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About this text (9 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked “broken type”).
- p1: pasted subscriber’s label covers part of the first headline (“BEGINNING THE FREE TRA[DE FIG?]HT.”), “c[on?]gratulate” and the volume number in the dateline. Crease damages one line in c6 (“basec”, “retau”).
- p1: “THE TARIFF BILL” bar-chart table (c2–c5) saved as images p1_fig1/fig2; bars shown as `[bar]`. Croton oil / Chicory root entry gives no proposed duty; “flax” appears twice in the free list.
- p1: sense breaks worth a footnote: “signal gun for the open in the national field” (word lost?), “effectually corrected” (concealed?).
- p2: about six diagonal ink streaks blot words in c1, c2 (most of one line of the quoted *Tribune* telegram, marked “[line obscured]”), c3 and c5. Commas often print like full stops; written as commas, not listed.
- p3: heavy ink blot covers the end of the Indianapolis correspondent’s signature (“L. P. CUST[ER.?]”) and a few letters of its last lines (c6). Smudged “[It is?]” and “[50?]” in the Lehigh appeal (c3). Greeley once vs Greely four times.
- p6: “Nos. 160 and [162?] Broadway”, “$[60,000?]", "$[3,000?]” in the Real Estate Record reprint (c6). “Delni” kept (h may be damaged).

- p7: farm-mortgage table Indiana “[398,000,000?]” (398 fits the printed total). Tract No. 52 (Swedish) also listed under GERMAN TRACTS. Many [?] page counts in the tract list (c6, heavy ink at the margin). Sherman quotation “trade and protection” (production?).
- p8: “Protection and Wages”, BY HENRY GEORGE (ch. XIX of *Protection or Free Trade?*), c1–c5. Secretary’s name “J. H. [M’INTYRE?]” under a blot; several house numbers/prices in small-type ads uncertain.

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THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NO. 62—VOL. [obscured by a pasted subscriber's address label; probably III.] NO. 10. | NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888. | PRICE FIVE CENTS

p. 1, col. 1

BEGINNING THE FREE TRA[DE FIG?]HT.

We free traders may heartily c[on?]gratulate ourselves upon the tariff bill which Chairman Mills reported from the ways and means committee on Thursday last. It is far from being what we would like to have as a first installment of tariff reform. It is, on the contrary, an extremely moderate measure, which deals very tenderly with the interests of the great majority of combinations and trusts that have grown up under the tariff, and treats with great respect the degrading superstition that American labor can be saved from pauperism and American manufactures from extinction only by grace of enormous tariff duties. It leaves the coal barons their duty on coal; it hardly more than nominally touches the enormous blackmail of the iron and steel rings; it deals only half-heartedly with sugar planters and sugar trusts, while actually giving a net increase of protection to manufacturers of woolens, clothing, etc.—for the duties proposed on these articles, while showing a reduction. do not give[sic] the consumer the full benefit of the reduction on raw materials. but leave[2] a big slice to still further "encourage" the American manufacturer.

The *Herald*, with a good deal of reason, says of it:

> It is not a "free trade" measure; on the contrary, no free trader can examine it without strongly disapproving very many of its provisions. It is a measure for tariff revision made strictly from the protectionist standpoint, and there is not a section or clause in it which does not show the influence of protectionist opinion or protectionist information upon those who framed it.

"It will, therefore," the *Herald* goes on to say, "in many ways disappoint tariff reformers and free traders." This is not so. We free traders know that there is a long fight to be fought, and all we could hope or ask of the ways and means committee was such a bill as would open the fight. And the intense and prolonged howl which is now going up from the whole line of protected trusts and combinations is proof enough that the bill reported by Mr. Mills is for all practical purposes just as good as would be a better bill from the free trade standpoint.

It has, in *fact*, as a "thin-end-of-the-wedge" measure been drawn with considerable skill. Its evident idea is to avoid as far as possible a conflict with the whole banded force of the protectionist rings and trusts at once, and to "divide and conquer." The committee have sought to take advantage of the desire of one set of protectionists for "free raw materials" in order to destroy the support which the whole system of plunder now gets from the

---

Sic in the original; probably "reduction, do not give".
Sic in the original; probably "materials, but leave".

protected raw material men, and especially, it would seem, to destroy all pretence that farmers are benefited by the tariff. Lumber, wool, flax, potatoes, peas, beans, broom corn. plums[sic], prunes and currants, flax, flaxseed and linseed, meats, game and poultry are put upon the free list, so that, if the bill passes, the iron and coal barons and manufacturing trusts will, when the next attack is made, have only such "farmers" as raise oranges, figs, tobacco, rice or sugar to appeal to.

If the bill only aimed to free one important article such as lumber or wool from duty, it would still be in effect a most important free trade measure. For the abolition of the duty on lumber would cause the powerful stumpage lords to lose their interest in robbery by tariff, and the abolition of the duty on wool would knock out, what at present seems to be the very keystone in the protective arch, and make future attacks upon other parts of it much easier. But the bill not only proposes to do both of these things, but a good deal more. The sugar trust is scotched a little by the reduction of duties on sugar, and by the raising of the standard, which will admit of the importation of sugars that can be used without refining. The little tariff job of Mr. Wharton of Philadelphia is probably spoiled by the putting of nickel in ore or crude form upon the free list. The free importation of copper ore will not only tend to revive our trade with Chili—in our days of greater commercial freedom very important—but also to interfere a little with the copper ring. The putting of borax and boracic acid on the list will end the job by which a few men in Nevada have been enabled to compel the American people to pay more for borax and its products because nature has in the deserts of Nevada furnished us with an abundant supply. The putting of quicksilver on the free list will prevent the owners of the New Almaden and another California mine from selling quicksilver abroad cheaper than they permit the miners of the Pacific coast to get it. That most impudent perhaps of all "protected industries," the single concern in Pittsburg that employs Mr. John Jarrett to go round the country and preach the beauties of protection to American workingmen, also loses the duty on tin plate which has enabled it to make big profits at the cost of every one of the great industries that use tin. And even the bible trust loses its protection on bibles of American manufacture, and the great American republic is brought in the proposed free list up to the moral level of the heathen who have not yet so far progressed in protectionist Christianity as to levy import duties on the Word of God. The putting of books in foreign languages on the free list will enable those who wish to get a copy of "Progress and Poverty" or "Protection or Free Trade" in French,

[continued from column 1: "Beginning the Free Trade Fight"]

German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Italian or Spanish, to do so without paying a custom house fine. And the exemption from duty of publications intended for free distribution will permit the English and Scotch single tax societies to send us over their tracts, as we now send them ours, and (horror of horrors to the protectionist mind) will allow the Cobden club to disseminate its publications in the

United States.

All these, with a number of other items of reduction and abolition that it would take too long to mention, are only beginnings in the good work of removing the barriers from American trade, breaking down trusts and rings and ridding our people of the enormous indirect taxes now levied upon them. But taken as a whole they constitute a good and most hopeful

beginning. Mr. Mills and his colleagues have, considering all the difficulties under which they have labored, really done exceedingly well, and deserve the gratitude of a protection-robbed people. Their bill is a good seconding of President Cleveland's message, a loud signal gun for the open in the national field[sic] of the single tax fight.

p. 1, col. 2

Sic in the original; probably "broom corn, plums".
Sic in the original; probably "for the opening in the national field".

THE TARIFF BILL.

A SHOWING OF WHAT ITS PRINCIPAL EXEMPTIONS AND REDUCTIONS AMOUNT TO.

THE TARIFF BILL.

A SHOWING OF WHAT ITS PRINCIPAL EXEMPTIONS AND REDUCTIONS AMOUNT TO.

Let the first line under each title in the following table be considered as representing one dollar, which the consumer now pays for first cost, duty, and profits on duty, in purchasing a certain amount of the specified articles. The lines following will then show to the eye for how much less, should the Mills bill become law, the consumer could get what he must now pay a dollar for; and also, in cases where the Mills bill only reduces the duty, the still smaller fraction of a dollar for which he would get it were the duty entirely abolished.

OR,

Let the lower line under each title be considered as representing one dollar's worth of the specified articles were no duties levied upon them. The upper lines will then show how much more than a dollar the consumer of the articles has now to pay for the same quantity on account of "protection." In the subdivision, headed "Duties Reduced," the intermediate lines show how much more than a dollar he will still have to pay under the provisions of the Mills bill.

DUTIES ABOLISHED BY THE MILLS BILL.

TIMBER, Brick, Flaxseed, Wheel Hubs, Jute, Soap (common), Cement, Garden Seeds, Plaster of Paris, Nickel Ore, Granite and all Building Stone, Potash, Coal Tar, Naphtha, Benzine and Coal Tar Products, except Dyes. Present duty 20 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty as proposed—

[redacted]

BIBLES, Needles (except Machine Needles), Isinglass, Books in Foreign Languages and for Free Distribution, Essential Oils, Currants, Chlorate of Potash, Crude Glycerine, Osier and Willow for Baskets, Feathers (undressed), Dates. Present duty 25 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty as proposed—

[redacted]

PAINTINGS, Gelatine. Present duty 30 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty as proposed—

[redacted]

SULPHUR, Tin Plates, Fire- Present duty 25 per cent.

p1_fig1

[Diagram: left half of the table (columns 2–3), headings, explanatory note and entries from “Timber” to “Common Window Glass,” each with black bars of proportional length; all words transcribed below.]

Let the first line under each title in the following table be considered as representing one dollar, which the consumer now pays for first cost, duty, and profits on duty, in purchasing a certain amount of the specified articles. The lines following will then show to the eye for how much less, should the Mills bill become law, the consumer could get what he must now pay a dollar for; and also, in cases where the Mills bill only reduces the duty, the still smaller fraction of a dollar for which he would get it were the duty entirely abolished.

OR,

Let the lower line under each title be considered as representing one dollar’s worth of the specified articles were no duties levied upon them. The upper lines will then show how much more than a dollar the consumer of the articles has now to pay for the same quantity on account of “protection.” In the subdivision, headed “Duties Reduced,” the intermediate lines show how much more than a dollar he will still have to pay under the provisions of the Mills bill.

[Note: in each entry below, every “Cost …—” line is followed in print by a solid black bar whose length represents the amount; see the figures of the table for the bars themselves. Where the paper prints two bars joined by a brace, this is noted as “[two bars, bracketed]”.]

DUTIES ABOLISHED BY THE MILLS BILL.

TIMBER, Brick, Flaxseed, Wheel Hubs, Jute, Soap (common), Cement, Garden Seeds, Plaster of Paris, Nickel Ore, Granite and all Building Stone, Potash, Coal Tar, Naphtha, Benzine and Coal Tar Products, except Dyes. Present duty 20 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty— [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed— [bar]

BIBLES, Needles (except Machine Needles), Isinglass, Books in Foreign Languages and for Free Distribution, Essential Oils, Currants, Chlorate of Potash, Crude Glycerine, Osier and Willow for Baskets, Feathers (undressed), Dates. Present duty 25 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty— [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed— [bar]

PAINTINGS, Gelatine. Present duty 30 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty— [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed— [bar]

SULPHUR, Tin Plates, Figs. Present duty 35 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty— [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed— [bar]

WOOL, unmanufactured. Present duty about 36 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

SALT IN BAGS. Present duty 39 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

CHINA CLAY, Opium, Iron or Steel Baling Hoops. Present duty 45 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

COPPER ORE. Present duty 49⅔ per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

MARBLE, Bagging for Cotton, Copperas. Present duty 55 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

CROTON and Cotton Seed Oil. Present duty 62[sic]½ per cent. And Chicory Root. Present duty 65 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

BLUE VITRIOL. Present duty 77 per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

SALT IN BULK. Present duty 79⅔ per cent. Proposed duty free.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost without duty as proposed– [bar]

DUTIES REDUCED BY THE MILLS BILL.

COMMON EARTHENWARE. Present duty 55 per cent. Proposed duty 35 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Sic in the original; probably “adds”Proposed duty free.””.

Cost without duty– [bar]

FINE DECORATED CHINA, Plaques, Bisque, etc. Present duty 60 per cent. Proposed duty 45 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

COMMON WINDOW GLASS, in sheets above 24 by 30 inches. Present duty 108 per cent. Proposed duty 66 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

[Table continues in columns 4–5, below.]

p. 1, col. 4

[Table “The Tariff Bill,” continued: right half, columns 4–5]

PLATE GLASS, above 24 by 60 inches. Present duty, 153 per cent. Proposed duty, 122 per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

LOOKING GLASS, not above 24 by 60 inches. Present duty, 78 per cent. Proposed duty, 55 per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

IRON OR STEEL T RAILS. Present duty 74 per cent. Proposed duty 52 per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

STEEL RAILWAY BARS. Present duty 84 per cent. Proposed duty 55 per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

IRON OR STEEL RAILWAY FISH PLATES. Present duty 93 per cent. Proposed duty 59½ per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

IRON or Steel Beams, Girders, Etc. Present duty 103 per cent. Proposed duty 49½ per cent.

Cost under present duty—

[redacted]

Cost under proposed duty—

[redacted]

Cost without duty—

[redacted]

SUGAR, Ordinary Grades. Present duty, which varies with polariscopic test, about 84 per cent. Proposed duty about 68 per cent.

p1_fig2

[Diagram: right half of the table (columns 4–5), entries from “Plate Glass” to “Tobacco (Wrappers),” each with black bars of proportional length; all words transcribed below.]

PLATE GLASS, above 24 by 60 inches. Present duty, 153 per cent. Proposed duty, 122 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost under proposed duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost without duty– [bar]

LOOKING GLASS, not above 24 by 60 inches. Present duty, 78 per cent. Proposed duty, 55 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

IRON OR STEEL T RAILS. Present duty 74 per cent. Proposed duty 52 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

STEEL RAILWAY BARS. Present duty 84 per cent. Proposed duty 55 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

IRON OR STEEL RAILWAY FISH PLATES. Present duty 93 per cent. Proposed duty 59½ per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

IRON or Steel Beams, Girders, Etc. Present duty 103 per cent. Proposed duty 49½ per cent.

Cost under present duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

SUGAR, Ordinary Grades. Present duty, which varies with polariscopic test, about 84 per cent. Proposed duty about 68 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

RICE. Cleaned. Present duty 113 per cent. Proposed duty 96 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost under proposed duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost without duty– [bar]

CLOAKS, Dolmans. Present duty 68 per cent. Proposed duty 45 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

CARPETS, Rugs, etc. Present duty 48 per cent. Proposed duty 30 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

SHAWLS and Worsted Cloths. Present duty 65 per cent. Proposed duty 40 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

FLANNELS, Blankets, Yarns, etc. Present duty 68 per cent. Proposed duty 40 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S DRESS GOODS.–Present duty, 72 per cent. Proposed duty, 40 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

CASTOR OIL. Present duty 195 per cent. Proposed duty 98 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost under proposed duty– [two bars, bracketed]

Cost without duty– [bar]

PATENT MEDICINES. Present duty 50 per cent. Proposed duty 30 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

TOBACCO (Wrappers). Present duty 82 per cent. Proposed duty 38 per cent.

Cost under present duty– [bar]

Cost under proposed duty– [bar]

Cost without duty– [bar]

[Untitled explanatory article on the table, begins at the foot of column 4 below the table and continues in columns 5 and 6:]

Owing to the fact that some of the duties

levied under our tariff system are ad valorem, or levied on value, some are specific, or levied on number, weight or measurement, and some are both ad valorem and specific, it is impossible in many cases for any one not an expert to understand what a particular duty really amounts to, or to measure a proposed reduction or increase.

The table given on this page, in which
p. 1, col. 6
specific and composite duties are reduced to ad valorem rates, and proportions are shown to the eye by diagrams, will enable our readers to get at a glance an idea of what the mere important reductions[sic] in taxation proposed by the tariff bill introduced by the committee of ways and means amount to.

The black lines in this table are calculated upon a printer's unit of measurement–the brevier em. By taking a line of twenty ems as the unit of cost, without duty, we are enabled to show within one and a quarter per cent of the increased cost of any article under the present duty, and the proportionte[sic] change in cost which the new tariff bill would effect. Differences of less than one and a quarter per cent are not taken note of in these black lines, as on this scale they would hardly be appreciable to the eye.

No note is taken in this table of the cost of transportation, nor of importers' and dealers' profits upon the cost of the article, since these must be borne by the ultimate user or consumer, whether an import duty is levied or not. It is not quite true, however, that these costs would be the same were the import duty reduced or abolished, as the increased volume of trade resulting from the abolition or substantial reduction of a tariff duty tends to lessen both the cost of transportation and the rate of profit upon the handling of an article. Yet as the reduction in cost to the consumer which would thus be effected by the reduction or abolition of duties is difficult or impossible to

Sic in the original; probably "the more important reductions".
Sic in the original; probably "proportionate".

estimate, I have been content to give protectionists the advantage of assuming that cost of transportation and profits on handling would be the same irrespective of tariff duties.

But the importer who must pay a tariff duty before he can get his goods, does not and cannot calculate his necessary profits merely upon the cost of the goods, plus the cost of transportation. He must, if he is to do a solvent business, get a profit upon what he has to pay out in duties, as upon what he has to pay for the goods and for transporting them. Thus the price at which he sells to the jobber must include a profit on the duty as well as a profit on the cost of the goods. And as the duty thus becomes a part of the cost of the goods, every dealer through whose hands they pass, down to the retail storekeeper who finally sells to the consumer, must make an additional profit upon the amount paid in duty. In the calculations upon which these diagrams are based, it is assumed that from importer to retail dealer, and including both, the profits on the handling and holding of imported goods amount to twenty per cent upon cost, and I have added twenty per cent upon the amount of the duty, in order to show the cost of the duty to the final consumer. In other words, I have assumed that where the importer pays fifty cents in duty to the government, the final consumer, upon whom the duty and all profits and charges upon the capital used in paying it finally fall, must pay sixty cents. There are some cases in which this might be too large an estimate, but there are many more cases in which it is too small. Upon the whole, the estimate will be recognized as extremely moderate.

To obtain the ad valorem equivalent of specific and composite duties I have taken the official figures furnished in the last report (1887) on commerce and navigation of the bureau of statistics of the treasury department. This report gives the actual amount of duties paid upon actual importations, and the rate of duty expressed in percentage of value. For the reason, however, that these returns fail to discriminate between different grades of articles of the same kind subjected to the same duty, the calculations in most cases fail to show the full weight of the duty. For instance, if upon bottles of a certain kind a specific duty of one cent each be levied, this would amount, on bottles costing half a cent apiece, to a duty of 200 per cent, while upon bottles costing ten cents apiece it would only amount to a duty of ten per cent. The effect of this duty would be relatively to decrease, or absolutely to put an end to, the importation of the cheaper bottles, and relatively to increase the importation of the costlier bottles. Supposing the effect to be to so reduce the importation of the cheaper bottles that but one of that grade were imported to two of the more costly grade, then the ad valorem equivalent of the specific duty would appear in the returns of the bureau of statistics as something over fourteen and one-half per cent. While if its effects were totally to prevent the importation of half cent bottles and restrict importations only to ten cent bottles, the ad valorem equivalent of the duty, really amounting on some grades to two hundred per cent, would appear as only ten per cent. The percentage of duty collected on the cost of goods imported would thus be correctly given, but the prohibitive effect of the duty, and its influence in raising prices, would be effectually corrected[sic].

Something of this kind is actually true of the present duty on bottles, which is in effect prohibitive on the cheaper grades of bottles. But I do not attempt to speak with accuracy as to that, but only to illustrate a general principle which in many cases prevents the real weight of duties continued on p. 2 →

[column ends mid-sentence; no continuation line printed — presumably continued on page 2]

Sic in the original; probably “would be effectually concealed”.

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p. 2, col. 1
[continued from page 1]

← continued from p. 1 being seen in the official returns which afford the only available means of estimate.

As for the duty on bottles, there is a little fact connected with it which well illustrates how our tariff, while fostering trusts, preventing improvement and adding to the cost of living, does nothing whatever to protect the American workingmen for whose benefit the agents of the trusts and rings brazenly pretend it is levied. The duty on the cheaper grade of bottles, up to the last revision of the tariff in 1883, was thirty per cent, which, considering the bulky character of the article and the consequent high cost of importation, was a very high duty.

The celebrated Siemens, in the course of his researches, had just before this time hit upon a great improvement in bottle making which would much cheapen the cost of producing the inferior grades of bottles. He sent an agent to this country to sell the right to use his invention to the bottle combination. The bottle trust refused to buy it. "If you don't buy the right to use this invention," said Siemens' agent, bottles can[sic] be imported from Europe and in spite of the high duty sold below your rates." "We will see about that!" said the bottle ring, and, sending an agent to Washington, they succeeded in incorporating in what was professedly a tariff reduction measure a provision raising by specific duty the tariff tax on cheap bottles from 30 per cent to 130 and 140 per cent. Having thus secured full liberty to fleece the American bottle user and to make Mr. Powderly's amusement of breaking ginger ale bottles cost him two or three times as much as it ought to, the very first thing the combination of American bottle manufacturers did was to turn round and cut down the wages of their workingmen, and foreign importations being shut out, they quietly closed their factories and allowed their infant industries to slumber until their workingmen were starved into submission.

That the Mills tariff bill is full of incongruities, favoritisms and absurdities, is true. That it has been constructed rather with a view to votes in the house of representatives than with any comprehensive idea of a symmetrical readjustment of the tariff, and that viewed even as a measure of tariff reform it is weak and half-hearted, is also true. But such defects are inseparable from any tariff bill. Even if there were such a thing as a coherent protective theory, and if that theory were true, it would be utterly impossible for congress to pass, or even for any congressional committee to report, a bill that would roughly accord with it. For that, there would be required a body of men not only possessed of far more knowledge of trade and industry than the best of our congressmen possess, but a body of men insensible to local influences and beyond the reach of special interests. In such a body as congress whose members are responsible only to their special constituents, the making of a tariff bill always has been and always must be the veriest scramble. There can be little doubt that Mr. Mills, if not the majority of his colleagues on the committee, had he been able to consult only his own opinion of what is best for the country, would have reported a bill beginning: "All duties upon imports now levied under authority of the United States, are hereby abolished." But as a practical politician he had to reckon with a howling mob of special interests, and a

Sic in the original; probably "said Siemens' agent,"bottles can".

dense mass of ignorance, prejudice and selfishness. The work that will make a half-way respectable tariff reform bill possible must be done among the people, and is now only beginning.

But with all its defects, the Mills bill has this all-compensating virtue: Like President Cleveland's message it does, while professing veneration for protection, really aim a deadly blow at the ugly fetich, and its mere introduction does open a political [conflict?] [which?] [will?] have a higher educational effect upon the American people than any other in which they could now engage. How true this is, may be seen by the manner in which the tariff question is occupying the press and cropping out in all discussion, and by the rapidly increasing intelligence and courage with which it is being handled.

The hopefulness and the beauty of the situation is that the whole line of the protected trusts and combinations is aroused—even the manufacturing interests to whom the ways and means committee have offered free raw materials and really higher duties. They clearly feel that the whole scheme of protection is threatened, and that the real question that is coming up is not the adjustment of protection but the abolition of protection. And so, whatever may be the wrangle in the house, the question that is really in issue before the people—the question that will be discussed during the coming presidential campaign—is not a [matter?] of percentages, a matter of tariff tinkering, but the great issue between the theory of protection and the theory of free trade. Under the impulse of conflict, educational processes that otherwise would require decades or generations will be accomplished in months. Even the *Herald* already says:

> If this bill is beaten, the next will, we venture to say, deal far more trenchantly with this question. It is quite certain that all the revenue the government needs for all purposes can be got from taxes and duties on no more than twelve articles, all luxuries. If the friends of protection reject this bill they will hasten the day when the people will demand that revenue shall be raised by taxes on the fewest possible number of articles, and [those?] luxuries only. It will be great folly in

p. 2, col. 2
> those who sincerely hold to protection by foolish resistance to the present measure to bring about the downfall of their system.

So it will. But this is precisely the folly they are bound to commit. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad!"

The diagram on the first page of THE STANDARD is not merely worth a careful looking over; it is worth cutting out and pasting up and figuring on. And if any of our readers will get from his congressman a copy of the present tariff he will find much profit in making arithmetical calculations and diagrams for himself. Let him also take his wife and his children into such instructive exercises. Women will find quite as much to interest them in the tariff as will men. They will not only find much in our diagram which will be to them of extremely practical importance, but all the papers—and especially the protectionist papers—are full of tariff items that come home to those who have to plan how the house shall be furnished and the table spread. For instance, the New York *Press*—the new one cent advocate of protection that has been recently started in New York—publishes a letter from the great carpet manufacturer, Mr. John Sloane, who tells—one can almost see the tears in his eyes—the horrible things that will befall the country if the Mills bill shall pass. He says this frightful bill—and what amount of protection it would still leave him can be seen from our diagram—will reduce the price of Brussels carpet twenty-two and one-half cents per yard; that it will reduce the price of tapestry carpets fifteen cents per yard, and that it will compel the selling of Wilton carpets for one-third less than they now sell for. Is there a wife or mother among the readers of THE STANDARD who will not find something of interest in this? If she does not, it will be because she has already got all the carpets she ever expects to want.

Mr. Powderly has issued an appeal for funds to relieve the suffering among the coal miners and their families in the Lehigh region, where the long and bitter strike has now come to a disastrous end. This is all right as far as it goes. But does Mr. Powderly think that there is nothing for labor but hopeless strikes and appeals for charity? If he will no longer say anything on the land question, has he no opinion on the tariff question? Of what use is a protective tariff to Pennsylvania miners?

The great strike of the Burlington engineer[sic], is so liable to sudden changes of phase that it is hardly worth while to speak of it at present in a weekly paper. But the possibility of a stoppage of the railroads of the whole country which it suggests, is worth much thinking over, and the manner in which Chief Arthur, the model boy in Mr. Chauncey M. Depew's Sunday school, has already fallen from his high place of exemplar is very interesting. It would be also interesting to know whether Mr. Depew still thinks that the engineers might buy the New York Central road by the simple process of drinking each one glass of beer less every day.

The proposition of Messrs. Williams and Bailey to hold a conference of single tax men on the Fourth of July seems to meet with general favor, while the Cooper union scheme to make an oil-and-water amalgamation with the union labor party for the purpose of putting up a presidential candidate on a platform ignoring the tariff issue seems to have run against a snag. A telegram to the *Tribune*, published as we go to press, says:

> INDIANAPOLIS, March 6 (Special).—Twenty-nine states were represented in the meeting of the national convention of the union labor party held here to-day. The afternoon was occupied in discussing a letter from Dr. McGlynn suggesting a co-operation of the union labor party with the movement represented by himself in New York, and recommending a joint meeting of the two national com[line obscured] in a call for a convention. The letter insisted upon an adherence to the land tax principle, which met with strong opposition. It was finally decided to decline the proposed consolidation and to invite McGlynn and his followers to unite with the union labor party on the basis of the Cincinnati platform.

T. D. Sullivan tells'[sic] the *Pall Mall Gazette* that during his recent imprisonment he was denied the privilege of reading even his own paper, the *Nation*, and that all private letters to him were also read by the prison authorities before he was allowed to see them.

This is a good illustration of the brutal and galling, yet oftentimes petty tyranny of British government in Ireland. Mr. Sullivan was merely a political prisoner. A member of parliament, ex-lord mayor of Dublin, poet laureate of the Irish race, he is a man of pure character and lovable qualities, a man with whom no one can come in contact without feelings of respect and admiration. His white hair and his high standing would under any half-way decent despotism have secured him against such petty annoyances. Imprisonment for political offenses has long since become a mark of distinction in Ireland; and that the tory policy is likely to make Irish imprisonment honorable even in England is illustrated by a statement in the Dublin *Express* that Mr. Cunninghame Graham has had made a duplicate of his prison dress, which he proposes to wear in the house of commons while participating in debate. The struggle for popular government in Ireland, hard and protracted though it is proving, is certain of ultimate success. Tory brutality is but hastening the inevitable.

