delegate to the Buffalo convention.

On Tuesday the wholesale dry goods Cleveland and Thurman club held a meeting at its headquarters, No. 343 Broadway. Mr. Faure proposed that the club should join the state league of democratic clubs. In advocating this course Mr. Anderson declared that he was "honestly and violently a Hill man." Responding to that remark Mr. Church said: "There are people in the club who do not believe in Hill. I know hundreds who will not vote for him if he is nominated." Mr. Church was loudly applauded and the Hill men were constrained to pigeonhole their motion by referring it to the executive committee.

A Single Tax Man Stumping for the Democrats in Kansas.

HUTCHINSON, Kan.—Last Saturday night we had a rousing and enthusiastic meeting in the open air in this city, there being no hall large enough to hold the crowd. The meet-

ing was addressed by our good single tax brother, H. Martin Williams of Missouri. He is engaged by the democrats to give fifteen speeches in this congressional district for Cleveland and free trade. He held a crowd of more than one thousand people in rapt attention for more than two hours. The drift of his discourse is to show that laboring men need freedom and not protection. It is the privileged classes who need protection, not the laboring men. Railroad corporations require charters; mine owners require deeds; landlords require deeds. But laboring men require nothing. Give them freedom to natural opportunities, and they will live and prosper. It is the man who wants to live without work who needs the government to protect him. Without protection, such men would either have to work starve. But give laboring men a chance to work, give them access to natural opportunities, and there is no fear of their starving. Nor does one laboring man hurt another laboring man when both are free. It is the protected manufacturer, the protected railway corporation, the protected mine owner and the protected land owner, who, by depriving the laboring man of a chance to work, injures him.

A few weeks ago the democratic nominee for congress, Mr. Eby, addressed a very enthusiastic meeting here on the subject of the tariff. He is a very able speaker, and made a good impression. We are in hopes he may win, but whether he wins or not, he is educating the people and doing a good work. J. G. MALCOLM.

PERSONAL.

William A. Douglass, active in the cause of the single tax in Toronto, paid a visit to New York City, and reports a very satisfactory condition of affairs in Canada, and says that over the border they are eagerly watching the progress of our tariff fight, for if once free trade is established here, or even a radical change in present laws is made, public opinion there will force the government to do likewise.

H. Martin Williams is making a trip through Kansas, speaking for Cleveland and Thurman night after night to immense audiences, who enthusiastically applaud the absolute free trade doctrines of the single tax advocate. Writing to a friend from Hutchinson, Kansas, under date of Sept. 2, he says: "In many respects I am having remarkable experiences here. My meetings are large and very enthusiastic, and my most radical utterances are most enthusiastically applauded. Surely Henry George's plan of campaign was an inspiration. In no other way could we have reached so great a number of people and obtained such a favorable hearing for our ideas and made so many converts. I had 3,000 people to hear me last night here and I spoke two hours and ten minutes in the open air and raised the lint on the jackets of the red politicians. I shall make eight more speeches in this state and then speak three times in Vernon county, Mo., on my way back."

Clinton Furbish, one of our active single tax men, who has been making speeches in Illinois and Cleveland and Thurman, writes: "From my experience upon the stump here, Illinois, my judgment is that this campaign will be for the democrats a repetition of the 1860 campaign of the republicans. At every meeting old time republicans come up at the close with similar enthusiasm with which old time democrats joined the republicans in 1860, and the stronger the utterance against protection the heartier the applause."

The Henry George club of Philadelphia whose headquarters are at 1026 Ridge avenue, has endorsed the nomination of F. A. Herwig for congress in the Fifth district.

D. C. David is doing good work for the cause in a series of articles in the *Choudrant, La., Farmers' Union*.

Thomas G. C. Fahnestock of Wallalla, S. C., a good single tax man who will vote for Cleveland this year, is an independent candidate for the state senate and has very good chances of election.

A Woman's Talk to Women.

At a public meeting of the Workingwomen's society, at 28 Lafayette place, on Saturday evening, Miss O'Reilly, a shirt maker and member of the society, delivered an address that showed that she had more than a glimmering of the cause underlying the social evil. This society can have no feeling for the foreigner, she said, "if all people are welcome to these shores." That foreigners come here shows that there is trouble elsewhere. The cause of this is the monopoly of natural opportunities. What we want is what belongs to the people—the land."

Circulating a Petition to the Legislature in Indiana.

Clinton, Ind., Argus. Without waiting for the calling of a state convention, and the organization of a central authority, the single tax men of Indiana are beginning to move in that quiet, peaceful, constitutional and manly way so universally characteristic of the cause. S. W. Williams of Vincennes has prepared the following form of petition which is now being sent to friends of the cause throughout the state for the purpose of securing signatures:

To the Fifty-sixth general assembly of the state of Indiana, greeting:

The undersigned citizens of _____ county, in the state of Indiana, respectfully represent that the present system of taxation in this state is odious, unjust and contrary to public policy. It involves perjury and fraud, and the burden rests with a heavy hand upon the poor and industrious class who own but a small amount of property. The industrial classes, the merchant, mechanic, laborer and farmer, who while the rich, the corporation, trusts, landlords and monopolists pay little. The classes enjoying the greatest monopoly of natural opportunities do not feel this burden, while those from whom they are exacting the fruits of the soil and the wealth from them by the tax gatherer. The man who benefits the community in which he lives by building a house, a shop or a factory must pay an annual fee for having done so, while the monopolist who holds the adjoining vacant lands and lots reaps the benefit of enhanced selling value and pays but a trifle therefor. We hold that the laborer is entitled to the full fruits of his toil and that the earth was intended for the use and enjoyment of all men. Personal property, including growing crops and improvements on real estate, represent labor and should be exempt from taxation. The earth belongs to all men as a gift from the Great Creator, and no individual can hold it to the exclusion of their fellow should, as a matter of equity, contribute to the expense of government. In other words, public revenue should be raised by a single and direct tax upon the value of the land.

We call your attention to the tendency of things in Indiana to the present system. Each year shows an increase of population, an increase of taxable land, an increase in the selling price per foot of acre, and a decrease in the actual number of free holders. This means that Indiana is drifting into a state of landlordism and tenants, of rich men and paupers. We would not have it become a second Ireland. Let us preserve it as a commonwealth of homes. The mechanic who owns his own home and the farmer who tills his own soil should not be taxed as the tenant and the pauper. Let us preserve, vote for and agree to a joint resolution, which will be introduced amending article 10, section 1 of the state constitution, relating to the assessment of property for the purpose of taxation.

ANOTHER CLEVELAND RALLY.

SINGLE TAX MEN OF NEW YORK AGAIN HOLD A BIG MEETING.

Though the Rain Poured Down in Sheets 2,300 Enthusiastic Men and Women Came and Made Old Cooper Union King—Speeches by Louis F. Post and Hugh O. Pentecost.

The second mass meeting under the auspices of the Single Tax Cleveland campaign committee was held at Cooper union on Tuesday night of the present week. A violent rain storm from the northwest struck the city in the afternoon, and was at its height when the hour for the meeting arrived; notwithstanding this the large hall was well filled. Perhaps fifty chairs scattered about the room were vacant, but standing in the doorways and aisles were more than enough people to fill them. The number in attendance was about 2,300.

The meeting was enthusiastic throughout. Expressions of free trade sentiment, allusions to the single tax, and the mention of Cleveland's name, called out thunders of applause, while the chairman and speakers, who had addressed audiences like this in the campaigns of '86 and '87, were greeted with cheers.

When Henry George, who presided, stepped to the front of the stage and called the meeting to order he received an old time welcome from the audience. As soon as the applause subsided Captain McCullagh, who evidently had in mind the disgraceful disturbance of Governor Hill's "heelers" at a recent meeting in the same hall when the police were in charge of Inspector Williams, passed through the auditorium in front of the stage, saying to the chairman as he did so: "Wait a moment, Mr. George."

He was in citizen's dress and was not at first recognized. Proceeding upon one of the aisles about half way he stopped and addressed the audience as follows:

"I want to say, as captain of this police precinct, that if there is any person here, democrat or republican or anything else, who don't like this meeting he can leave it; but if he stays here he's got to keep order."

At these words the audience gave the captain a round of applause followed by cheers, and Mr. George proceeded to address the meeting. He said:

We are met here to-night to listen to our old friends, Mr. Post and Mr. Pentecost. (Applause.) I therefore will not take up your time by anything like a speech. I wish, however, to congratulate you, to congratulate all interested in this great movement, on the firm stand President Cleveland has taken (applause) in his letter of acceptance, despite the enormous pressure that must have been put upon him by timid politicians. He has not needed one inch, one hair's breadth, from the stand he took in his message that brought this important question of the tariff into the arena of practical politics.

Now, at last, the fight is fully made. So far as the democratic party is concerned it is a fight for a very small practical measure, but that small practical measure involves the greatest of all principles. It is of supreme importance from the fact that it is the beginning. Let us elect Grover Cleveland president of the United States (applause) and we shall soon see tariff reform pass into free trade, and free trade pass on into the struggle for the fuller freedom that is involved in the single tax. (Applause.)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to present our old friend, Mr. Post.

Mr. Post was received with loud applause, and spoke substantially as follows:

There is one thing, if we can believe what the protectionists say, in regard to which we agree with them, and that is that we want high wages for the people who do the work of the world. (Applause.) Has protection given us high wages or will protection give us high wages? (Cries of "No, no.") Of course not. There is not a man who works for a living who does not know that what fixes wages is competition between other men for opportunities to work; and there is not a workman who does not know that the protective tariff does not limit that competition. The competition that it does limit is the competition that he promotes when he goes to buy something; but when he takes into the market the only thing that he has sold his labor, then there is no restriction of competition the whole world over. Men come here freely from all parts of the world and compete with the American workman for such opportunities to work as there may be here; but when we ask that goods may come, too, so we may buy them for what they are worth, then arises the monopolist with his protective tariff. Not satisfied with keeping wages down, he wants to keep goods up, and burn the laborer's candle at both ends.

What is the ground for the pretense that the protective tariff keeps up wages? Why, that it makes high prices for goods. The boss gets good prices for his products and that enables him to pay good wages to his men! Men who work are asked to make a political partnership with monopolists to secure the monopolists high prices for their goods, with a sort of understanding that when they get the high prices they will make a "divvy" with the men. (Laughter.) No workman gets his wages as high as to go to a party where the boss has a box of cigars, and a partnership. When I was a boy I made a partnership something like that. There was a period when I did not know how to smoke, and then there came a period when I did know how to smoke, but didn't want a certain ancestor of mine to know that I knew how to smoke. At that time I went into partnership with another boy to buy and smoke a cigar. I furnished the money and the arrangement was that he was to buy the cigar and we were to go to the woods and there I was to smoke the rest for my share. When we got there he smoked until the cigar was half gone, and then I asked, "When are you going to let me smoke?" He said, "I ain't going to let you smoke this cigar at all." "But I furnished the money to buy it." "Yes, but I bought it," said my friend. "I was to smoke half," I replied. "Well, I'm smoking it, ain't I?" said he. "Yes, but what am I going to do?" "Oh," he said, "you can spit!" (Laughter and repeated applause.) I see you understand the application, gentlemen, so I won't take Mr. Pentecost's time to make it.

Now, a protective tariff don't protect labor; it don't keep wages up. What does it do? It makes a higher profit for the monopolist. That is where the advantage of the protective tariff goes. It passes over the head of the laboring man, it passes over the head of the business man, and keeps straight on until it strikes the monopolist and there it stops. The protectionists recognize this in a vague sort of way. They say, "If you have a protective

tariff domestic competition will bring prices down, so you will get goods just as cheap as though you did not have a protective tariff." Now, if that is so, and if, as they also say, it is high prices that make high wages, I want to know what becomes of the high wages when the prices go down? (Applause.) The protective tariff funds a monopoly and there it sticks. Up at Warsaw, and at Syracuse, and down in the Mississippi marshes, salt has been discovered that the Creator placed there for the benefit of all men, and a few men have appropriated it for their own benefit. There is a tariff on salt. That tariff does not benefit the men who work in the salt industries nor those who deal in salt; it passes over their heads and goes to the men who own the salt beds. The same with coal, and iron, and the other materials that nature has furnished for our use. When you put a tariff on the products of work it slips away from the workers and finds its resting place in the pockets of monopoly. Naturally it goes to land monopoly, but sometimes a monopoly temporarily more powerful comes between the land owner and the consumer, and then that monopoly gets the benefit. The sugar tariff, for example, would naturally increase the value of sugar land, but we have a monopoly that stands between the planters and sugar consumers; that is the trust of the sugar refiners, one of those business affairs that Mr. Blaine (hisses) says we have no business with, and in that case the benefit of the tariff goes to the refiners' trust because it happens to be a stronger monopoly than the monopoly of sugar land. If the refiners' trust were broken up don't fancy that the people would get any benefit; the benefit would simply slip into the hands of the sugar planters, and there it would lie. (Applause.) Reason teaches and experience proves that protection only protects monopoly.

This system the protectionists tell us is the American system. They might as well tell us that the divine right of kings is an American idea; or that the bad features of the English common law are American institutions; or that slavery was an American system. The institution of slavery was transplanted from other countries and so was the protective tariff. The only distinctive American system of reference to the tariff is a system of absolute free trade. (Applause.) And that American system is now almost one hundred years old. We have had it without a break from that time to this. The only experiment in free trade made on a large scale within historical times is the American system of absolute free trade between the sovereign states of this union. (Renewed applause.) During the confederation, while these states were in all respects sovereign and before the adoption of our constitution, we had in operation in this country the protective system which our forefathers had brought here from Europe. (Applause.) The institutions of the middle ages which they had brought here along with witchcraft. Each state then protected itself not only against foreign states, but against its sister states. New York protected herself not only against England and New Jersey (laughter), but also against Connecticut. Maryland protected herself against Virginia and Virginia against Maryland. New York would not allow firewood to come down from Connecticut because it took away from New Yorkers the labor of the states that went on a few years ago and the states had a sort of what the boys call a monkey and parrot time of it. But when they came together to form the constitution one of the first things that was done was to put into that instrument a provision that has ever since the adoption of that constitution prevented the erection of barriers between the states of the Union, and then, I say, for the first time in history we had presented to the world on a large scale an experiment in absolute free trade (applause); and we have continued that experiment with the very best results ever since, and many of the blessings that we have enjoyed as a people which protectionists attribute to the protective tariff can be traced directly to that system of free trade (applause); and when it cannot be traced to that it can be traced to the free trade agencies of the telegraph and the railroad with which we have spanned this country and brought state and city and county and town nearer together. We have been engaged in a free trade crusade ever since the establishment of the federal government. (Applause.)

Now, our protectionist friends when they are not indulging in arithmetic (laughter) are indulging in what they call history. They follow the history of the country down so as to show that in every protection period we have had good times and in every free trade period we have had bad times. I use the term free trade now to indicate relations between this country and other nations. We did not have any protection of any consequence until we got down about 1807, and from that time down to 1815 we had the best protective system this country ever enjoyed. First came the embargo that could not let us trade with anybody, and then came the war with England, and so we were fenced in with a Chinese wall around the country. It was the most perfect protection we have ever had. The protectionists don't say much about the good times of this period. They can't. (Laughter.) The times were not good then. They were good times for only a few people. There were some industries that could not be legitimately supported here, and in consequence of this Chinese wall and this protective system these industries grew up by taxing the people, by charging monopoly prices, by getting more than their goods were worth, and as the war came to an end these people who were filling their pockets with plunder were praying that the war might go on so that they could have a continuance of their protection. But the war could not go on forever, and inasmuch as it had to close they put their heads together and tried to get up some sort of scheme that would be just as good as war, or just as bad (applause); and the best thing they could hit upon was a protective tariff. That is the time when the agitation in favor of protection first started in this country, and it is about the same time that the Tories of England put the tax upon bread for the benefit of the landlords of England which Daniel O'Connell afterwards came over to England and helped Richard Cobden to take off. (Applause.) Well, they got a little protective tariff, a little more in the way of a tariff than they had ever had, although not so much in the way of protection as they had just before. In 1824 they got more, and in 1828 more, and they kept hammering away until 1846. You never heard anything about the tariff or protection benefiting labor in those days. Then the great voting population was the farming element, and the protectionists addressed themselves to the farming vote. They told the farmers that protection was necessary to make a home market for farm produce so as to give the farmer high prices. It was the dear, good, home-handled farmer in those times. (Laughter and applause.) There was, too, a good deal of talk among protectionists to the effect that protection keeps down wages. You see the farmers were rather opposed to high wages then, and a protectionist can always give an argument if you will let him make his own facts. So matters jogged along until about 1840, and then when the farmer had been fooled so long that he would not be fooled any longer the protectionists began to look after the workmen. That is the first

you hear anything about a tariff benefiting workmen. The protectionists then put out that protection is a good thing for workmen, on the principle, I suppose, of the man who sold his dog, and being complained to by the buyer that the dog wasn't a good hunting dog as represented, said: "He must be a good hunting dog, because if he isn't a good hunting dog what in thunder is he good for?" (Laughter.)