Sic in the original; probably "Burlington engineers".
Sic in the original; probably "tells".

HENRY GEORGE.

p. 2, col. 3

THE LESSON OF THE BROWN CASE.

The excitement pervading western Pennsylvania over the case of Ephraim J. Brown appears at first sight to be one of those psychological anomalies, like the tulip craze, or the fifteen puzzle, for which it is absolutely impossible to account on any known principle. That not only a single town or county, but a very considerable section of a large state, should be thrown into a ferment over the question whether an obscure and illiterate farmer is insane or not seems really absurd. Yet there can be no question of the fact that on this ridiculous issue not only the quidnuncs of the village taverns, but families and friends of the better classes are bitterly divided in opinion. The salutation of meeting acquaintances is changed from the old fashioned, peaceable "Huddo?" to the defiant "Well, what do you think of old man Brown *now?*" The matter is agitated at quilting bees, at donation parties, and within the sacred precincts of the lodge. Indeed, if we may judge by the tone of the local newspapers that reach THE STANDARD exchange desk, the question of Brown's sanity or insanity will actually be an important local issue in the coming campaign; so that supposing the Keystone state to be closely contested, the policy of the government, for the next four years at least, may be determined by the opinion of a few Pennsylvanians as to the mental condition of a man whom a jury of his neighbors have positively declared to be insane.

All this is at first sight extraordinary, but the wonder disappears when the case is closely examined. For behind the question of poor Ephraim J. Brown's insanity, there lies a greater question; and what western Pennsylvania is really disturbed about is whether Brown is simply a weak minded individual—a lunatic by the act of God—or a hero, who has sacrificed his mental faculties on the altar of a great principle, and gone crazy out of pure devotion to an economic doctrine.

Twenty-three years ago, in 1886[sic], Ephraim J. Brown returned from the war to his native village of Newsome's Four Corners, within twenty miles of Pittsburg. He came home to find his father sick unto death, and within three months from the time he doffed the army blue he was the possessor by inheritance of a well stocked and profitable farm of one hundred acres.

For some years all went well with Ephraim. He married a wife, begat sons and daughters, voted the straight republican ticket, traded at the village store, and was altogether a prosperous and thoroughly commonplace agriculturist. But in 1876 an event occurred which colored his whole after life, and started the train of circumstances which has led to his present unfortunate incarceration. He paid a visit to Pittsburg. It was during the presidential campaign, and the air of the smoky city was full of republican oratory. Like a good republican, Ephraim J. Brown went to a mass meeting, and for the first time in his life heard the glorious doctrine of protection expounded in all its fullness. He learned that the true way for a nation to become rich and independent is to send as many things as possible to other nations and get as few things as possible in return; that the secret of national prosperity is the fostering of home industry by wise protection; and that that country is the greatest which most carefully keeps its own work for its own people. He returned to his farm next day an altered man.

For some time the change in his character was manifested only by a constant study of campaign protectionist literature and a certain disputatiousness at the village tavern; but it was not long before more serious results appeared. Declaring that what was good for American citizens as a body must be equally good for them as individuals, he astonished his wife one day by bringing down from the garret, where they had lain for a generation or more, an old cobbler's bench and tools, at which he seated himself with the grave declaration that he needed a

Sic in the original; probably "1865".

new pair of boots and proposed to encourage home industry by making them himself. It was in vain that Mrs. Brown reminded him that he didn't know how to make boots, whereas the village shoemaker could make them well and cheaply; that the potatoes needed [cultivating?], [the onions?] must be hoed, the pasture fence repaired, and a dozen other things required attention. Brown had his answers ready. If he didn't know how to make boots he could soon learn; the village shoemaker was a needless member of the community, who took the work out of honest farmers' hands; and as for the potatoes, and the onions, and all the rest of it, why the very beauty of his application of the protective theory to private life was that it would furnish occupation for Mrs. Brown in the potato field, while even the toddling little Browns could be profitably employed in weeding onions, and thus the whole family be gloriously supplied with work. Mrs. Brown tried scolding, and she tried weeping, and she tried sulking; and finding that neither course of treatment had any effect in modifying Brown's economic theories, she dried her eyes, kilted up her skirts, took her infant children by the hands, and went forth to her diversified industries with cheerful resignation.

[Thenceforward?] the protective principle was applied in the Brown family to a constantly increasing extent. Work was plenty and occupations became very diversified indeed. When Mrs. Brown and the children began to want new clothes, Ephraim planted flax, routed out an old spinning wheel and hand loom, and hailed the birth of a new industry. He slaughtered calves and beeves, cut down his growing oaks, and developed the industry of tanning. His coffee was burnt rye, sweetened

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with sorghum juice; his socks and mittens and underwear were knitted by Mrs. Brown and the girls from wool sheared from his own sheep. The busy hum of industry was all about him; from morn to dewy eve there was constant work for himself, his wife and his little ones; and when one of his elder boys spoke disrespectfully of the great protective system, and wished he could live somewhere where it wasn't all work, good Ephraim J. Brown "lambasted" the recalcitrant youth for his own good, and compelled him to commit to memory three lucid and convincing pamphlets by Judge Kelley, the great Pennsylvania statesman.

And yet, somehow, things didn't turn out as they should have done. Ephraim became a fair tanner and shoemaker; his wife learned how to weave and spin, and was dexterous at sewing and knitting; the children learned a great variety of occupations. The crops of course were scanty because there really wasn't time to attend to them, and the pasture lands grew up in weeds and briers. Year after year Ephraim studied books on protection and faithfully applied their principles, but somehow each year found the whole Brown tribe more ragged and poverty stricken than the year before. The mother Brown faded and died; the younger Browns grew up hollow cheeked and stunted. Steadily confident in the great central truth that the way to benefit men is to protect their home industries and give them plenty of work, Brown struggled on, constantly expecting an era of prosperity and not at all discouraged because it didn't come. The mortgage on the farm grew larger; the interest fell into arrears; and at last the coming of age of the eldest boy, in December [1884?], was celebrated by the foreclosure of the mortgage, and the haling of Ephraim J. Brown before a sheriff's jury of his neighbors, who promptly decided him to be insane and committed him to an asylum as a lunatic pauper. It was a sad ending to a noble effort.

Our protectionist contemporary, the New York *Press*, remarks:

> The basis of the whole free trade argument, from Adam Smith down, is the practical identity of interest as between the individual and the nation at large.

Then, of course, the basis of the whole protective argument is the practical opposition of interest as between the individual and the nation at large. From this it is easy to see wherein the mistake of Ephraim J. Brown lay. He was misled by the poetic but fallacious idea that the law that molds a planet also rounds a tear. He took it for granted

that general principles can be applied to particular cases, and utterly failed to grasp the true inwardness and essence of the protection idea—the great truth that a nation can only grow rich, as a whole, by methods which will reduce its individual citizens to poverty. 'Twas pity of him, for he meant well and labored faithfully.

In the light of this plain narrative of facts, we can better understand why Pennsylvanians should dispute and wrangle over poor Brown's unhappy plight. What they are really trying to do, though they don't know it, is to banish the harassing doubt that the doctrine of protection to home industry may after all be a crazy delusion, and the attempt to carry it to its logical conclusion worthy only of a natural born ass.

TO TAX BLOOMINGDALE.

Assemblyman Connelly has introduced a bill for the taxation of the extensive grounds of the Bloomingdale asylum for the insane in the twelfth ward of this city, providing, however, that the property occupied by the asylum buildings shall be exempt, and that there shall be a further allowance and exemption from taxation of $10,000 of the assessed value of the property for each poor insanse[sic] person committed to such asylum by the department of charities and correction.

This is intended as a blow at one of the land monopolies that seriously retard the growth of this city. Bloomingdale asylum was originally established as a charitable institution. It has long ceased to deserve that title, and has become an endowed asylum for the wealthy; yet, on the pretence that it is a public charity, it holds thirty-five acres of ground on this island free from taxation. This land is valued at all the way from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000, and, even under the present system of assessment, ought to yield a large sum to the city in taxes. Not only does it escape its just share of taxation, but the society of rich men controlling it has persistently stood in the way of opening streets through the property. Mr. Connelly says he will do his best to press his bill, but he does not talk hopefully as to the prospects of its passage.

This is certainly a measure not merely moderate, but generous to the society, though it may be objected that it does not go far enough. This community is abundantly able to take proper care of its insane, not as a charity, in the sense of alms giving, but as an act of justice toward those who are co-heirs with the sane in the wealth that the community has created. It needs no private assistance in the performance of this duty, and the provision made for these unfortunates should be such that there would be no real necessity for private institutions of the kind. All that is requisite in order to enable the community to meet this just public responsibility is that it shall receive the annual income to which it is entitled on the land values that it has created. These will be ample for every public purpose.

The whole system of exempting from taxation land held by private charitable institutions

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is wrong. Every inch of ground on this island not used by the public authorities for a public purpose should be taxed, and then the public should meet its responsibilities without looking to private individuals for aid, or tolerating the growth of the parasites that have attached themselves to the state, pretending that they can perform public functions better than the constituted authorities. The only advantage to be gained by Mr. Connolly's[sic] bill is the education of public sentiment up to an understanding of the fact that *no* private establishment, whether charitable or otherwise, must be permitted to hold land free from taxation.

Sic in the original; probably "insane".
Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Connelly's (or vice versa)".

THE LAND MOVEMENT ABROAD.

A movement has been set on foot in London to secure judicial rents for working people. The law exempts houses of a less ratable value than £20 a year from house duty, the water companies are forbidden to charge more than five per cent on this rating and the local authorities allow landlords to compound their rates at from twenty-five to thirty per cent. It seems to have been supposed that these arrangements would assure cheaper rents to workmen, yet, says the *Christian Commonwealth*, "Not one farthing value from these advantages is shared by the tenants." The landlords pocket every penny of it and the result is that, while the better class of property pays landlords but five per cent, these workmen's houses yield to the owners of the soil ten per cent per annum. Following the example set in Ireland, the workingmen of London propose to ask parliament to intervene and fix an arbitrary limit on the rent that can be exacted for such houses. The movement is an excellent one so far as it tends to still further direct public attention to the evils resulting from the existing system of land tenure, but it will probably be ineffective in the long run, since landowners will substitute more expensive buildings and forego the exemptions now enjoyed rather than submit to have the state regulate their rents.

Professor Stuart, M. P., in recently addressing his constituents at Shoreditch, London, said that the value of London homes represented a great deal of toil, saving and thought, while the enormously greater value of its ground rents "represented merely waiting for a rise in value; but the houses are taxed for local purposes and ground rents are not." He advocated a reversal of the system. A summary of Professor Stuart's speech, published in the London papers, concludes as follows:

> They must take care that the natural unearned increment which arose from the increased number of people in the metropolis should go to the people who created it—namely, to the municipality. He was entirely for the rights of property, especially in these democratic times. But there were two rights of property. One was the right of those who had it to enjoy it; the other was the right of those who earned it to get it. The state had fixed its eyes on the former of those two rights for many a long year, and it had left the second of those rights to look after itself. The consequence was that the laws had been made to keep property in the hands of those who had it, but no laws had been made to secure it to those who earned it by the fruit of their own toil. To remedy that would be the work for the coming year.

Professor Stuart, a man of high standing and great ability, and a son-in-law of Mr. Gladstone, thus puts himself clearly and frankly upon the single tax platform and takes his side in the rapidly growing movement to restore the equal rights of the British people to their native land.

In London the question of taxing ground rents is becoming a practical one, and is now under consideration by the "united committee" over which Lord Hobhouse presides. The London *Echo* urges the committee to act, but says it is deterred from action by the fear of being drawn into the movement for land nationalization. "Lord Hobhouse," it says, "has no intention of taxing the landlord at the rate of twenty shillings in the pound, but there are some members of the committee who declare that this is what they want." The *Echo* of February 17 says:

> Of course, there is no reason why Mr. Saunders, and other disciples of Mr. Henry George, should not combine with men of more moderate views, but it must be for a definite purpose. The "united committee" have yet to agree upon what they want to do, and upon the means for doing it. Last evening Mr. Frank Debenham expressed the opinion that the ground landlord should pay 10 per cent of the local taxation. Lord Hobhouse suggested 25 per cent, and Mr. Handel Cossham 50 per cent. We should hardly like to

> commit ourselves to either of these propositions. There are properties in the city where the ground landlord receives more than one-half of the rack rental value: there are properties in the suburbs where he does not receive more than a sixth or an eighth. A suggestion was made last night that the land should be assessed separately from the house, but there are plenty of properties at the West end where the original leases have nearly run out, on which, if this principle were applied, the whole of the present ground rent would be entirely absorbed in local taxation.

This will not scare Mr. Saunders nor do any harm to renters. The remarkable thing, however, is the evidence given in this discussion of the wonderful progress made in public opinion on this question. Ten per cent was manifestly considered too low for consideration. Lord Hobhouse himself suggested twenty-five per cent.

Public opinion in other parts of the [Kingdom?] seems to largely favor the crofters in [their?] raid, and Sir Frederick Millbank, a large land owner, writes to the Yorkshire *Post* severely rebuking that paper for denouncing the crofters as lazy vagabonds and thieves. He bears strong testimony to the honesty and industry of

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the crofters, founded on an acquaintance of fourteen years, and says:

> These crofters on the brink of starvation can overlook the beautiful hills and glens, in which their forefathers lived in comfort and happiness, now given up to sheep and deer. Therefore, I say, they should not be judged harshly, but with feelings of pity and sympathy. I deeply regret and disapprove the disturbances now taking place. These men are acting illegally, and none can justify their conduct. No doubt the raid in the park forest was organized for the purpose of bringing their wrongs before the public.

If such were the case they seem to have accomplished their object, and the result may be that the public will see that they deserve something more than pity and sympathy—justice. The laws that compel men on the brink of starvation to see sheep and deer roaming over the land of their birth while they are excluded from all chance to make a living on it, are better broken than kept.

The land movement in Australia is making most satisfactory progress. The land nationalization league has spread throughout the continent and its advocacy is no longer confined to any single paper. An organization has been effected in Sydney recently and the papers of that city are giving much attention to the subject. The New South Wales league celebrated in January the first anniversary of its establishment by a *fete* and picnic. The Australian republican union has decided to make land nationalization a part of its platform.

In New Zealand the movement has clearly entered the stage of practical politics. We find in the Marlborough *Daily Times*, published at Blenheim, the address of Mr. John Godfrey, a candidate for parliament, to the electors of the Waimea-Picton district. Mr. Godfrey declares that the land question "is beyond all others the question on which our future well-being depends." He commits himself fully to the single tax doctrine and quotes extensively from "Progress and Poverty" in support of his position. In New Zealand the English system of land tenure was forced on the natives by the speculators, and there has always remained a strong conservative sentiment opposed to the ruinous innovation of private ownership in land.

That the land movement in New Zealand is not a new one is shown by the following advertisement, which appeared in the Kapunda *Herald* in 1872:

> LAND REFORM LEAGUE.
>
> PRINCIPLES.—1. MORAL—That all men have an equal right to the use of the soil, subject only to such limitations as are necessary to insure proper cultivation and give security of tenure.
>
> 1. ECONOMIC.—That the increased value that land acquires from increase of population and progress of civilization belongs to the state, and not to the individual.
>
> OBJECTS.—1. To stop the alienation of the public lands.
>
> 1. To provide for the leasing of public lands, subject, *inter alia*, to the following conditions:—
>
> *a.* All lands to be leased for a period of 21 years, at rentals to be decided by public competition.
>
> *b.* At the expiration of a lease, in the event of the former tenant not continuing as lessee, he shall receive from the in-going tenant the value of all his improvements, such value to be decided by arbitration.
>
> WILLIAM LEWIS, Chairman.
>
> Persons desirous of joining the League are requested to send their names and addresses, together with an entrance fee of 2s, 6d., to J. T. TYLEY, Kapunda, Hon. Sec.

Land reform leagues having the same platform were about the same time started in the Australian climes. This movement had the warm support of John Stuart Mill, who thoroughly endorsed this statement of principles and objects. Under the southern cross as under the northern star the work of the men who years ago, labored so fruitlessly and so hopelessly, as it seemed at the time, to propagate the truth that the earth was made for all men, is now showing its effects in the rapid and steady march of the single tax movement. So it always is with those who strive to advance a great truth, no matter how unpopular it may for the moment be.

> —Never yet Share of truth was vainly set, In the world's wide fallow.

POSTAL TELEGRAPHY.

A combination of local interests seems likely to force congress to appropriate over $25,000,000 for the erection of extravagantly expensive public buildings, and an equal sum for river and harbor improvements, many of which will be made exclusively for the benefit of private parties. This tendency to extravagance is due to the existence of the large surplus taken from the people's pockets and piled up in the treasury by the continuance of our war tariff. Even those who see the necessity of cutting down the tax are engaged in this selfish scramble for a division of the existing surplus. But while millions are thus about to be wasted the daily press dispatches indicate that congress will utterly fail to take a most important step for which the existing surplus paves the way. Instead of authorizing the post office department to build public telegraph lines the probability now is that some such act as the interstate commerce law will be passed to regulate the existing telegraphic monopoly. If Jay Gould has power to prevent congress from adopting the proper remedy, how can a commission be expected to offer any more effective opposition to his power? There is no question that congress has power to establish a postal telegraph, and it is a fact known to every one that it has vastly more than enough money to pay for the work. Yet it proposes to throw away that money continued on p. 3 →

[continued on page 3]

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p. 3, col. 1
[continued from page 2]

← continued from p. 2 in extravagance while neglecting to relieve the people from the oppression of one of the most odious and dangerous of the numerous monopolies now in existence.

The Spooner bill was reported by the committee on post offices and post roads on Monday. The report says that though the committee recognizes the necessity for a reasonable and limited control over the telegraph companies, it doubts "the policy of the goverment[sic] assuming the entire management of them," and it goes on to say that "whatever can be done as well by private enterprise, and with as much safety and security to the people, should not be undertaken by the government at present." This, on the whole, is encouraging. There is no attempt to question the *right* of the government to assume the entire control and management of telegraphy but the *policy* is doubted. Again, there is an implied suggestion in the words "at present," as above quoted, that the committee thinks that the day may come when it will be good policy for the government to control and operate telegraph lines.

The weak spot in the committee's report is its failure to recognize that it has already been abundantly demonstrated that telegraphy cannot be done as well by private enterprise and with as much safety and security to the people as it could be done by the government. Senator Gorman's criticism that the report of the committee did not relate to the subject referred to it—the establishment of a postal telegraph—was a sound one, and he is right in declaring that the people object to leaving the rapid transmission of intelligence to a single corporation which has crushed out all opposition. There is some possibility that action more in accord with public desire may yet be taken. A motion to refer the bill to the committee on interstate commerce was made by Senator Cullom and it was only withdrawn on condition that the bill and report shall for the present lie on the tabie[sic]. There is still time therefore for an effort to secure the presentation of a better bill to the senate. The telegraphers and Knights of Labor have petitioned for a postal telegraph. Will business men throughout the country decline to urge congress to pass a bill that will shear the arch-monopolist of the greatest single power that he holds? It is time they were waking up, for it must be plain to the dullest of them that the march of monopoly now threatens business men quite as much as it threatens working men.

ARE THEY SOCIALISTS?

The New York *Sun* charges that the advocates of Mayor Hewitt's proposal that the city shall build and run rapid transit railroads have practically become socialists. The truth or falsity of this charge depends entirely on the definition given to the word socialism. That term is now ordinarily accepted as applicable to the political scheme of which Karl Marx was the best known exponent and which contemplates an assumption by the state of the general conduct of what we call private business. This scheme has a small but active body of supporters in this country, and for all practical purposes it is the only one properly described by the word socialism.

Sic in the original; probably "government".
Sic in the original; probably "table".

There are also here and there political doctrinaires who insist that the government should be confined to the exercise of mere police powers, and that it should refrain from any interference with trade or commerce. and account[sic] even the administration of public charity as no part of its functions. Such people, when consistent, insist that the United States government should have nothing to do with carrying the mails or maintaining post office. In their eyes all who advocate any or all of the measures to which they object are socialists.

If, as is probable, the *Sun* used the word socialist in its narrower and commonly accepted sense, not only are the gentlemen it criticises not socialists, but they are the advocates of the only policy that will enable men under existing conditions to provide a remedy for existing evils that is not socialistic in its nature. There is a broad and well defined line between functions that are essentially public and those that are essentially private. The establishment of highways suitable to the requirements of the age is a public function, and there are few if any instances of the establishment of such a highway without the assistance of the state in granting a franchise and delegating the people's power of eminent domain. The general transmission of intelligence is also a public function, and it has rarely if ever been assumed by private parties without similar public assistance.

All businesses that are in their nature monopolies, and are not made monopolies by mere combination and conspiracy or legal assistance, are properly the business of government. It is a recognition of this fact that has forced governments to recognize their duty in the matter of public highways and a public mail service. The supplying of cities with water, gas and local transportation is properly the business of the municipal government, and the more clearly men insist that our various governments shall perform all public duties and cease to farm them out to private individuals the sooner we shall see the end of an agitation to force the government to undertake private business operations.

The real difficulty at present is found in the fact that, while neglecting their proper functions, our local and national governments have undertaken to control private business. The protective tariff is socialism pure and simple. By this device the government undertakes to pervert its taxing power to the upbuilding of certain

p. 3, col. 2

private businesses at the cost of the whole community. Bounties to favored persons and the legal granting of monopolies are essentially of the same nature, and it is *more than* questionable if the laws for the collection of individual debts are not of the same general character.

When our government is prepared to perform all its public functions, and to derive its support from natural opportunities, instead of from the products of industry, it can well afford to abstain from exercising any paternal functions, and leave private individuals to conduct their own business without its interference or assistance. The result will be that its operations will be greatly simplified, and we shall drift away from much that is now socialistic in our political system. In urging that the municipality of New York shall establish the kind of public highways demanded by the exigencies of modern life, the gentlemen criticized bv[sic] the *Sun* are working against, and not in favor of, all that is commonly understood by the term socialism. If socialists at all they are only socialists in that higher sense and in that well defined field in which all men who would secure full liberty to the individual must be socialists.

METALS AND TARIFF REDUCTION.

It is pitiful to see how even the good work cf[sic] the ways and means committee—bold, conscientious, and logical as it is by comparison with the bungling efforts of congress—is yet marred by the necessity of making politic

Sic in the original; probably "commerce, and account".
Sic in the original; probably "by".
Sic in the original; probably "of".

concessions to the fetish of the protective idea. The public mind has been so poisoned with the heresies that manufactures can be stimulated by hindrances to commerce, and wages raised by propping up monopoly, that it is hardly yet ready for the strong meat of common sense; partially wakened though it has been to some perception of the essential injustice of the tariff system. Selfish local interests must be propitiated with log-rolling expedients, and wrong notions of economic effects catered to by useless rates of duty, inoperative for either good or evil. Mr. Mills is wise to touch the metal industry so lightly, for there is the central iniquity worthy of a separate campaign after the smaller outworks have been carried.

And yet it is a shame that such considerations should have to be taken into account, or that even an honest measure to partially reform an evil like the tariff, which public sentiment is as yet too blind to wholly abolish, should have to go through the childish form of doctoring here and there such an overgrown mass of absurdities. Congress must needs sit in solemn conclave on the entire scale of intricate duties that are intended to protect the labor and capital employed in converting the same material into different forms by building the walls a little higher each time the further the product gets from the raw material. This is what they call scientific protection; and yet, when all the work is done, just one rate in the entire scale on each kind of goods has any effect, and that effect is not to raise wages or increase profits, but to advance rents and heap up royalties. The law under which all protective duties operate—that down through the field of competition no tariff will raise a price, but that up to the line of monopoly the full pound of flesh will be exacted whether the price is raised or not—does not affect wages, which are governed solely by relative freedom of access to natural opportunities, and it does not even affect the manufacturer, unless he is also a land owner.

One of the duties that the new bill reduces is that on bar iron; but this duty might as well be doubled, for all the practical effect that will be produced. The maker of bar iron is' already[sic] shielded by from $18 to $25 a ton duty, and yet the price of his goods is raised only about $7 a ton, nearly the same as the additional price that he has to pay for the pig of which to make the bar. The steel rail men are beneficiaries to a somewhat greater extent. because[21] theirs was a patented monopoly for so many years that they are still intrenched in an established business, to enter which requires a large amount of capital, and which competition will therefore be slower to affect. But even steel rails are only $10 a ton higher in America than abroad, although the duty is $17 a ton. Pig iron, on the contrary, always brings a price that is just under the cost of importation, with the $6.72 duty added, and iron ore will sell at an advance of $2 when the duty is only 75 cents. Here are a set of apparent inconsistencies that are in reality directly correlated links in one chain.

In passing from the crude state of ore to the finished state of bars or rails there is very considerable waste in manufacture during the first process of making pig iron, and very little waste in the further processes of conversion into other articles. The freight charges on this waste stuff in the ore would prevent its importation if there were no duty at all, and free ore would not really diminish the power of taxation in the hands of mine owners. Lords of monopolized natural gifts, they can always add to the price of their product the full advance which the tariff forces consumers to pay for anything made of iron, except where a temporary monopoly, like that in steel rails, intercepts a part of the plunder. A leading protectionist paper has recently made the following pathetic appeal:

> Far seeing and frank pig iron manufacturers in the Lehigh valley look with concern into the future, and few of them are not willing to confess, when hard pressed, that at least some of the works must go to the wall if there is any long continued depression, unless, indeed, relief is afforded to them in some directions. The times have passed when, from the ore to the finished manufactured bar
> p. 3, col. 3

Sic in the original; probably “is already”.
Sic in the original; probably “greater extent, because”.

> or shape, a round profit could be added by every one who handled the material. [It is?] particularly in the matter of ore royalties in which a reduction is imperative. Few probably are aware of the fact that some of the Lehigh furnace companies are paying $1 and even $1.50 royalty—although, of course, [50?] cents is the usual figure—on New Jersey magnetites. The leases were entered into in 1872 and 1873, and are now drawing to a close. It remains to be seen whether those controlling ore property will be willing to make the concessions which changed conditions call for, or whether they must be taught a lesson by the crippling of the Lehigh pig iron industry and its gradual but otherwise certain decline in its struggle with less hampered sections of the country.

But the mine owners will continue to take their pound of flesh all the same. They are rather modest Shylocks, indeed, in those cases where the mine has been leased on a royalty, as they have foregone so much of the bonus which the tariff confers as lies above the royalty. They are not the only landlords who are beneficiaries of the tariff, for the same law applies to each of the protected industries—that whatever increased price accrues from the working of the tariff is ultimately collected by the owner of land from which comes the raw material used in production; he holding the only right of absolute monopoly which is involved, while both the labor and the real capital employed are subject to competition. As with iron, too, so with all other protected articles, the advance in price will equal—or rather will rule just a trifle under—the tariff rate which is set on that form of the article concerned, which in the industrial chain is the first that does not materially lose weight in the process of further manufacture. As with iron this is pig, so it is dressed boards with lumber, or the resultant from crystalization with sugar; whatever may be the duty above or below that line will not affect the price; and so the arduous labors of our congressmen to erect a carefully graded system of protection are as futile as the whole system itself is to promote the interests of any one, even in the protected industries, except the landlord controlling the original source of wealth.

Copper, lead and tin plate are the only articles in the list of metals on which the new tariff bill proposes any possibly effective change of duty. A reduction in the present outrageous duty on lead would be a real relief to that extent from a toll paid to a handful of western companies that have recently tempted public indignation by banding themselves into a trust, to ensure that by no accident of quarrelling among themselves will they fail to extort from the public the entire tax on industry which the law authorizes them to impose. This is what has happened of late years among the copper producers, the most richly endowed of whom have been so eager to force out of even the domestic market every one but themselves that they have abandoned their old custom of charging a higher price to the nation which was protecting them than they did to more fortunate foreign consumers. So, for the present, American copper actually costs no more in New York than in London, and the proposed reduction of duty from four to two cents a pound will have no immediate practical effect beyond serving as a step to the point of ultimate general free trade. Tin plate being altogether imported, its free admission will relieve industry only of the visible taxation that is paid at the custom house, and not, as with other forms of iron, of an additional taxation paid to domestic producers. While it is to be regretted that the metal schedule will not contribute more largely to the free list, and particularly that the backbone of protection cannot be broken with free pig iron, the tariff reformers are doing so well according to their lights that we can afford to wait a little longer.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

"PLATE SIN WITH GOLD!"

The grand jury of this city has failed to indict Jay Gould and Russell Sage for grand larceny on charges arising out of their dishonest conversion to their own use of Kansas Pacific bonds held by them in trust. A strong *prima facie*

case was made out, and the attorney for the bondholders, after many difficulties, got the facts before the grand jury. At this stage, however, the proceedings became extraordinary. Usually, unless the case as presented by the complainant clearly breaks down, the grand jury finds an indictment. The defense on legal and other grounds is made at the trial. All that is necessary to warrant the grand jury in finding an indictment is evidence, which if uncontradicted or unexplained, would warrant a petit jury in convicting. In this case there is no pretense that such evidence was not submitted, and, had the defendants been poor men, they would, beyond the shadow of a doubt, have been indicted.

But the defendants were two great millionaires. The whole ordinary procedure in such cases seems to have been changed. The district attorney granted a preliminary hearing before consenting to submit the facts to the grand jury. When the evidence was given to that body the case was practically tried by it behind closed doors, and, contrary to all custom, witnesses for the defense as well as for the prosecution were heard. Yet, despite all these precautions, the jury was unable to declare that it could find nothing in the evidence needing explanation or contradiction, and it took the most astounding step of filing into court and asking the judge to interpret for it a certain section of the statute of limitations. Judge Cowing gave his interpretation of the statute of limitations as applying, to the case[sic], and the jury then retired and refused to find the indictments on the ground that the prosecution of the offense was barred by the statute.

p. 3, col. 4

The New York *Herald* has interviewed numerous lawyers on the conduct of the district attorney and grand jury in this case, and nearly every one of them condemns the proceeding. Ex-Judge Arnoux, now in Europe, expressed his amazement and declared that "no such plea should have been entertained by the district attorney or the grand jury." General Francis C. Barlow said, "I think the disposition made of the case an outrage upon justice. Judge Cowing seems to have been called in to shield a timid jury." S. B. Chittenden thought it "a queer proceeding" and was not surprised that it provoked severe criticism. The lawyers who attempted to justify the decision merely gave their opinion that the statute of limitations applied, but made no comment on the extraordinary character of the whole proceeding.

The opinion among business men interviewed by the *Herald* was generally one of indignation. A Wall street man who has had many a fight with Jay Gould confessed that now, for the first time in his life, he was afraid of him. If Gould can walk out of court in such a case as this, he said, "he can ruin me with impunity but I cannot hurt him. There is no law to hold him." Walter Miller, treasurer of the cotton exchange, said he was not surprised at the failure to indict because "the commercial community is losing faith in judges and lawyers." The opinion of the general public is probably summed up in an editorial in the *Herald* commending the grand jury for its economy in avoiding an addition to the expenses of Sing Sing, and saying:

> If instead of Russell Sage, the millionaire, charged with grand larceny, this bad been[sic] "Johnny, the wharf rat," accused of the same crime, we doubt if there would have been as much complaisance. Johnny would have had to stand his trial.
>
> We presume it is all right, but it looks very queer.

Queer! Not at all. It is what we are used to. Mr. Walling, for many years superintendent of police in this city, says in his recently published book:

Sic in the original; probably "as applying to the case".
Sic in the original; probably "this had been".

> Although, of course, all things are possible, yet I would not count among probable contingencies, under the present system of government in New York, the hanging of any one of its millionaires, no matter how unprovoked or premeditated the murder he might have committed.

Mr. Walling not only makes this startling declaration but he shows how such a condition of affairs has been brought about. He says that this city is actually ruled by some twenty thousand office holders, "most of whom are taken from and controlled by the very worst element in the community," while "our judiciary and prosecuting officers are elected and controlled in a great measure by the very elements they are called upon to punish and keep in check." What are the Sage-Gould and other incidents in our courts but illustrations of the truth of Mr. Walling's terrible indictment of our methods of municipal government?

It is useless for newspapers to lecture and moralize over these results of our evil system. If the methods of our courts are to be reformed, if "pulls" are to be abolished and equal justice is to be administered, the corruption that pervades our politics must be attacked at its root. There is at present but one measure proposed that offers to our people any hope of emancipation from the corrupt rule of the rapacious office holders, "taken from and controlled by the very worst element in the community," and that is the law to establish the Australian system of voting. This is not all that is needed, but it must be the first step toward any real reform. It will put an end to the bribery and corruption by means of which the office holders maintain and perpetuate their power in defiance of the will of the majority. Instead of wailing over the inevitable results of a corrupt system, let the newspapers bring their influence to bear in favor of the passage of one of the pending bills.

The republicans in congress have indicated their policy so far as the tariff reduction bill proposed by the committee of ways and means is concerned. They may eventually antagonize it with a bill of their own, but they will unquestionably use every means to secure its defeat, and, with Mr. Randall's aid, they may attempt to prevent its consideration. What they desire is to prevent any tariff legisiation[sic]. One of the methods of delay will be by a prolonged debate. The speaker's list of those who have signified their intention to talk on the tariff already embraces fifty names and more will doubtless be added.

There is also another duty that lies quite plainly before our free traders and tariff reformers. The air is filled with rumors of conspiracies to prevent the support of Mr. Cleveland's nomination by the delegation from this state. This would not concern those outside the democratic ranks if it were not for the fact that the unconcealed object of these schemes is the repudiation of Mr. Cleveland's views on the tariff question. But though this is the object, those concerned seek to gain it by indirection. Disappointed aspirants for office are asked to revenge their supposed wrongs by defeating Mr. Cleveland's nomination. Tammany is urged to demand Postmaster Pearson's place as the price of its support. It is whispered that Boss Power of the county democracy is playing on the restless ambition of Mayor Hewitt to induce him to seek to control the New York delegation in his own interests as a candidate. Governor Hill is pulling wires in his own behalf, and added to all there is the pestilent activity of the New York *Sun*, which is again seeking to lead the fatuous democracy into

p. 3, col. 5

a trap. It is probable that these intrigues will amount to nothing, but it is almost certain that the delegates sent to St. Louis from this state will not be such men as would look upon these pitiful maneuvers with the contempt that they deserve[sic]- The men whose support is essential to democratic success, in case the tariff is made the issue, should make it plain to these traders and hucksters in politics that if the democratic party does not bring the tariff

Sic in the original; probably "legislation".
Sic in the original; probably "deserve.".

issue into politics they will, and they will bring it in in such fashion that the hopes of any democratic candidate for election will melt into thin air. That party has been betraying its professed prineiples,[26] for a long time in order to conciliate protectionists. It must be made now to understand that it will have to stand by its professed principles in order to conciliate free traders and revenue reformers.

Mr. Hitt has introduced in the house of representatives a joint resolution to promote reciprocity of trade between this country and Canada which proposes that the two countries shall make their internal revenue duties and their tariffs against the rest of mankind substantially identical. and[sic] then permit free trade between Americans and Canadians unvexed by custom house officers. Mr. Hitt's proposition is an admirable one, and if congress has the wisdom to adopt it, it may prepare the way for a true reciprocity of trade between the United States and Canada that will afford both peoples an object lesson on a grand scale, showing the folly and stupidity of tariffs in general.

At a recent "industrial convention" held for the purpose of advertising to the world the natural resources of West Virginia, the notorious Stephen B. Elkins, who is the son-in-law of West Virginia's "coal king," ex-Senator Davis, declared that in that state coal is cheaper at the mouth of the mine than it is in England. The West Virginia *Democrat*, commenting on this, pertinently asks:

> If it be true our coal is cheaper at the mine than coal in England, why is it that the millionaire mine owners insist on continuing the tariff tax of seventy-five cents per ton. The recent strikes are conclusive that this tax is not in the interest of the miners.

The *Democrat* sees this phase of the matter very plainly, but if it would push its thought further along it would easily find an answer to its own question. Of course the tariff is not in the interest of the miners; but it is very positively to the interest of the land owners who make their enormous profits out of their power to limit the production of coal so as to keep up the price. If the state of West Virginia taxed its magnificent natural resources to their rental value, instead of permitting private parties to do so, the miners could find constant work through the increased demand for cheaper coal. They could pay the tax and sell coal cheaper than it is now sold, and at the same time reserve to themselves much higher wages than they are able to compel the protected monopolists to pay them. In that event Messrs. Davis and Elkins would perhaps take less interest in developing the resources of the state, but on the other hand the rush of real workers to West Virginia would be such that industrial conventions would not be needed. Meanwhile the state would enjoy a magnificent revenue now appropriated by private individuals who render it no real service but who exercise over its politics a power so baleful that it is bringing the state into universal contempt.

Senator Beck undertook to make an address on a pension bill last week, but hardly got well started before he was in the middle of a speech on the tariff. His remarks called out rejoinders from Senator Plumb and others, and there was for a time a brisk though by no means profound tariff discussion. The incident is not encouraging to those weak-kneed democrats who want to keep the tariff issue out of politics. It shows that the real leaders of both parties can think of nothing else.

Sic in the original; probably "principles".
Sic in the original; probably "identical, and".

The New York chamber of commerce has adopted resolutions opposing any attempt to restrict the immigration of foreigners to this country. These resolutions would be more creditable to the body if the debate on them had not been of a character to show that the animating purpose of those concerned was, in the supposed interests of the class that they represent, to make human labor abundant and cheap. In the course of the debate one member declared that it would be "as reasonable to require babies to present passports as a legal preliminary to the privilege of being born as to attempt to tamper with the world wide human right of changing from one place to another." The first criticism on this simile is that it *would* be reasonable, if it were practicable, to exact such conditions of babies if we are to maintain a system that denies them any right to a place on the earth into which they are born and only makes existenoe[sic] possible to them on condition that they buy the right to live or receive it as a charity.

The *Herald* has added a new chapter to the history of rascality by an elaborate exposure of the great Mendocino land grab, by which a few people acquired possession of 20,000 acres of rich timber land in California. The case is bad enough, but no worse than thousands of others. What a pity it is that a great journal like the *Herald* cannot, instead of unearthing individual instances of the evil results of an evil system, be brought to use its powerful resources for an attack on the system itself.

Deacon White of Brooklyn, is the most

p. 3, col. 6

persistent defender of the rascally management of the Pacific railroads to be found in the present congress. Though the deacon pretends to be governed by public considerations in his attitude on this question it has been conclusively proven that he is constantly speculating in the stocks of these roads in this city. He is using his voice and vote in congress to affect the price of stocks and attempting at the same time on the street to make a profit out of any changes in value that he may succeed in bringing about. He ought to be expelled from congress.

The all-absorbing character of land monopoly has recently been amusingly illustrated in Massachusetts. Last summer the president's wife spent some time with General and Mrs. Greeley at the little town of Marion. This led a number of people who delight to bask in the smile of the nearest approach we have to royalty to flock to the town, and there was a general belief that another visit from Mrs. Cleveland during the coming summer would make Marion a place of fashionable resort. Thereupon General Greely's landlord notified him that he should feel obliged to increase his rent. General Greely refused to thus pay for the advantage Marion had derived from his hospitality to a charming woman. and decided[sic] to remove to another town. In this instance the grasping landlord overreached himself. Had he possessed more of the wisdom of the serpent he would have so arranged matters with his brother landlords that General Greely would have been able to entertain Mrs. Cleveland on a second visit without expense. Rents and prices might then have been safely advanced on all the surrounding lands, and the local papers would have chronicled the growing prosperity of Marion and blessed Mrs. Cleveland for the wealth increasing influence of her presence.

The attempt of the London authorities to dispose of the errors of socialism by policemen's clubs instead of arguments is doing much to overthrow the old time respect for the liberty of the English citizen which has, up to this time, been one of the most marked and creditable characteristics of English public sentiment. There is a

Sic in the original; probably "existence".
Sic in the original; probably "woman, and decided".

growing disposition in official circles to sustain the police in the commission of outrages on suspected persons that calls forth remonstrance even from the tory London *Standard* and moves the liberal papers to indignant protest. In this respect the New York press compares most unfavorably with that of London.

In a recent issue of the New York *Press* a correspondent states that he has been informed that an American sewing machine, costing $45 in this country, can be bought in England for less money than in the United States, and asks an explanation. To this the *Press* responds glibly:

> When you consider the difference in the cost of labor here and in England it is quite possible. Many of our large sewing machine companies have shops on the other side of the Atlantic, notably the Singer company. As the wages paid are about half the American rates it is not surprising that they should produce machines cheaper.

And yet there were exported from this country in 1887 to Great Britain and Ireland $813,225 worth of sewing machines and parts of sewing machines. According to the *Press* theory, this should go far to prove that workers in sewing machine factories receive only half the wages in this country that they do in England.

The Kings County Committee Reconsider.

The Kings county committee of the united labor party met on Tuesday evening, about sixty delegates being present. Victor A. Wilder, in spite of the fact that he had been withdrawn by his district and his re-election was not yet announced, took the chair. The first two hours were passed in an attempt to adopt a set of by-laws and in making and deciding innumerable points of order. The Wilder faction, who had attempted to force the consideration of the proposed by-laws and constitution to the exclusion of other business were voted down, and the committee, after reading the minutes of the last meeting, then proceeded to consider the proposition that the resolutions denouncing Henry George, which were passed at that meeting of the committee, should be reconsidered. Charles O'C. Hennessy, president of the Twentieth ward association, moved the reconsideration, which was bitterly opposed by Gaybert Barnes, Victor A. Wilder and James J. Clancy. Mr. Hennessy made a vigorous speech denouncing the original resolution as part of a conspiracy to transfer to Kings county the McMackin-McGlynn-Barnes' attack on Henry George in New York. Other members spoke at length, and the discussion lasted until after midnight. The motion for reconsideration was finally carried, and the resolutions were rescinded amid much cheering.

Mr. Wilder then made a speech admitting his defeat and announcing his intention of resigning the chairmanship.

Anti-Poverty in Indianapolis.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., March 5.—The meeting of the anti-poverty society last night was well attended, and a very pleasant and enjoyable evening was spent. The society has adopted a systematic programme, commencing last night, which proved much more satisfactory than the former way of conducting our meetings. The regular exercises will hereafter consist of reading a chapter from the Bible, singing, reciting, and an address by a selected speaker or a volunteer, followed by questions by those desiring information. T. J. Hudson was the speaker last night.

Our society promises better than ever before, and there is no such thing as thinking of giving up the work. Several new visitors were present last night, and they were all well pleased with the meeting, and promised to come again

and often. These persons were all well known people, and will add much strength to our society, just what we need at this time.

A resolution was passed asking Warren W. Bailey of Chicago to call a conference for the 4th of July, giving Indianapolis as our first choice and Cincinnati as second for place of meeting.

L. P. CUST[ER.?]

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THE STANDARD.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Mortgageor and Mortgagee.

A has earned $1,000 by hard labor and loans it to B to improve his farm. B gives a mortgage on his farm, the selling value of which is $3,200—land value $2,000, for which he paid $500, and improvements, value $1,200.

Under the proposed system the land will have no selling price. Now, admitting that B can pay off the mortgage as easily under the new law as now, and also that he could buy elsewhere as good a farm for the selling price of his present one, yet if he sells for $1,200 and pays the mortgage off, is he not the loser? Give an explanation and oblige,

ELI BLAKE and others.

All questions of this class relate not to the justice or policy of the land value tax, but to special instances likely to occur during the transition period from the old to the new. If the land value tax should be suddenly imposed to its full limit cases of hardship would undoubtedly arise, such cases as arise every day when innocent purchasers buy stolen property with hard earned money and have it taken away from them by the true owner. These cases cannot weigh against the manifest justice and general benefits that will so obviously flow from the single tax. But that is a matter of very little moment, for as the change is likely to be gradual no serious hardship will fall upon any one.

In the case you mention B could much more easily pay off his mortgage than he can now, for he would be able to earn more with less work and to keep more of what he earned. It would only be in case he wanted to sell his farm and pay off the mortgage out of the proceeds that he would be worse off than under present conditions. Therefore, to consider the matter in its worst phase let us suppose that B's land is worth $2,000, that his improvements are worth $1,200, that these improvements were made with capital borrowed from A, who holds a $1,000 mortgage, and that B wants to sell out and pay off the mortgage.

Under present conditions B would sell for $3,200, and after paying off the mortgage would have $2,200 with which to buy another farm. But if the land value tax were in full force and ideally perfect, the land would have no value and he could get but $1,200, out of which the mortgage would leave him but $200. You will see that if he wanted to buy another farm he would be as well off in either case. Under the present tax he would have to pay $2,000 for the land and would have but $200 for improvements, while under the single tax, having to pay nothing for land, he would have $200 for improvements.

It is true that A gets his whole $1,000 while B loses the $500 which he originally paid for the land. But the difference between A and B in the case you suppose is that A invested his $1,000 in improvements while B invested his $500 in land. If during slavery times B had invested $500 in "niggers" and A had lent him $1,000 with which to build houses for his human stock, taking a mortgage on both slaves and houses, would you say that A and B ought to share the loss of emancipation? Certainly you would not. You would say that A ought to have his money back, for it was not in human flesh but in the products of human labor that he invested.

But these cases of supposed hardship are purely imaginary. As taxes are lifted from industry and shifted to land values, the workingman, however he works, will find his condition improving while the man who lives on others—the parasite—will find that times are getting harder; and when the change is so far complete that land ceases to be a commodity, the worker will be so much better off than he ever was before that he won't waste time thinking of the trifling bookkeeping losses to which he may have been subjected in the process. Your B's will not want to sell their farms, but with increased profits will pay off their mortgages and add to their improvements and stock while your A's will take their money and go to work with it.

Protection or Free Trade.

NEW YORK.—I have been a reader of THE STANDARD from its first publication, and I have read your book, "Progress and Poverty," but I fail to see where free trade without free land can in any way help the wage workers. If we had free trade in this country now we would have to compete with all those laborers in the old world for wages; while now we have in this country two million men out of work competing against those that work. You may say protection does not raise the wages of labor; it only raises the profit of monopoly. I grant you all that, and you may

say that while we keep foreign production out of this country that foreign labor does come in to compete with us; this is true, but if we should let the product of foreign countries come free, we should have to compete against all the laborers. When I came to this country, twenty-eight years ago, as a sailor, wages were twice as high here as in Germany, and I believe they are to-day in the same ratio. I am not in favor of stopping immigration, because I like to see every man

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better his condition if he can. Now, if we did let foreign production in free, it would not better the condition of the laborer in the old country, but only those who have the monopoly of the land.

I believe in free opportunities to work, and then free exchange. CLAUS H. BUSSING.

Ultimately, free trade without free land would not benefit the wage worker nor any one else, save the land owner. But it is not true that free trade would bring our laborers into competition with all the laborers of the world to any greater extent than they are in competition with them now. Cheap goods do not by any means imply cheap labor. All the tariff laws do is to prevent our getting cheap goods while permitting us to get as cheap labor as the world supplies.

You are not in favor of stopping immigration, yet that is the only way of preventing foreign competition in our labor market. You like to see every man better his condition if he can, yet you would have a tariff put on foreign products which prevents us from getting goods at low prices and limits the market for our products. You believe in free opportunities to work, yet you want exchange, which is a form of work, trammeled until opportunities to work are free. You may not be a protectionist but you reason after the fashion of protectionists.

Free trade is one of the steps in the direction of free land. Its discussion agitates the question of free land; its accomplishment removes a mighty obstacle in the way of free land; it involves the free land principle; and without it free land would not be the boon we expect it to be. The beacon light of this whole movement is the torch of liberty. The right to the use of the earth is fundamental, but the right to be free from slave shackles, from taxes, from interference with intercourse, from arbitrary government and from every other artificial barrier that obstructs the full use and enjoyment of our individual powers is also essential; and whether we secure one or another of these rights first is of little importance so long as we hold it fast and continue the struggle for the next.

You say you have read THE STANDARD and “Progress and Poverty.” Now read “Protection or Free Trade?” and write again.

Land Value.

BROOKLYN.—Will you kindly give me some enlightenment in your “Queries and Answers” to several questions put to me regarding rental value.

1. What was the rental value of the earth when the Lord drove Adam out of the garden of Eden, and told him to cut herbs and get his living by the sweat of his face, and cursed the land and made briars and thistles to grow thereon?

2. Is it not true that labor gives all the value the land possesses?

3. The island of Manhattan sold in 1620[sic] for $25, which was its full rental value after the Indians had labored to make homes thereon, and planted patches of corn. This put at interest at six per cent and compounded would amount to much more than the island would now sell for, to say nothing about the

Sic in the original; probably “1626”.

buildings, parks, streets, taxes, etc. If so, what is the rental value of the land outside of the improvements and labor and results?

TWENTY-FIFTH WARD.

1. Nothing. The garden of Eden was the only land that lay above the margin of production and would have brought a good figure; but it wasn't in the market. All other land was below the margin of production—that is, the best was not all appropriated.

2. No. Labor gives no value to land. A vacant lot is worth just as much as a lot that is built upon, other things being the same. Land value is the value of an opportunity or privilege. Men will give more for the privilege of farming, mining, or selling goods in some localities than in others. In addition to this they will give something for the benefits that labor has conferred on these places. What they will give for the privilege is land value; what they will give for the additional benefits is improvement value. Thus: Suppose three farms of equal size, the improvement value of which is equal, say $1,000 each; for one of these, on account of its fertility, situation and so forth, a farmer will pay $3,000; for another he will pay $2,500, and for the third he will pay only $2,000. Deduct $1,000, the value that labor has added to these farms from their value, respectively, and you have the land value. Of the first the land value is $2,000, of the second $1,500 and of the third $1,000. None of these values is due to labor. They measure in money the advantage which the ownership of the better farms gives over the ownership of the poorest, the labor and capital employed being the same.

3. The rental value of Manhattan island, outside of improvements, is over $100,000,000 annually, which, capitalized at a twenty year purchase, would make the land worth $2,000,000,000, an increase of $1,999,999,975 since 1620. Now, what does this vast increase of value mean? Have the owners improved the quality of the soil or done anything to make the place so much more useful for productive purposes? That will hardly be claimed. What the increase really means is this: The island is well adapted for a commercial center, which many people want to use, and the space it offers is so small that very few of those who would like to use it can do so; consequently they bid for the privilege, and as the importance of the place increases the bidding increases. This bidding makes the land value. When population declines land values fall; when it increases they rise. It is not labor, but the desire to labor, that makes land valuable. You might labor for a life time on any given piece of land without the value of that land increasing a penny's worth; but should an increasing number of people desire to labor there, and be willing to divide the result of their labor with the owner rather than not labor there, that land would increase in value.

What you say about compound interest may or may not be true. I do not think it is. But it makes no difference. If twenty-five bushels of corn had multiplied since 1620 into 2,000,000,000 bushels, there would be 1,999,999,975 bushels more corn, and that would harm nobody and be a good thing for everybody; but when land worth $25 increases in value to $2,000,000,000, it means not that there is so much more land, but that the people who do not own the land must pay to the people who do $1,999,999,975 more of the products of

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their labor for the privilege of using that land. That harms everybody who does pay, and everybody who wants to pay but cannot, and does no good to any one but the owner of the land.

LOUIS F. POST.

WESTERN PRISONERS OF POVERTY.

CINCINNATI, O.—Cincinnati started on her career one hundred years ago, in 1788, when a few emigrants from New Jersey settled here. At the beginning of the century the population was 750. In 1820 it was 9,602; in 1840, 46,338; in 1850, 115,436; in 1860, 161,044; in 1870, 216,239, and in 1880, 255,139. The area of the city is about twenty-four square miles, or say 16,000 acres. Cincinnati therefore has a population of about sixteen to the acre, and cannot be said to be densely settled.

As might be expected where men congregate together and aid each other in their work, the wealth of Cincinnati has increased as marvelously as her population. In 1880 the city had 3,276 manufacturing establishments, producing 126 different lines of goods. The aggregate capital of these establishments was $51,000,000, the material they used cost $62,000,000, and the gross value of their products was $105,000,000. Cincinnati's yearly profit on her manufactures alone was thus $43,000,000, which, after deducting six per cent interest on the capital invested would leave an average profit of $800 for every family of five persons within the city limits. Nor is manufacturing the only source from which the people of Cincinnati derive an income. Their city is a great center of distribution, to which traders resort from a vast extent of country to exchange the products of their various neighborhoods against each other, and for goods brought from distant points. On all this commerce Cincinnati justly collects a profitable toll.

In a city so advantageously situated, so populous and so thriving in its various industries, a visiting stranger—say from the planet Jupiter or from the moon—would certainly never expect to find any one in want of the common necessaries of food, clothing and shelter. But lest there should be any such, the good people of Cincinnati have erected, at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars, a magnificent brick building 515 feet long by 55 feet wide, standing in the midst of a park of twenty-six acres, at which any resident of Cincinnati has the right to apply for relief in case of need. Ample provision is also made for the sick in the way of public hospitals. Surely if poverty and the gnawing anxiety of impending destitution can be banished from any place on earth they should be banished from Cincinnati.

And yet, somehow, it isn't so. Strange as it may seem, there are poor people in Cincinnati. Indeed, there are very poor people there. People so poor, so destitute, so crushed by misery, that a great religious newspaper, the Cincinnati *Western Christian Advocate*, tells us that "so far as the comforts of life are concerned, and freedom from the harrassing[sic] thought of providing for their loved ones, the oonvicts'[32] in the penitentiary are better off than they." And these people are not the viciously idle and dissipated. On the contrary, they are—Christ help them!—delicate women and innocent children, who toil "every moment from early in the morning until 10 or 12 o'clock at night, and sometimes until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning," and withal earn wages "so small that they are scarcely able to make enough to procure the simplest food and pay rent for an uncomfortable room." Twenty-five thousand of these unhappy creatures, the *Western Christian Advocate* says there are. Twenty-five thousand of them! Twenty-five thousand wives, widows, mothers, sisters, daughters, writhing in the infernal slime pit of poverty, praying to a deaf God for their daily bread, and often serving the devil to get it, within the borders of a city whose growth and riches are one of the marvels of the western world.

An exaggeration, did you say? Well, if it is, it is the exaggeration of a Christian newspaper. Here are some of the things the *Western Christian Advocate* tells us on the subject:

> A larger proportion of these women and children than is generally supposed are obliged thus to struggle for a living through no fault of their own or of their friends. Many, it is true, have been reduced to their present

Sic in the original; probably "harassing".
Sic in the original; probably "convicts".

> condition by the dissolute habits of husbands or fathers: but there are thousands whose husbands and fathers are, or were, sober, industrious men, and provided well for their families until striken[sic] with disease, or inpoverished,[34] by business misfortunes. . . .

> Miss R. and another lady rent a floor in a large building, and sub-let the rooms at a profit. She stated that many working women were able to make a living only by some similar means. Many working girls, she said, to get money to buy good clothes, such as a girl clerking in a store or serving in a restaurant is expected to wear, take up with young men, witn[sic] whom they live without being married. Sometimes they are afterward married, but very frequently are cast off and go to the bad. . . .

> The lady was formerly a member of the Baptist church, but has not attended any church for several years. Her children attend an Episcopal Sunday school. She was apparently of the respectable poor. She occupied two rooms, for which she paid $8 a month rent. The one seen was plainly furnished, but was in good order. Her husband lost his health during the flood several years ago, and suffers from rheumatism. He is able to work occasionally. Her little boy, who is a newsboy, makes more wages than she does. . . .

> Some oash[sic] girls are required to work for several weeks without pay. They are then given small wages, sometimes not more than fifty cents a week, which in the course of months may be increased to $1.50. The average wages, it is said, do not exceed $1. Worse than the small wages is the unkind treatment to which many of these children are subjected by heartless employers. . . .