Finally, in 1846, the tariff was reduced to a revenue basis, and again lowered in 1857, and then in 1861 the war came along. Now there is nothing that suits your protectionist so well as a war. Next to a war he wants a protective tariff. But this time he got both. He had a war, and in order to carry on the war he got the protective tariff, and the protective tariff has been maintained ever since. The protectionists tell us, pointing back to the panic of 1837—I was not born in 1837, and I don't know what kind of a panic it was from personal knowledge—but the protectionists say the panic then was due to a gradual reduction of the tariff. I think that land speculation had as much to do with the panic as anything else (applause), but I am going to make believe that that panic was a free trade panic, as the protectionists say it was. Then they come down to 1857, when there was another panic, which the protectionists say was a free trade panic, and it is true that we then had nothing but a revenue tariff. As we had had only a revenue tariff since 1846, that panic was a long time coming if it was caused by low tariff; and when it came it lasted about six months. I am told on pretty good authority—I did not take an interest in politics at that time—but I am told that it was a land speculation and a wild banking panic. But again I will make believe that that was a free trade panic, too. Now, all through these periods which the protectionists call free trade periods, they point to only two panics. How about the protection period? The protectionist never goes into details about that. (Applause.) Go over the period in your memory from 1871 and 1873 down until to-night. Most of us know about this period, while we have to take the stories of earlier periods on faith. You can most of you remember the kind of times that we have had from about 1874. Protectionists say they were good times. Ask the men that were buried into bankruptcy in 1873-74-75-76 whether those were good times or not. (Applause.) Ask the thousands of men who were driven out of shops, and mines, and stores, and from the railroads, to beg or starve. (Applause.) Ask the tramps who were driven into the roads, and public streets, and parks, and police stations, whether those were good times or not. (Applause.) Ask the men who were driven by desperation almost into civil war in 1877, whether those were good times or not. (Applause.) Yet, according to protectionists, those were good protection times! (Loud applause.) I only want to call your attention to that period; I shall not take your time in going over it. When the protectionist talks of the good times since high tariff was adopted he never goes into details. He lumps those times all together, and saves his details for the times when you and I were not born. (Laughter.)

Poverty, they tell us, is all foreign poverty. Here we are prosperous. But I don't think there is a case of poverty to be found in London. I don't think we cannot match it in New York. They tell us that we get higher wages here. In one sense on an average perhaps we do, but no thanks to the protective tariff. We have always had higher wages here. (Applause.) When England was protected and we had barely any protection the wages in this country were higher than wages in England. If protection makes wages higher why do they not have higher wages in Germany than they have in England? (Applause.) Why not higher wages in Italy and Russia and in those other highly protected countries than in England? Why don't the protectionists compare England with the other European countries? (Applause.) Here we have a vast continent with 60,000,000 of people and England has that little island with 35,000,000 of people. Why should not wages be higher here than there? (Applause.) It is not dear goods that makes high wages; it is cheap labor that makes high wages. (Loud applause and cheering.) And you are not going to get cheap labor through protective tariffs or Chinese walls or by knocking the bottom out of the protective tariff to begin with, and by following that up by abolishing the present system of taxes on the products of labor in cities, counties and states. (Applause.) As you get rid of one tax after another you will have to get revenue from somewhere. Protectionists ask you where you are going to get it from, and tariff reformers ask the same question; but we tariff reformers who mean to reform the tariff look down to the roots, know where we are going to get it from. We know that there is one source of revenue that the man who tax it the cheaper it gets. (Loud applause.) You know what that is. (Laughter.)

Now, I notice one thing among workmen, and I have had acquaintance with a large number of them. I first found them almost unanimously protectionists. I was not able to find a free trader among them all. But now they are beginning to realize, and they have realized, that the tariff does not make wages higher. But they have a sort of fear that the tariff is taken off, some of the protected industries may go to the dogs and they be thrown out of a job. And the protectionists are making the most of that fear. They are not any danger of any industry in this country coming to an end because the protective tariff is abolished. There is not any danger of any industry in this country being compelled to pay less wages for this reason. Haven't they been paying just as low wages now as they could get men to work for. (Applause.) Just make a comparison of the productive power of the American with the foreign worker. I don't take any stock in what they call statistics, but protectionists like that kind of fodder and can't complain if I give them some. According to the census of the United States of 1880 the average production of the workers of the United States—the average value that each workman turned over to his employer, was \$1,900, and the average value turned over by the English workman to his employer was \$790. According to those figures the American gives his employer on an average more than twice as much value as an English workman gives to his employer. (Applause.) Don't you think the American employer under free trade could keep on paying a good deal higher wages than are paid abroad without going into bankruptcy? (Applause.)

I have been told by various people, workmen connected with the trades to which I refer, that these figures indicate a fact which they know to be true. I have watched hod carriers going up into buildings and noticed that they carried sixteen bricks to the hod, and I am told by men in the building trades that in England the hod carrier takes up eight bricks in a hod. I never have been there and I don't know it. I am told that, and you can investigate it and see whether it is true or not. And not that alone, but the American hod carrier makes two trips to the English hod carrier's one. Now, if that is so, the American hod carrier does four times as much work in a day as the English hod carrier, and I should think the contractor could afford to

pay him more wages without taxing the contractor. I am told, too, that the minimum of the price for a first class newspaper office in New York is four hundred ems an hour more than the minimum in a first class newspaper office in London. Is it very remarkable that our men get more wages by the hour or week? But don't forget to take into consideration, too, that work in England is more regular than here. They tell us of coal miners who get \$3, \$4, \$5, \$10, \$15 a day (laughter), and compare it with the per diem they get in England. I have very good reason to know that the average wages of coal miners here is between \$7 and \$8 per week, and I don't believe they get much less than that in England; and in England they get their coal for nothing at the mouth of the mine, while in Pennsylvania they have to pay the regular price for it at the mouth of the mine. The protectionists have fooled these men, but I don't believe they can fool them this campaign. They cannot if the democratic party will show the bravery of its leader. (Loud applause.) I believe all we want is an open fight. I believe if the democratic party will face the protection party of the country—face it squarely, and say what is the truth, and they may as well admit it, that the Mills bill, while not a free trade bill, is the beginning of the end (loud applause)—if they will talk to the men of Pennsylvania not upon tariff percentages but upon the question of free trade or protection—if they will only debate the question there, openly and fairly, we can carry Pennsylvania for free trade this year. (Loud applause.)

There is just one more observation I want to make. We hear a good deal about England in this campaign. The plutocrats of the United States are trying to revive the prejudices of Americans against England on account of unpleasantness that we have had in the past, and they are appealing to the prejudices of Ireland against England. I don't want to make any speech about this but I want you to notice one thing. They bundle England all up together as if it was one man. But there are good people and bad people and middling people there just as everywhere, and they have two parties there as we have here—the aristocratic party, which finds its counterpart in the plutocratic protection party here. (Applause.) And they have a democratic party there, too. And all we have ever had a right to complain against England and all that Ireland has a right to complain against England lies at the door of the aristocratic party. It was the Tory party that was the protection party—it was the Tory party that put the tax upon bread for the benefit of English landlords, and it was the democratic party of England—the friend of this country and the friend of Ireland—that abolished the corn laws and made England the free trade country that she is. (Applause.) And that controversy was led on the free trade side, on the democratic side, by Richard Cobden (applause), a man who was a democrat from the top of his head to the sole of his feet; a man whose heart beat in sympathy with the democratic movement the world over; a man who knew no boundaries of states; whose human rights were concerned. And in that fight Daniel O'Connell (applause), himself a free trader, went over from Ireland to help Richard Cobden in his fight. (Applause.) Let those who would be afraid of free trade because it is English remember that free trade is the democratic side of England and protection is the Tory side of England. (Applause.)

Mr. Post concluded his address amid cheering. Mr. George then made a statement with respect to the blanks, requesting single tax men who intend to vote for Cleveland to sign them. He also announced that on Friday, Sept. 14, he would address a mass meeting of Cleveland single tax men at Elizabeth, N. J.; on Saturday, Sept. 15, at Philadelphia; on Monday, Sept. 17, at the Athenaeum in Brooklyn, with Louis F. Post, and on Friday, Sept. 21, that he would answer questions at another mass meeting at Cooper union. While Mr. George was speaking, a collection was taken up in the audience to defray the expenses of the meeting, and when that work was completed the chairman introduced Hugh O. Pentecost of Newark as the next speaker.

Mr. Pentecost, who was received with three cheers, said:

It is gratifying that we once more have a presidential campaign of ideas, in which we are able to define the difference between a republican and a democrat otherwise than by saying that one of them is "in" and the other is "out." It has been said, and with good reason, for many years, that the only difference between a republican and a democrat is that one wears a whitish gray hat and the other a grayish white hat. (Laughter.)

And upon nearly all questions which enter into political campaigns there is substantial unanimity of sentiment between these two great parties. But upon the very important question of the tariff there is at least an appreciable difference between them. They stand to each other technically as forty against forty-seven. There are seven points of difference between them. (Applause.) One of these great parties on the tariff question is heading seven points nearer the pole star of truth and right than the other. (Applause.)

Or, if we use a metaphor similar to that of the late republican party to-day wars the frock coat of clerical out to agree with a man in the democratic style of dress, all the buttons cut away open at the neck. (Laughter.) The difference, technically, is not very great, but potentially it is. It was a good thing for the democratic party to shed that forty-seven button coat and put on a cutaway, for every one knows that a cutaway means business. (Laughter and applause.) And it would not surprise me to see multitudes of democrats before this campaign is over wearing coats such as I have on—sack coats—easy, comfortable, good working coats, worn mostly wide open (laughter)—free trade coats (laughter)—because this discussion cannot go on long without driving men asunder on the vital point involved. The real question at issue is not whether we shall have forty per cent tariff, or forty-seven, but whether we shall have any tariff or none; and, sooner or later, the democrats will accept that issue because the republicans will force them to whether they like it or not. (Applause.)

It is in the question of tariff or no tariff that we single tax men are specially interested. We desire all taxes removed from things which men produce. (Applause.) We desire that society should be able to be honest and take only what belongs to it, namely, the value of land, which it produces. The tariff is a tax on things which men produce. We, therefore, wish it abolished, not for the sake of international free trade, primarily, but for the sake of destroying the great robber, degenerate and murderer of the masses of human beings—the land monopoly, the mother of the whole litter of monopolies. (Applause.)

For the same reason we are in favor of abolishing all internal revenues. We agree with the democrats in wishing to remove some of the tariff tax, and we agree with the republicans in wishing to remove some of the internal revenue tax, just as we agree with

Mayor Hewitt in wishing to remove all taxes from personal property. (Applause.)

If it were possible for us to vote for both Cleveland and Harrison on both these issues we should vote for them both (laughter and applause), just as we should vote for Mayor Hewitt on the ground that he comes so near being a sound George man. (Renewed laughter and applause.)

But as it is not possible for us to vote both the republican and democratic tickets this year, we choose to vote the democratic ticket because it represents a blow at that particular form of taxation which involves abominable class legislation, and is, therefore, most unequal, unjust, oppressive and obnoxious to the interests of wealth producers and wealth consumers. The tariff tax, as now levied, mark you, is not essentially for the support of the government. It is for the protection of the American manufacturer. (Applause.) When I pay five dollars for a hat made in Danbury, Connecticut, a large portion of that price represents the duty which I should have to pay if I had bought an English hat, but it does not go to the government; it goes to the Danbury manufacturer. That is to say, my country loves the Danbury hat maker so much more than it loves me that I am oppressively taxed for the purpose of enriching him. (Applause and laughter.) And if I "kick" against this arrangement I am told that I ought to love my country well enough to cheerfully pay more for my hat than it is worth for the sake of enriching the Danbury hat man—a sort of logic I perfectly comprehend and for that reason decidedly reject. (Applause.)

A tax is supposed to be levied for the purpose of defraying the expenses of government; but our republican friends do not hesitate to avow that such is not the purpose of the tariff tax. That, they very well know, is for the benefit of a few persons engaged in certain industries. What else can be said of a system of taxation which gives six dollars in bounty to every one dollar that goes into the government treasury? They are ready to abolish all the internal revenue tax still remaining which is levied for governmental support and which goes directly to the government, as they have abolished the income tax at the dictation of the rich, and the tax on tea, coffee, spices and other articles which yield revenue but not protection, and as they abolished \$12,000,000 per annum tax on bank deposits and checks in 1883, to relieve the bankers of their burden—they are willing to abolish any purely revenue tax, they are willing to spend the surplus of \$183,000,000 by pouring it into rivers and harbors, by building levees on the Mississippi, by returning it to sea, or by burning it, they are ready to do any crazy thing rather than give up any of this precious tariff tax, the largest portion of which goes not to the government but directly into the manufacturer's pocket. (Applause.)

To be sure, the republicans tell us that the tariff tax benefits American workmen as well as American capitalists. I deny that. But suppose it were true, what then? There are not 20,000,000 people specially interested in protected industries in this country. Shall 20,000,000 people be taxed for the support of 20,000,000? (Cries of "No.") There is no more reason why I should be unjustly taxed for the benefit of a workman than for the benefit of a capitalist. But I deny that protection benefits the American workman. If protection could benefit workmen the workmen of protected Russia, protected Germany and protected France would not be working to-day for less wages than are paid in free trade England, and wages would not be 100 per cent better in the free trade England of to-day than they were in the protected England of forty years ago. (Applause.)

Protectionists constantly contrast wages in this country with wages in England. But the comparison is not fair. England is an old country; this is a new one. England is a crowded country; this is not. There are 400 people to the square mile in England; there are only 25 to the square mile here. The conditions which keep wages up here do not prevail there. It is fair to compare wages in England with other countries in Europe where conditions are about the same as here. It is more fair to compare free trade England with protected England. If these comparisons are made it will be found that wages are higher in England than in Russia, France, Germany, Austria or Spain—all protected countries. And it will be found, as I have just said, that wages in free trade England are 100 per cent higher than they were in protected England.

If protection could protect workmen, wages here would not be lower than they were in 1870, and employees in American cotton mills would not be getting actually less in nominal wages for more hours' work than the same class of workmen in England. If you compare America with America you will find that from 1840 to 1880, under partial free trade, wages steadily increased, while since 1870 they have been steadily decreasing. (Great applause.)

If protection could protect workmen, protected Pennsylvania miners would not be working for ninety cents a day while unprotected carpenters and bricklayers are getting from two and a half to four dollars a day. (Applause.)

If protection could protect workmen Andrew Carnegie could not have reduced the wages of his men the year in which he made a million dollars and gave half a million away to some gilt edged Philadelphia charity. Doesn't it look as if the great charity contribution came from the men without any power in protection to prevent the levy? (Applause.)

I pass a great factory almost every day in which about 3,000 people are dependent upon a highly protected industry. During the last ten years wages have been reduced in that factory fifteen per cent, but the principal owner of the works has built within the same period one of the finest palaces in this or any other country to live in, and is now rated at \$10,000,000. If protection could protect workmen, you would not see wages go down like that, and palaces go up like that. (Great applause.)

If protection protected workmen there would not be a million men idle in this country to-day. Protection does not protect the workman, but there is not a shadow of doubt that it protects the capitalist. This accounts for the zeal of all the monopolists for the retention of the system. The capitalist, the monopolist, is protected, and he alone, and we are radically against any system of taxation specially designed to rob the many for the enrichment of the few. (Applause.)

How absurd to talk of protection keeping up wages as long as we continue to have free trade in men. What good will it do you to shut out pauper made hats by the closed window of the custom house while you let in a pauper hatter at the open door of Castle garden? (Applause.) It is not the hat that reduces wages; it is the hatter. A duty on hats increases the profits of the manufacturer, but ten hatters applying for nine places in the factory reduces the wages of the workmen. It is a game of heads I win and tails you lose, and it is in favor of the capitalist. Every body begins to see this now and so there is talk of restricting immigration. It is

not the favored capitalist who wishes restricted immigration, however. He is satisfied with a tariff on goods and a tariff on men. (Laughter.) He says we shall not have the things we do want, but we shall have the men whom, under the circumstances, we do not want. (Applause.) The American workman is getting his eyes open to the fact that the laborer can only hold his own by putting a restriction on imported men. This is protectionist Powderly's (hisses) remedy—restricted immigration. There is just as much economic wisdom in it as in that other proposition of his, that the way to increase the wealth of the country is to destroy property. (Laughter.) To "boom" the glass industry he recommends that everybody break all the bottles they can lay hands on. (Laughter.) But why stop at bottles? Why not break glass lamps and window panes as well? But Mr. Powderly is right, in a measure. If the protection policy is continued immigration must stop. Then the situation will be: No goods and no men from the outside. Up with the drawbridge and down with the portcullis! Those will be the days when we shall live under the great American self-inflicted boycott and breed "in and in." (Great applause and laughter.) And that is what it must come to, unless, in the mean time, we shall discover how much better it will be to let all the goods and all the men come here that are drawn by natural laws. We cannot possibly have too many goods, and if we seem to have too many men the remedy is simple—the dogs in the manger who control land for which they have no use must give it up for the use of those who need it. Mr. Powderly's remedy is to meet one artificial and unjust restraint with another, equally artificial and unjust. This will make the situation ultimately worse than now. The true remedy lies in destroying the present unjust restriction and introducing a new principle of freedom—free trade in goods, free travel for men, free access to land. (Applause.)