> One Saturday evening, not earlier than 10 o'clock, one of the little cash girls, aged about ten years, was observed to be crying. While the lady clerks were endeavoring to soothe her, the proprietor came up and in a very rough tone asked what was the matter. The child replied that she lived in Newport, Ky. (a suburb of Cincinnati on the opposite side of the Ohio); that she had been kept the previous Saturday night until 11 o'clock and was afraid to go home. The explanation angered the proprietor, who passionately exclaimed, "This thing must be stopped!" and he took the child to the cashier's desk, paid her her wages and discharged her. Think of a little girl of ten or twelve making her lonely and perilous way at 10 or 11 o'clock at night from Cincinnati across the Ohio river to her home in Newport. It is enough to send a shudder through one's soul.

> A somewhat similar case received notice in one of the daily papers, a little girl being found delivering millinery goods on Walnut hill one Saturday night, too late to catch the midnight car and ride to her home in the city.

> In considering such facts as this article contains it is to be remembered that many of these sewing women have little children to support; that all of them must have rooms to live in, and that these rooms cost on the average from half a dollar to a dollar a week each; that they are sometimes obliged to employ physicians, and medicines; that there are times when illness makes it impossible for them to work; that the cost of living in cities is always much higher than in the country; and when these and similar facts are remembered, the story of these prices becomes a wail of woe. Sharp pangs are the daily experience of many of these weary and overworked slaves of want, and agitation for re

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> lief becomes no mystery when the facts are known.

Sic in the original; probably "stricken".
Sic in the original; probably "impoverished".
Sic in the original; probably "with".
Sic in the original; probably "cash".

Something wrong somewhere. Perhaps the visitor from Jupiter or the moon could tell us what it is. I wonder if God has so ordained the universe that not only this earth of ours, but all the other myriad myriad worlds with which He has sprinkled space, are held as private property, each by a few planet owning heirs of God, who exact a tax from their fellow beings for the mere privilege of using the attraction of gravitation to avoid shooting off into space, and hurl them neck and crop into the filthy slough of poverty if they cannot pay. If it be so, what a mighty wail and lamentation must be forever rising to the throne to drown the music of the spheres.

SERVUS.

Which Is It?

Are men more wise than God, I wonder!
Or what dark spell are people under?
For either God has made a blunder,
Or vain pretense
Is made t'obstruct His laws for plunder,
Or want o' sense.

Alas! that God such lack displayed
In making laws to govern trade
Without some modern statesman's aid
In "these great questions"—
A Blaine or Edmunds would have made
Such wise suggestions!

ROBERT CUMMING.

A QUEER SORT OF PROTECTION.

Sawing American Logs in Canada and Sending the Product to the United States Duty Free.

"What do you think of the tariff bill?" was the inquiry addressed by a STANDARD representative to a suburban lumber dealer.

"I can't say anything about its general effect," was the reply; "but as far as concerns my own interests, I look on it as a good thing, because it takes the duty off lumber."

"Tell me something about the lumber business," said THE STANDARD man.

"You're asking a good deal," said the merchant, "and I can tell you but very little, for my business is altogether in spruce building beams and laths."

"All right," said THE STANDARD man, "tell me about them."

The dealer in beams and laths considered for a while and wore a puzzled look. Either the subject was so large that he found a difficulty in handling it, or it was so small that he had trouble to pick it up. At last he said:

"Come, now, you know what you want to know. Just ask your questions."

THE STANDARD man was very far from knowing what he wanted to know, but he began asking questions just the same, and the following colloquy ensued:

“Where do your supplies of spruce beams and laths come from?”

“Partly from Maine, but chiefly from Canada.”

“Then the removal of the duty would lessen the cost of your goods to you very materially?”

“Well, yes. Perhaps not so much at first, but after a time it certainly would, when Canadian lumber commenced to come to our markets.”

“When Canadian lumber commenced to come? But you get Canadian lumber now?”

“Yes, we certainly get some. There are a good many Canadian laths come here, but not a great many beams.”

“But you said that most of your supplies come from Canada?”

“So they do. But I didn’t say they were Canadian lumber.”

“Well, if beams and laths that come from Canada are not Canadian lumber, what in the name of common sense are they?”

“Why, American lumber, to be sure, cut in Maine.”

THE STANDARD man must have betrayed his mental bewilderment in his face, for the beam and lath dealer burst into a laugh. Then he said:

“Is it possible you don’t understand the law? Don’t you know that logs cut in Maine can be floated down the Aroostook to St. John, N. B., sawed there in any mill owned by an American citizen, and then brought into the United States free of duty?”

“Do you mean to tell me,” asked THE STANDARD man, “that a Canadian lumber manufacturer, by simply buying American logs instead of Canadian, and having his sawmill run in the name of an American citizen, can send his lumber into our ports duty free[sic]?”

“That’s precisely what I mean,” replied the beam and lath dealer. “American logs and Canadian logs are both floated to St. John on the same river. If the manufacturer buys American logs—or swears he does, it’s all the same thing—and if he saws them in an American owned mill, he can land his lumber in New York duty free,”

“And can he send it here on a foreign vessel?”

“Why, of course! He can and does. The greater part of the lumber that comes here from New Brunswick is brought in Canadian vessels.”

“But what do you suppose the tariff was made for?” asked THE STANDARD man.

“D––d if I know,” answered the beam and lath merchant.

Did Emancipation Free the Slaves?

CHICAGO.—I have been much impressed with the letter of Mr. John C. Gibbs, published in THE STANDARD of the 25th inst[sic]. on “Were the Negroes Really Freed?” I have talked with many negroes now past the prime of life

Sic in the original; probably “duty free.””.
Sic in the original; probably “the 25th ult.”.

who were formerly slaves, and who, comparing their present condition with their past, have said they fared better as slaves than they do as freemen, and preferred the former state. I have been told this by intelligent negroes, who said it, not for effect, but because they felt it. If freeing slaves was simply making them an easier prey for the remorseless maw of greed, emancipation was a sorry business. Extremes meet. Mr. Gibbs signs himself "A Slave Overseer's Son." I come from a family whose Indiana home was draped in mourning when John Brown was hanged. But Mr. Gibbs and myself now agree that the slaves were not freed. The shackles were simply shifted from the hands to the feet.

A significant fact has been appearing lately. During slavery days the vocative word of a negro to a white man was "massa!" After the war, by a sort of tacit but universal agreement, the blacks dropped that term, and used "boss" in its stead. Most persons will recognize this. Very recently I have found a few instances in which negroes in addressing white men use again the word "massa," showing that they begin to recognize the fact that, no matter what others may think about emancipation, they are yet slaves. It has seemed to me that the significance of this was deep as the outward sign of a mental condition.

B. C. KEELER.

Do the Wretched and Homeless Live in the Air Then?

Exchange.

At first sight it seems a strange way to secure equal taxation by concentrating taxes upon one kind of property and letting other kinds go free; but the idea has commended itself to many thoughtful men, and there may be something in it. Every human being, except a few wretched and homeless outcasts, uses "real estate."

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.

J. Hamilton Dillon, Secretary Twenty-third Assembly district, United Labor party, New York.—We would be cowards and worse to ignore the tariff issue. Such a course would be to turn the united labor party into a mere tail for the republican high tariff kite. And what single tax free trader proposes to be calmly led by the nose in that direction, whether by a central committee or a national conference? The answer is obvious; our duty is clear.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile, Ala.—I have not heard a single dissenting opinion among our single tax men as to your course with regard to the presidential nomination and Dr. McGlynn's position. Your dignified attitude has pleased all.

Land and Labor club No. 2, Memphis, Tenn.—Resolved, That it is the sentiment of this club that the nomination and running of a presidential candidate this year by the united labor party would be unwise and impolitic, and that we do hereby record our protest against any such action of the party

N. G. Leslie, Kalamazoo, Mich.—I wish to say that I have changed my mind concerning the nomination of candidates and am now of the opinion that it would be rank folly for us to do so unless the democrats back out entirely on the tariff issue, which it hardly seems possible they will be idiotic enough to do. It is plain that we are to have a red-hot campaign, in which tariff is to be the only issue, and if the democrats try to straddle the fence it will cause a much greater split in their party than it has in ours. After free trade comes free land, and even though we are derided and scorned, the politicians are, nevertheless, fighting our battles. Let us help them destroy one another; then the field will be left clear for us.

A. W. Cumins, Woodstock, Ill.—As to the question of nominating a ticket to be beaten this fall just for the fun of the thing—excuse me, if you please, I have been in that boat too many times. We can take our choice of one of the old twins, or go with the new infant industry called the prohibition party, or we can call ourselves anarchists and remain away from the polls, as we please; but I can see nothing to be gained in allowing ourselves to be "counted out" once more. Go straight ahead, heaving the lead occasionally, and I think we shall get there quite as soon as to enter the fight this fall as a party.

John Stewart, Matawan, N. J.—Since reading the views of Mr. George, Mr. Shearman, Judge Maguire and various others, as printed in THE STANDARD, I firmly believe it would be foolish to run a presidential ticket if the democrats come out square against that infernal relict of barbarism called "tariff." It is beyond my comprehension how any one who is a sincere believer in the doctrines of Mr. George can at the same time be a protectionist, and when I hear men proclaim themselves as the sons of the sons of protectionists I always feel glad that I never belonged to any political party whatever. Great principles for me, free land, free trade, free thought.

J. J. Carbery, Cincinnati.—I am confident that the divorce of McGlynn's personal fight with the ecclesiastical machine from the land value tax agitation will greatly aid the cause of true free trade.

Rev. J. C. F. Grumbine, Syracuse, N. Y.—I thoroughly sympathize with you in your attitude toward Cleveland and the great aims of the united labor party. I am sure that Dr. McGlynn will acknowledge his error before long.

A Miner, Lehigh Co., Pa.—As a reader of your paper I feel in duty bound to speak in commendation of it. Never, heretofore, have I had an opportunity of studying principles so far reaching and, to my mind, so practicable. The action you intend to take in the coming struggle I am completely in accord with. To me it seems madness to dream of forming a national political party at the present time. By so doing nothing is more certain than that you would return to power the party which is your worst enemy.

F. C. Thompson, Concord, N. H.—As an early and still faithful member of the anti-poverty society, as a Knight of Labor in good standing, as an American citizen without prejudice, as a farmer with free trade proclivities, allow me to express my sympathy, gratification and enthusiastic admiration for your present course and counsel in regard to the future of the united labor party and yourself.

J. G. Kennedy, Cedar Rapids, Ia.—Since the formation of the united labor party and their active part in politics last fall I have till lately hoped that we could enter a national campaign with advantage to the cause of "free land." The wish to do so was, no doubt, in a great measure father to the belief that we could do so unitedly. I never for a moment supposed that in a national campaign we could take any other stand that of[sic] *the* free trade party. But the letter of Victor A. Wilder in THE STANDARD for Jan. 21, opened my eyes to the fact that we were not yet sufficiently educated in the principles of our cause, that we had not all seen "the cat" in its completeness. Running a presidential ticket while ignoring the tariff question, would be like entering a state campaign and ignoring the questions of taxation and special privileges.

Theo. Buehler, Alma, Wis.—Well, what sort of attention should we engage by going into a tariff campaign and saying nothing about the tariff?" You ask me this question in THE STANDARD of the 11th inst[sic]., but I don't think it worth while to speculate upon the result of such an absurdity. The united labor party can do nothing of the kind without stultifying its record. The tariff is a tax upon the products of labor, and the Syracuse platform proposes to substitute a single tax on land values for all other methods of taxation, and "by abolishing all taxes upon industry or its products to leave the producer the full fruits of his exertion." If this don't mean death to the tariff I don't understand the English language. It means full free trade and not partial free trade. I cannot stand

Sic in the original; probably "any other stand than that of".
Sic in the original; probably "the 11th ult.".

upon any platform that closes its eyes to or evades the tariff question for the purpose of catching a protective voter.

A Clergyman, Portland, Me.–I thank you for your manly editorial in this week's STANDARD. I deplore Dr. McGlynn's course very much. God bless you ever. I am "almost persuaded" to accept your position, but not quite. But I esteem greatly and warmly applaud your earnestness, your candor, your courtesy, your patience, your courage. Let the great debate go on! The truth will become plain and will win its way. I am with you in your opposition to protection. I may yet accept your plan of the single tax. But whether I do or not I shall always declare in private and public, my interest in your writings and my faith in the nobility of your purpose.

Martin J. Meagher, Skaneateles Falls.–You are right and I am with you. I carefully read the THE STANDARD[sic] and I am convinced your judgment is sound.

A Clergyman, ––, ––.–Allow me to congratulate you upon the stand you have taken. For many years I have been convinced that your position as regards the ownership of land was impregnable. I arrived at my conviction thereupon after reading Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics."

––, Poughkeepsie.–I am more than sat

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isfied with your statement in this week's STANDARD. The level headed men here are in decided accord with you. I am surprised at the strong undercurrent of opinion in favor of the land movement. The weekly land and labor club meetings are well attended, and they all so far as I can ascertain sustain your views as to the course now to be pursued.

Thomas P. Turner, Healdsburg, Cal.–I have been an absolute free trade advocate for more than half a century, and am more sanguine of its triumph since the publication of your unparallelled[sic] work, 'Protection or Free Trade?" and the forcing of the issue in the presidential campaign. I am much distressed about the disagreement with Dr. McGlynn. It is not difficult to understand who is in error. Your editorial, "Personal and Political," fully explains the necessity of educating the masses thoroughly before making a direct appeal to their political duties.

George F. Lewis, Victor, Iowa.–I inclose 35 cents, for which please send a copy of "Protection or Free Trade?" to the address below. I sincerely regret, as all true friends of the new crusade doubtless do, the unjustifiable conduct of Dr. McGlynn. It seems to me incomprehensible; but it confirms the truth that we are all "poor critters." The best of us have our weak and frail sides, that some unlooked for accident may at any time make manifest.

A. C. Campbell, Ottawa, Can.–As a journalist of twelve years' standing, allow me to compliment you on THE STANDARD. It is worthy of you in every way, but most of all in its outspoken style. I read it with the very greatest pleasure.

Land and labor club, Mobile, Ala., March 1.–At a regular meeting of the land and labor club of Mobile the following resolutions were unanimously passed and ordered to be forwarded to THE STANDARD for publication:

Whereas, Certain late oocurrences[sic] in New York city having in a measure distracted the attention of some of the friends of the single tax measure; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we have unbounded confidence in the single tax upon land values to solve the industrial problem.

Sic in the original; probably "read THE STANDARD".
Sic in the original; probably "unparalleled".
Sic in the original; probably "occurrences".

Resolved, That we have in Henry George a leader in whom centers great ability, purity of purpose and keenness of perception, combined with patience, which distinguishes the statesman from the mere politician.

Resolved, That in view of the magnitude of the great question he has solved and so ably set before the people to carry out, we deem it wasted time to give attention to events of a purely local character in New York city; that we are greatly impressed by his wisdom and generous self-sacrifice on behalf of the good of the cause, and we hereby pledge ourselves to renewed efforts in spreading the light, and send to him and to all who work in good faith for the adoption of the single tax our greeting and well wishes.

Resolved, That we favor the idea of all single tax societies sending to THE STANDARD for publication an expression of their views as to the desirability of holding, at an early day, a conference for the good of the cause.

Charles A. Siringo, an Anti-poverty member, Denver, Col.—I glory in the noble stand you have taken on the presidential question. A man with a principle and the nerve to back it up regardless of what friends and party say or think, should have a warm place in the heart of every true Christian.

Alexander Walls, Seattle, W. T.—In my opinion those who are insisting on the party running a presidential candidate are either scheming politicians or have failed to see the whole cat. The united labor party is essentially a free trade party, and protectionists have no business in it. If the united labor party would not forfeit public respect and confidence it must be above the suspicion that its leaders are trafficking in the influence and power that they wield. The power of the united labor party to do good depends in great measure on the belief of the public in its purity of motive and singleness of purpose. Would not the general public have just grounds for suspecting crookedness with two free trade candidates in the field? Is it not much better to help the candidate who stands for free trade as against the candidate who stands for protection, no matter whether he sails under democratic colors or republican colors? It seems to me that our duty is plain in this matter. Indirect taxation (tariff and internal taxes, etc.) is the sentinel who guards the great robbers, and without which the great robber could not exist. It would be absurd, as well as morally criminal, on our part, to help the great robber by refusing to challenge the little robber or help others who wish to do so. To abandon principle in a petty whim to get even with any party or persons is unworthy of men, and would be inexcusable in school boys.

William G. Stade, Smith Center, Kansas.—Inclosed find $2, for which send copies of "Social Problems," "Progress and Poverty" and THE STANDARD as far as the balance will pay for it. I had one "Progress and Poverty," but it has been loaned so much that it is about worn out. It seems as though I could not do without THE STANDARD now. I am very sorry to see the division in the ranks in New York. I did hope that a party had at last arisen composed of men that would not sacrifice everything to secure a little worship of themselves. I can't see how any single tax men could go into the coming campaign and ignore the tariff question. I always thought that when we went into national politics the tariff would be the main issue we should make.

William Maloney, Kansas City.—In the beginning of the presidential controversy in the columns of THE STANDARD I was inclined to favor a presidential nomination; but after more matured thought, and reading the arguments advanced pro. and con., I think such an act would be extremely foolish.

SOBER SECOND THOUGHT.

H. F. Ring of Texas is Satisfied that We Shall Do Wisely to Support a Party Moving in Our Direction.

NEW ORLEANS.—I have a few moments of leisure before the train leaves for Houston, in which I can write you a few lines.

Like most of our friends, I was at first in favor of a presidential campaign on a platform ignoring the tariff question, or at least making it subordinate in such a degree to the land question as not to arouse the opposition of those who had never discovered the fallacy in the protectionist argument. I am satisfied now, however, that you have been right on this subject all along.

I think the overwhelming majority of single tax men are in favor of tariff reform. This is the case as to nearly all whom I have met. We therefore have the opportunity of exercising a commanding influence in the coming presidential campaign by throwing the balance of power held by us in many of the states in favor of that one of the two great parties which has taken a step in advance of the other toward the end at which we are aiming. In my opinion this opportunity should not be lost by throwing our votes away upon a candidate whose election will be impossible. This need not and should not prevent independent land tax reform campaigns being carried on in every state, county and city where we have strength enough to assure public attention.

H. F. RING.

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ALL ALONG THE LINE.

HOW THE MOVEMENT FOR INDUSTRIAL EMANCIPATION IS PROGRESSING.

The Tenth Ward Association of Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, March 5.—A special meeting of the Tenth ward association was held at 358 Sackett street, on Thursday evening, March 1[sic], to consider the recent occurrences in the Kings county executive committee. After a prolonged and exhaustive debate, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The Kings county general committee of the united labor party, at its meeting last month, refused by its action to submit certain resolutions to the various ward associations for their approval and consideration, which action appeared to be the result of a caucus of certain members of the committee; therefore be it

Resolved, That this association instructs all of its delegates at the next meeting to vote for a reconsideration of said resolutions, and in the event of their reconsideration, then all to vote against the passage of said resolutions.

Resolved, That in view of the slanders and calumniations of certain members of the county committees of New York and Brooklyn (on the strength of newspaper reports, which were for the destruction of this party) against our illustrious teacher and leader, Henry George, we hereby reaffirm our confidence in the judgment, honesty and sincerity of purpose of Henry George, whose advice and leadership we believe might form a wise guidance for the future conduct of the party so long as he remains loyal to the Syracuse platform, and we will follow him in this path.

Resolved, That it would be impolitic to enter into the national campaign.

These resolutions were passed by a great majority, and represent the sense of the association. The next meeting will be held at 358 Sackett street, March 22, at which a large attendance is requested.

R. C. UTESS, Secretary.

Hugh O. Pentecost Before the Anti-Poverty Society of Washington.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2.—The first public meeting of the anti-poverty society of this city was held last evening at the G. A. R. hall. The audience was moderately large, and included many members of the K. of L. Mr. H. J. Brown, the president of the society, occupied the chair.

The meeting was opened with a short address by the chairman, explaining the purposes of the society, whose work, he said, would be non-partisan and educational, devoted to the distribution of the literature of the single tax reform movement and to individual proselyting. Mr. Brown encouraged his hearers to believe that the reform

Sic in the original; probably “Thursday evening, March 1,”.

for which they were striving was not distant. Already, he said, there were six United States senators who were converts to this doctrine, and at least twenty representatives. One of these representatives had told him that he underestimated the number; there were thirty of them. Mr. Brown said that within six weeks a member of the house would rise in his place and speak for land reform. He concluded by introducing Hugh O. Pentecost as the speaker of the evening.

Mr. Pentecost devoted the opening part of his lecture to setting forth what the anti-poverty society meant by poverty. They did not seek, he said, to abolish individual poverty, that which is due to idleness, drunkenness or other individual failings, but that poverty which is forced upon the masses and is the outcome of the existing social system. He gave figures in support of a statement that under the present system it is possible only for the few to get rich, and that the masses are doomed to poverty. He spoke not only of abject, distressing poverty. He considered that man poor who could not satisfy the reasonable desires that have been created in him by the civilization of the nineteenth century. His mind or soul had desires as well as his body. He thought that man poor who was deprived of any part of the compensation due him for what his hands and brain produced. He pictured it as a wrong condition of affairs when a man who worked earnestly and industriously all his life was unable to provide for all the reasonable desires of his body and his soul. Such a man's poverty, he said, was not due to governmental policy. It existed alike in Russia, where the government was tyrannical in form; in Germany and England, where the tyrannical form was modified, and in the free republics of France and the United States. It was found in highly protected Germany, in the United States, with their tariff laws, and in free trade England. It had nothing to do with the tariff question.

The speaker then reviewed the various solutions which have been proposed for what is known as the "labor problem." He spoke with some contempt of the advice given by pulpit and press to the poor workingmen to be resigned. The pulpit held out to them, he said, the satisfaction of knowing that in the other world the condition of affairs will be exactly reversed. He showed, too, the utter inadequacy of the much preached gospel of "toil, thrift and temperance," pointing out that a general stinting of themselves by the mass of the people would simply be the death of trade and commerce.

The tendency was to force wages down to the life line. When men curb their desires and become able to live on less, wages must go down. He claimed also that great public charities from an economic point of view did more harm than good. In New York he said it was found that the women who cut below the already miserable wages of the sewing women were those who received assistance from charitable organizations and were enabled thus to do work a little cheaper. He argued also that trades unionism, strikes and boycotts were futile agencies to bring about the needed reforms. Wages, he argued, followed natural laws, and no artificial methods could produce any permanent change. He sketched also the plans of the philosophical anarchists and the socialists, and concluded that both would require a thousand years or more to effect the proposed reforms. For his part he could not wait so long.

In the concluding portion of his discourse Mr. Pentecost pointed out the true solution of the difficulty—the insuring of an equitable distribution of wealth by breaking down the walls which fence out men from natural opportunities. Neither capital nor labor, he said, got its just share; the landlord received the lion's share. He elaborated the theory that what a man produced was his; what was produced by the community, such as the rental value of the land, belonged to all in common. In the wrongful monopoly of land all other monopolies, the railroad and telegraph monopolies, were rooted. When the land monopoly was destroyed the other monopolies would fall. They did not, he said, propose to deprive any man of his rights in property. What they proposed to do was to take the added value—the unearned increment—which is produced by the community, and to do away with all other taxes. No part of what a man produces should be taken for taxes.

In Bayonne, N. J.

BAYONNE, N. J., March 2.–The annual

meeting of the land and labor club of this city was held at their headquarters on avenue D, near Twenty-second street, on Thursday evening, March 1. The following officers were elected: President, William B. Du-Bois; vice-president, J. W. Neeley; secretary, Thomas Ward; treasurer, George Cadmus.

A petition is being circulated by the club asking the common council to pass the necessary resolution to have the question of a free public library submitted to a vote of the people at the forthcoming charter election. This is in conformity with the provisions of an act passed by the New Jersey legislature last winter.

The club has also made arrangements for a debate on the tariff question. This will take place at the club reading room on Tuesday evening, March 6. Mr. James Marks and Mr. Kenneth McKenzie will be the principal speakers, and the question, "Does a protective tariff benefit workingmen?"

From the Anti-Poverty Society of Sharon, Conn.

SHARON, Conn., March 3.–The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Sharon anti-poverty society, held Feb. 27:

Whereas, The recent action of the president of the New York anti-poverty society in packing a meeting of the executive committee of that society, is in our judgment not only a gross breach of the implicit confidence placed in him, but a resort on his part to the lowest kind of machine methods; and

Whereas, Such action has made it impossible for this society consistently with its self respect longer to affiliate with the New York society; therefore be it

Resolved, That we do hereby withdraw our application for a charter as a branch of the New York anti-poverty society, and that the secretary is hereby instructed to write to the secretary of the New York society withdrawing such application and inclosing a copy of these resolutions.

Resolved, That the secretary is hereby instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to THE STANDARD.

GEORGE ST. J. LEAVENS, Secretary.

Discussing the Question in Maine.

LEWISTON, Me.–W. A. Farrah of Milltown writes an able letter to the *Labor Advocate* of this city, pointing out some of the ridiculous fallacies of protection. He says:

> Living upon the boundary as I do, I have become familiar with the peculiar yet incontrovertible fact that those who cry loudest for protection are the persons who avoid the custom officers most systematically. That fact well illustrates how selfish is the system which fines honorable toil to enrich our sickly infant industries. . . . Our protection now protects and encourages idleness. Change our present scheme of taxation, that industry may not be fined. Make it possible for a man to build a house or construct a machine and not be taxed for so doing. Rather let us impose a tax upon those who would monopolize the advantages in nature which are the inheritance of all the living and not a chosen few. In a word, what workingmen ask is not protection, but freedom–freedom from oppressive tariffs and freedom to employ their labor upon the material which the creator has provided for the use of labor and life. This material is land, without which labor is helpless. How destitute, then, is the man who is deprived of his birthright in land.

Anti-Poverty in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, Md., March 5.–The regular weekly public meeting of the anti-poverty society was held on Sunday evening last at Raine's hall. Mrs. Margaret Moore of New York was the speaker, and delivered an excellent address on the subject of "Irish and American Landlordism." Speaking of the pretended differences between the two systems, she said:

You have been told of Irish landlordism and American landlordism. Both are equally odious. As a child passing along the Waterford quay, I heard the wail of departing emigrants. I was told they could not pay their rent, but could hardly understand why they wept and left their country, in the light of the first questions in my catechism, which asked and answered, "Who made the earth? God. Why? To show his power and wisdom and for man's use and benefit." I tnought[sic] of these things when I saw people evicted, a grandmother thrown from a home that she had entered as a bride, and a dying woman served with a summons for forcibly taking possession of a cottage.

Mrs. Moore pointed out that the work of the anti-poverty society should be educational, and had nothing whatever to do with politics.

The two great issues of American politics, she said, have nothing to do with your anti-poverty society. You can be a free trader or a protectionist and belong to this society; yet it does seem strange to me that men can say, "Abolish all taxes except the single one on land values, but keep up the tariff tax." But what will protection do for a poor woman working eighteen hours a day on shirts at forty cents a dozen—or free trade even, except to buy her a cheaper coffin?

Anti-Poverty in Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, Ohio.–The usual public meeting of the anti-poverty society was held Feb. 26. Mr. Harry R. Smith read a paper on "Incaism, or Homes for All the People." It gave an account of the land laws and customs of Peru under the Incas; substantially a paternal system, but resulting in "no poverty, no bachelors and no old maids" Next Sunday[sic] Dr. Houghton will compare the single tax method of abolishing poverty with that practiced under the Incas. The meeting was the largest yet held. Dr. De Beck presided, remarks were made by Mr. McGarr of the St. Louis society, and there were the usual literary and musical features.

C. H. FITCH, Secretary[sic]

United Labor Nominations in Cedar Rapids.

CEDAR RAPIDL, Ia[sic]., March 3.–The city convention of the united labor party met on Wednesday evening last, and nominated the following city ticket: For mayor, Samuel J. H. Wolf; for city treasurer, John L. Wilson, and for recorder and assessor, J. S. Kennedy. The nominations are generally regarded as very strong. Mr. Wolf is a popular and successful merchant, who has been in business here for ten years past; John L. Wilson is a printer by trade and foreman of the *Chat* office, and John S. Kennedy is bookkeeper in a large manufacturing establishment.