If wages are higher in this country than in Europe—and nominally, though not really, they are twenty-five per cent higher—it is not on account of, but in spite of, protection. It is because until now there has been comparatively free access to land. But you will discover that as it is more and more difficult to get land it will be more and more difficult to get work, which means, of course, that wages will go lower and lower. The prosperity of this country is attributable to its immense area and the ease with which men could once get to the soil. Protection has had nothing to do with it, except to hinder it.

Mr. Blaine figures up the immense increases in wealth in this country since 1860. If you wish to see where it all is, go down to Hester street, and Cherry street, and Mulberry street. (Laughter.) He then declares that this wealth has been produced by the protective tariff, and multitudes of people believe him merely because the protective tariff and the increase in wealth are coeval. But that two things exist side by side, or that one follows another, does not prove that one is the cause of the other. You have all heard of the Irishman who thought the nickel he dropped in the box made the horse car start, because the car started when he dropped in the nickel. (Laughter.) He reasoned just as Mr. Blaine does. Observe how the argument works: The country has increased in wealth enormously since 1860. The assets of the political economist need not be told that women have worn bustles since 1860. Behold the connection between bustles and wealth. Shall bustles be abandoned for the non-bustle policy? Never! (Laughter.)

You will never destroy the trust by such means as the Cullom bill proposes. A great deal has been said about Mr. Blaine's declaration that a trust is a private affair with which neither the public nor the president has anything to do. But I am inclined to think Mr. Blaine is perfectly right from the protectionist standpoint. The trust is the direct offspring of the necessary outcome of monopoly, by which I mean a law which favors one citizen at the expense of others. When the commodity controlled by the trust is a protected article the trust is the direct outcome of the tariff. The tariff is legal. The trust is rooted and grounded in the tariff. If the tariff is all right the trust is all right. And precisely as Mr. Blaine and the New York Sun (hisses) say: "Gentlemen, hands off the tariff," they say, with logic, "hands off the trust." (Applause.) If you legalize the pocket picking and highway robbery which goes on in all our custom houses and wherever I am forced to pay a just price for my goods, and then "chase" something extra for the very fact of inflicting industry on me, if you legalize the individual pocket picker, if you should you persecute the fraternity when they pool their issues and go into the business by wholesale? (Applause.) The trust grows out of the tariff just as naturally as a toadstool out of a rotten log. If you don't like the trust, abolish the tariff on the commodity which the trust controls, and the thing will collapse like a balloon with a hole in it. (Applause.) Take the tariff off refined sugar, and the sugar trust could not hold together twenty-four hours. (Applause.) Leave the tariff on refined sugar, and the sugar trust, just as the Sun says, will successfully defy all your puny efforts to suppress it.

The Standard oil trust is built up on monopoly in lands, on the artificial protective tariff on land, so to speak, just as the sugar trust is built up on monopoly in sugar. Destroy the land monopoly by taxing land to its full value and the Standard oil trust could not hold together a week. (Applause.) Leave the land monopoly undisturbed and there is not power enough in this government to seriously interfere with the oil trust. And this is just as it should be. If the land is theirs the oil is theirs. And the monopolies of England are built upon landlordism, and they have the right to sell it to the best possible advantage. If the tariff on sugar is all right the sugar trust is all right. Men can't be blamed for making the most of their opportunities in a hard-scrabble world like this. If you permit men to rob you a little you must not complain if they rob you as much as they can. (Applause.)

But enough of argument. The protective tariff is the true American fetich, and the inevitable fate of the fetich awaits it. You know the savage puts an ugly fetich in his hut because he thinks it helps him. Every time he kills an enemy or has a good day of hunting or fishing he gives his fetich credit for it. When he gets wounded or has had luck he attributes it to some other cause. (Laughter.) That is very well until some day he begins to doubt his fetich. The moment that he begins to reason he soon discovers that the fetich has nothing to do with his good or ill luck. Then the fetich must go. And when it goes, it goes with a rush and forever. (Applause.)

In precisely this manner the American people have worshiped protection as a fetich. Just now James G. Blaine is the officiating priest and Benjamin and Levi are the altar boys. (Hisses and laughter.) All our prosperity has been for years attributed to the fetich. Our national greatness, our great great railroads, our big wheat crops, our fine houses, our great poets (laughter), our beautiful sunsets (laughter) and lovely autumn foliage (laughter)—all, all, are due to protection. (Laughter.) And our tenement house districts, our wandering tramps, our starving women and children, our business

failures, our financial crashes, our great industrial strikes, the portentous ferment of discontent which moves the masses of the people, as yeast moves the dough—all these are attributed to other causes. (Applause.) There are too many foreigners in the country; too much beer; too much ignorance and idleness; too many children who don't wash their faces and hands and go to Sunday school. (Laughter.)

This is what the great country has come to believe: All that is good in our civilization comes from the fetich protection; all that is evil comes from something else. All at once Grover Cleveland (applause long continued) walks into the temple, slays the fetich in the face (laughter), and says plainly to the whole congregation: "This thing which you have been worshipping for so many years is a humbug." (Applause.) Everyone expected him to fall down dead for the sacrifice. (Loud laughter.) But he is more alive than he ever was. (More laughter and applause.) When nothing happened to him people began to think, and to think is all that is necessary to destroy any superstition. (Applause and cheers.)

As long as everybody believed Mr. Blaine when he said that all our prosperity comes from protection it was well enough for him and his fetich. But now that people have begun to doubt; now that we see how easy it is to show in Mr. Blaine's own manner that all our prosperity comes from bustles, the protection fetich is doomed. This is why we single tax men vote for Cleveland—not because we are democrats in the party sense of the term, but because he slapped the fetich in the face and shocked the country into the grand debate which is now going on and which we hail, with the fond hope that it will not cease until we shall have free trade, free land and free men.

SINGLE TAX EXPERIENCE MEETINGS.

The Way They Conduct Meetings in Pawtucket, R. I.—The Standard Work. Pawtucket, R. I.—I was filled with fresh enthusiasm on reading THE STANDARD for Sept. 1, containing the magnificent speeches of Garrison and George, though, for that matter, THE STANDARD comes to me each week as well of water to the tongue parched, foot sore traveler.

In Rhode Island, whose steps have long lagged in the rear of reform, the seed of liberty has taken root and promises a fruitful autumn.

In Lonsdale they are organized, thanks to the zeal and labors of the states' most trusted friend, ex-representative Garvin.

In Pawtucket we are doing effective work. The gratifying results that have followed my own efforts constrain me to make them known for the encouragement of others. Some five months ago I felt that we would be unto me if I preached not this gospel, and I determined that I would no longer wait for opportunity, but seek it. Out of nine cases, in which two had a slight knowledge to begin with, and the remainder knew nothing at all, I made eight thorough converts. Two of them are ministers of the church. I am now at work on some others with "Progress and Poverty" and STANDARDS.

Our single tax association has adopted the following programme for meetings. After routine work has been dispatched each member is expected to rise and give his experience in the work of making converts, which we find puts a great deal of life into things, for it emboldens the weak ones and is, in short, the best kind of a "plan of campaign." When every one has spoken, a chapter of "Progress and Poverty" is read, accompanied with comments; and afterward discussion is in order. This closes the proceedings, but before leaving each member is expected to leave his copy of THE STANDARD to be mailed by a committee appointed for the purpose.

All of our members are free traders, and are for Cleveland. Two were formerly republican protectionists.

We of this state are rejoicing in the prospect of a reform on the line of the Australian system of voting, a bill now being before the legislature, which both parties support, and a new electoral reform association, the leaders of which are single tax men, doing good work in the principal towns by means of petitions and public speaking.

The field is already white to harvest, and truly the harvest is great and the laborers are few.

EDWARD BARKER.

Dr. Wood of Gloverville for Cleveland and Thurman.

EDITOR STANDARD—I recently received a circular from Mr. Barnes calling a state convention of the united labor party for September 19. I send you a copy of my reply for publication as it embodies my reasons for the course I am compelled by conscience to take.

Yours truly,
WM. C. WOOD.
GLOVERVILLE, AUG. 24, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. BARNES—Your circular notifying me of the convention of the united labor party to be held at New York, has been received. Now, while I agree with you as to the necessity of the reforms therein enumerated, I am sorry to be compelled to differ with you as to the means. My experience with workmen leads me to believe that the cause of land reform can make little headway so long as the protective idea holds any considerable grip on their minds. I believe also that as a matter of immediate relief the lowering of duties proposed by the democratic party will be all that will do. Hold these views, therefore, it becomes a matter of conscience with me to cast my vote for the Cleveland electors, as it seems to me that a vote for Mr. Woodrey is equal to one-half a vote for the monopolistic republican party. If the land is theirs, last vote. Hoping that in the near future all single tax men may be again united.

I remain yours truly,
WM. C. WOOD, M. D.

William Lloyd Garrison's Speech.

The speech of William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., at the Henry George-Cleveland meeting in New York was worthy of the elder Garrison. It was listened to with all the eager attention that used to mark the audiences of the father, every point he made being taken with quickness that showed the close sympathy of the hearers with the speaker. The speech was interspersed with surges of applause and roars of laughter.—(Washington Capital.)

William Lloyd Garrison, son of the grand old abolitionist, came out squarely for Cleveland and Thurman in a speech in New York last night. Garrison is a man who always made principle his guiding star. The black slave having been emancipated, he now seeks to emancipate the slaves of all colors who groan under the burden of unjust and unnecessary tariff taxes. He is therefore for Cleveland and the tariff reformers, and proclaimed in his last annual message—(Minneapolis Star.)

Mr. William Lloyd Garrison's declaration made at New York the other night in favor of the "single tax" doctrine—Henry George's principle that taxation should be laid wholly on the land, and taken off manufactures, buildings and personal property—was definite and complete. The doctrine is not far removed from that not long since uttered by Mayor Hewitt in New York and favored by quite a number of men of wealth in this city, which proposes, however, that taxation shall be levied not upon land alone, but upon real estate—land and buildings. Mr. Garrison joins his advocacy of this theory with radical free trade views and with support of Mr. Cleveland's candidacy.—(Boston Transcript.)

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
25 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.TERMS: POSTAGE FREE.
One year, \$2.50, six months, \$1.50, single copies, 5 cents.
Entered at the postoffice, New York, as second class matter.

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

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

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

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

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

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

It has been often asked of protectionists why it is, if protection makes high wages, that wages are lower in Germany than in England. To this question not even a serious attempt at reply has been made. As testimony that wages have not been improved by the protective tariff in Germany the following extract from Commercial Agent Smith's report, dated January 6 last, will be useful:

The wages of the working people remain about the same; in fact, they are so low that they could not well be much lower. As it is, the laboring population of the empire have a constant battle to wage against want and misery. Hardly any man of family is able to earn enough to support his family in the simplest manner without being aided by his wife in some way. They eat the plainest food and dwell in forbidding looking over crowded tenements, and oftentimes a whole family dwell together in one room. Meat in some parts of the empire is a luxury obtained but once or twice a week. Long hours of labor, scanty fare and poor compensation is the rule among them. Black bread and potatoes make up the chief diet of many of them. They cannot live with any decency on the wages they get.

Lord Clanricarde, having driven a parcel of obnoxious people off of his part of Ireland because they had the effrontery to try to make a living there without paying him for the privilege, has now set about tearing down their houses. There is an ugly look of confiscation about this part of Clanricarde's proceedings, but it is being done according to law, and that redeems it. That confiscation, according to law is not confiscation is a principle for which both England and America furnish ample precedent. Indeed, for precedent, it is not necessary to go further than our protective tariff laws. Nevertheless, Clanricarde is indiscreet. This tearing down of other men's houses is calculated to intensify the prejudice against him. There is a wantonness about it, too, which one finds it difficult to defend. If he would be content to expel from his part of Ireland the intruders who refuse to pay him for living there, and appropriate their vacated houses to his own use, he would not only be within his legal right but also within the proprieties. In the interest of the landlord class, whose right to live by the sweat of somebody else's brow is now so seriously menaced, and who find in Clanricarde a champion who does not permit any sentiment about suffering men and women to stand between him and his rights, we beg him to be cautious. A law abiding people will often look with patience on acts of cruelty when the wanton destruction of property will arouse their most violent emotions.

To readers of THE STANDARD the name of W. N. Hill, M. D., of Baltimore, Md., is quite familiar as that of one of our most earnest supporters in Maryland. He has written a letter to the Baltimore Sun, which is copied by the Evening Post of New York, in which he asks if James G. Blaine is a state socialist, and says:

Mr. Blaine is logical from the protectionist's standpoint in apologizing for trusts, while the democrats are equally so from their point of view in declaring war on them. It is a difference in fundamentals that can only be explained by an inquiry into the exact relationship between the individual and his government. If we as Americans hold that the government is only a convenience for the people, and that its purpose is simply to preserve the rights of every man in the products of his labor, the whole project of the republicans and state socialists falls through, for it follows from their view that the government has a right to take from one man a portion of his property and give it to another. They have, unfortunately for the masses of the people, had an opportunity to practically apply this idea to the United States government for the last quarter of a century by the tariff. The result is manifested in our industrial wars, called strikes, which are but blind efforts on the part of labor to recover that of which it has been defrauded. The best thinkers among the leaders of laboring men and all writers who are the masses' friends have pointed out the folly of strikes and have earnestly advocated the intelligent use of the ballot as the only effective method in this country of the people retaining their rights and liberties. As the campaign progresses it grows daily clearer that the democratic party must become the equal rights party under the leadership of Cleveland and Thurman, while their opponents must become the party of special privileges to monopoly at the expense of the masses.

The ever illogical Press is clamorously loud in its endorsement of Senator Culum's bill for the annoyance of trusts. Trusts, the Press exclaims, "tend to restrict production, while the republican policy is to encourage it." They "have come to be such a crying evil that some-

thing substantial and practical must be done against them at once." Yes, the Press actually says that, and we have no doubt that in a blundering, puzzle-headed kind of a way it really thinks it means it. There are few things in nature more wonderful than the anguine sinuities of protectionist logic in general, and Press logic in particular.

If the Press really wants to do "something substantial and practical" against trusts, let it advocate the repeal of the duties on the products trusted. Let American grocers have the privilege of buying sugar from anybody that has sugar to sell, and the sugar trust will vanish away like smoke. The Press knows this just as well as we do. But perhaps, if it will take a thoughtful look into its own inwardness, it will find that it really isn't so very anxious to abolish trusts as to make people think that the protectionist system is not responsible for them.

The delightful Chauncey M. Depew, according to one of the journalistic bushwhackers of his party, the Sun, does not intend to make the mistake of his leader, the Great Uncrowned, by coming home in a British vessel. Two Sundays ago he said he would not go home on a ship flying the British colors, but would take an Irish boat, if he could find one, and, if not, he would go in a German boat, as being next best calculated to be approved in America. This remark was made at luncheon at the house of one Lady Puleston. Lady Puleston must be an Irish Lady or a German Lady, for it is not to be supposed that Mr. Depew would take luncheon with a British Lady. He did not promise to avoid the error in the matter of baggage into which Mr. Blaine so thoughtlessly fell; but it may be assumed that he will be as careful about importing any products of pauper labor as he promises to be in regard to the selection of his ship. It will be noticed that Mr. Depew speaks of Irish ships as the best calculated to be approved in America, and German ships next. It would be supposed that Americans would put American ships before all others, and that Mr. Depew, instead of coming home in an Irish boat, if he can find one, would come home in an American boat, if he can find one. But Mr. Depew doesn't know whether he can find an Irish boat or not, while, thanks to his familiarity with the protective tariff, he well knows he cannot find an American boat.

If Louisiana is to be dealt with considerately in the next tariff bill salt must be kept off the free list. In the marsh lands of the Mississippi bordering the Gulf of Mexico, a cluster of hills arise which have proved to be hills of salt. Thirty feet under the surface salt 99½ per cent pure is found, extending to a depth of 200 feet, and no one knows how much further. The mining of this salt is a Louisiana industry, and will no doubt demand a continuance of the protection which the salt industries of Syracuse and Warsaw are now demanding. It is to be hoped that some such demand may be seriously made, for nothing could better illustrate the fraudulent character of protection. Here is a limitless bed of salt, lacking but half of one per cent of perfect purity. It was placed there by the hand of Omnipotence ages ago, and was discovered accidentally by a colored well digger. But the island "belongs" to a family named Avery, who are in receipt of a royalty from it of from \$60 to \$100 a day. In return for this immense income they do absolutely nothing but to give somebody permission to work the mine. They can withhold their permission and deprive the people of this bounty of nature, or they can charge an admission fee of "all the traffic will bear" as a condition of allowing the work to go on. The latter is the more profitable, and they do that. But all the advantages of this deposit of salt, so far as they can be measured by dollars, are appropriated by the Avery family. They do not allow the operators to make more than usual profits, and the operators do not allow the miners to make more than usual wages, while whatever difference the richness of the mine makes goes to them in rent. And as the tariff on salt makes it an American monopoly, that advantage goes to the Avery family, too. Just so it is with the Warsaw and Syracuse mines; just so it is with coal mines and the tariff on coal; just so it is with forest owners and the tariff on lumber. To the extent that the tariff makes an American monopoly of these things the profits of that monopoly go not to enhance the wages of the miners or lumberers or the profits of operators, but to increase the rent of mine and forest owners.