The State Conference in Iowa.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Ia., March 3.–The state conference of the united labor party met in this city on Thursday, March 1. L. G. Booth of the Linn county committee called the conference to order and was elected permanent chairman. M. Cowden, jr., was chosen secretary.

Sic in the original; probably "thought".
Sic in the original; probably "no old maids." Next Sunday".
Sic in the original; probably "C. H. FITCH, Secretary.".
Sic in the original; probably "CEDAR RAPIDS, Ia.".

Letters of congratulation and encouragement from Henry George and Dr. McGlynn, and many other prominent leaders of the party, were read by the secretary, and elicited strong enthusiasm.

The Syracuse platform was then unanimously adopted as the basis of the party work in Iowa, and a state central committee of eleven—one for each congressional district

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—were elected, with L. G. Booth of Cedar rapids[sic] for chairman.

The following is the state committee: L. G. Booth, chairman, Cedar Rapids; Dr. H. S. Hadsell Maynard, Fayette county; Frank McNally, Cedar Falls, Blackhawk county; C. A. Lloyd, Muscatine; J. Haggerty, Burlington; E. Perry, Oskaloosa; J. Bellangee, Des Moines; W. H. Robb, Creston; R. P. Jones, Primgar; Hugh Leslie, Clinton. The committee were empowered to fill all vacancies.

A resolution was then adopted instructing the state central committee to correspond with other state committees and branches of the party, urging an early call for a national conference, to decide on the advisability of placing a presidential ticket in the field.

The resolution called forth considerable discussion and was finally adopted.

A Meeting in Owensboro, Tenn[sic].

OWENSBORO, Tenn., February 14.—A large meeting was held at our city hall last night under the auspices of our local assembly of the Knights of Labor.

P. H. Carroll of Indianapolis was one of the principal speakers. His subject was Land, Labor and Tax. Land, he said, should bear the whole tax, every other species of property being representative of labor, which should always be exempt. Labor and capital should live in perfect harmony, their interests being identical. Labor should never make a demand not based upon a primeval right, and capital should in all cases recognize this right and act upon it before any formal demand should be made.

Mr. Carroll's speech was a new thing to his hearers, and the force of his reasoning struck many, while his eloquence and information made a decided impression upon all.

Missionary Work in Kansas.

LARNED, Kan.—I am just beginning a close canvass of this county (Pawnee), lecturing in the school houses. The tracts and STANDARDS I distribute are eagerly taken, and I could use many more to advantage if I had them. Crops were a failure here last year, our people are poor, and I myself cannot afford to give more than my time and energies to the work.

We have an association here called the Reform club of Larned, to which not only united labor men, but many of the union labor party and Knights of Labor belong. At present the club are heartily co-operating with me in teaching the principles of the Syracuse platform. We now number over fifty members, with additions at every meeting. We have a club meeting every Friday night in Larned, and I now have arranged for the use of two school houses in the country and shall try to discuss the principles of the united labor party at least in each municipal township in the county.

I am aware that it is generally thought impossible to accomplish any permanent good by such a united effort as that which these two parties have adopted here, and yet up to this time there is between us here the utmost

Sic in the original; probably "Cedar Rapids".

harmony and kindliness of feeling. And I know that there exists far more desire on the part of the union labor people to study into our single tax plank than existed prior to our [club organization?]; and it is a matter of daily [occurrence?] to hear of rejoicing among the farmers that these two parties are working together like brothers.

Lest my position be misunderstood let me add that while I have great respect for much that is in the Cincinnati platform, nothing is clearer to my mind than that its land plank is utterly inadequate to destroy land monopoly, while I as clearly see that the single tax set forth in the Syracuse platform will, if carried out, accomplish that result.

W. M. GOODNER.

The National Tax Reform Movement in Texas.

HEMPSTEAD, Texas.—A club of the national tax reform association was organized in this city last week. Those wishing to join the club, for purposes of propaganda or for instruction in the theory which will at no distant day establish those needed reforms at which all right minded citizens aim, are invited to address Box 10, Hempstead. Those desiring literature treating on the subject of what is known as the Henry George doctrine will be supplied free of charge.

Twenty or Thirty in Weatherford, Texas.

WEATHERFORD, Texas.—I am distributing all the tracts I can get, and have increased THE STANDARD'S circulation at our news stand by several copies. There are twenty or thirty single tax men in this community, and not one of us but fully approves the position of THE STANDARD in the recent discussion.

WILL M. BUELL.

Tax Reform Clubs in Colorado.

CANON CITY, Colorado.—Will you allow me, through the columns of THE STANDARD, to invite all friends of the single tax in Colorado who are willing to assist in organizing local tax reform clubs with the view of a state organization, to communicate with me?

FRANKLIN BLAKE.

Beginning Work in Ottawa.

OTTAWA, Canada.—I am a member of the anti-poverty society of Toronto, and am commissioned by that society to do what I can to form an organization of some kind to advance our views here. I cannot say yet what my line of operations will be, but I hope to do some good in bringing the Henry George men here, few or many, into union for active work.

A. C. CAMPBELL.

Tariff Discussion in Australia.

Lithgow, Australia, Enterprise.

Our friend of the *Western Post* is a free trader. Why then does he not advocate free trade? He knows that we must have taxation; he knows that at present taxation falls upon industry or the increment of it, capital, and thus

Sic in the original; probably "Owensboro, Ky.".

injures both immeasurably. He knows that taxation upon land values would be taxation for the good and for the government of the whole people upon a value contributed by the whole people. Every government acknowledges and acts upon this principle to a certain degree. In a new country, such as any of these colonies, the government takes the value given to the land by the people, and devotes it to the people—in other words it sells the land and uses the product of such sale for the expenses of the state. But, in selling, it forfeits its right to collect any further value contributed by the people to such lands, and places this right in the hands of a private individual and his heirs and assigns for ever. Why should this be? Is it likely that industry and capital will go on suffering this monstrous injustice when they understand?

ANTI-POVERTY IN PHILADELPHIA.

Encouraging the Workers to Press On in the Good Work.

PHILADELPHIA, March 5.—Mr. William H. Johnson presided at the weekly meeting of the anti-poverty society. He said, in opening the meeting, that the principles of the society were making rapid headway, and gave as an

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instance Mayor Hewitt's advocacy of the removal of taxation from personal property.

Mr. A. H. Stephenson was the first speaker introduced. His address was full of thought. He said that the anti-poverty society did not confine itself to the land question, but aimed to secure justice and put into practice the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence.

The progress of mankind had been from evil to good, from slavery to liberty. Though progress had been made from the feudal system to the constitutional monarchical system, and then to a system in which a constitutional power lay vested in the people; though chattel slavery had been abolished, yet there remained a step to be taken, without which all the others would be as naught—the abolition of industrial slavery—a step which the anti-poverty movement meant to take in, obtaining for all men their rights in the land. Prohibition, he said, was advocated as a cure for poverty, in that it would prevent workers from spending money on drink and thereby force them to become economical. But that this was a mistaken idea could be seen in the case of women, who, by the fact that they could live more cheaply than men, were enabled to underbid men for employment and thereby cut down wages. Stopping the expenditure of money for drink would have a similar effect to the introduction of a new machine—to throw men out of employment' and[sic] cause a fall in wages.

Referring to the tariff question he said that while the argument that a protective tariff was a general benefit looked plausible, that tariffs were really in the interest of a special class.

Mr. Richard Chambers was next introduced and recited the court scene of the "Merchant of Venice."

Mr. Herman V. Hetzel made a brief address, saying that although the way of reform seemed hard, they had only to look to history to see that men had been visited with death for advocating much less radical reforms. But whatever the cost men should press on and remember that the cause was for the vindication of justice.

W. B. C.

At Elizabeth, N. J.

ELIZABETH, N. J.—At a regular meeting of Jeffersonian land and labor club, held in their parlors on Livingston street, Thursday evening. March 1, the policy of the united labor party with reference to the coming presidential

election was debated at length. Mr. Joseph R. Gordon of Roselle, N. J., and Mr. McGregor of Jersey city arguing the inadvisability of nominating candidates or going into a national campaign under existing circumstances, and M. H. Davison and Andrew O'Shea advocating nominations and a national campaign on grounds independent of the anticipated tariff controversy. No vote was taken, as the club is not desirous of committing itself or of endeavoring to influence others toward any particular line of action prior to the holding of a national conference of the party. In the meantime, however, this club respectfully invites and will cordially welcome any speaker or member from any other club, or any one who may be interested in the matter, to come and address them on any convenient Thursday evening on either side of this question, or on any subject having a direct bearing upon the single tax movement—the club agreeing to reciprocate the favor, if agreeable—hoping by such means to get the situation clearly defined and our ideas thoroughly clarified pending the time when our decision may have weight in settling the action of the party.

MAHEW H. DAVISON[sic], [stray type marks] Sec'y Jeffersonian L. and L. club No. 3.

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

Addresses by John H. Edelman and Dr. McGlynn at the Forty-fifth Meeting.

Mr. John H. Edelman of Brooklyn presided at the forty-fifth public meeting of the anti-poverty society in the Academy of Music last Sunday evening, and made the opening address.

The American people, he said, had been conducting the business of popular government for over a century, and it was time to take stock. They should have an enormous amount of liberty on hand. But when one came to investigate he would find that liberty was restricted in many ways. Mere labor had come to be regarded as a privilege, and a new crime had been invented called scabbing. Trades unions should look deeper for the real cause of their troubles and for their best remedy.

There was only one reason why the mere right to labor in this country was valuable, and that was because natural opportunities were not in use. People were talking of restricting immigration, as though there were too many people here, when the fact is that the greater half of the United States was practically to-day unoccupied land. There was unoccupied land enough in the state of Iowa to supply every man, woman and child of all the laboring people in the United States that were out of work with one hundred and sixty acres of land.

No one believed that the soil of this country was not sufficiently productive to support all the population and half that of Europe besides. The trouble was that the people had allowed this magnificent heritage to be stolen from them. But they had at last found a very much better way of administering their patrimony than that which had hitherto prevailed and they proposed to keep right on with the agitation until they had convinced a majority of the voters in the United States. "It is very possible that this may take more than ten years, but however long it takes, we shall keep up the agitation as long as we live or until we are successful. And if we should not happen to live long enough, we have the serene confidence that there will be plenty of men after us who will take up the same agitation and carry it on to victory."

Then Mr. Edelman introduced Dr. McGlynn, who spoke of the religious aspect of the anti-poverty movement. The question, he said, was essentially a religious one, based upon the essential truth of all religion—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Unseemly greed would cease when it was made clear that the Father had made abundant provision for all his children. The Lord's prayer was but the expression of this sublime philosophy.

Sic in the original; probably "employment, and".
Sic in the original; probably "MAYHEW H. DAVISON?".

God was our father, therefore all were equally brethren and have equal rights. “Hallowed be thy name.” How? By the doing of the moral law which controls the dwelling of the brotherhood here in this workshop. “Thy kingdom come,”—when all should obey that law—and then God’s will could be done on earth as it is in heaven. Then men could pray “Give us this day our daily bread,” not meaning that the father should give them bread for which they should not labor, but that He should extend to all abundant opportunity to employ their labor. In that happy day men would have fewer trespasses to forgive or to ask God’s pardon for. Men would not be led into temptation through deprival of opportunities to labor. Crime would largely disappear from the world and men would be delivered from the only true evil—disobedience to the law of God.

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UNITY CONGREGATION.

THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL ADVANCE.

Hugh O. Pentecost’s Discourse on Finished People—Men Who Think They Have Reached the End of Human Knowledge.

Many new faces were to be seen in the large congregation which listened to Hugh O. Pentecost’s discourse on “Finished People,” at Masonic temple, last Sunday morning, indicating that the Unity congregation is steadily growing.

Mr. Pentecost started out by stating that while the doctrine of evolution was yet only an hypothesis and had not been demonstrated, yet the probabilities were that it would be. The popular objections to it arising from the difficulty of showing that one species had ever passed over into another are not considered as formidable as they once were, since it is now believed by many competent scientist[sic] that the difference between species and species are no greater in reality than the variations within the species. But opposed to this theory is the non-discovery of any order of beings, as we know them, which show any disposition to evolve into higher forms of life. Monkeys do not develop into men, or show the slightest tendency to do so, so that we are forced to suppose that man was evolved from some animal which was apelike, but had not yet assumed the definite characteristics of the ape family; that from this unknown animal, which scientists designate an anthropoid, the ape developed in one line and man in another. Thus the evolutionists of to-day somewhat modify the position which Darwin occupied, by supposing that in the processes of evolution the animals known to us proceeded in their development to a certain point and then stopped.

A colony of ants affords a significant and striking illustration of this idea, said Mr. Pentecost. They are marvelously ingenious, presenting a form of society in many respects as highly developed as any among human beings; holding slaves, owning and milking cows, and in many ways exhibiting astonishing peculiarities; but we have no reason to think that they make the slightest progress. What they are now they have been for ages. It would seem that there was a time when ants were a progressive order of beings, but having arrived at a certain stage of development, they stopped, so that now they are extreme conservatives. We may imagine that should a genius arise in a colony of ants, an ant with a new idea, an inventive mind, a reformer, he would become such a disturber of the peace that he would be immediately killed.

With regard to physical man, there can be little doubt that he has reached the limit of his development. Nature can do nothing more for him as a physical organism. There is no evidence that the brain of man, for instance, has improved in quality since very early historical ages. The great religious teachers of early times, the great poets and

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Sic in the original; probably “many competent scientists”.

philosophers of ancient history, stand, until now, unrivaled. Man seems to have reached the limit of his capacity as a physical and thinking being. The most that we can hope for now is not more splendid attainments individually, but a wider diffusion of knowledge, an increase in general intelligence and capacity in all directions.

The line in which man seems to be evolving is a moral and spiritual one. Nature having completed him as a physical being, turned special attention to the development of the mind, and now special attention seems to be turned in the direction of enlarged moral and spiritual capacities.

But within the human family we find individual instances of apparently complete stoppage in every function, in mentality, morality and spirituality, persons who give every evidence of being completed, finished. There are human beings who know as much as they ever will or can, and so perfectly satisfied are they that they have no desire to learn anything more. Were the whole community made up of such we should perfectly resemble a colony of ants. A genius would be more certain to be instantly killed as a disturber of the peace that he is now certain[sic] to have his life made extremely uncomfortable.

Every attainment in science and every improvement in religion has had to fight its way against the determined opposition of finished people. Galileo, in his astronomical discoveries, had to meet them. Harvey, in propounding the theory of the circulation of the blood, had the same experience. And to this day, accustomed as we are to inventions and discoveries of all kinds, the man who proposes a new theory in science, philosophy, political economy or religion finds his way blocked by an army of finished people.

The disposition toward intolerance is strikingly marked with reference to those who propose social changes. Of all endeavors wherein the activities of men are mobile the organization of society is the most pronounced. The form of society is constantly changing. The progress from rule of the patriarch to that of the king, to that of the people, with all subsidiary modifications, has involved incessant social change, combatted always by those who vainly thought the end had been reached in each form of governmen[t. A?]nd now, in this land, where democracy has achieved its greatest glory and highest perfection, the same phenomenon of satisfaction is discoverable.

The vast majority of American citizens believe, in their hearts, that we have reached finality in social organization, and he who points to alleged defects and proposes modifications which he claims to believe will be for the amelioration of the people, is suspected, traduced, hounded or hung, according to the positiveness, definiteness or indiscretion of his proposals.

Social, no less than theological, reformers have a hard road to travel in their day and generation. They are the prophets of the most high, and suffer the fate of prophets. We build monuments to them after they are dead; we recognize their great abilities when the changes for which they wrought are accomplished; but while they live their own generation covers them with the same contumely and disgrace which was meted out to their predecessors. And yet a moment's thought should convince the most thoughtless that of all unstable institutions human society is necessarily the most subject to change. Every step in progress, every advance in civilization, every increase in the diffusion of knowledge, every new application of natural forces to industrial life, makes it increasingly necessary that old social forms should give place to those which are better adapted to the newly evolved relations of man to man.

I am constantly surprised, enraged and amused by turns to observe how many persons, who are extremely liberal in theology, highly cultivated in literature and art, very receptive of all discoveries in science, are nevertheless finished with regard to social questions.

Sic in the original; probably "the peace than he is now certain".

Perhaps the greatest conservatism of our immediate generation is with regard to our form of society. We live in a skeptical age. The Bible and Christianity, our authoritative sacred book, and our established form of re
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ligion, are freely handled. Investigation runs rife, criticism is at its flood, and the wisest and best among us encourage this spirit of inquiry, which is not irreverent, though it is commonly thought so, since it sincerely seeks to know the *truth*, which is better than the most valued book or the most authoritative form of religion.

We are no longer surprised at any experimental revelation of science, or any strange invention. We expect anything. So great have been the discoveries and so startling the progress of the past half century that our anticipation almost outruns the possibility of fulfillment; but we have not yet recognized that the most significant tendency toward change is now in the direction of social readjustments; and just as I appeal to you to cultivate large habits of thought with regard to moral and spiritual truth, so it seems needful that I should urge upon you the wisdom of holding your minds open to those who propose social reforms. Not that they all have the truth. There are many wild visionaries among the number of social agitators which this generation is producing; but because nothing is more evident than that we are running upon an age of social betterment or revolutionary violence; and whatever men may think of the various proposed solutions of the social problem, no wise man can be blind to the fact that we have a problem; no good man can be satisfied with the thought that we have reached the possibilities of human happiness, even under our most beneficent form of government. No thoughtful man, it seems to me, can possiby[sic] conclude that the purposing will of God, or, if you like the expression better, the process of evolution, has arrived at its culmination in our present social organization. It is not needful that we should follow every man who cries, "Behold! I am the Christ," or "Lo! The kingdom of God is appearing;" but it is needful that we should cultivate a willingness to listen to what any man—even apparently the most foolish and erratic, has to say upon subjects which are most important to the progress and happiness of mankind. It is needful that we watch our tendencies to escape the possibility of culminating in finishment.

I sometimes think that many of those who are considered our most eminent men are precisely those who should be considered eminent only in a colony of ants. Our most successful after dinner speakers are those who glorify our present attainments in social life, railroad presidents, satisfied with things as they are; geniel[sic], jocose, witty, sparkling with hilarity; sipping the nectar of social preferment; enjoying the plaudits of the like minded; acute economists, constructing marvellous tables of figures to prove that it is not possible for a manufacturer to become rich, and that the only people who really are enjoying the fruits of our civilization are the wage workers; popular ministers, who declare that the Wall street type of Christianity is the highest and most saintly which the world has ever seen. These are the men whom we look upon as our highest and best; these are they who decry every thought of change; these are they whom we reckon our distinguished ones. But as I look at it, these are simply examples of finished people. They are to human society just what the ape and the ant are in the animal kingdom.

Why should we wish to be finished, even in the highest possible attainments? Why do we not see that perfection is not desirable? Why do we not understand that he who has reached perfection in his thinking, in his doing, in his being, is the most miserable of men?

Perfection, of all things, is least to be desired. We do not want a perfect religion. We do not want perfect society. We do not want to reach the limit of scientific investigation. We do not want perfect goodness. We do want unending progress, unending attainment. That life only is desirable which is unfinished, and it is for us to discover those particulars in which we are complete and abandon all effort in that direction, and avoid all satisfaction in that fact; and to apprehend those directions in which we have not reached perfection, and bend our energies thitherward.

Sic in the original; probably "possibly".
Sic in the original; probably "genial".

There are many dangers which lie in the track of human life—sickness, poverty, crime, lunacy, the wreck of fortune and the blasting of hope—but inconceivably greater than these is the danger that any of us should fail to recognize all this and become a finished person.

How Many Bricklayers in New York Can Do as Well?

The United States commissioner of labor presents the following report of the condition, earnings and expenses of a bricklayer in Liverpool, England:

Condition.—Family numbers five—parents and three children, from one to five years of age. Occupy small cottage of four rooms; surroundings good. The father is industrious; ordinarily could save money, but with present large young family is just able to make both ends meet. Family dress neatly; the mother, in addition to caring for the children, cooks and does all household work.

Diet.—Breakfast: Bread and butter, coffee or tea; sometimes cheese or molasses. Dinner: American bacon, or, several times per week, fresh beef, potatoes or beans, beer; Sunday, a pudding. Supper: Bread, tea or coffee, and occasionally meat or potatoes left from dinner.

Earnings of father..... $384.4[0?] Cost of living: Rent..... $53.04 Bread and flour..... 68.61 Meat..... 54.3[8?] Groceries, beer and ale..... 85.45 Tea and coffee..... 15.62 Milk..... 15.16 Fuel and light..... 18.44 Clothing, including shoes..... [39.50?] Incidentals, including medical attendance..... 29.20 Expenditures..... $384.40 Earnings..... 384.4[0?]

From the United Labor Club of Rochester.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—At the last regular meeting of the united labor club of this city, held Feb. 24, a resolution was passed declaring it to be the sense of the club that a national conference should be held early in July to decide whether to run a presidential ticket, and instructing the secretary to forward the resolution to the land and labor committee.

The advocates of the single land tax here, although the majority of them favor a national ticket, are not disposed to have the committee at 28 Cooper union decide that question before its conference meets; and they wish to suggest, through the columns of THE STANDARD, that local organizations throughout the United States put themselves on record against the arbitrary way of forming the conference that has been proposed by the members of the central committee.

FREDERIC W. SANDERS.

From an American in England.

LONDON, Feb. 25.—The dawn begins to break here, and radical speakers and newspapers—notably the *Star* and *Christian Commonwealth*—are advocating the taxation of ground rents. It must come—the great reform. It is only a question of time whether we shall live in the glorious days of justice and common sense, or whether future generations only shall be blessed.

S. M. BURROUGHS.

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TRINITY'S TAXING POWER.

Suppose that some zealous member of the Methodist Episcopal church should introduce in the assembly at Albany a bill authorizing a private corporation, composed entirely of reputable and pious members of that communion, to levy a tax of five per cent on certain lands on Manhattan island for the support of struggling Methodist churches in this and adjacent states, how would the proposal be received by the public? Is there any doubt that it would be repudiated by intelligent members of that denomination and denounced by the public generally? Even those who might, from interested motives, accept such a measure as applicable to this city, would protest that it would be unfair to tax the residents of New York city for the maintenance of churches to which, in the nature of things, but few of those paying the tax could have access.

Yet this is precisely what is done by the corporation known as "The rector, wardens and vestry of Trinity church." In the course of the controversy that took place in the legislature in 1857, concerning the right of all members of the Episcopal church in the city to participate in the election of the wardens and vestrymen having control of the property granted by King William "to the use and behalf of the inhabitants from time to time inhabiting and to inhabit" the city of New York in communion with the church of England, an appeal was made to the fears and prejudices of rural assemblymen in order to induce them to vote against the then pending bill to permit the members of the Episcopal communion throughout this city to elect half of the wardens and vestrymen. It was declared by those making this appeal that Trinity corporation had liberally aided Episcopal churches in all parts of the state, and that the result of the participation of the city Episcopalians generally in the choice of wardens and vestrymen would be the restriction of the corporation's benefactions to city churches.

The advocates of the pending measure did not dare contend that such a course would not only be just, but in strict accord with the conditions of the grant, but they denied that there was any probability that Episcopalians generally in the city would be any less generous toward country churches than the corporation as then controlled had been. The idea that there was any impropriety in levying a heavy tax on land in the business portions of this city for the purpose of aiding churches of a single denomination beyond the city limits never appears to have dawned on the mind of a single man engaged in that exhaustive and acrimonious debate.

On the contrary, the propriety of such a course seems to have been admitted by all, and this perversion of the funds of the trust was dwelt upon by the friends and advocates of the Trinity corporation as one of its chief claims to honor and recognition. Rev. William Berrian, rector of the church, published in 1855 a plaintive pamphlet entitled "Facts Against Fancy, or a True and Just View of Trinity Church," in which he gave a minute list of Trinity's benefactions. Included in the list of beneficiaries are Episcopal churches in Westchester county, Hudson, Albany, Long Island, Poughkeepsie, Fishkill, Peekskill, Ballston, Duanesburg, Catskill, Schenectady, Philipsburg, Troy, Lansingburg, Waterford, Cooperstown, Utica, Geneva, Newburgh, Delni[sic], Auburn, Rochester, Le Roy, Genesee county; Constantia, Oswego county; Syracuse, Westfield, Chatauqua county; Elmira, Seneca Falls,

Sic in the original; probably "Delhi".

Kingston, Rome, Oswego, Otsego, Holland Patent, Batavia, Olean, Saratoga, Tarrytown, Sag Harbor, Ticonderoga, and dozens of other towns and places throughout the state. In many cases lots were deeded to those outside churches, by which congregations remote from this city are still empowered to maintain themselves and support their pastors by means of a tax levied directly on business men and others in this city. St. Peter's church in Westchester was in 1809 given in perpetuity the right to levy an ever increasing tax on five lots of land on Reade, Chambers and Warren streets, in this city; Grace church at Jamaica, L. I.[58], was in the same year granted power to levy a similar tax on three lots on Lumber street and one on Reade street; St. George's at Flushing was given a similar power over five lots on Warren and Chambers streets. Similar grants were made to several other out of town churches in 1809 and much more extensive grants of the same kind were made from time to time to various city churches. As a rule, however, the corporation preferred to hold this taxing power in its own hands and bestow some portion of its proceeds on other churches. Among those thus assisted were churches at Stamford, Conn.; Portsmouth, N. H.; Newark, Jersey City, and Hoboken, N. J., and others outside this state.

Nearly all gifts and donations were made to Episcopalians, many of them taking the form of pensions and subsidies to sick or worn out ministers or their widows. The cost of the publication of the proceedings of the general convention were for years paid by Trinity, and in many other ways it contributed to the general expenses of the denomination. Its gifts for other than sectarian purposes up to 1855 were easily enumerated and did not occupy much space in the good Dr. Berrian's pamphlet.

In 1752 a lot of land on Barclay and Murray streets, extending from Church street to the Hudson river, was deeded to what was then King's college, and this property is now part of that over which Columbia college exercises the taxing power which gives it a magnificent revenue. As this gift was accompanied by a condition that the Episcopal form of worship should be maintained in the chapel of the college, this gift cannot be considered as wholly unsectarian.

In 1765 two lots were conveyed to the city to enable it to establish a ferry to Powles Hook.

In 1771 $500 in cash was contributed toward building a market, and the ground on which it was to be built was exchanged

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for certain water lots belonging to the corporation.

In 1775 two lots on the north side of Vesey street were given for a pier and slip.

In 1800 $250 in cash and several lots were given toward building markets in Brannon, Duane and Christopher streets.

In 1810 and again in 1815 a few lots were granted for the benefit of the free school society.

These were all the grants for a public purpose recited in Dr. Berrian's pamphlet, and most of these seem to have been made with a view to improving the property of the corporation. Such was clearly the case so far as the aid given in establishing markets, ferries and slips are concerned.

Among the Episcopal churches in this city to which Trinity surrendered its power to tax land and aided directly with money are Grace, St. George's and St. Mark's. To Grace it deeded twenty-five lots on Rector, Vesey, Barclay, Warren, Chambers, Church and Reade streets; to St. George's thirty-three lots on Reade, Church, Greenwich, Murray, Chambers, Warren, Barclay and Beekman streets, and to St. Mark's twenty-eight lots on Warren, Church, Reade, Harrison, Greenwich and Provost streets. These lots in the very heart of the business center of the city are

Sic in the original; probably "L. I.,".

now worth an enormous sum and must yield to the churches named a magnificent revenue. Yet these churches were among those active in calling Trinity to account in 1855. Referring to this fact Dr. Berrian says:

> With such liberal arrangements in the case of Grace church, and such noble gifts and ample endowments to St. Mark's and St. George's, does the charge of niggardliness against Trinity church come from this quarter with decorum and grace? Could it have been supposed that this munificent corporation would ever be made, as it lately has been in a public assembly, the object of denunciation and menace, of sarcasm, vituperation and scorn, with tongues steeped in the gall of bitterness, and imaginations luxuriating in all the wantonness of abuse, by the very persons who were sharing most largely in its bounty? . . . It is confidently believed, and, as it is thought on very just grounds, that the united incomes of St. Mark's church, Grace church and St. George's are equal at least to one-half the net income of Trinity church itself. If this conjecture be true, then, after all the suitable arrangements in these parishes are made, and all needful expenses incurred, there would still remain a considerable surplus beyond their own proper and peculiar wants. Now what becomes of this surplus? To what purposes is it applied? To whom is it a boon, a blessing and a relief? I have never learned, neither have I ever met a man who had.