Can any one give a reason why in justice the Avery family should appropriate the value of those salt hills in the Mississippi marshes? If the divine command that men shall eat their bread in the sweat of their brow has any just application, it is a law for the Avery family as well as it is for the salt miners to whom they sell the privilege of digging salt. And yet, not by any divine arrangement or through any heavenly interposition in behalf of the Avery family, but as a result of defective and unjust social adjustment, the Avery family get without working for it, but solely as the price of a natural opportunity to which they can lay no natural claim, one hundred dollars' worth every day of the salt that other men mine. The injustice of this needs but to be stated to be seen. But how may it be avoided? By making the mines government property? By leaving them open to the mob that might rush in and waste more than it produced?

No. The remedy is simple. If the Avery family get from \$60 to \$100 a day, the privilege of mining there is worth from \$60 to \$100 a day. Men will pay that much for the privilege and they will not pay more. If they would pay more the Avery family would exact more. It is very easy, therefore, and it would be eminently just, to tax the Avery family about that sum, and to the extent of the revenue so obtained to exempt labor products from taxation. This would secure exclusive use to the Avery tenants; it would leave the Averages a reasonable percentage for collecting the tax; it would relieve the operators and miners from taxation on the products of their labor, and it would, in a natural way, enforce the command which requires work from all who would live. This is the principle of the single tax. Its application to mining properties would be easily made, and its benefits and the justice of it are obvious. It would be equally easy of application to all kinds of land, and its effect would be in character the same in greater degree, for it would leave to every one the full fruits of his own labor and give to all the people the benefits of those natural advantages to which no one can in justice make exclusive claim.

Francis Wayland Glen, a Brooklyn disciple of the tory landlords of England who opposed the beneficent reforms of Richard Cobden, gives to the Press a partial table of metal manufactures, intended to show that Canada has imported more of these goods from the United States than from England. The figures are of the Atkinsonian breed, and the argument is after the regulation pattern adopted by protectionists; but the conclusion is a curiosity. "The above table," says the astute Mr. Glen, "also proves that the price of these goods here is not governed by the tariff." But if that be so, what becomes of the protectionists' appeal to American labor? If, as protectionists argue, employers can pay only foreign wages if they get only foreign prices for their goods, how does protection keep wages up unless it keeps prices up? If wages are governed by prices and prices are not governed by the tariff, how can wages be affected by the tariff? This sample from the pen of Mr. Francis Wayland Glen is an illustration of the way in which political economists who know nothing of political economy are compelled to grope about in logical fog banks of their own creation.

The Tariff at the Chautauque Lakeside Resort, Ohio.

LAKEIDE, Ohio.—A platform lecturer here not long since, whose address was entitled "The Footprints of Wesley," in speaking of his purchase from an English washerwoman of clips from the rock from which Wesley used to preach, and of his being told by her that the small sum received was more than she could get for a day's washing, brought down the applause of his unthinking audience, of course, by the unusual electrifying clap trap alarm cry of "free trade," whereas he and they should have had the intelligence to know that the wages of English laborers, including English wash women, are more than fifty per cent higher in so-called free trade England than in the high protection countries of continental Europe, and, therefore, that the tariff is no explanation whatever of the higher wage rate prevailing in America than in England.

They should know that the condition of the English laboring classes is vastly better now than under the high tariff regime of forty years ago, as will be evident from Miss Martineau's description of their condition at that time; and that the condition of workwomen in free trade London to-day is no worse than in high protection Paris, but on the contrary is much better, if the data gathered by Helen Campbell are reliable. Here is an extract from one of her recent letters published in the Chicago Inter Ocean concerning the needlessness of Paris. This high tariff organ must have overlooked these beneficial advances of its correspondent or reluctantly given them publicity in its columns. She writes:

Every article of daily need is at the highest point, sugar alone being an illustration of what the determination to protect an industry has brought about. The London workwoman buys a pound of sugar for the most 2d (2 cents) and 4d (4 cents). The French workwoman must give 11c for 12 lbs. (10 or 11 cents) and then have only beet sugar, which has not much over half the saccharine quality of cane sugar. In England, milk, eggs, all are equally high, meat alone being an exception. The same prices as London. Fruit is a nearly impossible luxury and fuel so dear that shivering is the law for all but the rich, while rents are also beyond London prices. For the needlessness of the food question has resolved itself into bread alone for at least one meal with a little coffee, chiefly chicory, and possibly some vegetable for the others. But many a man lives on bread for six days in a week, reserving the few shillings that he saved for a Sunday bit of meat or bones for soup.

And so on through a contrast as unfavorable to the metropolis of high tariff France as favorable to the metropolis of that unfortunate (2) country in which prevails a "tariff for revenue only," and whose more highly paid laborers, strange as it may seem to the protectionist doctrine, find it unnecessary to demand protection from the low paid and "pauper" labor of the competing nations of the continent.

Strange, it is not, that American wages must be so highly protected when English wages need it not, although competing at vastly greater disadvantage with the low wages of the continent than America with England?

A French needle woman or wash woman paying ten or eleven cents for a pound of beet sugar, whilst her English sister gets it for two or three cents is a fair illustration of the logic and fruits, the selfish cupidity and blindness of protectionism which, even in the land of Bastiat and Turgot, sacrifices general interests on the altar of the special and protected interests of an unprofitable home industry, and in America can fight to the bitter end against a reduction of even seven per cent on the necessities of life as provided for in the Mills bill, the reduction of a dangerous surplus and the relief of unnecessary and unjust taxation. LAKEIDE.

Retribution.

St. Peter (to applicant).—(You say you were an editorial writer on a New York newspaper? "Yes, sir." "Step into the elevator, please." (Steps in).—"How soon does it go up?" "It doesn't go up, it goes down."

THE CHICAGO "ENQUIRER."

The Editor of That Paper Explains Its Success, and Says Something to His Old Friends.

EDITOR STANDARD: Your kind offer of space in the columns of THE STANDARD to allow me to say farewell to the readers of the Enquirer I accept with thanks. I had the following in type, and should have issued a small sheet containing it had I not found myself unable to do so:

In the years that I have been engaged with you in the task of attempting to better the condition of the world's workers, trying to bring about more just and harmonious relations between man and man, I have met many things which were discouraging, have had many unpleasant duties to perform. All of you have had the same experience—some to a greater, others to a lesser degree than myself. Now comes the most unpleasant of all my duties—to tell you that the Enquirer has been compelled to suspend publication; that it must hereafter be numbered with those champions of humanity's cause whose voices have been silenced by the gripings of hunger. One more slab in the already well filled grave yard where all contain these words: "Starved to death, while battling for right against might." That's all.

"But," you say, "I thought the Enquirer was solid. It showed none of the signs of weakness that have usually preceded the downfall of our papers."

Yes, I know, that to all excepting the few friends with whom I counseled here, this announcement will be a great surprise, and many, I believe, will be both shocked and grieved.

Many of you will think I did wrong in hiding the situation from you, thus depriving you of the opportunity to do something to prolong the paper's existence. Let me tell you that my silence on the subject was dictated by a desire to so deprive you. I have had experience with other papers than this. For nearly five years I published the Labor Enquirer of Denver, Col. Several times it was "on its last legs," and I each time made appeals for aid. Help always came; but it was from the same devoted few every time—with an occasional dropping off because of the financial disability of some dear old enthusiast. Besides, I learned in those experiences that, when a "working-men's paper" runs up the signal of distress, or commences to show signs of poverty—by showing a cheapened appearance—then the general run of those to whom it looks for support flight shy, and refuse to subscribe for "a paper that's liable to bust."

So, the Enquirer did not cry aloud for help, and each issue showed an improvement over its predecessor. How could it improve and increase the amount of matter under such conditions? you ask. Well, I haven't forgotten how to "stick tight," and sixteen hours work a day don't hurt a lean man for three or four weeks.

Deception? No; you are mistaken in that. Until last Saturday night I hoped that the paper could be saved. Several friends, who knew the situation, tried to raise means, through a liberal mortgage, to pay off the debts and to secure a guarantee fund from one of our organizations to meet the weekly deficit; but they did not succeed. My debts are as much as can be obtained for the material, on a forced sale, and I dared not go further after these good people failed in their efforts to secure assistance. I give these facts to explain why the issue of August 18 did not contain an announcement that the Enquirer would be discontinued.

Now, do not be in a hurry to decide why the paper failed. Do not say it was because it made war on this, or advocated that. You might find when you learn the truth that your conclusions were wrong. The circulation of the paper grew steadily from the first number, but more rapidly during the past four months than in any like period after the first three months. The edition of August 18 was 3,500 copies—over 3,000 was actual circulation. Six months ago the list was hardly half so large. Several hundred of the increase came through the suspension of the Denver Enquirer, the paid-up subscriptions of which I undertook to fill; but the greater part of the increase was from additions proper to the Chicago Enquirer. So, while the increase was not rapid enough to keep up such a paper as I was printing, and I slowly but surely fell behind, the tone of the paper did not decrease its circulation, as some are apt to say.

If I had had the means to carry the concern until the renewals began to be received in regular proportion to the extent of the list and to have made some sort of a canvass for new subscribers, the paper would soon have been a power in the land. It may be well to state in this connection that, owing to the cheapness of the daily papers of this city, and the consequent fact that they are read by almost every resident, it is next to impossible for a weekly here to secure advertising at any kind of rates.

I want to impress upon you that the failure of the paper is not due to the radical position it took upon several very important questions. For instance, there is undisputed evidence that for every subscriber lost ten were gained by the exposure of the corruption of the Knights of Labor administration ring; and the same is true of the advocacy of free trade.

Two real causes are responsible for the failure of the Enquirer: One, and the most important, lack of funds to carry the paper through its first two years and to employ agents to work up its circulation; the other, my refusal (unreasonable, if you like), to reduce the expenses by depreciating the quality of the paper.

To the brave men who are struggling to maintain a free press, those heroes who are still fighting ignorance, jealousy and bigotry from "the labor sanctum," I want to say a few words: We have not always agreed; in fact, very few of you have conducted your papers as I have the Enquirer; you have thought me too radical and too willing to fight what I disliked. Some of you have made personal attacks upon me; but I forgive you all, boys—I don't think I failed to "come back" at you every time. I have often been disappointed

in you; but I guess you know your business, and it is more than probable that there are others who know as much as I do about carrying on a "labor" paper. However, there are few who are more familiar than I with the hardships you have to bear and the trials you have to meet. Your lives, as "labor editors," are made up of days and nights of bitter struggling with poverty; your hardest battles are not with the "common enemy of labor," but with labor itself. You find the greater part of your time taken up in trying to explain this, that or another article you have printed to men who are incapable of understanding the explanations when they are made. Half of the organizations develop into "press clubs," and two-thirds of the members suddenly acquire a full knowledge of journalism; but no two of them agree. Men who will throw up their hats for a "capitalist" paper which prints one friendly paragraph amid an ocean of falsehood and deception, will boycott a journal devoted exclusively to the interests of his class, if it publishes one sentence that does not conform to his peculiar—and frequently erroneous—idea. This is not the worst of it. If they would only be content with warring upon your paper, it wouldn't be so bad; but if you chance to disagree with one of these "brothers," he is not satisfied with singing that painful refrain: "Stop my paper!" but immediately begins a bitter personal fight on you, denouncing you wherever he can get an audience as "a traitor."

Your lot is a hard one, comrades, and you will never be decently supported or your work appreciated; but you will go on, fighting for truth, while the mob cries, "Crucify him!" until you are starved out, and when you fall, because you can stand no longer, some other enthusiast will take up the cry for more light on the dark places. My heart aches for you, my old fellow torch bearers, and while I am forced out of your ranks, I do not intend to forget you, but hope to be able, in some manner, to aid you in the years to come.

I should not feel right hereafter if I allowed this opportunity to pass without expressing my gratitude for the support which has been given me by some of the local unions of the brotherhood of carpenters and joiners. In the spring of '87 I became acquainted with some of the leading men of the carpenters' trade in this city. They were about entering upon a struggle with the bosses for a reduction of hours and increase of pay. I joined with them in the fight and, when it ended in victory for the journeymen, I was given some credit, and therefore several of the unions made very liberal donations to the paper. The individual members of the organization might have done more in the way of extending the paper's circulation, but they did far more than any other trade in this direction, and as an organization they did twenty times as much as all the other unions combined.

I shall always remember with the kindest feelings the brotherhood of carpenters of Chicago. I am pleased to be able to announce that those patrons of the Enquirer whose subscriptions are credited beyond September 1, 1888, will receive THE STANDARD, of New York, beginning with its issue of this week. I was more than gratified to receive an answer in the affirmative to my inquiry of Mr. George on this subject, for I look upon his paper as one of the very best ever published. I wish to express the hope that THE STANDARD will receive promptly the renewals which would have come to the Enquirer had it not been compelled to close.

And now, friends, all, in bidding you adieu, I have no apologies to offer for the Enquirer as a whole. It has made mistakes, many of them, no doubt, but they were comparatively unimportant. Those things for which it contended were good; those it denounced were bad. And could I have continued the paper its course would have been changed only with the conditions upon which it made war. It was outspoken and radical because it had no sympathy with wishy-washy methods or superficial analysis. It has never advised the workingmen against their interests, nor in opposition to the general welfare; but has steadfastly advocated practicable measures for the immediate improvement of the people's condition, while it has ever kept prominently in view what it believed to be the grand possibilities of human progress. Had its advice been heeded six months ago there is a pretty general opinion now that the independent political forces of the country would be solidly united against special privileges, instead of divided into half a dozen contentious squads, as they are to-day.

Probably, however, we have all done our best, poor as it may appear, and it is neither my business nor wish to whine or croak. The good work will go on, and I have a firm belief "the right will come uppermost and justice be done," at last, though many may stumble and fall or be forced to give up.

And, with this faith to soften the pain that naturally is mine in quitting my post after so many years of service, I bid you adieu in the hope that the day of peace and prosperity is not far away.

JOS. R. BUCHANAN,
511 N. Clark street, Chicago.
Chicago, Sept. 4, 1888.

Why Tributes are Called Customs.

SAN FRANCISCO.—In looking through Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade?" the inquiry was suggested to me why we call our import taxes "customs," and whether, if they were generally abolished, they would any longer fit Webster's definition, "the customary toll." Cogitating on this matter, I concluded that we had sacrificed exactness to politeness. I took down my Dryden's translation of Plutarch and found the following in the life of Solon: "The way which, the moderns say, the Athenians have of softening the badness of a thing, by ingeniously giving it some pretty and innocent appellation, calling harlots, for example, mistresses, tributes customs, . . . seems originally to have been Solon's contrivance, who called canceling debts *seisachtheia*, a relief, or disencumbrance." Perhaps this accounts for the derivation of the word. If so, we can say we have outdone the Athenians in politeness. For while the victorious Greeks exacted tributes from the conquered people, and soothed them by calling them customs, our conquerors not only exact tributes from us under the name of customs, but make us believe that they do it for our protection.

CLINTUS BARBOUR.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The season at Newport, which has been the best known for many years, has ended in a blaze of glory. Five large balls in new and sumptuous settings have done credit to the taste and refinement of the givers, while numerous minor dances, where the spirit of conviviality was not held puritanically in check, have effectively prevented the stigma of "slow" from attaching to any portion of the gaiety. —(New York Sun.)

A dog named Ryno has just made a church \$1,500 richer by dying. His mistress, Mrs. Elizabeth Shee, on her decease two years ago, left this \$1,500 in the hands of a trustee with directions that the income should be applied to Ryno's comfortable maintenance for the rest of his life, when the fund was to revert to the Episcopal church of which Mrs. Shee was a member. Ryno ended his life of gentlemanly leisure in West Chester, Pennsylvania, where his mistress had lived.

Samuel Johnson, formerly employed in Worth Brothers' mill, Coatesville, Pennsylvania, died of starvation at his home at Modena. He was out of work and too proud to beg. Johnson had no household goods whatever and he was found lying on the floor in one corner of the room.

There is a wealthy New York widow who has a church and a chaplain of her own. She is Mrs. Moses Taylor. The church was built by her at Long Branch, at a cost of about \$70,000. It is Presbyterian, and there is a nominal board of trustees, but Mrs. Taylor paid every dollar of the cost and is the owner outright. It is an ornate edifice, and one of its features is a memorial stained glass window inscribed to her dear husband: "Blessed are they that die in the Lord," it says. Mrs. Taylor's chaplain is the Rev. I. H. Young, who conducts the services in the church during the summer months, but is at her command the year round, for she pays his salary of \$3,500 out of her own pocket. —(Philadelphia Times.)