This is clearly one of these fallings out through which rightful owners now and then benefit. Dr. Berrian's argument is that Trinity has made the best possible use of the vast estate held by it in trust for public use and benefit; but even if this were not the case, he insisted that other churches to which Trinity had delegated and abandoned its taxing power had made no better use of it than Trinity had made. It was a good enough retort, not inapplicable to the question then under discussion, but having no bearing whatever on the great question that looms up before us in the future as to the right of individuals and corporations to levy for private, sectarian or any partial benefit a tax on the common property and to take to themselves the annually increasing rental values created by the people of all creeds, denominations, conditions and avocations.

Trinity has had a stormy time in the nearly two centuries that have elapsed since William III granted it its original charter and Queen Anne granted and confirmed to the rector and inhabitants of New York "all those our severall closes, peeces and parcells of land, medows and pastures formerlly called the Duke's farme, and the King's farme, now known by the name of the Queen's farme." Private individuals have with vigor and persistence urged a costly legal battle for the possession of the lands held by the corporation. Representatives of the great body of Episcopalians in New York city have asserted their claim to a voice and share in the direction of the estate. All such demands have been met and successfully resisted by the self-perpetuating corporation. No claim, however, seems ever to have been urged on behalf of the people. This is remarkable because there were obvious and excellent grounds for such a claim. Between the years of 1776 and 1783 the power of the king and queen who made these grants was overthrown by armed revolution, and with the overthrow of their power was also overthrown in this country the idea that it is any part of a government's duty to establish or maintain a state church. How, under these circumstances, a grant made specifically for such a purpose was held to remain good enough to withhold this land from the common domain, but not good enough to assure the devotion of the income of the trust to the purposes designated in the grant, is one of the mysteries of the legislative mind and practice.

There is certainly nothing in the original charter to show that there was the most remote purpose in the mind of William of Orange to make a grant for the support of a sect. The laws of England in his time had been brought to tolerate sects, but certainly not to pet or favor them. The church of England was substantially a part of the government, and the king of England, who called himself in this very charter, "William III, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.;" was the recognized head of that church. It was obviously his duty as head of the church and state to extend his spiritual authority over the people acknowledging his

political dominion in America. The grant of a charter to the rector and inhabitants of the city of New York was simply an exercise of that authority. It was, in part, a formal ratification of an act previously passed by the colonial assembly for the express purpose of establishing a state church in the colony. The corporators were alluded to in the charter as "the present managers of our said church of England within our said city of New York," who had petitioned to be incorporated as "The rector and inhabitants in communion of the Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws."

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Under these circumstances the king granted the charter and appointed Henry, lord bishop of London and one of his privy council, first rector of the parish. The lands granted were "to the use and behalfe of the inhabitants from time to time, inhabiting and to inhabit, within our said city of New Yorke, in communion of our said Protestant church of England as now established by our laws, and to no other use or purpose whatsoever, any statute, law, customs, or usage to the contrary in any way notwithstanding." The church wardens and vestrymen were made subject to the laws and statutes regulating the choice of such offices and of overseers of the poor and other parish officers in other parts of the realm, and the dues of rector and others were to correspond with those in the parish of St. Mary Bow in London. Furthermore, in this charter, and in the colonial act proceeding[sic] it, authority was distinctly given to the wardens and vestrymen to levy a public tax for church purposes on all of the inhabitants of the parish. There was no qualifying clause here exempting those not communicants of the church of England from this tax, and in this and all other matters there is conclusive evidence that the grant was made for the express purpose of establishing a state church.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to imagine the course of reasoning by which the legislature of New York state was brought to pass the act of 1784 confirming in possession the persons then claiming to hold the Trinity estate in trust, and making the inhabitants of the city then in communion with the Protestant Episcopal church—one of the several Protestant sects then in existence—the sole beneficiaries of the trust. The preamble to this act declared that those parts of the charter "which render necessary the induction of a rector of the said church by the governor, according to such instructions as he shall from time to time receive from his Britannic majesty, and such other portions of said charter and law as admit and acknowledge that rights exist in the bishop of London in and over said church, are inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the constitution of this state." It further declared that certain other parts of the charter were "contradictory to that equality of religious rights which is designed to be established by the constitution of this state." The new statute, therefore, repealed and annulled the power of the wardens and vestry to levy a public tax for the maintenance of the church and all other portions of the charter and colonial acts that recognized this as a state church.

There were *no facts justifying* this act, and it was in form and spirit an attempt to legally sanction a breach of contract and a diversion of trust funds. The preceding government recognized the existence of a state church and the obligation of the civil power to support and maintain such a church as a part of the public policy of the government. Its grant of franchise and lands was therefore for what it deemed a public purpose. The new government succeeding that of George III denied the propriety of such an exercise of power by the state and was by its constitution inhibited from establishing or maintaining a state church or discriminating in favor of any particular church or sect. It found itself the successor to a government that had made a grant the conditions of which were legally as impossible of fulfillment under the change as would have been a grant of certain rents for the purchase of jewels for the crown of the sovereign of a country that no longer acknowledged any personal sovereign.

As the trust could no longer be administered and the conditions of the grant for the establishment and maintenance of a state church in New York had become impossible of fulfillment and void in law, the land

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Sic in the original; probably "preceding".

reverted to the new sovereign power—the people of New York—and the constitution of the state forbade in specific terms any such favoritism as was shown by the legislature in its grant of this property to trustees for the use and benefit of a single religious denomination. The Protestant Episcopal church of the United States is no part of the church of England. It acknowledges no allegiance to the English monarch as its head, and no subordination to the bishops and archbishops who still rule over the church of England as established by law. It is simply one among many churches in this country, and it resembles the English church in its form of worship and general belief. It is not, as was the church chartered by King William, a state church and a part of the government, and it was not in equity the successor of that state church which ceased to exist through the success of the revolution that overthrew all the power, political and ecclesiastical, of the English monarchs in these states.

I have no present access to the records of the debate in the legislature of 1784, if such records exist; but if no objections of this kind were raised to the passage of the act the failure must have been due to inadvertence, or to the fact that any likely to oppose such act were themselves anxious to preserve other grants made by the English king. There was much sensitiveness on that subject just then. Perhaps it was run through as quickly as was the act of 1814 by which all Episcopalians in New York city, except communicants and pew holders of Trinity church, were deprived of any right to a voice in the management of a trust which even the act of 1784 declared to be for the use and benefit of all the inhabitants of the city within the communion of the Protestant Episcopal church. Be the facts as they may, had the question of the justice and constitutionality of the act of 1784 been questioned on behalf of the people, the grip of the corporation on this great estate, dedicated to public uses, would have been more severely shaken than it was by private lawsuits and legislative investigations.

Is there, then, no remedy for vested wrongs that masquerade as vested rights? Apparently not under existing laws as now administered. Trinity church, the Dutch Reformed church, and numerous other corporations and private individuals hold possession of valuable tracts of land on this island by a title clearly traceable to illegal acts. They hold by “adverse posses

p. 6, col. 4

sion” as firmly as though their title deeds ran back without flaw or omission to the only true source of a land title, the Maker of the earth Himself. An investigation of these land monopolies would be as fruitless under existing conditions as the investigation of the great trusts into which other monopolies are merging themselves appears likely to be. The law is on the side of the monopolists and the law cannot be broken, and perhaps it cannot be constitutionally amended so as to secure justice.

But there is, nevertheless, a remedy that goes to the very root of this and most other evils, which is legal, constitutional and effective. Happily none of the dead kings, governors, legislators and citizens whose ignorant blundering has tied the hands of the present generation in so many things ever attempted to grant or barter away the people’s sovereign power to tax the soil on which they live. In the exercise of that power lies the remedy for all such evils as arise from the blunders of William and Anne and all their predecessors and successors on the British throne, and from the mistakes, or worse, of the legislatures of 1784 and 1814. Not merely the lands held by Trinity and the churches to which she has granted her taxing power, but all lands to which the presence of millions of people in this metropolitan district has given an enormous annual value are a sacred trust to be held in perpetuity for meeting the public wants of the whole of this vast population. This trust is created by no king or legislature, but it was made by Him whose word declares that “the profit of the earth is for all.” “One generation passeth away and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever.” In it the generations that have come must find not only all that is necessary to their wants, but the remedy for the evil deeds and ignorance of the generations that have passed away.

Trinity church now has the legal power to tax large portions of the land on this island for such purposes as may suit the whims or fancies of her twenty-two wardens and vestrymen, who are practically responsible to no one but themselves for the administration of their trust. Men struggling to maintain a business in New York must not merely pay a tax on lands and houses and many other things to meet the expenses of our government, but they must pay a far heavier tax to put stained glass windows in churches that they never visit, and to maintain a religious service that is perhaps obnoxious to them. They must likewise contribute to the maintenance of preachers whom they do not know, to sects with which they have no sympathy, in towns that they will never see. All of this may now be done in strict accordance with law. Yet no one denies that the same law gives to the city and state of New York the right to tax this same land, and, since private experience shows that for purposes not public in their nature it is capable of yielding a much greater revenue than the city now draws from all existing taxation, it is clearly the duty of those who now pay this tax to demand that their government shall cease to burden business and industry by its imposts and draw from land all the expenses of existing government and all the expenses necessary for the government that ought to be, which will make this an ideal city, with perfectly paved, clean streets, an abundant supply of water, gas and heat, and a publicly owned system of rapid transit that will be managed with regard to public necessity, safety and comfort, and not for the earning of dishonest dividends on fraudulently watered stock. Let the thousands who see the injustice of Trinity's possession of the best part of this island turn their eyes from a single instance to a whole system of wrong, and consider then what is involved in the proposal to shift all taxation to land values and increase the tax until it approximates the full rental value—or, in other words, to gradually appropriate ground rents to public use. After that Trinity's charter from King William and its grant from Queen Anne would be chiefly valuable to the historical society.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

The Tax Reform Club of Brooklyn.

The tax reform club of Brooklyn held its regular weekly meeting on Wednesday evening, Feb. 29, at Everett hall, 398 Fulton street. The attendance evinced an increasing interest in the objects of the club, and several new members were added to the roll.

After the transaction of regular routine business, Mr. T. Atwood opened the discussion of the question of "state and municipal taxation" by reading an interesting paper on the subject. Beginning by pointing out the importance of the question, he traced the history of taxation from its first inception to its present complicated system; and showed how, under present arrangements, not only is the amount necessary for the support of government exacted from those least able to pay it, but an enormous additional impost is levied for the benefit of private parties. He showed that the present system is really an invasion of the sacred rights of property, and claimed that whatever a man produced should be his as against all the world. He quoted approvingly Ruskin's celebrated resolution that: "Whereas, It has long been known and declared that the poor have no right in the property of the rich, I desire it to be known and declared that the rich have no right in the property of the poor."

Mr. Atwood pointed out the folly of levying taxes on personal property, and commended Mayor Hewitt's recent utterances on the subject. The logical outcome of placing all taxes upon real estate would be the simple, just and reasonable single tax on land values.

Mr. George White spoke briefly, pointing out the true incidence of taxation and showing how all taxes on production are shifted inevitable[sic] to the consumer. The only tax, he showed, which could not thus be shifted

Sic in the original; probably "inevitably".

would be the tax on land values, which must be paid by the user or abuser of natural opportunities out of his own pocket.

Owing to the lateness of the hour it was decided to postpone the discussion of the taxation of personal property to the next meeting, which will be held at the same place, on March 14. At the same meeting a debate will be held on the question "Is the wealth producer entitled to all he produces?" Mr. R. W. Jones supporting the affirmative and Mr. George White the negative. Persons desiring to take part in the debate are invited to send their names to the secretary or chairman before the date of meeting.

A. L. VOORHEES, President, 106 Livingston street.

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Our Hope.

There's a hope that is fair as the dawn, When the darkness of night turns to day; 'T is the light of that glorious morn When black poverty's night melts away.

Now crushed hearts are weary and sad, And eyes are grown dim with their tears; Then hearts shall be joyful and glad, For the day star of glory appears.

The earth, which lies idle and dead In the grasp of monopoly's hand, Shall give to the millions their bread, That abundance may reign in the land.

No more in foul tenements bound Shall they drink in disease with each breath; No more in dark mines underground Shall they pray for the blessing of death.

But the kingdom of God shall appear, And his will shall be done upon earth, When love conquers envy and fear, And the sighs of the poor turn to mirth.

We are battling now for the right, The cross shines to guide our crusade; And Jehovah of Hosts is our might, For we march in his armor arrayed.

New York city. JOHN ANKETELL, A. M.

ANSWERING SENATOR SHERMAN.

N. G. Leslie of Kalamazoo Makes a Pungent Criticism of the Senator's Statements and Arguments—Protection that Protects tue[sic] Landlords Only.

Mr. N. G. Leslie of Kalamazoo is one of those advocates of the single tax reform who believe in doing to the utmost of their strength the work that lies nearest to their hands. In a series of well written letters to the Kalamazoo *Herald* he has been discussing the question of free trade versus protection, taking the recent speech of John Sherman as a text, and dealing doughty blows for freedom. The following extracts from these letters are interesting:

Mr. Sherman says: "It is American productions, home market, free trade and easy exchanges between sixty millions of our countrymen that we should foster, encourage and build up, and not by increased importations

Sic in the original; probably "the".

cheapen labor." Will he tell us why free trade is so beneficial between the extreme eastern and western portions of our country, between which the difference in wages is *nearly or quite* as great as between Europe and America, and so dreadful when carried on across the Atlantic or the Canadian border? I do not think he can.

What importations are those that cheapen labor? What can cheapen it except importations of cheap labor? The importation of cheap goods cheapens goods, and as goods cannot be imported unless other goods are exported to pay for them, such trade does not and cannot reduce wages, while free trade in labor has precisely the effect of free trade in anything else, viz., to cheapen it. If, as Mr. Sherman declares, the sole object of the tariff is to raise wages, goods would long ago have been made free, and immigration would have been heavily taxed.

Again, if the tariff does not, as claimed, raise prices, what effect can it have? It certainly cannot keep out foreign goods in any other way, nor encourage manufacturers except by increasing their profit. All other effects claimed for a tariff necessarily depend on this. If the price of labor were raised equally with the prices of goods, the encouragement would all go to labor, and even then merely balance its loss. Should workingmen by any possibility gain more than they lose by it (which, however, is carefully prevented by free trade in labor), the only effect would be to increase immigration, and thus lower wages while the increase of population would permanently raise rent. Mr. Sherman is greatly affected at the thought of our workmen being exposed to the "hard, sharp and grinding competition of all the world." If he will don a pair of overalls and try for a job in some of the protected industries, he will find himself exposed to just that competition.

Protectionists point to the prosperity of the country as evidence of the benefits of heavy taxes on trade. I once heard a clergyman, arguing against atheism, ask what was the value of the state of Pennsylvania 200 years ago, and its value to-day. He evidently believed that Christianity was the sole cause of the difference between the howling wilderness and the great state of Pennsylvania. According to John Sherman and other tariff theorists, that difference is due solely to our protective tariff!

Tariff taxes are excused on the plea that they build up and develop the country. Would it not be more just to let those who own the "vast natural resources" of the country pay for their development, instead of taxing the poor for it. It is urged that high tariffs by developing the country increase the opportunities of workmen for employment, and thus raise wages and better their condition. Every intelligent workman knows, however, that development and progress, instead of raising wages, raise rent, which is nothing more nor less than a tax on industry. Workmen, therefore, are asked to pay taxes to increase their taxes! Beautiful scheme! And experience is rapidly teaching them how well it works, while mortgages are educating the farmers.

If Mr. Sherman will investigate the wage question in the light of well known facts he will discover that in all countries, whatever may be their form of government, religion, or policy with respect to trade, the earnings of labor are in exactly inverse ratio to the price of land. Where that is most thoroughly monopolized and therefore highest in price, whether held in great or small estates, labor is poorest paid and most degraded, and where land is freest and cheapest, as in all new countries, wages are highest, idlers and paupers fewest and workingmen most contented and independent. This is the arbiter of work and wages, and from its decision there is no appeal by either employer or employed. To this is due the intolerable burden of labor in all old settled countries; to this they owe low wages and grinding penury; nothing can benefit labor but reduction in the price of land.

Mr. Leslie is setting a good example. If friends of the single tax all over the country would provoke the discussion of economic questions in the columns of their local papers the result would be seen in a rapid advance of the truths they are striving to establish.

A Word from Professor Wilmarth.

LONDON, Feb. 19.—I have spent some weeks in a quaint old town in the agricultural districts of Essex. The land for miles around is owned by a "lord." He not only claims the ground rents, but the "grand tithes." The small tithes support the vicar of the established church, and after they are paid, the people (of whom the great majority are dissenters) may pay for the support of their own churches. The farmers are complaining bitterly. They pay an annual rent of from £3 to £5 per acre, with tithes and rates in addition. The price of their produce is lower than ever before. What wonder that they are emigrating? The population of this part of the country has decreased heavily during the last decade. In politics the great majority of townsmen, as well as farm laborers,

p. 6, col. 6

are liberals and in favor of home rule for Ireland. I became acquainted with nearly all of the dissenting ministers and found them willing (after the ice was broken) to talk upon the subject of ownership of land. Several of them granted the complete justice of our claim, but were frightened away from even a closer examination of the subject by the magnitude of the obstacles that stand in the way of its establishment. Strange how little faith men have in the omnipotence of truth and goodness. I believe with Swedenborg that "all power is in truth." Our work is to clear the way that truth may act, and our lesson is—to wait.

L. E. WILMARTH.

TEACHING HOME TRUTHS AT HOME.

An Example That Single Tax Men Should Follow Everywhere—The Great South Bay as an Economic Object Lesson.

Hugh B. Brown of Bay Shore, Long Island, is doing noble work in the columns of the *Suffolk Democrat* in exposing to his neighbors the ridiculous fallacy of the protective idea. An especially commendable feature of his communications is the telling use he makes of illustrations drawn from the immediate neighborhood, and therefore patent to all the readers of the *Democrat*. We extract the following paragraphs from his latest article:

> A large standing army such as is maintained by Germany (over 1,000,000 men), must withdraw just that number from productive industry, thereby increasing work in that country to the extent of what that number of men would have done. Why then should not a protectionist be in favor rather than opposed to a large standing army?
>
> Destructive wars, great conflagrations in cities, destructive cyclones and other natural forces, all make work by destroying production that must be replaced. If the theory of protection is true these things are beneficial rather than harmfull[sic]!
>
> The policy of keeping able bodied paupers and criminals in idleness is, by the logic of protection, commendable, rather than otherwise; and instead of its being a reproach to a man that he is a loafer, an idler, or a gambler, it is in a degree commendable, inasmuch as the work that they decline to do, is reserved for others. A social parasite, by the philosophy of protection, loses in part the odium attaching to such a character, and places his conduct in the category of quasi good acts.
>
> Now it requires no argument to prove that standing armies, wars, conflagrations, stock gambling and cyclones are not good, but, on the contrary, most deplorable evils. Wherein *then lies the fallacy of protective*

Sic in the original; probably "harmful".

> *reasoning?* It is not in its premises that opportunities to work should be increased and extended, but in its proposed methods, as also in the overlooking of an essential factor in the problem. . . .
>
> The factor left out of the problem, the omission of that which leads to such absurdities as those mentioned above, is the denial of natural opportunities to all, by making the land, which was designed for all, the exclusive property of a few. . . .
>
> To realize that it is principally the barring out of the people from natural opportunities that is the real cause of want of work and consequent suffering, to remedy which protection is thought necessary, we have only to mark well and thoroughly consider the lesson that the Great South bay is calculated to teach us. Unlike the land adjacent, this bay, its vast natural products and resources, are common, not private property. Every resident of the towns adjacent is free to navigate its waters and to apply his labor to the collection and utilization of its products and resources, thus affording an unfailing source of employment to hundreds of men, who, were they debarred from it, would be compelled to seek work in other pursuits, which would tend to make work scarce and to lower wages in those pursuits.
>
> Now, supposing that instead of being common (town) property, the bay was in possession of private owners. What would be the result? Just what we see has resulted from making land private property. Natural opportunities would no longer be free; a tribute (rent) would be exacted for the privilege of using its waters or taking from them its natural products. Or if to the greater profit of its owners, it might be reserved exclusively for the pleasure of the rich, to the exclusion of those who would use it as a means of livelihood.
>
> No; the remedy for a scarcity of work, and its consequences, want and suffering, is not the lessening of production by protection, but is by restoring to the people their natural rights. This can be done only by the "single tax," which by destroying speculation in land, will re-open the door to natural opportunities which the monopoly of a natural right has so completely closed.

The Increasing Value of the Privilege of Confiscating the Fruits of New York's Labor and Capital.

Real Estate Record and Guide.

> Bernard Smyth is one of the veterans of the real estate business, and is now in his sixty-seventh year. He was once a dry goods merchant, and years before the Guernsey building was erected at Nos. 160 and [162?] Broadway by Henry G. Marquand he used to be a member of a large dry goods firm which occupied the four-story structure that used to be on the same site. "In 1850," said Mr. Smyth, "this used to be considered quite a pretentious building. It was about 23x140 feet in size, and we paid a rental of $4,000 for the entire building at first, which was increased in five years' time to $9,000. We could have bought it then for $[60,000?] to $70,000. > >"I was born in the seventh ward," he continued, "and I recollect the time when you could rent houses in such high toned quarters as East Broadway and Henry street half a century ago for $350 per annum. Two-story and attic houses rented as low as $250. The latter were about twenty feet and the former twenty-five feet in frontage. Lots sold then for $2,000 on those streets. When I was a boy the property bounded by Centre, Elm, Franklin and White streets was an open plaza. Colonel Muir, who was then in charge of the government military stores and equipments in this locality, used to reside hereabouts, and for a short time I lived at the southeast corner of Franklin and Centre streets. That was before the Tombs was built. I remember a house and lot on Broadway selling for $15,000, opposite where the St. Nicholas hotel was, and a three-story and attic double house sold for $16,000 or $17,000 a little further north. When the Quaker fraternity left Henry street to move to what is now the lower part of Fifth avenue ordinary houses and lots sold on that great residence thoroughfare for $10,000 to $12,000; and later on, a house of which I know was purchased for $20,000 some thirty years ago in the neighborhood of Thirtieth street,

for which $110,000 is now asked. I bought lots at the corporation sale in 1852, on Lexington avenue and Fifty-fourth street. For a corner I gave $1,100, and for inside lots $300. I could have bought Fifth avenue lots at about the same figures; indeed, I had arranged with my partner to purchase a large number of lots at that sale with the considerable surplus of cash which we then had, but he did not have that confidence in the future of New York real estate which I had, so I purchased a few parcels for my own account on which I afterward made considerable profit. Had we purchased the property we contemplated buying we would have made from three to five millions of dollars before twenty years had passed away. I recollect the northeast corner of Fifth avenue and Fifty-second street, in size 25x100, being sold for about $[3,000?]. Of course people talk about profits being impossible in real estate nowadays, but there is still plenty of money to be made by judicious investment. I have in mind at this moment a down town parcel which has just changed hands at private sale that could have been bought five years ago for one-fifth of its recent selling price. This is an unusual occurrence, still men are making good purchases all the time."

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FACTS VS. THEORIES.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S ADDRESS TO THE WEST SIDE CLUB OF PROVIDENCE.

Experience as Opposed to Theory—The Absurdities of Protection—John Sherman's Honest Utterance—The Low Wages Scare.

William Lloyd Garrison of Boston recently delivered an address before a gathering of members and guests of the West side club of Providence, from which we make the following extracts:

It gives me pleasure to address a company of protectionists, as I am given to understand[sic] most of you are. I feel at home among men engaged in textile manufactures, whose success no one has at heart more than the tariff reformer. Since 1865 my own business has been closely connected with the wool and woolen interest, and still continues to be. I decline therefore to be considered a theorist, and speak from an experience as practical as your own. And if on a comparison of views upon the tariff question mine shall be found in direct opposition to your own, try for the time being to lay aside your prejudices and to consider calmly the reasons I shall give for the faith within me.

We who believe in the saving principles of freedom have a formidable fight on our hands. Against us are the men, with a few notable exceptions, engaged in manufacturing, whether employers or employed, and numbering not over a million out of seventeen millions of those engaged in gainful occupations in this country. But so powerful and dominant in trade and politics are the representatives of these interests that the 16,000,000 whose business is not affected by the tariff are persuaded that an abatement of taxes will ruin everything. Outside of this there are 40,000,000 not tabulated in the census as workers, but who are yet vitally interested in the imposition of taxes, which as consumers they largely pay. As Mr. Lincoln said of putting down the rebellion, "It's a big job;" so the tariff reformers, or those who, like myself, hope to convert the country to free trade, have a big job on our hands. But the rebellion, you remember, was put down.

The first difficulty we meet is one of assumption, pure and simple, but with the common mind it has more force than any argument. The formula runs thus: "We have had a high tariff for over twenty years." Granted. "During that time the country has grown enormously in wealth." Yes. "And great industries have grown up." Unquestionably. "Therefore, these are the results of the tariff." Lame and impotent conclusion! It is easy enough to reason that way. I have a friend who has had a wart on his face for twenty years. He has increased in strength and prospered in business. See the value of a wart.

Another bit of protective logic seems equally lame. "Do you see that great mill yonder?" "Yes." "Well, sir, the owner came to this country a few years ago a poor man, and under protection he has amassed a fortune. What do you say to that?" Now let me state a case. I used for years to sell wool to the Washington and to the Salisbury mills—two great corporations. Both were ruined under protection. Mind, I don't say because of protoction[sic]. Tariff reformers

Sic in the original; probably "understand".

are careful in the use of words. But the success of the mill you ascribe to protection I ascribe to the skill, judgment, shrewdness and energy of its owner, and not to tariffs. And you will agree with me that the Washington and Salisbury mills came to grief because they missed the qualities in their management that are necessary to success, and not to the tariff.

If protection is the blessing and success which you claim it is, certainly the industries you represent should be highly prosperous. Are they? Here and there bright men, who would prosper under any conditions, are making money, but the fact remains that, as a whole, the mills of this country are not prospering. What is the matter? Some of you will answer that fraud and undervaluation enable the foreigner to undersell you in your own market, and your remedy is more tariff. Absurd and fallacious solution. It is as though running a race with shackled limbs, you hoped to increase your speed by adding another chain. We venture to suggest that freedom of motion is the true prescription. Unbind yourselves.

What are your shackles? The heavy taxes laid on everything that enters into the production of your goods. Your wool, your yarn, your dyestuffs, your machinery are loaded with taxes. You are handicapped heavily. Your boasted home market is insufficient to absorb the goods your looms turn out, and foreign goods undersell you within sight of your own mills. You voluntarily shut yourselves out from the advantage of purchasing raw materials in the markets of the world, and consequently deprive yourselves of the world's market to sell your product in. Why is it you are willing to suffer this? There is not a man here who would not like the privilege of free wool, but you acquiesce in the ruinous tax because you fear the wool growers will revengefully remove the duties from manufactured goods if you advocate what your interests dictate. You are frightened at a shadow. If I had time to expose the handful of politicians who masquerade as representatives of the wool growers it would be a pleasing task. If you look closely you cannot fail to discern the ass's ears protruding from the lion's skin. Congressman McKinley of Ohio, at the recent dinner of the Home market club, cracked the Ohio whip over the shoulders of the manufacturers. "The occupants of the fifth story." he said[sic], "are not safe if the dwellers beneath them are endangered, and all are imperiled if the foundation is shattered or removed. If the manufacturers are to have free wool that it may be cheaper, I beg to inquire at whose expense,[66]?" It is the rule or ruin threat. But you know, gentlemen, that the foundations are settling now and that the upper story is imperiled by their weakness. It is time to get out of that house.