Frederick E. Beardslee, a well known electrician and chemist, was driven by poverty to commit suicide on Friday night of last week, by swallowing prussic acid. He was employed by the Denison auto-telephone company of this city, and it was in their office that his body was found. Mr. Beardslee had for some time been in very poor circumstances. His salary was paid irregularly and he was driven to such straits that his family was about to be dispossessed for non-payment of rent. He had served with honor in the war in the signal corps, and had retired from the army with the rank of brevet colonel. Since that time he had been engaged in electrical work in this country and Mexico.

Never, not even in the most brilliant days of the empire, has Paris seen a more splendid fete than M. Cernuschi's fancy dress ball. It was an assemblage of the most brilliant people in the cosmopolitan society of Paris, in the most splendid private mansion in the world. M. Cernuschi was clad in a Japanese costume, and so were the dozen bachelor friends who assisted him in receiving the guests, and as they stood together at the top of the great marble staircase, they presented such a scene of picturesque magnificence as is not to be described, nor even to be imagined, save in the dreams of one who has been reading "The Count of Monte Cristo." The scene in the great ball room was just as brilliant as it could be, for the costumes were never seen before, and the value of the jewels worn was to be reckoned by millions of dollars. A conspicuous figure was Mme. Gauthereau, the noted creole beauty. She was dressed in a Japanese costume, and was literally encrusted with gold and gems. The abbreviated skirts of her costume were actually made of pure gold, spun and woven into gauze so delicate that it was not much heavier than silk. Another much admired costume was that of the famous beauty, Mme. Bernadski. She was a Diana. Her bodice was of blue velvet and her skirt of white satin, and every stitch in the seam of these was marked by a diamond or a sapphire. Hanging over her shoulders was a panther's skin, and her hair was powdered, not with diamond dust, but with diamonds and sapphires as big as peas, all held in place by a network of thin threads. Another on her person more than \$250,000 worth of precious stones. Mme. Marie Van Zandt, the American singer, was esteemed one of the most beautiful ladies present. The daughter of M. Carous Duran, a famous French actor, she had also a marvelous coronet of pearls and diamonds said to be worth more than \$100,000. —(Correspondence Chicago Tribune.)

Respectfully Referred to Mr. Blaine.

BALTIMORE, Md., Sept. 9.—When Mr. Blaine arrived in this country from Europe he expressed a very fervid wish "that the working-men of this country could see what he had seen," alluding, I suppose, to the low standard of living forced upon the masses there. I am sorry Mr. Blaine did not specify, for gentlemen, as a rule, mean just what they say. There are two or three incidents in this country of section, which in addition to those he will find recorded in THE STANDARD'S "Society Notes" every week (to which I refer him) may be of interest to Mr. Blaine:

1. The Baltimore papers recorded not long since the death of a man, caused by eating "Rough on Rats" which he mistook for bread and which he obtained in a garbage barrel.

2. It is a common sight in Baltimore as well as in other cities, to find multitudes of men, women and children foraging among the barrels and boxes of decayed fruit and vegetables left upon our docks by commission merchants as worthless. On Fell's point in this city there is a "baby barn," where babies are left by their mothers in the early morning to be taken care of (for a consideration) until they return at night from work at the pickling house. The cries of the infants can be heard far away.

Please place my name upon the roll of those who will vote for Mr. Cleveland.

The anti-poverty society distributed single tax and free trade tracts and specimen STANDARDS at the mass meeting at Concordia Monday evening. The speakers were composed of Irish-Americans, called together to endorse Mr. Cleveland's position on the fishery question.

If you have any documents you wish distributed in this locality, we can attend to it. The anti-poverty society will have preaching from the platform of their hall, 306 West Fayette street, each Friday evening, upon such topics as "Is Poverty of God?" "Poverty considered Scripturally," "They Toil not neither do they Spin," "Is protection moral, unselfish or honest?" etc. LEON T. JONES.

To Organize Connecticut.

THOMASTON, Conn., Sept. 9.—Land and labor club No. 9 at its meeting last Sunday adopted the following:

Resolved, That all land and labor clubs, and all other organizations that accept the doctrine of a "single tax" as a basic principle and believe it to be the first step for the emancipation of labor, be requested to correspond with each other and with the undersigned for the purpose of forming an organization in the state for the diffusion of those doctrines; said organization to be independent in politics and educational in its character.

The object of the foregoing resolution is to bring all believers in our principles together. At present there is no permanent organization in the state and one club hardly knows of the existence of another. The members of the above club believe that some such intercommunication and cooperation will do a vast amount of good, and hope that this call will meet with a hearty response.

Address ANDREW LEARY, box 293.

MEN AND THINGS.

On Wednesday of last week a man named Karl Grade, a German by birth and a seaman by occupation, told one of his fellow seamen on the steamship Werra that he intended to throw up his situation and find something else to do. For this offense Mr. Grade was carried to the Fourth precinct police station in this city, and there held a prisoner, without trial or judicial inquisition of any sort, until Saturday; when, the Werra being ready to sail, he was taken on board and delivered, much like a stray calf or dog, to the men in charge of the steamer. When the Werra gets back to Germany, Mr. Grade will probably be made an example of for the benefit of other sailor men who may be wicked enough to think of leaving their ships before the period of servitude named in their shipping articles has expired.

If the captain of the Werra had been a boss rapscallion instead of a boss seaman; if he had hired Mr. Grade to come from Germany to this country and remain here certain days, weeks, or months, sorting rags at semi-starvation wages; if Mr. Grade, after landing here, concluded that he would prefer some other occupation to that of sorting rags; and if, thereupon, his employer had requested the police to take Mr. Grade to jail and keep him there till he should recover of his recalcitrancy and conclude to do his duty in the rag sorting state of life to which it had pleased God to call him—ah! then there would have been a pretty how d'ye do, and an eruption of talk about white slavery, and perhaps even a congressional committee.

But as it is, poor Grade is nothing but a seaman, and his employer is a shipmaster; and so the victim spends nearly four days in a police station cell, is sent back to fulfill his contract with his employer, and a half dozen lines in a corner of a daily paper is the sum and total of the notice taken by the press of an outrage that disgraces civilization.

The sugar trust managers have filed their answer to the suit brought by the attorney general of the state of New York. It is simple and comprehensive. It denies everything. There is no such thing as a sugar trust. There has been no combination to create a monopoly in sugar. There has been no agreement to diminish production or raise prices. In short, nothing has been done by anybody.

The case will be called for trial in November. Suppose it is tried then. Suppose the attorney general proves every allegation he has made. The only effect will be to make the sugar trust adopt some other method of combination that the law can lay no hold upon. But the case is not tried yet, and the attorney general has still to prove his allegations. The trust has had the advantage of the best legal talent that money could buy. The chances are as a hundred to one that every legal possibility has been foreseen, and the trust will be found quite sufficiently secure against any assault that the attorney general may make upon it.

There is a way, and only one way, by which the sugar trust can be absolutely swept out of existence. Throw the gates open and let the American people buy their sugar in the markets of the world, and the trust will be dissolved within twenty-four hours. Its strength is in the protective tariff; and as long as that endures its managers will care mighty little for anything the attorney general of New York or any other state may do.

Among the bills passed by congress last week was one to refund to Dr. F. O. Saint Clair \$97.50, duties on a monument to the memory of Francis J. Townshend, late of the United States navy.

Probably there were good reasons why Mr. Townshend's monument should be allowed to pass the customs barrier without being subjected to the usual statutory fine. But good as they may have been, they can have been no better than the reasons for extending the same courtesies to the food and clothing of Mr. Townshend's countrymen. They ask for bread and they are given a stone.

There has been the deuce and all to pay in military and naval circles lately over a report that an unprincipled Englishman had been hawking and making merry with the admirals and lesser marine ornaments at Newport, Old Point Comfort and elsewhere, and had succeeded in learning all about the American system of torpedoes. The secretary is not quite certain about it, and the admirals, and captains, and lieutenants, declare they haven't told anything of importance. But for all that it is feared that something has got out which may enable the British ironclads to come over here some time when we don't want them. And so the navy department, it is said—for everything is done with immense secrecy—have decided to rearrange the whole torpedo system, to the end that when the ironclads do come they may find a sufficiently explosive reception awaiting them.

How ridiculous it all is when one comes to think of it. Sweep away the barbarous laws that hinder the friendly intercourse of Americans and Englishmen; give to our fellow men across the Atlantic the right to come here and buy the things our people want to sell them; overthrow the absurd superstition that the wholesomeness of a codfish depends on the birthplace of the man who caught him—and what possible cause could ever arise to make us wish to kill, maim and mangle Englishmen by the ship load, or Englishmen wish to kill and mangle us. In everything but their absurd Asiatic taxing systems the United States and England are civilized nations, bound together by ties of blood, language and religion. If intercourse between them were as free as between the states of the American Union we should no more think of providing a system of torpedoes to defend our coasts against British ironclads than New York thinks of planting batteries and building forts as a protection against invasions from New Jersey and Connecticut.

Rice next. Duty, 2½ cents a pound. Not a trust, understand. Good heavens, no! "This," says the lawyer in charge—can't handle rice without a lawyer, you know—"this is a PRIVATE BUSINESS ENTER-

PRIZE, in which are engaged a number of gentlemen who have avoided notoriety and sought to conduct their business without unnecessary publicity." There's euphemism for you, with a touch of James G. Blaine thrown in. And what is it these gentlemen, engaging in a private enterprise and modestly shrinking from unnecessary publicity, propose to do? Simply to control the rice market by controlling the rice milling industry. Only that. The rice dealers, understand—not the rice planters, nobody thinks of them—the rice dealers have found that they can't get the full benefit of that two and a quarter cents duty as long as they compete with each other. So they've organized "a private business enterprise" to stop the competition and push the price up to the limit of that 2½ cents. Nobody's affair but their own, of course; but they think it just as well to avoid unnecessary publicity.

Whom the gods wish to destroy, etc. The protected monopolists all over the country who are aggregating their businesses into pools and trusts are doing glorious work for freedom. For, except Mr. J. G. Blaine, who probably did it by mistake, and Mr. Charles A. Dana, who probably did it out of malice, no politician or economist has dared, or is likely to dare, to raise his voice in defense of their combinations for extortion. And the man must be blind indeed who cannot see that the only sure way to destroy the trust is to sweep away the tariff that protects it. The trust is protection carried to its ultimate and logical conclusion. And being so, it is necessarily an unanswerable argument for free trade.

The board of park commissioners of this city have in charge to have street railways built through the transverse roads across Central park; and they are beginning, in a somewhat lethargic manner, to bestir themselves for the performance of their duty. Last week they met to consider two bids for the construction of one of the proposed roads. The bids were from the Fourth and Second avenue railroad companies, and were identical in terms. The bidders proposed to build the line and operate it for fifty years, charging five cents fare, and issuing transfer tickets to all the lines they now or may hereafter operate; to pay to the city three per cent of the gross receipts for the first five years and five per cent thereafter; the city to refund the cost of construction in annual installments; and the road at the end of the fifty years to pass into possession of the city. The board postponed action upon the bids to a future meeting.

It is quite possible that the offers of the companies bidding for these roads were as liberal as could be obtained from anyone. But the question that the park commissioners ought to consider is, not whether the people operating the roads are paying enough money for the privilege, but whether the interests of New York's citizens will be best served, and the intent of the law carried out, by putting the roads into the hands of private managers or keeping them in their own hands. The law certainly never contemplated the granting of the franchise for these roads to private corporations. But that is, in effect, what the commissioners will do if they accept the proposals made them. The intent of the law was, not to enable private individuals to speculate in monopoly, but to benefit the people of New York by allowing them to provide for themselves transit facilities that they sorely need.

The park commissioners should build and operate these roads for the city at the city's expense, charging such fares as will suffice to pay the running expenses, cost of maintenance, and interest on capital. We should then within a few years have a standard of comparison by which to estimate the value of the many street railway franchises that have been granted into private hands; we should have at least one monopoly the less to oppress us, and we should have taken a step toward the full assertion of the principle that all businesses in their nature monopolies should be conducted by the government for the common benefit of the whole people. The commissioners should no more think of turning these cross road railways over to private control than of putting the carriage roads of the park into private hands, to be maintained as turnpikes, with bars and toll collectors.

During the week ending Sept. 8, 716 people died in this city. Of these, 380—more than one half—were children under five years, and of these children, 118 died of diarrhea alone. The deaths in tenement houses were 496, and in public institutions 127. Out of the whole 716 who in this city of 1,500,000 souls departed this life last week, only ninety-three were of the class who live in houses of their own, or in flats ranking above the tenements. New York is a wholesome place to live in—for people who can afford to live.

The activity and energy of perfidious Albion are simply amazing. Not content with looking after the free trade campaign in this country and sending a million or so of golden guineas over by every steamer for distribution among the unprincipled men who would, if they could, allow John Bull to buy all the American grain and other produce he desires—not content with this, the mean old thing is playing the same game in other parts of the world, and doing her very best to persuade the foolish nations to sell her the things they don't want and take in exchange the things she has that they do want; which, of course, will reduce them all to poverty and barbarism in short order. The latest case of this kind is peculiarly atrocious.

In the very heart of Siberia lies a vast mediterranean territory, in which mountain chain alternates with prairie. The climate is that of Dakota. The hills are full of coal, iron and other minerals, and are notably rich in gold bearing quartz. The rich black plains are unsurpassed for wheat culture. Altogether, a glorious country for the farmer, the manufacturer and the miner. It comprises about a million square miles and contains a population of five to seven hundred thousand.

The people of this favored country have, from time immemorial, enjoyed all the advantages of the protective system, with-

out the trouble of enacting a protective tariff. Nature has fenced them in a way to delight the heart of Mr. Blaine. The Ural mountains cut them off from Europe; a bleak, inhospitable desert stretches northward to the Arctic ocean; the Chinese empire on the south and successive chains of mountains on the east forbid access from those directions. Men can get there, but not goods. Englishmen can go there at the cost of a little rough traveling, but they must leave their accursed boots and shoes, and machinery, and dry goods behind them. The country enjoys its own home market to perfection. That is, it did until a short time ago. But now the wicked English are threatening to deluge it with pauper made goods and mining machinery, to take away in exchange its precious wheat and corn, and generally to introduce the principles of the Cobden club.

Through this naturally protected country run two immense rivers, with their tributaries, navigable for thousands of miles, and emptying into the Arctic ocean—the Obi and the Yenesei. Until lately these rivers were thought to be amply protected against European invasion by the icy barrier of the Kara sea. No merchantman had ever passed the Kara sea, and therefore no merchantman ever could or would—a thoroughly protectionist argument. But in the summer of last year an audacious British skipper actually loaded a steamer with British merchandise of various kinds, passed through the Kara sea, and sailed up the Yenesei more than two thousand miles, deluging the unfortunate natives with goods as he went along. Then he came back to England, claimed that the Kara sea was open for three months every year, told what a magnificent trade could be done along the two great Siberian rivers, and has succeeded in inducing a lot of British capitalists to invest their money in the organization of a regular line of steamers. And so, if the czar doesn't interfere and establish a sufficiently rigid custom house in his Arctic regions, the unfortunate Siberians will be selling their wheat to English traders, crushing their quartz in English mills, buying English shoes at half the cost of the Siberian product, and generally degrading themselves into paupers by selling what they don't want at high prices, and buying what they do want at low prices. It's a terrible prospect altogether.

THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

You know what it is, of course? It is a fund to enable us to place THE STANDARD and other single tax literature in the hands of as many men and women as possible all over the United States.

To every great movement which has its root in an appeal to man's higher nature there come periods of specially rapid growth, when men's understandings are quickened, when their eyes are open to see the truth and their hearts hungry to grasp it. Through such a period our movement for the emancipation of industry is now passing. The political agitation which is sweeping over the country, the shock and din of "free trade," have stirred and shaken men's minds and made them ready to receive the truth. People listen to us gladly, who a few months ago would have met our arguments with a sneer or careless laugh. The thing most needful is that we should be able to plead our cause before them. It is for this purpose that the campaign STANDARD fund was started; and we urge upon every reader of THE STANDARD to swell it with as large a contribution as he can afford.

There is no time to lose. Within a few weeks the opportunity will have passed. And though other opportunities will come in the fullness of time, we shall be less able to improve them if we fail to take advantage of the one that now presents itself.

Have you sent in your contribution yet? If not, remember that it will do more good this week than the week after, more good next week than at any future time. The work is your work; the doctrines we are trying to spread are your doctrines; the friends we shall make will be your friends. Let it not be said of you that the cause you love was hindered in its progress for want of your sympathy and assistance.

We have a number of letters which we had hoped to lay before THE STANDARD's readers this week, but lack of space compels us to hold them over.