I am not afraid, however, to face the alternative of free goods if we have free raw material. Why should the thought of it terrorize you? You answer in a chorus, "We should be ruined by the competition of the cheap labor of Europe or else forced to cut the wages of our operatives down to the level of foreign wages." And then your hearts melt in pity for the suffering workers and you deplore their certain degradation. But you are too smart to say that even with free trade you could not carry on your industries.

It is this gigantic and amazing assumption concerning wages that is the bottom fallacy of all protective pleas. It spreads to the laborers themselves, and makes them, who are the wronged and outraged victims of bad laws, clamorous in defense of the tyranny that grinds them down. It is fostered in consequence by every politician who hopes by catering to their prejudices to capture the labor vote. Senator Sherman, who cannot be excused on the ground of ignorance, repeated this hollow and indefensible assertion the other night in Boston. He said that "the inevitable effect of the policy recommended by the president is to increase importations

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at the expense and loss of the home market, and especially to reduce the wages of all engaged in industries competing with foreign production." I venture to prophesy that before the American people get through

Sic in the original; probably "protection".
Sic in the original; probably "fifth story," he said,".
Sic in the original; probably "expense".

discussing the question of the benefits of a tariff no politician, however reckless, will dare to repeat such mediæval falsities to an intelligent audience. The increase of importations at the expense of the home market! What an absurdity for an economist to utter! Imports can only be paid by exports, and the larger the imports are the more must home industries thrive to produce the commodities which the exchange compels. Large imports indicate a rich nation. The poverty stricken, low wage nations import little or nothing. They exemplify the ideal state of the protectionist when everything consumed is produced at home. Patagonia manages to escape the inundation of foreign goods.

Again the senator trots out the poor old riddled fallacy of low wages to all engaged in industries competing with foreign production, if free interchange with all nations is allowed. He was careful not to explain how wages were lowered by freedom. Perhaps he remembered his earlier and truthful utterance, before the presidential bee had troubled his bonnet, which I delight to quote. Listen: 'Every obstruction to a free exchange of commodities is born of the same narrow and despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce. Every obstruction to commerce is a tax on consumption. Every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and protection[sic] and promotes civilization." Bravo! John Sherman. I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.

The last ditch of protection is the low wage scare. It was never dreamed of by the early advocates of the so-called American system. Compelled to fall back from one defense to another it is now sympathy for the laborer that is the chief justification of the taxes on industry. Upon this point we challenge proof. No protectionist offers it. It seems as if they who repeat this assertion constantly expect us to take iteration for evidence. We deny that self-taxation increases wages. They are as much regulated by it as by the eclipse of the moon; no more. It is the profitableness of production that determines the rate of pay. Wages are higher in England than in France and Germany, because the profits of production are higher. They are higher in the United States than in England for the same reason. The protected industries do not and cannot fix the scale of wages in this country. It would be a sad day for the laborer if they could, for the lowest wages are paid in them. It is true that since free trade in England wages have advanced over fifty per cent, not because of legal enactments, but because under the stimulus of freedom the prosperity of business increased the demand for labor, and the greater profit of production made it possible to advance wages. This is trite and axiomatic, but when the multiplication table is assailed we are bound to repeat that five times one is five.

We proclaim, also, that the rate of wages is not the determining element in the cost of production, and we repeat that the lowest labor cost and the highest wages are inseparable. I inquired of a manufacturer the other day the cause of the ill success of a certain mill he was interested in. "The reason is," he replied, "that we have always had too cheap labor. The management has been averse to paying high wages. Consequently we have gone astern, but now we are getting in a better class of help." My friend was a protectionist, and did not see that he was stating a free trade axiom. High wages, cheap production; low wages, high cost production. Therein the advantage of this nation lies. We have the cheapest labor in the world. It is the most efficient, the most intelligent. the most thrifty[sic], the most ambitious. In Mexico poor labor can be had at $4 to $6 a month. Does it undersell your more highly paid labor? China, India and Japan are not flooding the world with the products of their cheap labor. Tell me, you who dwell on the disadvantage of American labor as compared with that of England, how is it that the latter, which pays its workmen the highest wages in Europe, leads the whole continent in commerce and manufactures.

My friend John Graham Brooks, who went to Germany with protective proclivities, was astounded at the explanation given him why the manufacturers wanted a tariff. "We need it," they said, "to protect us against the highly paid labor of England." "Say that again," said Mr. Brooks. "I don't understand you. Where I came from we

Sic in the original; probably "increases trade and production (?)".
Sic in the original; probably "the most intelligent, the most thrifty".

ask protection against the low wages of England." It took but little reflection for him to see that the German had good reason to fear the Englishman. The talisman of success remains with the nation paying the highest wages, and consequently commanding the cheapest labor. Get out of your minds the idea that cost is determined by the scale of wages alone. Ask rather what qualities the wages buy, for it is they which enter into every yard that comes from your looms.

I wonder whether you manufacturers keep always a sober face when you discuss with each other the advantages enjoyed by your "protected" help? I do not question your kindly feeling toward them, but you know that competition and not benevolence determines your pay roll. You know that the laboring man is the one person who has no protection. No manufacturer has scruples against bringing operatives from Great Britain, Germany or Canada if they will serve his purpose better. Look at the city of Holyoke, which has "protected" out its American labor and "protected" in the French Canadians. There is no tariff on laborers, and our tariff may be truly said to be chiefly advantageous to the foreign labor, which it imports free of duty. It is noticeable that sentiment for the laborer comes in only when election time approaches and the question of lowering or removing tariff taxes is in order. The burden of the tariff settles down most heavily on the laboring man. He cannot recoup himself by making the consumer pay the added cost of tariff duties, as you can. The home competition which you are finding it so hard to stand is nothing compared with the grinding competion[sic] of his crowding fellow laborers. He is the under dog in the fight, and is too ignorant to understand why.

There is a vast amount of "pointing with pride" at the great prsperity[sic] of the country for the past twenty-five years, and the laboring man's lot is vaunted as enviable. Nothing is said of the fact that during that time we have produced more beggars and tramps and criminals than any other forty millions of people on the globe.

The People's Estate.

Bligh, N. S. W., Watchman.

The colony of New South Wales is the estate of the million or so of people who inhabit[sic] it. They have no other source of revenue. If merchants in Sydoey,[72] make money by trading with other countries, by shipping or otherwise, they can only do so by having some land in the colony, rented or purchased. It is for this privilege that persons are willing to pay many thousands of pounds for the best sites, say in George street. It will thus easily be seen that those who get this favorable site should pay its annual value, not to any one person, but to the "firm," the whole people, who are partners in it.

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THE TENANT FARMERS OF THE WEST.

They Nominally Own Their Farms, but Actually Pay Other Men For the Privilege of Living–What the Farmer Has Sacrificed for the Protective System.

Correspondence New York Times.

Come with me to the agricultural west and to the county court houses where the mortgage records are kept. The number of mortgaged farms in Michigan has recently been closely ascertained. Practically one-half of the farms of

Sic in the original; probably "competition".
Sic in the original; probably "prosperity".
Sic in the original; probably "inhabit".

that great state, which is justly famous for the production of wheat, oats, barley, corn, fruit, vegetables, lumber, iron ore and copper, are mortgaged. In 1880 the assessed value of Michigan's farms was $499,000,000. They increased forty per cent in value during the decade which ended in 1880. They have increased in value since that date, and their number has also been increased by bringing new land under the plow. Their assessed value to-day should be about $700,000,000. Agricultural land in the west is never assessed for more than one-third of its actual value. The assessors are usually tax paying farmers, and they resolutely refuse to place high values on their taxable property. Say that Michigan's farms were valued at one-half their actual worth in 1880, and the same valuation holds to-day, then they are now worth $1,400,000,000. One-half of them are mortgaged, and the older the community and the more valuable the land the more numerous are the mortgages, so the recent investigation shows that about $700,000,000 worth of Michigan's farming land is encumbered. Farm mortgages are always negotiated on the real value of the land. The mortgage negotiating companies do not hesitate to loan up to one-half the actual value of the farm offered, and they frequently loan far in excess of that valuation. As a rule, farmers who are forced to borrow borrow close to the mortgage bearing capacity of their land. It is safe to assume that the total amount of money represented by the faces of Michigan's farm mortgages is at least $350,000,000. As it is in Michigan so it is in the ten great agricultural states which lie in the Mississippi valley.

Apply the same calculations and the same dispassionate reasoning to which Michigan has been subjected to the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri, and the amounts represented by the faces of the farm mortgages are:

In Ohio.....	$701,000,000
In Indiana.....	[398,000,000?]
In Illinois.....	620,000,000
In Wisconsin.....	250,000,000
In Michigan.....	350,000,000
In Minnesota	175,000,000
In Iowa.....	351,000,000
In Nebraska.....	140,000,000
In Kansas.....	200,000,000
In Missouri.....	237.000,000[sic]
Total farm mortgages in the ten states....	$3,422,000,000

The actual value of the farms lying in the ten states is to-day about $13,931,000,000. In this valuation due allowance has been made for the enormous volume of immigration which has poured into Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota, and into the northern portions of Michigan and Wisconsin since 1880.

I believe that the above table understates the total of the farm mortgages laid in the ten states, but be this as it may the farmers who own these mortgaged lands have spent the proceeds of their industry, and they have spent in addition $3,422,000,000. The greater portion of the money represented by the faces of these mortgages has not been expended in improving farms, because the larger portion of the farms were equipped with buildings

Sic in the original; probably "Sydney".
Sic in the original; probably "237,000,000".

before the mortgages were laid. The money has been spent to enable the farmers to live. Ten states mortgaged for $3,422,000,000 and twenty-eight states and eight territories to hear from!

I here wish to say to investors that all talk relative to this vast sum of money ever being paid is utter folly. No agricultural people can pay such sums. The profit derived from American agriculture is now so small as to be unworthy of the slightest consideration. To illustrate this fact: The interest money annually drawn from the ten states listed, if they pay seven per cent only, amounts to $239,000,000. The profits of agriculture do not warrant the payment of so great a sum. The total value of the farm products of the United States was, in 1879, $2,213,000,000. Of this value the ten states I have listed produced $839,000,000. This was the total value sold, consumed and on hand. Say that the ten states now produce to the value of $1,000,000,000. If but one-half the farms are mortgaged the produce they yield is worth $500,000,000. At least $239,000,000 of that value goes to pay interest money, leaving $261,000,000 of produce to support 886,000 farmers and their families, or $294 to each farmer. Out of this small sum they must pay labor, pay taxes, supply seed, buy tools, and they and their families live. The sum is utterly inadequate. It is not possible for these mortgaged farmers, as a class, to ever lift their mortgages. Legislative enactment cannot increase the price these men receive for their products, but it is possible to decrease the price they now pay for the goods which they consume.

These men, though their names are borne on the assessment rolls as the owners of the farms they till, are actually tenants. They ceased to be freeholders the instant they mortgaged their land. The price they have paid to protect American manufacturing industries has been their birthright. A continuance of the system will surely cause the larger portion of the farmers whose land is still unencumbered to mortgage their lands.

Why Not Extinguish the Greatest Monopoly of All in the Same Manner by Taxing It Out of Existence?

Philadelphia Record.

The people of this country are by no means helpless in the presence of the new form of monopoly known as “trusts.” Nothing more would be needed than for the legislature to tax the mischief and monopoly out of them. It may be said that the property held by these “trusts” is so elusive that its value could not be ascertained for purposes of taxation; but there would be no great difficulty in this matter. If the confidential managers of a “trust” would not disclose its property the state authorities could make an approximate estimate of it, and upon that estimate could tax the property for public use. . . .

There is no necessity for congress to interfere in this matter by using its taxing power to favor one of these products for the advantage of the other; on the contrary, there are important reasons why congress should not interfere. The chief of these reasons is that the several states, in vigorously exercising their police power, could tax out of existence every monopoly or “trust” that might be organized to control the market of the food supplies of the people. The people could thus be relieved from this form of oppression without violence and without discouraging legitimate business enterprises. Whenever a “trust” rears its head for the purpose of usurping control of the supplies of a necessary of the American people the watered certificates should be heavily taxed till the owners willingly resume fair methods of business.

A Curse Everywhere.

Topeka Post.

"Land speculation," says the Chicago *News*, "is one of the curses of the city of Washington. Senators, congressman, department clerks[sic], doorkeepers, and messenger boys are inoculated with it. Newspaper correspondents as a class are especially liable to catch the epidemic. Once in the system there is no way of getting rid of it."

Land speculation is a curse everywhere else as well as in Washington and for advocating a removal of the curse the land reformers are called cranks. Some day, perhaps, when the land sharks have every inch of mother earth in their possession, the fools who ridicule the men who are endeavoring to rescue the land from the grasp of the speculators will beat their breasts and regret they did not listen to the advice of the "cranks." The recent developments of land steals of resident and alien speculators should enlist every man and woman who has the least spark of regard for the declaration of the founders of this government into one grand movement for land reform. Henry George's theories may not suit the general idea of land ownership, but the great mass of the people, if

p. 7, col. 4

they can be made to study the land question, cannot but see that a change in our system of land ownership is necessary too if our boasted "unalienable rights" are to be preserved. Land speculation a curse? Do not doubt it. All the "trusts," "corners" and other speculating enterprises will be the easier wiped out when the corner in land is wiped out.

Cardinal Manning's Theory in Practical Operation.

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per cent on this value. No allotment is to exceed 320 acres. The holdings may be sold or subdivided, subject to the approval of the commissioners for crown lands, but subletting is for bidden. No one may hold two allotments. Every leaseholder must, under the conditions of his lease, actually reside on his holding for a period of six consecutive years; must bring his land into cultivation within a reasonable period, and must put substantial improvements upon it.

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p7_fig1

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8 THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888.

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PROTECTION AND WAGES

BY HENRY GEORGE.

From Chapter XIX of "Protection or Free Trade?"

We have in previous chapters sufficiently seen the effect of protection on the production of wealth. Let us now inquire as to its effect on wages. This is a question of the distribution of wealth.

Discussions of the tariff question seldom go further than the point we have now reached, for though much be said, in the United States at least, of the effect of protection on wages, it is a deduction from what is asserted of its effect on the production of wealth. Its advocates claim that protection raises wages; but in so far as they attempt to prove this it is only by arguments, such as we have already examined and disproved, that protection increases the prosperity of a country as a whole, from which it is assumed that it must increase wages. Or when the claim that protection raises wages is put in the negative form (a favorite method with American protectionists) and it is asserted that protection prevents wages from falling to the lower level of other countries, this assertion is always based on the assumption which in previous chapters we have seen to be fallacious, that protection is necessary to enable production to be carried on at the higher level of wages, and that if it were withdrawn production would so decline, by reason of the underselling of home producers by foreign producers, that wages must also decline.

Bat although[sic] its whole basis has already been overthrown, let us (since this is the mos important part[,94] of the question) examine directly and independently the claim that protection raises (or maintains) wages.

Though the question of wages is primarily a question of the distribution of wealth, no protectionist writer that I know of ventures to treat it as such, and free traders generally stop where protectionists stop, arguing that protection must diminish the production of wealth, and (so far as they treat the matter of wages) from this inferring that protection must reduce wages. For purposes of controversy this is logically sufficient, since, free trade being natural trade, the onus of proof must lie upon those who would restrict it. But as my purpose is more than that of controversy, I cannot be contented with showing merely the unsoundness of the arguments of protection. A true proposition may be supported by a bad argument, and to satisfy ourselves thoroughly as to the effect of protection we must trace its influence on the distribution, as well as on the production of wealth. Error often arises from the assumption that what benefits or injures the whole must in like manner affect all its parts. Causes which increase or decrease aggregate wealth often produce the reverse effect on classes or individuals. The resort to salt instead of kelp for obtaining soda increased the production of wealth in Great Britain, but lessened the income of many highland landlords. The introduction of railways, greatly as they have added to aggregate wealth, ruined the business of many small villages. Out of wars, destructive to national wealth though they be, great fortunes arise. Fires, floods and famines, while disastrous to the community, may prove profitable to

Sic in the original; probably "But although".
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individuals, and he who has a contract to fill, or who has speculated in stocks for a fall, may be enriched by hard times.

As, however, those who live by their labor constitute in all countries the large majority of the people, there is a strong presumption that no matter who else is benefited anything that reduces the aggregate income of the community must be injurious to workingmen. But that we may leave nothing to presumption, however strong, let us examine directly the effect of protective tariffs on wages.

Whatever affects the production of wealth may at the same time affect distribution. It is also possible that increase or decrease in the production of wealth may, under certain circumstances, alter the proportions of distribution. But it is only with the first of these questions that we have now to deal, since the second goes beyond the question of tariff, and if it shall become necessary to open it, that will not be until after we have satisfied ourselves as to the tendencies of protection.

Trade, as we have seen, is a mode of production, and the tendency of tariff restrictions on trade is to lessen the production of wealth. But protective tariffs also operate to alter the distribution of wealth, by imposing higher prices on some citizens and giving extra profits to others. This alteration of distribution in their favor is the impelling motive with those most active in procuring the imposition of protective duties and in warning workmen of the dire calamities that will come on them if such duties are repealed. But in what way can protective tariffs affect the distribution of wealth in favor of labor? The direct object and effect of protective tariffs is to raise the price of commodities. But men who work for wages are not sellers of commodities; they are sellers of labor. They sell labor in order that they may buy commodities. How can increase in the price of commodities benefit them?

I speak of price in conformity to the custom of comparing other values by that of money. But money is only a medium of exchange and a measure of the comparative values of other things. Money itself rises and falls in value as compared with other things, varying between time and time, and place and place. In reality the only true and final standard of values is labor—the real value of anything being the amount of labor it will command in exchange. To speak exactly, therefore, the effect of a protective tariff is to increase the amount of labor for which certain commodities will exchange. Hence it reduces the value of labor just as it increases the value of commodities.

Imagine a tariff that prevented the coming in of laborers, but placed no restriction on the coming in of commodities. Would those who have commodities to sell deem such a tariff for their benefit? Yet to say this would be as reasonable as to say that a tariff upon commodities is for the benefit of those who have labor to sell.

It is not true that the products of lower priced labor will drive the products of higher priced labor out of any market in which they can be freely sold, since, as we have already seen, low priced labor does not mean cheap production, and it is the comparative, not the absolute, cost of production that determines exchanges. And we have but to look around to see that even in the same occupation, wages paid for labor whose products sell freely together, are generally higher in large cities than in small towns, in some districts than in others.

It is true that there is a constant tendency of all wages to a common level, and that this tendency arises from competition. But this competition is not the competition of the goods market; it is the competition of the labor market. The differences between the wages paid in the production of goods that sell freely in the same market cannot arise from checks on the competition of goods for sale; but manifestly arises from checks on the competition of labor for employment. As the competition of labor varies between employment and employment, or between place and place, so do wages vary. The cost of living being greater in large cities than in

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small towns, the higher wages in the one are not more attractive than the lower wages in the other, while the differing rates of wages in different districts are manifestly maintained by the inertia and friction which retard the flow of population, or by causes, physical or social, which produce differences in the intensity of competition in the labor market.

The tendency of wages to a common level is quickest in the same occupation, because the transference of labor is easiest. There cannot be, in the same place, such differences in wages in the same industry as may exist between different industries, since labor in the same industry can transfer itself from employer to employer with far less difficulty than is involved in changing an occupation. There are times when we see one employer reducing wages and others following his example, but this occurs too quickly to be caused by the competition in the goods market. It occurs at times when there is great competition in the labor market, and the same conditions which enable one employer to reduce wages enables others to do the same. If it were the competition of the goods market that brought wages to a level, they could not be raised in one establishment or in one locality unless at the same time raised in others that supplied the same market; whereas, at the times when wages go up, we see workmen in one establishment or in one locality first demanding an increase, and then, if they are successful, workmen in other establishments or localities following their example.

If we pass now to a comparison of occupation with occupation, we see that although there is a tendency to a common level, which maintains between wages in different occupations a certain relation, there are, in the same time and place, great differences of wages. These differences are not inconsistent with this tendency, but are due to it, just as the rising of a balloon and the falling of a stone exemplify the same physical law. While the competition of the labor market tends to bring wages in all occupations to a common level, there are differences between occupations (which may be summed up as differences in attraction and differences in the difficulty of access) that check in various degrees the competition of labor and produce different relative levels of wages. Though these differences exist, wages in different occupations are nevertheless held in a certain relation to each other by the tendency to a common level, so that a reduction of wages in one trade tends to bring about a reduction in others, not through the competition of the goods market, but through that of the labor market. Thus cabinet makers, for instance, could not long get $2 where workmen in other trades as easily learned and practiced were only getting $1, since the superior wages would so attract labor to cabinet making as to increase competition and bring wages down. But if the cabinet makers possessed a union strong enough to strictly limit the number of new workmen entering the trade, is it not clear that they could continue to get $2 while in other trades similar labor was only getting $1? As a matter of fact, trades unions, by checking the competition of labor, have considerably raised wages in many occupations, and have even brought about differences between the wages of union and non-union men in the same occupation. And what limits the possibility of thus raising wages is clearly not the free sale of commodities, but the difficulty of restricting the competition of labor.

Do not these facts show that what American workmen have to fear is not the sale in our goods market of the products of “cheap foreign labor,” but the transference to our labor market of that labor itself? Under the conditions existing over the greater part of the civilized world, the minimum of wages is fixed by what economists call the “standard of comfort”—that is to say, the poorer the mode of life to which the laborers are accustomed the lower are the wages and the greater is their ability to compel a reduction in any labor market they enter. What, then, shall we say of that sort of “protection of American workingmen” which, while imposing duties upon goods, under the pretense that they are made by “pauper labor,” freely admits the “pauper laborer” himself.

The incoming of the products of cheap labor is a very different thing from the incoming of cheap labor. The effect of the one is upon the production of wealth, increasing the aggregate amount to be distributed; the effect of the other is upon the distribution of wealth, decreasing the proportion which goes to the working classess[sic]. We might

Sic in the original; probably “classes”.

permit the free importation of Chinese commodities without in the slightest degree affecting wages; but, under our present conditions, the free immigration of Chinese laborers would lessen wages.

Let us imagine under the general conditions of modern civilization one country of comparatively high wages and another country of comparatively low wages. Let us, in imagination, bring these countries side by side, separating them only by a wall which permits the free transmission of commodities, but is impassable for human beings. Can we imagine, as protectionist notions require, that the high wage country would do all the importing and the low wage country all the exporting, until the demand for labor so lessened in the one country that wages would fall to the level of the other? That would be to imagine that the former country would go on pushing its commodities through this wall and getting nothing in return. Clearly the one country would export no more than it got a return for, and the other could import no more than it gave a return for. What would go on between the two countries is the exchange of their respective productions, and, as previously pointed out, what commodities passed each way in this exchange would be determined, not by the differences in wages between the two countries, nor yet by differences between them in cost of production, but by differences in each country in the comparative cost of producing different things. This exchange of commodities would go on to the mutual advantage of both countries, increasing the amount which each obtained; but no matter to what dimensions it grew, how could it lessen the demand for labor or have any effect in reducing wages?

Now let us change the supposition and imagine such a barrier between the two countries as would prevent the passage of commodities, while permitting the free passage of men. No goods produced by the lower paid labor of the one country could now be brought into the other; but would this prevent the reduction of wages? Manifestly not. Employers in the higher wage country, being enabled to get in laborers willing to work for less, could quickly lower wages.

What we may thus see by aid of the imagination accords with what we do see as a matter of fact. In spite of the high duties which shut out commodities on the pretense of protecting American labor, American workmen in all trades are being forced into combinations to protect themselves by checking the competition of the labor market. Our protective tariff on commodities raises the price of commodities, but what raising there is of wages has been accomplished by trades unions and the Knights of Labor. Break up these organizations and what would the tariff do to prevent the forcing down of wages in all the now organized trades?

A scheme really intended for the protection

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of workingmen from the competition of cheap labor would not merely prohibit the importation of cheap labor under contract, but would prohibit the landing of any laborer who had not sufficient means to raise him above the necessity of competing for wages, or who did not give bonds to join some trades union and abide by its rules. And if, under such a scheme, any duties or commodities were imposed[sic], they would be imposed, in preference, on such commodities as could be produced with small capital, not on those which require large capital—that is to say, the effort would be to protect industries in which workmen can can readily engage on their own account, rather than those in which the mere workman can never hope to become his own employer.

Our tariff, like all protective tariffs, aims at nothing of this kind. It shields the employing producer from competition, but in no way attempts to lessen competition among those who must sell him their labor; and the industries it aims to protect are those in which the mere workman, or even the workman with a small capital, is helpless—those which cannot be carried on without large establishments, costly machinery, great amounts of capital, or the ownership of natural opportunities which bear a high price.

Sic in the original; probably “any duties on commodities were imposed”.

It is manifest that the aim of protection is to lessen competition in the selling of commodities, not in the selling of labor. In no case, save in the peculiar and exceptional cases I shall hereafter speak of, can a tariff on commodities benefit those who have labor, not commodities, to sell. Nor is there in our tariff any provision that aims at compelling such employers as it benefits to share their benefits with their workmen. While it gives these employers protection in the goods market it leaves them free trade in the labor market, and for any protection they need workmen have to organize.

I am not saying that any tariff could raise wages. I am merely pointing out that in our protective tariff there is no attempt, however inefficient, to do this—that the whole aim and spirit of protection is not the protection of the sellers of labor but the protection of the buyers of labor, not the maintaining of wages but the maintaining of profits. The very class that profess anxiety to protect American labor by raising the price of what they themselves have to sell, notoriously buy labor as cheap as they can and fiercely oppose any combination of workmen to raise wages. The cry of "protection for American labor" comes most vociferously from newspapers that lie under the ban of the printers' unions; from coal and iron lords who, importing "pauper labor" by wholesale, have bitterly fought every effort of their men to claim anything like decent wages; and from factory owners who claim the right to dictate the votes of men. The whole spirit of protection is against the rights of labor.

. . . . . .

What would be thought of the congressman who should propose, as a "workingman's measure," to divide the surplus in the treasury between two or three railway kings, and who should gravely argue that to do this would be to raise wages in all occupations, since the railway kings, finding themselves so much richer, would at once raise the wages of their employes; which would lead to the raising of wages on all railways, and this again to the raising of wages in all occupations? Yet the contention that protective duties on goods raise wages involves just such assumptions.

It is claimed that protection raises the wages of labor—that is to say, of labor generally. It is not merely contended that it raises wages in the special industries protected by the tariff. That would be to confess that the benefits of protection are distributed with the partiality, a thing which its advocates are ever anxious to deny. It is always assumed by protectionists that the benefits of protection are felt in all industries, and even the wages of farm laborers (in an industry which in the United States is not and cannot be protected by the tariff) are pointed to as showing the results of protection.

The scheme of protection is, by checking importation to increase the price of protected commodities so as to enable the home producers of these commodities to make larger profits. It is only as it does this, and so long as it does this, that protection can have any encouraging effect at all, and whatever effect it has upon wages must be derived from this.

I have already shown that protection cannot, except temporarily, increase the profits of producers as producers; but without regard to this it is clear that the contention that protection raises wages involves two assumptions: (1) that the increase in the profits of employers means increase in the wages of their workmen; and (2) that increase of wages in the protected occupations involves increase of wages in all occupations.

To state these assumptions is to show their absurdity. Is there any one who really supposes that because an employer makes larger profits he therefore pays higher wages?

I rode not long since on the platform of a Brooklyn horse car and talked with the driver. He told me, bitterly and despairingly, of his long hours, hard work and poor pay—how he was chained to that car, a verier slave than the horses he drove; and how by turning himself into this kind of a horse driving machine he could barely keep wife and children, laying by nothing for a "rainy day."