The record of the fund for the past week is as follows:

Henry Gonzalez, Melrose, N. Y.	\$1.00
A. D. W.	1.00
Third Ingleton, O. M. and L. O. M.	5.00
Campbell fund.	5.00
G. C. Colorado	5.00
James McKinley, Whitestone, L. I.	10.00
David Harrower, Wasedfield, R. I.	10.00
Alfred Kelly, Beth's Corner, N. H.	1.00
Mrs. E. Smith, Santa Cruz, California	1.00
A. subscriber	10.00
John J. Hopper, New York	5.00
John Leewood, Brooklyn	1.00
Chas. H. Goodwin, Marblehead, Mass.	5.00
R. Powers, Boston, Mass.	1.00
C. A. Curran, Escondido, Mich.	2.50
Rev. J. F. Scott, Stratford, Pa.	5.00
E. Ferguson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.50
Total	\$39.05
Previously acknowledged	\$2,953.32
Total to date	\$2,992.37

The Situation in Indiana.

VINCENNES, Ind., Sept. 3.—Please place my name on the roll of single tax Cleveland and Thurman voters.

The outlook in Indiana is full of promise. The democratic press and orators are making a square fight for tariff reduction, and no disposition is shown to dodge or hedge, as was done in former years.

The wage workers are investigating the subject as they never did before. The Indianapolis Signal, labor organ, is making an intelligent and gallant war on the humbug protection. Harrison is handicapped by his personal unpopularity, and the important fact that the republican paper, the Indianapolis News, having the largest circulation in the state, is outspoken in its demand for radical reduction of the tariff.

Republican managers in this state now show a disposition to attempt to make the fight on other issues than the tariff, but they will not be permitted to lose sight of the main question.

The single tax men are doing their utmost for Cleveland and at the same time never miss a favorable opportunity to leave an impression of the all important single tax idea.

SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS.

CAMPAIGN WORK.

The List of Single Tax Cleveland Voters Fast Swelling—Arrangements for Large and Small Meetings—Appointment of More Committees—Extracts From Letters.

The single tax Cleveland campaign committee has now got earnestly to work, and is engaged in laying out a plan of operations. Letters of encouragement and names for enrollment are pouring in from all parts of the United States, keeping the clerks busy from early till late. Messrs. William McCabe and William J. Gorsuch, returning from a flying visit through New York state, report the general ardor and activity of single tax men in all the important towns.

The enrollment of single tax voters who will support Cleveland is being vigorously pushed. The list has swelled until it now bears more than 4,000 names, the greater portion of which comes from New York, Brooklyn and that part of New Jersey lying adjacent.

An executive committee of seven, of which William T. Crossdale is chairman, will undertake the general conduct of the canvass and sub-local committees will manage the details of classifying the signatures as fast as they come in and organizing and holding small meetings in the respective congressional districts. Jerome O'Neill, chairman of the campaign committee of the united labor party last year, has been elected chairman of the New York sub-committee and William McCabe secretary.

The sub-committee in Brooklyn has arranged for a big mass meeting at the Athenaeum, on Atlantic avenue, on Monday, September 17, at which Louis F. Post and Henry George will speak.

In New Jersey, Messrs. Gordon, Urner and Nellis have not been allowing the grass to grow under their feet, and a meeting is tented to shake things up will be held in Eliza beth on Friday, September 15, and other similar meetings in Jersey towns will shortly follow.

Here are some extracts from letters out of the big mail arriving at the committee headquarters in Union square:

Alexander Cohn, Memphis, Tenn.—I send you five signatures for enrollment. Three of these, including myself, voted for Blaine in 1884.

H. P. Blake, Canon City, Col.—Enclosed find my signature as a republican who will vote for Cleveland for reasons set forth in THE STANDARD.

William P. Clarke, Springfield, Ohio.—Inclosed please find signatures of seven single tax Cleveland and Thurman voters. Four of them were Blaine men four years ago.

James Kay, Sharon Station, N. Y.—I had always voted for republican candidates up to 1884, but could not vote for Blaine that year. At this election I shall vote for Cleveland and Thurman.

James Leedom, Milwaukee, Wis.—Please enroll me as a single tax man who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. I was "converted" in 1881, and I am more firmly convinced now than ever.

Thomas Kavanagh, Philadelphia, Pa.—I send you four names, all of which I have had the opportunity to get as yet. Three of these men were republicans formerly. I have given each a blank attached to a sheet of paper and sent him out among the heathen.

Herbert Laromer, Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Four years ago I supported the republican ticket, but I have since become converted to the single tax doctrine, and will this year support Cleveland and Thurman. There are some active single tax men here.

L. H. Young, Buffalo, N. Y.—I cast my vote for B. F. Butler in 1884. It will be cast this time for Cleveland because he opposes (if only a little) the wolf in sheep's clothing called "protection." Free trade is gaining ground. I'll not get my vote nor any other that I can influence.

Edmund Yardley, Pittsburg, Pa.—Some of us are going to make up a list of signatures of Cleveland voters who will support him on "free trade and single tax principles," but as sometimes it is more important to do a thing promptly, I send you my name in advance, even if I sign the other, as I expect to.

George Harwell, Whitestone, Long Island.—I am working hard and hope to make a lot of converts before the conclusion of the struggle in November. I haven't much time to spare, as I work sixty hours a week, but what time I can spare goes for free trade. I leave my STANDARD in the barber shop every week.

Philo Orange Soper, New York.—Inclosed please find my signature to single tax circular. I am a veteran of the late war and an old-time republican, with all prejudices dead set against Mr. Cleveland, yet I shall vote for him as the best thing I can do. THE STANDARD having made a free trader of me, and what is more and better, a single tax man.

S. C. Bryant, 43½ South Main street, Room 7, Fall River, Mass.—I am in one of the hot beds of "protection," which gives the wage earners such high wages that every night when I pick up the paper I read an account of a strike in one mill or another. I would like to meet the single tax men in this city who care to engage in active missionary work.

Dr. G. Tell Braddock, Pa.—As an admirer of your good reasonings put me down on the list of single tax men who will support Cleveland and Thurman; and also put down the name I inclose. Our place had to suffer from a five months' strike caused by the protection which Andrew Carnegie gives his workmen, and therefore I am not able to send you any campaign money.

Phil D. Tagney, Bradford, Pa.—Inclosed is a list of single tax Cleveland and Thurman men. I will be able to send you many more before long. The tariff is the chief topic of conversation here, and a stranger on our streets would soon arrive at the conclusion that there are several men in this highly protected locality who fall to see wherein "protection" benefits the masses.

D. W. Clegg, Stapleton, Staten Island.—The George voters of 1887 will vote as follows: For Cleveland, seventy per cent; Blaine (Harrison), twenty per cent. Free trade is gaining on protection. The single tax is going off like hot cakes, for it takes even with protectionists. The feeling in favor of electoral reform among my friends is general, and will work Hill mischief.

W. A. Wakeley, Far Rockaway, L. I.—I voted for Blaine in 1884. I will vote this fall for Grover Cleveland, because he is the representative of the first practical measure toward the reduction of the tariff, and ultimately the adoption of the single tax. I should judge about two-thirds of the men who voted for George last year will vote for Cleveland this year. Most of the voters in this section favor electoral reform. Hill's veto will hurt him.

Aaron Hand, Camden, N. J.—Accompanying this find a list of eighteen names of single tax men who will vote for Cleveland. Twelve of these men come from the republican ranks. I am secretary of the labor tariff reform club, which has about 200 members. We had a membership of 180 until we adopted somewhat radical principles, when a few of the

members left, but more than their number at once came in—men who had before been republicans.

W. I. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va.—I inclose a second list of single tax men, nine in number. I sent a list of twenty-four last week. I will send more next week. We single tax men are just beginning to reap the harvest. We held a single tax free trade meeting on Tuesday, Aug. 28, and had a full house. The democrats were delighted. Two out of the three speakers had been republicans. The democrats see we can be of great help to them.

R. Frank Smith, Rochester, N. Y.—Allow me to add my name to the list of those who believe in the single tax, and who will support Cleveland and Thurman. At the last presidential election I voted for Blaine. When the discussion as to the policy of single tax men was going on I was inclined to a separate organization with a single tax platform; but time and events have made apparent the sagacity and wisdom of the course you have taken. I thank you for giving us the best paper of the period.

Mark Parish, Albany.—THE STANDARD has been a beacon of hope to me ever since I accidentally came upon it in a news room while getting a copy of the New York Weekly. I bought all of the back numbers, and have taken it each week since. Long life to THE STANDARD and to its editor. Time was when I would have voted for a wooden Indian if nominated on a protection platform, but now no party can have my vote which favors the pickpocket tariff system. As to state politics, I am against Hill for vetoing the secret ballot bill.

L. L. Dean, Chicago.—I have always trained with the republicans and voted that way excepting when machine nominations deserved to be kicked. Blaine was my man in 1884. I am now unreservedly for Cleveland and Thurman, on the way to free trade, free production, free land and a real republic based on protected ballots and free from compulsory ignorance and undeserved poverty—a country open and hospitable to the down trodden and oppressed of all nations, envious of none, contemptuous toward none, but offering a home and a livelihood to every pair of good hands that will come in to share heaven's bounty with us.

J. V. Danner, Taneytown, Md.—Since Mr. Lincoln's first nomination for the presidency I have voted the republican ticket, though I have always favored direct taxation as opposed to tariffs, whether for "protection to American workmen" or a tax on commodities through the internal revenue system. I have been reading THE STANDARD since the first number issued in January, 1887, and, of course, I am in favor of absolute free trade and a single tax levied on land values. I shall vote for Mr. Cleveland.

Edw. C. Alphonse, East Orange, N. J.—I voted in 1884 for General Butler, as a protest against the old parties. I will vote this year for Grover Cleveland because I am a single tax man. Of those who voted the united labor ticket in this country in 1887, a majority I think will support Cleveland. Protection is gaining because of little opposition, most democrats declaring themselves protectionists—opposed to a surplus. The tariff discussion is helpful to the single tax idea. If I were a voter in New York I would oppose Hill.

David B. Hutton, South Brooklyn.—I have been nine years in this country and since I became a naturalized citizen have always voted the republican ticket. Having a leaning toward the doctrine of free trade I thought it best to get the views of the other side and to that end subscribed to the New York Press. The experiment was a decided success inside of three weeks, as I could easily discern glaring inaccuracies, if not deliberate falsehoods, in the protectionist claims. So I read "Protection or Free Trade" and THE STANDARD, and it was but a short step to the single tax idea. I subscribe my name as a single tax voter who will cast his ballot for Cleveland and Thurman.

Geo. E. Jordan, Boston, Mass.—All single tax, free traders, knights of labor, trades unionists, and all true labor reformers, should unite their interests, work earnestly and vote solidly against protection, and for Cleveland and Thurman; not on account of the loyalty they bear the party or its candidates, or because we can thereby at once get all we want, but because they advocate greater commercial freedom, and that is a step toward the great reform. It makes but little difference whether they are known as free traders, tariff reformers or democrats—it is enough that they are going our way, and once started in that direction they will stop at nothing short of absolute free trade. Tariff reform is but the entering wedge that will eventually overthrow the whole bedeviled system of legalized robbery, mis-called protection, and open the way to industrial freedom, which will surely come after the establishment of the only common sense method of taxation, a single tax on land values.

Montague R. Levenson, Burlington, Vt.—Our movement in dyed-in-the-wool restrictionist Vermont is progressing well, but has one drawback—the cowardice of the democrats. We have had discussions in Rutland which it has been admitted made votes, and still the democratic leaders are for the most part both ignorant and afraid. Mr. Brown, a master workman Knight of Labor, residence Rutland, has done and is doing splendidly, and could do better if the democratic leaders would let him. The vital question of the single tax is going deep down to the roots even here. A proper propaganda by such men as Mr. Brown for the next four years, and a little common sense and honesty on the part of the democrats, and this state can be made democratic in 1892. This is not my opinion alone, but that of scores of well posted men of the state. I intend to be in New York in time to register and vote, though at no small sacrifice.

None So Blind as Those Who Won't See.

READING, Pa.—If the speech of the plucky and irrepressible B. F. Butler, recently delivered at Boston, has been correctly reported, the "Magnetic man of Maine" is not the only protectionist statesman who is prone to never give his mouth to put his foot into it. Mr. Butler affirms that free trade would be theoretically correct if all nations were on the same footing. Now, is it not the fact that it is just because no nation is precisely on the same footing with any other nation that commerce is so necessary and important? If all nations were on the same footing—that is to say, if all nations enjoyed precisely the same facilities of production for everything that its people might want—if wages were the same, the efficiency of labor the same, soil, climate, ratio of population to area all the same, and all things else equal, would there be any need whatever of commerce between the nations? Would not commerce be unprofitable? If commerce, then, is important because of the unequal footing of nations with respect to each other, why place restrictions upon it? Butler should open both eyes when he makes a speech, for he would thus be enabled to see the truth more clearly and the phantoms that trouble his vision would likely disappear. He would then probably revise that speech and talk sense.

S. R. RITTENHOUSE, M.D.

THOSE DEBATES.

The following correspondence between the New York free trade club and the American protective tariff league explains itself:

NEW YORK FREE TRADE CLUB.

Secretary of the American protective tariff league—DEAR SIR: When this club last held a joint debate with your organization, early in the summer of 1887, it was agreed between us that it would be useful to the discussions to hold further debates as might appear feasible. As the political situation is now so very favorable, we beg to suggest that it would be eminently desirable for us to arrange for a debate between such speakers as would make a very prominent event.

Mr. Henry George has consented to represent this club against an antagonist of equal reputation, and both he and ourselves would prefer that he should meet Mr. Robert G. Ingersoll on your part. It would undoubtedly be necessary to sell tickets of admission, say at 25 cents each; and we would be willing either to divide the tickets and expenses with you, or to assume all the expenses and allow you to purchase as many tickets as you might choose up to one-half the entire number. Any financial arrangement upon such a basis will be satisfactory to us.

Please reply at an early date and oblige.

EDWARD P. DOTTE, Secretary.

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE.

NEW YORK, Sept. 7, 1888.

E. J. Shriver, esq., Secretary Metal Exchange, New York—DEAR SIR: Colonel R. G. Ingersoll is unable, under his professional engagements, to meet Mr. Henry George in the joint debate you propose in your letter of the 24th inst.

We are authorized to state that Judge F. O. Willey, at 145 East Fifteenth street, is willing to meet Mr. Henry George in joint debate. You can address him at the place indicated. Very truly yours,

EDW. H. ARMIDOWN, President.

NEW YORK, Sept. 8, 1888.

E. H. Armidown, President American Protective Tariff League: Your favor of the 7th inst., responding to a challenge for a joint debate, issued by the Free trade club to your league, under date of Aug. 10 (to which we again called your attention by my letter of the 24th), is at hand.

Our challenge distinctly stated that Mr. George would meet "an antagonist of equal reputation;" and while Judge F. O. Willey is, I imagine, to the general public, a name of national reputation, as Mr. George is, to meet any one except an opponent of equal prominence. If Colonel Ingersoll cannot represent you, we would suggest that among Messrs. McKinley, Butterworth, Blaine, Reed, Kelley, Kasson, Randall, etc., you may be able to find such a representative as could be considered a suitable antagonist for Mr. George.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER, Chairman General Committee New York Free Trade Club.

The republican orators who are aware of the great ability of Henry George as a public speaker are extremely shy of meeting him on the stump.—Philadelphia Record.

Henry George is anxious, it is said, to meet Mr. Blaine on the platform in a joint discussion of the tariff question. People who have read both Mr. George's "Protection or Free Trade" and Mr. Blaine's speeches on the tariff will advise the latter to decline—unless, of course, they take a vicious delight in exhibitions of sickening crudity.—Chicago Herald.

Henry George has sent a challenge to James G. Blaine to debate the tariff question. Blaine will hardly accept, for there is no man in the United States that understands and is better able to handle the subject than George.—Mexico, Tex., Ledger.

Henry George has challenged James G. Blaine and Bob Ingersoll to meet him in oral debate, side by side on the platform, to discuss the respective merits of protection and free trade; but his challenges have not yet been accepted. Mr. George being the greatest political economist of this century, with the possible exception of Herbert Spencer, Mr. Blaine should feel highly honored by this challenge to cross swords with the author of "Progress and Poverty," for the defeat at the hands of such an eminent adversary would be no disgrace to the "uncrowned king" of the Pine Tree state. Bob Ingersoll, another orthodox apostle of republican Christianity, has also been challenged by Henry George to meet him on the same platform in joint discussion of the tariff question; and although the redoubtable Bob has, on many previous occasions, in the unquenchable fire of his matchless eloquence, challenged God or the devil to meet him half way, he has not yet accepted Henry George's challenge.—Alpena, Mich., Labor Journal.

In reply to a challenge of the Henry George club of Philadelphia to meet Henry George in debate, Ex-Governor Henry M. Hoyt, general secretary of the American protective tariff league, says among other things:

I should be very glad to give to the Henry George club of Philadelphia the reasons for protection which I think are valid. My present engagements will prevent my doing so now, in a joint debate with Henry George or any other defender of free trade.

The present campaign is being carried on under an issue between protection and "revenue reform." I have no doubt that it means an ultimate issue between protection and absolutely free foreign trade. I infer from the printed extracts of Mr. George's opinions, which you were good enough to inclose, that "the substitution of a revenue for a protective tariff is a ridiculously inefficient application of free trade." The debate with Mr. George would not, therefore, be upon the question now before the American people, and its immediate efficiency as an educational aid is not quite apparent.

Mr. Blaine declines to meet Henry George in Philadelphia for the purpose of debating the tariff question. The committee has accordingly challenged ex-Governor Hoyt. Has he the courage to accept the challenge? Is there no Pennsylvania protectionist who will meet a Pennsylvania free trader in debate?—Philadelphia Justice.

As ex-Governor Hoyt has declined to debate the abstract question of protection or free trade with Henry George, the latter will speak for himself, under the auspices of the Philadelphia club which bears his name, in the Academy of Music, on Saturday night. While there has been some disappointment over the failure to bring the two opponents champions together, it is gratifying to think that Henry George is himself capable of entertaining and instructing an audience upon any subject which he may undertake to discuss.—Philadelphia Record.

TOM REED'S LEAD MINE.

It is a mistake to suppose that people in country places are not thinking intelligently of the tariff question. The keenness with which they dissect even more intricate problems is at times surprising. It is significant, too, that almost invariably they discuss the question as a definite issue between protection and free trade and upon broad principles, paying but slight attention to the details of mere tariff reform.

A few days ago in the early evening a group was gathered on the porch of a village store not more than a hundred miles from New York. The conversation had rapidly drifted from local affairs to the tariff question. The ex-postmaster was of the party—a strong protectionist through whose curious facts and unique logic of the New York Press are regularly filtered for the benefit of his neighbors.

"Well," said he, "I can't for the life of me see what good free trade is going to do."

"And for the life of me," said the village carpenter, "I can't see what good protection has done or can do."

This opened the vials of the ex-postmaster's eloquence. He showed how much higher wages are here than in England, and was turned from that point by somebody's remark that they always have been, and that wages in the protected countries of Europe are lower than they are in England. He then dwelt upon the growth of the west, but it occurred to somebody else that the west was better protected before the war by lack of transportation facilities than it is now. Then he insisted that there must be a protective tariff or wages would fall, to which a farmer remarked that he didn't see why farmers should pay higher prices to let other people get better wages, and the ex-postmaster replied that protection reduced prices.

"Then," asked the shoemaker, "how does protection keep up wages?"

"By making more work at home," said the ex-postmaster.

"How does protection make more work at home?" the carpenter inquired.

"Why, that," said the ex-postmaster, "is plain enough. Whenever we import things into this country there is so much less work to do here. If we made these things at home instead of importing them our people would find employment in making them; but when they are imported that work is done by foreigners. Now, if we put a high tariff on imports we keep all this work at home to be done by our own workmen. Don't you see?"

The carpenter did not see. He thought that foreigners wouldn't send things to us unless we sent things back to them, and that the things we sent back would have to be produced by our workmen.

"That's all true," the ex-postmaster went on, "our workmen would have work to do in making the things that we exported in exchange for our imports, but if we didn't import there would be twice as much work to do at home."

The carpenter's eyes bulged as he asked, "Why?"

"Why?" the ex-postmaster repeated in a tone of surprise. "Why? Why, because our workmen would then make what we import, as well as what we don't, and wouldn't that be a good deal more than they would have a chance to make if we imported?"

The ex-postmaster looked around the group. Everybody's eyes but the carpenter's were on the ground, and his was so expressive of doubt that the ex-postmaster exclaimed:

"Why, man alive, it's plain, simple arithmetic. Look here—just give me your big pencil a minute. Taking the floor of the stoop for a blackboard he went on: "Now let us suppose that five American workmen," and he put down a figure 5, "produce five tons of iron each, putting down another 5 after a multiplication sign; that equals twenty-five," and he wrote 25 after the equality mark, so that the figures looked like this:

535—25
The carpenter scanned the figures and quietly said, "Yes."

"Very good," said the ex-postmaster. "Then five American workmen have been employed and the country is twenty-five tons of iron richer than it was before."

"Yes," said the carpenter.

"All right, now suppose that five men," and he wrote another 5—"working in a foreign country produce one ton of lead each"—and he wrote 1 after a multiplication sign—"that equals five; and we'll mark this first line 'American iron' and the second 'foreign lead' so," and he pointed at the figures:

535—25 American iron.
51—5 foreign lead.

"Yes," said the carpenter.

"Now suppose we import that lead and export the iron to pay for it."

"Yes," said the carpenter.

"Good. Now ain't it true as the result of that transaction that we have given work to only five men and that the foreign country has given work to five men?"

"Yes," said the carpenter; and one of the farmers expressed the opinion that the ex-postmaster was "mighty great at figures."

"All right," continued the ex-postmaster. "Now comes in the protective tariff. Suppose we put a tariff on lead so high that it'll be cheaper for us to work that lead mine of Tom Reed's over beyond the hill there than to import lead; won't we be able to give work to five men making lead instead of having that lead made abroad?"

"Yes," said the carpenter.

"And can't we exchange that American lead at home for the American iron, and so keep our home market for our own labor?"

"Yes," said the carpenter.

"And won't we then be making work for ten men—five in iron and five in lead—instead of having work for only five?"

"No," said the carpenter.

"What?" exclaimed the ex-postmaster; and the others in the group raised their eyes inquiringly to the carpenter. "What! Ain't the figures all right? Don't five and five make ten?"

"Yes," the carpenter replied, reaching for his pencil, "five and five make ten, but you are altogether too economical with your figures. Just let me figure a little. Your five American workmen make twenty-five tons of iron, you say?"

"That's what I said."

"And as the result of that the country is twenty-five tons of iron richer, and five American workmen have had that work?"

"Precisely the way I put it."

"And the iron is sent abroad in exchange for five tons of foreign lead?"

"Exactly."

"How much richer is the country then?"

"Twenty-five tons of iron and five tons of lead."

"No it isn't. You can't have your cake and eat it too. The country is just five tons of lead richer, and no more. The iron has been exported."

"Well, yes, that's so," said the ex-postmaster, with a little hesitation.

"All right," resumed the carpenter; "now then, let me put a little addition to your first line of figures, so—" and the ex-postmaster's figures were made to look like this:

535—25 American iron—5 foreign lead.
That's correct, ain't it?" he asked, looking up at the ex-postmaster.

"Seems to be," was the reply.

"Very good; now for your next point. Suppose a tariff is put on foreign lead so that we can work Tom Reed's good-for-nothing lead mine cheaper than we can import lead. To begin with, that would be a mighty good thing for Tom Reed—"

"Sure!" interrupted a farmer, who had till then said nothing.

"But never mind that," the carpenter was saying, when the farmer again interrupted with—

"But I do not mind it, though, for I don't see no reason why I should have to pay high prices for lead so as to make Tom Reed rich."

"Well, never mind it for the present," said the carpenter as he placed his hand gently on the farmer's shoulder. "Never mind Tom Reed for the present. Let us see about this home market business. We'll suppose that the protective tariff on lead was so high that Tom Reed's mine could be worked profitably; and we'll suppose that five American workmen would get out five tons of lead for Tom Reed while five other American workmen were getting out twenty-five tons of iron for some iron mine owner. Then the figures on the stoop here would read like this—"

535—25 American iron.
51—5 American lead.

So that now the country is richer by twenty-five tons of iron and five tons of lead."

"Why, that's it, exactly," broke in the ex-postmaster. "Don't you see, boys? When you export your iron and import your lead, there's less wealth and less work than when you keep your home market to yourselves, making your own iron and your own lead."

A puzzled expression passed over the faces of some of the men, but the carpenter soon dispelled it.

"Of course," he said, "according to your illustration, there's less wealth, but that's because there's less work; and that's where the fallacy of this home market business comes in. We can have, in fact, just as much wealth and just as much work by importing our lead as we can by putting a tariff on it for the benefit of old Tom Reed. See here," again taking his pencil, "here's these ten men wanting to work; your protective tariff leaves five in an iron mine and puts the other five in old Tom Reed's lead mine. Let's put 'em all in the iron mine,"—and he put down a figure 10—"then they'll turn out fifty tons of iron;"—and he put down 50—"then we'll trade half of that for five tons of foreign lead; that'll leave us twenty-five tons of iron,"—and he wrote it down—"plus five tons of lead,"—and he wrote that down. "See?" he asked, as he returned the pencil to his pocket and pointed at the figures, which read:

1035—50 iron—25 iron x 5 lead
Now, don't you understand," he went on, addressing the group, "that by exporting iron for lead, we get just as much wealth into the country and give employment to just as many men as when we make our own lead as well as our own iron. This home market talk is infernal nonsense. It's worse than nonsense. It's a fraud. Here I've taken it for granted that we could trade iron for lead with Tom Reed, if he was protected, on the same terms that we can with foreigners. But we couldn't. Tom Reed wouldn't give the lead produced in a given time by five men for the iron produced in the same time by five other men. He would charge more for it. And what would he do with the difference? Would he give it to the men? Well, you know Tom Reed as well as I do."

LEWIS FREELAND.

Democrats Who Mean Business.

The following note issued by the executive committee of the democratic club of Middleport, N. Y., speaks for itself:

After the nomination of the democratic ticket and the promulgation of the democratic platform, the democratic club of Middleport, N. Y., approving both the nomination and the platform, for the purpose of securing the election of Cleveland and Thurman by the use of all legitimate and honorable means, organized themselves into a democratic club, and believing that every man should vote according to the dictates of his conscience, enlightened by a full and complete understanding of the principles at issue between the republican and democratic parties, invited the republican club to a joint discussion, and published the following challenge:

"The Middleport democratic club hereby challenge the republican club of this place to meet in joint discussion of the political issues of the presidential campaign. First discussion of the series to be held at the village school house on Saturday evening, Sept. 1, at 8 p. m. Home talent only to be the speakers. The public are cordially invited."

"By order of democratic executive committee."

The meeting was held according to advertisement and the republicans failed to put in an appearance. The democratic club reiterates this challenge, and if the republicans of the Middleport club deem themselves incompetent to defend the principles of their party before a discriminating public, and believe that others may be able to do so, they are allowed to import such foreign talent as they choose.

Discussion to be held in the village school house on Tuesday evening, Sept. 11, at 8 p. m. The public are invited.

By order of democratic executive committee.

I

AN ENGLISH DEMOCRAT.

An interview with William Saunders of London—He Passes Through New York on his Way to Visit Mexico. The situation in Mexico—Progress of the Cause of Equal Rights—The Trafalgar Square Gatherings—The Liberal Party Becoming More Radical—The Question of Protection.

One of the passengers on the North German Lloyd steamship Eider, which arrived on Tuesday morning was William Saunders, editor of the London Democrat, who represented East Hull in the last parliament, and is the liberal and radical candidate for the Waltham division, London, in the coming election.

To a reporter of THE STANDARD who called on him, Mr. Saunders stated that he was on his way to Mexico, partly for health and partly to have a look at the country.

"Mexico," he said, "is a field for immigration and investment is attracting a good deal of attention in England. Considerable money is being invested in Mexican railway and mining stocks."

"How long do you expect to remain over here?"

"I shall stay in Mexico for six weeks or so, returning to New York in the latter part of October. During my stay I hope to ascertain something about the condition of the Mexican people, and the nature and effects of the land laws of that country."

"Can you tell us something about affairs in England? What about that Trafalgar square trouble in which you have been so prominent an actor?"

"In November of last year the English land restoration league held a meeting in Trafalgar square and announced their intention of holding another meeting a few days later. The next day Sir Charles Warren, chief commissioner of police, issued a proclamation prohibiting meetings in the square. The land restoration league felt that this proclamation was unlawful and directed against them, and they announced that they would hold the meeting as proposed and gave Sir Charles notice of their intention. The moment I appeared on the scene for the purpose of holding the meeting I was arrested and taken before a magistrate. A hearing was appointed, but in the meantime the government discovered that they had been acting illegally and declined to prosecute. We have since tried to bring the matter to a legal issue, but every attempt of that kind has been evaded by the government, and although they continue to prohibit meetings and prevent them by force, they carefully avoid any appeal to the law."

"Have they tried to punish anybody?"

"People have been arrested, but only when they have been charged with assault. Peaceable citizens, however, have been driven from the square. Mr. Cunningham Graham, M. P., and Mr. Conynbar, M. P., have been repeatedly driven out of the square. We are sometimes driven out with great violence for assembling, as we believe we have a perfect right to do. The government thus punishes and prevent a lawful act without allowing us to test their right to do so."

"Is our league here attracting much attention in England?"

"It excites a good deal of attention, that attention being directed to the tariff and the fisheries questions. With regard to the tariff, a large proportion of our manufacturers are exceedingly anxious that you should not reduce your tariff, as doing so would put the American manufacturers in a position to compete with England in other parts of the world. I am personally very much interested in the tariff question in this country. I attended the single tax free trade meeting at Cooper union on Tuesday evening. The speaker there reminded me of the agitation of Cobden and Bright in England fifty years ago, except that you single tax men are going to the heart of the whole matter. And I am amused to see that you have individuals coming forward here exactly like the fisherman of Yarmouth, who declared to Sir Robert Peel that he was a free trader in everything except 'bloaters.'"

"What is the feeling in regard to protection over there now?"

"With us the question is not now one of theory, but of fact. We have had during the present century forty-seven years of protection and forty years of free trade. The result is that even with agricultural laborers the advance in wages has been at least equal to the diminution in the price of bread. One truth, however, is that we have stopped at a revenue tariff, and have not carried the principle of freedom to the point of breaking down the interference with production occasioned by our land system, which puts a tax of 300 per cent, for instance, upon such an industry as house building. I will explain what I mean by that. If a workman in London gets one shilling for rent, two shillings to a wealthy landlord (ground landlord we call him there in contradistinction to the house owner), one shilling goes for rates and taxes and one shilling to the man that built or owns the house. Thus, you see, the house builder has to pay over to the land owner twice as much as he keeps for himself; in other words he is taxed 200 per cent."

"How is the cause of equal rights in land progressing in England?"

"Steadily and rapidly, though quietly. A vast deal of attention is being directed to the land question. It is seen that that is the question which is at the root of the Irish difficulty, and Englishmen are beginning to see that the same question appertains to England also. The plan introduced by Dillon of resisting the unjust rents which the government seek to collect for the Irish landlords, by the aid of an army of 30,000 men maintained at the expense of Englishmen, has excited very great interest."

"How about the liberal party; are they becoming more radical?"

"The liberal party leaders are now considering the advisability of adding to their programme those practical reforms which are necessary to interest the workmen, such as the taxation of ground rents, which has already been advocated by Mr. Gladstone and John Morley."

"Then the people are taking more interest in these questions?"

"Yes. Just now the whole country is in a state of agitation. In Scotland the deer rights, in Wales the title war, in London the right of public meeting, and in Ireland the resistance of rack renting, are exciting the people to a degree unknown in modern times."

Harlem Free Traders.

The Thirtieth congressional district section of the New York free trade club is getting in good work in Harlem. By holding a public meeting every Thursday evening at its rooms, at 61 East 125th street, it has even this evening in the light made not a few converts who will become supporters of Cleveland and Thurman. Mr. A. J. Steers made the address of the evening last Thursday.

The Ohio Conference.

Special hotel rates have been secured for all delegates and visitors to the Ohio conference to be held on Sept. 17. Call on W. W. Kile, 38 E. Fifth street and get card, to secure rates.

NOTES FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

Edward B. Haskell, Nickel Plate, Ohio.—You do my soul good by your keen, fearless, convincing free trade arguments. Keep it up.

O. J. Kallstedt, Owatonna, Minn.—About three months back I think I was the only free trader in this town, and I know I was the only single tax man, but to-day the town is full of free traders; that is, they prefer free trade to the present high tariff, and quite a number are interested in the single tax idea.

J. C. DeForest, Secretary Land and Labor Club, Bradford, Pa.—There is a democratic club here of nearly six hundred members, yet it is conceded that the single tax men have done more to make Cleveland voters than all the democrats combined. I tell them I am not a democrat, but propose to support Cleveland because he is going my way. Our club meets every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock at Hevenor's hall, corner of Main and Chestnut streets.

Charles A. Wagner, Philadelphia, Pa.—I take it that the satisfaction you derive from the consciousness that you are doing right in so earnestly fighting all manner of impost but little greater than that found in words of kindly cheer and commendation and avowals of devotion to the cause from those who have been brought to see the light and have thereby been persuaded to enlist in the fight against error and wrong. I have read "Progress and Poverty," "The Land Question," and THE STANDARD regularly for the last ten months, and the result is most easily told by saying that I am heart and soul a single tax man; that I believe a tax on so-called land value is the only way in which the equal rights of God's creatures to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can be recognized.

Gerald E. Flanagan, Pittsburg, Pa.—The reference to trusts which Mr. Blaine made in the speech in which he said that he would not "venture to declare that trusts are altogether advantageous or disadvantageous, but that they are largely private affairs with which neither President Cleveland nor any other private citizen has any particular right to interfere," seems to furnish another instance tending to prove that a man's real opinions will sometimes break through any disguise.