I said to him, “Would it not be a good thing if the legislature were to pass a law allowing the companies to raise the fare from five to six cents, so as to enable them to raise the wages of their drivers and conductors?”

The driver measured me with a quick glance, and then exclaimed: “They give us more because they made more! You might raise the fare to six or to sixty cents, and they would not pay us a penny more. No matter how much *they* made, we would get no more, so long as there are hundreds of men waiting and anxious to take our places. The company would pay higher dividends or water the stock, not raise our pay.”

Was not the driver right? Buyers of labor, like buyers of other things, pay, not according to what they can, but according to what they must. There are occasional exceptions, it is true; but these exceptions are referable to motives of benevolence, which the shrewd business man keeps out of his business, no matter how much he may otherwise indulge them. Whether you raise the profits of a horse car company or of a manufacturer, neither will on that account pay any higher wages. Employers never give the increase of their profits as a reason for raising the wages of their workmen, though they frequently assign decreased profits as a reason for reducing wages. But this is an excuse, not a reason. The true reason is that the dull times which diminish their profits increase the competition of workmen for employment. Such excuses are given only when employers feel that if they reduce wages their employes will be compelled to submit to the reduction, since others will be glad to step into their places. And where trades unions succeed in checking this competition they are enabled to raise wages. Since my talk with the driver, the horse car employes of New York and Brooklyn, organized into assemblies of the Knights of Labor and supported by that association, have succeeded in somewhat raising their pay and shortening their hours, thus gaining what no increase in the profits of the companies would

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have had the slightest tendency to give them.

No matter how much a protective duty may increase the profits of employers, it will have no effect in raising wages unless it so acts upon competition as to give workmen power to compel an increase of wages.

There are cases in which a protective duty may have this effect, but only to a small extent and for a short time. When a duty, by increasing the demand for a certain domestic production, suddenly increases the demand for a certain kind of skilled labor, the wages of such labor may be temporarily increased, to an extent and for a time determined by the difficulties of obtaining skilled laborers from other countries or of the acquirement by new laborers of the needed skill.

But in any industry it is only the few workmen of pecular[sic] skill who can thus be affected and even when by these few such an advantage is gained, it can only be maintained by trades unions that limit entrance to the craft. The cases are, I think, few indeed in which any increase of wages has thus been gained by even that small class of workmen who in any protected industry require such exceptional skill that their ranks cannot easily be swelled; and the cases are fewer still, if they exist all[98], in which the difficulties of bringing workmen from abroad, or teaching new workmen, have long sufficed to maintain such increase. As for the great mass of those engaged in the protected industries, their labor can hardly be called skilled. Much of it can be performed by ordinary unskilled laborers, and much of it does not even need the physical strength of the adult man, but consists of the mere tending of machinery, or of manipulations which can be learned by boys and girls in a few weeks, a few days, or even a few hours. As to all this labor, which constitutes by far the greater part of the labor required in the industries we most carefully protect, any temporary effect which a tariff might have to increase wages in the way pointed out would be so quickly lost that it could hardly be said to come into operation. For an increase in the wages of such occupations would at once be counteracted by the flow of labor from other occupations. And it must

Sic in the original; probably “peculiar”.
Sic in the original; probably “if they exist at all”.

be remembered that the effect of "encouraging" any industry by taxation is necessarily to discourage other industries, and thus to force labor into the protected industries by driving it out of others.

Nor could wages be raised if the bounty which the tariff aims to give employing producers were given directly to their workmen. If, instead of laws intended to add to the profits of the employing producers in certain industries, we were to make laws by which so much should be added to the wages of the workmen, the increased competition which the bounty would cause would soon bring wages plus the bounty to the rate at which wages stood without the bounty. The result would be what it was in England when, during the early part of this century, it was attempted to improve the miserable condition of agricultural laborers by "grants in aid of wages" from parish rates. Just as the grants were made, so did the wages paid by the farmers sink.

The car driver was right. Nothing could raise his wages that did not lessen the competition of those who stood ready to take his place for the wages he was getting. If we were to enact that every car driver should be paid a dollar a day additional from public funds, the result would simply be that the men who are anxious to get places as car drivers for the wages now paid would be as anxious to get them at one dollar less. If we were to give every car driver two dollars a day, the companies would be able to get men without paying them anything, just as where restaurant waiters are customarily feed by the patrons, they get little or no wages, and in some cases even pay a bonus for their places.

But if it be preposterous to imagine that any effect a tariff may have to raise profits in the protected industries can raise wages in those industries, what shall we say of the notion that such raising of wages in the protected industries would raise wages in all industries? This is like saying that to dam the Hudson river would raise the level of New York harbor and consequently that of the Atlantic ocean. Wages, like water, tend to a level, and unless raised in the lowest and widest occupations can be raised in any particular occupation only as it is walled in from competition.

The general rate of wages in every country is manifestly determined by the rate in the occupations which require least special skill, and to which the man who has nothing but his labor can most easily resort. As they engage the greater body of labor these occupations constitute the base of the industrial organization, and are to other occupations what the ocean is to its bays. The rate of wages in the higher occupations can be raised above the rate prevailing in the lower only as the higher occupations are shut off from the inflow of labor by their greater risk or uncertainty, by their requirement of superior skill, education or natural ability, or by restrictions such as those imposed by trades unions. And to secure anything like a general rise of wages, or even to secure a rise of wages in any occupation upon ingress to which restrictions are not at the same time placed, it is necessary to raise wages in the lower and wider occupations. That is to say, to return to our former illustration, the level of the bays and harbors that open into it cannot be raised until the level of the ocean is raised.

If it were evident in no other way, the recognition of this general principle would suffice to make it clear that duties on imports can never raise the general rate of wages. For import duties can only "protect" occupations in which there is not sufficient labor employed to produce the supply we need. The labor thus engaged can never be more than a fraction of the labor engaged in producing commodities of which we not only provide the home supply but have a surplus for export, and the labor engaged in work that must be done on the spot.

No matter what the shape or size of an iceberg, the mass above the water must be very much less than the mass below the water. So no matter what be the conditions of a country or what the peculiarities of its industry, that part of its labor engaged in occupations that can be "protected" by import duties must always be small as compared with that engaged in occupations that cannot be protected. In the United States, where protection has been carried to the utmost, the census returns show that not more than one twentieth of the labor of the country is engaged in protected industries.

In the United States, as in the world at large, the lowest and widest occupations are those in which men apply their labor directly to nature, and of these agriculture is the most important. How quickly the rise of wages in these occupations will increase wages in all occupations was shown in the early days of California, as afterward in Australia. Had anything happened in California to increase the demand for cooks or carpenters or painters, the rise in such wages would have been quickly met by the inflow of labor from other occupations and in this way retarded and finally neutralized. But the discovery of the placer mines, which greatly raised the wages of unskilled labor, raised wages in all occupations.

The difference of wages between the United States and European countries is itself an illustration of this principle. During our colonial days, before we had any protective

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tariff, ordinary wages were higher here than in Europe. The reason is clear. Land being easy to obtain, the laborer could readily employ himself, and wages in agriculture being thus maintained at a higher level, the general rate of wages was higher. And since up to the present time it has been easier to obtain land here than in Europe, the higher rate of wages in agriculture has kept up a higher general rate.

To raise the general rate of wages in the United States the wages of agricultural labor must be raised. But our tariff does not and cannot raise even the price of agricultural produce, of which we are exporters, not importers. Yet, even had we as dense a population in proportion to our available land as Great Britain, and were we, like her, importers not exporters of agricultural productions, a protective tariff upon such productions could not increase agricultural wages, still less could it increase wages in other occupations, which would then have become the widest. This we may see by the effect of the corn laws in Great Britain, which was to increase, not the wages of the agricultural laborer, nor even the profits of the farmer, but the rent of the agricultural landlord. And even if the differentiation between land owner, farmer and laborer had, under the conditions I speak of, not become as clear here as in Great Britain, nothing which benefited the farmer would have the slightest tendency to raise wages, save as it benefited him, not as an owner of land or an owner of capital, but as a laborer.

We thus see from theory that protection cannot raise wages. That it does not, facts show conclusively. This has been seen in Spain, in France, in Mexico, in England during protection times, and everywhere that protection has been tried. In countries where the working classes have little or no influence upon government it is never even pretended that protection raises wages. It is only in countries like the United States, where it is necessary to cajole the working class, that such a preposterous plea is made. And here the failure of protection to raise wages is shown by the most evident facts.

Wages in the United States are higher than in any other countries, not because of protection, but because we have had much vacant land to overrun. Before we had any tariff wages were higher here than in Europe, and far higher, relatively to the productiveness of labor, than they are now after our years of protection. In spite of all our protection—and, for the last twenty-four years at least, protectionists have had it all their own way—the condition of the laboring classes of the United States has been slowly but steadily sinking to that of the "pauper labor" of Europe. It does not follow that this is because of protection, but it is certain that protection has proved powerless to prevent it.

To discover whether protection has or has not benefited the working classes of the United States it is not necessary to array tables of figures which only an expert can verify and examine. The determining facts are notorious. It is a matter of common knowledge that those to whom we have given power to tax the American people "for the protection of American industry" pay their employes as little as they can and make no scruple of importing the very foreign labor against whose products the tariff is maintained. It is notorious that wages in the protected industries are, if anything, lower than in the unprotected industries, and that, though the protected

industries do not employ more than a twentieth of the working population of the United States, there occur in them more strikes, more lock outs, more attempts to reduce wages, than in all other industries. In the highly protected industries of Massachusetts official reports declare that the operative cannot get a living without the work of wife and children. In the highly protected industries of New Jersey many of the "protected" laborers are children whose parents are driven by their necessities to find employment for them by misrepresenting their age so as to evade the state law. In the highly protected industries of Pennsylvania laborers, for whose sake we are told this high protection is imposed, are working for sixty-five cents a day, and half clad women are feeding furnace fires. "Pluck-me stores," company tenements and boarding houses, Pinkerton detectives and mercenaries, and all the forms and evidences of the oppression and degradation of labor are, throughout the country, characteristic of the protected industries.

The greater degradations and unrest of labor in the protected than in the unprotected industries may in part be accounted for by the fact that the protected employers have been the largest importers of "foreign pauper labor." But, in some part, at least, it is due to the great fluctuations to which the protected industries are exposed. Being shut off from foreign markets, scarcity of their productions cannot be so quickly met by importation, nor suplus[sic] relieved by exportation, and so with them for much of the time it is either "a feast or a famine." The violent fluctuations tend to bring workmen into a state of dependence, if not of actual peonage, and to depress wages below the general standard. But whatever be the reason, the fact is that so far is protection from raising wages in the protected industries, that the capitalists who carry them on would soon "enjoy" even lower priced labor than now, were it not that wages in them are kept up by the rates of wages in the unprotected industries.

Encyclopædia Britannica.

We have received Vols. VII, VIII, IX and X of Henry G. Allen & Co.'s reprint of the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. This is the handiest and cheapest of the reprints of this famous encyclopædia—a library in itself. Being reduced by photographic process it is a fac simile of the original English publication with all its plates and maps, in sufficiently large type and more manageable form. Each volume consists of about 850 octavo pages and is sold at the remarkably low price of $2.50.

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MISS AGATHA MUNIER IS NOW forming classes for instruction in vocal sight reading for ladies and gentlemen, as well as in solo singing in all its branches, and in elocution. For terms, etc., address MISS MUNIER, [225?] East Thirty-second street, New York.

[Advertisement] Concord Co-operative Printing Company

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47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

Sic in the original; probably "surplus".

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[Advertisement] Unity Congregation

UNITY CONGREGATION.

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MINISTER.

MASONIC HALL,

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SERVICES,

Sunday Morning, 11 o'clock.

[Advertisement] Anti-Poverty Society in Philadelphia

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Everybody invited. Admission free.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

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And *only* co-operative System of selling watches. The watches are American Lever Stem Winders, containing every essential to accuracy and durability, and have, in addition, numerous patented improvements found in no other watch. They are absolutely the only *Dust and Dampproof Movements* made in the World, and are jeweled throughout with *GENUINE RUBIES*. The *Patent Stem Wind and Set* is the strongest and simplest made. *They are fully equal for appearance, accuracy, durability and service, to any $75 Watch.*

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Heavy profits guaranteed on limited investment. Write for full particulars.

The Keystone Watch Club Co.

P. O. Box 928, Philadelphia, Pa.



p8_fig1

[Illustration: keystone-shaped trade mark enclosing an open-faced pocket watch; lettered “THE KEY STONE WATCH CLUB Co.”]

REFERENCES:—Keystone National Bank, or any Commercial Agency.

AGENCIES:

New York, N.Y. Chicago, Ill. Pittsburgh, Pa. Boston, Mass. Philadelphia, Pa. Detroit, Mich. Harrisburg, Pa. Denver, Col. Baltimore, Md. St. Louis, Mo. Wilmington, Del. Etc., etc.

[Advertisement] Canned Goods — Hand Made Stamp



p8_fig2

[Illustration: circular trade-mark stamp, lettered around the rim “HAND MADE STAMP” (letters partly indistinct), with a small emblem in the center; display lettering at right.]

Canned Goods

WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE

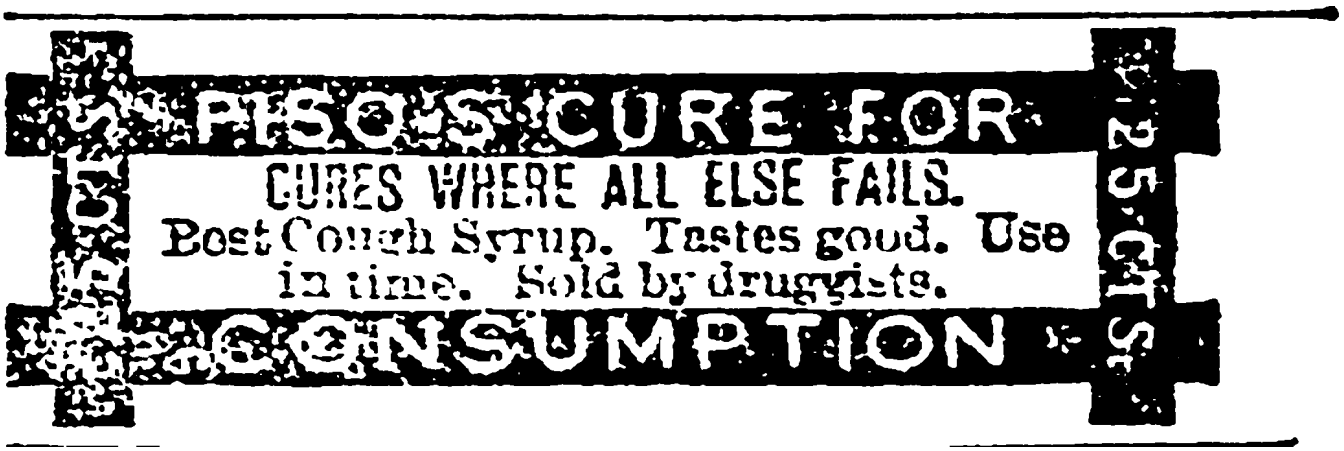
Free from Poison,

AND ARE MADE BY

ORGANIZED LABOR.

Trade-Mark.—Registered.

[Advertisement] Piso's Cure for Consumption



p8_fig3

[Illustration: boxed display advertisement with heavy black bands top and bottom and "25 CTS." printed vertically at each end.]

PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION

CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS.

Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use in time. Sold by druggists.

25 CTS. [printed vertically at each end]

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.



p8_fig4

[Illustration: T-shaped trade-mark block; legible lettering “GREAT AMERICAN” across the top bar, “T E A” down the stem and “COMPANY” across the base; top line indistinct.]

GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

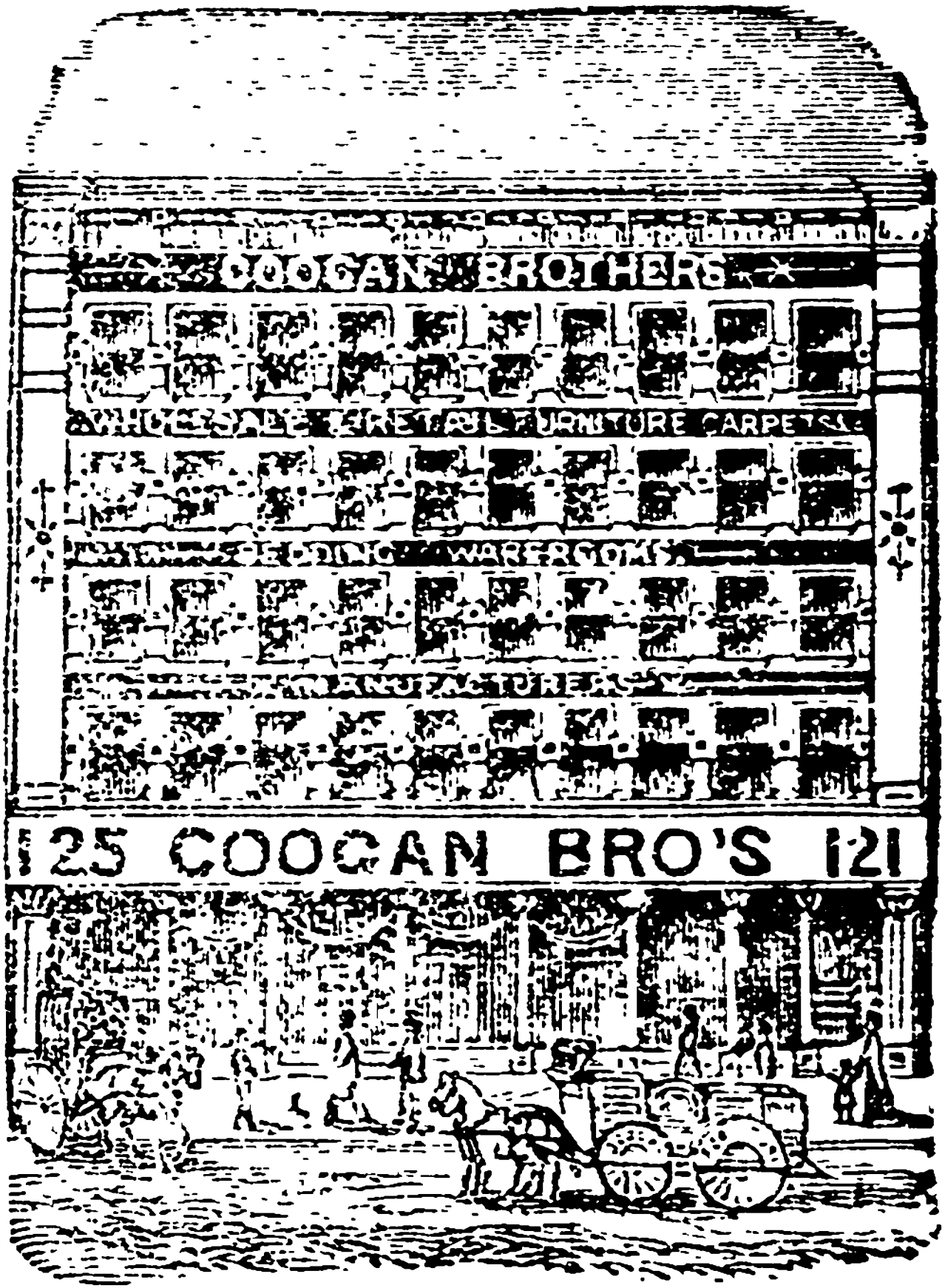
Greatest offer. Now’s your time to get orders for our celebrated Teas, Coffees and Baking Powder, and secure a beautiful Gold Band or Moss Rose China Tea Set, Dinner Set, Gold Band Moss Rose Toilet Set, Watch, Brass Lamp, Castor, or Webster’s Dictionary. For particulars address

THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA CO.,

P. O. Box [289?].

31 and 33 Vesey St., New York.

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros.



p8_fig5

[Illustration: engraved front of a five-story store building with horse-drawn delivery wagons and pedestrians in the street. Lettering on the building: “COOGAN BROTHERS”; “WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c.”; “[illegible] BEDDING WAREROOMS”; “[illegible] MANUFACTURERS”; across the shop front “125 COOGAN BRO’S 121”.]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

[Advertisement] Notice — Samuel Williams

NOTICE.—Those who believe that the public revenues should be raised by a single and direct tax upon relative land values, and who favor the holding of a National Conference, are requested to send address immediately to

SAMUEL WILLIAMS,

Vincennes, Ind.

[Advertisement] Ollendorf’s Neurodontine

OLLENDORF’S

NEURODONTINE.

Instantaneous cure for Toothache, Headache and Neuralgia. [25?] cents. Central depot, [203?] E. 14th st., N. Y.

[Advertisement] Charles B. Schaidner, Photographer

CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

PHOTOGRAPHER.

[2280?] Third avenue, cor. 124th street, New York.

Children’s Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Advertisement] Holland’s Coffee and Dining Rooms

HOLLAND’S

COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

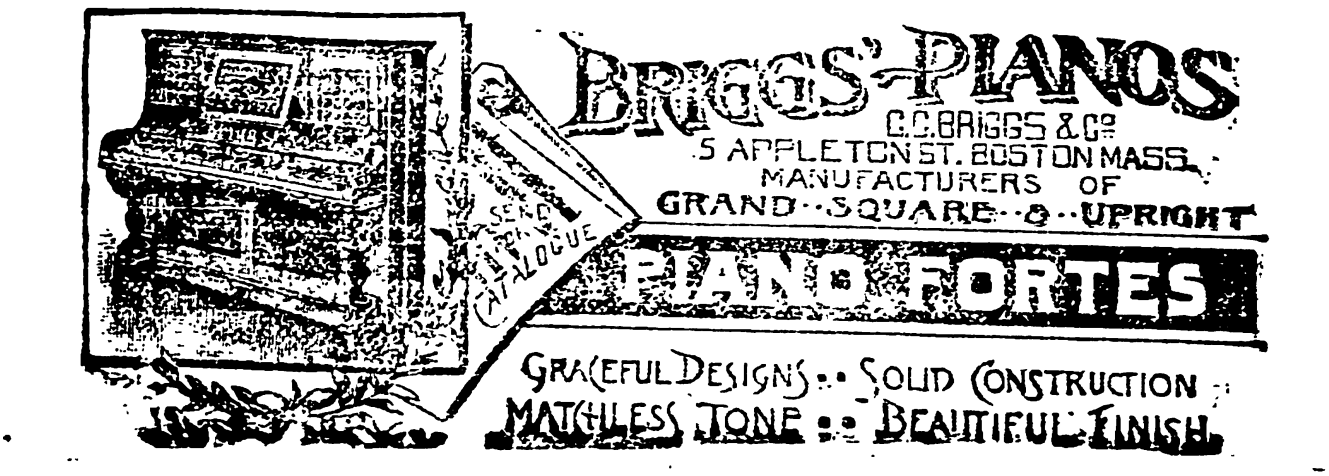
1[2?]3 Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

[Advertisement] James Bogan

JAMES BOGAN, PRINCIPAL AGENT for James Means' $3 and $4 shoes. [225?] BOWERY, near Prince street.

[Advertisement] Briggs' Pianos



p8_fig6

[Illustration: engraving of an upright piano in a frame decorated with foliage, with a tag lettered "SEND FOR CATALOGUE"; display lettering at right.]

BRIGGS' PIANOS

C. C. BRIGGS & Co.

5 APPLETON ST. BOSTON MASS.

MANUFACTURERS OF

GRAND · · SQUARE · · & · · UPRIGHT

PIANO FORTES

GRACEFUL DESIGNS · · SOLID CONSTRUCTION

MATCHLESS TONE · · BEAUTIFUL FINISH.

Damaged type restored

Letters that were broken, blotted or missing in the print and have been written as intended. Listed so they can be checked against the scan; they are not footnoted in the text.

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	BEGINNING THE FREE TRA[DE FIG?]HT.	pros.d (damaged letter)	proposed

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	THE TARIFF BILL. A SHOWING OF WHAT ITS PRINCIPAL EXEMPTIONS	EXE?PTIONS (M damaged)	EXEMPTIONS
1	THE TARIFF BILL. A SHOWING OF WHAT ITS PRINCIPAL EXEMPTIONS	PAINTI?GS (N damaged)	PAINTINGS
2	THE LESSON OF THE BROWN CASE.	December 1[?]4 (third figure broken)	December 1884
3	ARE THEY SOCIALISTS?	soc[i]alism (i damaged)	socialism
3	“PLATE SIN WITH GOLD!”	diffic[u]lties (u damaged)	difficulties
3	[Intrigues against Cleveland’s nomination]	fon (r damaged)	for
3	[Mr. Hitt’s Canadian reciprocity resolution]	unvexed / adopt (letters damaged)	unvexed / adopt
3	[Senator Beck’s tariff speech]	tho[u]gh (u damaged)	though
3	Anti-Poverty in Indianapolis.	w[e] / [n]eed / plac[e] (letters blotted)	we / need / place
4	Land Value.	$25 (5 damaged)	$25
4	WESTERN PRISONERS OF POVERTY.	kncwn (o damaged)	known
4	Did Emancipation Free the Slaves?	ana (d damaged)	and
4	EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.	tun (f damaged)	fun
4	EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.	Funning (R damaged)	Running
4	EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.	Wis.—Well, what sort … about the tariff?	Wis.—“Well, what sort …
4	EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS.	’Protection or Free Trade?	“Protection or Free Trade?”
5	In Bayonne, N. J.	commo[n] (last letter blotted)	common
5	From the Anti-Poverty Society of Sharon, Conn.	th[e] / soci[ety] / [co]mmittee (damaged patch)	the president of the New York anti-poverty society in packing a meeting of the executive committee
5	Discussing the Question in Maine.	[m]onopolize (first letter blotted)	monopolize
5	Tax Reform Clubs in Colorado.	v[ie]w (letters broken)	view
5	Tariff Discussion in Australia.	likeiy (l damaged)	likely

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
5	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. Addresses by John H. Edelman and Dr. M	troubies (l damaged)	troubles
5	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. Addresses by John H. Edelman and Dr. M	[o]nly (o broken)	only
5	UNITY CONGREGATION. THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL ADVANCE.	th[e]y / [G]od (letters broken)	they / God
5	UNITY CONGREGATION. THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL ADVANCE.	tabies (l damaged)	tables
5	UNITY CONGREGATION. THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL ADVANCE.	[l]ie (l broken)	lie
5	How Many Bricklayers in New York Can Do as Well?	$384.4[0?] / 54.3[8?] / [39.50?] (blotted figures)	uncertain
6	TRINITY'S TAXING POWER.	lcts (broken type)	lots
7	FACTS VS. THEORIES. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S ADDRESS TO THE	th[damaged] / r[damaged]mains / [damaged]nd undervalua tion	the / remains / and undervaluation
7	A Curse Everywhere.	this governm[damaged] [damaged]nto / idea [damaged]f	this government into / idea of
7	NEW PUBLICATIONS. [Advertisement: The Railway News]	unde[damaged]t[damaged]s	undertakes
7	[Advertisement: The New Christianity]	r[damaged]cognizing / sympat[damaged]y / t[damaged]e / kl[damaged]gdom / Barr[damaged]tt	recognizing / sympathy / the / kingdom / Barrett
7	[Notice: Machine Politics and Money in Elections in New York	Chamberkun	Chamberlain
7	[Notice: Illinois]	requested [damaged] write	requested to write
7	HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.	Germ[damaged]n	German
7	NEW PUBLICATIONS. [Advertisement: The Land and Labor Library	Err[damaged]r	Error
7	NEW PUBLICATIONS. [Advertisement: The Land and Labor Library	of t[damaged] most popular tracts	of the most popular tracts
7	[Advertisement: The Democrat]	ma[damaged]e / bene[damaged]ited	make / benefited
8	PROTECTION AND WAGES		XIX

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
		ΣIX (damaged first X)	
8	PROTECTION AND WAGES	workmen can can readily engage	workmen can readily engage
8	PROTECTION AND WAGES	ordina-y (r broken)	ordinary
8	[Advertisement: Canned Goods — Hand Made Stamp]	STAMP IK (N damaged)	STAMP IN

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