Mr. Blaine's real sentiments have always been on the side of trusts and monopolies, and in an unguarded moment he has inadvertently let fall the cloak of philanthropy and love for the workman with which he was wont to hide them.

F. P. Morrow, Seattle, Wash. Ter.—I wish to add my corroboration to Mr. McCabe's statements in his article "Where are those acres?" which appeared in THE STANDARD. You do not want to turn your faces westward unless you have trusted friends here or trusted friends in your pocket book. I have traveled over this western country for the last four years looking for land to be had for the taking within a reasonable distance of humanity, but have been unable to run across any; and I have traveled through nearly every state and territory this side of the Mississippi; but I have been able only to find thousands of men on their way from the coast to Helena, Montana, "beating their way," looking for a job on some prospective railroad line; and men from Montana going to the coast looking for a job. The same can be said along the line of the Southern and Central Pacific roads, also the Atlantic and North Pacific, the Atchafalaya, the Snake and the Pacific. In fact, one has got to go no further than Seattle to find hundreds of men out of employment, and hundreds of acres of land, yet thousands, that labor is denied access to.

There are quite a number of protected workmen in this city who have had their faith shattered by single-tax-free trade arguments. They have begun to see the world anew.

L. Lente, Memphis, Tenn.—As time passes it becomes more and more evident that Henry George and the glorious cause he represents is slowly but surely gaining the respect of the people of the country. From all directions—north, south, east and west, do we hear the man spoken of in the most complimentary and respectful terms, whereas less than a year ago the most opprobrious epithets were none to severe to apply to him. A year ago, for instance, the Memphis Appeal, one of the most able and influential papers in the south, stigmatized him as a "communist," a "wild theorist," an "illogical thinker." In its issue of Aug. 24, however, appeared an editorial in reply to the Nashville American, which accused George with being a communist. The reply ran in this manner: "Mr. George received the support of between 60,000 and 70,000 voters in New York city as a candidate for mayor, and is held in deserved esteem by the foremost scientists, publicists and political economists of Europe as well as America. He cannot, therefore, be labeled 'communist,' and whistled down the wind." And thus the cause progresses. God bless it.

Thomas Howie, Vinita, Cherokee Nation.—Just now I am very busy getting up my hay, and can hardly find time to read THE STANDARD, unless at night. Whenever I have an opportunity I work for the single tax cause.

—Sent paper to Frank to Colorado yesterday for signatures to be forwarded back to you from Eagle and Garfield counties. Rest assured, I am with you body and soul. While I am writing I will suggest a cartoon, viz., a tree, the trunk or body to represent Jim Blaine, Pig Iron Kelley and Sam Randall. The fruit of the trees should represent republicanism and various absurdities connected with protectionism. In the background there should be a custom house, and some lean, old farmers and broken down horses plowing, and some starved women and children and a few skeletons. I need not dwell further on the picture or explain what it means, unless the following lines are placed underneath it:

How does Java's upus tree
Sprout poison far and near;
Of all the deadliest trees on earth,
The deadliest one is here.

About the International Democratic Federation.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 7.—Referring to the call (printed in THE STANDARD of September 8) for a constitutional convention to organize the international democratic federation, I beg, as acting "proxy clerk," to announce the following results of the voting down to date: Henry George named as proxy, with Louis F. Post and Thomas G. Shearman as alternate; Chas. Fred Adams, proxy; Paul T. Bowen, alternate. Mr. George, however, is not a candidate. The others have not declared themselves. Every believer in the principles laid down in the call is invited to send me at once his designation of a proxy (and alternates), and every one willing to attend the convention as proxy (in Washington, on the first Monday of May, 1889) to let me have his name, address and personal programme both as to the constitution of the federation and as to its policy and methods.

There will be room and occasion for the attendance of many proxies, and I therefore venture to present myself as a candidate for the honor and privilege of representing all who may approve of my "platform" and see fit to empower me to speak and vote for them in the sessions of the convention. I shall take pleasure in communicating my views as to both organization and policy to such intending members as shall request it.

CHAS. FRED ADAMS.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Henry George is all right, and democrats are glad to have his co-operation.—[Utica Observer.]

The protected manufacturers want to be "fostered," but not James P. Fostered.—[Chicago Herald.]

The order of the Knights of Labor will continue to agitate for federal ownership, and are determined to make government telegraphy one of the burning questions of the day.—[Journal of United Labor.]

The tariff tax represents nothing except the arbitrary power of a government to take money from the pockets of its citizens to go into the pockets of the favored classes who own manufacturing and mines.—[St. Paul, Minn., Globe.]

A protective tariff which allows Mr. Carnegie to make \$1,500,000 a year profit, while paying his laborers starvation wages, is wrong, and no amount of special pleading by the republicans can make it right.—[West St. Paul, Minn., Times.]

Labor, like merchandise, always seeks the best market. When the time comes that the laborer cannot obtain better net results in this country than in the old world, then immigration to this country will almost entirely cease.—[Trenton Times (Rep).]

The coal trust has just had another meeting at New York. It was "largely a private affair," but if any one is curious regarding it he can obtain a knowledge of the business transacted by calling at any of the coal offices in its vicinity.—[Chicago Herald.]

It seems that the teachings of Henry George are slowly but surely taking root in different sections of the country and that the Knights of Labor have been reading the theories of the most original reformer of his time.—[Rock Springs, Wyo., Independent.]

Although we may not adopt all Henry George's theories, his discussions of the tariff question, in favor of free trade, are the most lucid and clear exposition of the whole subject to be found anywhere. All who wish to be instructed and posted on these much discussed and little understood questions, should read George's paper THE STANDARD.—[Hayre de Grace, Md., Republican.]

Henry George, both in his paper and on the stump, is doing good work for the democratic ticket and cause. The republicans assume to scoff at the support which he gives Cleveland; but a man who can get sixty thousand votes for mayor of New York is a good man to have on the right side in a political campaign.—[Salt Lake Herald.]

The protectionist papers of to-day, finding that the cry of free trade has lost its power, now howl for restriction of immigration as a bait for labor votes. The remedy does not lie in further restriction, but in freedom. Throw open the natural resources of the country to labor. Tax land speculation out of existence, and once again all emigrants will be welcomed.—[Philadelphia Justice.]

To reduce the tariff—thereby reducing the prices of goods to all the people—will cause a reduction, not of wages, nor of interest, but of rent. And only those rents will be reduced which are now, by artificial combinations and trusts, fixed at monopoly price to the detriment of the people.—[Chicago Herald.]

The single tax meeting at Cooper union, New York, last week was a decided success, and thousands were unable to gain admittance owing to the jam. Those politicians who have shouted that the George movement is a better thing than their lying agents, say it will not work. Every workman should read the speech of William Lloyd Garrison, delivered at the meeting, which we print in this issue.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

We are now sending thousands and thousands of dollars every year to Mr. Farnell and his colleagues to aid them in fighting what we believe to be the good fight, against the tyrannical land laws of England, and yet here in our own state we have the same laws, capable of producing the same results as do the laws in Ireland. The only difference between the two cases is that there are fewer large estates in the hands of agents; but this is a distinction which is fast disappearing.—[Detroit Journal.]

Should industry be made the special target of the tax collector? By all means, let raw lands be taxed as high as improved lands. Does it not seem to the man of average intelligence that it is a shame to heavily tax the poor man who has his hard-earned money, and what we believe to be the good fight, against the tyrannical land laws of England, and yet here in our own state we have the same laws, capable of producing the same results as do the laws in Ireland. The only difference between the two cases is that there are fewer large estates in the hands of agents; but this is a distinction which is fast disappearing.—[Detroit Journal.]

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Boarders and Shacks.
ALBANY, N. Y.—In your last issue, Aug. 25, answering "Theta," you say: "When the tax falls on the value of the land (the owner) can not increase his prices, which I think is somewhat erroneously stated, viz: If the fair rental value of the land under the boarding house was, as 'Theta' says, \$500, as against other land which could be got for a song, it is because the former land is better located than the latter; and as the boarders are sharing in the benefit of the location, why should they not contribute to the tax? Don't you believe they will have to?"

(3) I would like to know what will prevent a land shark from fencing in plenty of land where it has little or no value, as in an unsettled place; and as one bidder will not count as a market value, and consequently the tax will not be raised, he, the shark, will demand high prices from the first comer!

M. W. NORWALK.
 (1) If the rental value of the land under a boarding house were \$500 while other land could be bought for a song, it would be on account of the advantage of location, and for that advantage the boarders would have to pay and ought to pay. But the owner could not charge them any more than the value of that advantage if he were taxed according to its value. In other words, the boarders would pay the value of the advantage to the owner, and whether their payments enriched the owner or the community would depend entirely upon whether or not the community taxed the owner for his advantage as he taxed the boarders for theirs.

(2) Nothing would prevent him from fencing in valueless land and keeping it idle. If he did there would be that much less valueless land in that neighborhood, which would make land there take on a value sooner than it otherwise would. Meantime, if he wanted to sell or rent, nobody would buy or lease because other land as good could be had for nothing; but when other land as good could not be had for nothing he would be able to sell or rent, and then the tax would fall upon him, because his land would have value. The first corner of whom the sharp should demand a price would simply go upon other land. He would be able to get it without paying anything, for if it had a value the shark's would have a value also. Such speculation wouldn't pay, and though everybody would be free to play land shark in that way nobody would want to repeat the performance.

An Oversight.
 BURLINGTON, VT.—Whoever answered the letter on page 3 of the issue of THE STANDARD of Aug. 25, headed "Can We Force English Workmen to Earn More?" and signed "T. W. Greene," needs a little deeper study of political economy than he seems to have given to it.

He says: "If England could produce everything cheaper than we could and should produce everything cheaper than we, the effect would be just what protectionists seek to accomplish, viz: a complete cessation of commercial intercourse between us and the rest of the world." It would be no such thing. Foreign commerce would proceed as much as before. We should export those commodities in the production whereof we had a relative advantage over the production of others and should import those in which England's relative advantage was greatest.

The perception of this truth made an absolute free trader of me long before I was enlightened by "Progress and Poverty." Its non-recognition is a dangerous error which may lead to any amount of backsliding.

MONTAGUE R. LEVENSON.

You did not read the whole of the answer you criticize, or you would have seen that the criticism was anticipated in the answer itself, in these words: "Of course such a condition of things [the condition supposed in the statement you criticize] would be impossible. Both countries would learn that England can produce some things to better advantage than we can, and that we can produce other things to better advantage than she can; and an exchange of these things would take place which would be beneficial to both countries."

LORIS F. POST.

The Drawback Law.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 31.—Can you enlighten me on the law relating to drawbacks? Mr. McKimley is reported to have said, in a speech delivered in Georgia recently, that "sections 3,019, 3,020, 3,021 and 3,022 of the United States statutes provide for the remission of duties on all foreign materials used in manufacturing for the export trade. The law is positive that all articles manufactured for export from imported materials, upon which duties have been paid, shall, when exported, be entitled to a drawback of ninety per cent of the duties paid on such raw material." If there is such a law, what has prevented our manufacturers from availing themselves of it to increase our export trade? An answer to this would greatly oblige me.

G. W. Sheldon & Co., a large shipping house of this city, in their "Pocket Tariff" say: "When articles made wholly of imported materials (also some partially made of imported materials) are exported from the United States, a refund of duties, less ten per cent, is allowed, under such regulations as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe. The articles of chief interest to western importers and exporters are: 1. Tin cans, made of imported tin plates and solder, exported filled with meats, fruits, etc. 2. Flour sacks, made of imported burlaps, exported filled with flour. 3. Imported salt used in curing meats for export.

"We have perfected arrangements for the collection of drawback at the minimum of expense. That minimum is attained when the volume of business is largest in a single channel, for the reason that most of the customs fees are arbitrary, and therefore as much on small as on large shipments. . . . We are devoting much time to it, and we have accumulated all the official information attainable on the subject."

Of course, almost without exception, articles made here have more or less American material in them, and it would be an impossibility to prove how much or how little foreign material they contained; hence, as this business firm says, salt, sacks and tin cans, are the principal articles, as far as the whole western part of the country is concerned, on which a drawback is worth collecting. It is doubtful whether the east is any more interested. Further, small exporters are handicapped

by the trouble and expense of collecting drawbacks, and the only concern who take advantage of the law are the very large houses or companies, such as the Standard Oil people, who collect a drawback on tin cans. Messrs. Gordon & Dilworth, leading manufacturers of canned goods, preserves, etc., say that they find it more trouble than it is worth to collect the drawback on the cans they export. The fact that the item of money paid out in drawbacks does not make much showing in the reports of the national finances is a proof that the drawback law is a nullity as far as the mass of the manufacturers are concerned. **W. B. S.**

A Boy's Hope.
 I wish all of the children could know, as one little boy seems to, how the rough old world, so hard for many, is rolling out of darkness into light. It is a childish trust he places in Henry George, but not altogether misplaced, it seems to me.

How he jumped up and down shouting "goodly! goodly! goodly!" when he caught the idea that Georgeism, which he had vainly wished to understand, meant that those who work should get the results of their labor, and that not the idle but the industrious are to be the rich people of the future.

He leaves the working out of the idea to his elders while he hob-nobs with other little boys in colored sand sales, turning pole tricks, hazel nutting and other vacation exploits, not often forgetting the inevitable "chores," but I catch a glimpse now and then of his great vague hope in the single tax doctrine.

One morning he was going on a long exploring expedition with an older boy, who wanted him as a guide. He could hardly wait for me to put up his lunch, and thought it hard that I should take such a time to send him to the grocery on an errand. I was surprised at his long absence while the lunch basket stood waiting for his return. At length he came bounding in with beaming face, exclaiming:

"I have found a George man! I have found a George man!"

He had been standing in the street where a sewer was being laid, listening to the "boss of the bricklayers" as he talked with one of our neighbors.

"I know he is a George man," he said, "because he said the land ought to be taxed according to its value," and he kept talking about "land values."

A day or two later he said: "Now I know he is a George man, for I have heard him say, 'I am a Henry George man,' and he knows I am a George man, too," the little fellow said, laughing, "for he looks at me and sometimes he smiles at me." I should think the men would smile to see a "bare footed boy," under ten, listening eagerly to that which is strange doctrine to so many.

The little boy thinks that the boss had other interested listeners, judging from an occasional "that's so!" He wanted me to go down the street and be introduced to the George man, but I was hardly prepared for such a step. I said I would let him carry a STANDARD to the man and say his mother sent it for him to give away. But before I had got around to do it the company of workmen moved on to another street.

The boy asked me yesterday, "Do you suppose Mr. Cleveland reads THE STANDARD?" I said I was afraid not, but he ought to. "I wish," he said earnestly, "that Mr. George would send him some STANDARDS." **A MOTHER.**

What a Coal Mine Contains.

San Francisco Chronicle.
 Does any one except a practical chemist ever stop to think of all the substances which we get from pit coal, and the almost incredible variety of their uses? Everybody is familiar with those of them that are in daily use, such as gas, illuminating oils, coke and paraffine, but of the greater part few persons know even the names, sciences advance so rapidly and its nomenclature is so extensive and so abstruse. Nearly all the other products derived from soft coal have been discovered and applied in the interests of science or of fraud within the last twenty-five years. The first thought in regard to coal is that it is made to give heat or warmth; the next that one of its principal uses is to illuminate. But there are obtained from it the means of producing over four hundred colors, or shades of color, among the chief of which are saffron, violet blue and indigo.

There are also obtained a great variety of perfumes—camomile, bitter almonds, queen of the meadows, clove, wintergreen, anise, camphor, thymol (a new French odor), vanilla and heliotropine. Some of these are used for flavoring. To medicine coal has given hyponic, salicylic acid, naphthol, phenol and antipyrine. Benzine and naphthalene are powerful insecticides. There have been found in it ammoniacal salts useful as fertilizers, tannin, saccharine (a substitute for sugar), the flavor of currants, raspberry and pepper, pyrogallol acid and hydroquinone used in photography, and various substances familiar or unfamiliar, such as tar, rosin, asphaltum, lubricating oils, varnish and the bitter taste of beer. By means of some of these we can have wine without the juice of the grape, beer without malt, preserves without either fruit or sugar, perfumes without flowers, and coloring matters without the vegetable or animal substances from which they have been hitherto chiefly derived.

SPECIAL MEETING

Under the Auspices of the
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FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 21,

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3. Inferences from analogy.

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3. Interest and the cause of interest.

4. Of spurious capital and of profits often mistaken for interest.

5. The law of interest.

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2. The remedy necessary to the solution of the problem.

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3. Claim of land owners to compensation.

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SINGLE TAX CLUB MEETINGS.

VIRGINIA: Will the single tax men in West Virginia please send their addresses to me at this point, so that the names of all the George men in your neighborhood and be particular to give post office address. A state organization is proposed, and any suggestions or information will be carefully considered.

BOREMAN, Parkersburg, Wood county, West Virginia.

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